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~~282 g 19.~~



ICE 2 D SAFA 67

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RERUM BRITANNICARUM MEDII ÆVI  
SCRIPTORES,

OR

CHRONICLES AND MEMORIALS OF GREAT BRITAIN  
AND IRELAND

DURING

THE MIDDLE AGES.



**THE CHRONICLES AND MEMORIALS**  
OF  
**GREAT BRITAIN AND IRELAND**  
DURING THE MIDDLE AGES.

PREPARED BY THE AUTHORITY OF HER MAJESTY'S TREASURY, UNDER  
THE DIRECTION OF THE MASTER OF THE ROLLS.

---

ON the 26th of January 1857, the Master of the Rolls submitted to the Treasury a proposal for the publication of materials for the History of this Country from the Invasion of the Romans to the reign of Henry VIII.

The Master of the Rolls suggested that these materials should be selected for publication under competent editors without reference to periodical or chronological arrangement, without mutilation or abridgment, preference being given, in the first instance, to such materials as were most scarce and valuable.

He proposed that each chronicle or historical document to be edited should be treated in the same way as if the editor were engaged on an *Editio Princeps*; and for this purpose the most correct text should be formed from an accurate collation of the best MSS.

To render the work more generally useful, the Master of the Rolls suggested that the editor should give an account of the MSS. employed by him, of their age and their peculiarities; that he should add to the work a brief account of the life and times of the author, and any remarks necessary to explain the chronology; but no other note or comment was to be allowed, except what might be necessary to establish the correctness of the text.

The works to be published in octavo, separately, as they were finished ; the whole responsibility of the task resting upon the editors, who were to be chosen by the Master of the Rolls with the sanction of the Treasury.

The Lords of Her Majesty's Treasury, after a careful consideration of the subject, expressed their opinion in a Treasury Minute, dated February 9, 1857, that the plan recommended by the Master of the Rolls "was well calculated for the accomplishment of this important national object, in an effectual and satisfactory manner, within a reasonable time, and provided proper attention be paid to economy, in making the detailed arrangements, without unnecessary expense."

They expressed their approbation of the proposal that each Chronicle and historical document should be edited in such a manner as to represent with all possible correctness the text of each writer, derived from a collation of the best MSS., and that no notes should be added, except such as were illustrative of the various readings. They suggested, however, that the preface to each work should contain, in addition to the particulars proposed by the Master of the Rolls, a biographical account of the author, so far as authentic materials existed for that purpose, and an estimate of his historical credibility and value.

*Rolls House,*  
*December 1857.*

---

THÓMAS SAGA ERKIBYSKUPS.

---

A LIFE

OF

ARCHBISHOP THOMAS BECKET,  
IN ICELANDIC,

WITH

ENGLISH TRANSLATION, NOTES AND GLOSSARY.

EDITED

BY

EIRÍKR MAGNÚSSON,

SUB-LIBRARIAN OF UNIVERSITY LIBRARY, CAMBRIDGE.

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**THÓMAS SAGA ERKIBYSKUPS.**

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**THÓMAS SAGA ERKIBYSKUPS.**  
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# THÓMAS SAGA ERKIBYSKUPS.

## PROLOGUS.

More than one writer on Becket known to the translator.

What one wrote well, another let alone.

Now it has been found wise to put together in one book all that has been said to the praise of Becket, for the perusal of people who lead a retired life, i.e., people of monastic habits.

LJÓST er vorðit af letrum þeim er lærðir menn leifðu eftir sik í kristninni, at fleiri enn einn eðr tveir af þeira fjöld hafa skrifat á ýmissum tímum líf ok lofsamligar mannaunir hins ágæta Guðs píslarvotts 5 Thóme Cantuariensis in Anglia. Hafa þær iðnir farit sem verða kann, at þat er einn setti framarr<sup>1</sup> ok fullkomliga, lét annarr<sup>2</sup> um líða, því at þeim, er síðarr<sup>3</sup> var í veröld, virðist eigi nauðsynligt at setja sem með nýrri leturgerð þat, er áðr var fært ok fagrliga samit, 10 frægt ok víða borit fyrir margan vísan mann. Enn nú á nýjum tímum sýndist góðfúsamönnum nytssamligt, at setja samt í eina bók, til lofs ok tignar sælum Thóme, þat er af hverra orðum hæst berr ok lofsamligast virðist vitrum mönnum, at hóglífismaðr hafi 15 nærhendis, hvat er hann girnist í Guðs lofi af þraut ok þolinmæði þessa píslarvotts; því at vel má segja, með teknu dæmi, at hans blezut ásjóna hefir dreift farit, sem þat skírasta gler kann auðsýna, er sundr tekst í marga luti, því at hver hans lífsbók, sem lesin varð, 20 líóðar enn leynir eigi, hver hæðar skuggsjó<sup>4</sup> ok höfðingja spegill hann hefir verit formönnum kristninnar með hreinleik ok harðlífi, með ölmusugæði ok úbægðri

<sup>1</sup> framarr, T.

<sup>2</sup> annar, T.

<sup>3</sup> síðarr, T.

<sup>4</sup> skuggsjó, T.; the single g leads

me strongly to suspect that the original reading here was *huggsjó*, the mind's eye-mark, example.

# THE STORY OF ARCHBISHOP THOMAS.

## PROLOGUE.

MANIFEST, indeed, it hath become, from such writings as learned folk have left behind them in Christendom, that more than one or two of their number have, at sundry times, written the life and the laudable trials of that excellent martyr of God, Thomas Cantuariensis in Anglia. Now it hath fared with such works as is like to befall, that whatsoever one set forth after a full and perfect fashion, another let pass by, in that he who was later in the world deemed it not expedient to compound as with a new manner of writing, that which had been already related and wrought in a fair way, the same being renowned withal, and having been widely borne abroad before many a wise man. But now in these latter times it hath seemed to men of goodwill profitable that in one book should be put together, for the praise and the honour of the blessed Thomas, whatsoever might seem to wise men to be most exalted and most full of praise in the words of each writer, in order that persons of still manner of life might have near at hand whatsoever by the will of God they might yearn for of the trials and the longsuffering of the martyr. For it may well be said, speaking by way of similitude, that his blessed visage hath become widely spread, even as the brightest glass sheweth which is scattered in sunder into many bits ; in that every book of his life being read pronounceth loudly but concealeth nowise what an exalted glass and lordly mirror he hath been unto the rulers of the church in purity and hardness of living, in almsgiving and unbent stead-

staðfesti, alt til krúnu blóðsins. Enn nú hëðan upp í frá kann vera, at nokkurum sýnist, sem þessi bók megi með réttu kallast ein ok sambaldin ásjána með lífsþáttum, brëfum ok jartegnum hins sæla Thóme. Nú gefi þat Jesús Kristr, fyrir árnaðarorð sinnar sætu<sup>5</sup> móður<sup>1</sup> ok meyjar, Marie, ok verðleika hins heilaga Thóme, at þetta verk svá upp-byrist, framm-flytist ok lúkist, at honum sè til lofs ok dýrðar, enn þeim, er heyra, til andligrar gleði, ok árnaðarorðs við sælan Thómam. 10

KAP.<sup>2</sup> I.

## HÉR BYRJAR SÖGU THÓMAS ERKIBYSKUPS.

Á dögum Urbani páfa, annars með því nafni, ok Heinreks Heinrekssonar, Mislendu<sup>3</sup> keisara, vann Vilhjálmr Rúðujarl,<sup>4</sup> er kallaðr var bastarðr, England undir sik<sup>15</sup> með herskildi af Haraldi Guðinasyni,<sup>5</sup> ok ríkti xx. ár ok eitt. Hann átti eftir þrjá syni, ok hëtu Vilhjálmr,<sup>6</sup> Rodbert ok Heinrekr. Vilhjálmr tók ríki, því at hann var elztr; hann var kallaðr Vilhjálmr rauði;<sup>7</sup> hann var úhentiligr maðr Englands kristni, því at hann var bæði<sup>20</sup> metnaðarsamr ok stórum ágjarn. Bræðr hans voru útignir menn í landi, þar til at Rodbert krossaðist til

William the earl of Rouen conquers England from Harold Godwison.

His sons.

William Rufus.

Robert goes on a crusade to Jerusalem.

<sup>1</sup> *modr*, T.

<sup>2</sup> This heading, with the accompanying number, is added by the editor throughout.

<sup>3</sup> *mislndu*, T., an hapaxlegomenon which must be understood to mean Germany; formed from *míðr* (?), gen. *míðs*, midmost; *mislenda* qa. *míðs-landa* (cpr. *mísnesi* qa. *míðsnesi*?) midland, *mislendu keisari* therefore Midland emperor, emp. of central Europe, Henry IV., 1056–1106.

<sup>4</sup> Earl of Rouen, 1033–1066; king of England, 1066–1087.

<sup>5</sup> King of England from Jan. 6 to Oct. 14, 1066.

<sup>6</sup> King of England, 1087–1100.

<sup>7</sup> Here the story is confused, William being the second son, and Robert the rightly born to the crown who, while William seized upon the treasury and the kingdom at Winchester, and got himself fraudulently crowned in London, succeeded quietly to the dukedom of Normandy. Henry alone could be said to abide without honours in the land, since a certain sum of money was all he inherited after his father.

fastness even unto the blood of his crown. But from this time henceforth belike it may seem to some folk as if this book might be rightly called one countenance, holden together by the life-tales, letters, and miracles of the blessed Thomas. May Jesus Christ now grant, by the intercession of his sweet Mother and Maiden Mary, and by the merits of the holy Thomas, that this work so begin, continue and end, that it be to the praise and the glory of Him, but for spiritual joy to those who hearken thereto, and be worthy of the intercession of the blessed Thomas.

## CHAP. I.

### HERE BEGINNETH THE STORY OF ARCHBISHOP THOMAS.

In the days of pope Urban, the second of that name, and Henry, the son of Henry, Mid-Europe emperor, William the earl of Rouen, who was called the Bastard, won for himself England with war-shield, from Harold Godwinson, and reigned twenty years and one. He left behind him three sons, hight William, Robert and Henry. William took the realm, being the oldest. He was called William the Red. He was a right unprofitable man for England's church, being both full of pride and mightily covetous. His brethren abode without honours in the land until Robert took the cross for Jerusalem,

William resorts to extortion and all manner of oppression of the church.

Secularizes church property by means of his justices, forbids synods to be held, introduces royal customs, drives some people into exile, and puts others to death.

Is killed by a chance shot.

Henry Beauclerc becomes king.

Jórsala, ok tók óvægiligt<sup>1</sup> lausagóz<sup>2</sup> út af konungsgarði, at hann mætti vel fara lands ok lagar. Enn er fêhirzlan var nálíga hreinsut, legst Vilhjálmr konungr í hernað, at afla fjár í þann stað, ok herjar eigi á heiðinn dóm eðr útlenzka höfðingja, heldr á hinn 5 saklausa svein, Drottin Jesúm; því at hann setr úþolligt gjald á klaustr ok kirkjur í Englandi; heldr byskupsstóla ok ábótadæmi svá lengi undir sínu valdi, sem hann lystir, síðan formenn falla frá, enn eigi skal aðra til kjósa; skutlar jarðir ok eignir kirknanna ok dregr 10 undir konungsgarð, ok er lítið leið, sögðu<sup>3</sup> jústisar valdsins,<sup>4</sup> at þat hefði æfinliga konungs eign verit. Kennimanna fundi<sup>5</sup> í landinu, er þeir kalla sinodos, vildi hann einga<sup>6</sup> hafa láta, ok svá mikil var sú eymdar ágirnd til fjár ok frelsis, er hann hóf ok efði 15 mót kristnum rætt í Englandi, at af þeim innleiðslum, siðleysum ok óvönnum leiddi svá langar limar, at margs manns líf dró til útleððar, ok suma um síðir, sem greinast mun, alt framm í dauða dyrr.

Nú svá rasandi sem fór konungr þessi, fellr honum 20 handleggir himnakonungsins; því at á dýraveiði var hann skotinn í gegnum at úvilja sjálfs síns riddara, er Gallterus<sup>7</sup> hêt; þá hafði hann verit konungr xiiij. ár. Lágu þá höfðingjalausir þrír byskupsstólar ok tólf klaustr, til vitnis um þat sem tjáðist fyrri. Eftir hans 25 dag var Rodbert næstr ok tók ríki at öldrum. Enn sakir þess at hann er nú fyrir utan haf, tekr Heinrekr<sup>8</sup> bróðir hans konungdóm. Ok litlu síðar kemr Rodbert aftr ok hefr<sup>9</sup> ákall til ríkis, enn Heinrikr vill eingum<sup>10</sup> kosti upp gefa. Fara svá þeira skifti, at þeir 30

<sup>1</sup> This measureless—literally unweighable—treasure amounted to 10,000 marks only.

<sup>2</sup> *lausagodz*, T.

<sup>3</sup> *saugðu*, T.

<sup>4</sup> *valldzins*, T.

<sup>5</sup> So U.; *fund*, T.

<sup>6</sup> *eynga*, T.

<sup>7</sup> Sir Walter Tyrell.

<sup>8</sup> Henry Beauclerc, king of England 1100–1135.

<sup>9</sup> *hefir*, T.

<sup>10</sup> *eyngum*, T.

carrying with him a measureless wealth from the king's court, that he might fare well by land and sea. But now that the treasury was well nigh cleared out, king William fell a-harrying to gather wealth instead thereof; not waging war, however, against heathendom or foreign lords, nay, but rather against that sackless child, the Lord Jesus, in that he laid unbearable taxes on cloisters and churches in England, holding bishops' seats and abbatships under his sway, as long as it listed him, after the death of the rulers, and forbidding others to be chosen in their stead; squandering moreover the estates and other properties belonging to the churches, and drawing them under the crown, which, when a short time had passed by, the justices of the kingdom said had ever been the king's very own. Of the meetings of the clerks in the country, which they call synods, he would let none be holden, and so exceeding great was that wretched greed for fee and freedom, which he raised and emboldened against Christian right in England, that from those enactments, evil customs and abuses spread such far-reaching limbs as did draw many a man's life into exile, and brought others, at last, as will be set forth hereafter, even unto death's door.

Now headlong as the king went on in his madness, the arm of the King of heaven fell upon him, in that he was unwilfully shot through, at a deer-hunt, by one of his knights, by name Walter, when he had been king for thirteen years. At that time there lay left of their rulers three bishops' chairs and twelve cloisters, in testimony of what has been said before. After his day Robert stood next, and took the realm by right of age. But whereas he was even then beyond the seas, his brother Henry took upon him the kingdom. Now, shortly afterwards his brother Robert returned and laid claim to the realm, but Henry would give it up to him on no condition whatever. And in



He and Robert fight; the latter made prisoner for life.

eiga tvær orrustur, ok í þeiri síðari<sup>1</sup> er Rodbert fanginn<sup>2</sup> ok settr í varðhald. Leiddi hann svá sitt líf sem einn heremíta, því at bróðir hans trúði honum aldri. Ferr hann svá or sögu þessarri.

Punishment inflicted on an earl for appropriating church property.

Enn Heinrikr styrkist nú í konungs valdi; ferr 5 honum, sem háttr er veraldar höfðingja, at eingin þykkist úhalla krúnu bera, utan hann haldi með kappi þat, sem hélt hans forellri; ok því verðr, sem bók vottar, þykksettr stiginn í loganum, þá er hverr erfir annan í úleyfðum lutum. Af stiga þeim er lesit 10 in Speculo. Jarl einn dró rangliga undir sik heilagrar kirkju eign, ok þá sömu hældu<sup>3</sup> ættmenn hverr eftir annan. því birtist svá einni sál, at stigi þeira frænda stóð uppreistr í dynjanda loga, með þeiri skipan, at sá er nýliga andaðist skyldi æ taka hit efsta stig, enn 15 aðrir skyldu þá um reit<sup>4</sup> rýma niðr undan, þar til at Guðs mildi mæddist á þessu rættðæmi, því at sálin hvarf aftr í líkam, at boða þeim er enn lifði, hverr dauði honum var handviss, ok hann skipaði gjarna aftr eignina, at hann mætti forðast samsætisbruna 20 sinna ættmanna.<sup>5</sup> Nú mun sýnast sem stigagrein þessi lúti at konunginum í Englandi, eigi því minnr þótt sagan lengist. Nú svá sem vér höfum byrjat konungatal í Englandi fyrir þeim stórtíðindum, sem eftir kvomu, svá sýnist vel fallit at greina með fám klausum, 25 hversu<sup>6</sup> erkistóllinn í Cancia bíðr þess höfðingja, er hann fékk frægastan um alla sína daga.

<sup>1</sup> *sidarri*, T.

<sup>2</sup> Taken prisoner in the battle of Tenchbray 1106; died in prison, in Cardiff castle, 1185.

<sup>3</sup> *hielldu*, T.

<sup>4</sup> *reit*, T.

<sup>5</sup> This legend is, no doubt, drawn from one of the *Specula* of Vincent of Beauvais, but I have had to give up verifying it, after some search.

<sup>6</sup> *hvarssu*, T.

such wise their dealings turned out, that they fought two battles, in the latter of which Robert was taken prisoner, and put into a dungeon. So he led his life as a hermit, because his brother trusted him never afterwards. And thus he droppeth out of this story.

But Henry, gathering now strength in his kingly power, fareth after the ways of worldly lords, none of whom thinketh that he may wear an untottering crown, unless he hold with might and main that, which his parents held before him ; and therefore, as witnesseth a book, the ladder in the flame waxeth thickly thronged, in that each succeedeth to the heritage of the other in things forbidden. Of this ladder you may read in the Speculum.

A certain earl seized wrongfully upon the properties of holy church, which same his kinsmen held, one after the other. Now it was revealed to a certain soul, that the ladder of these kinsmen stood raised up in the midst of roaring flames, by such ordinance, that each one newly dead had to take his station in the uppermost step, and all the others must needs move one step down ; till at length God's mercy waxed weary with this rightwise award, so that this soul returned again into a body, to bring warning to him who was still alive what death unfailingly awaited him. But he was right fain to restore the property, that he might escape burning in fellowship with his kinsfolk. Now it will be seen that this tale of the ladder pointeth indeed to the king of England, and none the less so the longer the story groweth. And now, since we have begun the tale of the kings of England before telling of the great things which follow, it seemeth well fitting to set forth in a few clauses, how the chief throne at Canterbury awaiteth the most renowned lord whom in all its days it received.

## KAP. II.

## ANSELMUS VARÐ ERKIBYSKUP Í CANCIA.

St. Etienne de Caen founded by William the Bastard,

Lanfranc the first abbat, afterwards archbishop of Canterbury.

Crowned William Rufus.

Anselm, prior of Bec, becomes archbishop of Canterbury: Anselm gets into trouble with the king and has to leave the country.

Vilhjálmr bastarðr, sem einn var hann jarl í Rúðuborg, efldi hann klaustr af grundvelli í þeim stað, er Kadon<sup>1</sup> heitir, í sæmd hins signaða Stephani protomartiris.<sup>2</sup> Þar til fékk hann sæmiligan formann, er hét Lanfrancus,<sup>3</sup> siðlætismaðr mikill<sup>4</sup> ok meistari einkar djúpr, hann var áðr priór Beccensis; enn þann tíma sem bastarðr tók ríki í Englandi fylgdi hann erkistólnum í Cancia, at hann gaf upp sagðan Kadonensem<sup>5</sup> ábóta, at hann yrði<sup>6</sup> Kantuariensis erkibyskup. Þessi Lanfrancus vígði til krúnu Vilhjálms konung rauða; varð því nokkuru líkt um þeira samþykki, meðan þeir lifðu báðir, því at konungr lét<sup>6</sup> sem hann skyldi þyrna honum. Eftir Lanfrankum úthafinn var Anselmus erki-<sup>15</sup> byskup, áðr priór Beccensis.<sup>7</sup> Reis miðil þeira Vilhjálms konungs svá hörð alda, at erkibyskup varð at rýma land, áðr dauði Vilhjálms konungs gaf honum aftrhvarf ok heimfararleyfi. Eftir Anselmum frammfarinn til Guðs, sem vel birtist í hans andláti, kemr Theóbaldu<sup>8</sup> <sup>20</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Kadon = Cadomum, now Caen.

<sup>2</sup> This Benedictine monastery, originally called Sanctus Stephanus, now St. Étienne de Caen, was founded by William the Conqueror, in expiation of his unlawful marriage, a few years before the conquest, and soon rose to the first rank among the religious houses of Normandy. Gallia Christiana, xi. 421-422.

<sup>3</sup> Lanfranc, archbishop of Canterbury 1070-1089, had formerly been prior of Bec from before 1050-1063, and afterwards abbat of Sanctus Stephanus 1063-1070. *Ib.* 422-423.

<sup>4</sup> *michil*, T.

<sup>5</sup> *uurd*, T.

<sup>6</sup> *liet*, T.

<sup>7</sup> Anselm, archbishop of Canterbury 1093-1109, prior of Bec from 1063 up to his translation to Canterbury. *Ib.* 424-425.

<sup>8</sup> Theobald, prior of Bec 1127-1136, abbat of the same monastery 1137-1139, archbishop of Canterbury 1139-1161. *Ib.* 229. The space of thirty years, intervening between the death of Anselm and the accession of Theobald, and occupied, exclusive of vacancies, by the archiepiscopate of Ralph of Escures 1114-1122, and that of William Corbeuil, 1123-1136, is entirely ignored here.

## CHAP. II.

## HOW ANSELM BECAME ARCHBISHOP OF CANTERBURY.

William the Bastard, while as yet earl of Rouen, founded and endowed a monastery at a place called Caen, in honour of the blessed protomartyr Stephen, at the head whereof he placed a worthy ruler hight Lanfranc, a right zealous man, and a master of exceeding deep learning, who had formerly been prior of Bec; but at the time when Bastard took the kingdom of England, he bestowed such favour on the arch-throne of Canterbury, as to give his leave that the said abbat of Caen might become archbishop of Canterbury. This Lanfranc consecrated unto the crown king William the Red, and therefore they were somewhat of one mind while they both lived, for the king made as if he was minded to spare the archbishop. After the death and burial of Lanfranc, Anselm, formerly prior of Bec, became archbishop. Between him and king William there arose so fierce a billow, that the archbishop had to get him gone out of the country, until the death of William gave him leave to turn back and go home. After Anselm's departure to God, for so it well appeared in his giving up of the ghost, Theobald came into his place, elected from Bec,

Theobald  
archbishop.

í hans rún, tiltekinn af Becci<sup>1</sup> sem fyrr Anselmus. Stjórnaði hann Cantuaríam, þar til saga greinir, með vilja Guðs, hver skipan gerðist eftir hann fráfallinn. Enn nú þessu næst skal aftr víkja til Heinreks konungs ok sjá, hver tíðindi gerast á hans dögum. 5

## KAP. III.

## THÓMAS FÆDDR.

1118.  
Visions pre-  
ceding and  
accompany-  
ing the birth  
of Becket.

Í þenna tíma var sá maðr í Lundúnum, er Gillibert hét, hann var eiginkvænt maðr, hét hans húsfrú Maild.<sup>2</sup> Bæði þessi hjón voru góðrar settar ok réttvís 10 fyrir Guði; höfðu þau verit auðig at fê, áðr eldsgangr eyddi þeira góz.<sup>3</sup> Hêr berr svá til, sem hjónum er kært, at Maild er með barni; runnu fyrir þessum burð merkiligar sýnir, er fyrirboðuðu þá stórluti, er síðar kvomu framm. Eina nótt dreymdi Maild, at á sú, er 15 Tems heitir ok rennr um miðja borgina Lundún, gekk henni svá nær, at hon féll í serk henni, ok sakir þess at hon var vitr kona, finst henni um drauminn ok segir einum vitrum manni, ok sá ræðr harðla spakliga; segir, at líkt rennanda vatn mundi fljóta af hennar 20 kviði, sem Græðarinn sagði Samarítane<sup>4</sup> hvern flytja mundi til hins eilífa lífs, er þar af drykki.<sup>5</sup> Litlu síðar dreymdi hana draum annan: hon hugðist koma til Kristskirkju þar í Lundúnum ok vildi inn ganga,

1st vision.

Interpreta-  
tion of it.

2nd vision.

<sup>1</sup> Bec, Beccum, Le Bec, a Benedictine monastery of Normandy, founded originally at Bourneville by Herluin, an Austrasian noble of Danish descent, but afterwards transferred to Bec in 1039. Gallia Christiana, xi. 227.

<sup>2</sup> For notices on the names of Becket's parents, see preface.

<sup>3</sup> godz, T.

<sup>4</sup> Here U. reads, "sem græðarinn" "sagði Samarítane, (at) hvern," &c.; but the "at" is not necessary

to make grammar or sense, and is therefore omitted by the editor.

<sup>5</sup> The rendering and interpretation of this vision differs from what we learn about it from the contemporary writers, Grim in Migne's Patrologia, exc. p. 5; Roger de Pontigny, *ib.* 57; Garnier de Pont Sainte Maxence, La Vie de Saint Thomas de Cantorbery, ed. by Hippeau, Caen, 1859, p. 7. See preface.

as was Anselm before him. He ruled the church of Canterbury until the story telleth by the will of God what change there befell after his death. But now, next to this, let us return to king Henry, and see what things betide in his days.

### CHAP. III.

#### THE BIRTH OF THOMAS.

At this time there lived in London a certain man hight Gilbert, who was lawfully wed to a wife, and the name of his lady was Maild. Both these married folk were of good kin, and rightwise before God, and had been well off in riches until a conflagration happened to destroy their wealth. Now matters befall here in the way that wed folk dearly desire, in that Maild grows big with child, before the birth of whom there went some wondrous sights betokening the great things which afterwards came to fulfilment.

One night Maild dreamt that a certain river, called Thames, which runs through the midst of the city of London, flowed so close to her that it caught her sark, and being a thoughtful woman, she bethought her of the dream, and told it to a certain wise man, who areded it right sagaciously, saying that living water would flow from her womb like unto that of which the Healer had told the Samaritan woman that it would lead to life everlasting whomso should drink thereof.

Shortly afterwards she dreamt another dream. She thought she came to Christ's Church in London, and

1118. enn er hún bar sik at dyrum kirkjunnar, varð hon svá digr í vexti sínum, at á eingva<sup>1</sup> lund mátti hon inn komast. Var þetta svá þýtt af vitrum mönnum, er hon sagði drauminn, at meiri mundi verða dýrð ok virðing þessa burðar, er hon gekk með, enn jarðlig kristni<sup>5</sup>
- Interpretation. 3rd vision. mætti með taka eðr skilning á koma.<sup>2</sup> Nú líðr svá tíð Maildar, at hon tekr sótt, at fæða sinn burð, ok nær<sup>3</sup> sjálfri fæðinginni sígr yfir hana lætr höfgi, ok jafnbrátt sýnist henni, sem tólf stjörnur af himni felli niðr yfir knè henni. Þessi sýn er nú ljós vorðin, því at 10 hennar son sæma eigi síðr englar á himni enn menn á jarðriki.<sup>4</sup> Sem Maild hefir son fætt, rennr í annan tíma sem hugskots þungi yfir hana; sýnist henni burðrinn sem einn logbrandr með svá hófum loga, at í himni stóð.<sup>5</sup> Er þetta svá glósat, at hennar son var 15 svá heitr ok uppkveyktr af ástareldi<sup>6</sup> Heilags Anda, at fyrir píslarvætti var hann krúnaðr ok settr í hit himneska sæti. Þessu næst er piltrinn til kirkju borinn ok skírðr, ok nefndr Thómas, sem Guð hafði löngu disponerat,<sup>7</sup> ok fám náttum síðar, sem hann er í vöggu 20 lagðr, birtist Maild móður<sup>8</sup> hans hin fimta sýn svá fallin: henni sýndist sem eitt pell einkar vænt, ok samanbrotið, lægi á piltinum í vöggunni, hon þóttist æra ok girnast mjök at sjá, hversu þat væri vítt eðr breitt, því at hon elskaði þat mjök. Þar fyrir talar 25 hon til þernu sinnar, er geymdi<sup>9</sup> vögguna: "Tak pellit," sagði hon, "ok rek í sundr, því at ek vil sjá, hversu
- Interpretation. 4th vision. Becket born Dec 21. Interpretation. 5th vision.

<sup>1</sup> *eyngva*, T.

<sup>2</sup> This vision also differs from that recorded by the early writers. Cpr. Grim, l. c.; Roger, l. c.; Fitz-Stephen, l. c. 111; Garnier, l. c. See preface.

<sup>3</sup> *nær*, T.

<sup>4</sup> This vision is also found in Grim, l. c., Garnier, l. c., but is interpreted totally differently by the latter. See preface.

<sup>5</sup> This vision is not mentioned in the early writers at all.

<sup>6</sup> So U.; *astrelldi*, T.

<sup>7</sup> Cpr. *Beatum Thomam antequam exiret de ventre novit Dominus et prædestinavit*. Fitzstephen, l. c. According to Roger, Becket was born on the feast of St. Thomas, Dec. 21, whence his name. The year, as will be amply proved as the story proceeds, must have been 1118. See preface.

<sup>8</sup> *modr*, T.

<sup>9</sup> So U.; *geymdu*, T.

was minded to enter it. But when she came to the door of the same, she waxed so big of growth that she might nowise get within. Having told this dream to wise men, they interpreted it to her suchwise as that the glory and the honour of the birth on which she bore would be greater than that the church of earth might receive or understand it.

Now the season of Maild weareth on, until she is taken sick with labour. And hard anigh to the very time of the birth a light slumber sank upon her, and forthwith it seemed to her as if twelve stars from heaven sank adown upon her lap; the meaning of which vision hath now become manifest enough, since her son is honoured no less by angels in heaven than by folk on earth.

Having given birth to a son, there stole upon Maild some heaviness of mind as it were, and her birth seemed to her like unto a firebrand with such high flame that it reached even up to heaven. This vision is interpreted to mean that her son was so hotly enkindled by the loving fire of the Holy Ghost, that for his very martyrdom he was crowned and installed in his heavenly seat.

Next to this the boy is brought to church and baptized, and is hight Thomas, as had been ordained by God long before. And a few nights afterwards having been laid in his cradle, a fifth sight was revealed to his mother Maild in the manner following: It seemed to her as if a cloth of exceeding goodly stuff lay folded together on the boy in the cradle. She thought she waxed eager and right fain to see how broad or wide it might be; for she thought she loved the cloth right much. Therefore she spoke to her handmaiden who had the keep of the cradle:

“Take the cloth,” said she; “and unfold it, for I  
“long to see how fair it may be.”



1118.

“ fagrt er.” Ok sem hon byrjar þetta boð, talar hon svá: “Frú mín,” sagði hon, “þetta fær hær eigi unnizt, “ því at rúmit tekur<sup>1</sup> eigi.” Maild segir þá: “Far til “ hallarinnar hær á garðinum, ok prófa þar.” Mærin gerir svá, ok kallar síðan: “Frú mín,” sagði hon, “alt 5 “ er samt ok áðr, höllin tekr með öngum hætti.” Maild talar þá: “Nú at því,” sagði hon, “farim báðar “ samt út á víðan völl, ok freistim, hversu tekst.” Ok sem þær standa þar at, kemr ilmandi rödd af loftinu svá mælandi: “þetta starf þurfi þit eigi lengja,<sup>2</sup> pellit 10 “ er víðara öllu Englandi.”<sup>3</sup> Er nú þessi sýn fallin undir ljósa skýring, at pellit merkir heilagleik ok<sup>4</sup> fegrð Guðs ástvinar, er eigi at eins frægist um England, heldr um öll Norðrlönd þar sem hans blezað nafn er heyrinkunnigt, til miskunnar ok meðalgöngu 15 vit hinn hesta Guð.<sup>5</sup> Nú er umfarit þær framm-sýnir, er fyrir runnu sælum Thóme, sem hann kom inn í veraldar ljós. Ok þann tíma líðandi sögunnar, sem heyrst hans bruttferð af veröldinni, má vitrum manni virðast bæði einkanligt ok stórum lofsamligt, ok eigi mun 20 víða lesit í frumtignum heilagra, at ein persóna ok sama hafi öðlazt<sup>6</sup> svá forkunnligt upphaf ok frábæran enda.

Interpretation.

## KAP. IV.

## AF THÓMASI.

25

Becket's early childhood.

Sæll Thomas vóx<sup>7</sup> upp í Lundúnum, hlýðinn föður<sup>8</sup> ok móður,<sup>9</sup> þekkr ok þýðr hverjum manni, bjart ok

<sup>1</sup> So T.<sup>2</sup> *leingia*, T.<sup>3</sup> This vision differs considerably from that related by the three early authorities who mention it, Grim, l. c., and Garnier, 8, Roger, l. c.<sup>4</sup> The “ok” added by U.; *heilagleik fegrð*, T.<sup>5</sup> Garnier, l. c., and Grim, the

only old authorities who take this story in earnest, interpret the pall as signifying the blood of Becket's martyrdom. See preface.

<sup>6</sup> *audlaz*, T.<sup>7</sup> *uoga*, T.<sup>8</sup> *fodr*, T.<sup>9</sup> *modr*, T.

Now as the handmaiden began to do this bidding, she spoke: "Lady mine," she said, "this cannot be done here, for the room will not allow thereof."

Quoth Maid: "Go to the hall in this court, and essay it there."

The maiden having done this, cried out: "Lady mine," she said; "it all cometh to the same as before, the hall may nowise hold it all:"

Then Mathild spoke again: "Now, after this, go we out into the open field, to see how it may do there."

And when as they stood over it in this manner there came a sweet voice out of the air saying unto them: "In vain ye go on about your ado; the cloth is broader even than all England."

Now this vision falleth under a right clear interpretation, in that the cloth betokeneth the holiness and the goodness of this beloved friend of God, who is glorified, not only throughout all England, but also through all Northern lands wherever his blessed name is known unto people, for the working of mercy and for mediation with the highest God.

Now we have gone through the tale of those wonders which went before the blessed Thomas when he came into the light of this world. And when the time cometh to pass in the story that his departure from the world shall be heard, wise men will surely deem it both wondrous and right laudable, and a thing not to be read of in many places among the glories of saints, that to one and the same person should have fallen the bliss of such a beautiful beginning and such a wonderful end.

#### CHAP. IV.

#### OF THOMAS.

The blessed Thomas grew up in London, obedient to father and to mother, pleasing and gentle towards

1118-1140. blíðr í ásjónu, ok þess yfirbragðs, sem vitrum mönnum sýndist, at gæzka Guðs miskunnar var auðsýn með honum. Ok sakir þess at sú er hin fyrsta námtíð í mannsins<sup>1</sup> uppvexti, at góð ok elskulig móðir tekr hann kristiligum orðum, kynnir honum ótta Guðs ok 5 kennir heilög fræði, tekr ok ungi Thómas þenna fyrstan<sup>2</sup> skóla, því at Maild móðir hans var bæði vitr ok viljug til at gefa honum góð ráð. Af þeim ráðum er svá lesit, eitt millum annara luta, er hún lærði hann at virða ok veggama hina sælu mey, Guðs móður<sup>3</sup> 10 Maríam, umframm alla helga aðra, ok skipa hana lífs ok vega hinn vísasta leiðtoga; ok án öllum efa laðaði gjarna signaðr Thómas þetta heilræði til síns hjarta, at elska vora frú, því at hann hafði á henni næst sjálfum Kristi alt sitt traust ok trúnat; ok hær í mótt 15 lagði honum jungfrú María svá blíðan hug, at þegar sem hann var í æskutíma kjöri hon hann sjálf til hins hæsta kennimanns, á nokkura<sup>4</sup> líka mynd ok lesit er af hinum helga Davíð, at Guð Drottinn kjöri hann til konungs yfir Israels lýð,<sup>5</sup> ok smurði hann 20 fyrir hendr Samúelis þegar í barndómi, sem hann var smásveinn í sauðageymalu; ok at þessi samlíkan<sup>6</sup> er eigi með ákefðarorðum framsett, lýsitz með atvikum ok því sem eftir ferr.<sup>7</sup>

His earliest education conducted by his mother.

He chooses by the advice of his mother the Virgin for his guardian Saint.

## KAP. V.

25

## SANCTUS THÓMAS FÓR Í SKÓLA.

Becket goes to higher schools.

Sem ungi Thómas hefir með lítillæti ok sannri hlýðni yfirfarit þann kennidóm, er hann má fá í föðurhúsi,<sup>7</sup> geingr<sup>8</sup> hann í skóla til herra náms,

<sup>1</sup> *mannsinn*, T.; *mannsins*, U.

<sup>2</sup> *fyrstan*, T.

<sup>3</sup> *modr*, T.

<sup>4</sup> So U.; *nokura*, T.

<sup>5</sup> *lýð* added by the editor.

<sup>6</sup> So U.; *samlíkan*, T.

<sup>7</sup> *fóðrhúsi*, T.

<sup>8</sup> For the conflicting relations of the old writers concerning the education of Becket, see preface.

every man, bright and blithe of visage, and of a turn of countenance, as it seemed to wise men, that the sweetness of God's grace was clearly seen in him. And now since this is the first season of learning in the growing up of man, that a good and loving mother talketh Christian words to him, maketh known unto him the fear of God, and teacheth him holy lore, so young Thomas hath even such a school to begin with, for his mother Maild was both wise, and willing to give good counsels to him. Concerning these counsels there is this, amongst other matters, to be read, that she taught him to adore and reverence the blessed Maiden, God's mother Mary, beyond all other saints, and to select her as the wisest guide of his life and of all his ways ; and without doubt the blessed Thomas took this good counsel readily to his heart, to love our Lady, for in her he had, next indeed to Christ himself, all his trust and faith, and in return therefore the Virgin Mary set such a loving heart on him, that already when he was still in the years of youth she herself chose him to be the highest among teachers, which resembleth after a fashion what is read of the holy David that the Lord God chose him to be king over Israel, and anointed him by the hands of Samuel, even in his childhood, already when he was as yet but a little swain a-shepherding. That this comparison is not set forth in heedless words will appear clearly from the events themselves, and the things which hereinafter follow.

## CHAP. V.

### ST. THOMAS GOETH TO SCHOOL.

Now when young Thomas hath in lowliness and true obedience gone through the teaching he could have in his parents' house, he goeth to school for

1118-1140. maðr svá fljóttæk, minnigr ok glöggr í allri grein til brjósts ok bækr, sem aldr eflir ok tími lofar. Ok fyrir þá grein at heilög bók segir svá mikit af hans meistaradóm, at um síðir hafi hann fagrliga skilit sjö höfuðlistir er liberales heita, hêlt hann sik til skóla 5 bæði innanlands ok jafnvel<sup>1</sup> alt til Franz, einkanliga í höfuðborg París, er æfinliga hefir haldit frægastan skóla á Norðrlöndum með lærðum<sup>2</sup> ok bókklistum. Ok til marks um at sæll Thómas hefir Parísklerkr verit, stendr í hans þarvistar dvöl svá vorðit miraculum. 10

and to the university of Paris.

### *Jartsign.*

His stay at Paris and literary pursuits.

Skóli Parisiensis er breiðr safnaðr, ok inni margir burðugra manna synir í þeim aldri, sem næstum er girndin með holdligri fýst ok holdligri blíðu; kann þat ok at þrýsta margs manns lífi nógu mjök, þótt eigi sè 15 hann fæddr í svá glaðri veröld ok ríkdóm sem þar var. Varla mátti þann fá af allri þeira fjöld, at eigi hêldi eina vinkonu sèr við hönd, ok eingan<sup>3</sup> kunnum vèr frá taka utan einn Thómam enska, hann hefir einga vinkonu jarðneska, utan heldr er sú hans 20 unnasta,<sup>4</sup> sem er drottning meyjanna. Þessarri þjónar hann nú þegar með hreinlífi andar ok líkams, með hugakotsins fegrð ok fögrum<sup>5</sup> bænum, sem hann má til tæmast. Hèr yfir<sup>6</sup> leggr hann þat, er orðfrægt er vorðit, at hann diktar lofgerðir vorrar frú, bæði til 25 einsligra lestra, ok prósur til kirkjunnar. Hann fann fyrstr manna, at því sem kunnigt er vorðit norðr hingat, at hann braut nokkurn skilning út af hverjum sálmi í saltara, ok yfir þann skilning samdi hann

Composes private lessons and preces to be chanted in church, and writes meditations on the Psalms.

<sup>1</sup> So U.; *iafnavel*, T.

<sup>2</sup> Here, as not unfrequently elsewhere, the adjective *larðr* is used as a substantive.

<sup>3</sup> *eyngan*, T.

<sup>4</sup> So U.; *unasti*, T.

<sup>5</sup> *faugrum*, T.

<sup>6</sup> *ifir*, T.

the gaining of a higher instruction, and becometh a scholar as quick of learning, keen of memory and clear of understanding in all things, those concerning the heart no less than those appertaining to booklore, as age enableth and time alloweth him. Now the holy book relateth so much of his mastery in learning that by reason of his having in the end fully and fairly understood the seven arts which are called *liberales* he betook himself to studying at school both inland, and even abroad as far as France, mainly in the chief city, Paris, which at all times has had the most renowned school in northern lands both as to learned scholars and bookly arts. And in witness of the blessed Thomas having been a clerk of Paris, in his sojourn at that place the following miracle is recorded.

*Miracle.*

The school of Paris is a large congregation wherein there be many sons of well born fathers, at an age close anigh to which standeth lust with fleshly desires and fleshly sweetness, which mayhap lieth hard enough on many a man's life, though he be not born in such a merry world and amidst such wealth as was found there. Out of all their number scarce one might be found who had not one woman-friend with whom he kept fellowship; and none do we know out-taken therefrom but Thomas the English; he alone hath no sweetheart of earth, nay but rather is she his only beloved who is the queen of the maidens; her he serveth even now to the utmost of his power, in purity of life, both as to spirit and body, in beauty of mind and fair prayers. Unto this he addeth what has since become widely renowned, in that he compoundeth praises of our Lady, both for private readings and for proses in the church. He was of all men the first to find, as far as hath become known here in the north, how to draw some meditation out of every psalm in the Psalter, out of which meditations he afterwards

1118-1140. lofversa várri frú.<sup>1</sup> At hans dæmum gerði svá Stephanus Langatún í Englandi, ok enn síðan þrír meist-  
 arar vestr á Skotlandi at bæn Ísibell drottningar, er  
 átti Eiríkr konungr Magnússon.<sup>2</sup> Þat er ok alsagt, at  
 sæll Thómas hefir diktat prósu Imperatrix gloriosa,<sup>3</sup> 5  
 ok aðra minni Hodiernæ lux diei.<sup>4</sup> Nú fyrir þvílíkt  
 ok annat<sup>4</sup> gott, er hann gerði, fèkk hann þá blíðu  
 vorrar frú, sem vel má segjast, at hon tæki hann sèr  
 í faðm, ok sagði svá til hans: Dilectus meus mihi et  
 ego<sup>5</sup> illi.<sup>6</sup> Sjám nú, þessu næst, hvat klerkar hafast at, 10  
 því at nú líðr svá tímum, at dregr framm at langaföstu,<sup>7</sup>  
 sem lostataumrinn er vanr með breyskum manni at  
 teygja sik í lengra<sup>8</sup> lagi. Málstefnu hafa þeir þá  
 stóra með því umfangi, at hverr hælir sinni ástvinu,  
 segir at hon er væn ok vitrímál ok leggr á alt gjörva.<sup>9</sup> 15  
 hönd. Þessi er sú stefna, sem Thómas enski sitr hjá  
 með öllu þegjandi. Þeir líta þá til hans með grá  
 glensi eðr gabbi nokkuru, segja at hann er líflaus<sup>10</sup> ok  
 lítilmenni, er hann hendir at því ekki gaman,<sup>11</sup> sem  
 helzt er glaðning í veröldinni; játta þat ok til, at hann 20  
 skal heyra hróðr sinn, ef hann hefir sama einlæti á  
 því leikmóti, er vera skal næsta morgin. Enn þat er  
 svá fallit, at þá skal bera til sýnis þat klókasta smá-  
 þing, sem hvers hjákona hefir sprangat. Ok með því  
 at sælum Thóme er álögum heitið, sækir hann heim 25  
 unnastu sína ok biðr framm-fallinn vora frú, at hún  
 muni leggja framm við hann af sínum hannyrðum þat,

Said to be  
 author of  
 two proses.

A parliament  
 d'amour.

<sup>1</sup> See this matter discussed in the preface.

<sup>2</sup> The marriage of king Eric Magnusson of Norway and Isabella Bruce took place in 1293. The king died six years afterwards, July 13th, 1299, and the dowager queen in 1358. The past "átti" shows that the king *must* have been dead by the time this passage was penned; but it may even refer to the queen as being dead also. This, therefore, settles the date of T. as being certainly later than 1299, and

possibly posterior to 1358. See preface.

<sup>3</sup> See preface.

<sup>4</sup> So U.; *anat*, T.

<sup>5</sup> *ero*, U.; *ē* T.

<sup>6</sup> A vague reminiscence of Cantic. ii. 16; Dilectus meus, meus est, et ego illius.

<sup>7</sup> *langafastu*, T.

<sup>8</sup> *laingra*, T.

<sup>9</sup> *giorfua*, T.

<sup>10</sup> *líflaus*, T.

<sup>11</sup> *gamann*, T.

made verses of praise to our Lady. Following his example Stephen Langton did the same in England, and later still the same was done by three masters west in Scotland, at the request of queen Isabell whom Eric Magnusson had for wife. It is also averred by all folk that the blessed Thomas composed the prose, *Imperatrix gloriosa* and another, a lesser one, *Hodiernæ lux diei*. Now for such things and other good works which he wrought, he gat such love from our Lady, that it may well be said she took him unto her bosom thus saying unto him: *Dilectus meus mihi et ego illi*.

Next to these things let us see what the clerks busy them about since now time passeth on and weareth towards Lent, the very time when in frail man lust is wont to pull at the rein after rather too forward a fashion. They now hold a great parliament, wherewith in a brawly wise each praiseth his own beloved, saying that she is goodly of look, and wise of speech, and dealeth with all things with a deft hand. This is a meeting wherewith Thomas the English sitteth and sayeth nought at all. They now cast glances at him with some rude jeering or mockery, saying that he is a lifeless manikin, who findeth no game in things wherein there be the greatest joyance in this world, and avowing there beside that he shall have to listen to his praise indeed if he show himself in that same mateless manner at the playmote, which was to be the next morning. But such was the way of this meeting, that there was to be brought forth for show the cleverest trifle in needlework which each one's mistress had wrought. And whereas the blessed Thomas is threatened with hard dealings, he betaketh him to his well-beloved, and kneeling down prayeth unto our Lady that she might deign to spare him of her needle-



1118-1140. er sýnilegt væri milli kumpána, þótt eigi tæki stóra femuni. Eftir bæn gjörva líðr nóttina, ok kemur <sup>1</sup> málstefna. Berr hann ok þá hvern frammi á ræsibrekku <sup>2</sup> þat glys, sem hann hefir sýslat. Þeir líta þá enn til Thómam, spyrjandi hvat hann hefst at. Hann svarar <sup>3</sup> svá: "Ek skal í stað fara ok sýna yðr þat, er mín "unnasta færði mér í nótt." Síðan geingr hann inn í sitt heimonligt stúdíum, ok finnr þar kominn kistil einn snjóhvítan <sup>4</sup> með skínanda filbein, hann er luktr ok svá líkaðr, sem aldri kunni manns hand svá pollí-10 sera. Þetta litla tekr hann ok tjár <sup>5</sup> kumpánnum. Er þá kistill aflokaðr, ok sýnist hvat hann hefir. Enn þat er fljótt, <sup>6</sup> at hær er hláðit niðr í öllum byskupsskrúða, ok svá gjörla eftir farit, at jafnvel fylgdi bagallinn. Lægir nú heldr hávaða klerkanna, því at fyrir þessa 15 dássemi fá þeir skilt, at kosningr er fallinn yfir þenna Thómam, ok at hans vegr ligr nokkut hærra <sup>7</sup> enn þeira manna, er leggjast niðr í saur ok syndir þessa hins auma lífs. Enn þat er sagt var af skróða þeim, er með vizku <sup>8</sup> svá takanda, at hann var svo grannligs 20 vaxtar, at hann mátti fyrir manns augum í litlum stað geymast. <sup>9</sup> Látum vèr nú Thómam í skóla vera gott at nema, sèr ok heilagri kristni til fagnaðar, enn lítim á þessu næst, hvat frammi ferr rómverskum byskupum, frá því sem söguna byrjaði, at þat mál leiðist frammi 25 með skynsemd, þar til er sá nefnist, er sögunni gegnir framast.

<sup>1</sup> So T.

<sup>2</sup> for hræsibrekku, *rækibrekku*, T.

<sup>3</sup> So U.; *snihvítan*, T.

<sup>4</sup> So U.; *tia*, T.

<sup>5</sup> After *fljótt* U. adds *fra at segja*, which, though thoroughly appropriate, is not absolutely required for understanding the context; the past part. of the verb *sjá*, *seð*, seen, would even fit better, but *sýnist* in the foregoing sentence throws sufficient light on the con-

text to render either addition superfluous.

<sup>6</sup> *herra*, T.

<sup>7</sup> *vizku*, T.

<sup>8</sup> *geymast* added in U. To this tale which, divested of its miraculous accretions, gives an interesting insight into the inner life of the University of Paris in the twelfth century, the known contemporary biographers have nothing corresponding.

work something fit to be shown among his companions, no matter if it were not a thing of great worth. Thus he prayeth, and the night passeth away and the parliament taketh place. And he, as well as each and all of them, beareth forth unto the show-stand the glitter which each one hath got for himself. Now again they look askance to Thomas, asking what he might be about. He answered even thus: "I shall go forthwith and show you what mine own beloved brought to me last night," whereupon he went to his private study, where he found that a certain casket had come, snow-white, of shining ivory, locked and fashioned with images in a manner to surpass all polish that might be wrought by the hand of man. This little thing he now taketh with him and showeth to his companions. The casket being unlocked it appeareth what it containeth, which in short was this, that here was found, folded down, a full set of bishop's robes, so heedfully gathered together that even the staff was thereamong also. At this the noise of the clerks abateth somewhat, since by this wonder they understand that an election hath already fallen to the lot of this very Thomas, and that his path lieth somewhat higher than the ways of such folk, who sink into the sins and the filth of this miserable life. But that which was told of these robes is by right understanding to be taken to mean as much as that they were of such smallness of size, that they could be kept within a small space before the eyes of man. Now we leave Thomas at school, learning useful things for the joy of himself and of holy church, and turn next to seeing how it hath fared with the bishops of Rome from the time the story began, in order that that matter be set forth in a manner clearly to be understood, until he shall be named whom the story most chiefly concerneth.

## KAP. VI.

ER STEPHANUS VARÐ KONUNGR Í ENGLANDI OK AF  
PÁFATÖLU.

Tale of the  
popes from  
Urban II.  
to Alexander  
III.

Framm frá virðuligum herra Urbano papa secundo,<sup>1</sup> er fyrstr var nefndr í upphafi sögunnar, standa tíu 5 postoligir<sup>2</sup> feðr, er svá heita: Paskalis,<sup>3</sup> Gelasius,<sup>4</sup> Kalixtus,<sup>5</sup> Honorius,<sup>6</sup> Innocencius,<sup>7</sup> Celestinus,<sup>8</sup> Lucius,<sup>9</sup> Eugenius,<sup>10</sup> Anastasius,<sup>11</sup> Adríanus.<sup>12</sup> Eptir þessa liðna geingr inn til valds herra Alexander páfi þriði<sup>13</sup> með því nafni, er ávint mun æra um söxin<sup>14</sup> bæði af of- 10 beldi Rómverja ok þeim stormi, er standa mun norðan af Anglia. Sjám nú því næst, hvað líðr landsstjórn ok höfðingjum í Englandi, at hvártveggi rás fáí sömu endalykt, þó vel megi segja, at hær runnu margir mót einum,<sup>15</sup> því at sumir páfarnir fyldu eigi árit heilt, enn 15 Heinrekr konungr Vilhjálmsson var svá langlífr,<sup>16</sup> at hann ríkti xxx. ok fjögr ár. Honum gafst ekki borinn erfingi, at sitja mætti yfir hans háseti; dóttur átti hann eina, er Mattild hét,<sup>17</sup> hon giftist suðr um sjó Galfridi hertoga Andagaviensi,<sup>18</sup> ok með því at þenna tíma<sup>19</sup> er 20 eigi konungsefni framm-komit af lendum Heinreks konungs, víkja sæmdir sèr um reit út til þess manns, er Stephanus hét,<sup>20</sup> hann var dótturson Vilhjálms bastarðs ok systurson Heinreks gamla,<sup>21</sup> því tekr hann konung-

Change of  
line of suc-  
cession to  
the English  
throne.

King Ste-  
phen comes  
to the  
throne.

<sup>1</sup> Urban II., pope A.D. 1088-1099.

<sup>2</sup> So U.; *p'ignir*, T.

A.D.

<sup>3</sup> Paskalis II., pope 1099-1118.

<sup>4</sup> Gelasius II. " 1118-1119.

<sup>5</sup> Calixtus II. " 1119-1124.

<sup>6</sup> Honorius II. " 1124-1130.

<sup>7</sup> Innocencius II. " 1130-1143.

<sup>8</sup> Celestinus II. " 1143-1144.

<sup>9</sup> Lucius II. " 1144-1145.

<sup>10</sup> Eugenius II. " 1145-1153.

<sup>11</sup> Anastasius IV. " 1153-1154.

<sup>12</sup> Adrian IV. " 1154-1159.

<sup>13</sup> Alexander III. " 1159-1181.

<sup>14</sup> *saxin*, T.

<sup>15</sup> *honum*, T., which makes no sense.

<sup>16</sup> So U.; *langlífr*, T.

<sup>17</sup> *hiet*, T.

<sup>18</sup> i.e. Geoffrey V., Plantagenet, duke of Anjou, she having formerly been wed to Henry IV., emperor of Germany.

<sup>19</sup> So U.; *tina*, T.

<sup>20</sup> *hiet*, T.

<sup>21</sup> Son of Stephen, earl of Blois, and Adele, daughter of William the Conqueror, king of England 1135-1154

## CHAP. VI.

HOW STEPHEN BECAME KING OF ENGLAND, AND OF  
THE TALE OF THE POPES.

After the venerable lord pope Urban the second, who was first named in the beginning of this story, there follow in order ten apostolic fathers, thus hight, Pascalis, Gelasius, Calixtus, Honorius, Innocentius, Celestinus, Lucius, Eugenius, Anastasius, Adrianus. After the departure of these cometh into power lord pope Alexander, the third of that name, who must needs have to beat in the bows against the head-wind which riseth of the violence of the Romans, and the storm which is to blow from the North, from Anglia.

Next to this let us see how it fareth with the government of the country and with the lords of the land in England, in order that the twofold course of the story proceed unto one and the same end. But it may well be said that here many ran the race against one, in that some of the popes did not even fill a whole year, but King Henry the son of William was so long-lived that he reigned thirty years and four. It was not given to him to have an heir born to him to sit on his throne after him, but he had one daughter, by name Matilda, who married south beyond sea Geoffrey, duke of Anjou; and in that by this time no kingly scion had proceeded from the loins of king Henry, the royal honours changed line and came to him who was called Stephen, a son of a daughter of William the Bastard, and a sister's son of Henry the old, and therefore he taketh upon him the kingdom

dóm eftir móðurbróður<sup>1</sup> sinn fráfallinn, ok ríkir meðan sá vex<sup>2</sup> upp, er næstr varð honum, enn sá heitir annarr Heinrekr son Galfridi ok Matthildar konungsdóttur, er fullgildis hlut mun eignast um síðir í sögu þessi.

## KAP. VII.

5

1140.

## GUÐS MAÐR THÓMAS KEMR HEIM AF SKÓLA.

Sem Stephanus er konungr vorðinn, geingr hinn signaði Thómas út af skóla. Hann hafði þá xx. ár ok ij.;<sup>3</sup> grannvaxinn maðr ok ljóslitaðr, svartr á hár, neflangr ok röttleitr, blíðr í yfirbragði, hvaess í hugviti, 10 inndæll ok ástúðigr í allri viðræðu, skorinorðr í formæli, ok stamr nokkut lítt; svá snarpr í grein ok skilning, at hann greiddi jafnan vitrliga vandar<sup>4</sup> spurningar; svá var hann ok furðuliga minnigr, at hvat er hann heyrði af ritningum ok lagadómum var honum 15 tiltækt á hverri tíð, er hann vildi frammi hafa. Af þeim Guðs gjöfum, sem nú voru greindar, gaf þat vitrum mönnum vel skilja, at hann var fyrirætlaðr mikilli stétt í kristni Guðs. Hefst hann nú við í Lundúnum í föðurhúsi;<sup>5</sup> var móðir hans þá undir lok 20 liðin.<sup>6</sup> Hann byrjar nú þann hátt heimkominn á föðurgarð,<sup>7</sup> sem þeim er venjuligt, er fyrir litlu hafa í skóla verit, þat er at stúdera sína bók ok staðfesta þat<sup>8</sup> upp í sjálfs<sup>9</sup> síns minni, sem fyrr heyrði hann af meistara munni. Er þat ok alsíða miðil þess háttar manna, ef 25 þeir hafa til tæripeninga, at þann tíma sem þeir búast í sitt föstrland heim vanda, kaupa þeir gjarna skólabækur,

Becket comes back from Paris 1140. Personal appearance, and mental accomplishments.

Dwells in London. His mother dies. He continues his studies.

<sup>1</sup> *modrbrodur*, T.

<sup>2</sup> *vegs*, T.

<sup>3</sup> This statement fixes the return of Becket from Paris in A.D. 1140. See preface.

<sup>4</sup> *uanddar*, T.

<sup>5</sup> *föðrhúsi*, T.

<sup>6</sup> This agrees with other lives of

Becket pretty closely, as Roger :  
" cum annum ætatis vicesimum  
" primum implevisset mater de-  
" functa est." Her death, there-  
fore, probably occurred in 1140.

<sup>7</sup> *fauðrgarð*, T.

<sup>8</sup> *þat* added in U.

<sup>9</sup> So U. ; *sálfs*, T.

after the death of his mother's brother, reigning while he, who came next after him, grew up to man's estate, he being another Henry, the son of Geoffrey and Matilda the king's daughter ; one who will have a full and fair share in this tale or ever it cometh to an end.

## CHAP. VII.

### HOW GOD'S MAN, THOMAS, COMETH HOME FROM SCHOOL.

At the time when Stephen had become king of England, the blessed Thomas cometh home from school. He was now two and twenty years of age, slim of growth, and pale of hue, dark of hair, with a long nose and a straightly featured face ; blithe of countenance was he, keen of thought, winning and loveable in all conversation, frank of speech in his discourse, but slightly stuttering in his talk, so keen of discernment and understanding that he would always make difficult questions plain after a wise manner. Of such wondrously strong memory was he, that whatsoever he had heard of sentences and law-awards he could cite it at any time he chose to give it forth. By reason of these great gifts of God, which we have told of even now, it was easily understood by wise men, that he was predestined to a high station in the church of God. He now sojourneth in London in his father's house, his mother having come by her end by this time. And now that he hath come back home to his father's abode, he shapeth himself according to the wont of those who have lately come back from school, in that he studieth his books, and fasteneth in his own memory what aforetime he had heard from the mouth of the master. Such, too, is a right common custom among this kind of folk, at the time they make ready to wend their way homeward to their native land, that if they happen to have spare money about them they purchase school-books in order

1140-1142. at þeir megi halda með fullu þat gott, er þeir skildu. Enn hversu Thómas víkr nokkut sínu meðferði litlu síðar, stendr svá skrifat.<sup>1</sup>

## KAP. VIII.

## ER THÓMAS FÉLL Í ÁNA.

5

Becket enters the service of Richeus de l'Aigle.

Maðr er nefndr Rikerus,<sup>2</sup> hann var veraldar auðigr bæði at fê ok sæmdum, því at hann var einn af hofgarði konungsins, vel metinn í hans höll. Þessi Richeus ok Gillibert faðir Thómas voru góðir vinir ok félagar; þat til marks, at þá er Richeus fór at sínum 10 eyrindum ok dvelst í Lundúnum, hefir hann oftast herbergi ok góðan fögnuð hjá Gillibert vin sínum. Ok nú sem Thómas er heim kominn, geingr svá til, at Rikeus kemr til garðs ok þiggir veizlu eftir vana. Ok af þeiri gisting gerast þau ráð með fornum félagsskap,<sup>3</sup> 15 at Thómas muni lyfta sinni ferð ok gerast heimonligr Richeo. Þat sama ferr<sup>4</sup> framm, at Thómas gerist hans nótaríus, ok kemr svá fyrst<sup>5</sup> með honum til konungs hirðar ok hirðsiða. Verðr hann nú at víkja sínu meðferði í mörgum lutum frá því einfeldi, sem hann 20 hafði haft<sup>6</sup> í sínum uppvexti. Fór þat ok svá, sem veröldin bauð honum nokkut sína blíðu framar enn fyrr, at honum lyfti til glaðningar, þótt hann væri hreinferðugr um þat alt, sem mestu varðar. Skemtan mikla hendi hann mörgu sinni at fara með hauk ok 25 veiðihundum;<sup>7</sup> ok ef þat var nokkut syndligt í, fékk hann svá fallna<sup>8</sup> hirting af Guði. Svo fór til um dag,

He is passionately fond of sport.

<sup>1</sup> Similar descriptions of Becket's person and mental attainments are found in most of the contemporary writers; cf. Grim, Migne, cxc. 5, Roger, *ib.* 53, Fitzstephen, *ib.* 113, John of Salisb. *ib.* 195. See preface. It is strange that the poet Garnier does not allude to either at all.

<sup>2</sup> *Rikerus*, T., in this one instance, Richeus for the rest. Richeus de l'Aigle, of Pevensey castle, Sussex.

<sup>3</sup> *felagsskap*, T.

<sup>4</sup> *fer*, T.

<sup>5</sup> *fyrst*, T.

<sup>6</sup> *hafti*, T.

<sup>7</sup> So U.; *veidihondum*, T.

<sup>8</sup> *fallna*, T.

that they may preserve fully the knowledge of the good things which once they understood. But how it came about that Thomas, shortly after this, changed somewhat the ways of his life, is written in the manner as follows.

## CHAP. VIII.

### HOW THOMAS FELL INTO THE RIVER.

There was a man, hight Richer, wealthy in worldly goods and honours, for he was one of the king's court-folk and well accounted of at the palace. This Richer and Gilbert, the father of Thomas, were fast friends and fellows, as might be seen in this, that whenever Richard going on his errands had to stay in London, he was wont to find harbour and good cheer at his friend Gilbert's. And now that Thomas hath returned it so befell that Richer came to the homestead and is received with feasting there, as he had been wont heretofore. From this guesting it came to pass that they concerted between them in good old fellowship that Thomas should betake himself away and become Richer's secretary. And so it cometh about that Thomas becomes his notary and in his fellowship cometh for the first time into the king's court and amid courtly manners. He now must change the ways of his life in many things from that simplicity which he had followed in his youth. And it so befell now, too, whereas the world offered him her sweetness somewhat more freely than before, that he turned to gaiety, although he was of pure conversation in all things on which there lieth most. Many a time he would take great pleasure in following hawk and hound, and if there was aught sinful therein he gat a chastisement of God therefore, in the following wise.



1140-1142. sem Thómas hefir sik úti með mörgum kumpánum til leiks ok fylgingar, at hann fleygir sínum fálk<sup>1</sup> at fugli einum. Skilr svá með þeim, at haukrinn hnarar<sup>2</sup> langt í frá honum eftir bráðinni framm yfir á nokkura ok sezt þar. Th mas vill sækja haukinn ok ríðr framm at ánni. 5 Á þessi var svo fallin, at hon hefir háfa bakka ok fellr með óðstreymi. Bryggja ein harðla mjó var lagin niðr á bakkana, er fêhirðar vöndust<sup>3</sup> at renna. Litlu fyrir neðan brúna var búit um mylnu eina. Var straumurinn<sup>4</sup> því sterkari, sem hjólinu gekk nærri. Enn þaðan framm 10 var harðla skamt, áðr óssinn síalfr, tók við. Var hann svá meinligr með hvítfyssi ok stógrýti, at eingi hestr mátti þar fæti koma, sem raun á bar í þetta sinn. Thómas, sem hann kemr ríðandi framm<sup>5</sup> at ánni, sér<sup>6</sup> fjótt, at bryggja sú litla fyrirkveðr með öllu at ríða 15 lengra,<sup>7</sup> ok því stígr hann af hestinum, geingr út á bryggjuna með meira flýti enn forsjá, því at honum stókr fótur<sup>8</sup> svá hættliga,<sup>9</sup> at hann keyrir niðr í ána. Enn um þat stórmerki sem Drottinn vann í þessum stað er at tala eftir orðum ok sögn priórs Roberths af Cretel,<sup>10</sup> 20 er skrifaði með latínu líf heilags Thóme, at jafnframm sem honum varpaði niðr í óðstreymit, stöðvaðist hjólit í mylnunni, því at áin<sup>11</sup> varð í augabragði hit blíðasta silvetni. Svá segir hann, priórin,<sup>12</sup> at eigi kom fyrr

He falls into a river and is nearly drowned.

Robert of Cricklade, author of a life of Becket.

<sup>1</sup> *falk*, T.

<sup>2</sup> I do not feel quite at liberty to adopt the emendation of U., *snarar*, for the form in the text, which is an hapaxlegomenon, and of doubtful origin, though the meaning of the context is clear. I feel inclined to connect it with *knarr* (cf. Old Engl. *knarre*, a rock, an eminence), which occurs only in the compound *knarr-reistr*, raised (as a rock?), stiff as a pole, towering, strutting, of lofty gait; cf. also *knár*, "erectus, celsus, sublimis," Lex. poet., and to translate it: to sweep, shoot aloft. I dare scarcely suggest

a connection with the Engl. to whir, used of the whistling sound of the wings of a flying partridge?

<sup>3</sup> *vonndur*, T.

<sup>4</sup> So T.

<sup>5</sup> *frammi*, T.

<sup>6</sup> *sier*, T.

<sup>7</sup> *leingra*, T.

<sup>8</sup> So T.

<sup>9</sup> *hættiga*, T.

<sup>10</sup> The identity of Cretel and Cricklade will be found fully discussed in the preface.

<sup>11</sup> *áit*, T.

<sup>12</sup> *priórin*, T.

One day it so fell, when Thomas had betaken himself abroad with many companions for sport and fowling, that he flieth his hawk at a certain bird, and in such way they parted, that the hawk shot aloft far away from him in pursuit of the prey across a certain river where it alighted. Thomas being minded to fetch the hawk rideth forth unto the river, the nature of which was such that it had high banks between which it fell in a rushing torrent. A certain bridge, right narrow, was cast from bank to bank, across which shepherds were wont to walk, and a little below the bridge a mill had been set up, and the nigher it drew to the wheel, the stronger the torrent became; but there below again, within a very short space, the very mouth of the river began, so dangerous by reason of its foaming rush and big boulders that no horse might find a footing there, as came indeed to be fully tried this time. And when as Thomas came riding unto the river he soon perceived that the slight bridge clean forbade him riding any further. Wherefore he got off his horse and walked on the bridge rather in hurry than with foresight, in that his foot slipped and he tumbled into the river. Now concerning the miracle which the Lord wrought in this place, it is fit that the tale be told in the words and according to the relation of prior Robert of Cricklade, who wrote in Latin the life of Saint Thomas; that straightway as he was hurried into the madly rushing torrent the mill-wheel stopped, and the river became in the twinkling of an eye like the calmest river-pool. And the prior

afr straumrinn at snúa hjólit, enn allir limir hins sæla Thóme hófust<sup>1</sup> úr vatninu upp á þurt<sup>2</sup> land.<sup>3</sup> Enn þat má hverr vitr maðr hugleiða, hversu dásamlig lof þeir mundu Guði veita, er hær sá upp á, hversu Thómas var leystur úr lífsháska, því at manns fullting mátti<sup>5</sup> honum eigi gagna, sakir urðar ok úfæru, sem fyrr var tjáð.<sup>4</sup> Sannliga var þeim efni gefitt at segja svá til himnakonungsins: “þú veizt,<sup>5</sup> Drottinn minn, gjörla, “ hvern þú hefir kjörið at standa ok stríða fyrir þínum “ herbúðum.” 10

## KAP. IX.

## THÓMAS VARÐ ERKIDJÁKN.

1142.  
Becket  
enters the  
service of  
archbishop  
Theobald.

Nú sem Thómas hefir verit tvo vetr með hirðsiðum ok hann hefir fjögur<sup>6</sup> ár yfir<sup>7</sup> tuttugu,<sup>8</sup> leiðist honum þess háttar lifnaðr, því at hann sèr í mörgum lutum at- 15 gerðir veraldliga höfðingja snarast í mót lærdra manna rétt ok sóma, ok því lættir hann brutt frá þvísa lífi, enn leitar til Theobaldum, góðrar minningar, Kantuariensis erkibyskups, er fyrr var nefndr, ok kemr sèr í

<sup>1</sup> *hofz*, T.

<sup>2</sup> *þurt*, T.

<sup>3</sup> How Becket's connection with de l'Aigle is historically misplaced here, and how the consequences of that connection, as regards Becket's early studies, have been misconstrued by later historians on the confused authority of Grim, is discussed at length in the preface.

<sup>4</sup> This miracle is also related by Grim, l. c., Roger, l. c., and Garnier, l. c., but there are considerable discrepancies between all of them. Grim makes Becket plunge into the river to save a falcon struggling with a duck, and on his being carried towards the mill-wheel he makes it stop spontaneously until Becket is dragged out half dead. Roger and Garnier make Becket's

horse slip in crossing a narrow bridge, which the latter calls a plank used by shepherds, and both agree in making the miller stop the wheel betimes, without knowing what had occurred above it. See preface.

<sup>5</sup> *veizt*, T.

<sup>6</sup> *fjogr*, T.

<sup>7</sup> *yfir*, T.

<sup>8</sup> Here we are supplied with a hitherto unknown date in the life of Becket. His services at Canterbury commence, according to this statement, in 1142. On the correctness of this date, and the true whereabouts of Becket and his pursuits between 1140-1142, about which great uncertainty prevails among later historians, see preface.

averreth, that the current did not move again to turn the mill-wheel, ere all the limbs of St. Thomas had been lifted out of the water unto the dry land. Any wise man may now imagine what glorifying praise they must have offered up to God, who saw with their own eyes how Thomas was freed from such danger of his life, since the aid of man might be of no avail by reason of the boulders and the dangers in the way, as has already been told afore. Surely they had cause to say to the King of heaven : "Thou knowest best, O my Lord, whom thou hast chosen to stand and fight for thy tabernacles."

## CHAP. IX.

### HOW THOMAS WAS MADE ARCHDEACON.

Now, whereas Thomas hath spent two years amidst courtly manners, and hath passed twenty years by four, he waxeth weary with such ways of living, in that he perceiveth how, in many things, the deeds of worldly lords turn straight against the right, and the honour of learned folk. He therefore betaketh himself away from such a life, and seeketh Theobald, of good memory, Archbishop of Canterbury, who hath been named already and secureth for himself a place in

1148-1154.

He is soon counted among the most intimate friends of the archbishop.

Robert of Cricklade describes the temper of archbishop Theobald.

hans þjónustu, meirr af sjálfs síns tilstilli ok framkvæmd enn annarra<sup>1</sup> túlkan eðr tilmæli.<sup>2</sup> Ok innan lítils tíma fær hann<sup>3</sup> svá hagat sínu efni, at sakir vizku, lítillætis ok þjónustu tekst hann með fremstum vinum erkibyskups ok heimonligum ráðgjöfum;<sup>4</sup> ok þat var vel verðugt, 5 því at priór Robert skrifar þar um eitt dýrligt efni ok mörgum nytsamligt, hversu hann kunni ok vildi sæma sinn herra. Hann vottar, priórin,<sup>5</sup> at erkibyskup var einfaldr maðr, nokkut fljótr í sinni lund, ok eigi svá forsjáll í sínum orðum, ef á hann fékk, sem hógværisregla 10 býðr framast. Orðsnild hans var ok svá fallin, at mikit lá undir löngum,<sup>6</sup> hverjar upptektir voru á hafðar, ef hann talaði með ríka menn. Enn mót þessarri grein hvárritveggjo skipar signaðr Thómas sína góðgirnd ok vizku, at ef erkibyskup reiðist<sup>7</sup> í einhverju, svarar 15 hann æ því mjúkara ok friðar svá hjarta síns andligrs föðr.<sup>8</sup> Svá ok í aðra grein, ef orðfelli byskups fékk nokkut þrot, rennr Thómas undir ok klæðir með klerkdómi, svá at nú má sýnast sem framburðr erki- byskups sè textus vorðinn undir fagra glósu.<sup>9</sup> Sè hér nú 20 þegar forkunnligan mann, bæði í lítillæti ok vandlæti laganna. Hann flýði fyrr af konungsgarði fyrir þá eina sök, at eigi sæi hann lýti leikvaldsins mót kirkjunni, enn þjónar nú sínum formanni með þeim hugarkrafti, at aldri fanst ofran með honum, heldr var hann æ því 25 lægri fyrir Guði, sem hann var hærrí fyrir mönnum; ok því var heyriligt, eftir reglu Drottins, at sá hæfist<sup>10</sup> er sik lægði. Eigi höfum vær skýrt fundit, hversu lengi

<sup>1</sup> *annara*, T.

<sup>2</sup> This statement goes straight against the testimony of all Becket's biographers. See preface.

<sup>3</sup> *hann* added in U.

<sup>4</sup> Garnier, 10, goes even so far as to maintain that his master had such boundless faith in Becket—

“Ke l'arcevesque l'ad près de sei ajusté

Et son privé conseil partut abandoné.”

<sup>5</sup> *priórinn*, T.

<sup>6</sup> *laungum*, T.

<sup>7</sup> *ræðiz*, T.

<sup>8</sup> *foðr*, T.

<sup>9</sup> To this sketch of Archbishop Theobald's character nothing corresponds in the known lives of Becket.

<sup>10</sup> *hefiz*, T.

his service, more through his own device and working, than by any pleading or commendation of other folk. And within a short time he so brings his affairs about, that by reason of his wisdom and lowliness, and faithful service, he is counted among the foremost friends and privy counsellors of the archbishop, yea, and right worthily so indeed, for Prior Robert writeth thereon an excellent discourse, and right profitable to many, how he had both the wisdom and the will to honour his master. The prior witnesseth, that the archbishop was a simple man, somewhat quick of temper, and not as wary of word, if his mind was stirred, as the rule of meekness utmost demandeth. His eloquence, too, was of a kind, that much lay thereon, in most cases, how matters happened to be taken up, if he chanced to hold converse with folk of might. But against either failing the blessed Thomas setteth his good will and wisdom, in such a manner that if in any matter the bishop happened to wax wroth, Thomas giveth forth answers all the meeker, thus appeasing the heart of his spiritual father. So also, on the other hand, if the speech of the archbishop happened to fail him in aught, Thomas hastened to succour him, and clothed it in clerikdom in such a way that at once the discourse of the archbishop appeared like a text with a fair commentary to it. Behold him, already now, a man of excellence, both as to lowliness of heart and zealous heed of the law. Formerly he fled from the kingly court for that one reason, that he might not see the evil deeds of the lay powers against the church; but now he serveth his master in such strength of mind, that never was there found in him any pride at all, but he was the lower before God, the higher he was before men. It was therefore fit, according to the law of the Lord, that he who humbled himself should be exalted. We have not found clearly told, how long Thomas so-

1154-1157: Thómas var í Kancia, áðr hann gekk til þeirrar sveitar at gerast Kantuariensis kirkju erkidjákn, með öllum þeim sóma ok árligri rentu er þar lá til;<sup>1</sup> því at þess háttar nafni fylgdi mikill vandi með ýmis<sup>2</sup> störf, í málaskipan ok öðru uppheldi heilagrar kristni. Því er, 5 af honum svá lesit, at hann geingr oftliga til þessskóla, er heilagrar kirkju lög lesast ok útskýrast,<sup>3</sup> at því rættara megi hann öllum lutum skipa, sem hann skilur<sup>4</sup> frammar hversu til geingr ok efni víkr málunum. Bænar góðfýst ok ölmusugæði, sem Robert vottar, fylgdi 10 honum alla tíma, ok því varð hinn volaði þegar viss með fullu, er fémunir hans uxu. Enn alt framdi hann þat með leynd ok sem first manna orðlofi; þótt hann bæri fögr klæði, var hann fátækr í hugskoti. Oftar enn um sinn ferr hinn signaði Thómas alt til páfa- 15 garðs fyrir kirkjunnar nytsemdum.<sup>5</sup> Ok er eigi auðvelt at greina, hversu alvarliga hann leggr sitt líf ok mæðu til þess, at alt væri<sup>6</sup> skilríkt ok fagrliga fylt innan lands ok utan, þat er honum var umböðit; ok at honum var erkibyskupinum<sup>7</sup> hinn mesti afli. 20 Sannliga þóttust þeir best hafa, er hans vinir voru, at hann flytti<sup>8</sup> þeira mál, at fá einhverja sæmd, próventur eðr beneficia. Eru þeir ok nokkurir<sup>9</sup> at sambinda við hann staðfasta vináttu; má þar ok til nefna tvá sæmiliga menn, Johannem Cantuariensem 25

Becket becomes archdeacon of Canterbury.

He studies ecclesiastical law.

He is devoted to prayer and almsgiving.

His alms are bestowed in secret.

He goes more than once on errands to Rome.

His friends had great trust in him.

<sup>1</sup> This promotion took place in 1154, on archdeacon Roger de Pont l'Éveque, Becket's persecutor at Canterbury, becoming archbishop of York. Garnier, 10; Grim, Migne, cxc. 7; Roger, *ib.* 61; Fitzstephen, *ib.* 113; cf. John of Salisb. *ib.* 197; Anon. Lamb. *ib.* 780; Herbert, *ib.* 1080.

<sup>2</sup> *ymiss*, T.

<sup>3</sup> The contemporary biographers mention also that after Becket came to Canterbury he occupied himself with the study of canon and civil law, but chiefly, it would seem,

with the latter. Roger, *ib.* 61; John of Salisb. *ib.* 197; cf. Robertson, Becket, p. 20, and note c. Of Becket's law studies at Bologna and Auxerre, Fitzstephen, l. c., our saga has no notion apparently.

<sup>4</sup> So T.

<sup>5</sup> *Mittebat eum archiepiscopus aliquoties Romam pro negotiis ecclesiarum Anglorum.* Fitzstephen, l. c.; cf. Garnier, 10.

<sup>6</sup> *veri*, T.

<sup>7</sup> *archibiskupinum*, T.

<sup>8</sup> *flyti*, T.

<sup>9</sup> So U.; *nuchurir*, T.

journed at Canterbury, or ever he entered into the way of becoming archdeacon of the church of Canterbury, with all the honour and yearly rent which appertained thereto; for with that title there went great responsibility and various labours, both concerning law affairs and the upholding of holy church in many other ways. For this reason it is read of him, that he goeth often to the school where the laws of holy church are read and interpreted, in order that he may the surer set all things to rights, the fuller he understandeth how law-cases are dealt with, and on what things their issue turns. Devotion in prayer, and almsgiving ever went in fellowship with him, as Robert testifieth, whereof the needy wist full well, when his wealth increased. But all such things he did in private, and as far away from the praise of man as might be; and although he wore fair clothes, yet was he poor in spirit none the less. More than once the blessed Thomas journeyeth even as far as the court of the pope on errands of the church. And it is not an easy matter to tell, how unsparingly he uses his life, and what pains he taketh, that all things entrusted to him be fulfilled in an upright and fair manner, both at home and abroad; and in him, the archbishop had the greatest help. Those who were his friends thought, in truth, that by him they were best served in the pleading of their cause for the gaining of any honour, prebends or benefices. Of these there were certain persons who made fast friendship with him, among whom two honourable men may be named, John of Canterbury and



ok Rogerum Nevstriensem. Ok með því at sæll Thómas þjónar Cantuariensis kirkju svá þægiliga sem nú var tjáð, sýnist vel fallit, at lýsa, með fám klausum, hversu þat blezaða sæti hófst í röksemd valds ok virðingar yfir<sup>1</sup> öllu Englandi.

5

## KAP. X.

HVERSU SANCTE GREGORIUS SKIPADI FYRST<sup>2</sup> KRISTNI Í ENGLANDI.

Gregory the Great, the apostle of England.

St. Augustine.

The pope ordains the division of the land into dioceses.

St. Augustine first archbishop of Canterbury.

York and London archbishoprics.

Nú lystir at nefna<sup>3</sup> þann mann, er heitir herra Gregorius páfi, hinn mikli,<sup>4</sup> fyrstr með því nafni, því at hann er postoli Englismanna, ok setti þeim lífsbrauð af munni Augustini ábóta.<sup>5</sup> Ok er vors Herra trú var tekin um landit, skipar herra páfinn, með valdi Róma kirkju, hversu ríkit skal sundr greinast undir formanna stjórn í byskups sýslur. Þar yfir<sup>6</sup> er lesinn opinberliga<sup>7</sup> 15 páfáns boðskapr, nýkominn af Róm inn í England, at Augustinus skal vera Kantuariensis erkibyskup, ok primas yfir öllu landi, ok hans eftirkomendr, ok at þat sæti skal með tign ok privilegiu vera hæst í höfðingskap yfir öllu Englandi. Þangat skulu undir lúta<sup>20</sup> tólf byskupsdæmi til kosnings ok vígslu. Enn önnur jafnmörg skulu til heyra tveim byskupum, Eboracensi ok Lundoniensi,<sup>8</sup> ok þessum tveim leyfist í

<sup>1</sup> *ifr*, T.

<sup>2</sup> *fjat*, T.

<sup>3</sup> So U.; *nafna*, T.

<sup>4</sup> *milldi*, U. and T., a clerical blunder, due, as it seems, to the scribe of T. not having known Latin, consequently not perceiving that the abbreviation in his original stood for the Latin *magnus*, Gregory's historical surname.

<sup>5</sup> First archbishop of Canterbury, A.D. 597-604.

<sup>6</sup> *ifr*, T.

<sup>7</sup> *opinberlighu*, T.

<sup>8</sup> According to this statement,

then, the author supposes that England was divided into three archbishoprics, York, London, and Canterbury. The blunder, whether due to the original author or the Icelandic translator, can be traced to Bede's ecclesiastical history, lib. i. ch. xxix., where the letter here referred to is inserted in extenso. In this letter the pope ordains that London shall be the metropolis of a province of twelve dioceses, and York that of another province similarly constituted. But in the mean time Ethelbert, king of the Cantii,

Roger of Neustria. And whereas the blessed Thomas serveth the church of Canterbury in such an acceptable manner as has been related even now, it seemeth well fit to set forth in a few clauses, how that blessed see rose in authority of power and honour over all England.

## CHAP. X.

### HOW ST. GREGORY FIRST SET UP CHRISTIAN LAW IN ENGLAND.

Now it seemeth good to name a man hight Gregory pope the Great, the first of that name, in that he is the apostle of the people of England, who set before them the bread of life out of the mouth of abbat Augustine. For whenas the faith of our Lord had been received throughout the land, the lord pope ordained by the power and authority of the church of Rome, how the realm was to be divided into bishoprics under the governance of fit rulers. And therewithal was publicly given forth a certain ordinance of the lord pope, shortly after its coming from Rome into England, which ruled that Augustine should be archbishop of Canterbury and primate over all the land, as well as his successors, and that that see, with its dignities and privileges, should hold the highest supremacy over all England. Twelve bishoprics were to owe obedience to its rule, both as to election and consecration of bishops, and an equal number should belong to the two bishops of York and London, and to these two it was permitted in

herra,<sup>1</sup> páfans bræfi at beiða pallium af rómversku sæti, enn því ræðr líf ok hlýðni, hvárt þeir fá þat. Fyrir þessa grein þarf eingi at undra í sögunni,<sup>2</sup> þótt fleiri beri erkibyskups tign ok nafn enn at eins Kantuariensis í Englandi. Þetta er ok skrifat fyrir þá sök, at 5 síðar<sup>3</sup> í þessu máli gerist<sup>4</sup> þá enn ljósara, hversu<sup>5</sup> þat samir, ef nokkurr<sup>6</sup> kennimaðr í Englandi fyllist þess, at grípa undir sik kirkjunnar frumtign í Kannacia, dómdraga hennar formann eðr veita honum einnhvern vansa með ofbeldi. 10

## KAP. XI.

ER HEINREKR<sup>7</sup> VARÐ KONUNGR YFIR ENGLANDI.

1154.  
King  
Stephen  
dies, being  
succeeded  
by Henry II.

Extent of  
his king-  
dom and  
possessions.

Enn nú næst er sjánda, hvað leikvaldi líðr í Englandi, því at Stephanus konungr,<sup>8</sup> sem hann hefir ríkt xviiiij.<sup>9</sup> ár, endar hann sitt vald með dauðadegi.<sup>10</sup> 15 Geingr þá til hásetis at erfðum Heinrekr, er fyrr var nefndr. Hælt hann áðr hertugadóm Andegaviæ eftir dag föður<sup>11</sup> síns, ok því varð hann víðlendari enn nokkurr<sup>12</sup> konungr fyrir honum í Englandi; at hann heldr þrenn<sup>13</sup> ríki, Angliam ok Andegaviam ok þar til 20 jarlsdóm<sup>14</sup> Nordmanniæ ok Aquitanniæ, er Englands krúna eignaðist at erfðum eftir Bastarð. Theobaldus erkibyskup vígir til krúnu<sup>15</sup> þenna nýja konung, ok því var vinátta þeira sæmilig. Setr Heinrekr konungr

conceded to Augustin Canterbury for his residence, and hence the metropolitan see which was designed for London became established at Canterbury, a fact overlooked here. William of Malmesbury, De Reb. Angl. Gest. lib. i. ch. 4. •

<sup>1</sup> So U.; *herrans*, T.

<sup>2</sup> *saugunni*, T.

<sup>3</sup> *sidarr*, T.

<sup>4</sup> So U.; *gerar*, T.

<sup>5</sup> *hverssu*, T.

<sup>6</sup> *nockur*, T.

<sup>7</sup> So U.; *Heinrek*, T.

<sup>8</sup> After *konungr* T. adds *hefir*.

<sup>9</sup> So altered by the editor; *xiiij.*, T.

<sup>10</sup> 25 October 1154.

<sup>11</sup> *fodr*, T.

<sup>12</sup> *nockur*, T.

<sup>13</sup> *þren*, T.

<sup>14</sup> *iarllzdom*, T.

<sup>15</sup> 19 Dec. 1154.

the letter of the lord pope to supplicate to Rome for the pall, but their manner of life and their obedience was to decide whether they were to obtain the same. By reason of these things no one need wonder if the dignity and the name of archbishop be borne in the story by more than by him of Canterbury alone. Moreover these things are written for this end, that it may be more clearly understood hereafter in this story, how it beseemeth any teacher in England to presume to seize upon the primacy of the church of Canterbury, to drag her foreman before the doomstool, or with violence to bring any shame upon him.

## CHAP. XI.

### How HENRY BECAME KING OF ENGLAND.

Next to these things let it be seen, how it fareth with the worldly powers that be in England, in that king Stephen having reigned for eighteen years, cometh to the end of his power on the day of his death. Whereupon Henry, who has been named afore, ascendeth the throne by right of heritage. This Henry held formerly the dukedom of Anjou, after the day of his father, and therefore he becometh lord of broader lands, than any king before him in England, in that he held three realms, England, Anjou, and therebeside the earldom of Normandy and Aquitaine, of which the crown of England became possessed by heritage after William the Bastard. Archbishop Theobald consecrated the new king unto his crown, and therefore their friendship was one of a seemly sort. King Henry set

1164-1167.  
He resides  
in London.

He gets  
Gilb. Folliot,  
appointed  
bishop of  
London.

Description  
of him.

sitt háseti í Lundúnum, því at sá var staðr mestr ok glæsiligastr í landinu. Ok með því at hann vill þar iðuligast vera, skrifar hann til Alexandrum páfa tertium, er fyrr var nefndr, at hann muni veita honum til Lundúna þann byskup í ríkinu, er vitrastr væri til 5 ráðagerðar, ok vænastr til hjálpar önd ok líkama. Þessi byskup heitir Gillibert, kynstórr maðr ok klerkr mikill, orðenjallr ok meðallagi heill manna í millum; ok þat þiggjr konungrinn, at Gillibert verðr Lunduniensis byskup.<sup>1</sup> Heinrekr konungr var vitr maðr ok 10 glöggr<sup>2</sup> í allri grein þegar á ungum aldri, orðfagr ok, enn eigi ljóss í skaplyndi, harðla forr, ef nokkurr<sup>3</sup> reis við, ok eigi síðr langrækr, sem nógliga mun lýsast í þessu máli áðr lúki.

## KAP. XII.

15

## ER THÓMAS VARÐ CANCELER.

The king is  
young and  
pliable; his  
ministers ill  
disposed to-  
wards the  
church.

Eigi hefir Heinrekr konungr lengi ríkt, áðr erki- byskupi<sup>4</sup> sýnist umráðs vert, hversu fara muni lands- stjórn ok lagahaldit, einkanliga<sup>5</sup> þat er at víkr kristn- um rétt.<sup>6</sup> Konungr er æskumaðr ok áhlýðinn, enn 20 ráðgjafar ríkir ok eigi mjök réttir, frammgjarnir, enn eigi mjök forsjóligir,<sup>7</sup> ok sakir þess at margir standa búnir at brjóta bátinn hins sæla Petri, vildi erkibyskup fá til mann, at styðja nokkut farskostinn, at eigi leysi með öllu til brots. Farkostr valdra manna til himin- 25 ríkis er heilög kristni. Vel má segja, at á þeim farkost vann fyrstr manna í Englandi Vilhjálmr rauði,

<sup>1</sup> *byskup* added in U. Here the saga anticipates events. Gilbert Folliot was at this time, since 1148, bishop of Hereford, and was translated to London first in 1163. The short characteristic here given of Folliot is thoroughly sustained by his letters.

<sup>2</sup> *glauggr*, T.

<sup>3</sup> *nockur*, T.

<sup>4</sup> *archibyskupi*, T.

<sup>5</sup> *einkanliga*, T.

<sup>6</sup> *reitt*, T.

<sup>7</sup> *forsjóligir*, T.

up his high seat in London, that city being the largest and the proudest in the country. And whereas he hath a mind to have his home most chiefly there, he writeth to the pope, Alexander the third, aforementioned, praying him to appoint to London a bishop, who among all in the realm should be found to be the wisest in counsel and fittest for ministering to the wants of soul and body. This bishop is hight Gilbert, a man of high kin and a great clerk, keen of speech, but of middling uprightness in his dealings. The king gave his consent to this Gilbert becoming bishop of London. King Henry was a wise man, and clearsighted in every wise, even in his youth, fair-spoken too, but one of uncertain temper, exceeding masterful if any one rose against him, and yet one who bore grudges a long while none the less, as will be fully shown in this story or ever it cometh to an end.

## CHAP. XII.

### HOW THOMAS BECAME CHANCELLOR.

No long time hath king Henry reigned ere it seemeth to the archbishop a matter worthy of counsel as to what would be the likely turn of the government of the country and the observance of the law, especially as concerned the right of the church. The king was still a youth, yielding an open ear to his councillors, who were both overbearing and not of the most righteous in their ways, forward withal, and nowise men of any great prudence. Now whereas there stand many ready to break the barge of St. Peter, the archbishop was fain to find a man who might steady the craft somewhat, lest it should go adrift to utter wreck. But the craft of the elected ones for the kingdom of heaven is holy church, the which, it may well be said, was disabled by William Rufus, first of all men in England, as has been

1154-1157. sem skrifat var. Enn eftir hans dag var því líkt,<sup>1</sup> sem konungar höldist í hendr framm at eldinum, þá er hverr dró með höfðum rött ok frelsi kirkjunnar undir krúnuna. Enn í þetta rúm, er svá var mannvant at standa miðil röksemdar Guðs laga ok frammlútrar ágirni konungs ok hans manna, sèr erkibyskup eingan mann líkara enn Thómam erkidjákni, því at hann er margfaldliga<sup>2</sup> prófaðr at vitru ok góðum vilja. Er þat ljóst vitrum manni, at þessa sína ástundan klæðir erkibyskup með annarligri ásjónu, þá er hann flytr við herra konunginn, at hann muni taka Thómam í sína curiam.<sup>3</sup> Ok þat gerði erkibyskup rött,<sup>4</sup> þvíat sú er heilög undirhyggja, er eingum meinar, enn eykr guðliga tign. Þetta ferr framm, at signaðr Thómas lyftir nú at sinni brutt af Cancia, ok kemr svá í annan tíma í konungsgarð. Svo stendr samreiknaðr hans aldr, at nú hefir hann<sup>5</sup> xx. ár ok átján,<sup>6</sup> því at á erkibyskups garði hefir hann verit xv. vetr. Leggr hann nú af um stund erkidjákns þjónustu, enn tekr í staðinn konungliga fylgd ok hirðsiðu. Þar er nú hans áhyggja, at vakta konung til svefns ok sætis með allri gaumgeff<sup>7</sup> ok góðvilja.<sup>8</sup> Ok eigi geingr þat langt, áðr konungr með vitru sinni dæmir þenna Thómam meiri sæmdar makligan enn vera einfaldrar þjónusto, ok því leiðir hann

Archbishop Theobald finds none fitter to counteract the court than Becket, and proposes that the king take Becket into his service, but dissembles his design by such proposal.

Becket acts as the king's chamberlain at first,

<sup>1</sup> þvilíkt, T.

<sup>2</sup> margfaldliga, T.

<sup>3</sup> Similar, though nowhere so straightforwardly stated, accounts of the causes which led archbishop Theobald to introduce Becket to the king, are found in the contemporary biographers, Garnier, 10; Roger, 62; Grim, 7; Fitzstephen, 113; John of Salisb., 197, with whom agrees, nearly verbatim, William of Canterbury, frag. 4, 233; Herbert, 1088. But none of them throws out even a hint as to the dissembling attitude assumed by the chief actor in what,

according to our saga, clearly appears to have been an ecclesiastical plot. See preface.

<sup>4</sup> reitt, T.

<sup>5</sup> hann added in U.

<sup>6</sup> According to these statements, then, Becket joined Henry the Second's court in 1157, rather than in 1156. See the matter further discussed in the preface.

<sup>7</sup> gaumgeffá, T.

<sup>8</sup> This kind of employment of Becket at the court of king Henry is mentioned nowhere else. See preface.

written before, but after his day things went on as if the kings went along hand in hand towards the fire, whenas each dragged the right and the freedom of the church headlong under the crown. But for this place, one so difficult to fill with a fit person to stand between the authority of God's laws and the grasping greed of the king and his men, the archbishop seeth no one likelier than archdeacon Thomas, he being proven in manifold wise a man of wisdom and good will. But to wise folk it will be clear enough that the archbishop putteth a dissembling face upon his device, when he setteth it forth to the king to take Thomas into his court. And herein the archbishop did rightfully, in that such is a holy craft which harmeth no one yet increaseth glory of God. Now it cometh to pass that the blessed Thomas betaketh him for a while away from Canterbury, and entereth the king's court a second time. At this time it is recorded that by the tale of his age he was even thirty and eight years old, having been in the archbishop's court for fifteen winters. Thus for a time he putteth away the service of an archdeacon, and taketh thereinstead to kingly attendance and courtly manners. And now it becometh his concern to keep watch of the king, when he sleeps as well as when he sitteth in his seat, with all heed and good will. No long time passeth by ere the king judgeth wisely this Thomas worthy of a higher honour, than having this simple service to give his heed to, and therefore he leadeth this friend of the Lord into a



1187. várs Herra vin til þeirrar stéttar, er cancellarius heitir. Sá heitir eiginliga<sup>1</sup> canceler er geymir konungs inn-sigli, ok hefir svá í sínu<sup>2</sup> valdi, at ekki bréf geingr út af garðinum utan með hans vild ok samþykki.<sup>3</sup> Ok litlu His honours increase fast. síðar<sup>4</sup> geingr enn til vaxtar virðing Thóme, með líkendi<sup>5</sup> nokkuru sem lesit finst forðum af sæmdum Joseph ok valdi yfir Egiptó<sup>6</sup>; því at vel má svá tala ok til orðs taka, at herra konunginn leggr til hans svá mikinn kærleik, at hann verðr sem annarr<sup>7</sup> höfðingi yfir öllu Englandi, næstr konungi<sup>8</sup> í virðing ráði ok metorðum.<sup>10</sup> Í hans vald ok vilja eru<sup>9</sup> nálíga komin öll konungs mál ok ríkisstjórn, borgir ok bæir, kaupún ok kastalar, gull ok gersimar, ok allar konungligar herneskjur. He has charge of all royal domains and armories. Hér með ferr þat frelsi, at hvar sem stendr konungs His bounty. fê, er í hans valdi, svá tæra ríkum sem fátækum, sem<sup>15</sup> þat sè hans föðurleifð. Enn svá temprar hann þat með vitru ok varúð, at konungi líkar svá vel ok bezt, sem hann skipar; þat til marks, at umframm þessa luti, sem nú voru tjáðir, gefr konunginn kjötligan son sinn, er heitir Heinrekr ungi, at hann skal sitja undir tygt ok<sup>20</sup> meistaradóm cancelers.<sup>9</sup> Oftlíga<sup>10</sup> hafði Thómas með sèr mikit fólk, bæði lærðra ok leikmanna, ok var at orðum gert, at eingi höfðingi í öllu Englandi haldi svá listuliga sína fylgd, bæði at vopnum ok klæðum. Ok þótt hann væri líkr metnaðarmönnum í veraldar<sup>25</sup> eftirlæti, var hann þeim harðla ólíkr, er elska þetta líf, því at hann virði aldri at minna góðan mann, þó at fátækr væri,<sup>11</sup> ok aldri vondan at frammar, þótt færikr væri.<sup>12</sup>

<sup>1</sup> So U.; *eiginglega*, T.<sup>2</sup> So U.; *sinni*, T.<sup>3</sup> Cf. Fitzstephen, l. c.<sup>4</sup> *sidarr*, T.<sup>5</sup> Cf. Grim, l. c.<sup>6</sup> *annar*, T.<sup>7</sup> *konungi* added by the Editor.<sup>8</sup> *aru*, T.<sup>9</sup> Cf. similar statements in Grim, l. c.; Garnier, l. c.; Roger, l. c.<sup>10</sup> *optlíga*, T.<sup>11</sup> *veri*, T.<sup>12</sup> *veri*, T.

station which is called the chancellorship. Such an one only is rightfully called a chancellor, who keepeth the king's seal, and holdeth it in his power in such wise, that no letter leaveth the king's court unless the chancellor's will and consent come thereto. But shortly after this the honour of Thomas waxeth still greater, somewhat after the likeness of the things which are read of old of the honours of Joseph and his rule over Egypt; for it may well be said and so worded, that the lord king turneth such a loving heart towards him that he becometh like unto another lord over all England, next to the king in worth, rule, and honours. Nearly all the affairs of the king and of the government have fallen under his power and will, as have also cities and townships, tradeports and castles, gold and treasures, and all royal armories. Herewith also goeth the freedom, wheresoever the king hath outstanding moneys, to give thereof to rich and poor, as if they were his own patrimony. But with wisdom and wariness he dealeth therewith, and in such a heedful manner, that the king is well content, and findeth things best done even as Thomas chooseth to ordain; and as a further testimony hereof is this that, beyond the things which have been told even now, the king giveth up his own son, called Henry the young, to sit under the correction and tuition of the chancellor. Oftentimes Thomas had about him a number of people both clerks and lay-folk, and the rumour went abroad, that no lord in England kept his followers so proudly as he, both as to clothes and weapons. And although he was like unto folk of pride in his worldly good hap, yet he was right unlike those who love this life overmuch, for he never held in lesser worth a good man because of his poverty, nor honoured an evil any more because of his riches.

## KAP. XIII.

## AF HÁTTUM HINS HEILAGA THÓMAS ERKIBYSKUPS.

A digression. Svo skýrðu heilagir feðr, at skírlífr klaustramaðr merkist fyrir riddara þann, er geymir sitt góz<sup>1</sup> ok líf í luktri borg. Enn sá maðr, er hreinlífist í veröldinni, 5 þýðist fyrir þann riddara, er vegr með sverði ok skjöld á víðum velli, ok fær<sup>2</sup> málagjöf því fegri, sem sigr er frægri; því at forkunnligri<sup>3</sup> er sú list, at standa óbrendr á glóðinni, enn at firrast eldinn ok vera úskaddr. Þessi grein hvártveggja<sup>4</sup> lýtr at lofsamligum manni 10 signuðum Thóme. Hann var settr af herra konunginum í svá mikla farsæld ok fullsælu veraldar, sem áðr er tjáð, ok eigi því síðr bar hann<sup>5</sup> á sínu brjósti svá trausta brynju mannkostanna með guðligri návistu, at hreinlífi ok heilög ástundan brast honum aldri; því at 15 ef fjölskylda tálmaði hann á daginn, stóð hann upp á náttar tíma at þjóna sínum Skapara. Ok hversu hann offraði sínum Guði lofgerðir með hreinlífi, lýsist með tveim dæmisögum hér næst af þvísa efni. Svá skrifar Robert, at sá maðr væri<sup>6</sup> náfrændi<sup>7</sup> hans, er sótti 20 konungsgarð á þessi tíð, sem sagan geingr. Hann fór með málaferli nokkur ok þótti varða, at vel geingi. Hann hugsar gera, sem nú lysti margan í Englandi, at finna fyrst<sup>8</sup> Thómam canceler, tjá honum málavöxt ok biðja hann tænaðar nokkurs. Ok fyrir þá sök, at 25 hann kemr eigi fyrr í staðinn, enn<sup>9</sup> dagr er mjök liðinn, fyrirkeðr honum lofligr vani at ganga fyrir svá ríkan mann á síðkveldi; því hneigir hann sik til herbergis. Enn þegar í óttu, sem fyrst dagar, hefir hann sik uppi at fylgja sínum eyrendum. Víkr svá til veginum, at 30

Becket's devotion testified by Robert of Oricklade.

<sup>1</sup> godz, T.

<sup>2</sup> ferr, T.

<sup>3</sup> forkunligri, T.

<sup>4</sup> hvar tveggja, T.

<sup>5</sup> hann added in U.

<sup>6</sup> veri, T.

<sup>7</sup> So U.; náfrændi, T.

<sup>8</sup> fyst, T.

<sup>9</sup> en, T.

## CHAP. XIII.

## CONCERNING THE HABITS OF ST. THOMAS.

Holy fathers have made plain, that a recluse of chaste life betokeneth a knight, who keepeth his wealth and life in a shut up stronghold. But he, who leadeth a chaste life in the world, signifieth a knight, who fighteth with sword and shield in open field, and receiveth a pay the fairer the more glorious victory he gaineth; for that indeed is a more wonderous art, to stand on the gleeds being unburnt, than to shun the fire, and be unscathed. Both these clauses point to that laudable man, the blessed Thomas. He was placed by the lord king in the way of such a good hap and fullness of this world's bliss, as has been related afore, and yet he wore over his breast, none the less, such a trusty byrnie of virtue through God's abiding with him, that he never departed from a life of purity and holy endeavour; for if in the daytime the fulfilment of many duties hindered, he would get up anight-tide to worship his Creator. And how he was wont to bring his God the sacrifice of praise and pure life appeareth from two tales which now follow concerning that matter.

So Robert writes, that there was a certain person, a nigh kinsman of his, who sought the king's court about the time in which the story goeth. He had on hand certain affairs, on the happy issue of which he deemed that much might lay. He setteth his mind, as many a man in England now listed, on first seeing the chancellor Thomas, to expound to him the nature of his affairs, and to pray him for some furtherance thereof. Now by reason of his reaching the town not till the day is far spent, a laudable custom forbiddeth him to go before such a mighty man on a late eventide, wherefore he betaketh himself to his chamber. But in early morn, already when day was a-breaking, he bestirreth himself for the carrying out of his errands. Now,

hann geingr hjá kirkju nokkurri, ok brátt í húminu sér hann, at frammi<sup>1</sup> fyrir musterinu liggir maðr til bænar framm-fallinn alt til jarðar. Enn er hann stendr ok skynjar, hvat er honum sýnist, fellr til með honum hneyri eðr hóstakyn, sem verða kann. Ok þegar<sup>5</sup> bregðr sá vit, er frammi<sup>1</sup> liggir, ok ríss þegar upp; hann hefr síðan upp hendr sínar til Guðs, ok lykta með því bæninni, geingr svá í brutt þaðan til herbergis. Var kvámumanni mikil forvitni, hvern af staðarfólkinu svá mundi vel fara, ok því miðar hann<sup>10</sup> vit dagbrúninni<sup>2</sup> bæði vöxt hans ok klæðabúnat, at því heldr megi hann kennast, þótt síðar<sup>3</sup> sæi. Er ok því máli sannprófan ei fjarri, því at jafnbrátt sem hann hefr orlof á fund Thóme cancelers, skilr hann vel, at þessi vöxtr ok klæðabúnaðr,<sup>4</sup> er fyrr merktist, heyrir<sup>15</sup> eingum manni, utan honum einum sjálfum, því at nú rætt leggr Thómas af sèr sitt yfirklaði, sem nýkominn í herbergit. Vottaði þessi maðr fyrir frænda sínum, Robert, sem hann kom heim, hverja dygð ok guðhræðslu<sup>5</sup> hann hafði fundit með sælum Thómase, móti því sem flestir<sup>20</sup> hugðu; ok hēðan setti priórin<sup>6</sup> þetta verk í sitt kompón.<sup>7</sup> Hēr fylgir önnur<sup>8</sup> frásögn, er bæði leiðir sik til bænar ok skirlífis.

#### AF HINUM HEILAGA THÓMASE ERKIBYSKUPI.

A tale testifying to Becket's purity of morals.

Í því þorpi,<sup>9</sup> er Staford heitir, var ein kona bæði<sup>25</sup> fögr ok fémikil<sup>10</sup> þat sögðu heimonligir menn Heinreks konungs, at þessi kona litist honum vel um eina hríð. Enn með því at þat er nú heldr í rēnan ok kólnan, kemir konungr því sjaldnar; ok honum fráleiddum berr svá til oflīga, at Thómas canceler herbergist í því<sup>30</sup>

<sup>1</sup> *frami*, T.

<sup>2</sup> So U.; *dagbrunni*, T. I have translated this word literally by "day-brow" but added "lifting," which, though not expressed, is always understood in the Icelandic. It need scarcely be observed that the lifting day-brow is English "dawn."

<sup>3</sup> *sidarr*, T.

<sup>4</sup> *kleðabunadr*, T.

<sup>5</sup> *gudhræzlu*, T.

<sup>6</sup> *priorrinn*, T.

<sup>7</sup> This story is found in no other life of Becket.

<sup>8</sup> *annur*, T.

<sup>9</sup> So U.; *þorfi*, T.

<sup>10</sup> *fémikil*, T.

the way taketh such turn, that he must needs go by a certain church, and in the twilight he soon seeth lying before the door of the temple a man prostrate in prayer even unto earth. And whenas he stands bethinking him of this sight, there comes upon him, as oft-times may happen, some sneeze or a kind of coughing. And forthwith starts he who lay kneeling on the ground, and rises straightway up, then lifteth his hands up to God and thus ends his prayer, and thereupon walks away thence to his chamber. The new comer was right eager to know, who of the towns-people might follow such laudable ways, and therefore he taketh an eye-mark against the lifting day-brow, both of his growth and the manner of attire he wore, that he might the rather know him if he should happen to see him afterwards. Nor did that matter long await a true proof, for no sooner hath he leave to see chancellor Thomas, than he well perceiveth that the very growth and raiment which he had noted before, belongeth to no man but to him alone; for even now Thomas putteth off his over-garment, as if he had just entered into the room. This person testified to his kinsman, Robert, when he came home, what virtue and godly fear he had found in the blessed Thomas, straightway against the thinking of most people; and hence it came to pass, that the prior put this deed into his writings (on St. Thomas). Another tale now followeth, which pointeth both to prayer and purity of life.

#### OF THE HOLY ARCHBISHOP THOMAS.

In a certain thorpe, called Stafford, there was a certain lady, goodly and of great wealth. It was talked of, among the household folk of King Henry, that on this lady he had set a fond eye aforetime. But now that love is somewhat waning and waxing colder, the king cometh the seldomer and, he having turned away, it so happeneth oftentimes that chancellor Thomas

sama þorpi.<sup>1</sup> Ok sem hann dvelst þar, presenterar þessi kona honum til borðs margar sæmiligar sendingar. Hér af hugsar húsbóndinn, er canceler var með, at þessarri blíðu vili hon fá sèr nýjan unnasta. Þessi hugsan sinni gefr hann svá mikinn gaum,<sup>2</sup> at einn 5 tíma sem canceler dvelst í hans herbergi, stendr hann upp um miðnætti, tekr skriðljós ok geingr til herbergis, er canceler hafði, geingr inn, hlýðist um, ok heyrir til eingis, hugsar nú fyrir víst, at canceler muni geingit hafa annan veg. Enn þann tíma, er hann bregðr upp 10 skriðljósinu ok skygnist um, prófast eigi svá með öllu, því at frammi fyrir sænginni á gólfinu sèr hann berfættan mann<sup>3</sup> framm-fallinn, er eftir knèföll ok bæn hafði svefn á fallit. Kennir hann brátt, at þar liggr Thómas canceler, ok svá prófast í sannleik, at sá er hreinlifr 15 ok siðláttr, er grunsamr maðr hugði sèr líkan.<sup>4</sup> Blezut er sú sál, er heimskar veröldina, enn þjónar sínum Skapara. Því<sup>5</sup> eru þeir tveir<sup>6</sup> menn vel teknir til jafnaðar sín í millum, hinn heilagi Sebastianus píslarváttr ok þessi Thómas, því at þeir voru bræðr líkir í andligri 20 list. Sebastianus var skartsmaðr ok þjónaði heiðnum konungi; eigi síðr var hann vinr Drottins. Thómas er ok skrautmenni ok þjónar Heinreki konungi, þvílíkr at mannkostum sem sýnt er. Svá fellr samt í öðrum greinum skaplyndi þeira; hvárrtveggi maðr dreinglyndr<sup>7</sup> 25 í orðafulltingi, trúlyndr í fyrirheiti, forsjáll í ráði, ok bjartr í allri siðbót. Hér með lagði herra Thómas þá mildi til fátækra manna ok útlendra, at úspart huggaði hann þeira vesaldir með fægjöfum,<sup>8</sup> þótt þat væri<sup>9</sup> leynt

Comparison between Becket and St. Sebastian.

Becket's bounty to needy people; always done in secret.

<sup>1</sup> So U.; *þorfi*, T.

<sup>2</sup> *gaum*, T.

<sup>3</sup> So U.; *man*, T.

<sup>4</sup> This story is found, in a shorter form, in William of Canterbury, fragm. 5, Migne, p. 234, 235, and circumstantially related by Garnier, who knows that the name of the lady was Auis (or according to another rendering Anice), and was known as Auis (or Anice) of Stafford; also

that Becket used to receive messages from her to Woodstock, and that the name of his host, on this occasion, was Vivien "le clerc." Garnier, 10.

<sup>5</sup> So U.; *þ't*, T.

<sup>6</sup> *tuæir*, T.

<sup>7</sup> So U.; *dreingrlyndr*, T.

<sup>8</sup> *fiægjöfum*, T.

<sup>9</sup> *veri*, T.

taketh harbour in this same township. And when he happens to be staying there, this lady sendeth him many seemly gifts for his table. From this the host, with whom the chancellor was wont to be harboured, thinketh, that she is minded by this kindness to win for her a new lover. And such great heed giveth he to this thought, that once upon a time, when the chancellor hath taken up his dwelling in his house, he getteth up amid-night, taketh a lantern, and goeth to the chamber which the chancellor had, entereth it, listeneth about and, hearing nought, thinketh now that surely the chancellor must have gone away. But the very time he turneth up the light of his lantern and beginneth to spy about, it is proven that such is the case not altogether, since before the very bed he seeth a barefooted man, prostrated on the floor, on whom, after kneeling and praying, sleep had fallen. And soon he perceiveth, that here lieth Thomas the chancellor, and it was proven here, in truth, that he was a man of pure life and good manners, whom a misdoubting man thought to be like even unto himself. Blessed is the soul that befools the world, yet serveth its Maker. For this reason the two men are fittingly likened together, the holy martyr Sebastian and this Thomas, in that they were brothers alike in spiritual adroitness. Sebastian was a man of pomp and served a heathen king, and yet he was none the less the beloved of the Lord. Thomas is a man of state, too, and serveth king Henry, and yet he is a man of such virtues as has been shown already. In other things too their mind and temper fit likewise together; both men being manful in their pleading on behalf of others, true in promises, prudent in counsel, and of pure morals. Unto this lord Thomas added such bounty to needy folk and foreigners, that he yielded them in their hardships unstinted comfort in gifts of money although it were hidden from the knowledge of



His bounty;  
to lords and  
mighty men  
exercised  
openly.

The king  
makes him  
grant of a  
large loaf.

The king's  
favour procures  
him  
enemies.

He asserts  
by legal  
means the  
old bound-  
ary of Nor-  
mandy.

fyrir alþýðu.<sup>1</sup> Enn höfðingjum ok stórmenni valdi hann opinberar gjafir. Af slíku, sem von var, unnu honum fátækir sem sínum feðr, enn höfðingar virðu hann sem sèr jafnan, ok óttuðust hann sem sinn formann. Þeir einir þóttust vel komnir í Englandi á 5 þeiri tíð, sem þágu hans<sup>2</sup> blíðu. Enn því mátti hann mikit veita ok margan hugga, at herra konunginn veitir honum særliga til aftektar ok ávinnings þat ríki, er nýir menn kalla barúníam, þat er svá mikit lèn,<sup>3</sup> sem þeim manni til heyrir, er kallast barún í ríki konungsins.<sup>4</sup> 10 Enn greinanda er þat, at af því líkri konungsins vináttu ok veizlum margföldum, sem nú hafa taldar verit um hríð, lögðu<sup>5</sup> signoðum Thómase margir höfðingar í Englandi úbjartan hug, þótt þeir sýndi sik blíða; því at þeir átust innan af tveim lutum, þat er konungsins 15 blíða til cancelers, ok þat annat, at þeir kvomu í þenna tíma eigi svá illu framm móti kirkjunni, sem þeir vildu; birtist ok hverir þeir voru, þá er brestrinn kom, at brjóta konungsins vináttu. Enn svá voru þeir fallnir, at gjarna þágu þeir sæmdir ok sýslur af krúnunni, enn 20 lögðu henni hatr í móti, því at hvert þat brugg ílskunnar,<sup>6</sup> er í þeim brauzt<sup>7</sup> móti Thómasi, var sannliga móti krúnunni. Því at með sínum frama jók hann mikit Englands konungs ríki, sem bækr víkja til, þótt þat standi eigi með greindum atburðum<sup>8</sup> eðr<sup>9</sup> skýrri 25 frásögn. Enn bæði nefnir bók stund ok stað þar til, fyrir sunnan sjó, at landamæri miðil Franz ok Nordmanniam, at hann hafi unnit með sinni vitru ok lögligri ástöðu, hver landaskifti at fornu höfðu verit millum Franz ok Norðmandi.<sup>10</sup> þat er ok lesit með 30

<sup>1</sup> Roger, l. c.

<sup>2</sup> So U.; hann, T.

<sup>3</sup> lèn, T.

<sup>4</sup> This probably refers to the grant of the wardenship of the castles of Eye and Birkhampstead.

<sup>5</sup> laugðu, T.

<sup>6</sup> illskunnar, T.

<sup>7</sup> brautz, T.

<sup>8</sup> So U.; atbrdum, T.

<sup>9</sup> ædr, T.

<sup>10</sup> None of the extant lives of Becket mention any time at which this rectification of the frontier of Normandy was effected by Becket. The Icelandic saga apparently refers to the transactions which took place in consequence of the proposed

the multitude. But to lords and great men he chose to give his gifts openly. For these things, as might be looked for, the poor loved him, even as a father, but lords held him in honour as their equal, and revered him as their superior. At this time those only deemed themselves well bestead in England, who were partakers of his kindness. But for this reason he had the power much to give and many to comfort, that the king made him, for his own living and profit, a grant of a fee, which men now-a-days call barony, and is as large a feud as that which belongeth to him who is called a baron of the king's realm. But it is worthy of mention, that for all this kingly favour, and the manifold grants which have been told now a while, many lords in England bore Thomas a sullen mind, although openly they showed themselves blithe enough; for two things preyed inwardly upon them, firstly the king's favour towards the chancellor, and secondly this, that they might not as at this time wreak as much evil against the church as they had a mind to; and who these folk were became manifest enough when the crash befell whereby the king's friendship brake. But so deep fallen were they, that they were fain to receive honours and offices from the crown, paying their hatred to it in return none the less, for every kind of ill-willed device which they brewed against Thomas was in truth against the crown. For by his prowess he greatly increased the realm of the king of England, as certain books hint at, although it is not written in such fashion as that his deeds therein be set forth, or a clear tale be told thereof. But the book nameth both hour and place, south beyond sea, at the boundary between France and Normandy where, by his wisdom and law-pleading, he brought about a settlement as to what line of landmark had been laid down of old between France and Normandy. It is also to be read

His bravery  
in war.

The war  
with Tou-  
louse, 1159.

He encoun-  
ters such  
enmity that  
he prays  
archbishop  
Theobald to  
relieve him  
from his  
station.

góðri frægð, hversu röskr maðr hann hefir verit til stríðs, því at hans hugdirfð fór úhóllum fæti, hvar er hann lysti, sem einkanliga greinist í Vestrlöndum, er Heimir konungr stríddi upp á Gaskoniam, er liggr undir borg Tolosam. Þvílík er hans frammistaða,<sup>1</sup> at 5 hvárki líf nè líkam sparir hann til at efla ríkit ok konungsins sóma;<sup>2</sup> ok þó skal hann þunga mæta af þeim, er konungs vinir kallast vera, ok því geingr svá, at raunar elska þeir miðr konunginn enn sjálfra sín ágirnd ok ofsa. Enn svá glöggr sem Thómas signaðr 10 var í öllu sínu viti, fêkk hann löngu<sup>3</sup> skilt, hversu stórmenni í Englandi hugði<sup>4</sup> honum flátt, þótt fagrt lèti.<sup>5</sup> Þaðan er skrifat, at mörgu sinni bað hann Theobaldum erkibyskup með tárur, at hann skyldi<sup>6</sup> 15 aftr takast í hans þjónustu, ok færa sinn háls undan því ánauðaroki at standa millum kirkjunnar ok konungsmanna. Enn erkibyskup vildi þat eigi veita, því at undir andliga ömbun segir hann Thómam kirkj- unni því nauðsynligri,<sup>7</sup> sem hann þolir þyngra.<sup>8</sup> Enn með því at dauðligr maðr vill eigi veita, at Thómas 20

marriage of the two royal infants, prince Henry of England and princess Margaret of France, only daughter of king Louis le Jeune and queen Constance of Castile; according to which the strong castle of Gisors, with the castles of Neufle, Neufchatel, and several others lining the frontier—a barrier of frontier fortifications which Henry's father had been obliged to cede to Louis le Gros—were to be handed over to the king of England immediately on the proposed marriage being accomplished. Diceto and Gervase, sub. ann. 1158; Chron. Norm. p. 994; Will. Neubr. l. ii. c. 7; cf. Duchesne, iv. p. 415, 416; cf. also Herbert, 1084.

<sup>1</sup> *framistada*, T.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. Fitzstephen, *ib.* 122; Herbert, 1085.

<sup>3</sup> *laungu*, T.

<sup>4</sup> So U.; *hugi*, T.

<sup>5</sup> *leeti*, T.

<sup>6</sup> So U.; *skylli*, T.

<sup>7</sup> *nauðsynligra*, T.

<sup>8</sup> The contemporary biographers allude to similar adversities in Becket's official life as are here referred to. The majority of them assign these troubles to the very beginning of his chancellorship, and in connection therewith mention a repeatedly uttered desire on Becket's part to quit the king's service. Roger, 62; John of Salisb. 197. But Herbert seems to consider the envy and malignity of which Becket was the object, as the Icelandic saga, as a result of his doings in office rather than a grudge caused by his appointment. Herbert, 1085, 1086.

to his great renown, how dauntless a man he has been in fighting; for with a stoutness of heart that stood on unfaltering foot he went wheresoever he listed, which is chiefly related of him concerning western lands, when king Henry waged war against Gascoigne which lieth under the town of Toulouse. With such zeal he standeth forth, that he spareth neither life nor body for the strengthening of the realm and the increase of the king's honour; and yet he must needs encounter heavy ill-will, even from those who feigned to be friends of the king, and whose ways were truly such, that they loved the king less than their own greed and insolence. But clear-sighted as the blessed Thomas was in all his wisdom, he saw all along, how the great folk of England bore him foul thought, a fair mien notwithstanding. Hence it is written that he prayed archbishop Theobald oftentimes with tears, that he might be taken back into his service, so as to withdraw his neck from under the yoke of the thralldom of standing between the church and the king's men. This however the archbishop would not grant him, saying that, by the spiritual reward which awaited him, he was the more needed for the church the heavier the trials were that he must needs endure. But now, that mortal man hath not the will to

rými konungsgarð, skal byrja þessu æst í nafni Guðs, hversu hin himneska forajó, er aldri má fallerast, víkr hans vegum, at hann aftr vendi til Kanciam.

## KAP. XIV.

## ER HEINREKR KONUNGR KJÖRI THÓMAS. 5

Nú svá miklu ríkari sem Heinrekr konungr var enn nokkurr<sup>1</sup> fyrir honum í Englandi, krefr skynsemd, at hann hafi úti því meiri vernd ok harðfengi fyrir löndunum,<sup>2</sup> sem þau voru víðari. Því at þetta líf er svá fallit, at alt eftirlætið liggr undir ánauð ok mæðu.<sup>10</sup> Hæðan gerist svo, at þau tíðindi flytjast heim í England af Norðmandi, at sú þjóð er Gualensis heita, veitir<sup>3</sup> áhlaup ríkinu með rán ok óróa. Þessi sögn<sup>4</sup> leiðir þann dyn í landit, at Heinrekr konungr ok Thómas canceler búa sik í herferð suðr um sjó. Er 15 nú Heinrekr úngi eftir í konungs stað með góðu ráðuneyti, ok sitr í Lundúnum á höfutgarði feðr síns. Verðr konungr vel reiðfara<sup>5</sup> at friða land sitt, ok hann dvelst lengi<sup>6</sup> í Norðmandi.<sup>7</sup> Enn<sup>8</sup> nú er at sjá til Englands, hvat þar horfir til mikilla tíðinda, at virðu-<sup>20</sup> ligr herra Theobaldus erkibyskup hefir fengit þann

Warlike preparations in Normandy, 1161.

Archbishop Theobald dies.

<sup>1</sup> nokkr, T.

<sup>2</sup> laundunum, T.

<sup>3</sup> veitr, T.

<sup>4</sup> saugn, T.

<sup>5</sup> raufara, T.

<sup>6</sup> leingi, T.

<sup>7</sup> In this account the saga possibly mixes together two events which have nothing to do with one another. Immediately after the marriage of the infant king Henry with the infant princess Margaret, in 1160 (see note 10, p. 56), king Henry II., in pursuance of the marriage treaty, secured the frontier castles of Normandy, Gisors, Neufte, and Neufchâtel, &c., a step which Louis le Jeune resented in such a manner

that he made preparations to invade the Norman Vexin, about Easter-tide 1161. This may be the invasion to which the saga refers here. But on the other hand Herbert says that at this time the king, being detained abroad on state affairs, had disposed to send his chancellor to England "propter crebras Wallensium infestationes et alia quædam regni negotia." Herb. 1087. The Icelandic translator keeping in his mind the warlike preparations in Normandy, linked them to the Gualenses, or Wallenses, whom he took for some continental people, instead of the Welsh. Hence the confusion.

<sup>8</sup> en, T.

give leave that Thomas quit the king's court, we shall, next in order to these things, begin to relate, in the name of God, how the heavenly foresight, which never faltereth, turneth his ways in such a wise, that he wendeth back to Canterbury.

## CHAP. XIV.

## HOW KING HENRY ELECTED THOMAS.

Now mightier much that king Henry was than any king before him in England, reason demandeth that he should keep up the greater hardihood in the warding of his lands the broader they were. For such are the ways of this life, that all worldly weal is subjected to hardship and strife. Hence it cometh to pass that tidings are brought to England from Normandy that a certain people called Gualensis (Welshfolk) have made a raid upon the realm with robbing and unpeace. This news bringeth about such stir in the country, that king Henry and chancellor Thomas make ready for a warfare south over sea. But Henry the young is left behind in the king's stead, with a good council, abiding in his father's chief court in London. The king hath a happy journey, and settleth peace for his land, and dwelleth for a long time in Normandy.

But now it behoves to look to England, where great events may be looked for, in that the venerable lord archbishop Theobald hath fallen into an illness which

1161. sjúkdóm, at hann leiðir framm af þessi <sup>1</sup> veröld til feðra sinna í sanna hvíld.<sup>2</sup> Þá hafði hann stjórnat Kantuariensis kirkju xx. ár ok tvö, lofsamligr maðr ok góðrar minningar. Er nú kirkjan í ekkjudómi, ok því eru brèf ger<sup>3</sup> út af Englandi suðr um sjó til Heinreks konungs, er votta fráfall erkibyskups. Gerast þau brèf svá fjótt<sup>4</sup> fyrir tvífalda skynsemi, þá aðra at birta konunginum frammför svá virðuligs höfðingja, fyrir þat annat, at konungsríkit gekk svá hátt yfir England í þessa tíð, ok upp frá Vilhjálmí rauða, sem fyrr var greint, at ekki capitulum var svá djarft í landinu, at þyrði til kosnings framm at fara, fyrr enn konungr leyfði, því at kirkjurnar skyldi liggja til aftekta undir konungsgarð, meðan þær væri<sup>5</sup> formannalausar.<sup>6</sup> Herra Heinrekr konungr sitr í þeim kastala, er heitir Phalase, sem hann<sup>7</sup> fregn þessi tíðindi. Er hëðan eigi langt, þat er einkanligt má sýnast, at í því líkri veraldar virðing, sem Thómas canceler stendr á þeim degi, lyftir margr maðr til hans þegar sínu hugarfari, at hann muni hljóta sætið í Cancía.<sup>8</sup> Enn konungrinn gerir með sinni lund, sem honum var gjarnt, lætr sem þat líði hjá honum, utan þfðr Thómase canceler, at eftir konungligum vana búi hann

Letters are sent to the king to inform him of the vacancy.

People look to Becket as the sure successor of archbishop Theobald.

<sup>1</sup> So U.; þessu, T.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. p. 10, note 8. He died on the 18th of April, A.D. 1161. Ger-vase, 1381.

<sup>3</sup> gerr, T.

<sup>4</sup> From what is here stated, and from what follows, it is clear that the saga writer is ignorant of the see of Canterbury having been vacant after the death of archbishop Theobald for more than a year. Cf. p. 88, note 7.

<sup>5</sup> ueri, T.

<sup>6</sup> formanna lausar, T.

<sup>7</sup> hann added in U.; om. in T.

<sup>8</sup> "Solus dignissimus summo pontificatu conclamabatur," John of Salish, Opera, Migne, cxcix., Ep. ad Baldwinum Archidiaconum Ex-

oniensem, No. 193, p. 211. "Suspi-  
cantur mox omnes, submurmurant  
" hi, asserunt illi cancellarium archi-  
" præsulis defuncti successorem fu-  
" turum, et id ipsum præconizabat  
" et populus," Herbert, *ib.* 1087.

The words of Roger are particularly significant at this juncture, as compared with what is stated above, p. 46, and note 2: "Thomas  
" namque ex industria circa per-  
" sonas et res ecclesiasticas quasi  
" severissimum se exhibebat; ut  
" tali occasione omnem a se suspi-  
" cionis notam excuteret, et regis  
" voluntati, quam intime noverat,  
" melius sub hac palliatione conve-  
" niret," *ib.* cxc. 63. See preface.

taketh him away from this world to his departed fathers into true rest. He had as at this time governed the church of Canterbury for two and twenty years; a laudable man and of blessed memory. Now that the church sitteth in widowhood, letters are sent from England south over sea testifying the departure of the archbishop. These letters are made with such a haste for a twofold reason; firstly, for to make known to the king the departure of such a venerable lord; and secondly, because the might of the king went with such a high hand over England, as at this time, yea ever from the days of William the Red, as has been told before, that no chapter in the kingdom was found to have the hardihood to proceed to election, or ever the king should have given leave thereto, because the churches must needs yield their income to the king's court, the while they happened to abide without a ruler. The lord king Henry sitteth in the castle called Falaise when he heareth these tidings. Now it is not far to seek for what may seem the only thing to be looked for, namely that standing as doth the chancellor Thomas in such high worldly honour on that day, many a man lifteth his mind to him even now, as the one to whom the seat of Canterbury must needs be allotted. But the king followeth the bent of his mind, as was his wont, in that he maketh as if this matter went by him unheeded, but ordereth chancellor Thomas, in pursuance of royal custom,



1162. sik til heimferðar í England at skipa kirkjunni ok  
 The king or- gózi hennar þá forsjó af krúnunnar hálfu, sem fyrr var  
 ders Becket to go England to take charge of the vacant see on behalf of the crown. sagt, því at þessi sýsla var Thómasi handviss, síðan hann kom í völd.<sup>1</sup> Sem hann er ferðar búinn ok hyggst hafa öll sín eyrindi, geingr hann ok tekr orlof,<sup>5</sup> heilsar merkiliga á konunginn sem í þeira skilnaði ok snýst í brutt. Konungrinn talar þá ok kallar hann aftr til sín, ok tala<sup>3</sup> svá leyniliga: "Eigi veizt þú enn " til fulls um þína ferð. Várr vili er með öllu ráðinn, " at þú verðir Kantuariensis erkibyskup." Hèr í mót<sup>10</sup> brosir hinn signaði Thómas nokkut lítt, ok tekr fram- an í handveginn á kyrtlinum, er hann bar, ok svarar svo lagliga: "Sè, minn herra," sagði hann, " hversu siðsaman mann ok heilagan þèr vilit setja " yfir<sup>3</sup> þat háleita sæti ok svá marga múnka ok dýr-<sup>15</sup> " ligar persónur, sem þar þjóna Guði. þurfi þèr ok " eigi at girnast svá mjök á þetta mitt umskifti, því " at ef þetta ferr<sup>4</sup> framm með þolinmæði Guðs, myndi " yður<sup>5</sup> vinátta fljótt frá mèr víkja. Hafi þèr ok svá " lofsamligar persónur í yðru ríki, at mín líkamlig laus-<sup>20</sup> " ung ferr lágt fyrir þeira fótum. Kann ok vera, " minn herra, ef svá kastaði um mínu efni, at ek " væri þeim úlíkr [mjök ok úsamlyn]dr,<sup>6</sup> sem nú " stendr hère frammi, mundu<sup>7</sup> ok þar verða nógir menn " til at [bera róg millum okkar. því bið]<sup>8</sup> ek með<sup>25</sup> " allri mýkt, at þèr víkit annan veg." Eftir svá talað hneigir hann konunginum ok geingr út af herberginu. Sè hère nú þegar efni dýrligs manns, er eigi flytr sik í tignarsæti sem sumir aðrir, heldr tálmar hann með einurð, at konungrinn gefi<sup>8</sup> honum orlof ok frjálsan.<sup>30</sup> Enn fýst Heinreks konungs er nú svá heit í þessu

then goes away.

Becket excuses himself from accepting the office on the plea of utter unworthiness.

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Grim, *ib.* 9, who, however, gives other reasons for Becket's going to England, chiefly the coronation of the king's son, the young Henry; and Herbert, quoted above, p. 62, note 7.

<sup>2</sup> talar, U.

<sup>3</sup> iftr, T.

<sup>4</sup> fer, T.

<sup>5</sup> ydr, T.

<sup>6</sup> The words in brackets are added by Prof. Unger, the corner of the leaf in T. being torn off.

<sup>7</sup> mundi, T.

<sup>8</sup> gæfi, T.

to make ready to go home to England to settle for the church and the wealth thereof, on behalf of the crown due oversight after the manner of which we have spoken afore; for this was a duty which certes must needs fall into the hands of Thomas ever since he came into power. When he hath made ready for the journey, and deemeth he hath taken at the hand of the king all his instructions, he goeth to take leave, bidding farewell to the king, worshipfully as for a parting, whereupon he turneth away. The king then speaketh, calling him back, and they talk thus privily:—"Thou knowest not yet fully all things concerning thy journey. My will is fully settled that thou be archbishop of Canterbury."

At this the blessed Thomas smileth somewhat, pointing to the armhole of the kirtle he wore, saying deftly:

"Behold, my lord, what a religious and holy person you are minded to install in that exalted seat, and over the many monks and holy persons who worship God there. But in sooth it were better that you should not set your mind so hard on this change in me, for if this ever should come to pass by the long-suffering of God, surely your favour would depart from me speedily. And withal you have in your realm such laudable persons as that my fleshly looseness fareth low before their feet. It might come to pass too, my lord, should my affairs take this shift, that I might turn out right unlike, and of a different mind, to him who now standeth here before you; yea and many would they be who would give themselves to carrying slander betwixt us. I therefore pray, in all humbleness, that you go somewhere else."

Having thus spoken he boweth to the king and walketh out of the chamber. Behold now here the beginning saint, who, unlike some other folk, does not flit himself into the seat of honour, but standeth stoutly against the king giving him leave and absolution for that purpose. But the desire of king Henry is so fervid

1188.

The king declares his will publicly to Cardinal Henry of Pisa, and to a number of great people.

máli, at á eingan hátt svæfist hon fyrir slíkar mótbáru, heldr býðr<sup>1</sup> hann í stað, at sú fylgd, er fara skyldi með canceler til Englands, kallist inn fyrir hann. Þat er ok greinanda, at rétt í þenna púnkt er hjá Heinreki konungi einn af cardinalibus, er heitir herra Heinrekr, af 5 . þeim stað er heitir Pisa, hann er ok legatus herra páfana norðr til Englands, at sýsla ok umsjá þat, er rómversku sæti til heyrir. Hann er nú innkallaðr, at merkiliga heyrst af öllu stórmenni, hvat herra konungrinn opinberar af sínum vilja. Síðan hefir hann 10 þat upphaf, at hann nefnir svá marga, sem honum líkar, af fylgd cancelers, ok gerir þá sína sendiboða heim til Englands, at þeir boði capitulo Cantuariensis ok byskupum landsins, at þeir fari framm til kosnings eftir fráfallinn erkibyskup Theobaldum, ok birti konungs vilja, at hann sèr eingan betr tilfallinn, enn Thomas canceler, at taka þat tignarsæti. Yfir þenna skilning hvárntveggja, samkall lærðra manna ok konungsins girnd yfir kosninginum, eru brèf gjör,<sup>2</sup> sem síðar<sup>3</sup> mun lýsast í Englandi. Skrifar hann ok til 20 Heinreks sonar síns heim í landit, at hann skal hafa úskert konungs vald í öllum þeim greinum, er at lúta krúnunni í þessu máli. Eftir þetta fullgert yrkir herra konungrinn á þann riddara, er heitir Rikarðr af Luci: "Rikarðr," segir hann, "mundir þú halda son minn 25 " til ríkis ok sæmda, ef ek væri dauðr?" Riddarinn svarar: "Sannliga, herra minn, skyldi ek hann til " ríkis halda upp á mitt líf ok limar." Konungr segir þá: "Sömu leið viljum vèr ok bjóðum, at þú haldir " Thóman, várn canceler, til erkibyskups í Kancia." 30 Undir leggr<sup>4</sup> ok herra konungrinn við cardinalem, at

He sends his messengers to England to procure the election of Becket.

and issues writs for the purpose.

Grants full powers to his son.

Prays Elobard de Luci to aid Becket.

am aware, mentioned in other lives of Becket, not even by Herbert, who professes to have heard the story of all that passed on this occasion at Falaise from the mouth of Becket himself. Herb. 1088.

<sup>1</sup> So U.; *byr*, T.

<sup>2</sup> *giorr*, T.

<sup>3</sup> *sidarr*, T.

<sup>4</sup> Any private understanding between the king and the cardinal for the purpose of furthering Becket's election in England is not, that I

in this matter, that by such gainsayings it is dulled in nowise, nay rather ordereth he straightway the company, that was to accompany the chancellor to England, to be called before him. It is also to be told, that at this very nick of time there happened to be abiding with king Henry a certain cardinal, hight lord Henry, from the town called Pisa, who was a legate of the pope north in England to act there on behalf of the Roman see, and to give heed to matters thereto appertaining. He is now called in, in order that it may be clearly heard by all the great folk assembled, what the king maketh known of his will. He now maketh such a beginning as to name as many as it pleaseth him of the chancellors, following and appoint them his messengers to go home to England to announce to the chapter of Canterbury and unto the bishops of the land, that they proceed to an election of an archbishop in the place of the departed archbishop Theobald; and that they make known the will of the king, that he knoweth no one fitter than chancellor Thomas to take that seat of honour. Concerning both these matters, the convocation of the clergy and the king's desire touching the election, letters are set up as will be seen anon in England. The king also writeth home to England to his son, to say that he is to have unimpaired kingly power in all matters that concern the crown in this affair. These things being fully settled, the king addressed a certain knight, hight Richard de Luci: "Richard," he said, "wouldst thou aid my son to the crown and kingly honours if I were dead?" The knight answered:—"Certes, my lord, by the life and limbs of me, should I aid him to the kingdom?" Says the king then:—"In like wise do we desire and command that thou aid Thomas our chancellor to the archbishopric of Canterbury." At the same time the king settled privily with the cardinal that he should give such aid to the

1162. hann styði svá eyrindit, at eigi þarfnist<sup>1</sup> þat sína framkvæmd.<sup>2</sup> Hvat lengra,<sup>3</sup> enn eftir svo skipað af konunginum taka sendiboðar orlof ok vanda í veg. Nú mun svá sýnast, með bráðu tilliti, at þat samþykki varla<sup>4</sup> kirkjunnar lögum, að konungligt vald setti<sup>5</sup> svá mikinn þátt í kosning þenna. Enn ef vitr maðr hugleiðir, hjálpa því máli sannar greinir; þá sèr satt vera, at samnaðr<sup>6</sup> í Cancia, þótt hann hefði haft lögligt vald ok frjálsi at fara framm til kosnings, hefði<sup>6</sup> hann á sitt líf eigi svá djarfr verit, at kjósa þá 10 persónu til erkibyskups, er svá margfaldliga<sup>7</sup> var strengd<sup>8</sup> í krúnunnar þjónustu, konungsins kanceler ok landstjórnarmaðr, þar með æzta ráð, ok þeira lögum eigi nær enn úvigðr leikmaðr. Hèr með run[nu at margir lutir, er]<sup>9</sup> Thómasi gáfust í sök<sup>10</sup> at kjósast til 15 svá háleitrar stèttar, sem var veraldar skra[ut ok heimsins hægómi], sem síðar mun birtast með berum mótköstum bæði í Cancia ok Lundúnum. Er<sup>11</sup> nú ljóst af settum greinum, at lærdómrinn hafði svá til mikillar virðingar hvárki vald nè ráðinn vilja, ok því 20 var harðla nauðsynligt, at sá leiddist<sup>12</sup> í málit, er þetta hafði hvárttveggja.<sup>13</sup> Herra konungrinn hafði vald at frjálssa Thómam bæði af stètt ok ístöðu, hafði hann ok vilja öruggan, þótt eigi væri mjök grandvarr, með þeim ávinning<sup>14</sup> at hann treysti Thómasi framast allra 25

Digression  
as to the le-  
gality of the  
election.

The king's  
purpose in  
urging  
Becket's  
election.

<sup>1</sup> þarfniz, T.

<sup>2</sup> framkvæmd, T.

<sup>3</sup> leingra, T.

<sup>4</sup> varilla, T.

<sup>5</sup> samnadi, T.

<sup>6</sup> hafði, T.

<sup>7</sup> margfalliga, T.

<sup>8</sup> strengd, T.

<sup>9</sup> The words in brackets are added by Prof. Unger; they are missing in T., for the reason stated page 64, note 5.

<sup>10</sup> sauk, T.

<sup>11</sup> So U.; E. only in

<sup>12</sup> leidiz, T.

<sup>13</sup> huartueggja, T.

<sup>14</sup> aavinng, T. The text seems to be corrupt here, and it is with some doubt that I give of it the translation opposite. I see no way to a satisfactory emendation of it, nor is any assistance to be derived for the purpose from the Latin lives, none of which dilate on the subject in the manner that Thomas Saga does. The drift of the obscure context seems to be this: The king had a firm (öruggan) will in the affair, although it was far from guileless, in that this firm will rested, in the first instance,

affair that his own furthurance thereof should not be needed! What further, the king having thus ordained all things the legates take leave, and wend on their way. Now it may seem, the matter being looked at in a hasty manner, as if it did scarcely conform to the laws of the church, that kingly power should have such a large share in this election. But thinking thereover, a wise man will find, that this matter standeth to good reason; for it would be found to be true indeed, that the congregation at Canterbury, even if it had had a lawful power and freedom to proceed to the election, would not for their life have been so daring, as to elect a person archbishop who was in such a manifold wise strung in the service of the crown, being the king's chancellor, and ruler of the realm, and therebeside the first counsellor and nowise nearer to their laws than any other unhallowed layman. Along with these matters went many other things, which were brought up as causes against Thomas being elected to such an exalted station, worldly glitter, to wit, and secular vanity, as will appear anon in open gainsayings both at Canterbury and in London. Now it is clear from the causes here set forth, that the learned men had such high honour neither in their power, nor had they a settled will concerning the same; and therefore it was right needful that into the affair should be drawn he who had both. The lord king had the power to set Thomas free from his station and office; he too had a settled will in the matter, though not an over-guileless one, by reason of the profit he aimed at, in that he trusted Thomas best of all men to aid his heirs to the throne, in

1182. manna at halda sína erfingja til hásetis,<sup>1</sup> ef hans<sup>2</sup> misti við. Þat flaut með annat, sem eigi var hjart í konungsins hjarta, at hann<sup>3</sup> hugði Thómam eftirlátan sinni vild um lagahald ok konungligar siðvenjur í ríkinu. Enn þat var af því meinlig hugsan, at nú var svá fóttröðinn vígðr sem óvígðr, ok svá dreginn til dóms lærðr sem leikr. Nú varð hær, sem ritað er, at offliga kemr á eitt mót góðr vili Guðs ok illr ok vondr vili manns,<sup>4</sup> sem virðuligast dæmi má til leiða lausnina sjálfa, þar mættist elska Guðs vit mannkindina<sup>4</sup> 10 ok hatr Júða<sup>5</sup> til várs Herra. Enn hær mættist fyrirætlan Guðs ok undirhyggja Heinreks konungs, at þat sama verði Thómasi til dýrkanar, er konungrinn hugði til glatanar, ok þat kristninni til uppreistar, er hann hugði til hrapanar. Vel lýsist í lofi Guða, at þat 15 verða réttlætis vopn, er hann neytir, ok þat lög, er hann leyfir. Sjám nú til, eftir þessa dvöl, hvat líðr sendiboðum til Englands.<sup>6</sup>

Divine purpose and human device often tend to one and the same end.

## KAP. XV.

## THÓMAS KJÖRINN ERKIBYSKUP Í CANCIA.

20

Becket and his following go to England.

Signaðr Thómas ok öll sú ferð, er honum fylgir, tekr þá stefnu til Englands<sup>6</sup> móti Cancia, ok sem þeir

on a view to worldly gain, since he trusted in Thomas beyond all men to aid his heirs to the throne, and, secondly, because the king harboured the dark purpose in his heart to secure in Becket an instrument to work against the interests of the church.

<sup>1</sup> Cf. "Si vero dies suos mors immatura præcideret, hæredibus suis tutorem fidelissimum providere videbat," John of Salisb., *ib.* 198, with whom agrees nearly, *verbo tenus*, William of Canterbury, fragm. 7, *ib.* 235, and Anon. Lamb. *ib.* 280.

Cf. also "Credidit ad suas utilitates

"facile inclinandum et ad nutum ipsius in negotiis ecclesiasticis et secularibus universa gesturum," John of Salisb. *ib.*, William of Cant. *ib.*, Anon. Lamb. *ib.*, and Garnier, 15. Et kuida k'il suist par tut ses volentex.

<sup>2</sup> So U.; *han*, T.

<sup>3</sup> *han* added in U.; om. in T.

<sup>4</sup> *manz*, T.

<sup>5</sup> So altered by the editor, *wida = víða*, i.e., widely, in a wide-spread manner, U. and T., a manifest blunder.

<sup>6</sup> *Einglands*, T.

case he should himself be no more. Along with these things floated other matters in the heart of the king, but nowise of any great brightness, in that he thought Thomas would be yielding to his will in the keeping of the laws and the kingly customs in the realm. This was a hurtful thought inasmuch as now was trod under foot the hallowed with the unhallowed and to doom dragged clerks and lay-folk alike. Now it fell here, as is written, that often meet together, in one and the same place, the good will of God and the evil and wicked will of man, whereof the worthiest example may be adduced, even the very salvation of man, wherein there met God's love towards mankind and the hatred of the Jews against our Lord. But here met God's purpose and the device of king Henry, inasmuch as the very thing which the king schemed for the undoing of Thomas, turned out to his glory, and that, which was meant for the downfall of the church, turned out to her advancement. It is now well shown indeed that by the permission of God the weapons he maketh use of become weapons of rightwiseness, and such things only as he alloweth become law. Let us now, after this delay, see, how it fareth with the messengers to England.

## CHAP. XV.

### HOW THOMAS WAS ELECTED ARCHBISHOP OF CANTERBURY.

The blessed Thomas and all the suite that accompanieth him now wend the way to England, Canterbury



1162. framm koma, taka hvárir sitt embætti.<sup>1</sup> Thómas canceler skipar ytri sýslur, eftir nytsemdum kirkjunnar ok konungs boði, enn sendiboðar taka kórsbræðr ok múnka með konungs orðsending ok brëfum, hvern kosning hann vill gerast láta yfir setið í Kancia.<sup>2</sup> Er hër eigi 5 langt at bíða, áðr andsvör koma mót, heldr framhvöss ok ýmislig. Múnkarnir, er þetta mál kemr mest til, ganga þegar í tvo staði; segja sumir, at þetta muni stórgott vera, aðrir mæla þvers í mót, segja þetta aldri munu vel duga. Þeir er vel láta yfir, færa þat til sinnis, at 10 konungr er þessa vin ok muni verða honum styrksmaðr; aðrir svara hër til, at ef svá gerist, mun konungsgarðr at marki lúka upp sinn munn at gleypa góz ok frelsi kirkjunnar; segja þat ok einkar mjök úheyriligt ok aflaga, at sá skipist forstjóri<sup>3</sup> yfir reglumönnum ok 15 siðsemdar, sem áðr svimr í leik ok lausung veraldarinnar. Sem konungs sendiboðar fá skilt, at hër eru kappötur<sup>4</sup> fyrir kosning, ok ógreiði fyrir góðan vilja, nefna þeir svá marga út af capitulo Kantuariensi, at á nefndum degi komi þeir til kosnings á konungagarð í Lundún 20 með byskupum tilstefndum ok öðru<sup>5</sup> stórmenni; ok svá skiljast þeir þar við, enn ríða til Lundúna.<sup>6</sup> Líðr nú til stefnudags, drífr þá mikit fólk samt í einn stað, bæði lærðir ok úlærðir. Þar er þá Heinrekr ungi konungr ok hefir sæð sitt valdsbrëf af hálfu feðr síns; 25

Becket disposes of the church affairs *ad artra*; but the king's messengers convoke the chapter to make known to them the king's will.

Divided opinion on Becket's fitness for the place.

The chapter is summoned to London.

The election of Becket. May 14.

<sup>1</sup> *embætti*, T.

<sup>2</sup> Garnier, 16; Roger, 125; and Grim, 9, all follow one source in saying that two bishops (Grim, three) were sent to Canterbury in company with Richard de Luci to procure the election of Becket. In the speeches delivered before the chapter at Canterbury there is a general agreement between these three authorities.

<sup>3</sup> So U.; *forstjóri*, T.

<sup>4</sup> *kappautur*, T.

<sup>5</sup> *audru*, T.

<sup>6</sup> Although some of the old biographers mention several objections

as having been made at Canterbury to the election of Becket, among which the principal one seems to have been that he was not, as his predecessors had been, a member of any conventual community; yet by none is the opposition so strongly coloured as here, and none, that I am aware, makes the king's messengers go away without the formal assent of the prior and the monks to the election. Cf. Garnier, 16, 17; Grim, 9; Roger, 65; Fitzstephen, 123; John of Salisb. 198; Herbert, 1088, 1089.

ward, and as they reach their destination each one taketh heed of his allotted office. Chancellor Thomas disposeth of the outward business, agreeably to the need of the church and the command of the king; but the messengers hold meeting with the canons and the monks according to the message and the letters of the king, making known what sort of election he desireth to be made for the see of Canterbury. But now there is no long waiting ere answers come forward against this right keen and of diverse kind. The monks unto whom the affair chiefly appertaineth, are forthwith divided into two sides; some saying that this must needs be a right good thing, others speaking straight against it, saying this would never be an affair of any good avail. Those who take the matter in a good part set forth as reason thereof that the king is a friend of this man, and that therefore he will be likely to be the strength of him. But to this the others rejoin that, if things should come to this pass, the kingly court will open its throat wide enough to swallow up the wealth and the freedom of the church; saying too, that it is an unheard of thing and utterly unlawful, that such an one should be ordained chief over men of religion and good morals who hath formerly swirled in games and worldly looseness. Now that the king's messengers come to understand, that they have to deal with contentions instead of an election, and with tardiness instead of goodwill, they name a certain number out of the chapter of Canterbury to meet for the election, on a settled day at the king's court in London, together with bishops thither summoned and other great folk; and in this way they depart therefrom and ride to London. Now time slips away unto the day of the summons, when crowds of folk drift together into one place, both learned and unlearned. Here then is king Henry the young, who has seen the letter which giveth him full powers to act on behalf of his father;

1163, May 14.  
The election  
is announced  
to Becket.

“ Almáttigs Guðs forsjó ok vart samþykki hefir kjörít  
yðr til erkibyskups í æzta<sup>1</sup> byskupssæti á öllu Eng-  
landi, til dýrðar heilagri þrenningu, til stjórnar  
kristninni ok fólkinu til nytsemdar, ok biðjum vèr<sup>2</sup>  
jafnframm, at þèr samþykkit vorn vilja í Guðs nafni.”<sup>5</sup>  
Þessu eyrendi byskupsins svarar hinn signaði Thómas  
með tárur: “ Hví sýnist yðr, vitrum mönnum, at  
víkja til mín svá háfum lutum ok leggja mèr óbæran  
þunga yfir mína byrði úleysta? Þèr þröngvit<sup>3</sup> mitt  
líf, þvíat ek kenni mína samvizku<sup>4</sup> harðla mjök sekja<sup>10</sup>  
í augliti míns hins himneska dómara.” Þetta er fátt  
af mörgum hans mótköstum,<sup>5</sup> því at á alla lund telst  
hann undan. Ok sem hèr stendr, sýnist vel fallit at  
leiða til minnis þat mikla umboð ok brýning, er  
Ríkarðr tók fyrir sunnan sjó í kastala Phalase. Hann<sup>15</sup>  
stendr nú upp ok tekr svá til orðs: “ Til þess,” sagði  
hann, “ at sú nystemd heilagrar kirkju, er þèr hafit  
hèr byrjat, fái æskiligan<sup>6</sup> enda, sè<sup>7</sup> öllum yðr  
kunnigt, at minn herra gamli konungr hefir tekit  
or þessu máli allan trega, sem hann má framast,<sup>20</sup>  
at heilög kirkja í Kancia fái því skjótara sinn lög-  
ligan sóma. Vèr<sup>7</sup> bárum hans bréf af Norðmandi, í  
hverju hann gaf syni sínum Heinreki unga<sup>8</sup> fult  
ok konungligt vald til samþykkis ok frelsis allra  
þeira greina, er Thómasi til heyra, ok þat sama<sup>25</sup>  
flytjum vèr,<sup>9</sup> míns herra sendiboðar, at til sè látið án  
dvöl, greitt ok gert með öllum góðvilja. Heyrir

He begs to  
be excused  
from accept-  
ing it on the  
ground of  
his being un-  
absolved  
from state  
ties and bur-  
dens.

He is ab-  
solved from  
all connec-  
tion with  
the state.

<sup>1</sup> *æzta*, T.

<sup>2</sup> So U.; *med*, T.

<sup>3</sup> *þraunguit*, T.

<sup>4</sup> *samvizku*, T.

<sup>5</sup> *mothautum*, T.

<sup>6</sup> *æskilegan*, T.

<sup>7</sup> See T.

<sup>8</sup> *var*, T.

<sup>9</sup> So U.; *ungi*, T.

<sup>10</sup> *vèr* added by the editor. Prof. Unger changes *flytjum* (T.), urge

we (the messengers of my Lord), into *flytja*, urge they (the messengers, &c.). The first person seems contextually preferable, because Richard de Luce was one of these very messengers. What he wants to impress upon the assembly is the absolute agreement between the king's letter, of which he was the bearer, and the commission which the king had given to his messengers.

way :—" By the providence of God Almighty and our  
" common consent you are chosen archbishop of the  
" highest bishop s seat in all England, for the glory of  
" the holy Trinity, for the governance of the church and  
" and for the good of the people ; and now we en-  
" treat you, in the name of God, to give your assent  
" to our will." To this speech of the bishop the blessed  
Thomas made an answer in tears :—

" Why doth it seem good to you, wise men that ye  
are, to let such exalted affairs devolve on me, and to  
lay an unbearable weight on me still unredeemed from  
my own burden. Ye overpower my life, for I know  
my conscience to be right mightily guilty in the eyes  
of my heavenly judge."

These are but few of his many gainsayings, for in  
every way he begged to be freed from this. And now,  
things having come to this state, it may seem well to  
call to mind the great trust and commission which  
Richard undertook south beyond sea in the castle of  
Falaise. He now riseth, and thus taketh up the word :—

" In order," said he, " that that work of necessity on  
" behalf of holy church, which ye have commenced here,  
" may reach a desirable end, be it known unto all of  
" you, that my lord the old king hath removed every  
" hindrance out of the way of this affair to the utmost  
" of his power, to this end that the holy church of Can-  
" terbury might all the more speedily gain her lawful  
" honour. We brought away from Normandy his  
" letters, wherein he granted to his son, Henry  
" the young, full and royal powers for giving his  
" consent, and absolution in all matters concerning  
" Thomas ; the same do we, the messengers of my  
" lord the king, urge being granted without delay in  
" a ready and perfect manner with all goodwill. More-

1162, May 14. “ yðr ok einkanliga, lærðum mönnum, at styðja þat  
 “ mál, því at í varygð ok vitru hæfir yðr at leiða þá  
 “ persónu í faðm heilagrar kirkju, er þær kjósit henni  
 “ til formanns; því at þat efni skal vel byrja, er svá  
 “ miklu varðar, at hafi góðan enda.” Svá segir Rik- 5  
 arðr ok fær góðan róm á sínu máli. Ferr þetta svá  
 merkiliga framm með vottum bundit, at herra konungs-  
 ins vald leysir Thómam af öllum lutum ok sérhverjum,  
 er krúnunni varða, svá at eingi um aldr síðan skal á  
 hann kæra, hvat hann hefir staðit eðr með konungs 10  
 gózi farit. Sem þessi tilbúnaðr er allr út, leita enn  
 lærðir menn at fá samþykt ok játyrði kosningsins af  
 signuðum Thómase. Enn þat mál er eigi fljótt, því at  
 mörg bára geingr nú þegar í hans hjarta.<sup>1</sup> Honum er  
 eigi ókunnigt, hvat setið í Kancia hefir til vegs ok 15  
 vanda. Eiginni raun hefir hann ok prófat, hvert óttaefni  
 stendr í hjá konunginum ok hans jústisum. Skilr hann  
 ok vel, at mútera þarf hann sjálfan sik frá þeiri sam-  
 þykt, er nú hafði hann veitt um hríð konungsins vilja,  
 ef kristni Guðs í Englandi skal eigi með öllu hníga. 20  
 Afla honum þvílíkar hugsanir mikla hrygð,<sup>2</sup> því at þar  
 kom samt í einu brjósti vitrleikr með Guðs ótta. Sem  
 hær er komit, segir til hans Heinrekr byskup: “ Son  
 “ minn sætasti,” sagði hann, “ lát þær eigi hrygðar afla  
 “ þetta efni, því at hêðan í frá muntu fagrlega bæta, ef 25  
 “ þú hefir nokkut brotið. Leið þær til minnis, hversu  
 “ hann gerði Paulus, hann var fyrri mótstöðumaðr

Witnesses  
are taken to  
this absolu-  
tion.

Becket still  
hesitates ac-  
cepting the  
election;

The bishop  
of Winches-  
ter entreats  
him to ac-  
cept it.

<sup>1</sup> *hiarta, honum, U. T.*

<sup>2</sup> *rygd, T.*

“ over, it cometh most chiefly to you, learned men, to  
“ give aid to such a cause, for in wariness and wisdom  
“ it behoveth you to lead to the bosom of holy church  
“ the person, whom ye choose for her ruler ; it being  
“ right fit, that an affair have a good beginning, which  
“ it is most important, should have a good end.”

Thus spoke Richard, and good cheer was made at his speech. Now this matter proceeded right solemnly, being covenanted by witnesses present that, by the power of the lord king, Thomas was absolved from each and all of the affairs which concerned the crown, in such wise that, henceforth for ever, no one should have any accusation to bring forward against him for the manner in which he had held his station or dealt with the goods of the king. Now when these preparations are all brought to an end, the learned men endeavour, once more to secure the consent and the yea-word of the blessed Thomas to the election. But that is not an affair of a hasty settlement with him, inasmuch as now there goeth many a billow to his heart, for he was nowise ignorant of the honours and responsibilities that go with the see of Canterbury. He had proved, moreover, by his own experience what cause of dread there abode in the king and his justices. He also understandeth right well that he must needs put on a change from that manner of obedience, which for a while he had been wont to yield to the king's will, if God's church in England is not to sink into utter ruin. These thoughts fill him with great grief, for here in one and the same breast abode together foreseeing wisdom with the fear of God. Now that matters stand thus bishop Henry speaketh to him.

“ Sweetest son mine,” said he, “ let this matter cause  
“ no grief to thee ; for henceforth thou wilt boot in a  
“ fair wise for aught wherein thou mayst have tres-  
“ passed already. Call to thy mind how he did, Paul,

1162. "Guðs kristni, enn síðan mestr uppheldismaðr í orði  
 "ok eftirdæmi, ok dýrkaði hana at lyktum með sínu  
 "banablóði. Gefi þat Guð Drottinn, at þú líkist honum  
 "á götu lífs ok réttlætis." Þá svaraði signaðr Thómas,  
 með upptendran Heilags Anda: "Leyndri Guðs þolin- 5  
 "mæði," sagði hann, "er geingr með yðrum vilja í  
 "þessu máli, játta<sup>1</sup> ek, þótt mjök óttandi."<sup>2</sup> Þá stendr  
 upp allr safnaðr með hátíðligri gleði. Syngst þá Te  
 deum með hringdum klokkum.<sup>3</sup> Lýkr nú svá þeim  
 fundi, at erkistóllinn í Kancia, ok enn heldr öll<sup>4</sup> kristnin 10  
 í Englandi átti at lofa Guð fyrir. Þá var liðit frá  
 hingatburð várs Herra Jesú Kristi þúshundrat<sup>5</sup> hundrat  
 lx. ok fimm<sup>6</sup> ár; þá hafði Thómas verit kanceler Hein-  
 reks um fimm ár ok vetr, ok hafði nú fjóra tigi ok iiij.  
 ár sjálfs síns aldrs.<sup>7</sup> Ríðr hann svá brutt af Lundúnum, 15  
 at hann resignerar áðr í hönd Heinreks unga alt þat  
 lèn<sup>8</sup> ok auðræði, er hann hafði haldit nær<sup>9</sup> ok firr af  
 krúnunni.<sup>10</sup>

Becket con-  
sents to the  
election.

He resigns  
his secular  
offices and  
prefer-  
ments.

<sup>1</sup> *iatti*, T.

<sup>2</sup> *ottandiz*, T.

<sup>3</sup> Not only is this account of the absolution of Becket fuller by far than any that is found in the contemporary writers, but it differs from them all in several essential points. See preface.

<sup>4</sup> *aull*, T.

<sup>5</sup> *þusundrat*, T.

<sup>6</sup> *fm*, T.

<sup>7</sup> With regard to these chronological statements, it may be briefly remarked here that they seem to refer to the two events, the death of archbishop Theobald in 1161, and to Becket's election in the spring of 1162. The 1165 of the Saga really means 1161, as it dates all events, when referred to calendar years, four years after date. The calculation by Becket's tenure of office, in this life only stated to have been five years and a half, as well as the counting by his age, give the year

1162. Cf. page 46, note 5. For further particulars, see preface.

<sup>8</sup> *leen*, T.

<sup>9</sup> *nærr*, T.

<sup>10</sup> According to this life then the resignation of all fends and wealth which Becket held of the crown, which really means of his chancellorship, took place immediately after his election to the archbishopric. The early lives, cf. William of Cant., frag. 10, Migne 236, and Garnier 29, throw no light on the subject, as to how soon after this election the resignation took place. Wendover, Chron., ed. Coxe, vol. ii. pp. 292-293, calls it "resignatio tam subita," which only can mean sudden, or immediately following the election. And the king was taken by bitter surprise when he heard of it. All things seem here to point to a mask being thrown away at the end of a successfully played part. See preface.

“ who aforetime withstood the church of God but was  
“ sithence the greatest prop of her in word and example,  
“ and glorified her at last in his blood at his death.  
“ May the Lord God grant that thou be like unto  
“ him in the path of life and rightwiseness.”

Then answered the holy Thomas enkindled by the Holy Spirit :

“ To the hidden long-suffering of God,” said he, “ which  
“ goeth one way with your will in this matter, I assent,  
“ although in great fear.” Then standeth up the whole  
congregation in solemn joy ; whereupon *Te deum* is  
sung amid ringing of bells. In such way came to an  
end this meeting, for which the chief-see of Canterbury,  
yea, the whole church in England had cause to offer up  
praises to God. At this time had past from the birth  
into this world of our Lord Jesus Christ one thou-  
sand one hundred and sixty and five years ; then had  
Thomas been the chancellor of Henry for five years and  
one winter, and was now forty-four years of his own age.  
So he rideth away from London, having first resigned  
into the hands of the young Henry all the feofs and  
properties which he had held of the Crown anigh and afar.



1162.

## KAP. XVII.

## THÓMAS VÍÐR MÚNKR.

He rides to  
Merton

Signaðr Thómas archielectus ríðr nú af Lundúnum, með virðuligri fylgd bæði lærðra ok leikmanna, til þess staðar er Merintonia heitir. Þat er hans eyrendi 5 þagat, at hann vill sýna bæði Guði ok mönnum sitt hægri handar umskifti. Hann lætr sér hugkvæmt vera, hversu <sup>1</sup> forfeðr í Kancia höfðu röksamligir verit í sinni inngöngu, at nálíga allir þeir framm frá Augustino voru af regluhúsi tilteknir, sem þrír af þeim voru 10 nefndir í öndverðri sögunni, Lanfrancus, Anselmus ok Theobaldus. Þessum vill líkjast blezaðr Thómas, sem hann kemr í Merenton, því sækir hann kirkju unnustu sinnar, jungfrú Marie drotningar; þar leggr hann af sér niðr guðvef ok silkiklædi, enn tekr upp svarta 15 skikkju ok hvíta slyppu með kanuka <sup>2</sup> vígslu, ok þá reglu hélt hann síðan með byskups embætti <sup>3</sup> svá lofsamliga, sem fám er máttuligt, at hvárki hneig fyrir öðru. <sup>4</sup> Eftir svá gert ríðr hann út af þeima stað í þá hálfu er víkr til Kanciam, ok rétt á veginum, sem 20 einn klerkr, merkiligr maðr ok honum heimonligr, er heitir Herbert af Boseam, ríðr nær <sup>5</sup> honum, talar hann svá til hans lágliga: “Bar fyrir mik nokkut í “ nótt,” sagði hann. “Á hvern hátt var þat?” sagði klerkrinn. “Svo sýndist mér,” sagði Thómas electus, 25 “sem einn virðuligr maðr kæmi til mín ok feingi “til geymslu x. pund silfrs.” Nú varð hær, sem vitr maðr má hugleiða, at herra electus skildi sýnina,

to be con-  
secrated  
monk in imi-  
tation of the  
example of  
his prede-  
cessors.

He relates  
to Herbert  
of Boseham  
a vision.

<sup>1</sup> *hversu*, T.

<sup>2</sup> *kanuka*. T.

<sup>3</sup> *embætti*, T.

<sup>4</sup> That is to say, he combined the habitus of a regular and a bishop in such manner that both were duly balanced, neither eclipsing the other. This ordination at Merton,

which is mentioned in no other life of Becket, in connexion with the “scandal” which, according to other biographers, he created among the monks of Canterbury for wearing secular dress, will be found discussed at length in the preface.

<sup>5</sup> *nær*, T.

## CHAP. XVII.

## THOMAS ORDAINED MONK.

The blessed Thomas arch-elect, now rides from London with a large following of clerks and lay folk to the place which is called Merton. His errand hither was that he desired to show unto God and man the change of his right hand. He keepeth before his mind how his forefathers of Canterbury had accorded with right rule on their accession, inasmuch as nearly all of them onward, down from Augustine, had been chosen from a house of regulars, even as the three who were named in the beginning of the story, Lanfranc, Anslem, and Theobald. To be like unto these is the will of the blessed Thomas when he cometh to Merton, wherefore he visiteth the church of his spouse, the Queen Mary; there he layeth down his costly weeds and silk attire, and taketh on a black cope and a white surplice which go with the ordination of a canon regular; and this rule he followed out ever afterwards, along with the episcopal office, in such a laudable manner, as is in the power of but few to do, that neither had to bow to the other. This done, he rides away from this stead into the direction which leadeth to Canterbury, and aright as they are on the way, and as a clerk, Herbert of Boseham, a man of mark and in his confidence, happened to ride anigh him, he speaks to him in a low voice thus:

"I had a vision last night," he said.

"What manner of vision was that?" answered the clerk.

"It so seemed to me," said Thomas the elect, "as if  
" a man of worthy mien came to me, and delivered  
" into my keeping ten pounds of silver."

Now, as a wise man will perceive, it so fell that the lord elect understood the sight, although he did not,

1162 þótt, sakir lítillætis, læti hann eigi til þýðingina.<sup>1</sup> Enn klerkrinn skildi eigi í þenna þúnt, hvat hún hafði at merkja. Enn nú er öllum ljóst, at heilagr formannsstèttir hins signaða Thóme, er Guð gaf honum, eru þau tíu þund, eftir guðspjallinu, enn ávöxtr sálnanna 5 ok uppheldi Guðs rættar er ávinningr annarra x. Ok enn segir herra electus til hans klerksins: “Með því, at þú ert oss heimonligr, viljum vèr<sup>2</sup> ok bjóðum þèr, at þú segir oss, einum samt, hverr<sup>3</sup> orðrómr á legst þat, er vèr<sup>2</sup> förum framm, því at ríkum mönnum er þat hætt- 10  
“ligt, ef einginn<sup>4</sup> dirfist at segja þeim sínar afgöngur.”<sup>5</sup> Ok enn talar hann til klerksins: “þat viljum vèr ok, at þú segir oss einarðliga, ok þó leyniliga, hvert  
“misfelli þú sèr oss hættligast, því at fleira sjá iiij. augu  
“enn<sup>6</sup> tvö,” sagði hann. Hvat hefir at þýða þessi var- 15  
ygðargrein hins sæla Thóme, utan, í fáam orðum, at hann vill hafa svá sem skygn augu bæði bak ok fyrir, utan á eingan<sup>7</sup> veg megi hann falla. Sannliga vill sá verða rættir hirðir ok lofligr leiðtogi sinnar hjarðar, er svá gerir. Enn er hann kemr til Kanciam, geingr 20  
staðarfólk út í mót honum með andligri gleði; enn lærðir menn gera út af höfutkirkjunni hátíðliga processionem, svá leiðandi hann inn sem sínum sálum af Guði gefinn. Eigi höfum vèr fundit dagstætt, nær<sup>8</sup> signaðr Thómas var kjörinn í Lundúnum til erki- 25  
byskups; enn þat má skiljast, af því sem skrifat finst, at electio hefir gerzt á vorit eftir páskir,<sup>9</sup> því at nú sem hann kemr í Canciam, stendr nálægt hvítasunnudags hátíð, ok með því at sú frægð flýgr út í ríkit fjögurra vegna, at á laugardag í helgu viku<sup>10</sup> muni 30  
Thómas electus vígjast alt til prests, enn á trinitatisdag næsta til byskups, þá fáam vèr eigi greint, hvílikt

and prays  
him to tell  
him all  
rumours  
he hears  
about his  
doings,

and to point  
out to him  
his errors.

The town-  
folk of Can-  
terbury  
flocks out to  
receive him,  
and the  
clerks meet  
him in pro-  
cession.

On the news  
being spread

<sup>1</sup> *þýðinga*, T.

<sup>2</sup> *vær*, T.

<sup>3</sup> *hver*, T.

<sup>4</sup> *eingin*, T.

<sup>5</sup> *afgöngur*, T.

<sup>6</sup> *en*, T.

<sup>7</sup> *eyngan*, T.

<sup>8</sup> *nær*, T.

<sup>9</sup> The election took place not on the 14th of May, as stated above, but iiiij. feria ante Pentecosten, Diceto, or on Thursday the 24th of the month.

<sup>10</sup> *helga vika*, Holy Week, in the Icelandic pre-reformation Church Calendar the week between Whitsunday and Trinity Sunday.

for the sake of his lowliness, give forth the interpretation thereof. But the clerk did not perceive the gist of its signification. But it must be clear to all, that the holy station of supremacy of the blessed Thomas, which God had given him, was signified by the ten pounds, according to the Gospel, but the increase of souls and the upholding of the right of God is the gain of another ten.—Again the lord elect spoke to the clerk :

“Whereas thou art in our confidence, we will and command thee, that thou tell us, being alone, what rumours there be abroad concerning our doings, for it is right dangerous to men of power if none dare tell them when they go wrong.” And furthermore he speaketh to the clerk :—

“This we also desire, that thou tell us frankly, yet secretly, what things amiss thou conceivest us to stand most in danger of, for certes four eyes see more things than twain,” said he. What signifieth this manner of wariness in the blessed Thomas, but, in few words, that he desireth to have keen eyes both afore and aback, that he may nowise fall. Verily, he who doeth such things, will be a right herd and a laudable guide of his flock.

Now, when he cometh to Canterbury, the townsfolk flock out to meet him in spiritual gladness ; but the learned men form a solemn procession out from the cathedral church, thus leading him in, as if he had been given to their souls by God.

We have not found the day stated, when the blessed Thomas was elected archbishop in London ; but from what is found written thereof, it may be inferred, that it was in spring after Easter, for now, when he cometh to Canterbury, the feast of Whitsunday standeth nigh, and when the glorious rumour flieth forth into the four quarters of the realm that, on Saturday in Holy Week, Thomas, the elect, will receive ordinations even unto that of a priest, but on Trinity Sunday the next is to be ordained bishop, we cannot tell what multitudes of

1162. fjölmenni þangat sótti víða um lönd, bæði af kirkjunni ok curia; virða margir þar til konungsins vináttu, enn aðrir eigi síðr þess mikilmennsku ok ástúð, er vígjast skal. Svo mikit megn var í þeiri tilsókn, at þar koma samt fjórtán ljóðhyskupar,<sup>1</sup> þar með ábótar, príórar, 5 erkidjárnar ok decanar, kórsbræðr ok klerkar, svá mikill fjöldi sem eigi er summerat; þar er ok Heinrekr ungi með mörgu stórmenni. Enn sakir þess, at þar eru svá margir byskupar framir menn ok mikils verðir, má þat hugleiða, at meirr enn einum þeira mundi þat fagrt 10 sýnast at bera hæsta rödd í vígslugerð svá mikils herra, ok þar hélt vit um tíma, at greinir mundi til renna, áðr þat samþyktist öllum samt, at virðuligr faðir Heinrekr byskup Vintoniensis skal öðlast<sup>2</sup> þessa sæmd,<sup>3</sup> ok er þat vel verðugt, því at hann er maðr bæði 15 kynstórr, lítillátr ok siðgóðr.

Contention among the bishops as to who should be consecrator.

1162. through the land that Becket was to be consecrated a multitude of people of all ecclesiastical grades assembled at Canterbury.

## KAP. XVIII.

## THÓMAS VIGÐR. BYSKUP.

Becket consecrated priest on Saturday in Holy week, and to bishop on Trinity Sunday.

Á nefndan laugardag<sup>4</sup> þiggr herra Thómas electus allar vígslur, ok segist dýrligt af því efni, því at æ skipaðist til meiri gæzku<sup>5</sup> hans hjarta, sem bænarorðin upplesin geingu til vaxtar með veizlum ok áminningum várs Drottins gjafa. Í sinni prestsvígslu tekr hann

<sup>1</sup> The following were the bishops present at the consecration, Bartholomew, Exeter, 1162-1184. David Fitzgerald, St. David's, 1148-1176. Geoffrey Arthur, St. Asaph, 1152-1154. Gilbert Folliot, Hereford, 1148-1163. Henry de Blois, Winchester, 1129-1171. Hilary, Chichester, 1147-1169. Jocelin de Bailleur, Salisbury, 1142-1187. Nicholas ap Gurgant, Llandaff, 1148-1183.

Nigel, Ely, 1133-1169. Richard Peche, Lichfield, 1161-1182. Robert, Bath, 1136-1166. Robert de Chesney, Lincoln, 1148-1167. Walter, Rochester, 1148-1182. William de Turbe, Norwich, 1146-1174.

<sup>2</sup> *audlaz*, T.

<sup>3</sup> This contention is also mentioned by Herbert, 1091, Cf. Ger-vase, l. c. 1382.

<sup>4</sup> *i.e.* June 2nd, 1162.

<sup>5</sup> *gæzku*, T.

people flocked thither from lands far and wide, both from the church and the Curia ; many doing so from heed to the king's friendship, but others no less from heed to the greatness and loving-kindness of him who is to be consecrated. So mighty was the congregation drawn thither, that there came together fourteen diocesan bishops and besides them abbots, priors, archdeacons and deacons, canons and clerks in such great number that the tale thereof might not be told ; there, too, was Henry the young, with a multitude of mighty folk. Now that there are so many bishops together, men of eminence and great worth, it may be well understood, that to more than one of them it must seem a glorious thing, to have the highest voice in the consecration of so great a lord ; and for a while it had well nigh come to dissension, ere it was agreed upon by all, that to the worthy father, Henry bishop of Winchester, should this honour be allotted, which was right meet, since he was a man both of great kin, lowly and of good morals withal.

#### CHAP. XVIII.

##### HOW THOMAS WAS CONSECRATED BISHOP.

The said Saturday Lord Thomas the elect receiveth all ordinations, and glorious things are told of that affair, in that his heart was disposed to grace the greater, the further the words of the prayers that were read proceeded together with the bestowals of the gifts of

1162. gull, er merkir vald ok forræði staðarins í öllum<sup>1</sup> lutum, föstum<sup>2</sup> ok lausum. Enn á trinitatis hátíð<sup>3</sup> vígist hann byskup í sjálfri höfuðkirkjunni, sem móðir er yfir allri Englands kristni. Gerðist sú vígsla með allri sæmd ok heiðr, er heilög kirkja kann at veita<sup>5</sup> sínum völdum formanni. Sem Thómas er blezaðr byskup vorðinn, eru kosnir virðuligir sendiboðar til herra páfans curiam at þiggja pallium ok honum heim flytja. Er þar nefndr fremsti maðr af þeim meistari Adam, ábóti þess staðar er Ornam ham heitir. Lyfta<sup>10</sup> þeir sinni ferð brut af Englandi með miklum ríkdómi, ok fyrr enn þeir kvomu fram,<sup>4</sup> stendr vel at greina, hvat því veldr, er virðuligr herra Alexander páfi rennr á veginn móti þeim, alt norðr um fjall.<sup>5</sup> Fyrr í páfatali, er Alexander tertius var nefndr, ferr<sup>6</sup> þat 15 með, at hann átti ávint í sínum valdsdögum, bæði fyrir ofbeki Rómverja ok norðan af Anglia. Mun enskr órói honum til mæðu síðar greinast. Enn únáð Rómverja má svá byrjast. Herra Adriánus páfi fjórði með því nafni vígði Friðrek hinn fyrsta<sup>7</sup> keisara 20 til krúnu, ok því sýndist keisari nokkuru hæfr í hlýðni vit Róma kirkju, meðan þeir lifðu báðir. Enn svá sem herra Adrianus var úthafinn, skutlast kardinales í tvo staði; birtir þá Friðrekr, hvat í honum bjó, því at hann fylgir þeim cardinalibus, er verr höfðu.<sup>25</sup> Hefja þeir allir samt til páfadóms<sup>8</sup> sterkan þrætumann, er hêt Octouianus, enn síðan rættir cardinales kjósa þann mann, er þann tíma hêt Rollant, enn síðan Alexander tertius. Ok at þeim kosningi snýst Hlöðvir

He sends for the pall to Pope Alexander who has fled from the party of the antipope in Rome north over the Alps.

[He has, during his tenure of office, to

<sup>1</sup> *aullum*, T.

<sup>2</sup> *faustum*, T.

<sup>3</sup> *i.e.*, June 3rd, 1162. Gervase says that archbishop Theobald died xiv. cal. Maii, = 18th of April 1161, and adds, "vacavit ecclesia anno " uno, mense uno, diebus quatuordecim," a statement which tallies with our Saga within a day, when the two days, that of the death of the one archbishop and that of the

consecration of the other, are counted exclusive. Cf. Herbert, 1091.

<sup>4</sup> *fram*, T.

<sup>5</sup> *norðr um fjall*, a standing phrase for north over the Alps.

<sup>6</sup> *fer*, T.

<sup>7</sup> Frederic Barbarossa, German emperor, 1152-1189.

<sup>8</sup> *pafuadoms*, T.

our Lord and the accompanying admonitions. In his priestly ordination he receiveth a golden ring, which signifieth the power and rule over the see in all things, both fast and loose. But on the day of the feast of the Trinity he is consecrated bishop in the very cathedral church which is the mother of all christendom in England. This consecration was done with all the honour and glory which holy church might bestow on her chosen ruler.

Now that the blessed Thomas has become a bishop, worthy messengers are chosen to go to the court of the lord pope to fetch the pall and to bring it home to him. Foremost among these is named master Adam, abbat of a place called Evesham. They set off on their journey from England with great riches; and it now behoves well to relate by what causes it cometh about, that the worthy lord, pope Alexander, travelleth to meet them ere they reached their goal, even all the way north over the mountain. In the tale of the popes above, when pope Alexander the Third was mentioned, this went therewith, that he had during the days of his power a heavy wind to work against, on account of the violence that rose both from the Romans and from the north from Anglia. What trials he had to bear from English troubles will be related later on. But the beginning of the vexation of the Romans may thus be told: lord Adrian, the fourth pope of that name, consecrated Frederic the first unto his crown, for which reason the emperor seemed in some measure becomingly obedient towards the church of Rome, while they both were alive. But as soon as lord Adrian had been borne to his rest, the cardinals split into two factions, whereupon Frederic made known what abode within him, inasmuch as he sided with those of the cardinals whose case was the worse. Now they altogether promote unto popedom a stern man of strife, one hight Octovianus, whereupon the right cardinals choose that man, who as at this time hight Roland, but was afterwards called Alexander the Third.



1162.  
fight four  
antipopes.]

Frakkakonungr, með cardinalibus, ok Heinrekr, nú konungr yfir<sup>1</sup> Englandi, enn þann tíma hertugi Andegauia,<sup>2</sup> ok sá kosningr öflugast, því at Guð vildi. Enn Friðrekr keisari ferr svá ofdrukkinn<sup>3</sup> með ílskunni, at þegar annarr<sup>4</sup> villupáfinn valt, hóf hann 5 annan, alt til fjórða manns.<sup>5</sup> Svá heita hans þrætupáfar, Octouianus,<sup>6</sup> Guidon,<sup>7</sup> Johannes<sup>8</sup> ok Leuidonus.<sup>9</sup> Enn páfadómr Alexandri angraðist af því mest, at nokkurir af þeim voru cardinales, ok fóru með bannsetning úbættir af heimi. Þessi er sök til ófriðar, er herra 10 Alexander þolir náliga út um xx. ár ok eitt, er hann ríkti. Enn þó sættust þeir at síðustu,<sup>10</sup> sem enn mun sagt verða. Hæðan líðr ok þat, er Alexander páfi elskar Heinrek konung, ok þolir honum meira enn dæmi finnist til, því at í sínum hertogadómi var Heinrekr 15 alúðarvin Róma kirkju bæði með orðum ok expens. Nú er eigi undarligt, þótt af því líkum ófriðaraldi angrist ok sturlist Romania, síðan stóreffismenn gangast á, sem með sterkasta stríði. Hér fyrir rýmir herra Alexander brott af Roma, því at hann fær eigi við 20 haldizt, ok gerir sem vani er rómverskra byskupa, at ef þá sækja<sup>11</sup> nokkurar þraungslir, er blezða Frakkland sem þeira erfð ok óðal til allra góðra luta. Hæðan rennr sú grein, sem fyrir var getið ok skrifat, at sendiboðar virðuligs herra Thóme þurfa<sup>12</sup> eigi at 25 lengja<sup>13</sup> sinn veg alt til Róms, því at þeir finna postoligan herra Alexandrum í þeim stað Franzia, er heitir Munipeler, ok þar þiggja þeir með sönnum góðvilja herra páfans öll<sup>14</sup> sín eyrendi, því at frægð ok mikilmennska Thóme flytr þeira mál harðla vel á 30

He is encountered by the messengers of Becket at Montpellier

<sup>1</sup> *ífr*, T.

<sup>2</sup> A chronological mistake, because Henry became king of England 1154, but Alexander the Third was elected pope first in 1159.

<sup>3</sup> *ofdryckinn*, T.

<sup>4</sup> *annar*, T.

<sup>5</sup> *manz*, T.

<sup>6</sup> Octovianus, antipope Victor IV., 1159-1164.

<sup>7</sup> Guidon, antipope Paschal III., 1164-1168.

<sup>8</sup> Johannes, antipope Calixtus III., 1168-1178.

<sup>9</sup> Leuidonus, antipope Innocent III., 1178-1180.

<sup>10</sup> *síðztu*, T.

<sup>11</sup> *sækir*, T.

<sup>12</sup> So U.; þur only in T.

<sup>13</sup> *leingia*, T.

<sup>14</sup> *auill*, T.

This election was countenanced by Louis, king of the French, siding with the cardinals, and Henry, at this time king over England, but at that time duke of Anjou. This election became valid, because it was the will of God. But the emperor Frederic rushes on headlong, overdrunk with evil, in such wise, that when one heretical pope tumbled alow, he raised up another, even unto the fourth man. These are the names of his strife-popes, Octovianus, Guidon, John, and Levidonus. But this was the greatest grief of the popedom of Alexander, that some of these were cardinals, who even departed this world in unremitted excommunication. This is the cause of that worry which pope Alexander must needs endure for well nigh twenty and one years that he reigned. But at last they came to peace, as will be related hereafter. Hence, too, it cometh about, that pope Alexander loveth king Henry, and beareth with him beyond all example, for in his dukedom king Henry was a fast friend of the church of Rome, both in words and expenditure. Now it is no wonder that the church of Rome should be aggrieved and troubled by such burning strife, since men of overweening might set on one another as with the fiercest warfare. For this reason lord Alexander leaveth his place at Rome, since he might not hold himself there, and fareth after the wont of Roman bishops, to whom, whensoever any troubles come upon them, France the blessed is like a heritage and patrimony in all good things. Hence cometh the clause aforesaid and written, that the messengers of the worthy lord Thomas have no need to lengthen out their journey even all the way to Rome, inasmuch as they meet the apostolic lord Alexander in that stead in France which is called Montpelier, where, through the true good will of the lord pope, they get sped in all their errands, the fame and the greatness of Thomas pleading

1162.  
and gives  
the pall  
readily to  
them.

garðinum.<sup>1</sup> Svo vanda þeir aftr í veg ok koma heim með elskuligri farsæld. Ok þvísa næst fagnar enn at nýju heilög Cantuariensis kirkja, því at á næsta hátíðisdegi þeira heimkvomu öðlast<sup>2</sup> hon virðuligan erkibyskup með pallio ok postoligr röksemd.<sup>3</sup> 5

## KAP. XIX.

## HVERSU THÓMAS ERKIBYSKUP HÁTTAR DAGLIGA SÍNUM HAG.

Change in  
the life of  
Becket.

Sem virðuligr herra Thómas er erkibyskup vorðinn, vendir hann um sínu siðferði, bæði með orðum ok athöfn- 10 um sem þeim manni til heyrir, er Skaparann elskar yfir alla luti. Svá semr<sup>4</sup> hann sitt líf, at bæði fyrir kenning orðs ok eftirdæmis megi hann leiða sinn lýð á sanna lífsgötu. Vel má til hans tala, at hann bar tvo dýr- luga menn, var annarr<sup>5</sup> harðlífr reglumaðr, enn annarr<sup>5</sup> 15 virðuligr erkibyskup; því reglumaðr, at hann bar leyniliga snarpt hárlæði á sinn beran líkam, enn því virðuligr erkibyskup, at hann berr fyrir utan þau klæði, sem bæði eru hvít ok hrein, víð ok síð, með hvítum skinnnum ok luktum ermum, svá mundanglig, 20 at hvárki voru þau nè með þeim ofranar mynd, nè forlitning. Elskuligt var honum at vera þvílíkr

His dress  
betokens an  
ascetic per-  
son as well  
as a bishop.

<sup>1</sup> According to other authorities it would seem that the pall was not quite so easily procured as the saga leads us to understand. The cardinals claimed fees from the archiepiscopal legates, but they pleaded poverty, distance from home, &c., and thus managed to get it for nothing. But it was understood at Canterbury, without doubt, that the granting of the pall gratis was one of the privileges of the see; cf. chap. xxiv.—Garnier, 24, 25, a very interesting account, Fitzstephen, Migne, cxc. 123. Herbert, *ib.* 1092. See preface.

<sup>2</sup> *audlar*, T.

<sup>3</sup> This mission from Canterbury must have taken place in the interval between the 3rd of June and

the latter part of July, for pope Alexander is known to have left Montpellier before the 23rd of the latter month, and not to have been again in that place during the remainder of 1162. Jaffé, *Regesta Pont. Rom.* 685–687.

<sup>4</sup> *Uendir hann um sínu siðferdi bæði með orðum ok athöfnum sem þeim manni til heyrir, er skaparann elskar yfir alla luti sua sem hann [bætur, U.] sitt líf, i.e.* “He maketh a change in his manners, both in word and deed, as behoveth him, who loveth his creator above all things so as he [reformeth] his life,” &c., which gives no sense. The emendation requires no explanation.

<sup>5</sup> *annar*, T.

their cause right profitably at the court. Thereupon they wend on their way back, and come home with a right fair godspeed. Next to this the holy church of Canterbury hath to rejoice once more, inasmuch as on the next feast day after the return of these messengers, she receiveth a worthy archbishop with pall and apostolic authority.

### CHAP. XIX.

#### HOW ARCHBISHOP THOMAS FARETH IN HIS DAILY MANNER OF LIFE.

Now when the worthy lord Thomas hath become an archbishop, he maketh a change in his manners, both in word and deed; as behoveth him who loveth his creator above all things. He now shapeth his life in such wise, that through the teaching of both word and example he may lead his people unto the true path of life. It may well be said of him that he bore in him two glorious persons: the one, a regular of ascetic living; the other, a worthy archbishop; a regular for this reason, that he secretly wore a rough hair-cloth, next to his bare body, a worthy archbishop for this reason, that outwardly he wore clothes both white and clean, wide and long, with white fur and closed sleeves, but of such moderation that neither did they, nor aught about them, form any show of pride or disdain. To him it was right

fyrir Guðs augum, enn sammyndaðr mönnum. Yfir þessa hirting ok mæðu, er hárlæðit fær honum með sinni úmfýkt fremr hann<sup>1</sup> þá góðfýst ok lítillæti, at hann legst

<sup>1</sup> *Elskuligt var honum at vera þvilíkr fyrir guds augum. Enn sammyndadr fyrir mönnum, yfir þessa hirting ok mæðu er hárlæðit fær honum, með sinni mykt fremr hann, i.e., "sweet was (it) to him to be such before God's eyes. But 'conformis' before man, over this chastisement and affliction which the haircloth bringeth upon him, with (in) his meekness he exerciseth," &c., T. and U. The construction of the latter sentence is at war with every rule of Icelandic syntax, besides conveying in the combination *sammyndadr fyrir* an expression which means nothing. It is evident that the sentence *Enn sammyndadr*, &c. is meant to be a counterpoise to the first, *Elskuligt var honum*, &c. It is therefore important to know what the word *þvilíkr* refers to. The text, though not very clear, is clear enough to show that it was Becket's delight to bear about two persons, the regular and the bishop, before God; such, *þvilíkr*, to be, was his delight; and then comes the other side of his delight in the sentence *enn sammyndadr*, &c., the side that looked on man. Now, in eliminating from the text the word *fyrir* before *mönnum*, which seems to be but a repetition of the *fyrir* after *þvilíkr*, by clerical inadvertence or ignorance—the scribe of the present text of Thomas Saga frequently misunderstands his original—and removing the full stop after *augum* and introducing it after *mönnum*, the balance of the context is naturally effected—such to be before God and yet to conform to the ways of man—and the original sentence,*

I have no doubt, is thereby produced, being countenanced besides by the contemporary biographers discoursing on the identical point as our saga:—

"Paucisque consociis sub lorica fidei militabat, gaudens quod in triplici veste triplicem personam gereret: exteriori clericum exhiberet, interiori monachum occultaret, intima eremitæ molestias sustineret; *gaudens quod exteriori mundum falleret, interiori fratribus suis se conformaret.*" William of Canterb. frag. 6.

"Facies ejus exterior similis erat multitudini intus omnia dissimilia." Fitzstephen, 124.

"Ceteris enim exterioris se sicut in habitu sic et in victu conformans, et inter eos jucundus et hilaris; intus tamen dissidere curabat, juxta illud viri sapientis *frons populo nostra conveniat, intus autem omnia dissimilia sint.*" Anon. Lamb. 283.

"Sub honestate vestium Christi militem, ne merita vana gloria minueret, studiosius occultabat, ut juxta sapientis edictum *frons ejus conveniret populo: cum intus essent fere omnia dissimilia.*" John of Salisb. *ib.* 199.

In the new sentence, *Yfir þessa hirting ok mæðu*, &c., I have ventured to emend *mykt*, meekness, which, according to T. and U., refers to Becket, into *úmykt*, roughness, *hirsutia*, referring it to the haircloth. This is so evidently the reading required, and gives such a natural turn to the context, that I need enter into no discussion as to the necessity of so emending the text, or as to the probability of the original being thus restored.

sweet to be even such in the sight of God, and yet to conform to the ways of man. Over and above that chastisement and affliction which the hair-cloth bringeth upon him with its roughness, he exerciseth such devotion and humbleness, that he layeth himself many a time on the

He submits himself to flagellation. mörgu sinni lágt til jarðar undir þann líma<sup>1</sup> er hans<sup>2</sup> trúnaðarklerkr veitir honum. Má þat hugleiða hjarta-góðr maðr, hversu klerkr sá mundi úglaðr ganga til þeirrar grátligrar sýslu, at plága ok pína nauðigr svá blezaða persónu. Svá venr Thómas nú þegar sína limu<sup>3</sup> 5 at þola þyngri luti, at píslarvættis nafn má hann

Daily dress. í þvílíku harðrètti vel greinast. Dagliga berr hann yztan stola hvítan yfir<sup>4</sup> öll sín klæði til áminningar, hvat er hann reiknast Guði skyldugr sèr ok öðrum til fagnaðar. Enn nú sem greint er í stuttu máli, hversu<sup>5</sup> 10 signaðr Thómas skipar ómjúkliga við sjálfs síns líf ok líkam, stendr vel, at vèr heyrim þessu næst, hversu<sup>6</sup> mjúklátliga hann skipar vit limu Drottins várs Jesú

He washes the feet of thirteen needy people in the night. Krists, fátæka ölmusumenn. Á hverja nótt sem úti var óttusöngr,<sup>7</sup> eru innkallaðir þrettán fátækir menn 15 í nokkut leyniligt herbergi, þar sem borð er sett ok búit. Í þetta herbergi geingr sjálfr erkibyskup ok leggr af sèr klæðit, enn gyrðir sik einum dúk, ok þvær frammfallinn þeira fætr, er fyrir sitja, með svo mikilli nægð guðligrar miskunnar, at tárin fram af hans<sup>8</sup> 20 augum samflutu því vatni, er hann þvær<sup>9</sup> með. Með þeiri mýkt ok frammfalli biðr hann þá Guðs ölmusumenn

and waits upon them at table and gives to each four shining pennies. Then goes to rest. árna sèr Guðs miskunnar. Síðan þjónar hann þeim til borðs bæði mat ok drykk, ok þar umfram gefr hann fjóra skæra penninga hverjum þeira þá enn með<sup>10</sup> 25 knèfalli. Eftir þat ganga þeir út, enn herra erkibyskup ferr at sofa um nokkura hríð. Enn því fremr herra erkibyskup þetta miskunnarverk heldr á nátt enn<sup>11</sup> 7 dag, at hann firrist alla hræsni,<sup>12</sup> ok í aðra grein, at eingin fjölskylda dragi hann frá þvílíkri staðfesti. 30

Other thirteen people are admitted Annan tíma móti lýsing eru innleiddir aðrir þrettán fátækir; þjónar þessum ok þvær<sup>13</sup> einn bróðir skipaðr af

<sup>1</sup> *lima*, T.<sup>2</sup> So U.; *han*, T.<sup>3</sup> *iftr*, T.<sup>4</sup> *hucrasu*, T.<sup>5</sup> *ottusöngr*, T.<sup>6</sup> *þuerr*, T.<sup>7</sup> *en*, T.<sup>8</sup> *hræsi*, T.<sup>9</sup> *þuer*, T.

earth under the rod wherewith his private clerk ministereth flagellation to him. And any one of a feeling heart may well imagine, how sad that clerk must have been, in going to such a sorry business as to plague and torment that blessed person against his will. Even now Thomas accustometh his limbs to the endurance of the heavier penances, so that his name may well be recorded as that of a martyr for such hardships. Every day he weareth a white stole over all his clothes to remind him of his duty towards God, for the joy of himself and others.

But now, since it has been told in short language, how unsparingly the blessed Thomas dealeth with his own body and life, it well behoveth, that we should next hear, how meekly he dealeth with the limbs of our Lord Jesus Christ, the poor folk of alms. Every night, when matins have been sung, thirteen poor people are called in and shown into a certain lone chamber, where a table is set forth and laid. Into this chamber goeth the archbishop himself, and laying aside his robes and, girding himself with a cloth, kneeleth adown and washeth the feet of those who are sitting there already, and with such fulness of godly compassion, that the tears from his eyes flow together with the water wherein he washeth. Thus meekly kneeling adown he entreateth these almsfolk to pray on his behalf for the mercy of God. After this he serveth them at table both with meat and drink, and beyond this giveth four shining pennies to each, kneeling down at the same time. This done they go out, but the lord archbishop goeth to sleep for a while. But for this reason the lord archbishop chooseth to perform this work rather anight than aday-time that, in the first place, he escheweth all vain glory and, in the second, that no urgent business might draw him away from a steadfast observance thereof. A second time, toward day-dawn, another batch of thirteen poor folk is led in, who are waited on and washed by a



about the time of dawn, who are waited upon by a deputy, but to these no money is given.

About the third hour of the day one hundred poor people are fed.

erkibyskupi. Sá bróðir geymir<sup>1</sup> at nokkurum lut fátækra manna fê, sem þessu manntali hæfir; hann hefir ok þjónustu í stað erkibyskups í fyrra fótaþvætti, ef hann er eigi heima. Er sú misgrein þessarrar innleiðslu tvennrar, at í síðari<sup>2</sup> gefast eigi penningar. Þriðja<sup>5</sup> samkunda er skipuð nærri þriðju stund dags, í þeiri er hundrat fátækra manna, þiggja þeir allir brauð ok drykk inóg. Nú, sem heyrast má, eru þessar ölmusgerðir svá stórar, at eingi erkibyskup í Cancia hafði geingit meirr enn til hálfis vit Thómam, ok mun<sup>10</sup> þó rétt at hugsa, at eigi sè hær allar greindar, því at handviss<sup>3</sup> var þeim ölmusan er báðu, hvárt sem hann var heima eðr í sýslu sinni.

## KAP XX.

## ATFERÐI THÓME.

15

The archbishop rises early.

and goes into his study to pray and to read the Scriptures.

He studies scriptural concordance with Herbert of Boscum.

Nú er þar til at taka, sem fyrr var frá horfit, at herra Thómas erkibyskup hefir sofit um stund eftir fótaþvottinn. Ríss hann upp svá vakrliga, at þá ero enn aðrir menn í náðum. Hann geingr þá inn í sitt studium, bæði til bænar ok heilagrar ritningar, því at<sup>20</sup> studium heilagrar bækr var honum harðla kært, þegar eigi stóð fjölskylda fyrir. Sem hann hefir setið um stund ok trakterað, er svo lofsamligr hans vani, at hann sendi skósvein sinn at kalla fyrr nefndan klerk, Herbert af Boseam, at þeir báðir samt greini fagrliga,<sup>25</sup> eftir réttu formi ritninganna, hversu þat rennr í samþykt, sem sýnist sundrligt. Eftir þat gert sem byskupi

<sup>1</sup> geymir, T.

<sup>2</sup> síðari, T.

<sup>3</sup> handviss, T.

brother set to the doing thereof by the archbishop. This brother keepeth a certain hoard of money for the poor, even as much as suiteth this number of folk; he also doeth service at the first washing of feet on behalf of the archbishop, when he happeneth not to be at home. In so far the two entertainments differ one from the other, that in the latter there is no giving away of money. A third gathering is ordained towards the third hour of the day, wherein there be one hundred poor people, all of whom receive bread and drink enow. Now, these almsgivings, being such as you have heard even now, are so great, that no archbishop of Canterbury had ever gone further therein than half the way that Thomas goeth, and yet it shall be full right to think, that they be not all told of here; for to all who asked for them alms were as certain as if they lay in their hand, no matter whether the archbishop himself was at home, or abroad in his diocese.

## CHAP. XX.

### THE HABITS OF THOMAS.

Now the tale is to be taken up, whereas we departed from it afore, when lord Thomas hath slept a while after the washing of feet. He riseth so early that all other folk are as yet still at rest. He then goeth into his study, both for prayer and the reading of holy writ; for to him the study of the holy book was right dear, when the duties of office did not stand in the way. Now when he hath sat awhile and pondered, it is his laudable wont, to send his page to call the afore-named clerk, Herbert of Bosham, in order that they, both together, should reason, in a fair wise, according to the right manner of interpreting the scriptures, how such things may run together into one harmony, which seem to be of a discordant nature. Now when this has been done to the liking of the bishop, he, who had been called, turn-

líkar, víkr sá brutt er<sup>1</sup> kallaðr var. Enn þat blezaða hugskot sitr þá enn eftir í sama stað, lesandi saman í sínu hjarta, sem hunannglignan sætleik, þat, sem áðr var tracterað með röksamligum<sup>2</sup> skilning ok concorderan. Þvílíkan hug elskaði sá blezaði byskup, at 5 vera öðrum vitrari, ok þykkjast þó annarligrar vizku þurfandi. Svá sitr hann framan til messumáls einn samt, hvárt sem hann officerar eðr eigi. Enn<sup>3</sup> þær hátíðir sem sjálfr hann skal syngja, geingr hann til skrýðingar á þriðju stund, með svá lofsamligu upphafi, 10 at þegar sem hann sèr messuklæðin ok skrúðann at sèr borinn, ógnar hann sinni samvizku með svá lítilláttri hugleiðing, at þegar eru tárin úti, ok þeiri sömu góðfýsi heldr hann framm í allri sinni embættisgerð<sup>4</sup> at hans heilög ásjóna þornaði aldri frá tárur, ok þaðan 15 af geingr svá hjartaligr tregi með háfum andvörpum, at varla<sup>5</sup> fekk röddin sitt frelsi til frammburðar. Meðan messan syngst framm til evangelíum,<sup>6</sup> less hann þær bænir,<sup>7</sup> er forverari hans sætrar<sup>8</sup> minningar, Anselmus erkibyskup, hafði componerat. Leingstum hafði hann 20 eina collectu, hafði hann ok þrjár, enn fleiri trautt eðr eigi. Einga nýjung leiðir hann í embættisgerð sína, utan heldr hefir hann alt eftir heilagra feðra setning. Svá fremr hann ok embættið<sup>9</sup> með fögrum hætti, at öllum var hugbót í er hjá stóðu. Enn þat var auð- 25 sýnt, at sakir varygðar flygandi hugsanar, gerir hann

At the third hour he robes for mass with deep devotion.

He weeps and sighs profusely while officiating.

While mass is being sung he reads prayers.

He has generally one collect, sometimes three, never more.

His delivery rapid.

<sup>1</sup> After *er* is added *sem* in T.

<sup>2</sup> *rauksamligum*, T.

<sup>3</sup> *En*, T.

<sup>4</sup> *embættisgerð*, T.

<sup>5</sup> *varla*, T.

<sup>6</sup> *evangelium*, T.

<sup>7</sup> So T., but originally written *idranar*.

<sup>8</sup> *settrar*, U. and T. I have preferred *settrar minningar*, *dulcis memoris*, to *sællar minningar*, *beatus memoris*, on account of the radi-

cal *r* (following *tt*), and yet it is possible that the scribe had before him in *originali sællar*, which he wrote *settrar*, a not uncommon form of gen. sing. of *sæll* in late MSS., but in that case it is not obvious, certainly, how he could come to write *tt* instead of *ll*. But *settrar minningar*, *positus memoris*, is anyhow wrong.

<sup>9</sup> *embættid*, T.

eth away. But that blessed mind sitteth still behind in the same stead, gathering together in his own heart, like a honeyed sweetness, what already had been treated with well reasoned interpretation and concording. Such was the frame of mind in which the blessed bishop delighted to be, namely being wiser than other men, to avow himself none the less in need of the wisdom of others. In this manner he sitteth alone even up to the hour of mass, no matter whether he happens to officiate himself or not. But on such feast-days when he is to chant himself, he goeth forth to be robed at the third hour with such laudable beginning, that on seeing the mass clothes and the accoutrements brought to him, he straightway overaweth his conscience with such thoughts of humility, that the tears pour out forthwith; the same devotion he maintaineth all through while officiating at the public worship, in that his holy countenance never was dry from tears, wherewith there went such heartfelt contrition with loud sighings, that the voice might scarce be given forth with full freedom. While mass is being sung through down to the gospel, he readeth the prayers which his predecessor, archbishop Anselm of blessed memory, had composed. Most frequently he had one collect; but he had also three, but more than that he had rarely, or never. No novelty bringeth he into his form of worship, but holdeth all things according as they had been settled by the holy fathers. In such a beautiful fashion he performeth the worship, that it was a spiritual comfort to all who were present thereat. But it was easily seen that out of wariness, lest the thought should go a-wandering, he performed all his

In preach-  
ing he was  
lucid, his  
pronuncia-  
tion sweet  
and effect-  
ive.

His episco-  
pal actions  
compared  
with the  
gold, in-  
cense, and  
myrrh,  
which the  
wise men  
from the  
east brought  
to the infant  
Saviour.

alla sína þjónustu með fjótu yfirbragði.<sup>1</sup> Þat er ok greinanda, at þá tíma sem hann prædikar fyrir sínu fólki, geingr hann í því embætti svá lýstr ok lærðr af Guði, at frammburðrinn var bæði mjúkr ok mikilvirkr með reyndum röksemdum<sup>2</sup> ok sætleik elakuligum.<sup>5</sup> Ofþluga mykti hann þat hjarta með sínum blezuðum áminningum, er áðr var hart ok frosit í langri vanrækt ok syndum, ok var þat líkligt, at hans tárlic góðfýst leiddi aðra menn til tára, einkanliga<sup>3</sup> fyrir þá grein, at hann lærði þat eina, er hann lifði sjálfr. Hér má 10 nú sjá vegligan förunaut ok félaga þriggja konunga, er af austrríki fóru með þrennum fórnnum at tigna Drottin Jesum, blezaðan Maríu son. þeira offr var gull, reykelsi ok mirra. Sannliga var nú lesit um stund, hversu heilagr Thómas erkibyskup geingr með sama offur<sup>4</sup> um 15 nætr ok daga fyrir várn Græðara.<sup>5</sup> Gull fórnar hann, með rætti glósu, þá er hann þjónar fátækum mönnum með ölmusugæði, tárnum ok knéfalli, því at gull er fegrst ok dýrast yfir allan málm; svá er ok ölmusan á dómsdegi, sem heyrast mun af sjálfs Drottins munn. Fórn-20 færði hann ok ilmanda reykelsi sínum Guði fyrir svo fallna glósu: Reykelsi lagt á glóð leitar í loftið gjarna; sömu leið fór hans signaða bæn til himna, þá er hann fórnfærði, er alt flaut í upplitningar hæð ok ilmandi gæzku<sup>6</sup> fyrir Guði. Til lagði hann ok mirram, þessi 25 blezaði<sup>7</sup> byskup. Með mirru smyrjast dauðra manna líkamir; svo lagði hann sömu mirru upp á sinn líkam, þá er hann deyddi sinn líkam ok sitt hörund með hárklaði ok húðstrokum, ok þjáði frá röngum<sup>8</sup> girndum eftir várs Drottins boðorðum.

30

<sup>1</sup> This seems to be a loose reminiscence of "Comedebat itaque festinantem propter immissiones per angelos malos perniciosarum scilicet variarum cogitationum supervenientium," &c. Quadr. prior, fol. 9, 6b, cf. Herbert, 1099-1101.

<sup>2</sup> röksemdum, T.

<sup>3</sup> einkannliga, T.

<sup>4</sup> So. T.

<sup>5</sup> gredara, T.

<sup>6</sup> gæzku, T.

<sup>7</sup> blezaði, T.

<sup>8</sup> raungum, T.

service with an air of swiftness about it. It is also worth being related, that when he preaches before his people, he moveth in that office so enlightened and so well taught by God that his delivery is both smooth and powerful with proven reasoning and lovely sweetness. Right often did he soften with his blessed admonitions the heart, which heretofore had been hard and frozen in long heedlessness and sins; and it was full likely that his contrite devotion should lead others to tears, especially for this reason, that he taught such things only in accordance with which he lived himself. Here, now, you may see a worthy fellow-traveller and companion of the three kings who from eastern realms journeyed with threefold gifts to worship the Lord Jesus, Mary's blessed Son. Their offerings were gold, incense and myrrh. Truly you have now read awhile how the holy archbishop Thomas goeth with the same offering, night and day, before Our Healer. By a right interpretation, he offereth gold, when he serveth the poor with almsgiving, tears, and humble kneeling on his knees; for gold is beyond all metals the fairest and dearest, as alms are on the day of judgment, even as shall be heard from the mouth of the Lord Himself. By this interpretation he likewise offered odorous incense to his God, inasmuch as incense, being laid on gleeds, will seek straightway up into the air; the very way that his blessed prayer went up to heaven, while he performed the offering which all flowed together up on high in exaltation and fragrant sweetness before God. Unto this added he the myrrh, this blessed bishop. With myrrh the bodies of dead people are anointed; the same myrrh he did on his own body, whenas he mortified his body and his skin with hair-cloth and flagellations, and weaned it from wrong desires according to the commands of our Lord.

## KAP. XXI.

## AF SETNINGI THÓME.

At noon he sits down to dinner. On the right of him sit twenty learned clerics.

On the left sit monks and regulars.

Knights and courtiers have a separate table.

His table was rich in varied dishes; but he partook of them sparingly.

Nærri nóntíma dags geingr signaðr Thómas erkibyskup í höll sína til borðs með svá gott mannaval, at fám höfðingjum veittist þvílíkt. Þeir æru xx. at tölu 5 uppsitjandi yfir hans hásetisborð<sup>1</sup> honum til hægri handar, er allir megu með réttu kallast meistaramenn í spekt ok öllum fróðleik, sæmiligir í siðferði ok heilögum lifnaði; þat til marks, at eftir líflat heilags Thóme var eingi þeira minni maðr í Guðs kristni enn<sup>2</sup> 10 erkidjárn<sup>3</sup> eðr decan. Sumir urðu<sup>4</sup> byskupar ok erkibyskupar; einn af þeim varð ok sjálfr páfinn Urbanus tertius.<sup>5</sup> Þvílíkir eru samsætismenn virðuligs Thome erkibyskups, hafandi svá vænan sess, sem fyrr var tjáð, til hægri handar, enn múnkar ok reglumenn til 15 vinstri handar. Yfir þetta signað<sup>6</sup> borð heyrst eingi rödd nema heilög leccio út alla máltíð. Ok því skipar erkibyskupinn riddurum ok öðru hoffólki sérligt borð, at þeir megi hafa með lágri hófsemð sína skemtan. Varla kom sá tiginn maðr á garðinn, at brygði þessu 20 samsæti, sem áðr er greint, á tvær hendr herra erkibyskupi. Enn þeir voru þó sæmdir dýrum sendingum af honum sjálfum, er til garðs kvomu, því framar sem þeir voru meiri virðingar. Þat er ok auðsýnt í sögu þessi, at bæði virðing ok langr vani bar til þess Thó- 25 mam erkibyskup at hafa ríkuligt borð með fögrum ok ýmissum réttum.<sup>7</sup> Enn þótt margir ok lystiligr væri<sup>8</sup> honum settir, tók hann af fám, ok þó harðla lítið, með svá miklum bindendis krafti, at upp frá borðinu stóð hann í hvern tíma heldr vanmettr enn ofmettr, sem 30

<sup>1</sup> So U., *hasetis bod*, T.

<sup>2</sup> *en*, T.

<sup>3</sup> So U.; *erchidiak*, T.

<sup>4</sup> *urðu*, T.

<sup>5</sup> Hubert Crivelli, pope Urban III., 1185–1187. I cannot find

that any of the contemporary writers mention him as among Becket's suite at Canterbury.

<sup>6</sup> So T.; *signada*, U.

<sup>7</sup> *reitum*, T.

<sup>8</sup> *veri*, T.

## CHAP. XXI.

## CONCERNING THE HOUSEHOLD RULES OF THOMAS.

Anigh to the noon of day the blessed archbishop Thomas goeth into his hall to table, with such a select company about him, that to few lords the like of it ever befell. The tale of them is twenty who sit at the table of his high seat, on the right hand of him, all of whom may in good sooth be called masters in wisdom and all knowledge, right laudable for their manners and holy living, whereof this is the mark that, after the death of the holy Thomas, not one of them was a lesser man in the church of God than archdeacon or a dean. Some became bishops or archbishops, and one of them was he who afterwards became the very pope Urban the Third. Such are the men who sit with the worthy Thomas archbishop at his board, keeping such an honourable seat as was said afore, on his right hand, but to the left of him are monks and regulars. Over this blessed table no sound is heard but that of a holy lesson all the meal through. Therefore the archbishop ordereth a table to be set apart for knights and other courtly persons, that they may have their pleasantries thereat in a lowly moderation. There scarcely ever came to the archbishop's court a man so noble that the aforesaid manner of sitting at table on either side of the archbishop should be departed from. Yet those who came to his court were honoured with costly things, sent to them by himself, the more so the greater their worth was. It is also easily seen in this story that both honour and long custom bringeth it about that archbishop Thomas has a richly furnished table with fair and varied dishes. Yet, many and luscious though were the dishes put before him, he touched but few, and eat of each right little, all with such might of abstemiousness, that he stood up from table each time rather under-fed than over-filled, whereof



He drank little wine.

After dinner he repaired to his room to have holy scripture discussed; or he would have a short sleep, or else go to listen to the pleading of law cases.

His love to God and his neighbours.

He took great care of the hospital for the sick.

His bounties twice as great as those of archbishop Theobald.

þeira skynsemd mátti vel dæma, er sátu í hjá honum. Sömu dygð framdi hann á vín upp ok valinn drykk, at eingi beiðni úleyfðrar girndar sigraði hann þar um. Enn er borð voru upp tekin ok gratias görvar,<sup>1</sup> geingr herra erkibyskup með lærðum mönnum í sitt herbergi, 5 ef honum líkar at disputera um helgar ritningar. Er þat ok til, at honum líkar vel í þenna tíma, at sofna nokkut lítt. Þriðja grein er sú til, eftir atvikum, at sitja yfir málum manna, því at iðjuleysit forðast hann bæði nætr ok daga. Enn þat var líkligt, þótt hans 10 náttúra beiddi, at<sup>2</sup> hann hneigðist á daginn til nokkurrar hvíldar, því at svefntímar hans voru eigi langir á nóttina, fyrir þjónkan fátækra, fyrir tár ok trega, bæn ok stúderan.<sup>3</sup> Enn svá heitt sem hann unni sínum Lávarð ok Lausnara, var ástúð náungsins æ sammilskut 15 í hans hjarta sameigin til allra, ok þó einkum til aumra manna, sárra ok sjúkra; því at þessum veitti hann, fyrir Guðs nafn, eigi at eins fæðslur ok fæmuni,<sup>4</sup> heldr svá föðurliga<sup>5</sup> umhyggju, sem lesit er, at hann gerði oftliga heimonliga menn sína at vitja sjúkra 20 manna herbergi, at þeir álti með vandvirkt, hversu sú renta ok vitværi aktast inn ok geymist, at þagat liggir með rætti skipan. Ok Guði til tignar vitjar hann sjálfr mörgu sinni þessa sáluhúss,<sup>6</sup> at eiginni raun sè<sup>7</sup> honum ljóst, hvat þeim líðr er þar liggja. Til þessarrar 25 sálubúðar leggur hann tíund af öllu því gózi,<sup>8</sup> er á garðinn kemr, ok þat má segja, með fám orðum, at þær Guðs gjafir, er hann hefir vald yfir, eru allar öllum sameignar. Theobaldus erkibyskup var mildastr maðr fyrir honum, ok þó setr Thómas öll<sup>9</sup> miskunnarverk 30 tvífold yfir hans dæmi. Nú svá mjúkr sem hann var

<sup>1</sup> *giornar*, T.

<sup>2</sup> *ath*, T.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. p. 98-100.

<sup>4</sup> *fæmuni*, T.

<sup>5</sup> *fodrliga*, T.

<sup>6</sup> So altered by the editor. *þetta*

*sálhus*, T., an evident scribe's blunder.

<sup>7</sup> *sie*, T.

<sup>8</sup> *godzi*, T.

<sup>9</sup> *aull*, T.

the reason of those could judge who sat beside him. The same virtue he exercised in wine and choice drinks, so that no prompting of an illicit desire ever gained a victory over him in that matter. But when the tables were removed, and grace had been said, the Lord archbishop goeth with the learned men into his chamber if it liketh him to have a discourse on holy writ. It might also happen that, at this time, he was well pleased to have a little sleep. Thirdly this might happen too that, if affairs did allow, he would sit listening to the pleading of law-cases, for idleness he escheweth both night and day. But it was likely enough that his nature should bid him to incline in daytime to some rest, since anight-time his hours of sleep were not long because of his service to the poor, his tears and penance, his prayers and studies. But hot as was his love to his Lord and Redeemer, the love to his neighbour was ever blended together with it in his heart, being common to all, and yet most chiefly so to the wretched, the wounded and the sick; for on these people he bestowed, for the sake of the name of God, not only food and fees, but also such a fatherly care, as is to be read of him, that he often sent privily his own men to visit the chamber of the sick, that they might carefully inquire, how the rent and income, which belonged thereto according to rightful ordinances, were returned and taken care of. And for the glory of God he visiteth many a time this house of healing himself that he may know, by his own experience, how they fare who lie alow there. Unto this house of salvation he granteth a tithe of all the goods that come into the court, yea, and in few words it may be said, that all the gifts of God over which he hath power, are the very own of all folk. Archbishop Theobald was the most bounteous of men before him, and yet Thomas setteth all works of charity doubly above his example. Now meek as he was towards those of

He was mild to the poor, fierce to the ribald, and

forgave the repentant readily.

vit lítmagnann, svá var hann ríkr ok röksemdarfullr<sup>1</sup> við ribbaldann; því at þeim harðýðgismanni, er standa átti undir hans álögum, var mikit gefanda til, at hann hefði forðast hvárttveggja samt, þat er at skilja, tilverkan glæpanna ok hirting þvílíka. Enn þeir sem 5 hann sóttu með mýkt ok iðran annmarka, þótt lögbrot væri<sup>2</sup> afskapliga stór, mættu þeir eigi stríðari ásakan sem harðlyndir, heldr fundu þeir brátt, hvern föður<sup>3</sup> þeir áttu fyrir innan, er allr læk i eldi<sup>4</sup> ástarinnar, ok grét með grátundum, ok því svá, at hans blezut sam- 10 þíning mátti ekki aumt sjá.

## KAP. XXII.

## AF RÖKSEMD THÓME ERKIBYSKUPS.

He was wary and strict in all things concerning those who were to be ordained priests.

Þessu næst er greinanda, Guði til sæmdar, hversu signaðr Thómas var í sinni embættisgerð bæði varr ok 15 athugall, þat er vígslugerðum<sup>5</sup> til heyrir; því at honum var hugkvæmt, hvat er Páll postoli sagði sínum lærisveini:<sup>6</sup> Legg eingum manni vígsluhönd án forsjó, at eigi samlagist þú syndum hans.<sup>7</sup> Þetta orð varaðist mjök herra erkibyskup, ok setti lögliga<sup>8</sup> prófan þeim, 20 er vígjast vildu. Ok fyrst allra luta lítr hann á, eftir reglu ritninganna, hvárt sá er vígslu verðr, sakir lifnaðar, er framm setlar, þar næst rannsakar hann kennidóm ok vizku,<sup>9</sup> sem þeiri vígslu heyrir til, er sá stundar til. Þessu næst skoðar hann, ef vígslan 25 ferr fram,<sup>10</sup> hverja forsjó eðr beneficium hverjum hann megi veita, at eigi þröngvi<sup>11</sup> þann öreign<sup>12</sup> á reikanar stig, er Guði skyldast at þjóna með sannri staðfestu

<sup>1</sup> *röksemdarfullr*, T.

<sup>2</sup> *veri*, T.

<sup>3</sup> *föðr*, T.

<sup>4</sup> So U.; *elli*, T.

<sup>5</sup> So U.; *vígslagerdum*, T.

<sup>6</sup> *lerisucini*, T.

<sup>7</sup> 1 Tim. v. 22.

<sup>8</sup> *laugliga*, T.

<sup>9</sup> *vitzku*, T.

<sup>10</sup> *fram*, T.

<sup>11</sup> *þraungni*, T.

<sup>12</sup> *aureign*, T.

little might, quite as mighty was he and full of authority against the ribald ; for anyone beset with hardness of heart, who had to stand under visitations, might well have given much that he had avoided the two things together, namely, the commission of his guilt, and such a chastisement. But those who sought him with meekness and repentance for their trespasses, yea, even if the law had been broken in an excessive manner, met no further with stern accusation as if they had been hard of heart, but soon found what a father they had inwardly in him who was all ablaze with the fire of love, weeping with those who wept, and that too for this reason, that his blessed compassion could not bear to see any suffering.

## CHAP. XXII.

### OF THE ZEAL OF ARCHBISHOP THOMAS.

Next to these things it is to be told, for the glory of God, how wary and heedful the blessed Thomas was in his office in all things appertaining to matters of ordination ; for he bore in mind what the apostle Paul said to his disciple : lay the hand of consecration on no man without foresight, that thou have no fellowship in his sins. This word the lord archbishop heeded right much, and set up a lawful examination for those who were desirous of being consecrated. And first of all things he examineth, according to the rule of scripture, whether he who is minded to proceed to it, is worthy of ordination on account of his manner of living. Next to this he examineth the attainments in doctrine and knowledge that ought to appertain to the ordination unto which the candidate aspireth. Next to this, the ordination having been performed, he searcheth his mind as to what sort of provision he may make, or what benefice he may give to each one, in order that destitution thrust him not into ways leading him astray, who is bound in duty to serve God with true steadfastness and holy heed of

ok heilagri vaktan sinnar vígslu. Svá var honum hugstætt<sup>1</sup> alt samt þetta vandlæti<sup>2</sup> kirkjunnar, at varla vildi hann treysta nokkurum manni til þess-arrar prófanar<sup>3</sup> nema sèr sjálfum, því at hann sagði berliga, at hverr<sup>4</sup> sá byskup, er úverðan vígir án<sup>5</sup> lögligri prófan, styggir stórliga mjök sjálfan Guð, þótt vígðr betri síðan sitt ráð. Því var hann ok ráðvandr í vígslugerðunum, at hann var<sup>6</sup> til eingrar<sup>6</sup> ömbunar,<sup>7</sup> ei til gullpennings sjáandi, þjónkanar eðr eftirmælis, því at öll símonía var í útlegð frá hans<sup>10</sup> hjarta. Sömu guðhræðslu,<sup>8</sup> fyrir utan ágirnd, varðveitti hann í allri kristninnar stjórn, dómum ok málaferlum, því at florinn smaug aldri hans samvizku. Þat fylgir hær með, sem dásamligt er til frásagnar, ok fágætt fyrir eyrum kristninnar, at af einum valdsmanni var<sup>15</sup> alt hans ráðuneyti,<sup>9</sup> svá sett ok samit í varygð ok völdum réttvísí,<sup>10</sup> at öllum<sup>11</sup> þeim var fémútan<sup>12</sup> svá leið sem ljótr óvin, ok því sitr heilagr Thómas með sínu ráði rætt<sup>13</sup> ok úhallr í málaferlunum, at þar inni var eingi sá löstr, er rangsnýr dóminum, sem<sup>20</sup> er fésníkni ok mannamunr,<sup>14</sup> hatr ok vinátta, heldr var þar í miðju frammsett rættlætis vog, með vægð eftir atvikum ok reglu laganna, hversu hvert mál á at hneigjast sem bezt samir. Enn þótt herra erki-byskup siti með öllu kauplaust yfir áskilnaðargrein<sup>25</sup> sinna undirmanna, gefr hann sik betr liðugan at

<sup>1</sup> *hugstædt*, T.

<sup>2</sup> *vandlæti*, T.

<sup>3</sup> *prouanar*, T., but *logligri profan* immediately afterwards.

<sup>4</sup> *hær*, T.

<sup>5</sup> *uar* added in U.; om. T.

<sup>6</sup> *eyngrar*, T.

<sup>7</sup> *aumbunar*, T.

<sup>8</sup> *gudhræziu*, T.

<sup>9</sup> *radyneyti*, T.

<sup>10</sup> *uoldu rietváisi*, T., which cannot be right, *uoldu* being dat. sing. neut. governed by the prep. *i*, but

*riettváisi* to which it refers being fem. and never occurring as a neuter. The alteration, though making correct grammar, does not quite satisfy me.

<sup>11</sup> *öllum þeim*, i.e., the members of his council, which is just stated to have consisted of one *valdemaðr*, man of power, or rule, namely, Becket himself.

<sup>12</sup> *femutan*, T.

<sup>13</sup> *riettv*, T.

<sup>14</sup> *mannamun*, T.

his ordination. All this zeal on behalf of the church he kept so steadily before his mind, that he scarcely would trust anyone but himself with this examination; for he was wont to say openly, that any bishop who ordained an unworthy person without a lawful proof, thereby greatly offended God himself, yea, even though the ordained person might afterwards mend his manner of life. In all matters appertaining to ordination he was thus heedful of his ways, because he looked to no reward, no golden penny, no service or adulation, for all simony was banished from his heart. The same fear of God, without avarice, he observed in all the government of the church, in judgments and lawsuits, for the florin never slipped through his conscience. With these things goeth also that, which is admirable to relate, and rarely comes to the ears of the church, that his whole council consisted of one official person so settled and composed in wariness and the power of rightwiseness that unto all of them the bribe was as loathsome as a lewd foe, and therefore the holy Thomas sitteth with his council straight and unbent in lawsuits, because that within him there was no such vice as turneth to the wrong a judgment, such vice being sneaky lust for gold, respect of persons, hatred and friendship; but rather there was set forth the standard weight of rightwiseness, with mercy according to circumstances and the rule of the law, which showeth how each case must needs turn towards that which is most fitting and seemly. Now, although the lord archbishop sitteth entirely unpaid over the dissensions of his underlings he none the less alloweth himself greater leisure to

skoða vöxt<sup>1</sup> ok efni málanna, enn þeir sumir, er skrapa hinn mállausa.<sup>2</sup> *Blezaðr sè sá byskupsгарðr, er svá var fyrir Guðs ástríki fagrliða síðaðr, ok á þeim tíma mjök virðandi, því at úvíst er at nú finnist þvílíkr.*<sup>3</sup> Enn at þetta lof hins blezaða Thóme er eigi<sup>5</sup> orðum aukit, þá leiðum vèr til vott hversu<sup>4</sup> satt er.

<sup>1</sup> *wogst*, T.

<sup>2</sup> *i.e.*, the florin, money.

<sup>3</sup> The words in italics are evidently an interpolation of the translator, or of a later scribe. All the old authorities bear a unanimous witness to Becket's integrity, justice, and conscientiousness in his judgments, and some of them in remarkably similar terms:—

“Quicquid justitiæ fuit, et fecit et docuit, et quæcunque his contraria a se funditus elongavit.” Grim, Migne, cxc. 11. “Quoties tamen causis aliquibus eum interesse officii necessitas deposcebat, miram exhibebat in audiendo patientiam, in inquirendo, seu discutiendo diligentiam, in iudicando quoque justitiam. Tam munerum quam personarum acceptione prorsus postposita corripiebat cum magna libertate delinquentes, durius autem semper divites et potentes.” Roger, *ib.* 67. “Aderant ei virtutis species quatuor . . . justitia, qua Deo et cuique quod suum erat conservare studebat.” Fitzstephen, 125. “Manus suas excutiebat ab omni munere et a domo sua sordes avaritiæ prorsus eliminabat. Erat quoque providus in consiliis et in ventilatione causarum diligens et modestus auditor, in interrogationibus subtilis, in responsionibus promptus, justus in iudiciis, et personarum prorsus acceptione deducta, juris per omnia rectissi-

“mus exsecutor.” John of Salisb. *ib.* 199.

Herbert of Boseham devotes to the description of these qualities in Becket a long sermonizing chapter, in many points, however, an interesting one, as the following: “Excutiebat manus suas præsertim a suspectis muneribus ut ab his, quos causas habere nosset, nec obolum nec etiam valens acciperet. Nisi forte aliquid esculentum et poculentum aliquod offerretur, quod decenter respuere non valeret. Illorum certe semper munera recusare consueverat quibus credebatur accipere necesse magis quam dare. Ab illis etiam, et si aliquando, raro tamen accipiens, quibus ob causam fuisset offensus, etiamsi abundantes forent hi, quasi cum domino spernens Cain et munera ejus, et respiciens solum propter Abel ad Abel munera, non propter munera ad Abel. Verum ab aliis cum multa gratiarum actione accipiebat, quos sibi amicos et hilariter dare noverat; nec post donum detrimentum passuros. . . . Avaritiam etiam tamquam iudiciorum velut quoddam lethale toxicum, non solum a se, sed et a suis tam longe projiciens, tam excutiens et tam evitans, ut ipsam a domo sua penitus eliminaret.” *Ib.* 1102–1105.

<sup>4</sup> *hversu*, T.

examine the growth and the nature of the cases, than some of the others, who scrape the mute one. *Blessed be the bishop's court which through the exceeding love of God was so beautifully mannered, a thing worthy of much regard as at that time, for it is an unseen matter that now there be found any such.* But to show that this praise of the holy Thomas is nowise over-done in these words, we bring forward here a witness to show what the truth is.



An abbat offers money for advancing his case;

but his proffers are scorned at Canterbury.

Abóti einn ríkr kom til Kanciam með málefnum nokkurum, er hann vill vinna. Ok sakir þess, at honum er vel kunnig veröldin, hversu hinn kringlótti, er jafnan þegir, vinnr málin ok flytr fyrir höfðingjum, hugsar hann, at hær muni líkr heimr ok í öðrum 5 stöðum. Því ýtir ábótinn florin á garðinum ok ætlar at smyrja ráð erkibyskups til frammkvæmdar<sup>1</sup> máli sínu. Enn hær er annat fyrri. Sá gullpenningr, er veröldina<sup>2</sup> lokkar ok dregr með megni, er í þessum stað hataðr ok hrundinn, því at florin ábótans vill ráð 10 erkibyskupsins eigi sjá, ok eigi því síðr fær<sup>3</sup> hann öll sín málalok á garðinum, sem vel líkar honum. Svá ferr hann í brutt ok frægir þenna lut sem eina nýjung.<sup>4</sup> Hann tók svá til orðs : “Einn hofgarð fann ek þann “ fyrir litlu, er gull fyrirmsár,<sup>5</sup> ok skipar þó málum 15 “ harða vel.<sup>6</sup>” Enn hverr<sup>7</sup> mun boðat fá með fullu þá sæmd ok siðferði, er þessi Guðs maðr öðlast<sup>8</sup> ok aflar bæði fyrir sik ok aðra? Ok því má svá hugleiða, at þetta, sem nú hefir lesit verit, er nokkur tilvísan vitrum manni, hversu margtækr ok mikilvirkr sæll 20 Thomas erkibyskup hefir<sup>9</sup> verit í sínum kraftaverkum. Skal nú þessu næst víkja málinu til þeira frammferða, er hans sýslu ok yfirferð til heyra.

## KAP. XXIII.

AF UMVANDAN HEILAGS HERRA THÓME ERKIBYSKUPS.<sup>10</sup> 25

Becket visits his diocese.

Eftir lítinn tíma sem Guðs maðr, Thómas erkibyskup, hefir setið at stóli sínum, byrjar hann sína visiteran með svá háleitri góðfýst við fólkít, sem byskupinum

<sup>1</sup> *framkuendar*, T.

<sup>2</sup> So U.; *ueröldin*, T.

<sup>3</sup> *ferr*, T.

<sup>4</sup> *nyung*, T.

<sup>5</sup> So U.; *fyrirmsaat*, T.

<sup>6</sup> Herbert, alone, of the contemporary writers, mentions the story

of this abbat, but tells it fuller than T. *Ib.* 1105.

<sup>7</sup> *huer*, T.

<sup>8</sup> *audlaast*, T.

<sup>9</sup> *hefir*, T.

<sup>10</sup> So T.

A certain abbat and wealthy came to Canterbury with some law affairs which he was minded to gain. And inasmuch as he knoweth the world well, how the round-one who is ever silent, gaineth cases and pleads them before the great, he thinketh that the world here must be like unto what it is in other places. The abbat, therefore, holdeth forth, at the court, the florin, meaning thereby to oil the council of the archbishop for the furtherance of his own case. But here something else is first to be met. The golden penny, which decoyeth the world and draweth it along with its might, is in this stead hated and spurned, in that the archbishop's council will not look at the coin of the abbat, who none the less getteth all his cases settled at the court even as it liketh him well. Then he goeth away and magnifieth this matter as a novelty, thus taking up the word: "A certain courtly stead I found a short time ago, such as scorneth gold and yet settleth right well the affairs of men."

But who may fully proclaim the honour and excellence unto which this man of God attaineth, and which he reapeth both for himself and others? And, therefore, let it be borne in mind, that what has now been read is, for a wise man, in some way a guide to show how abundant in his miracles the blessed archbishop Thomas has been, and how very mighty in the working thereof.

Next to these matters let the tale turn to the doings which concern his diocese and visitations.

### CHAP. XXIII.

#### OF THE REPROOFS OF THE HOLY LORD THOMAS ARCHBISHOP.

When God's man, archbishop Thomas, has sat on his throne a little while, he then after that beginneth his visitation, in such exalted goodwill towards the

Meek to those who obey; fierce to the wicked, especially in matters of church property,

er boðit, með hjálpsamligum áminningum, prædikanar embætti ok lögligum hirtingum. Mjúkr ok ástúðigr var hann sínum lýð, öllum þeim er lýðnir vildu vera, enn <sup>1</sup> ranglátum var hann hvellr hamarr <sup>2</sup> til hegningar. <sup>3</sup> Finnir hann ok því gjörr, sem hann ferr víðara, hversu 5 lögleysur ok vondar úvenjur eru í móti kirkjunni svá sem hefðaðar. Einkanliga ríss þat mál af því lastúðga grunni, er fyrr var skrifat, af skutlan ok gripdeild, er fyrr leiddist upp á Guðs eign. Nú kynnist sælum Thómasi frammar enn fyrr, at jarðir erkistólsins liggja <sup>10</sup> nokkurar sem herleiddar með eignarnafni undir leikmönnum; ok sakir þess, at hann hefir skift um rúmin, ok á nú Guðs rættar at reka, sýnist honum á eingan <sup>4</sup> veg þolanda, hverr <sup>5</sup> sem í lut á. Hann veit ok í sínu brjósti, hversu mikinn vilja hann hefir til at veita <sup>15</sup>

which he reclaims with greater zeal than his predecessors, without regard for persons with whomsoever he has to deal.

Lately lost estates he seizes without any form of law.

Long lost property he vindicates by evidence.

meira Guðs ölmusum enn aðrir fyrir honum í Kancia, ok því setr hann sik einarðan umframm sína forfeðr, at kalla afr undir kirkjuna fasta eign ok lausa, er hon á með rættu, hvárt sem undan dregst <sup>6</sup> at fornu eðr nýju. Ok þótt ríkir menn eðr konungsmenn haldi nú áðr <sup>20</sup> þessar eignir, verða þeir af láta, því at erkibyskup gerir í þessu máli alla jafna. Nú þær eignir, sem nýliga hafa undan lagst fyrir umboðsmanna vanmegn eðr eftirmæli við ríkismenn, ok hann veit víst at kirkjan á, tekr hann með sterkri hendi án öllu prófi afr undir <sup>25</sup> erkistólinn, því at hann segist eingan rekstr eðr mæðu vilja bera fyrir því fê ok frelsi, er hann veit efalaust kirkjunnar eign, ef hún skal úrænt vera. Enn þar als <sup>7</sup> staðar sem meiri fyrnd er á fallin, leiðir hann til ellri

<sup>1</sup> en, T.

<sup>2</sup> hamar, T.

<sup>3</sup> heginna, T.

<sup>4</sup> eyngan, T.

<sup>5</sup> huer, T.

<sup>6</sup> drez, T.

<sup>7</sup> allz, T.

people, as a bishop is commanded to bear about, with salutary admonitions, with officiating and preaching, and with lawful chastisement. Meek and loving he was to his people, all those who chose to be obedient, but to wrong-doers he was a loud-sounding hammer of punishment. The wider he journeyeth the more clearly he findeth, how lawlessness and evil abuses are held up against the church as by right of prescription. But these matters rise especially from that nefarious cause of which we have written afore, namely the squandering and rapaciousness which heretofore had been perpetrated against God's own property. Now the blessed Thomas cometh to know, better than before, that some of the estates of the arch-see lie as led into captivity under the name of laymen as owners of them; and whereas he hath now exchanged his place, and hath to wreak the right of God, these things seem to him nowise to be endured, with whomsoever he may have to deal. He also knoweth in his heart, how earnest a will he hath to set aside more for the alms of God even than the others who have been before him in Canterbury, and therefore going beyond his forefathers he dauntlessly setteth about reclaiming for the church her fixed and loose property which rightfully belongeth to her, no matter whether it hath been drawn from her in ancient or recent times. And although mighty folk or even the king's own men now hold these properties already they must give them up, for in this matter the archbishop maketh all men equal. All properties which have lately fallen off by want of power in the bailiffs of the church or by reason of indulgence shown to mighty men, such, whereof he knoweth for sure the church is the owner, he draweth with a strong hand, and without any proof at all, back to the arch-see, saying that he will not have no litigation or trouble about such properties and privileges which he knoweth, without any doubt, to be in the rightful possession of the church, if she is to be left unrobbed. But everywhere, where the property has

Contracts  
enmity.

His enemies  
complain of  
him to the  
king, who  
takes the  
matter  
calmly, and  
promises  
peace.

The king  
comes to  
England.

The arch-  
bishop goes  
to meet him  
at South-  
ampton.

Their meet-  
ing is cor-  
dial, and  
Becket's  
enemies de-  
sist.

manna vætti eðr letr skilrík, ok tekr svá aftir undir kirkjuna.<sup>1</sup> Nú þótt þessi frammferð væri.<sup>2</sup> lofsamlig, líkar hon eigi öllum því heldr, því at þeir sturlast harðla mjök, sem hær eiga hlut í; svá ok hinir sem óttast eigi síðr, at þeim falli flísín, þótt síðar<sup>3</sup> sè. því<sup>5</sup> lyftast þessir hvarirtveggju<sup>4</sup> nú þegar til únáða, hafa sig brutt or landi ok sækja suðr um sjó á fund Heinreks konungs, flytjandi heldr sniðhvasst af frammferðum erkibyskups. Enn með því at heimonleikr er harðla kær<sup>5</sup> með konunginum til erkibyskups, tekr hann<sup>10</sup> friðsamliga flutningi<sup>6</sup> þeira, segir at þat má vel hafa góðan enda,<sup>7</sup> býðr þeim at vera sem velkomnir, þar til hann vendir heim til Englands aftir sjálfr, ok erkibyskup má heyrast.<sup>8</sup> Ferr þetta svá framm, at litlu síðar<sup>8</sup> kemr herra konungrinn til Englands, ok þessir í hans fylgd,<sup>15</sup> sem áðr eru greindir. Signaðr Thómas erkibyskup gerir eingva dvöl á at finna konunginn sem fyrst, hefir hann í ferð með sèr fóstrson sinn<sup>9</sup> Heinrek unga, því at þeira í millum var svá mikil ástúð, sem tveggja nástæðra manna, hvárt sem þeir voru dagliga báðir samt eðr sèr<sup>20</sup> hvárr. Þeir mæta konunginum í þeim stað, er Suðhamtún heitir, ok ganga svo í fyrstu inn fyrir hann, at þeir haldast í hendr. Konungrinn sýnir sik vel blíðan, ríss upp af sætinu mót erkibyskupi, ok kyssast með kærleik. Enn er þeir sjá þenna fagnafund, er mishaldnir þikkjast,<sup>25</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Grim, *ib.* 12; Fitzstephen, *ib.* 126, 127, who mentions, among the estates which the archbishop reclaimed for the church of Canterbury, the castle of Tunbridge, then in the possession of Roger, count de Clare, and the living of Eynesford, which the archbishop had conferred on a certain priest, by name Laurentius, but William of Eynesford claimed to be in his gift. To these Herbert, *ib.* 1120, adds the feud of William de Ros and the Tower of Rochester.

<sup>2</sup> *veri*, T.

<sup>3</sup> *sidarr*, T.

<sup>4</sup> *hvarirtveggju*, T.

<sup>5</sup> *kær*, T.

<sup>6</sup> *flutningi*, T.

<sup>7</sup> *enda*, T.

<sup>8</sup> Cf. Grim, l. c., who says that one of the sources of the discontent against Becket was caused by his rigorous supervision of the court clergy, who exasperated the king and the whole royal family against him; and Herbert, l. c.

<sup>9</sup> *sin*, T.

lapsed for a length of time, he bringeth forth the testimony of old men or of trustworthy documents, and thus taketh them again under the church. Now although this was a laudable way of proceeding, it is nowise liked by people any the more, for those who have any part herein become right mightily troubled in their minds; so also the others who no less fear that the trap may drop upon them, though it may chance to happen later. Now both these parties bestir themselves forthwith for bringing troubles about, get themselves gone from the land and seek king Henry, south over sea, showing up in bitter language the dealings of the archbishop. But whereas there is right dear intimacy between the king and the archbishop, the king receiveth their representations peacefully, saying that this may well come to a good ending, and praying them to be welcome with him until he return himself to England and the archbishop be heard himself. Now matters go on in such wise that shortly afterwards the lord king cometh himself to England, those joining in his suite who have been mentioned already. The blessed Thomas delayeth not to go and meet the king at his earliest, having with him his foster-son, the young Henry, for between the two there was such fond love as between two nigh-born kinsfolk, whether they happened to be both together daily or severally apart from each other. They meet the king in a place called Southampton, and make their first appearance before him in such manner that both walk hand in hand. The king showeth himself right blithe, rising up from his seat to meet the archbishop, and they kiss each other lovingly. Now when they, who held themselves to have been wrongfully dealt with,

fordjarfast þeir ok þegja, því at þeim sýnist eigi færi at flytja, meðan svá stendr. Dvelst herra Thómas um nokkura daga með konunginum, tala þeir margt ok nytsamligt eftir vana sínum um ríkisstjórn ok landsstjórn ok rétt. Enn eftir þat liðit tekr hann orlof 5 ok skiljast þeir með fullri blíðu.<sup>1</sup>

## KAP. XXIV.

## AF THOMASI ERKIBYSKUPI.

1168.  
Pope Alexander III.  
overcomes  
four anti-  
popes.  
Compiles  
the Codex  
Alex. III.

Holds two  
councils.  
Council of  
Tours,  
May 15.

Becket goes  
there to  
renew the  
privileges of  
Canterbury.

Svo stendr skrifat, at herra Alexander páfi tercius hefir einkanliga þrent lof í kristninni,<sup>2</sup> þat fyrsta<sup>3</sup> at hann 10 sigraði fjóra þrætumenn, sem fyrr var greint; lagasetning hans er önnur grein, því at hann samdi eina bók, er af hans nafni kallast Alexander Tertius, þat þriðja, at hann hélt tvö kennimanna þing í sínum valdsdögum, annat í Róm,<sup>4</sup> enn annat í Turon á Frakklandi. Ok 15 þat sem hann heldr í Turon hæfir þessum stað sögunnar,<sup>5</sup> sem nú er komit, því at miðil annarra byskupa ok lærdómsmanna, er víða um kristnina voru samt kallaðir í einn stað, ferr virðuligr faðir, Thómas erkibyskup, ok sækir þetta þing. Byr<sup>6</sup> hann sik til þeirar farar 20 með allri stórmennsku,<sup>7</sup> bæði at ríkdóm ok vegligu föruneysi. Þat er ok hans tilbúnaðr, at hann vill endrnfja þau privilegia sinnar kirkju, sem nú sýndust mjök fyrnd, enn voru þá mjök nytsamlig. Má þar nefna til þrjár greinir, er nóterast í sögu þessi, er allar 25

<sup>1</sup> Herbert alone among the old biographers mentions this meeting of the king and the archbishop, and says it took place "primo anno consecrationis pontificis, ni fallor, cito post salvatoris natalitios dies." His account of this meeting agrees pretty closely with the saga. *Ib.* 1121.

<sup>2</sup> So U.; *kristinni*, T.

<sup>3</sup> *fysta*, T.

<sup>4</sup> This must be supposed to refer

to the Lateran, 11th ecumenical council, which was held 5th-19th of March, 1179, by authority of pope Alexander.—*Mansi*, xxii. 213. A Roman council under his auspices also sat in 1168, which excommunicated the emperor of Germany, and absolved his subjects from their oath of allegiance. *Ib.* 35.

<sup>5</sup> *saugunnar*, T.

<sup>6</sup> *byrr*, T.

<sup>7</sup> *stormenzku*, T.

see this joyful meeting they become confounded, and hold their peace, for they think the time for setting forth their grievances unseasonable, while matters stand thus. Lord Thomas dwelleth for certain days with the king, and, as was their wont, they hold converse together on many and useful things relating to the government of the realm, the rule and right of the land. When these things pass by he taketh leave, and they part in full fast friendship.

#### CHAP. XXIV.

##### OF ARCHBISHOP THOMAS.

It is written, that pope Alexander the Third is worthy of praise in the church for three things chiefly, first, that he overcame four men of strife, as is written afore; his legislation is the second thing, in that he composed a certain book, which from his name is called Alexander Tertius; and the third, that he held two clerical councils in his days of power, one at Rome, the other in Tours in France. The council he holdeth in Tours fitteth well the story at the point, whereto it hath now proceeded, since among other bishops and men of learning who were called together from the church from far and wide, the worthy father, archbishop Thomas, goeth and visiteth this council. For this journey he fitteth himself out in a right lordly fashion, both as to wealth and well appointed following. For this reason also he maketh ready to go, that he is minded to get renewed the privileges of his church, which now seemed fallen clean into forgetfulness, but were even at this time mightily useful. In this matter three chief points may be named, which are noted in



1163. þurftu<sup>1</sup> frumtignar af herra páfanum, ef þær samþykkja lögunum.<sup>2</sup> Þat er skrifat lögmál, at kapitulum hverrar kirkju skal kjósa sér byskupsefni, enn eigi er sá kosningr öflugr, fyrr enn prófast lögligr, ok eflist fyrir herra páfans eðr erkibyskups vald. Svá kjörinn ok<sup>5</sup> confirmeraðr má eigi vígjast af nokkurum lýðbyskupi nema fyrir herra páfans eðr erkibyskups boðskap. Svá kjörinn confirmeraðr ok vígðr skal sjálfr sækja pallium í páfagarð, fyrir þá röksemd,<sup>3</sup> at hin rómverska móðir skal prófa fyrr bæði lífs fegrð ok vizku, enn<sup>10</sup> hon veitir þat. Nú vill svá vera í setning laganna, at allra þessarra greina hafi Cantuariensis kirkja þegit privilegia.<sup>4</sup> Virðuligr Thómas kanceler var kjörinn innanlands<sup>5</sup> í Lundúnum, ok þegar stóð sá kosningr með því afli, at hann vígðist litlu síðar, eigi af herra<sup>15</sup> páfanum,<sup>6</sup> heldr af herra Heinriki Vintoniensi; eigi sótti hann pallium utan fyrir sendiboða. Nú má sýnast líkligr til þess blezaðr Gregorius páfi, fyrir þá gæzku,<sup>7</sup> er hann lagði upp á Englands kristni, at erkistólnum í Kancia hafi hann gefit svá mikit frelsi,<sup>20</sup> með því at þat er höfutstaðr í öllu Englandi,<sup>8</sup> fyrir þá grein, at fóstrson hans, Augustinus, var þar fyrstr erkibiskup; er ok kunnigt, at eigi sótti hann pallium til Róms,<sup>9</sup> eigi vígðist hann ok þar, heldr í Sax-

The privileges of Canterbury.

<sup>1</sup> þurftu, T.

<sup>2</sup> lögunum, T.

<sup>3</sup> röksemd, T.

<sup>4</sup> That which the original calls here "privilegia" amounts in reality to immunities, as appears clearly from the context.

<sup>5</sup> So U.; innanland, T.

<sup>6</sup> Added by the editor; herra byskupi, T., which is obviously wrong. The drift of the argument is that, although the law provided that a bishop, elected and confirmed, might not be consecrated by any diocesan bishop without an authorization from the pope, or from an archbishop, yet Becket's consecra-

tion by a diocesan bishop, without any such previous authorization, was valid none the less. This requires either the reading I have chosen, or *erkibyskupi* instead of *byskupi*, the former being much the more preferable of the two, on account of what follows: *eigi vígðist hann ok þar*, i. e. in Rome.

<sup>7</sup> gæzku, T.

<sup>8</sup> *sua* added after *Englandi*, T.

<sup>9</sup> With reference to the privileges which Becket went to have renewed at Tours, all the old authorities are silent, when we except the short allusion of Herbert: "nonnullis "ecclesiis suis privilegiis renovatis,"

this story, as requiring the primary authority of the lord pope, ere they could be held good in law. It is a written law, that the chapter of each church shall elect their own bishop; but such election is not valid until it is proven to be a lawful one and is sanctioned either through the power of the pope or the archbishop. One so elected and confirmed may, however, nowise be consecrated by any diocesan bishop, except on an order either from the pope or the archbishop. One so elected, confirmed, and consecrated, must himself fetch the pall even from the papal court, for this reason, that the Roman mother herself may prove the beauty of his life and his learning, or ever she grants the pall. Now it happens to be found settled by law that concerning all these things the church of Canterbury had received her privileges. The worthy Chancellor Thomas was elected within the land in London, and that election was full valid at once, so that shortly afterward he was consecrated, not by the lord pope, but by Lord Henry of Winchester; nor did he fetch the pall but by legates. Now it may seem right likely, that the blessed pope Gregory, through the great love which he bestowed on the church of England, must needs have granted to the arch-see of Canterbury this great freedom, inasmuch as that was the metropolis of all England, for this reason, that his fosterson, Augustine, was the first archbishop there; it being well known, too, that he fetched not the pall from Rome, nor was he consecrated there either, but in Saxland.<sup>1</sup> Here followeth the

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<sup>1</sup> *i.e.* Germany.

1163. landi.<sup>1</sup> Hér fylgir fjórða grein í frumtignum Kantuariensis kirkju, at<sup>2</sup> hennar erkibyskup er legatus<sup>3</sup> herra páfans yfir öllu Englandi, þat er at skipa þeim málum, er eingum heyrir til af lögunum nema rómverskum byskupi. Ok þetta sama vald hefir Thómas erkibyskup, 5 sem birtist í sögunni, þar til ágirnd ok öfund ríss í móti. Sæll Thómas erkibyskup, sem hann er albúinn, tekr hann í haf ok fær<sup>5</sup> þá höfn í Flandr, er Graf-

Comes to  
Flanders,

Migne, exc. 1123, they being lost in the description of the magnificent reception of the archbishop. The chief point seems to have been the mode of bestowing the pall. As a rule it had to be paid for very heavily. Becket instructed his messengers, without doubt, to demand it gratis, the year before, a demand which evidently met some difficulty at the papal court. Cf. p. 94, and note 1. Becket then, it would seem, based his demand on the mode in which the pall was granted to the first archbishop of Canterbury, Augustine. Gregory the Great, in a letter to St. Augustine, dated June 22nd, 601, bestowed on him the pall, apparently unsolicited, in these words: "Et quia nova Anglorum ecclesia ad omnipotentis Dei gratiam eodem domino largiente et te laborante perducta est, usum tibi pallii in ea ad sola missarum solennia agenda concedimus," &c. It would seem that this must have been considered as a "constitutio privilegii" at Canterbury, although at Rome it was viewed in a different light, since we find that Canute the Great, on his visit to Rome, 1027, doubtless in consequence of complaints from York and Canterbury, had to remonstrate with the pope on the subject, and thus announced the result of his negotiations: "Conquestus sum ite-

"rum coram domino papa, et mihi valde displicere dixi, quod mei archiepiscopi in tantum angaria bantur immensitate pecuniarum quae ab eis expetebantur dum pro pallio accipiendo secundum morem apostolicam sedem ex-terent: decretumque est ne id deinceps fiat." Epistola Canuti regis ad Anglorum proceres, Mansi, xix. 499. We cannot doubt that Becket, a consummate lawyer, and jealous of his right, was aware of these data, and based on them, besides others, as far as the pallium was concerned, a claim to the above privileges which are only mentioned in this life of him.

<sup>1</sup> This is a mis-statement, the source of which I am unable to point out, for Augustine was consecrated at Arles in France by Virgilius, bishop of that see, A.D. 588-610.

<sup>2</sup> So U.; ok, T.

<sup>3</sup> This refers to the archbishop of Canterbury as *legatus natus*. "Sunt denique legati nati quorum dignitati conjunctum est legationis officium ita ut legati fiant statim ac dignitatem consequuntur. Eo jure fruuntur episcopi Cantuariensis et Eboracensis in Anglia," &c. Devotus. Instit. Canon. Tom. i. page 135-136.

<sup>5</sup> farr, T.

fourth point which goeth with the primacy of the church of Canterbury, that her archbishop is a legate of the lord pope for all England, for to settle such affairs which, according to law, it appertaineth to no one but a Roman bishop to settle. And this power the archbishop Thomas exerciseth, as the history showeth, until avarice and envy rise up against him. Now when the blessed Thomas is ready, he putteth to sea, and maketh a harbour in Flanders, which is called Gravelines, having

1163.  
and is re-  
ceived in  
great honour  
by the lords  
of the land.

Proceeds  
through  
Normandy  
and Maine.

Is received  
in state at  
Tours.

The pope  
rises to  
meet him.

ingr heitir, ok hefir áðr tekit kærligt<sup>1</sup> orlof af Hein-  
riki konungi með fullri blíðu. Er þá eigi langt áðr  
enn sjá má, hveðrar frægðar<sup>2</sup> ok mikilmennsku<sup>3</sup> hann<sup>4</sup>  
er, því at ríkismenn í landinu sækja hans fund með  
sönnum góðvilja bjóðandi honum svá með frjálslleika,<sup>5</sup> 5  
hvat er hann vill af þeira gózi hafa. Af Flandr ferr<sup>6</sup>  
hann erkibyskup í Nordmanniam, ok er þat fljótt til  
frásagnar, svá sem hann kemr í ríki Englands, er  
honum svá fagnat með allri virðing sem sjálfum Hein-  
reki konungi. Hæðan<sup>7</sup> kemr hann framm yfir<sup>8</sup> Ceno- 10  
manniam,<sup>9</sup> ok svá upp í Franz. Enn er hann nálgast  
Turon, ok heyrinkunnigt verðr í borgina, at hann er  
nálægr, er þat með miklu megni, hversu staðarfólkit  
tekr þau tíðindi<sup>10</sup> með mikilli gleði. Lærðir ok  
leikmenn hafa sik út af staðnum framm á veginn<sup>11</sup> 15  
í móti honum, ok eigi síðr sjálfir kardinales með  
svá mikilli ferð, at eigi sátu meirr eftir hjá herra  
páfanum enn einir tveir. Hèr með ferr<sup>12</sup> þat til  
frábærrar sæmdar, at þann tíma sem herra páfinn<sup>13</sup>  
heyrir herra erkibyskup kominn innan borgar, geingr 20  
hann út af því herbergi, sem áðr hafði hann setið,  
at eigi þröngist<sup>14</sup> hann af fjölmenni, sem þeir finnast,  
því at honum er flutt, at herra erkibyskupi fylgir  
mikit fólk. Í þeiri sömu höll<sup>15</sup> mæstast þeir með  
mikilli blíðu, því at páfinn<sup>16</sup> hafði löngu girnzt at 25  
sjá ok heyra Thóman, fyrir svá góða frægð<sup>17</sup> sem  
hann gaf efni til. Enn þó, sakir þess at erkibyskup er

<sup>1</sup> *kærligt*, T.

<sup>2</sup> *frægðar*, T.

<sup>3</sup> *mikilmennsku*, T.

<sup>4</sup> So U.; *hon*, T.

<sup>5</sup> So U.; *fríaslega*, T.

<sup>6</sup> *ferr*, T.

<sup>7</sup> *Hæðan*, T.

<sup>8</sup> *iuir*, T.

<sup>9</sup> *ok er þat fljótt til frásagnar*,  
adds T. There is no doubt that  
these words are out of place there

and are a mere repetition of the  
same words above, ll. 5, 6; I have  
therefore struck them out of the text.

<sup>10</sup> *tíðindi*, T.

<sup>11</sup> *ueginum*, T.

<sup>12</sup> *fer*, T.

<sup>13</sup> *páfuinn*, T.

<sup>14</sup> *þraungiz*, T.

<sup>15</sup> *hauill*, T.

<sup>16</sup> *páfin*, T.

<sup>17</sup> *frægð*, T.

first taking a loving leave in great blitheness of king Henry. Now it is not long to wait, ere it is seen, of what fame and lordliness the man is, for all the mighty men in the land come forward to meet him in true goodwill, offering him freely whatsoever he chooseth to have of their goods. From Flanders he, the archbishop, proceedeth into Normandy, and it is a short tale to tell, that when he cometh into the dominions of the king of England, he is greeted with all honours, as if he was king Henry himself. Hence he traverseth Maine and cometh into France. But when he cometh near to Tours, and it becometh rumoured in the city that he is approaching, the folk of the city receive the tidings with very great joy. Learned men and lay-folk betake themselves out of the town along the way to meet him, yea and even the very cardinals, in such a numerous procession, that there were left sitting with the lord pope no more than two only. Herewith goeth the exceeding great honour, that as soon as the lord pope heareth that the lord archbishop hath arrived within the town, he goeth out of the room wherein he had been sitting before, that he may not be surrounded by a throng of people when they meet, for it hath been related to him that a multitude of people are following the archbishop. In that same hall they meet in great love, for the pope had long desired to see and hear Thomas for the sake of the good fame whereto he had given rise. But being weary with journeying, the

1163. nú vegmóðr, gefst honum brátt orlof til sinna náða. Sýlast honum vænt herbergi á konungsgarði eigi langt frá páfans höll. Líðr nú svá framm til þings um þrjá daga.<sup>1</sup> Kemr þar þá samt í einn stað voldugt mannval fmissra stétta. Enn hversu<sup>2</sup> heilagr Thómas erki- byskup skipast virðuliga til sætis, ráðs ok tillögu með herra páfanum, þarf eigi langmælis, því at stétt ok vizka<sup>3</sup> margfaldiga<sup>4</sup> vel prófut, áðr ok síðan, skýrir þat vel fyrir heyröndum. Enn hvílíkt kirkjunnar eyrendi þar flyzt<sup>5</sup> framm í fyrstu, má eigi með öllu um 10 líða, þótt visum manni sè<sup>6</sup> þat ljóst, fyrir þá styrjöld er nú veittist kristinni. Herra páfinn með föðurligri<sup>7</sup> áhyggju vill tjá fyrir lærðum mönnum ok einkanliga höfðingjum kristinnar, at þeir geymi sín með varygd, at samnetjast eigi þrætumönnum, ok seti sik örðiga<sup>8</sup> móti 15 þeim veraldligum höfðingjum,<sup>9</sup> er bregðast heilagri Róma kirkju, sem er Friðrekr keisari, ok nú kominn þar til Miklagarðs konungr,<sup>10</sup> ok hinn þriði, konungr Sikileyjar.<sup>11</sup>

Proceedings  
of the  
council.

<sup>1</sup> The council of Tours was held on the 19th of May. Cf. "In præfatione concilii Turonensis legitur: Anno Incarn. Dom. MCLXIII. indict xi., anno quarto sui pontificatus, iv. Kalendas Junii (legendum xiv. Kal. Junii, ut accurate habet Continuator Chronici Sancti Petri Vivi, qui ait illud congregatum in Octavis Pentecostes, scilicet xiv. Kal. Junii. Mathæus enim Parisius et Radulphus de Diceto perperam habent xii. Kalend. Junii), sæpe dictus Alexander papa in ecclesia Sancti Mauricii Turonis Concilium celebravit." Pagi, Critica Hist. Chronol. in Annales Baronii, sub anno 1163. Becket has therefore arrived at the place on the 16th or the 17th. Cf. Herbert: "Turonis vero jam appropinquans tertio, ni fallor, die ante celebrandum concilium civitatem ingressus." Migne, oxc. 1122.

<sup>2</sup> *hversu*, T.

<sup>3</sup> *uitzka*, T.

<sup>4</sup> *margfalliga*, T.

<sup>5</sup> *flytz*, T.

<sup>6</sup> *see*, T.

<sup>7</sup> *föðrligri*, T.

<sup>8</sup> *aurdiga*, T.

<sup>9</sup> So U.; *hofdingum*, T.

<sup>10</sup> Manuel Comnenus, Greek emperor A.D. 1143-1180. This probably refers to the designs which Manuel had openly avowed for asserting his lordship over Italy, a design to which pope Alexander was averse from the beginning, although he repudiated it first peremptorily, after having settled his dispute with Frederic Barbarossa. Gibbon, Decl. and Fall of the Rom. Emp., Ed. 1840, ch. lvi., p. 1050.

<sup>11</sup> William the Wicked, A.D. 1154-1166. The dispute between the pope and William referred to a refusal, on the part of the former, to acknowledge William as king, instead of count, of Sicily, as his

archbishop soon gets leave to retire to his rest. A goodly chamber is fitted up for him in the king's court, not far away from the hall of the pope. And thus things wear on for three days until the council beginneth. Then there cometh together in one place a mighty choice of folk of various stations. But as to how the holy archbishop Thomas is shown to an honourable seat, for the counselling and advising of the lord pope, no long discourse is needed, for his station and wisdom manifoldly well proven, both before and after, maketh that matter full clear to the listeners.

Now it may not be passed over altogether, what church affairs there are brought forward here in the beginning, although to a wise man it will be clear enough from the strife which at this time was brought upon the church. The lord pope with fatherly solicitude desireth to warn the learned men, and most chiefly the heads of the church, that they guard themselves heedfully from becoming entangled in one net with the schismatists, and set themselves stiffly against such worldly lords as betray the church of Rome, even such as was the emperor Frederic, unto whom now might be added another, even the king of Constantinople, and a third, the



1163. Vel má segja í undirstöðu<sup>1</sup> þessa máls, sem hinn heilagi Paulus sè framm<sup>2</sup> settr í miðju, er hann skrifar til Thessalonicenses, biðjandi fyrir tilkvomu Drottins, at þeir skutlist eigi af rëttum<sup>3</sup> skilning, ok eigi sturlist<sup>4</sup> þeir í orðum eðr<sup>5</sup> hugarfari, eigi fyrir brëf,<sup>5</sup> orðsending eðr<sup>5</sup> fortölur, ok eigi dýrki þeir þann, er drambar<sup>6</sup> í hásetistign úmakligr allrar virðingar.<sup>7</sup> Mörg áminning röksamlig var þar gefin,<sup>8</sup> því at nú var at búast í mörgum áskeytum, ok at þar hófst únáðin, sem afskapligast mátti sýnast ok mestan úfrið kristninni<sup>10</sup> af leiða. Svá lyktast<sup>9</sup> þingit, at hverr vendir í sitt<sup>10</sup> land. Býst<sup>11</sup> ok herra Thómas til heimferðar, at gervum<sup>12</sup> æskiliga sínum eyrindum, er til heyra Cantuariensis kirkju, ok tekr blífðasta orlof herra páfans með friðarkossi ok fögrum orðum. Vendir<sup>13</sup> herra páfinn<sup>15</sup> nú brutt af Turon til þess staðar í Franz, er heitir Sennonis,<sup>14</sup> þat er einn ríkasti staðr, með mikilli árgæzku, er virðuligr herra Hlöðvir Frakkakonungr veitir honum í sínu ríki, fyrir sæmd ok ástúð heilagrar Róma kirkju. Blezaðr Thómas kemr heim í England<sup>20</sup> með allri farsæld ok finnr Heinrek konung með blífðum kærleik.<sup>15</sup> Varð þessi sæmdarferð hans mikil á margan hátt, er gerðist á öðru ári hans ríkis.
- Becket returns home.
- The pope goes to Sens.
- Becket comes home.

father, Roger the Great, had been, with the exception of the last nine years, 1130-1139, of his life, during which he maintained himself, in spite of the Roman pontiff, as king of Sicily. *L'art de verifier les dates*, vol. iii., pp. 812-813. The account here given of the council of Tours as compared with the early lives of Becket is unique in several instances. See preface.

<sup>1</sup> *undirstandu*, T.

<sup>2</sup> *fram*, T.

<sup>3</sup> *reitnum*, T.

<sup>4</sup> *styrliz*, T.

<sup>5</sup> *ædr*, T.

<sup>6</sup> *drambarr*, T.

<sup>7</sup> 2 Thess. ii. 1. sqq.

<sup>8</sup> *gefinn*, T.

<sup>9</sup> *lychtaz*, T.

<sup>10</sup> *sit*, T.

<sup>11</sup> *Bydz*, T.

<sup>12</sup> *gerfum*, T.

<sup>13</sup> *Vændir*, T.

<sup>14</sup> He took up his residence at Sens on the 30th of Sept. 1163. *Annal. S. Columb. Senonens.*, 1164; *Chron. S. Petri Vivi*, 1163.

<sup>15</sup> *kierleik*, T.

king of Sicily. For the right understanding of this matter it may well be said, that the holy Paul be placed amidmost the people, such as when he writeth to the Thessalonians, praying by the coming of the Lord, that they be not shaken out of a right understanding, nor be troubled in word or mind, neither by letter, message or persuasion, nor worship him who exalteth himself into the majesty of the throne, undeserving of all honour. Many an admonition full of authority was given here, for now it was needful to arm amidst many a shot, the conflict having taken its rise even in a place where it might seem most abominable, and whence proceeding it must needs bring the greatest strife upon the church.

In such wise the council cometh to an end, that each one wendeth home into his own land. Lord Thomas also maketh ready for a journey home, having brought his affairs concerning the church of Canterbury to the end he desired; whereupon he taketh a right loving leave of the lord pope, with the kiss of peace and with fair words. Now the lord pope wendeth away from Tours to a city of France hight Sens, one of the wealthiest of cities and of great yearly produce, of which place the worthy lord Louis, the king of the French, maketh him a grant in his realm, for the sake of the honour and the love of the holy church of Rome. The blessed Thomas cometh home to England right well sped, and meeteth king Henry in sweet love. This was an honourable journey, and great in manifold wise, taking place in the second year of his reign.

1163.

## KAP. XXV.

THÓMAS VÍGÐI BYSKUPA OK TÓK OR JÖRÐU LÍKAM  
EÐVARÐAR.Becket con-  
secrates

Í þenna tíma hugleiðir hinn sæli Thómas, hversu þat mun standa fyrir Guði, sem hans áhyggju til 5 heyrir in provincia. Þat er svá fallit, at tvö byskups-  
sæti, Vigornen<sup>1</sup> ok Hereforden<sup>2</sup> liggja höfðingjalaus,<sup>3</sup> því at kórsbræðr kirknanna þora eigi at kjósa sér formenn, sakir konungsins ógnar. Því at eftir<sup>4</sup> fornum úvana vill konungrinn draga undir sik rentur kirkn- 10 anna, ok því skulu þær höfðingjalausar vera, meðan honum líkar. Yfir þessum hlut þorir Thómas erkibyskup eigi fyrir Guði lengr<sup>5</sup> þegja, því at hann sér afskapligt vera; því minnr hann á konunginn meirr enn um sinn, at hann ljá tauminn, ok leyfi, at for- 15 menn sè<sup>6</sup> kosnrir kirkjunum til stjórnar. Enn með því at konungrinn lætr seint við, snerpir erkibyskup sínar áminningar um nokkurn tíma, þar til er konungrinn gefr samþykki, ok þó mjök um þveran hug. Má nú þegar hans brjósti taka þá líking, at loft<sup>7</sup> hefir 20 skírt verit, enn missi nú nokkut, ok dragi af mestu birti. Kórsbræðr fara nú framm<sup>8</sup> til kosnings með vild erkibyskups, kjósa þeir þann mann til Vigornem, er Rogerus hèt, ungr maðr ok tigginnar sættar, fagr í siðum ok góðrar frægðar. Til Hereforden er kosinn 25 meistari Robert, mikill maðr í vizku ok skilning heilagrar bækr. Vígjast þessir báðir samt<sup>9</sup> af Thómasi erkibyskupi. Ok þessir tveir<sup>10</sup> byskupar varðveittu

Roger of  
Worcester  
and Robert  
of Hereford.

<sup>1</sup> Worcester since the death of Alfhred, July 31, A.D. 1160.

<sup>2</sup> Hereford, since A.D. 1163, see page 88, note 1.

<sup>3</sup> *höfðingjalauss*, T.

<sup>4</sup> *eftir*, T.

<sup>5</sup> *leingr*, T.

<sup>6</sup> *sie*, T.

<sup>7</sup> *loft*, T.

<sup>8</sup> *fram*, T.

<sup>9</sup> Here events are inaccurately thrown together, inasmuch as Roger Fitz-Count was consecrated to Worcester Dec. 22, 1163; but Robert of Maledon to Hereford, not till Aug. 23, 1164.

<sup>10</sup> *tveirr*, T.

## CHAP. XXV.

HOW THOMAS CONSECRATED BISHOPS AND TRANSLATED  
THE BODY OF EDWARD.

At this time the blessed Thomas setteth his mind athinking, how the things of which he hath concern in his province may stand in the face of God. And it so happens, that two bishops' sees, Worcester and Hereford, lie reft of their chiefs, because the canons of the churches dare not choose their rulers on account of their dread of the king. In accordance, namely, with ancient abuse, the king desireth to draw to himself the revenues of the churches, wherefore they must needs abide without a head during his pleasure. In this matter archbishop Thomas durst in the face of his God be silent no longer, since he deemeth this to be an abomination; he therefore remindeth the king, more than once, that he should let go the reins, and give leave that rulers be chosen for the governance of these churches. But as the king giveth but a slow heed to the matter, the archbishop putteth him yet more forcibly in mind of it for some time, until the king giveth his consent, though much against his own will. Even at this time his breast may be likened, by way of a similitude, unto a sky, which hath been clear a while, but now faileth a little, and withdraweth its greatest brightness. Now the canons proceed to the election by the will of the archbishop, and elect for the church of Worcester a certain person, called Roger, a young man of noble kin, fair manners, and good fame. For the church of Hereford was chosen master Robert, a man with great knowledge and understanding of holy writ. These men were both consecrated together by archbishop Thomas. And these two bishops preserved their faith towards the

1163. jafnan sælum Thómasi sína dygð, hvárt sem yfir stóð  
 blítt eðr<sup>1</sup> strítt.<sup>2</sup> Í sama árgang, sem áðr var greint,  
 kallar heilagr Thómas erkibyskup samt byskupa nokk-  
 ura, því at hann vill gera, með konungs samþykkt,  
 ágæta kirkjuvígslu vit Vestmýstr í Lundúnum. Þat<sup>5</sup>  
 musteri höfðu eft af grundvelli konungar í Englandi,  
 ok þar hvílir Heinrekr gamli móðurfaðir<sup>3</sup> þessa Hein-  
 reks. Gjörðist sú kirkjuvígsla með mikilli vegsemd.<sup>4</sup>  
 Á sama ári gerði enn heilagr Thómas hit þriðja verk  
 mikillar nytsemdar, er hann tók. or jörðu heilagan<sup>10</sup>  
 líkam Eðvarðar konungs,<sup>5</sup> er leiddr hafði verit í  
 Lundúnum. Enn nú skipast hann sannheilagr maðr  
 upp í millim annarra heilagra dóma í því nývígða  
 mustari, er áðr var greint. Var Heinrekr konungr  
 þar<sup>6</sup> með mörgu stórmenni. 15

Consecrates  
 a church in  
 Westmin-  
 ster, (St.  
 Stephen's  
 chapel?)

Translates  
 Edward  
 Confessor.

## KAP. XXVI.

### HÉR RÍSS MISÞYKT MILLI BYSKUPS OK KONUNGS.

Dissensions  
 arise.

Litlu var lesit, hversu Heinrekr konungr hæld<sup>7</sup> und-  
 ir sínu valdi ij. byskupsstóla, áðr Thómas erkibyskup  
 fékk<sup>8</sup> dregit hann til samþyktar, at formenn væri<sup>9</sup> 20  
 kjörnir. Má þeim lýsast, er hugleiddi söguna<sup>10</sup> í upp-  
 haf, at slík er erfð ok eftirdæmi Vilhjálms rauða, ok  
 þat dregr drjúgt, er af honum leiðir, áðr enn lýkr

<sup>1</sup> *ædr*, T.

<sup>2</sup> *strídt*, T.

<sup>3</sup> *modrfaðir*, T.

<sup>4</sup> I do not see to what church consecration at Westminster this can refer but to that of St. Stephen's chapel, which was founded by king Stephen, but whereof all records seem to be lost until 1292, when it was restored or rebuilt by Edw. I. If my surmise is correct this is the only record extant which tells of the consecration of St. Stephen's chapel, Westminster. Cf. J. Top-

ham, Some Account of the Collegiate Chapel of St. Stephen; Dugdale, vi. 1348; Stanley, Memorials of Westminster Abbey, p. 426, note 3.

<sup>5</sup> This translation of Edward the Confessor took place on the 13th of October (iii. Idus Oct.) 1163. Acta Sanctorum, i. p. 302-304.

<sup>6</sup> *þar*, U.; om. in T.

<sup>7</sup> *hiellt*, T.

<sup>8</sup> *feick*, T.

<sup>9</sup> *ueri*, T.

<sup>10</sup> *sogunni*, T.

blessed Thomas ever afterwards, equally through seasons of bliss and bale. In the course of the same year of which we have mentioned above, the holy archbishop Thomas calleth together several bishops, being minded, with the leave of the king, to hold a great church-consecration at Westminster, in London. This minster had been founded and endowed by kings of England, and there rests Henry the old, the father of the mother of that Henry who is king now. This church-consecration was done with great glory. This same year lord Thomas did a third work of great usefulness, in that he took from the earth the holy body of king Edward who had been interred in London. And this man, a very saint, is now placed among other holy relics in that new-hallowed temple which we have named already afore. King Henry was there with many other great folk.

#### CHAP. XXVI.

##### HERE ARISETH DISSENSION BETWEEN THE BISHOP AND THE KING.

Only a short while ago we read, how king Henry held under his power two bishops' sees before archbishop Thomas might bring him to give his consent to their rulers being chosen. And to him who happened to ponder over the story in the beginning, it will be clear enough, that this is a very heritage and imitation of William the Red, and whatever proceedeth from him worketh woe enough ere all things come to an end ; and

máli; ok einn lut þar af hæfir þessu næst at greina, er friðarspell gerði í landinu millum konungs ok erkibyskups. Fyrr var lesit, hversu Vilhjálmr konungr setti gjald á kirkjur allar í landinu, at kvitta honum aftr þann kost, er Roðbert bróðir hans hafði or landi.<sup>5</sup> Kallaðist konungr þat góz hafa lagt til frelsis Jórsalalandi,<sup>1</sup> ok stæði vel lærðum mönnum at bera þat aftr konungi sínum. Enn sakir þess at konungsgarðr hefir haldsaman<sup>2</sup> munn, stóð þetta gjald ár af ári. Var í fyrstu kallaðr Jórsalatollr, enn því næst leiðangrs fæ,<sup>3</sup> 10 at konungr hefði úti herskjöld til sameigins friðar í landinu. Enn á þessum tíma<sup>4</sup> er svá komit, at þetta útgjald er krafrit sem konungs víseyrir af meira húsi ok minna um alt England, undir eingu<sup>5</sup> nafni öðru<sup>6</sup> enn forn skylda lagin greinarlaust inn í konungsgarð.<sup>7</sup> 15

The imposts levied by William Rufus to recover the loan for Robert's crusade having been now changed into an assessed land tax, Becket refuses to pay them of church property in his charge, except as an occasional tax.

<sup>1</sup> So U.; *Jorsalandi*, T.

<sup>2</sup> *haldsaman*, T.

<sup>3</sup> *fee*, T.

<sup>4</sup> *timam*, T.

<sup>5</sup> *eignu*, T.

<sup>6</sup> *andru*, T.

<sup>7</sup> According to Grim, Roger, and Garnier, the question of this impost was discussed at the council of Woodstock A.D. 1163. None of the old authorities give the history of this due as it is given here; they know it as a certain custom only, but do not hint how that custom came into use. Grim, 13: "Comorante rege in prædio suo apud Wodstoke, præsentem archiepiscopum et primis patriæ inter alia movetur quæstio de consuetudine quadam quæ in Anglia tenebatur. Dabantur de hida bini solidi ministris regis qui vicecomitum loco comitatus servabant quos voluit rex conscribere fisco et redilibus propriis associare." Roger, 69: "Erat consuetudo in

"partibus illis, ut rex ad abundantiore cautelam et custodiam regni sui per singulos comitatus regni, vicecomitem unum de fidelibus suis constitueret, consueverant que comites et barones eidem vicecomiti, regio videlicet ministro, duos solidos de singulis dimensionibus terræ suæ quas patrio nomine hidas vocant annuatim ab hominibus suis facere dari; quatenus tali servitio et beneficio eos agraminibus et calumniis hominum suorum cohererent: Videns autem rex quod duo illi solidi de singulis hidis si in unum conferentur immensum efficere possunt cumulum, sunt namque plura hidarum millia, voluit eos suis usibus et redditibus applicare." William of Canterbury, 236: "Nam publicæ potestatis ministri per regionem Anglicanam de consuetudine sibi de singulis hidis, ut verbis provincialium utar, pecuniam colligunt, tanquam latoris mercedem,

one thing appertaining thereto it is fit to mention next to these matters, which caused disturbance of peace in the country between the king and the archbishop. We have read afore, how king William levied a due on all churches in the land, in order to repay him all the costs at which his brother Robert did depart from the land. This money the king said he had disbursed for the freedom of Jewry, and therefore it behoved well the learned folk to repay it to their king. But because the king's court hath a mouth that holdeth fast, this due continued from year to year. At first it was called Jerusalem tax, but afterwards Warfare-due, for the king to keep up an army for the common peace of the country. But at this time matters have gone so far, that this due was exacted, as a king's tax, from every house,<sup>1</sup> small and great, throughout England, under no other name than an ancient tax payable into the royal treasury without any reason being shown for it. This

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<sup>1</sup> Monastery.



Þessi frammferð líkar eigi Thómasi erkibyskupi, segir, at konungs valdi samir eigi, at heimta þvílíkt fé<sup>1</sup> með svá mikilli freku, sem önnur konungs inngjöld, heldr sem atvik ok nauðsyn beiddi landsfólki til friðar, ok fyrir utan þá skynsemd krafði eingi skylda,<sup>2</sup> at lúka 5 þessi hjálpargjöld.<sup>3</sup> Mislíkar konungi þetta mótris ok herðir nú þegar huginn sinn móti erkibyskupi. Safnast ok hēðan til annars um þetta sundrlyndi. Konunginum er flutt mörgu sinni án allri vægð,<sup>4</sup> at Thómas erkibyskup gerir lítinn virðingarmun í skrifta- 10 boðum sínum ok álögum,<sup>5</sup> lætr á líkan hátt undir lúta ríkan sem úríkan, svá lēnsmenn ok vini konungs, sem aðra út ífrá, ef þeir<sup>6</sup> raska Guðs rétt með ljótum lifnaði, eðr leggja kirkjunnar eignir undir sik með ágirnd ok ofbeldi. Þetta brýzt enn með konung- 15 inum, eigi því úlíkt sem í fyrstu ávíti hann sína samvizku, því at hann sèr sik blektan í þeiri hugsan, at Thómas mundi leika allr auðráðr í hans hendi, ok því væpnir hann sinn hug með forzi upp í móti kirkjunni,

People tell the king that Becket shrives his men without regard of person.

The king conceives determined hatred against the clergy.

“ quem tuitione patriæ impendunt.”  
Garnier, 80:

“ Kar en Engleterre ad une kus-  
“ tume mise,  
“ Ke l'Aide al Veskunte est par  
“ les kuntez prise:  
“ Si est par doubles soud par les  
“ hides assise.  
“ Li barun de pais la soleient  
“ doner  
“ A ceus ke furent mis pur les  
“ kuntez garder,  
“ K'il déusent lur terres et lur  
“ humes tenses.  
“ Ne ke nul n'en déusent enplei-  
“ der, ne grever.  
“ Or les voleit li Reis à sa rente  
“ aturner.”

There seems to be no doubt that this was not the Danegeld, and that the account given of it in the Icelandic saga, although, as far as I

know, quite unique, must be taken as representing the true history of it. Lord Lyttleton, *Hist. of the Life of King Henry II.*, vol. iii. p. 70, says, “ It is not certain that Dane-  
“ geld, or as the Saxon Chronicle  
“ terms it, ‘ militare tributum,’ was  
“ ever exacted by William Rufus.  
“ He imposed, indeed, a hidage of  
“ four shillings a hide on all the  
“ land of the kingdom, . . . to en-  
“ able him to acquire the dutchy of  
“ Normandy in mortgage from his  
“ brother. It was inaccurately so  
“ called ” (*i.e.* Danegeld). See pre-  
face.

<sup>1</sup> *fe*, T.

<sup>2</sup> *skyldi*, T.

<sup>3</sup> *hiallar gialld*, T.

<sup>4</sup> *vegd*, T.

<sup>5</sup> *alaugum*, T.

<sup>6</sup> *þeira*, T.

kind of proceeding archbishop Thomas nowise liked, saying that it is by no means seemly for the king to exact such money with the same boldness as any other king's taxes, but only according as circumstances and need should require for the peace of the folk of the land; but beyond this reason there was no duty which demanded the paying of such reserve taxes. This rising against his will the king misliketh right mightily, and becometh forthwith exasperated in his mind against the archbishop. Hence, too, other matters gather together to swell the dissension. It is told to the king, many a time in an altogether unsparing language, that archbishop Thomas hath little regard for honours in his shrivings and penances, and that he maketh rich and poor lout to him alike, yea, the feoffees of the king himself just as any others, if they rend the right of God by evil manner of living, or seize into their power with avarice and violence the properties of the church. This vexed the mind of the king, and at first he was not at all far from upbraiding his conscience, seeing himself beguiled in the thought that Thomas would play all-pliable in his hand, wherefore he putteth on his mind the armour of harsh intent against the church, meaning to war all the more

at hann skal því frekligar<sup>1</sup> stríða lærdóminum, sem erkibyskup skriftar úmjúkara hans mönnum.<sup>2</sup> Ok vel má segja, at þeir lærðir<sup>3</sup> menn, sem nú ganga mjök afskeiðis í Englandi, eru<sup>4</sup> stórliga frammlútir<sup>5</sup> til ískunnar, því at svá eru þeir nú gripnir af sýlumönnum<sup>5</sup> sem úlærðir, ok dregnir undir limalát ok skemdir, nema þeim verði undan skotið með röksemd ok ráði herra erkibyskups. Því at svá eru sumir öllu góðu afflettir ok keyrðir<sup>6</sup> af landi brutt í eilífa útleð, enn aðrir strengdir<sup>7</sup> inn í klaustr undir æfnliga iðran, at<sup>10</sup> með þeim flótta drægiz hváirtveggja undan meiðslum eðr konungsins sverði. Svá bar til í sýlu byskups Sarisberiensis, at einn prestr fór svá vanstiltr, at hann særði mann til ólífis. Frændr hins<sup>8</sup> vegna kæra hann fyrir konungs valdi, ok sýlumaðr grípr hann ok flytr<sup>15</sup> hann fram<sup>9</sup> undir byskups dóm. Rægja þeir hann með megni, ok þó at úverðugu, er eftirmálit áttu, því at manndrápit<sup>10</sup> er svá ljóst, at hann fær<sup>11</sup> á einga leið<sup>12</sup> snarast undan. Sem byskupinn<sup>13</sup> hefir prófat málit prestsins, hversu<sup>14</sup> ljótt er, geingr bæði til með honum<sup>20</sup> úporan móti konunginum ok úheil samvizka til erki-byskups, ok því vill hann<sup>15</sup> hlífa sèr, at annarr<sup>16</sup> fái vandkvæðit; því at þessi sami byskup, Jocelin at nafni,<sup>17</sup> prófar sik mun síðar<sup>18</sup> leigumann einn, þá er vargrinn kemr at dreifa hjörðina. Þat tekr hann til ráðs at<sup>25</sup> skrifa allan málavöxt til Thómam erkibyskups, biðjandi með mjúku yfirbragði, at hann úrskurði málit, hversu endiliga<sup>19</sup> skal gera við prestinn. Herra erkibyskup

Clerks are seized and maimed.

Some are got out of the way by the archbishop's aid.

A clerical homicide.

<sup>1</sup> *frekligar*, T.

<sup>2</sup> *mönnum* added by the Editor.

<sup>3</sup> So U., no doubt correctly; *leiðir*, T.

<sup>4</sup> *æru*, T.

<sup>5</sup> *framlytir*, T.

<sup>6</sup> *kieyrðir*, T.

<sup>7</sup> *streingdir*, T.

<sup>8</sup> *hin*, T.

<sup>9</sup> *fram*, T.

<sup>10</sup> *mandrapit*, T.

<sup>11</sup> *fær*, T.

<sup>12</sup> *leið*, T.

<sup>13</sup> *byskupin*, T.

<sup>14</sup> *hversu*, T.

<sup>15</sup> *hann* added in U.; om. in T.

<sup>16</sup> *annar*, T.

<sup>17</sup> Jocelin de Bailleul, A.D. 1142-1184.

<sup>18</sup> *sidarr*, T.

<sup>19</sup> *endiliga*, T.

fiercely against the clergy the less meekly the archbishop shriveth his own men. And it may well be said, that the learned men who, at this time, go far astray in England, are mightily bent indeed on evil, for now they are seized by the bailiffs even as unlearned folk, and dragged unto forfeiture of limbs and other kinds of maiming, unless they be pushed out of the way by the authority and counsel of the lord archbishop. For this reason some are stripped of all good things and driven out of the country into everlasting banishment, but others are shut (bolted) up in convents for lifelong penance, that by such a flight both might be dragged away from bodily maiming or from the sword of the king. It so happened in the diocese of the bishop of Salisbury, that a priest behaved in such a reckless fashion as to wound a certain person mortally. The kinsfolk of the slain one accuse the priest before the kingly power, and the bailiff apprehendeth him and bringeth him before the court of the bishop. The plaintiffs to the blood-suit inveigh against him violently, and yet unduly, because the manslaughter was so clearly established, that he might wrest himself from it nowhither. Now when the bishop has examined the case of the priest, and found the lewdness thereof, he is seized both by lack of hardihood as against the king, and by insincerity of mind towards the archbishop, and therefore desireth to spare himself, in order that the troublous affair fall to another's lot; for this same bishop, Jocelin by name, proveth himself shortly afterwards a mere hireling, when the wolf cometh to scatter the herd. He now taketh this counsel, to write to archbishop Thomas the whole state of the case, praying in feigned meekness that he decide the case as to what shall be done with the priest in the end. The lord arch-

The story of  
Philip de  
Bræis.

skrifar í mót með fullum sentencía, at prestr skal aftignast allri sinni sæmd, ok hræra aldri<sup>1</sup> sinn fót út af iðranarhúsi, ok svá lyktast hans mál.<sup>2</sup> Annarr<sup>3</sup> lutr fellr sá til, er mikla hræring leiðir af. Maðr er nefndr Philippus, kórsbróðir<sup>4</sup> í þeim stað er þeir kalla Bræis.<sup>5</sup> Hann er vorðinn kunnigr í svá vanstíltri túngu, at Heinrekr konungr þykkist harðla mjök smáðr af, ok því ríss upp á hann kórsbróðurinn<sup>6</sup> dauðligt hatr, bæði af konunginum ok ráðinu; því at svá er<sup>7</sup> hljóð orðanna, at ríkisstjórn ok framferð<sup>8</sup> í landinu hafi hann for-10 djarfat. Herra<sup>9</sup> erkibyskup sèr,<sup>10</sup> at þetta mál sveltr svá með konunginum, at þat fær<sup>11</sup> eigi atgerðalaust verit, ok því hugsar hann, at líkamlig hirting upp á kórsbróðurinn muni fá mýkt<sup>12</sup> þessa hræring. Svo ferr til, at Philippus er dreginn undir opinbera húðstroku,<sup>13</sup> 15 þí<sup>14</sup> öllu framr, at konungr skyldi því heldr<sup>15</sup> sefast, ok láta sèr nægjast svá mikla plágu. Enn þetta vinnr honum þörf á önga lund, heldr grimmist hann nú at marki upp á allan lærdóminn, því at þau undanskot ok skutlan, er hann kallar gjör<sup>16</sup> móti krúnunni, liggja 20

<sup>1</sup> *aldri*, U.; *allri*, T.

<sup>2</sup> This story is also mentioned in Herbert, 1128, but varies from the Icelandic, both as to facts and colouring. In Garnier, Grim, and Roger, this story is mixed up with the tale of Philip de Bræis.

<sup>3</sup> *Annar*, T.

<sup>4</sup> So U.; *krosbrodir*, T.

<sup>5</sup> Garnier, 30, describes him as "un chanoine ke fu mananz à Bedford," and Herbert, 1128-1129, as a canon of Lincoln, "in sede episcopi scopali Lincolnense canonicus," which means, probably, that he was archdeacon of Bedford, having thereby, of course, a canon's stall at Lincoln. Fitzstephen, 127, mentions him as "canonicum Bedfordie." Some difference occurs in the spelling of the name in the various lives of Becket, Bræis being

peculiar to this life, Brois to Herbert and Fitzstephen, Broi to Garnier and Broc, clearly by a blunder, to Roger. For further information, both as to the place from which this as yet unidentified person took his name, and as to his family connections, &c., see preface.

<sup>6</sup> *korsbrodrinn*, T.

<sup>7</sup> *sua* er added in U.; om. in T.

<sup>8</sup> *framferd*, T.

<sup>9</sup> *Herr*, T.

<sup>10</sup> *sier*, T.

<sup>11</sup> *fer*, T.

<sup>12</sup> *mýkt*, T.

<sup>13</sup> So U.; *hudstoku*, T.

<sup>14</sup> So T.

<sup>15</sup> So U.; *hlidr*, T.

<sup>16</sup> *giorr*, T. For the story of Philipp of Bræis, see Grim, 14; Roger, 70; Garnier, 30, 31; and Herbert, 1128, 1129.

bishop writeth back awarding in a full and formal sentence, that the priest be degraded from all his honours, and move his foot out of a house of penitence never more; and even so his case came to an end.

This was another matter which lead to a great commotion. There was a certain man, by name Philip, a canon of a place which they call Bræis. He hath become ill-famed for such a wanton tongue, that king Henry deemed himself mightily dishonoured thereby, and therefore there riseth against him, the canon, a deadly hate both from the king and the council; for such is the sound of his words said to have been, that he hath reviled the government of the realm and the administration of the country. The lord archbishop seeth that this affair so swelleth within the king, that it may nowise go on longer unheeded, and therefore he thinketh, that a bodily punishment inflicted on the canon may have the power of allaying this commotion. And it so cometh to pass that Philip is dragged forth under a public flagellation, for this reason more than anything else, that the king should the rather be appeased thereby, and be contented with so great a torment. But this nowise serveth to satisfy his want; for now he becometh right earnestly enraged against the whole clergy, inasmuch as the evasions and subterfuges which he maintaineth are committed against the crown, lie nowise easy on him, wherefore he maketh

honum eigi vel, ok því hugsar hann, at þat mál skal opinberliga til vegar ganga. Hæðan leiðir, at hann býðr lærðum mönnum, at á nefndan dag komi þeir til Lundúna, at svara sèr með réttri skynsemd til sagðra greina. 5

## KAP. XXVII.

## DEILA KONUNGS OK BYSKUPS.

1163.  
Council in  
London.

The king's  
address.

Þetta þing í Lundúnum<sup>1</sup> sækir herra Thómas erki-  
byskup með þeim fararblóma, at hann hefir með sèr  
signað ráðuneyti, sem fyrr var greint. Þar koma 10  
byskupar ok ábótar, kórsbræðr ok klerkar,<sup>2</sup> þar er ok  
Heinrekr konungr með öllum barónum ok mörgu  
stórmenni. Sem þing er sett, er<sup>3</sup> eigi langt áðr enn  
sjálfr herra konungrinn hefr sína ræðu á skaða klerk-  
dómsins í þessum skilning: "Vær höfum þagat um 15  
" stund," sagði hann, "ok hlýtt með hógverð,<sup>4</sup> hversu  
" þèr byskuparnir vilit skipa við konungligan rétt ok  
" ríki vort hèr í Englandi. Ok sem vèr höfum sèð<sup>5</sup>  
" yðra framferð,<sup>6</sup> hugleiddum vèr<sup>7</sup> með oss með  
" friðsamri eftirleitan, hvert lýti þèr myndit oss finna, 20  
" at vèr skulim síðr makligr, enn aðrir konungar fyrir  
" oss, at bera úhalla krúnu með þeim réttarbótum ok  
" konungligum sæmdum, sem haft hefir ok haldit hverr  
" eftir annan, ok einga lærða menn fyrir yðr lysti at  
" draga undan konungligum sóma. Ok þótt þær 25  
" greinir fjölgist dag frá degi,<sup>8</sup> sem þèr<sup>9</sup> dirfist meirr  
" ok meirr, viljum vèr víkja nefniliga vorri ræðu til

<sup>1</sup> Council of London, 1st Oct. 1163. Cf. Summa causse inter regem et Thomam: "Henricus, nobi-  
" lis rex Anglorum . . . . . venit  
" Londoniam Kalendis Octob. anno  
" Verbi incarnati, 1163." Migne,  
exc. 395.

<sup>2</sup> klerkar, T.

<sup>3</sup> er, T.

<sup>4</sup> hogverð, T.

<sup>5</sup> sied, T.

<sup>6</sup> framferð, T.

<sup>7</sup> ver added in U.; om. in T.

<sup>8</sup> So U.; dagi, T.

<sup>9</sup> þær, T.

up his mind, that this matter must come to an issue in a public manner. Hence it cometh to pass, that he summoneth the learned folk to come to London on a certain day, to give him right and reasonable answers concerning these matters.

## CHAP. XXVII.

### QUARREL BETWEEN THE KING AND THE BISHOP.

Unto this council in London proceedeth the lord archbishop Thomas with such pageantry, that he hath in his company the blessed council aforementioned. Thither come also bishops and abbots, canons and clerks. King Henry, too, is there, accompanied by all his barons and a multitude of mighty folk. The meeting having been opened, no long while weareth away ere the lord king taketh up the speech for the harming of the clergy, reasoning in the following manner :

“ We have been silent a while,” said he, “ and listened  
“ meekly, how ye, bishops, are willing to dispose your-  
“ selves towards royal rights and our rule here in  
“ England. Now that we have been watching your  
“ proceedings, we have been thinking and peacefully  
“ searching our mind, as to what kind of fault ye might  
“ happen to have found in us, that we must needs be  
“ deemed less worthy than other kings, who have been  
“ before us, to wear an untottering crown, in virtue  
“ of such law-enactments and royal prerogatives, as  
“ each one has had and enjoyed in due succession, and  
“ no learned men before you listed to withdraw from  
“ royal honour. Now although matters of this kind  
“ multiply daily, according as your boldness waxeth  
“ more and more, we yet desire, as at this time, to turn  
“ our speech chiefly towards those men of forfeited lives



1183. “ þeira ólífismanna, er þær kallit klerka,<sup>1</sup> enn vèr  
 “ köllum því verri enn úlærða menn, sem þeir drógu  
 “ sik ofdjarfir fram<sup>2</sup> undir sæmd ok vígslur heilagrar  
 “ kirkju, snúandi hennar tign ok frelsi upp í háð ok  
 “ herfiligan þrældóm; því at þeir megu réttlígar heita<sup>5</sup>  
 “ fjandans verkrekar, enn vígðir klerkar, er til eingrar  
 “ skemdar spara sik, miklu síðr enn margir úlærðir, er  
 “ með sæmd ok hlýðni laganna leiða fram<sup>3</sup> alla sína  
 “ daga. Nú kalli þær byskuparnir, at þat standi skrifat  
 “ í yðvarri reglu at vernda þvílíkan ósóma, ok draga<sup>10</sup>  
 “ undan rættri hirting, sem þær hugsit, at lögin keis-  
 “ arans eðr<sup>4</sup> kirkjunnar kunni eigi<sup>5</sup> nokkurr<sup>6</sup> maðr at  
 “ skilja, utan þær einir; enn vèr vitum þat sannara, at  
 “ hær með oss ero þeir vísdómsmenn til beggja laganna,  
 “ at yðarn vanskilning mega vel uppræta ok með öllu<sup>15</sup>  
 “ bakfella. Þetta votta þeir svá rétta<sup>7</sup> glósu til ganga,  
 “ at glæpamenn, þótt vígðir sè,<sup>8</sup> gefist upp rættri hirting  
 “ undir konungs vald. Ok því krefjum vèr yðr bysk-  
 “ upana, fyrir þá sæmd ok hlýðni, er<sup>9</sup> þær erut<sup>10</sup> skyld-  
 “ ugir krúnunni, at alla þá klerka, sem þær rangliga<sup>20</sup>  
 “ ruglið<sup>11</sup> undan voru valdi í ýmissa staði innanlands  
 “ ok utan, skipi þær aftr undir vorn handlegg til  
 “ rættrar hirtingar, ok hær um viljum vèr af yðr taka  
 “ ljós andsvör.”<sup>12</sup> Signaðr Thómas erkibyskup, sem  
 hann hefir heyrtr þetta konungs eyrendi, er honum<sup>25</sup>  
 sýnist heldr strangt móti kirkjunni, geingr hann á ráð  
 með sínum spekingum, hvat upp skal taka í þvílíkum

Beckett takes  
 counsel with  
 his advisers.

<sup>1</sup> Here the editor has changed the punctuation of U. T., which read, “. . . . soma, ok þott þær greinir fiolgiz dag fra degi (dagi, “ T.), sem þær dirfiz meirr ok meirr. Vilium ver vikia nefnilega “ vorri rædu til þeira olifis manna, “ er þær kallit klerka,” &c.

<sup>2</sup> fram, T.

<sup>3</sup> fram, T.

<sup>4</sup> aðr, T.

<sup>5</sup> eigi added in U.

<sup>6</sup> nokkur, T.

<sup>7</sup> reitta, T.

<sup>8</sup> sie, T.

<sup>9</sup> ar, T.

<sup>10</sup> arut, T.

<sup>11</sup> righud, T.

<sup>12</sup> This is the only contemporary authority, as far as I can find, who gives the words of the actors at this council in *oratione recta*.

“ whom you name clerks, but whom we call so much the  
“ worse than layfolk, in that they have had the fool-  
“ hardiness to push themselves into the honours and  
“ ordinations of holy church, turning her dignity and  
“ liberty into mockery and fell thralldom ; for they may  
“ by rights be far rather called the doers of the works  
“ of the devil, than consecrated clerks, who forbear  
“ doing any kind of mischief much less even than lay-  
“ folk who lead all the days of their life in honouring  
“ and obeying the law. Now ye, the bishops, maintain,  
“ that it is written in your canon, that such dishonour-  
“ able things should be protected, and withdrawn from  
“ rightful punishment, in that ye think that none be-  
“ side yourselves alone are able to understand the laws  
“ of the emperor or those of the church ; but with  
“ greater truth we know, that there are with us men  
“ so wise in either law, as to be well fit to root out  
“ your own misunderstandings or utterly to refute  
“ them. These men have testified such to be a true  
“ interpretation of the law, that evil-doers, even such  
“ as are ordained, shall be delivered unto rightful  
“ punishment by kingly power. We therefore demand  
“ of you, the bishops, by the honour and the obe-  
“ dience you owe the crown, that ye deliver all such  
“ clerks as you let wrongfully slip away from our  
“ power into sundry places inland as well as abroad,  
“ into our hand for rightful punishment, and as to this  
“ matter we desire to have clear answers from you.”  
Now the blessed archbishop Thomas, having heard this  
speech of the king, which seemeth to him right harsh  
against the church, holdeth a council with his wise  
men, as to what is to be taken up in so troublous a

1163. vanda. Enn svá sem þeir höfðu jafnan eitt hjarta ok eina önd til samþykta í góðum lutum, er ein ok sama þeira tillaga, eftir dæmum postolanna, at framar sè<sup>1</sup> hlýðanda Guði enn mönnum. Sem heyrtr er, ok hjartaliga samþykta af erkibyskupinum þat er þeir segja, lætr 5 hann kalla byskupana, ok þeim komnum talar hann svá: “Nú kreft nauðsyn, at leiða til góða athygli, “ hversu vèr skulum svara konungs eyrendi, enn án “ dvöl má ek segja minn hug, at þá tign ok frelsi, “ sem Guð gaf sinni kristni með feðranna setning ok 10 “ sömdu lögmáli, skal aldri eyða<sup>2</sup> með mínu játyrði, Their reply. “ ok svá vildim vèr,<sup>3</sup> at þèr gerðit.” Þeir svara: “ Ok “ með því, at þèr erut skipaðir vart höfuð ok herra, “ hæfir at þèr haldit upp svörum fyrir oss, enn vart “ er, at skiljast eigi við yðr.” Erkibyskup talar þá 15 Becket exhorts them. enn:—“ Búit hug yðarn til þolinmæði ok byskupligrar “ staðfesti, því at reiði konungsins er oss öllum reiðu- “ búin, ef vèr risum móti hans vilja, ok gjarna viljum “ vèr bera fyrir Guðs nafni, hvat er á gnýr, heldr “ enn kaupa oss stundligan frið með eilífum háska.” 20 The bishops promise to stand on the side of the archbishop. þeir játta allir at standa vel, ok koma svá fyrir konung. Blezaðr erkibyskup Thómas byrjar þá sitt eyrindi á þenna hátt:—“ þat veri sannr<sup>4</sup> vili vor bysk- His answer to the king. “ upanna, at sæma ok virða með vegsemd allan “ yðarn vilja, minn góði herra, ef hann snarast eigi 25 “ móti réttu. Enn ef hann<sup>5</sup> setr sik þveran móti “ Guðs vilja ok lögmáli, ok tign heilagrar kirkju, “ megum vèr eigi nè þorum at samþykkja honum. “ Biðjum vèr yðart vald, at þèr leiðit inn til yðar

<sup>1</sup> *see*, T.<sup>2</sup> *eyðaz*, T. Here two modes of emendation were open: either to read *sú tign . . . . eyðast*, or as I have done. The one I have chosen is more likely to meet the original,

scribes being generally more apt to forget syntax at the end of a lengthy sentence than in the beginning of it.

<sup>3</sup> *vær*, T.<sup>4</sup> *sannr*, T.<sup>5</sup> *hann* added in U.; om. in T.

matter. But since they had ever one heart and were of one assenting mind in good things, the sentence of all of them is one and the same, according to the example of the apostles, that they ought to obey God rather than men. Now as soon as the archbishop has heard, and given his whole heart's consent to, what they say, he has the bishops summoned before him, to whom, when they had all assembled, he thus speaketh:—

“Now need exacteth that we pay good heed as to how we answer the speech of the king; but my own mind I may speak without delay: that the dignity and freedom which God gave to his church by the institutions and the framed laws of the fathers shall never come to nought through a word of consent from me, and the same we desire that ye should do.”

They answer:—

“And whereas you are set to be our head and lord, it behoves, that you should give out the answers on our behalf, but to us it becometh, not to part from you.”

The archbishop further speaketh:—

“Prepare your mind for patience and episcopal steadfastness, for the wrath of the king is ready for all of us, if we arise against his will, and fain will we suffer for the name of God whatsoever storms may befall, rather than purchase for ourselves worldly peace by everlasting peril.” They all said yea, they would stand firmly; and thus they come before the king. The blessed archbishop Thomas then beginneth his errand in this wise:—

“Let it be the unfeigned desire of us, the bishops, to honour and worshipfully to heed your will in all things, my good lord, if it turn not against that which is right. But if it setteth itself up thwartingly against the will of God, and the laws and dignity of the holy church, we neither may nor dare give our assent to it. We pray your power,

1168. “ lofsamlig dæmi góðra höfðingja ; því at eigi mun finn-  
 “ ast, þar sem kristnin er rétt haldin ok lögliga  
 “ varðveitt, at svo skuli dæmast vígðr sem úvigðr ;  
 “ því at fornar decretur heilagra feðra bjóða svá : Ef  
 “ klerkar verða staðnir at þvílíkum ósóma, sem er <sup>5</sup>  
 “ manndráp, stuldr eðr rán, skulu þeir fyrst suspender-  
 “ ast af öllu embætti <sup>1</sup> ok gersamliga or skipast kirkj-  
 “ unnar gózi, síðan bannsetjast <sup>2</sup> ok af öllum vígslum  
 “ degraderast ; ok, lægðir ok lýttir, eru þeir komnir  
 “ undir leikmanna lög, enn <sup>3</sup> eigi fyrr. Nú biðjum 10  
 “ vèr í annan tíma yðarn herradóm með allri mýkt,  
 “ at þèr leiðit eigi í land yðart nýjungar <sup>4</sup> í móti heil-  
 “ agri kirkju, því at ef þèr vilit þau lög setja, er í  
 “ móti gangi <sup>5</sup> Guðs rétti, er <sup>6</sup> eigi vort byskupanna  
 “ því at samþykkja. <sup>7</sup> Vil ek þat ok birta yðr með 15  
 “ hófsemd, at þær setningar, sem heilagir feðr lögfestu  
 “ til uppheldis heilagri kirkju, skulu hær í landi eigi  
 “ niðr falla, meðan ek má þeim upp halda.” Svo  
 lyktar erkibyskup sitt eyrindi. Enn Heinrekr kon-  
 ungr svarar til með mikilli reiði : “ Vitið fyrir víst,” <sup>20</sup>  
 sagði hann, “ at fyrir yðra illgirnd ok ofsa munum  
 “ vèr eigi af leggja konungstignina ; því at með rætri  
 “ erfð gengum vèr til hásetis ok sæmda eftir móður-  
 “ föður <sup>8</sup> vorn, Heinrek konung gamla, ok því krefjum  
 “ vèr enn af yðr, at þèr veitið konungdóminum frelsi <sup>25</sup>  
 “ ok frið, réttarbætur <sup>9</sup> ok landsvana þvílíka ok svá  
 “ marga, sem sýndir verða, at um hans daga hældust,  
 “ ok hær um krefjum vèr yðr samþykkis með hand-  
 “ festu.” Hær til svarar erkibyskup : “ Alla lofsam-  
 “ liga vana hær í landinu viljum vèr halda, heilli 30

The king  
answers in  
great wrath.

Becket re-  
plies.

<sup>1</sup> embætti, T.

<sup>2</sup> bannsetiast, T.

<sup>3</sup> ann, T.

<sup>4</sup> nýjungar, T.

<sup>5</sup> So U. ; gang only in T.

<sup>6</sup> ar, T.

<sup>7</sup> samþykkja, T.

<sup>8</sup> fodr only, T. ; modr fodr, U.,  
by way of emendation.

<sup>9</sup> réttarbætar, T.

“ that you deign to take for your guide the laudable  
“ examples of other good lords ; for it will not be found,  
“ where Christian rule is rightfully holden and law-  
“ fully warded, that a consecrated person be judged  
“ as an unconsecrated one ; for the ancient decrees of  
“ the holy fathers ordain even thus :—If clerks shall  
“ be taken in such unseemly deeds as manslaughter,  
“ theft, or robbery, they shall for a beginning be sus-  
“ pended from all offices, and be entirely deprived of  
“ all goods coming from the church ; then be excommu-  
“ nicated and degraded from all orders ; and, thus  
“ degraded and dishonoured, they are amenable to lay-  
“ folk law, but not till then. Now a second time, we  
“ pray your lordship, in all humbleness, that you may  
“ be pleased, not to introduce into your country any  
“ novelties against the holy church, for if you are of  
“ a mind to establish such laws as shall go straightway  
“ against the right of God, it is not for us, the bishops,  
“ to give consent to such things. I also desire, in all  
“ lowliness, to let you know, that the sentences which  
“ the holy fathers have settled to be law for the up-  
“ holding of holy church, shall not come down in this  
“ country whilst I may hold them up.”

Thus the archbishop closeth his speech. But king Henry answered thereto in great anger :—

“ Know ye, for sure,” said he, “ that through your  
“ ill-will and violcnce I am nowise likely to lay down  
“ the royal dignity ; for by rightful succession we have  
“ come to the throne and its honours after my mother’s  
“ father king Henry the old, and therefore we demand  
“ of you yet once more, that you allow to the kingdom  
“ freedom and peace, law-amendments and land-customs,  
“ such, and as many, as may be shown to have obtained  
“ in his day, and to this we demand your plighted  
“ consent.”

Unto this the archbishop answered :—

“ All praiseworthy customs here in the land will we

“ vígslu vorri<sup>1</sup> ok úskerðum Guðs rætti.” Hæð standa nú allir byskupar um hríð, sem fylgjandi orðum erki- byskups, at halda konungliga vana heilli vígslu<sup>2</sup> sinni. Enn síðan konungurinn æðist við þetta orð með svá forligri bræði, sem alt hans vald væri<sup>3</sup> fyrirlagt, fær þat 5 nú þegar eigi borit einn af byskupunum, er heitir Hilarius fyrr nefndr Cisternensis; hann vendir um orðum sínum ok gerir því annan lit.<sup>4</sup> Fór þat sem makligt var, at þar er hann visar frá sér dygðinni, fær<sup>5</sup> hann eingva<sup>6</sup> þökk af konunginum, því heldr 10 þar í mót, því at litlu síðar<sup>7</sup> stökkur hann upp or hásetinu með þeim orðum:—“ Þótt þer snarist nú allir “ undir einn skjöld móti oss, munu þer eigi sigri hrósa, “ heldr skal svá ganga, at ef nokkurr<sup>8</sup> yðar dirfist frá “ þessum degi<sup>9</sup> at únáða vart ríki, skal sá með réttu 15 “ sjálfan sik fyrir finna.” Með þessum harðýðgisorðum lyktar konungr stefnuna. Enn herra erkibyskup lætr

Hilary of Chichester deserts the archbishop.

The king threatens the bishops with hard dealings.

<sup>1</sup> The words *heilli vígslu vorri*, *salvo ordine nostro*, are taken out of the oath which from the days of Gregory the VIIth was exacted from all who received the pall from the Roman see, but form no original stratagem invented by the church authorities on the spur of the moment, as some have supposed. The oath, on which so much of the coming dispute turns, ran thus: “ Ego N. episcopus ab hac hora in “ antea fidelis ero Sancto Petro, “ sanctæque apostolicæ Romanæ ec- “ clesiæ, dominoque meo papæ C. “ ejusque successoribus canonicè “ intransibus. Non ero neque in “ consilio neque in facto, ut vitam “ perdat aut membrum, vel capi- “ atur mala captione. Consilium, “ quod mihi aut per se, aut per “ literas, aut per nuntium mani- “ festabit, ad ejus damnium nulli “ pandam. Papatum Romanæ ec-

“ clesiæ et regulas sanctorum pa- “ trum adjutor ero ad defendendum “ et retinendum, salvo ordine meo, “ contra omnes homines. Vocatus “ ad synodum veniam, nisi præpedi- “ tus fuero canonica præpeditio. “ Legatum Apostolicæ Sedis, quem “ certum legatum esse cognovero, “ in eundo et redeundo honorifice “ tractabo, et in suis necessitatibus “ adjuvabo.” &c. Ex Decretal. Greg. ii. 24, 4, Corpus Jur. Can. ed. Richter, ii. 347, 348.

<sup>2</sup> So U.; *uigslu*, T.

<sup>3</sup> *veri*, T.

<sup>4</sup> He attempted a conciliatory course, and proposed for the words *salvo ordine meo* to put *bona fide*. Herbert, 1134.

<sup>5</sup> *ferr*, T.

<sup>6</sup> *eyngva*, T.

<sup>7</sup> *sidarr*, T.

<sup>8</sup> *nockur*, T.

<sup>9</sup> *degi*, T.

“ hold, saving our consecration, and the unimpaired  
“ right of God.”

Now all the bishops stand here awhile as if following the words of the archbishop, to hold to the royal customs, saving their consecration. But now that the king becometh mad at this word with such a furious anger, as if all his power had been fordone, one of the bishops, hight Hilarius of Chichester, as aforenamed, may nowise bear this, but turneth his words about and giveth another hue to them. It fell, however, right deservedly, that in thrusting faith away from him, he reaped therefor no thanks from the king; far rather the contrary, because a little later the king springeth up from his high seat with these words:—

“ Although ye now huddle together, all of you, under  
“ one shield against us, ye shall nowise have a victory  
“ to boast of, for in such way shall matters fare, that if  
“ any man among you presumeth, from this day to dis-  
“ turb our realm, the same shall according to desert  
“ have to pay right dearly therefor.”

With these hard words the king bringeth the meeting to a close. But the lord archbishop lets sharp words



1163. hrynja snarpt eyrendi á berar brýnn Hilario byskupi, hversu<sup>1</sup> laust ok leigumannliga hann stóð þegar í fyrstu<sup>2</sup> raun. Enn hversu mikil stygð er nú var með konunginum birtist í því, að<sup>3</sup> þegar á næstu nótt ríðr hann brutt leyniliga af Lundúnum, fyrr enn lýsir af degi, svá<sup>4</sup> at eingi byskup blezar honum eðr biðr hann vel fara.<sup>4</sup>

## KAP. XXVIII.

## AF THÓMASI OK BYSKUPUM.

Þá er þing var í Lundúnum, sem nú greindist, hafði herra Thómas setið tvö ár í erkibyskupsdómi.<sup>5</sup> Er 10 nú þar komit hans tímum, at hëðan af lýtr hjólit fyrir heimligra manna augum, enn í sannleik<sup>6</sup> var hans tign æ því meiri, sem hann þoldi fleira fyrir Guðs nafn. Mikil er<sup>7</sup> sæmd, at vera smurðr erkibyskup, þar með legatus herra páfans ok primas yfir öllu Englandi; enn 15 mörgum hlutum æðra, at vera skrifaðr á lífsbók undir þann riddaradóm, er hann öðlaðist<sup>8</sup> í höll himnakonungs. Vel fyllist á þeim dögum í Englandi með byskupum þat, er sagði Salómon hinn spaki, at reiði konungsins er sem grimd leonis.<sup>9</sup> Þetta virðist þeim satt, því at 20 þau afarorð, er konungr setti þeim at skilnaði í Lundúnum, hafa skekit or þeim allan stað, svá at nálíga þröngist<sup>10</sup> hverr<sup>11</sup> fyrir annan at krjúpa undir konungs

The bishops desert Becket because of the king's threat.

<sup>1</sup> *hversu*, T.

<sup>2</sup> *fystu*, T.

<sup>3</sup> *ath*, T.

<sup>4</sup> For an account of this council in the early authorities, see Garnier, 32; Grim, 15, a somewhat confused account; Roger, 70, 71; Fitzstephen, 127, 128; John of Salisbury, 200, 201; Herbert, 1129-1134.

<sup>5</sup> The council then, according to this statement, took place 1164; but it is shown above, p. 146, that it was held in 1163, in the second

year of Becket's reign. Besides, the events occurring between this council and that of Clarendon, Jan. 25th, 1164, could not possibly develop, in those times, with such a rapidity as to fit into the space of twenty-five days.

<sup>6</sup> *sannleik*, T.

<sup>7</sup> *er*, T.

<sup>8</sup> *auðladz*, T.

<sup>9</sup> Prov. xix. 12: "The king's wrath is as the roaring of a lion."

<sup>10</sup> *þraungiz*, T.

<sup>11</sup> *huer*, T.

of chiding drop on the bare brows of bishop Hilary, for the fickle and hireling-like manner in which he held his stand even through the very first trial. But how great a spite there must have been in the king's mind now, may appear from this, that the very first night after the meeting he rideth away from London stealthily, ere even day did dawn, so that none of the bishops gave him a blessing or bade him fare well.

## CHAP. XXVIII.

### OF THOMAS AND THE BISHOPS.

When the meeting of which the tale has been told even now, was held in London, the lord Thomas had sat in his archbishopric for two years. That time of his life had now come, when in the eyes of worldly people the wheel turneth downward; yet in truth his honour was aye the greater, the more he had to suffer for the name of God. Great honour, indeed, it is to be anointed archbishop, thereby to be also the pope's legate and primate of all England; but more exalted by many things it was, to be inscribed in the book of life under such knighthood as he attained to in the palace of the heavenly king.

In these days that is well fulfilled on the bishops in England, which Solomon the Wise speaketh of the wrath of the king, that it is like the rage of the lion. This seemeth now full true to them, for the exceeding hard words which the king spoke to them at parting in London, have now shaken all might out of them, so that nearly every one presseth past the other, to creep

1163. vald. Sjá þeir undirbrot heilagrar kristni, ok þá vanmegnast þeir at standa henni. Skilnat gera þeir ok vit sinn andaligan föður,<sup>1</sup> Thómam erkibyskup, ok yfir framm<sup>2</sup> stunda þeir, á alla lund, at leiða hann brott af rétту. Margföld er sú freistni með ýmissum fortölum,<sup>5</sup> er nú prófar Thómam erkibyskup, at hann skuli víkja til meiri mýktar við konunginn. Ok sjálfr konungrinn tekur hann orðum, meirr enn um sinn, bæði blítt ok strítt, at hann skuli minnst á fyrri daga ok félagskap þeira, ok hversu ferligt er, ef þeir fara til at deila. Enn<sup>10</sup> herra erkibyskup stendr enn úhneigðr, því at samvizka hans hefir<sup>3</sup> æskiligt rúm á góðum grundvelli. Nú sem konungrinn hefir reynt, at herra Thómas vill eigi víkja eftir hans orðum, kemr einn byskup fyrir Heinrek konung af þeim stað er heitir Luxonion.<sup>4</sup> 15 Hann hefir fallit í óblíðu nokkura, ok vill nú leita friðar, hann fær<sup>5</sup> sér þvílíkt efni Guðs ótta útibyrgðum: "Minn herra," sagði hann, "ek hefir hugleitt, hversu<sup>6</sup> "fasta fylking lærdómrinn setr í móti yðr, ok er<sup>7</sup> "Thómas merkismaðr fyrir öllum þeim; því er auðsýnn<sup>20</sup> "vegr yðvarri vizku,<sup>8</sup> at lokka frá honum fylgdina sem "alvarligast, ok leiða svá til yðar, at þeir veiti yðr "fylgi aftr móti erkibyskupinum." Þessi er tillaga byskups Lyxoniensis, ok væri vel, ef hún stæði eigi upp yfir hálsinn á honum. Ok hëðan af gerðist svá, at byskup<sup>25</sup> fær vingan konungs, því at af hans ráði heimtast svá lærðir menn dagliga brott frá erkibyskupi sem ax af hveitikorni.<sup>9</sup> Á nokkurum degi koma fyrir erki-

Becket is persuaded in various ways to yield, to no avail.

Bishop Arnulf, of Lisieux, counsels the king to secure the bishops, one by one.

<sup>1</sup> *fodr*, T.

<sup>2</sup> *fram*, T.

<sup>3</sup> *hefir*, T.

<sup>4</sup> *i.e.* Arnulf (Arnoul) of Lisieux, A.D. 1141-1181.

<sup>5</sup> *fer*, T.

<sup>6</sup> *hversu*, T.

<sup>7</sup> *er*, T.

<sup>8</sup> *uitzku*, T.

<sup>9</sup> "Tamquam paleam a grano," Herbert, 1185. Here, then, it would seem the Icelandic translator uses *ax*, which properly means an ear of corn, to mean "chaff," a use of *ax* which, to the best of my knowledge, occurs nowhere else.

under the power of the king. They foresee the down-break of holy church, and even then wax dismayed in standing up for her. Moreover they take their departure from their holy father, archbishop Thomas, and endeavour, over and above all this, to lead him astray from the right by every means. Manifold are the temptations and multifarious the persuasions which at this time try archbishop Thomas, that he shape himself more meekly towards the will of the king. Yea, even the king himself falleth a-talking to him more than once, both in kindness and sternness, that he remember their former days and fellowship, and how dreadful it would be, if now they should fall a-quarrelling. But the lord archbishop standeth still unbent, because his conscience hath a choice abode on a good foundation. Now when the king hath proven, that lord Thomas will nowise wend his ways after his words, a certain bishop of the city hight Lisieux maketh his appearance before king Henry. Having fallen into some displeasure, he desireth now to seek peace; and, excluded from the fear of God, he contriveth for himself an errand in the following fashion:—

“ My lord,” he said, “ I have bethought in my mind, “ how close a rank the learned folk draw up against “ you, Thomas being the standard-bearer before them “ all, and that therefore your wisdom must easily see, “ that the right way is to decoy his following away “ from him, as earnestly as may be, and thus to lead it “ over to you, in order that they lend you their fellow- “ ship anon in turn against the archbishop himself.”

Such is the counsel of the bishop of Lisieux, and it were well if the same should not come to stand even over his own neck. Now henceforth matters so turned, that the bishop got into the king's friendship, for by his rede learned men are daily winnowed away from the archbishop as chaff from grain of wheat.

On a certain day there came before the archbishop

byskupinn þessir þrír höfðingjar, byskup Herefordensis, jarlinn af Vintonia ok ábótinn af þeim stað, er heitir Almes.<sup>1</sup> Þessir hafa traacteran í fyrstu af konungsins vönnum, er<sup>2</sup> nú var kærast til umræðu. Ábótinn segir sik sendan til erkibyskups af Alexandro páfa<sup>3</sup> með<sup>5</sup> því eyrindi,<sup>4</sup> at hann mýki til friðar við herra konunginn. Segir þat af herra páfans orðum, at herra konungurinn hafi svarit fyrir cardinalibus hans sendiboðum, at leiða eingva nýjung<sup>5</sup> skaðvænliga upp á kirkjuna. Enn þótt nokkut grand fjóti með, vill 10 herra páfinn sakir elsku faðernis sér láta kenna. Ok þessi er sá flutningr, er Thómas erkibyskup víkr aftir ok sækir konungs fund, talar með honum leyniliga, at hann skyli blíðka sinn hug, segist nú vilja af leggja þeim orðum, er hann hefir stygt áðr.<sup>6</sup> Herra kon- 15 ungrinn sýnir á sér nokkut blíðubragð eðr<sup>7</sup> létta<sup>8</sup> hér í mót, enn segir þó, með stöddum<sup>9</sup> orðum, at svá sem áskilnaðr þeira varð á almenniligu þingi, svá skal ok þeira sættargerð með sama hætti; ok því býðr hann lærðum ok leikvaldi at koma samt á nefndan 20 dag í þeim stað er Clarenton heitir. Þyngist nú enn af þessu efni hugr erkibyskups, því at hann skilr því gjörr, hversu<sup>10</sup> ástundan konungsins er djúp<sup>11</sup> ok meinlig kristinni, at hann lætr sér eingan veg líka, utan

Abbat Philip of Almes brings Becket a message of conciliation from the pope.

Becket promises privately to the king to hold the customs. The king declares he will only receive the promise publicly.

The council of Clarenton summoned.

<sup>1</sup> i.e. Philip of Almes, otherwise called Philippus de Eleemosyna, in Garnier, Phelippes de l'Almosne, abbot of a Cistercian abbey, "otherwise called *Little Citéaux*, about "four leagues to the south-east of "Châteaudun." Robertson, Becket, Appendix xiv. pp. 334, 335; cf. Gallia Christiana, T., viii. 1397.

It is evident that the form Almes, which can by no manner of means be the invention of the Icelandic translator, but represents correctly the old English word for eleemosyna, must be taken from an unknown authority, as none of the

extant lives represent that form of this name.

<sup>2</sup> ar, T.

<sup>3</sup> páfa, T.

<sup>4</sup> eyrinndi, T.

<sup>5</sup> nyjung, T.

<sup>6</sup> According to Herbert, 1135, this meeting of king and archbishop took place at Oxford; according to Roger, 74, and Garnier, 35, it took place at Woodstock.

<sup>7</sup> ædr, T.

<sup>8</sup> létta, T.

<sup>9</sup> stauddum, T.

<sup>10</sup> huersu, T.

<sup>11</sup> djyp, T.

these three lords, the bishop of Hereford, the earl of Winchester, and the abbat of the place called Almes. At first they discourse about the royal customs which, at this time, were a fond subject of talk. The abbat says, that he has been sent to the archbishop by pope Alexander, with the message that he soften down into peace with the lord king. He repeateth so much of the words of the lord pope as to say, that the lord king had made an oath before the cardinals, his legates, not to bring into the church any novelties from which any harm might be looked for. But even should therewith float some unwholesome things, the lord pope desireth, for the sake of his fatherly love, to have all that thrown upon himself. By reason of this message archbishop Thomas turneth back, and hath a meeting with the king ; speaketh with him in secret, praying that he soften his mind, and saying that he desireth now to cast off those words, wherewith he had offended him before. The lord king maketh show of some kindliness of countenance, or ease, in return for this, but answereth in words of set purpose that, as they happened to dissent in a public parliament, so their peace must needs also come about in the same manner ; wherefore he ordered clerks and layfolk to come to a meeting on a settled day in a certain town, called Clarendon.

From this the mind of the archbishop groweth heavy anew, because he now understandeth, how deeply set the purpose of the king is, and how hurtful for the church, all the more clearly, that he is content with nought less than bringing out in a public assembly her down-

þingbera hennar niðrbrot ok vansa. Því skipar hann aftr sína hugsan í fyrra stétt, at standa með einurð fyrir kirkjunni, at vernda hennar lögligan<sup>1</sup> rétt.<sup>2</sup>

## KAP. XXIX.

## ER THÓMAS SAMÞYKKIR KONUNGS VANA.

5

Council of Clarendon, 25th Jan. 1164.

The king exacts public declaration of Becket's promise, but the archbishop is now unyielding.

He is persuaded to give way by the bishops of Salisbury and Norwich.

Nú sem herra Thómas erkibyskup með lýðbyskupum ok lærðum mönnum kemr á konungs fund í Clarendon, kallast þeir allir samt upp á konungsgarð til stefnu. Ok þegar í upphafi<sup>3</sup> krefr konungrinn með mikilli ákefð,<sup>4</sup> at Thómas erkibyskup með öðrum<sup>10</sup> lýðbyskupum fylli sitt fyrirheit, at styrkja þá sömu konungs vana, sem þeim risu greinir af. Thómas erkibyskup sèr,<sup>5</sup> hversu mikit megu konungrinn færir<sup>6</sup> í at brjóta lögin<sup>7</sup> ok rétt<sup>8</sup> á<sup>9</sup> kirkjunni; því skipar hann sik nú enn at nýju<sup>10</sup> öndverðan með allri hans<sup>15</sup> yfirgirnd. Enn er þat heyrst, skortir hvárki æði nè afarorð af sjálfum konunginum. Enn Guðs maðr hefir sik högværan<sup>11</sup> móti hótunum<sup>12</sup> ok kyrran móti kúgan. Sem svá hefir staðit um hríð, ganga framm<sup>13</sup> fyrir erki-byskupinn tveir lýðbyskupar, af Sarisber ok Norðvík<sup>14</sup> 20 biðjandi mikilliga,<sup>15</sup> at hann firri þá alla samt svá bráðu áfelli sem nú liggr yfir, ok miskunni klerk-

<sup>1</sup> *laugligan*, T.

<sup>2</sup> *reitt*, T.

<sup>3</sup> *upphafsi*, T.

<sup>4</sup> *aakæfð*, T.

<sup>5</sup> *sierr*, T.

<sup>6</sup> *færir*, T.

<sup>7</sup> *laugin*, T.

<sup>8</sup> *reitt*, T.

<sup>9</sup> *d* added by the editor.

<sup>10</sup> *nyium*, T.

<sup>11</sup> *hogueran*, T.

<sup>12</sup> *honum*, T.; I have ventured this text emendation, because the sentence shows an evident intention

to set off by the stress of rhetorical alliteration the contrast between the impulsive persecution of king Henry and Becket's passive resistance, on one hand, and on the other the qualities in Becket which met the king's *threats* and the king's *tyranny*. I strongly suspect that *honum* is a simple misreading of the scribe of T. for *hotunum*.

<sup>13</sup> *fram*, T.

<sup>14</sup> See p. 88, note 1.

<sup>15</sup> *mikiliga*, T.

break and dishonour. He therefore bringeth his mind into its former state, stoutly to stand up for the church for the defence of her lawful right.

## CHAP. XXIX.

### HOW THOMAS CONSENTETH TO THE KING'S CUSTOMS.

Now when lord archbishop Thomas, in company with diocesan bishops and learned men, cometh to meet the king at Clarendon, they are all summoned together up to the king's court into an assembly there. The king demandeth forthwith, in the beginning, with great eagerness, that archbishop Thomas, together with the diocesan bishops, fulfill his promise, to promote those very royal customs, about which dissensions had arisen between them. Archbishop Thomas, being aware of the great might the king bringeth to bear, in order to break down the laws and the right of the church, setteth himself once more anew straight against all his masterfulness. But when that is heard, there lacketh neither mad rage nor overweening words from the king himself. But God's man showeth himself calm against threats, and quiet against oppression. And as things have stood thus for a while, there step before the archbishop two suffragans, he of Salisbury and he of Norwich, praying earnestly, that he get them all together out of such a dire affliction as now hangeth over them, and have compassion on the clergy, that they be not driven into



dóminum, at hann sæ<sup>1</sup> keyrðr í útlegð; segja hann mikla vansæmd erkibyskupsins tign, ef hann kúgist alt til myrkvastofu, því at hinir<sup>2</sup> lægri byskupar falla svá fremi í fordæming. Herra erkibyskup stendr enn  
 by two lords. ok viknar eigi. Því næst koma fram<sup>3</sup> fyrir hann 5 jarlar tveir<sup>4</sup> harða ríkir. Þeir flytja svá snart<sup>5</sup> eyrindi, sem hær stendr. “Vitið, án efa,” sögðu þeir, “utan þer heftið yðart harðýðgi, ok af leggit þrályndi, munu þer með opinberum konungains boðskap svá framarliga “kúgaðr, sem sá maðr, er<sup>6</sup> sínum herra leitar æfinliga 10  
 “hneyxla.”<sup>7</sup> Svá segja þeir, enn heyrast eigi. Þessu næst setr á eyrendi sá maðr, er Ríkarðr heitir; hann er mikill höfðingi,<sup>8</sup> kominn af Jórsólum, meistari yfir templumbræðrum. Hann tjár á margan veg með skreyttum málshætti, at herra erkibyskup vægi til 15 fyrir þröngvandi<sup>9</sup> nauðsyn, at lærdómrinn forðist enn meinligra áfelli. Hær með ganga fram<sup>10</sup> byskuparnir enn at nýju sem grátandi; segja þann ótta yfirkominn, sem konungsins sverð sæ<sup>11</sup> skekit yfir<sup>12</sup> hans háls; harma þeir<sup>13</sup> ok sjálfa sik, sem þeir sæ allir samt í dauða 20 dregnir. Þessar harmtölur allar samt afla erkibyskupi viðrkomningar, ok í því samþíningarvatni brestmúrrinn fyrir hans brjósti, svá at hann afleiðist nú at sinni sannleiksins<sup>14</sup> frægð ok sinnar móður<sup>15</sup> sæmd; and yields. ok því svá, at hann fallinn kenni sinn mannligan veik- 25 leik, ok upprisinn<sup>16</sup> dýrki hann með sèr guðliga mildi sannliga verandi. Ok til þess, at eingi treysti sèr, heldr Guði einum, er til minnis leiðanda, hversu tveir Guðs ástvinir, Petr postoli ok Davíð konungr, fóru hnöggvanda<sup>17</sup> fæti. Ei<sup>18</sup> nefnast þeir fyrir þá grein, at 30

<sup>1</sup> *sic*, T.<sup>2</sup> *hinar*, T.<sup>3</sup> *fram*, T.<sup>4</sup> *tveir*, T.<sup>5</sup> *snart*, T.<sup>6</sup> *ær*, T.<sup>7</sup> *hneyxla*, T.<sup>8</sup> *hofðingji*, T.<sup>9</sup> *þraunguandi*, T.<sup>10</sup> *fram*, T.<sup>11</sup> *sic*, T.<sup>12</sup> *ifr*, T.<sup>13</sup> So altered by the editor; *þat*, T. U.<sup>14</sup> *sannleiksinnis*, T.<sup>15</sup> *modr*, T.<sup>16</sup> *upprisin*, T.<sup>17</sup> *hnaugganda*, T.<sup>18</sup> *Ei*, T.

exile ; saying moreover, that he would dishonour the archiepiscopal dignity greatly, if he came to be thrust into a dark dungeon, as thus alone the lower bishops must needs fall into condemnation. Still the lord archbishop standeth firm, and giveth way nowise. Next to this there come before him two earls, right mighty, and address him with such a harsh message as here followeth :—

“Wot you, without doubting,” said they, “that unless you restrain your hardihood, and throw off your stiff mind, you will be crushed by a public order of the king, even as one who seeketh to bring upon his master a permanent shame.”

Thus they speak, but without being listened to.

Next to these there holdeth forth a man, called Richard, a great lord, who hath come from Jerusalem, being the Master of the Knights Templars. He counselleth in a manifold wise and in an ornate manner of speech, that the lord archbishop yield to an urgent need, in order that the clergy may escape a still graver peril. Herewith the bishops come forward once more, well-nigh in tears, saying, that such fear prevailed already abroad, as if the king's sword were being brandished over the archbishop's neck ; at the same time they grieve for their own lot, as if they were all dragged together into death. All these tales of wailing bring about in the archbishop a moving of his heart, and before that compassion's water the wall of his breast bursteth suchwise, that now for once he strayeth away from the glory of the truth and the honour of his mother ; all for this end, however, that fallen he may know his human weakness, and arisen again he may glorify divine grace verily abiding within him. And that no one should put trust in himself, but rather in God alone, let it be called to mind, how two well-beloved friends of God, the apostle Peter and king David, happened to walk on a tripping foot. Not that they are

nokkurr<sup>1</sup> elski fallit, heldr at hann upp rísi eftir þeira dæmi, ef hann hefir fallit. Petr neitaði þrim sinnum<sup>2</sup> várn Herra, enn Davíð konungr hóraði eiginkonu riddara síns, ok reð honum bana. Hvárrtveggi<sup>3</sup> þessarra endrbætti<sup>4</sup> sinn stètt, fyrir tár ok trega, svá heilagliga,<sup>5</sup> að Guð lagði þeim báðum síðan meiri sæmd enn áðr; Petro í kristninnar höfðingjadæmi, enn Davíð konungi með herradóm; ok þat samþykkir vel dýrðiligum feðr Gregorio páfa, þá er hann setr svá fallit dæmi. Meiri frægð<sup>6</sup> ok mála þiggr sá konungsins riddari, er sýnist<sup>10</sup> flóttagjarn í öndverðum ófriði, enn snarast síðan svá framliga móti sínum óvinum, at með sterkan handlegg<sup>6</sup> drepr hann ok dreifir þeim öllum. Þessi tiltekin dæmi þjóna einkar vel virðuligum herra Thómasi erkibyskupi; hann veiktist<sup>7</sup> til þess, at hann skyldi eflast,<sup>15</sup> ok féll til þess eina, at hann skyldi sterkari upp rísa. Enn hversu hann fellr, stendr þessu næst. Með því at hann er æztr allra kennimanna í landinu, geingr hann fyrir öðrum til festu, játtandi fyrst upp á sín sannindi, sem eið vinnandi, at halda alla forna kon-<sup>20</sup> ungsins vana, ok þegir<sup>8</sup> nú yfir<sup>9</sup> því orði: "heilli vígslu sinni." Þetta sama sverja nú byskuparnir með fortækn- um eið, at halda með samþykkt þá konungliga vana. Er nú eigi langt, áðr nokkorir af hirðsveitinni ganga fram,<sup>10</sup> er glögt segjast vita, hverir konungligir vanar<sup>25</sup> hafa verit í Englandi; ok þat, er þeir fram<sup>10</sup> bera, er þegar með konungs boði skrifat sem<sup>11</sup> lögprófat<sup>12</sup> ok lýtalaust, . . .<sup>13</sup> heldr, sem síðar reyndist, at margir articuli þar af voru eigi konungs vanar, heldr vándsligir

He promises by oath to keep the king's customs,

whereupon these customs are put on record.

<sup>1</sup> *nockur*, T.

<sup>2</sup> So U.; *sinum*, T.

<sup>3</sup> *hvarrtveggi*, T.

<sup>4</sup> *endrbætti*, T.

<sup>5</sup> *frægd*, T.

<sup>6</sup> So U.; *handleg*, T.

<sup>7</sup> *veiktiz*, T.

<sup>8</sup> So U.; *þegar*, T.

<sup>9</sup> *iftr*, T.

<sup>10</sup> *fram*, T.

<sup>11</sup> *zem*, T.

<sup>12</sup> *laugprófat*, T.

<sup>13</sup> A sentence is evidently omitted here, saying that instead of these customs being found "proven law" and perfectly faultless, it turned out rather, as was afterwards proven, that many articles thereof, &c. See translation.

named here, because of any one taking delight in falling, but rather, that he rise up again after their example, if he hath had a fall. Peter denied our Lord thrice, but king David whored the lawful wife of one of his own knights and compassed his death. Either of these twain redeemed his state, through tears and repentance, in such a holy fashion, that God granted to both of them afterwards even greater honour than before; to Peter the primacy over the church, but to king David lordliness and power; which well accordeth with the glorious father, pope Gregory, when he setteth forth the following example:—Greater fame and pay becometh such a knight of a king, who in the beginning of the fight showeth himself bent on flight, but afterwards turneth against his enemies in such a forward manner, that with his strong arm he slayeth and scattereth them all. These now chosen examples serve right fitly the worthy lord archbishop Thomas; he waxed weak, that he might grow mighty, and fell, only that he might arise again stronger than erst he was.

But how he falleth, followeth next to this.

Being at the head of all the learned men in the land, he goeth before the others to give handsel, and promiseth first, upon his true word, as if making his oath, to keep all ancient royal customs, and holdeth, this time, his peace as to the word: "saving his consecration." The same thing the bishops now swear, in an express oath, namely, with full consent to hold the same royal customs. But now no long time passeth, ere certain folk from among the court suite step forward, saying, that they know full clearly, what royal customs have obtained heretofore in England, and whatever they happen to pronounce, is written down forthwith, by order of the king, as if it were proven law indeed and perfectly faultless, . . . rather, as was afterwards proven, that many articles thereof were no royal customs at all,

nýjungar upp á skaða kirkjunnar. Enn þeir, er samsetja svá mikinn sáluháska, segja, at þessir eru<sup>1</sup> nokkurir konungs vanar uppnefndir, ok þó enn fáir hjá þeim, sem enn liggja útaldir. Herra Thómas hylr sinn harm í sútfullu hjarta, því at hann grunar, sem gafst, at þessir menn leggjast of mjök í líftjón, er meirr ok meirr girnast framm á fóttröð kirkjunnar. Konungrinn<sup>2</sup> er ungr ok erkibyskup eigi gamall, ok því hefir hvárgi hær vissu yfir. Herra erkibyskup segir ljósum orðum, at fyrir þá grein hefir hann einga<sup>3</sup> lögliga ástöðu til mótkasta, hvat er þeir skrifa. Þetta letr, sem lögleitt,<sup>4</sup> er sett upp á þrjár cedulas, tekr konungrinn eina, enn erkibyskup aðra,<sup>5</sup> þriðju Eboracensis byskup, sem konungrinn skipar. Hær yfir framm krefr konungrinn, at herra Thómas ok aðrir byskupar gefi<sup>6</sup> sín innsigli<sup>7</sup> þeim vönnum<sup>8</sup> til æfinligrar<sup>9</sup> styrktar. Enn þar undan hallast erkibyskup vægiliga, fyrst at sinni, segir, at eftir orðum hins vísa Salomonis stendr vel, at þat<sup>10</sup> mál hafi skynsamliga biðstund.<sup>11</sup> Enn sá, er girnist at heyra þessa vana, hyggi þann tíma vel at sögunni, er<sup>12</sup> Thómas erkibyskup less þá upp ok skýrir fyrir sjálfum páfanum Alexandro ok kardinalibus. Svá slítr þenna fund, at herra erkibyskup gefr eigi sitt innsigli,<sup>13</sup> hversu sem konunginum líkar.

The customs are written on three schedules.

The king demands the seal of the bishops to the customs,

from which Becket begs to be excused.

## KAP. XXX.

25

## HVERSU KLERKR ÁVÍTADI THÓMAM.

The archbishop chid by Herbert of Boham.

Sem fyrstr er líðr tími, ríðr herra erkibyskup brutt af Clarentun<sup>14</sup> á þann veg, er víkr til Vintoniam.

<sup>1</sup> *aru*, T.

<sup>2</sup> *Konunginn*, T.

<sup>3</sup> *eynga*, T.

<sup>4</sup> *laugleitt*, T.

<sup>5</sup> *aðr* only in T.

<sup>6</sup> *gefr*, T.

<sup>7</sup> *innsigli*, T.

<sup>8</sup> *vönnum*, T.

<sup>9</sup> *æfinligrar*, T.

<sup>10</sup> So altered by the editor; *sua*, T.

<sup>11</sup> Prov. xv. 22: "Without counsel purposes are disappointed."

<sup>12</sup> *err*, T.

<sup>13</sup> *innsigli*, T.

<sup>14</sup> *Clarentun*, T.

but evil novelties, introduced now for the harming of the church. But those who compound this great peril of their salvation say, that these are but some of the royal customs told, and as yet but few, in comparison to those which abide untold still. Lord Thomas hideth his grief in a sorrowful heart, for it misdoubteth him, even as came to pass, that these men put themselves far too much in peril of their own life, who more and more yearn onward to have the church trodden under foot. The king is young, and the archbishop not old; wherefore neither knoweth the full certainty in the matter. The lord archbishop sayeth in clear words, that for this reason he hath no lawful ground for gainsaying what they write. This writ is, as if it were indeed a sanctioned law, set up in three schedules, whereof the king taketh one, the archbishop another, and the bishop of York the third, according as the king ordaineth. Over and above this, the king demandeth, that lord Thomas and the other bishops put their seals to these customs for the perpetual sanctioning thereof. But this the archbishop meekly declined doing at first, saying that, in the words of the wise Solomon, it behoveth, that that affair be wisely put off a while. But he who desireth to hear these customs, let him heed the story well at the time, when archbishop Thomas readeth them aloud, and interpreteth them before the pope Alexander himself and the cardinals. Thus this meeting breaketh up, that the lord archbishop giveth not his seal, howsoever the king liketh it.

### CHAP. XXX.

#### HOW A CLERK CHID THOMAS.

Now as time passeth on, the lord archbishop rideth away as early as may be from Clarendon, unto the road which wendeth Winchester-ward. And right soon there

Ok brátt í veginum rísa<sup>1</sup> upp ýmissar orðræður<sup>2</sup> með fylgdinni, hversu þing þetta hefir út geingit. Þeir, er vernda málit, segja, at í því líkan púnkt var svo geranda. Aðrir kasta þvert í mót, segja at Guðs rættir er svá röksemdarfullr,<sup>3</sup> at ekki hatr eðr<sup>4</sup> hermd á honum at ráða. Sá klerkr, er krossinn berr fyrir erkibyskupi, hlutast nú í málit, enn aðrir þagna; hann segir svá lágliga fyrir munni sér: “Konungligt vald ok vili “ sturlar nú alla luti. Á Krist sjálfan æðist nú ílskan. “ Þinghús andskotans saurgar ok svívirðir kirkjur Krists. 10 “ Sátu höfðingjar, ok á eitt sáttir urðu móti Kristi “ Drottins. Einginn<sup>5</sup> er sá fundinn, er rættletid elskar. “ Þeir einir vita nokkut í dag ok vegsamast, sem höfð- “ ingjum þjóna. Skók þessi stormrinn stólpa kristn- “ innar; ok þá er hirðirinn hvarf, dreifðust sauðirnir. 15 “ Hvar mun nú vera staðr meinleysis eðr<sup>6</sup> mótstöðu, “ eðr hvern<sup>7</sup> mun sigrast í orrostunni, at hertuganum “ feldum?” Eftir svá talað þagnar hann um litla stund, ok enn segir hann svá:—“Hvat hêlt sá með sér af “ kraftinum, er tapaði sæmdina með frægðinni?”<sup>8</sup> Sem 20 hêr er komit, svarar Thómas erkibyskup: “Hverjum, “ son minn, heyra<sup>9</sup> þessi orð?” “ Rætt yðr sjálfum, “ minn herra,” sagði hann klerkrinn, “er<sup>10</sup> jáðuð at halda “ þá bölvaða konungsins vana, kirkjunni ok klerkunum “ til áfellis ok únáða, samþykkjandi fjandans félögum 25 “ ok hans þrælum.” Sem Thómas erkibyskup heyrir svá fallin orð, kemst hann vit af öllu hjarta, svá þegar voru tærin úti, með því líkum orðum:—“Minn glæpr er

Therest  
Becket  
sheds tears  
of repent-  
ance.

<sup>1</sup> ríssa, T.

<sup>2</sup> orðræður, T.

<sup>3</sup> röksemdarfullr, T.

<sup>4</sup> ædr, T.

<sup>5</sup> Eingin, T.

<sup>6</sup> ædr, T.

<sup>7</sup> So U.; huer, T.

<sup>8</sup> frægðinni, T.

<sup>9</sup> heyra, T.

<sup>10</sup> ær, T.

arise various discourses on the way among the following, as to how this meeting hath turned out. They who defend the affair, say that, in such a strait, such was the thing to be done. Others strait gainsay this, maintaining that the right of God is so well founded, that neither hatred nor rancour ought to bear sway there-over. The clerk who beareth the cross before the archbishop now taketh part in the talk, and whilst the others hold their peace, he muttereth lowly out of his mouth:—

“ The king's might and will now confound all things. Against Christ himself rageth now the iniquity. The devil's house of parliament now polluteth with abomination the churches of Christ. Together they sat, the mighty ones, and were of one mind against the anointed of the Lord. No one is found who loveth rightwiseness. Only those know aught to-day, and are held in honour, who make themselves the servants of mighty men. Verily this storm shook the pillars of the church, and when the herdsman vanished, the sheep were scattered. Where shall now be found a place of abiding for innocence or resistance, or who may conquer in the fight, since the captain is felled?” Having spoken thus, he holdeth his peace a little while; but again he taketh up the word:—  
“ How much did he retain for himself of power, who forfeited his honour together with his fame?”

Having gone thus far, archbishop Thomas answereth:

“ To whom come these words, my son?”

“ Right to yourself, my lord,” said he, the clerk, “ who said yea to holding those accursed customs of the king, for the peril and the vexation of the church and the clerics, you having thus become of one mind with the comrades of the devil and his thralls.”

Now when archbishop Thomas heareth these words, his whole heart is moved, insomuch that forthwith his tears poured out awhile he spoke these words:—



“ svá mikill vorðinn í þeiri herfiligri niðran ok van-  
 “ virðu, er ek hefir gert kirkjunni ok klerkdóminum,  
 “ at berliga dæmir hann mik úverðugan at standa fyrir  
 “ Guði mínum í kennimanns þjónustu; ok því mun  
 “ ek þegjandi sitja með sorg ok sút, þar til, er hinn 5  
 “ hæsti Guð á himnum sendir mér hjálp at hugga  
 “ mitt hjarta. Ok er eigi undarligt at svá gangi, því  
 “ at sakir minna synda mun heilög Englands kristni  
 “ þvílíkar vanvirður þola; því at eigi var ek kjörinn  
 “ til þessa valds<sup>1</sup> ok virðingar af kirkjunni eðr klerkum, 10  
 “ eigi af klaustri eðr siðsemdarhúsi, sem aðrir mínir for-  
 “ verarar ok forfeðr, Kantuariensis erkibyskupar, heldr  
 “ var ek tekinn af konungs höll ok húskörlum.<sup>2</sup> Aumr  
 “ var ek minnar dirfðar, at ek dramsamligr<sup>3</sup> ok hægóm-  
 “ ligr skyldi þora at skipast geymslumaðr<sup>4</sup> yfir vingarði 15  
 “ Guðs, þar sem ek nam aldri at geyma sjálfan mik.  
 “ því væri<sup>5</sup> mér sá dómr makliga diktaðr, at úr svá  
 “ heilögu sæti væri<sup>6</sup> ek langt með vanvirðu brott kast-  
 “ aðr.” Þvílík er iðranar rödd<sup>7</sup> hins blezaða föður<sup>7</sup>  
 Thóme erkibyskups, er bæði má heita lofig ok áminni- 20  
 lig. Enn hverr klerkr sá var, er þvílíka einarðartölu  
 setti svá dýrðarfullum manni, utan fyrr nefndr Herbert  
 af Boseam, því at til þvílíks embættis tók hann forðum  
 umboð af sjálfum Thómasi electo. Hann bar ok til  
 klerkdóm at finna svá meistaralig<sup>8</sup> orð. Lofsamligr 25  
 er sá erkibyskup, er svá lítillátliga tók með ávítan  
 síns undirmanns. Virðandi er ok sá þjónustumaðr, er  
 svá góðan lut kjöri sínum formanni. Signaðr Thómas  
 valdi sèr þann veg, er Salómon vottar góðum manni  
 tilheyreligan,<sup>9</sup> at ásaka sjálfan sik í þessu tilfelli,<sup>10</sup> 30  
 þótt hann mætti afsakast á nokkurn hátt, fyrir þá

<sup>1</sup> uallðz, T.<sup>2</sup> huskollum, T.<sup>3</sup> dramsamligr, T.<sup>4</sup> madr added in U.; geymslu  
only, T.<sup>5</sup> ueri, T.<sup>6</sup> raudð, T.<sup>7</sup> fodr, T.<sup>8</sup> meistarlig, T.<sup>9</sup> For tilheyrligan; tilheyreligan,  
T.<sup>10</sup> Cf. Prov. ix. 8: “Rebuke a  
“ wise man, and he will love thee.”

“ My crime hath become so great in that frightful  
“ abasement and dishonour which I have brought upon  
“ the church and the clergy, that it condemneth me  
“ clearly unworthy of standing before my God in the  
“ service of a teacher ; and therefore shall I sit silent,  
“ in sorrow and grief, until the highest God in hea-  
“ ven sendeth me help to comfort my heart. Nor  
“ is it to be wondered at, that matters should go in  
“ this way, for by reason of my sins must England’s  
“ holy church suffer such dishonour ; for I was not  
“ chosen to this office and dignity by the church or by  
“ the clerics, not from a cloister or a house of morals,  
“ as my predecessors and forefathers, the archbishops  
“ of Canterbury ; nay rather was I taken out of the  
“ palace of the king and from among his household.  
“ Woe is me for my boldness, that I, ambitious and  
“ vain-glorious man, should dare to be ordained keeper  
“ of the vineyard of God, whereas I never even learned  
“ to take heed of myself. It were therefore a judgment  
“ rightfully passed on me, to be cast with shame far  
“ away from such a holy seat.”

Such is the voice of repentance of the blessed father, archbishop Thomas, which may well be called both laudable and full of admonition. But who was the clerk who ministered such a frank speech to the glorious man ? who, but the aforementioned Herbert of Bosham, who had erst been entrusted with that very office by Thomas himself while bishop elect. He too bore about clerkship enough to find such masterly words. Laudable is such an archbishop, who so lowly took the chiding of his underling. Worthy, too, is the servant, who chose such a good thing for his master. The blessed Thomas chose for himself even the way which Solomon witnesseth as becoming a good man, namely, to lay all blame on himself for what had happened, although he might be justified, in a certain measure,

Becket does penance, and abstains from officiating at the altar, and sends messengers with letters to the pope.

grein, at hann varð leiddr eðr enn heldr dreginn fyrir annarra kvein. Enn svá fallna<sup>1</sup> afsakan vill hann víst eigi til sín taka, heldr leggr hann líkam sinn undir þján ok þyngslir, föstur ok meinlæti, með svá miklum hætti, at jafnvel leggr hann um hrið sjálft<sup>5</sup> altaris embættið. Með öllum skunda gerir hann sína sendiboða með bræfum til páfagarðs, í hverjum hann greinir svá smásmugliga herra páfanum allan hátt á sínu falli, biðjandi þar með líkn ok lausn, at honum sendist til styrks ok hugganar. Ferr þat svá beggja<sup>10</sup> vegna, at herra Thómas sitr í samhaldinni iðran allan tíma, meðan sendiboðar sækja til Sennonis í Franz, ok aftr þaðan heim til Kantuariam, með svá æskiligt eyrindi, sem herra Thómas mátti framast kjósa; því at með lausn ok fyrirlátning leggr herra páfinn honum<sup>15</sup> föðurlig<sup>2</sup> orð með áminning, at því röskligar rísi hann upp með vernd ok frjálsi kirkjunnar, sem nú í nálægð hafði lot á vorðit þeiri staðfestu, sem hann var Guði skyldugr. Ok þessa frammeggjan<sup>3</sup> herra páfans tekr<sup>4</sup> Thómas svá glaðr sem af Guði senda; því hefir hann<sup>20</sup> sik nú frammi sem nýrr í annat sinn, fullr vandlætis,<sup>5</sup> hreinsandi fólkít ok leysandi af saurr ok syndum, hvárt sem heldr kostar með blíðu eðr stríðu. Kennir hann ok úspart, hvat hafnanda er, eðr hvat fylgjanda, bjóðandi af Guðs hálfu, at menn haldi þau lög, sem<sup>25</sup> heilagir feðr<sup>6</sup> skipuðu kirkjunni til sæmdar. Fyrirbýðr hann ok sterkliga, at þeir úvanar gangist vit, er nú voru nýliga innleiddir af konungsmönnum, ok þar yfir hótar hann andligri stríðu. Enn alla þá vana, sem hann veit staðit hafa, ok honum sýnast þolligir,<sup>30</sup> lætr hann um líða, sakir friðar; því at einginn<sup>7</sup> maðr í

The pope absolves him, and exhorts him to defend the right of the church.

Becket's renewed zeal and ardour.

<sup>1</sup> So altered by the editor;

fallin, T. U.

<sup>2</sup> fœdrlic, T.

<sup>3</sup> frammeggjan, T.

<sup>4</sup> Added in U.; om. in T.

<sup>5</sup> uandlætis, T.

<sup>6</sup> fædr, T.

<sup>7</sup> einginn, T.

for this reason, that he was led, or rather dragged on by the wailing of others. Of such an exculpation he hath, to be sure, no mind to make use, but rather afflicteth he his body with scourging and hardship, fasting and chastisement, so much so even, that he abstaineth a while from the very office of the altar. Right speedily he sendeth to the court of the pope his messengers with letters, wherein he setteth forth to the lord pope the whole nature of his case, taking account even of the least things, praying withal for his grace and absolution to be sent him for the strengthening and the comforting of him. On either side matters now go on thus, that (on the one), lord Thomas sitteth in continuous penance, (while on the other), the messengers proceed to Sens in France, and from there back home to Canterbury, bringing so desirable a message as lord Thomas might furthest wish for; for with absolution and remission the lord pope directeth to him fatherly words, exhorting him to rise up for the defence and the deliverance of the church, all the more stoutly that of late there had been some slackness in the constancy which was due from him to God. This exhortation of the lord pope Thomas taketh as gladly as if it had been sent by God; and therefore he cometh now forward, once again, as a new man, full of zeal, cleansing the people and freeing it from filth and sin, heedless whether it be at the cost of kindness or hard dealings. He teacheth unreservedly which things to spurn, and which to follow, demanding, by divine authority, that people hold to the laws which the holy fathers had once sanctioned for the honour of the church. He forbiddeth right sternly that the abuses be allowed to prevail, which had lately been introduced by the king's folk, and thereby holdeth out the threat of spiritual penalties. But all such customs as he knoweth to have obtained heretofore, and he deemeth at all tolerable, he leaveth alone, for the sake of peace; for no man

Englandi girnist meirr sannan frið kirkjunnar enn hann sjálfr, þótt honum eignist síðar<sup>1</sup> í sögunni allar únáðir.

## KAP. XXXI.

## ÁGÁNGR HEINREKS.

5

Nú er þar til at taka, sem Heinrekr konungr verðr alvarliga<sup>2</sup> viss, at Thómas erkibyskup vill eigi gefa sitt innsigli fyrir þá vana, er samsettir voru í Klarenthun. Grimmist hann at nýju móti erkibyskupinum með svá miklu megni, at hatr ok afvirðing<sup>3</sup> er auðsýn með<sup>10</sup> honum. Ok er þat finna gamlir úvinir<sup>4</sup> erkibyskups, draga þeir sik framm or skugganum, ok afklæða með öllu þá bölvæða<sup>5</sup> öfund<sup>6</sup> ok illgirni, er þeir höfðu lengi borit í sínu brjósti. Ok er ferligt til frásagnar, at byskuparnir sjálfir ganga í þenna flokk, at standa í 15 áleitni ok umlestrum upp á skaða síns andligs föður;<sup>7</sup> sumir fyrir þá sök, at samvizkan<sup>8</sup> tjár þeim þær ljótar sakir, þótt enn sè<sup>9</sup> leyndar, er þeir óttast með sárum hug, ef opinberar koma undir erkibyskups dóm; aðrir fyrir þá sök, at þeir höfðu ætlað sèr þá tign, er 20 hann hlaut. Sumir rægja hann fyrir eina saman ílsku<sup>10</sup> sinnar úlýðsku.<sup>11</sup> Má hær til nefna þrjá byskupa, er fremstir ganga, Rodgeirr af Jork, Gillibert af Lundúnum, ok Jocelin af Sarisber. Harðla fáir eru<sup>12</sup> þeir af byskupum, er standa með huginum, þar sem 25 erkibyskup var; enn þó er þat leyniligt sakir konungsins ógnar. Enn þeir sem með rógi fara, rangturna

Several bishops join Becket's enemies for various causes,

as Roger of York, Gilbert of London, and Jocelin of Salisbury.

<sup>1</sup> *sidarr*, T.

<sup>2</sup> *alvarliga*, T.

<sup>3</sup> *afvirðing* here must mean intent to dishonour, dishonouring. Cf. below, ll. 19, 20: "ok því snýst hann berliga með öðrum öfund-armönnum til þess vegar at minka erkibyskup," &c.

<sup>4</sup> *uvinir*, T.

<sup>5</sup> *baulfæda*, T.

<sup>6</sup> *aufund*, T.

<sup>7</sup> *faudr*, T.

<sup>8</sup> *samvizkan*, T.

<sup>9</sup> *sie*, T.

<sup>10</sup> *illsku*, T.

<sup>11</sup> *ulyzku*, T.

<sup>12</sup> *æru*, T.

in England yearneth more than he himself for the true peace of the church, although later on in the story every kind of disturbance of the peace be laid to his blame.

## CHAP. XXXI.

## THE MASTERFUL WAYS OF HENRY.

Now it behoveth to take up the story, when king Henry findeth for certain that archbishop Thomas will not give his seal to the customs which were set up at Clarendon. He now waxeth anew so mightily wroth with the archbishop, that hatred is clearly seen in him and intent to dishonour (the archbishop). Now, that old enemies of the archbishop get an inkling thereof, they crawl forth out of the shadow, and uncover to the full the accursed envy and malice which they had long borne in their breast. Yea, a fearful thing to relate, the very bishops go over to fill this flock, and busy themselves with vexing their spiritual father, and talking evil abroad for the harming of him ; some for this reason, that their conscience setteth before them those evil guilts, though concealed as yet it may be, of which their sore heart standeth in great dread, lest they should happen to be laid bare and come before the archbishop's court ; others for this sake, that they had meant for themselves the very honour which fell to his lot. Some backbite him out of the mere wickedness of their ill-nature. As foremost leaders in these matters three bishops may be named here, Roger of York, Gilbert of London, and Jocelin of Salisbury. Right few are they among the bishops who go with the archbishop in their mind, yet those who do so, do it secretly for dread of the king. But those who go about slandering him,

1164. allar gerðir, orð ok vilja erkibyskups. Þat er hann talar, þýða þeir til vinstri handar, ok þat er hann talar eigi, ljúga þeir með ljótum umlestri. Hófsemd hans ok harðlífi<sup>1</sup> virða þeir til hræsni, enn vandlæti<sup>2</sup> hans fyrir Guðs rætt þýða þeir til grimdar. Fjár-5 forráð<sup>3</sup> ok hagræði kirkjunnar virða þeir til ágirni. Tempran þá er hann vandist at hafa í sinni visiteran með miuna fjölmenni enn Kantuariensis byskupar fyrir honum, virða þeir í þannu hægóma, at hann þykkist ekki<sup>4</sup> traust á heiminum hafa eðr<sup>5</sup> í hans 10 mannfjölda. Höfðingskap hans heima virða þeir til drambsemi. Þat er hann stendr á sínum skilning við hvern, sem hann á skifta, þýða þeir til einþykkis ok ofdirfðar, ok þat er hann kann framar kirkjunnar lög enn aðrir Kantuariensis erkibyskupar fyrir honum, 15 þýða þeir til svo vanstiltrar djörfungar, at hann þikkist einn vita alt. þessar greinir, sem nú hafa lesnar verit til afvirðingar Thómasi erkibyskupi, heyrir Heinrekr konungr gjarna á þeim tímum sem nú ero yfirkomnir; ok því snýst hann berliga með öðrum 20 öfundarmönnum til þess vegar, at minka erkibyskup ok hans kirkju, með þeiri frammferð,<sup>6</sup> af illgjarnna manna tillögu, at þat legátavald, sem fyrr var getið, skuli<sup>7</sup> hann þiggja brott af Kantuariensi<sup>8</sup> kirkju til handa einhverjum sinna klerka. Því gerir hann menn 25 með bréfum til herra Alexandrum páfa, í hverjum<sup>9</sup> hann skrifar af sögðu efni. Enn sakir þess, at svá stendr í fornum skriftum, at Kantuariensis kirkja hefði þetta sæmdarvald iðuliga með tign haldit, lét herra páfinn þetta eigi veitast í fyrstu. Enn síðar,<sup>10</sup> sem hann 30 hugleiðir þetta mál með sèr, skilr hann af sendiboðanna orðum, at af þeira kunnnum grimmeik,<sup>11</sup> er

Their man-  
ner of perse-  
cution.

King Henry  
demands of  
the pope  
that he de-  
prive Becket  
of the privi-  
lege of being  
legate to the  
Holy See in  
England.

<sup>1</sup> *hardleifi*, T.

<sup>2</sup> *vandlæti*, T.

<sup>3</sup> *fiarforad*, T.

<sup>4</sup> *æcki*, T.

<sup>5</sup> *aðr*, T.

<sup>6</sup> *framferd*, T.

<sup>7</sup> *skili*, T.

<sup>8</sup> *Kantuariens*, T.

<sup>9</sup> *hverju*, T.

<sup>10</sup> *sidarr*, T.

<sup>11</sup> *grimleik*, T.

pervert all the doings, words and will of the archbishop. What he speaks, they interpret in a sinister way; and what he speaketh not, they invent by evil slandering. His abstemiousness and asceticism they estimate as hypocrisy, but his zeal for the right of God they interpret as cruelty. The advantageous management of the wealth of the church they view as avarice. The moderation which he was wont to show in his visitation, having less number of folk about him than the bishops of Canterbury before him, they give the vain meaning, that he feigneth to put no trust in the world or in a multitude of the people thereof. His lordly household ways they value as pride. His holding his own opinion against any one, with whomsoever he hath to deal, they call willfulness and over-boldness; and his knowledge of the laws of the church beyond other archbishops of Canterbury who had been before him, they call but wanton insolence; in that he deemeth that he alone knoweth all things. To these matters which have now been read, aiming at the dishonouring of archbishop Thomas, king Henry lendeth a willing ear in such times as now have come over the church; and therefore, associating himself with others who bore the archbishop malice, he setteth about degrading the archbishop and his church, proceeding, on the counsel of ill-willed people, to have that legate's power, which was mentioned before, severed from the church of Canterbury, for the benefit of some one of his own clerks. He therefore sendeth messengers to the lord pope Alexander with letters, wherein he writeth about the affair named even now. But inasmuch as it standeth in olden writs, that the church of Canterbury had ever had the privilege of this honourable office, the lord pope did not at first grant this request. But afterwards, as he considereth the affair further, he understandeth from the words of the messengers, that archbishop



1164. konunginum voru heimonligstir, mun Thómas erki-  
 byskup fá mikil þyngsl, ef þetta veitist eigi eftir  
 konungsins beiðni. Nú sakir þess sendir herra páfinn  
 Heinreki konungi bréf, er konum birtir, ok mun  
 Thómasi<sup>1</sup> erkibyskupi mislíka, at þat vald, sem hann<sup>5</sup>  
 beiðist, muni nokkurr<sup>2</sup> hans manna fá, með því skilorði,  
 at herra Thómasi leiði hær af eingan þunga.<sup>3</sup> Sem  
 Heinrekr konungr hefir þetta feingit, hælíst hann, at  
 nú hafi hann þegit af herra páfanum vald yfir herra  
 Thómasi erkibyskupi. Blíðkast hann ekki við slíkt,<sup>10</sup>  
 nè vandræðin<sup>4</sup> minkast, heldr harðnar hann því framar;  
 því at alla þá klerka, er at illgerðum verða kunnir,  
 lætr hann vægðarlaust grípa, ok af sínum sóknar-  
 mönnum dæmast, svívirða ok afíma, sem úlærða menn.  
 Enn hvar er nú vandlæti Guðs yfir því líkri úhæfu?<sup>15</sup>  
 utan með einum Thómasi erkibyskupi. Byskuparnir  
 sjá ílskuna,<sup>5</sup> ok þora eigi um at vanda. Skilja þeir  
 sinn sáluháska, ef þeir þegja, ok þó virða þeir meira  
 félát<sup>6</sup> eðr<sup>7</sup> lífs tjón; því verpa þeir herfiliga sínum  
 hervopnum sèr á bak, ok flýja,<sup>8</sup> sem latir leigumenn,<sup>9</sup>  
 frá þeirri hjörð, er þeim var umboðit af Guði sjálfum,  
 ok nú var dregin í varga munn. Frá því líkri<sup>10</sup> sök<sup>11</sup>  
 koma þar niðr harðindin öll<sup>12</sup> ok hermd<sup>13</sup> konungsins,  
 sem Thómas erkibyskup er. Þrír einir voru þeir  
 byskupar í landinu, er<sup>14</sup> jafnan stóðu með honum í 25  
 góðum vilja, Heinrekr Vintoniensis, vígslufaðir hans,  
 ok tveir<sup>15</sup> vígslusynir erkibyskups, Rogerus Vigornensis

which the  
 pope grants.

Becket's  
 zeal, how-  
 ever, re-  
 mains un-  
 abated.

Three  
 bishops in  
 England  
 stand by him  
 throughout.

<sup>1</sup> *Thomas* only, T.

<sup>2</sup> *nockur*, T.

<sup>3</sup> In a letter, dated Sens, 29th April (iii. Kalendas Martii), pope Alexander informs Becket of this concession, expressly stating, that the office had been conferred on the archbishop of York. Migne, cc. 285–286.

<sup>4</sup> *uandredin*, T.

<sup>5</sup> *illzkuna*, T.

<sup>6</sup> *felat*, T.

<sup>7</sup> *ædr*, T.

<sup>8</sup> So U.; *flyttaa*, T.

<sup>9</sup> *leigumenn*, T.

<sup>10</sup> So U.; *þvilika*, T.

<sup>11</sup> *sauk*, T.

<sup>12</sup> *aull*, T.

<sup>13</sup> So U., probably correctly; *hardinr*, T.

<sup>14</sup> *ær*, T.

<sup>15</sup> *tueirr*, T.

Thomas is likely to meet with heavy trouble from the well-known malice of those who were most intimately connected with the king, if this be not granted according to the request of the king. Now, for this reason the lord pope sendeth a letter to king Henry, which announceth to him, even though archbishop Thomas must needs mislike it, that the office, which he demandeth, will be given to some one among his men, but on condition, that the lord archbishop Thomas abide no trouble thereby. Now that king Henry has brought this about, he boasteth that he has now received from the lord pope power over the lord archbishop Thomas. But by such things the king nowise softeneth, nor are the troubles in aught lessened thereby, but rather groweth he the harder still; for all clerks who are known to have committed any misdeeds, he taketh care to have seized without mercy, and condemned by their own parishioners, yea, and to have them shamed and maimed like any lay person. But where is now any zeal on behalf of God against this abomination? where but in archbishop Thomas alone. The bishops see the wickedness, yet dare not reprove it. They well know the peril of their soul, if they hold their peace, and yet they look more to forfeiture of wealth or loss of life; they therefore throw cowardly their weapons on their back, and take to flight, like lazy hirelings, from the flock entrusted to them by God himself, which now was dragged into the throat of the wolves. But for this reason all the hard dealings and the ill-will of the king gather even into that one spot whereas archbishop Thomas is. There were three bishops only in the land, who steadfastly stood beside him with a good will, Henry of Winchester, to wit, his father by consecration, and two of his sons by consecration, Roger of Worcester and Robert of Here-

1164. ok Roberth Herefordensis; enn þó var þeira góðvili sem at baki erkibyskupi án allri hlífð, því at konungs ógnir slógu brutt af þeim allan styrk. Ok því er rætt<sup>1</sup> flutt, at í þeim stormi stóð upp einn saman Thómas erkibyskup, með líku dæmi sem þat trè, er<sup>2</sup> 5 í sínum vexti<sup>3</sup> er mjök hátt vorðit ok rótum hefir ramliga undir sik komit. Þótt kvistir træsins<sup>4</sup> bifist eðr<sup>5</sup> brotni af stórum stormi eðr<sup>5</sup> sterkum hvirflvindi, stendr þó sjálfr viðrinn fastr ok úskelfdr í sinni stöðu, ok því svá, at berg er undir ok piprar hvergi, hvat 10 sem á gnýr.<sup>6</sup> Byskupliga fylði heilagr Thómas klausu þessa, því at einginn<sup>7</sup> úvina<sup>8</sup> stormr lúði hann eðr lamdi, heldr reisir hann sik örðigan<sup>9</sup> með rættlæti laganna móti svá bölvöðum hernaði, sem nú geingr á kristni Guðs í Englandi; ok at hans röksemd sè<sup>10</sup> því 15 ljósari öllum þeim, er vel vilja, less hann oftliga fyrir eyrum ómildra svá fallit decretum, er vottar frumtign ok frelsi klerkanna: “Ef sá glæpr er gerr,” sagði hann, “er heilagri kirkju til heyrir yfir<sup>11</sup> at dæma ok rættu “ refsing á leggja, fari byskupinn framm,<sup>12</sup> hennar lögligr<sup>13</sup> 20 “ dómari, eftir rættindum ok fornum setningum, prófi “ málit ok dæmi síðan, þar með seti skrift, eingum “ veral dligum dómara til kölluðum.”<sup>14</sup> “ því er ljóst “ vorðit af kirkjunar lögum,” sagði erkibyskup, “ at “ veraldligt vald stendr mjök fjarri at leggja dóm yfir 25 “ klerka mál, fyrr enn kirkjan hefir þeim fyrir sitt “ ofbeldi ok úafátliga ílsku<sup>15</sup> af sínum miskunnarfaðmi

<sup>1</sup> rætt, T.

<sup>2</sup> ær, T.

<sup>3</sup> vaxsti, T.

<sup>4</sup> træsins, T.

<sup>5</sup> ædr, T.

<sup>6</sup> gnýrr, T.

<sup>7</sup> eingin, T.

<sup>8</sup> vuna, T.

<sup>9</sup> örðigan, T.

<sup>10</sup> sio, T.

<sup>11</sup> yfir, T.

<sup>12</sup> fram, T.

<sup>13</sup> lögligr, T.

<sup>14</sup> Cf. Decreti, P. ii., causa xi., Quæst. i. c. 46: “Sin autem cri-  
“ men ecclesiasticum est, tunc se-  
“ cundum canones ab episcopo suo  
“ causæ examinatio et pœna pro-  
“ cedat, nullam communionem aliis  
“ iudicibus in hujusmodi causis ha-  
“ bentibus.”

<sup>15</sup> ílsku, T.

ford ; yet their good-will stood, as it were, behind the archbishop, without at all defending him, because the awe of the king took all strength away from them. It is therefore rightly related, that in this storm lord Thomas stood alone, after a like fashion as standeth the tree which has grown very high and hath struck strong root below. Now although the branches of the tree shake or break in a great storm or a mighty whirlwind, yet the bole itself standeth firm and unshaken in its stead, and that for this reason, that underneath there is rock which rattleth nowhither, howsoever it be lashed. In a right bishoplike manner did the holy Thomas fulfill this clause, for no storm of his enemies did wear him out or maim him ; far rather raiseth he himself stoutly in the rightwiseness of the laws against such accursed warfare, which now invadeth the church of God in England ; and that his zeal be the clearer to all folk of good-will, he often readeth in the hearing of the wicked the following decree, which setteth forth the primacy and privileges of the clerics.

“ If such a crime be committed,” he would say, “ as it behoveth holy church to pass sentence on, and right-fully to punish, let the bishop, her lawfully appointed judge, come forward, according to privileges and ancient statutes, and prove the case and pass judgment on it afterwards, shriving at the same time, without any worldly judge being summoned.”

“ It is therefore clear from the laws of the church,” said the archbishop, “ that worldly power must needs stand far aloof from passing any judgment in cases concerning clerks, until the church hath cast them out from her bosom of mercy, for good and all, for their wanton violence and unceasing wickedness.”

1104. "með öllu brott kastat."<sup>1</sup> Nú af því líkri einurð rægist erkibyskup dagliga fyrir konunginum. Því at vel má segja, at heilagr Thómas stendr nú í guðligu stríði með svá sterkum skildi, at hann fyrirbýðr undir banns þínu, at lærðir menn sè skemdir, ok því 5 þolir eigi konungrinn því líka ok svá röksamliga<sup>2</sup> framferð,<sup>3</sup> skrifar til herra erkibyskups, at hann stefnir honum á nefndum degi til þess staðar, er Norðantún heitir, at hann svari þar öllum þeim greinum, er á hann munu kærast. Þagat er ok stefnt með sterkum 10 boðskap byskupum ok barúnum með öðrum valds-mönnum<sup>4</sup> landsins.

## KAP. XXXII.

## AF FUNDI Í NORÐANTÚN OK ÁKÆRU.

Council of  
Northamp-  
ton.

Thursday.

Fundr í Norðantún byrjast á fimta dag viku.<sup>5</sup> Er 15 þá kominn virðuligr herra Thómas erkibyskup með öllu því stórmenni, er þagat var boðit. Lætr Heinrekr konungr þegar stefna þing, ok því settu eru<sup>6</sup> án dvöl sakir bornar á Thómas erkibyskup, ok er ein af þeim

<sup>1</sup> *hast* only in T.—Cf. "Non aliter autem puniatur clericus, nisi obnoxius repertus sacerdotio nudatus fuerit ab episcopo suo vel clericatus honore." *Decreti*, P. ii. *ib.*

<sup>2</sup> *rauksamliga*, T.

<sup>3</sup> *framferd*, T.

<sup>4</sup> *vaalldzmonnum*, T.

<sup>5</sup> The date of this Council is variously stated. In chap. xxxviii. our saga says it began "pridle" "Idus Octobris," which it incorrectly states to have been "festum Calixti papæ," consequently on the 14th of October, which, however, this year, being leap-year, fell not on a Thursday, but on a Wednesday.

Gervase says it took place iii.

Idus Octobris, *i.e.* Tuesday the 13th of October.

Fitzstephen, who was himself present at the council, refers it to "Octava Sancti Michaelis, feria "tertia," or Tuesday, 6th of October.

Herbert, also present at the council, states the date of it thus: "tempus, ni fallor, mensis October, "hebdomadæ feria quinta, sexta "ante beati Calixti papæ et mar- "tyris natalitium," *i.e.* Thursday, 8th of October. Gervase is followed by the generality of writers, Fitzstephen by Mr. Morris and Canon Robertson, Herbert by none that I am aware of. See preface.

<sup>6</sup> *æru*, T.

For this frankness the archbishop is being slandered daily in the ears of the king. And it may well be said that now the lord Thomas wageth a godly war with so strong a shield, that he forbiddeth, under penalty of ban, that learned men be hurt, and therefore the king endureth nowise such and so determined a manner of proceeding on the part of the archbishop, but writeth to the lord archbishop summoning him to come, on a stated day, to the town called Northampton, there to answer all such charges as shall be preferred against him. Thither, too, are summoned in a mighty message the bishops and barons and other folk in authority from all parts of the country.

## CHAP. XXXII.

## THE MEETING OF NORTHAMPTON. ACCUSATIONS.

The meeting at Northampton beginneth on the fifth day of the week. The worthy lord archbishop Thomas is there already, together with all the great folk who had been summoned there. King Henry ordereth the meeting to be convened forthwith, and as soon as it is opened, charges are preferred, without delay, against archbishop Thomas, and one amongst them is this, being the first,

1164.  
Becket is  
accused of  
having dis-  
obeyed a  
summons to  
the king;

is con-  
demned in  
forfeiture  
of all his  
chattels.

Friday.

sú, í fyrstu framborin<sup>1</sup> greiniliga af konunginum, at hann fór eigi kallaðr einn tíma á konungs fund. Herra erkibyskup svarar hær svá til, at hann lögliga tálmaðr fèkk eigi farit sjálf, enn skipaði skilríkan andsvaramann<sup>2</sup> fyrir sik. Ok eigi því síðr ferr þetta<sup>5</sup> mál í dóm bæði byskupa ok annarra valdsmanna, at í þessari úhlýðni hefir erkibyskup öllu sínu lausagózi<sup>3</sup> alvarliga fyrirgert, nema konungsins mildi vili framar<sup>4</sup> miskunna. Sem herra Thómas heyrir þenna dóm uppsagðan, svarar hann svá, einkanliga víkjandi at 10 byskupunum.<sup>5</sup> “Hvílíkr sè þessi dóm, er þer hafit “mèr sett,<sup>6</sup> þótt ek þegi, munu vorir eftirkomendr í “frásögn færa.<sup>7</sup> Nýrr er þessi háttr dómanna; kann “ok vera, at hann sè<sup>8</sup> eftir nýjum lögum diktaðr, er “næst voru sett í Klarenthun, ok þat trúum vèr 15 “ifalaust, at hvárki hafi veröldin heyrt nè vitað, “at hær til hafi nokkurr Cantuariensis erkibyskup “verit svá dæmdr, eigi fyrir meiri sök. Sannliga er “þessi nýrr háttr dómanna, at nokkurr primas eðr “erkibyskup sè svá undir dóm dreginn, eðr nokkurr 20 “faðir hafi svá vanvirðr verit af sínum undirbyskupum “ok andligum sonum.” Með þessum hætti lyktast fyrsti<sup>9</sup> dagr þingsins<sup>10</sup> í Norðantún. Á næsta morgin er kemr, sem blásit er ok þing sett, byrjar sjálf herra konungrinn, ok krefr herra Thómas erkibyskup um<sup>11</sup> svá 25 mikit góz, sem hann segist hafa lánat honum, er hann

<sup>1</sup> framborin, T.

<sup>2</sup> annsvaramann, T.

<sup>3</sup> lausagózi, T.

<sup>4</sup> framarr, T.

<sup>5</sup> byskupinum, T.

<sup>6</sup> *Hvílíkr er þessi dóm, er þer hafit mér sett ? &c.*, T. U., no doubt by later clerical manipulation. The corresponding passage in Herbert, 1148, “Qualis, inquit, sit sententia “hæc,” &c., though curtailed here, shows that the original translator

must have used the idiomatic sub-junctive *sè*, instead of the utterly un-Icelandic indicative *er*. By cutting the sentence up by a note of interrogation after *sett*, the change of *sè* to *er* followed as a matter of necessity.

<sup>7</sup> *feru*, T.

<sup>8</sup> *see*, T.

<sup>9</sup> *fyrsti*, T.

<sup>10</sup> So U.; *þingsins*, T.

<sup>11</sup> *um*, added by the editor.

and plainly preferred by the king himself, that he did not go, being summoned, once on a time, to meet the king. To this the archbishop answered that, being lawfully let therein, he could not go himself, but sent a trustworthy person to give answers on his behalf. None the less this case goes into court of bishops and other folk in authority, who decide that for this disobedience the archbishop must needs have forfeited even all his chattels, unless the king's grace deign further to grant mercy herein. When lord Thomas heareth this verdict delivered, he answereth, chiefly aiming his words at the bishops :—

“ What kind of judgment this is, which ye have passed on me even now, posterity will record, though I be silent. New, for sooth, is this manner of judgment ; maybe, too, that it be dictated in accordance with the new laws, that were lately enacted at Clarendon ; and without any doubt we believe, that the world has neither heard nor known hitherto that any archbishop of Canterbury has been judged in this manner, for no greater guilt. Surely this is a new mode of judging, that any primate or archbishop should be dragged to doom in this fashion, or that any father should have been so dishonoured by his suffragans and spiritual sons.”

In this manner cometh to an end the first day of the meeting at Northampton.

The morning next following, when the horn hath been sounded, and the meeting opened, the lord king himself beginneth, and claimeth from lord archbishop Thomas as much wealth as he asserteth he had lent to him



1164.  
The king demands of Becket the repayment of 500*l.* which he had lent him, which Becket refuses on the plea of the sum having been a gift.

The money is paid by the archbishop's friends.

var canceler. Reiknar konungr þat fimmhundra<sup>1</sup> punda silfrs. Enn þótt signaðr Thómas vænist þar um vottum, at þessa peninga hafi konungrinn eigi læð honum, heldr gefit, þá heyrst þat á eingan<sup>2</sup> veg, því at vitnin<sup>3</sup> eru<sup>4</sup> þar eingin; heldr er settr í stað dómr annarr,<sup>5</sup> 5 at þessa alla peninga skal Thómas erkibyskup konunginum með skilríki afr lúka, með því at honum fellst eiginorðit, enn konungrinn vill hafa. Sem svá er dæmt eftir einsögn Heinreks konungs, krefr hann þegar sjálfr, með mikilli kefð, útgreiðslu á öllu gózinu<sup>10</sup> nú í stað, ella borgan svá örugga,<sup>6</sup> at gózit sè handvist. Thómas erkibyskup tekr því tómliga at fá honum nè eina borgan, setr sik hófsaman, ok lætr sèr fátt um finnast. Enn er konungrinn virðir dvöl ok undandrát í fara, segist erkibyskupi djærfliga af konungsmönnum,<sup>15</sup> at hann muni fanginn vera. Sem í slíkan voða er komit erkibyskupsins mál, sampínast<sup>7</sup> honum nokkurir góðir menn af leikvaldinu, því at þeir sjá konunginn svá reiðan, sem búinn til áhlaupa, enn erkibyskup af öllum fyrirlátinn<sup>8</sup> ok einna mest af byskupunum.<sup>20</sup> Ganga þeir fram<sup>9</sup> fyrir konunginn ok borga þetta hundrat<sup>10</sup> punda upp á sitt eigit góz. Eftir svá gert stendr konungrinn upp, ok geingr brutt. Lýkr svá

<sup>1</sup> *fim hundrat*, T., in two words. But it is evident, the translator means it to stand as one word, expressive of one notion; the figure resembles exactly the Gothic *simshunda*, and in a degree *þúshundra*, a thousand, cf. also the Greek *πεντακοσίων*. It might be suggested that *hundrat* was a mere blunder for the plural *hundrut*, but *þetta hundrat*, in lines 20-21 above, cf. note, shows that it is not so to be taken.

<sup>2</sup> *eyngan*, T.

<sup>3</sup> So U.; *uitnit*, T.

<sup>4</sup> *æru*, T.

<sup>5</sup> *annar*, T.

<sup>6</sup> *auruga*, T.

<sup>7</sup> *sampínast*, T.

<sup>8</sup> *fyrirlitinn*, T., scorned; but *fyrirlátinn*, abandoned, is, I have no doubt, the reading of T.'s original. Cf. page 204, ll. 16, 17, and note 9.

<sup>9</sup> *fram*, T.

<sup>10</sup> Having stated only a few lines before that the sum was a *fimmhundrat*, the translator is now satisfied with repeating only the *íkarorrás*, leaving the rest of the notion self-understood. I have translated the word as if it were *fimmhundrat*.

when he was chancellor. This the king counteth up to five hundred pounds in silver. Now although the blessed Thomas holdeth out the hope of bringing forward witnesses, that the king had not lent, but given this money to him, it is nowise heeded, since of witnesses there were none on the spot; but another judgment is passed forthwith, that archbishop Thomas shall pay all this money honestly back to the king, since he faileth to prove it his own, and the king now claimeth it back. This judgment having been passed on the evidence of king Henry alone, he claimeth straightway himself, with great eagerness, the full pay of the whole wealth forthwith on the spot, or else, such trusty security therefor, that he may count it as safe in hand. Archbishop Thomas taketh leisurely the matter of finding him any security at all, but conducteth himself calmly and troubleth himself but little about this. But when the king deemeth that delay and shifts are resorted to, his men bring to the archbishop the peremptory message, that he must needs be taken prisoner. Now when the case of the archbishop has come to such a perilous plight, certain good layfolk have compassion on him, seeing that the king was so wroth that he was ready for an onset, but the archbishop himself was abandoned by all, and chiefly so by the bishops. They therefore come forward before the king and pay these five hundred pounds out of their own wealth. This done the king riseth and walketh away.

Suchwise the meeting of that day closed.

1164.  
Saturday.

The king  
claims all  
church  
moneys  
received  
by Becket  
during his  
chancellor-  
ship.

to the  
amount of  
30,000  
marks.

stefnu<sup>1</sup> þann dag. Á laugardaginn, sem herra erki-  
byskup hefir lesit, sitr hann í herbergi, ok byskupar  
margir<sup>2</sup> hjá honum, ok ero<sup>3</sup> vii. nefndir þar af, Hein-  
rekr Vintoniensis, Gillibert Lundoniensis, Hilarius af  
Cistr, Robert af Linkolni, Bartholomeus Exoniensis, 5  
byskup af Vigornen, ok byskup Rofensis. Þessir sæma  
vit herra byskup, ok þó með ólíkri samvizku,<sup>4</sup> sem  
reyndist. Ok er þeir sitja svá, skipar Heinrekr kon-  
ungr breiða málstefnu með sínu stórmenni, ráðgjöfum  
ok hirðfólki. Stefna þessi er eigi kristiligri enn svá, 10  
at sjálfr konungrinn kærir á sjálfan Thómam erki-  
byskup fráveranda, með því efni, at hann brýtr<sup>5</sup> upp  
allan þann tíma, er Thómas var canceler á konungs  
garði, ok lætr svá rísa, at hann hafi einga skyn eðr<sup>6</sup>  
reikning fyrir gert af öllum<sup>7</sup> þeim innrentum ok ávöxt- 15  
um, er hann tók á fimm<sup>8</sup> árum af byskupsstólum ok  
klaustrum formannslausum. Hèr af krefr konungr  
sitt fullrætti; því at svá mikit góz, sem þetta reiknast,  
skal falla með því nafni, at Thómas hafi sukkat öllu  
undan krúnunni. Hèr til kveðr konungrinn þá menn, 20  
er kallast klókir á þess háttar reikning, at þeir færi<sup>9</sup>  
samt ok summeri, hversu mikit fè þetta er vorðit í  
svá löngum<sup>10</sup> tíma. Ok þeir sálugir menn horfa lítt á  
sína úhæfu, því at þeir láta, sem þenna reikning geri  
þeir með nokkurri vissu eðr<sup>11</sup> skynsemdar ásjónu; 25  
leggja síðan á orskurð, at þetta góz<sup>12</sup> hefir svá mikit  
vorðit brent<sup>13</sup> silfr at markatali<sup>14</sup> sem þrír tigur þúsundrat.  
Enn er þessi reikningr kynnist mönnum, tala tveir ok  
tveir með sèr mikit af forzi Heinreks konungs á garð-  
inum, at eigi horfi lættliga erkibyskupinum. Sumar 30

<sup>1</sup> stefnu, T.

<sup>2</sup> So U.; margar, T.

<sup>3</sup> ero, T.

<sup>4</sup> samvizku, T.

<sup>5</sup> bryttr, T.

<sup>6</sup> ædr, T.

<sup>7</sup> aullum, T.

<sup>8</sup> fim, T.

<sup>9</sup> feri, T.

<sup>10</sup> laungum, T.

<sup>11</sup> ædr, T.

<sup>12</sup> godz, T.

<sup>13</sup> brænt, T.

<sup>14</sup> markitali, T.

Next Saturday, the archbishop having done reading, he sitteth in his chamber, and many bishops with him, seven of whom are named, Henry of Winchester, Gilbert of London, Hilary of Chichester, Robert of Lincoln, Bartholomew of Exeter, the bishop of Worcester and the bishop of Rochester. These men were in concord with the lord bishop, yet in a varied frame of conscience, as came to be proven afterwards. Now awhilest they are thus sitting, king Henry summoneth a large parliament of his nobles, counsellors and court-folk. This parliament has of no greater Christian spirit to boast, than that the king himself preferreth a charge against archbishop Thomas, even in his absence, the nature of which is, that he searcheth minutely all the time, while Thomas was chancellor at the king's court, and maketh out against him, that he hath given no vouchers, nor rendered any account, for all the revenues and rents which for five years he took from episcopal sees and monasteries while reft of their rulers. For this the king demandeth a full requital ; for all the wealth to which this is reckoned to amount shall come under the head of defraudment of the crown by Thomas. The king calleth to him withal certain persons who are accounted of as skilled in such manner of reckoning, and ordaineth them to gather together and to sum up, how great a wealth this hath grown all this time. Now these wretched men look but little to their own shame, pretending as they do, that they have made this account up with some certainty and show of reason ; whereupon they deliver their decision that this wealth hath accumulated to as much value as thirty thousand marks of burnt silver. But when this reckoning becometh known to people, folk talk, two and two together, much between themselves of the masterfulness of king Henry at the court, saying that the affairs of the archbishop have any but an easy look-out now. Some

1164. bækr segja svo mikit af Heinreki konungi í þessu máli, at meðan þessi stefna stóð, hafi hann látið strengja<sup>1</sup> með lás herbergit yfir<sup>2</sup> byskupi, at eingin tálman eðr<sup>3</sup> tillaga rynni móti hans röngum vilja. Enn þann tíma sem stefnan er úti, ok húsit upp lokit, 5 flyzt<sup>4</sup> herra byskupi, hvat nú er framm<sup>5</sup> farit í móti honum. Enn hann þagnar við í fyrstu, ok þakkar Guði alla sína mæðu,<sup>6</sup> víkr síðan til Heinreks byskups, hvat honum sýnist hér til svara. Byskupinn talar svá: “Ek hugði,” sagði hann, “at fleirum, er hér sitja, enn mér 10  
 “ einum, væri<sup>7</sup> kunnigt,<sup>8</sup> hversu til gekk í Lundúnum, “ þá er þær vorut kosnir til erkibyskups, leyrstr ok “ liðugr gerr af öllum þeim lutum, er konunginum ok “ hans garði til heyrðu, hvárt sem heldr snart með yður<sup>9</sup> “ verk eðr<sup>10</sup> vilja, ok því mun eigi öllum ljóst verða, 15 “ hvat fémál þessi upp renna.” Fæst<sup>11</sup> þessum vitnisburð ekki mótkast, því at þessi sannindi voru alkunnig. Þessu næst talar byskup Gillibert: “Faðir,” sagði hann, “ef þér vildit á minnast þá dygd, er minn herra kon- “ ungrinn tjáði yðr með vald ok virðing, eru<sup>12</sup> þær 20 “ skyldugir eigi at eins erkibyskupsdóm fyrir honum “ upp at gefa, heldr annat tíu lutum meira, ef hann “ vill krait hafa. Væri yðr ok virðanda, í hvern óróa “ þær hafit leit<sup>13</sup> oss<sup>14</sup> byskupa, eðr<sup>15</sup> enn heldr alla “ Englands kristni. Nú ef þær vildit mýkja minn herra 25 “ konunginn með þeiri vægd, myndi tvent<sup>16</sup> gott saman “ fara, hann myndi hægjast allr til friðar, enn þær aftr “ þiggja fulla sæmd ok úskerða yðvarrar tignar.” Sem hann þagnar, svarar erkibyskup. “Ljóst er þat, bróðir,

Becket appeals to his absolution from all state bonds before he was elected archbishop.

Gilbert Foliot counsels submission.

<sup>1</sup> *streingia*, T.

<sup>2</sup> *ifir*, T.

<sup>3</sup> *ædr*, T.

<sup>4</sup> *flutz*, T.

<sup>5</sup> *fram*, T.

<sup>6</sup> *mæðu*, T.

<sup>7</sup> *veri*, T.

<sup>8</sup> *kunnit*, T.

<sup>9</sup> *ydr*, T.

<sup>10</sup> *ædr*, T.

<sup>11</sup> *fæst*, T.

<sup>12</sup> *æru*, T.

<sup>13</sup> *leidit*, T.

<sup>14</sup> *oras*, T.

<sup>15</sup> *ædr*, T.

<sup>16</sup> *tuant*, T.

books say even so much about king Henry in this case, as that, while this meeting lasted, he took care to have the chamber bolted and locked on the archbishop, in order that no hindrance or remonstrance should happen to run counter his wrongful will. But the very time the meeting is over and the chamber is unlocked, it is brought to the lord archbishop, in what manner proceedings have now been taken against him. But he groweth silent thereat at first, and praiseth God for all his tribulation, whereupon he turneth to bishop Henry, as to what answer he deemeth fit to give here. The bishop speaketh thus :—

“ I thought,” said he, “ that it was well known to more than me alone, of those who are sitting here, how matters went on in London, when you were elected archbishop being absolved and freed from all matters which concerned the king and his court, those touching your deeds, no less than those touching your will ; and therefore it will not be clear to all folk, for what reason these money charges are set up.”

Against this evidence there was no gainsaying, for the truth thereof was known to all people.

Next to this speaketh bishop Gilbert :—

“ Father,” said he, “ if you would but bear in mind the fast friendship wherein formerly my lord the king bestowed on you both power and honour, you are bound in duty, not only to give up to him your archbishopric, but other things as well, even to the tenfold therebeyond, if he chooseth to lay claim thereto. You might well consider also, into what trouble you have brought us, the bishops, nay rather the whole church of England. Now if you would only soften my lord the king, by yielding to him so far, two good things would be gained at once ; he would all calm down to peace, but you would have again the full and unshorn honour of your exalted station.”

When he is silent, the archbishop answereth :—

1163. " hvat þér leggit til." Lætr hann hér standa sakir hóg-  
 His counsel discussed by Henry of Winchester, værðar.<sup>1</sup> Enn Heinrekr byskup svarar svá til: " þetta  
 " ráð, er Gillibert gaf til, er heilagri kirkju með öllu  
 " skaðvænligt; eðr<sup>2</sup> hvað skal þá kirkjunnar rættir eðr<sup>3</sup>  
 " röksemd<sup>3</sup> standa, ef vorr erkibyskup ok als Englands<sup>5</sup>  
 " primas gefr oss slíkt eftirdæmi, at fyrir höfðingianna  
 " ógnarhót skuli hann sína erkibyskupliga sæmd ok  
 " heilagrar kirkju rætt<sup>4</sup> upp gefa, ok þær sálir við  
 " skiljast, sem hann tók af sjálfum Guði. Munu þá  
 " vel fara, ef vèr skulum byskuparnir<sup>6</sup> þegar krjúpa, 10  
 " er veraldligt vald veitir oss nokkura stygð. Hvar  
 " munu þá kirkjunnar lög<sup>6</sup> eðr<sup>7</sup> setning feðranna? slíkr  
 " er þá vígðr sem óvígðr, lærðr sem úlærðr." Enn  
 Hilary of Chichester, Hilarius byskup byrjar sitt mál á þenna hátt: " Sann-  
 " luga sýnist mér, at þessir lutir væri<sup>8</sup> svá haldandi, 15  
 " sem þér, herra Heinrekr, hafit sagt, ef ílskufullir<sup>9</sup>  
 " tímar væri<sup>10</sup> eigi svá harðer upp á Guðs kristni  
 " með þvílíkri sturlan. Enn hversu sem vandlæti  
 " laganna hljóðar, sýnist mér efalaust, at í þenna punkt  
 " sè<sup>11</sup> harðýðgi heftanda, sem fremst bera formenn<sup>20</sup>  
 " traust á, ok ef svá gerist með vizku<sup>12</sup> veg um nokk-  
 " ura tíð, má kirkjan vel síðar<sup>13</sup> því framarr<sup>14</sup> fagna í  
 " sinni farsæld; því at eigi hæfir<sup>15</sup> vitru at bera lengi<sup>16</sup>  
 " rauða kinn fyrir bráðan punkt, er fljótt má um líða  
 " til meinleysis, ef hagligan veg er um geingit, meðan<sup>25</sup>  
 " raunar tími stendr." Svá endar hann sína tölu.

<sup>1</sup> *hoguerðar*, T.<sup>2</sup> *ædr*, T.<sup>3</sup> *rauhsæmd*, T.<sup>4</sup> *rætt*, T.<sup>5</sup> So U.; *byakupanir*, T.<sup>6</sup> *lög*, T.<sup>7</sup> *ædr*, T.<sup>8</sup> *veri*, T.<sup>9</sup> *illzufullir*, T.<sup>10</sup> *veri*, T.<sup>11</sup> *sie*, T.<sup>12</sup> *uitzku*, T.<sup>13</sup> *sidarr*, T.<sup>14</sup> *framarr*, T.<sup>15</sup> *hefir*, T.<sup>16</sup> *lengi*, T.

“It is clear enough, brother, what sort of counsel yours is.”

For the sake of lowliness he stayeth himself at these words.

But bishop Henry thus rejoineth :—

“This counsel, which Gilbert hath given forth, is a wholly hurtful one for holy church; or how might the right of the church or her authority stand, if our archbishop and the primate of all England giveth such example to us, as to deliver up, through the threats of worldly lords, his archiepiscopal honour and the right of holy church, thus separating himself from the souls which he received from God himself? Is it likely that things fare well if we, the bishops, shall cower down, as soon as worldly power showeth us any spite? Where shall then be the laws of the church or the statutes of the fathers? Nay, in that hour all will be alike, the consecrated as the unconsecrated, the learned as the unlearned.”

But bishop Hilary holdeth forth in this wise :—

“Verily it seemeth to me, that these things must needs be holden, even as you, lord Henry, have set forth, if these times, fraught with evil as they are, bore not so hard on the church of God with an exceeding terror. But whatsoever the jealous law may exact, it seemeth to me no matter of doubt at all, that in this case hardihood must needs be restrained to the utmost of what the rulers of the church think safe to venture; and if that be done after a wise manner for some time, it may well come to pass, that the church rejoice all the more afterwards in her weal; for it beseemeth wisdom nohow to bear long about a blushing cheek for a rash step in matters which may swiftly pass over into an unharmed state, if the course be deftly shapen during the season of trial.”

Suchwise he endeth his speech.



1164.  
Robert of  
Lincoln.

Bartholomeus of  
Exeter.

Roger Fitz-  
Count of  
Worcester.

Enn Robert af Linkolni tekr svá til máls, einfaldr maðr ok mætrar skynsemi: "þat er öllum ljóst," sagði hann, "at dagar þessir eru<sup>1</sup> bæði harðer ok hörmu-  
" ligir, ok þó geingr þat hæst í þeira vesöld, er berliga  
" sýnist eftir leitað blóði ok lífi þessa manns, erkibysk- 5  
" upsins, ok því mun tvennr vegr honum heyra, þat  
" er, at gefa upp erkibyskupsstólinn eðr<sup>2</sup> láta líft. Ok  
" kann ek eigi sjá, hversu hann skal erkistólsins njóta,  
" síðan þat skal hans bani eðr<sup>3</sup> dauðasök,<sup>3</sup> ef hann  
" vill eigi upp gefa." Er hans eyrendi úti. Enn 10  
Bartholomeus tekr svá til orðs. "þat veri hugleið-  
" anda, sem undir hulning ok skugga þolinmæðis,  
" hversu tímarnir eru krankir; enn þótt rettvísi laganna  
" sýnist móti rísa, virðist mér í þenna punkt harðla  
" mjök þyrmanda, at vèr megum svá öflugan<sup>4</sup> storm 15  
" ok sturlan úskaddir um líða. Ok einkanliga fyrir  
" þá sök er stríðum virðanda ok vægjanda,<sup>5</sup> at þessi  
" hræring ok órói geingr eigi upp yfir<sup>6</sup> almenning  
" heilagrar kristni, heldr í eins manns ofsókn til tjár  
" ok frelsis. Ok því sætir þat ráð, þoli heldr<sup>7</sup> einn 20  
" maðr nokkur vandkvæði, enn öll kristni Guðs leggist  
" undir ógræðiligan<sup>8</sup> harm hær í Englandi." Svá segir  
Bartholomeus Exoniensis, ok mun þú sanna vilja, at  
hann er sporgöngumaðr Caife byskups í Jórsölum; því at þeira tillaga líktist, þá er Caiphas byskup sagði 25  
Gyðingum ekki annat friðkaup lýðnum fljótara, enn  
vorr Herra dæmdist í dauða. Hær næst er spurðr  
byskup Vigornensis, hvat hann leggr til. Hann svarar  
svá: "Hvat kann ek hær til leggja?" sagði hann, "því  
" at ek særi mína sál í fordæmda þínu, ef ek segi þat 30  
" vald fyrir konungligar ógnir upp gefanda, er vèr

<sup>1</sup> *aru*, T.

<sup>2</sup> *ædr*, T.

<sup>3</sup> *dauðasök*, T.

<sup>4</sup> *auflugan*, T.

<sup>5</sup> *vegianda*, T.

<sup>6</sup> *ifir*, T.

<sup>7</sup> *heldr* added in U.

<sup>8</sup> So U.; *ogræðiliga*, T.

But Robert of Lincoln, a single-hearted man, and of much wisdom, next taketh up the word in this way:—

“It is clear to all,” said he “that these are days of hardship and sore affliction, and yet this is the greatest misery of them, that manifestly the blood is sought and the life of this man, the archbishop; and therefore one of two ways must needs be due to him: either to give up the arch-throne, or to let his life. And I cannot see, how he may hold the throne, since anyhow it must be his bane, or a guilt unto death for him, if he will not give it up.”

Thus his speech came to an end.

But Bartholomew thus taketh up the word:—

“It were well, duly to weigh in our mind, as under the cover and shadow of long-suffering, how evil these times are; but although the justice of the law seemeth to withstand it, yet meseems that in this strait right much must needs be borne with, in order that we may unscathed weather this mighty storm and terror. And for this reason, most chiefly, is strife to be guarded against and avoided, that this stir and unpeace draweth up not over all folk of the holy church, but confineth itself to persecuting one man, aiming at his wealth and freedom. Therefore the counsel seemeth fitting, that one man suffer some trouble, rather than that the whole church here in England be laid under affliction not to be healed.”

Thus speaketh Bartholomew of Exeter, and belike thou findest him a proven follower of Caiaphas bishop of Jerusalem; the counsel of both being alike, inasmuch as bishop Caiaphas said unto the Jews, that no quicker purchase of peace would there be, than the condemning of our Lord to death.

Next to him the bishop of Worcester is questioned, as to what counsel he will give. And he answereth thus:—

“What counsel, indeed, may I give here, since surely I shall swear my soul into everlasting pain, if I say that it behoveth to give up to kingly threats that office which we received within the spiritual polity from

“ tókum í andligri stjórn Guði veitanda. Enn ef ek  
 “ segi konungsins vilja þvert í móti rísanda, óttast  
 “ ek, at konungsmenn heyri, ok mik fyrir sjólfum  
 “ honum á pláz<sup>1</sup> beri; er þá sýnt, at ek mun falla í  
 “ konungs reiði ok reiknast með þeim, er í sömu tíð 5  
 “ fyrirláta bæði ljós ok líf. Ok því gefr ek eingan  
 “ orskurð yfir þessu máli, at ek vil forðast lygð ok  
 “ míns herra stygð.” Svá lætr hann standa sína tölu; ok  
 ok eftir þat þagna allir<sup>2</sup> í herberginu, áðr herra erki-  
 byskup kveðr til einn mann, at hann kalli honum ij. 10  
 jarla af konungsins fylgd, er svá heita,<sup>3</sup> . . . . ok þeir  
 kallaðir koma fljótt ok fyrir erkibyskupinum frammi  
 standa.<sup>4</sup> Hann talar svá til þeira: “ þat stórmæli,  
 “ sem í dag hefir fundizt upp á vorn skaða, viljum  
 “ vèr traktera með oss til þeira beztu<sup>5</sup> andsvara,<sup>6</sup> er 15  
 “ vèr kunnum þar til gefa. Mun þat ok góðum  
 “ mönnum kunnigt,<sup>7</sup> hversu þat mál á með rèttu<sup>8</sup> at  
 “ fara. Nú flytið þat fyrir mínum herra konunginum,  
 “ af vorri hálfu, at þetta mál bíði morgins. Ok þat sama  
 “ skulu flytja með ykkur byskup Gillibert ok byskup 20  
 “ Rofensis.” Svá gerist, at þessir fjórir ganga á kon-  
 ungs fund, ok þótt aðrir flyti í nokkura mynd, tekr  
 Gillibert til vana síns ok lundar, at hann fleygir af  
 þveru málinu öllu, segir konunginum þat undir bið-  
 stund erkibyskups, at hugsa með stöddu ráði, hversu<sup>9</sup> 25  
 honum hæfir at vægja framar enn fyrr, konunginum  
 ok ríkinu til fullra náða. Ok með því, at konungrinn

Becket  
sends an-  
swer to the  
king by two  
earls, and

the bishops  
of London  
and Roches-  
ter.

The message  
misrepre-  
sented by  
Gilb. Foliot.

<sup>1</sup> Editor's conjecture; *aflaz*, T., which can neither be connected with *aflag*, nor with *aflát*, grammar and context being equally against both. I have no doubt that *bera e-n á pláz*, to carry one abroad, to slander one, is the original phrase of the modern *plássbera*, meaning the same. *Aflags fari* is scarcely to be thought of. The corresponding Latin words run: “ Si censeam regi resistendum, ecce qui sui sunt audiunt, per quos id ipsum innotescet regi,” &c. Ger-vase, 1390.

<sup>2</sup> So U.; *alla*, T.

<sup>3</sup> Here the names of the two earls are omitted, although no lacune is left for them in T.; they were earls Reginald of Cornwall, and Robert of Leicester.

<sup>4</sup> So U.; *stan* only, T.

<sup>5</sup> *bezta*, T.

<sup>6</sup> *ansuara*, T.

<sup>7</sup> *kunnicht*, T.

<sup>8</sup> *reittu*, T.

<sup>9</sup> *huerssu*, T.

“ God himself as dispenser thereof. But if I say that  
“ we ought to rise straight against the will of the king,  
“ I fear the king’s men will get news thereof, and  
“ slander me before him ; and then it is surely to be  
“ looked for, that I must needs fall into the king’s  
“ wrath and be counted among those who forfeit at  
“ one and the same time both light and life. Therefore  
“ I give no decision in this matter, that I desire to  
“ avoid guile and the anger of my lord.”

Here he cometh to a still stand in his speech ; whereupon all hold their peace within the chamber, until the archbishop calleth to him a certain person, whom he biddeth to summon before him certain two earls of the king’s company, thus hight . . . . . Being summoned they soon come forward and stand before the archbishop, whereupon he thus speaketh to them :—

“ The great case, which has been contrived to-day for  
“ the hurting of us, we desire to weigh in our mind,  
“ for to give thereunto the best answer we may. And  
“ surely it will be clear to good men, how that affair  
“ ought by rights to be settled. Now you bring to my  
“ lord, the king, on our behalf, a message, praying him  
“ to let this matter stand over till to-morrow. And  
“ let bishop Gilbert and the bishop of Rochester bring  
“ that same message with you.”

Now it cometh to pass, that these four men go to meet the king ; and although the others bring the message aright in a measure, Gilbert soon turneth after his own wont and mind, in that he throweth the whole case entirely over by saying to the king, that behind the archbishop’s prayer for respite there abideth a settled purpose to consider, how it behoves him to yield still further than ever heretofore, that the king and the realm may have full peace. And the king, believing in the

trúir orðum Gilliberts, sendir hann jarlana til erkibyskups með samþykki þessar beiðslu.<sup>1</sup> Ok sem þeir hafa flutt erkibyskupi, at biðstund er þegin, upp á þá friðargrein ok mýktar,<sup>2</sup> sem flutti Gillibert, svarar erkibyskup: “Þessi er sú orðagerð ok umvending, 5 “ sem vèr buðum eingum manni at bera, ok því “ skulum vèr hana með öllu eyða, enn í eingu halda.” Skammast nú Gillibert, því at krókar hans ok slægðir hafa nú enn um sinn roðit hans vonða kinn, ferr<sup>3</sup> þó eftir hit herra, þá er þáfinn slær<sup>4</sup> hann. Með þessum 10 orðum lyktast sú dagþingan.

## KAP. XXXIII.

## AF ÞVÍ THOMAS SÝKIST.

Sú grimd ok ágangr með ýmissri umleitan, er Heinrekr konungr hrærir móti Thómasi erkibyskupi, hristir 15 nú þegar<sup>5</sup> svá hart margs manns hjarta, at bæði dygð ok fylgdin með tekr á flótta. Hæðan er svá skrifat, at á sama laugardegi<sup>6</sup> firrast hann ok fyrirláta margir þeir, er með honum þangat riðu, ok hans ríkuligt borð lengi<sup>7</sup> þágu.<sup>8</sup> Nú eyða þeir hans samsæti fyrir 20 sitt úporan ok staðleysi. Enn Guðs maðr erkibyskupinn býðr inn þegar öðrum í staðinn, því at ero ástvinir hans útlendir ok fátækir. Með þeim skipar hann sitt herbergi ok sitr svo glaðr yfir Guðs gjöfum þann dag, sem honum snúist<sup>9</sup> alt í hag. Svo geingr 25 drottinsdagrinn eftir, því at konungrinn lætr hann þá kalslausan sakir hátíðar. Enn eftir gleði þessa dags kemr mikil hrygð; því at herra erkibyskup fær<sup>10</sup> svá

Becket is deserted by his friends.

Sunday.

<sup>1</sup> *beiðslu*, T.  
<sup>2</sup> *mýktar*, T.  
<sup>3</sup> *fer*, T.  
<sup>4</sup> *slærr*, T.  
<sup>5</sup> *þegar*, T.

<sup>6</sup> *laugardagi*, T.  
<sup>7</sup> *lengi*, T.  
<sup>8</sup> So U.; *þaugu*, T.  
<sup>9</sup> *snúiz*, T.  
<sup>10</sup> *færr*, T.

words of Gilbert, sendeth the earls to the archbishop with his consent to the archbishop's request. Now when they have set forth to the archbishop, that a respite has been agreed to on that message of peace and meek subjection which Gilbert had brought, the archbishop answereth :—

“This is a fashioning and twisting about of my words which we have bidden no man to bring to the king, wherefore we shall undo it entirely, and shall hold it in noughtsoever.”

Now Gilbert is right ashamed, for his tricks and wiles have once more reddened with blush his evil cheek, and yet greater still is the thing which followeth hereafter when the pope himself smiteth him. With these words endeth the parliament of this day.

### CHAP. XXXIII.

#### HOW THOMAS FAILETH ILL.

The cruelty and persecution which with changing endeavours king Henry stirreth up against archbishop Thomas, shaketh even now so hard the heart of many a man, that their faith and fellowship take to flight together. Hence it is written, that this very Saturday separate from him and abandon him many who had ridden hither with him, and who had long been wont to partake of his richly furnished table. Now they break community with him through their want of heart and their unsteadiness. But the man of God, the archbishop, biddeth in to him straightway others in their stead, for his beloved ones are the strangers and the poor. With these he filleth his chamber, and so sitteth rejoicing that day over God's gifts, as if all things had turned in his favour. In the same way goeth the following Lord's day, for the king leaveth him free from all molestation then, for the sake of its being a feast day. But after the rejoicing of this day cometh great sorrow ; for the

Monday.

The arch-  
bishop is  
taken ill.

stríðan krankdóm, um nóttina eftir, at hann má á eingan hátt úr rekkju risa. Líðr nú svá framm<sup>1</sup> á mánadaginn, þar til stefnutími er kominn, flyzt<sup>2</sup> þá konunginum, sem öðrum mönnum, krankdómr erkibyskups; ok þegar slær sèr þar inn umgröftr<sup>3</sup> ok 5 áleitni, hvárt hann muni sjúkr nokkut, þótt hann láti svá, ok til prófs hèr um gerir konungrinn sína menn at líta sóttarfar hans; ok ef þeim prófast hann með nokkurum hætti fær, skulu þeir bjóða honum á konungs fund. Enn þeir, er sendir voro, gera því verr, at 10 án allri umhugsan kalla þeir erkibyskupinn á stefnu. Hann svarar<sup>4</sup> svá: "Sem þèr sjáit, fær<sup>5</sup> ek eigi í " dag komit, enn ef Guð lofar, skal ek þar á morgin " koma, ok þótt vanmátt þröngvi<sup>6</sup> mik, skal mik " heldr í börum bera, enn ek rjúfi stefnuna." Á 15

Rumours  
abroad of  
violent deal-  
ings against  
Becket.

þenna sama dag brestr upp harðr orðrómr í staðnum, at herra Thómasi muni ómjúkliga fagnat á konungsgarði, ef hann kemr þar, hvárt sem hann mætir fyrr myrkvastofu eðr<sup>7</sup> lífláti. Ok þann hurr hinn harða heyrir erkibyskup, ok óttast nokkut, því at hann dæmir 20 sik enn eigi makligan at pínast fyrir Guðs nafni.

He is coun-  
selled to say  
mass in  
honour of  
St. Stephen  
on Tuesday.

Hèr fyrir gefr honum þá tillögu einn góðr maðr ok vitr, at svá sem Guð eflir heilsu hans, muni hann segja messu á þriðja daginn til lofs ok dýrðar sælum Stephano protomartyri, at sá Guðs maðr mýki með 25 sinni bæn þann uppgang ok óróa vondra manna, er nú vanstillir ok sýnist alvarliga boðinn til mótgangs ok meingerða. Tekr herra erkibyskup þetta ráð með mikilli samþykkt. Líðr nú svá mánadagrinn,<sup>8</sup> at hann

<sup>1</sup> fram, T.

<sup>2</sup> flytz, T.

<sup>3</sup> umgrauptr, T.

<sup>4</sup> So U.; svar only, T.

<sup>5</sup> fer, T.

<sup>6</sup> þraungui, T.

<sup>7</sup> aðr, T.

<sup>8</sup> So U.; manadagrinn, T.

archbishop is taken right sorely ill on the following night, insomuch that he may by no means rise from his bed. Thus time weareth on even through Monday down to the settled hour of the summons, when the king and all folk else are told of the archbishop's illness; and forthwith they become smitten by desire for prying and importunate searching, as to whether he be ill, indeed, though making as if he were so; and to make full sure of this, the king sendeth his folk to see what manner of illness the archbishop's may be; and they were, if they should prove him anyhow strong enough, to command him to come and meet the king. But those who were sent do a worsere thing still, in that they summon the bishop to the meeting without thinking thereon at all.

He answereth thus:—

“As you can see, I may nowise go there to-day, but  
“if God permit, I shall come there to-morrow, yea  
“although I may be pressed hard by waning might,  
“I shall rather let me be borne there on a litter, than  
“break the summons.”

This very day a strong rumour breaketh out in the town, that a welcome by no means sweet awaiteth the lord Thomas at the king's court, if he cometh there; the doubt being only whether dark prison or the losing of his life will be the first thing to befall him. This noise, loud as it goeth, cometh to the ears of the archbishop, who becometh somewhat affrighted thereat, for as yet he judgeth himself unworthy to suffer for the name of God. For this sake a certain good man and wise counsellere him, if God should so far strengthen his health, to say mass on the third day, to the praise and the glory of the blessed Stephen protomartyr, in order that that man of God soften by his prayer that stir and trouble of evil folk, which now passeth restraint and seemeth right earnestly bent on contention and hurtful deeds. To this counsel the archbishop is right fain to consent. Now Monday passeth suchwise that he lieth abed but lighteneth greatly, for such may often-



liggr, ok lættir þó mikit, því at þat kann oflīga verða, at bráðr krankdómr linast brátt. Kemr svá þriðja dags morginn,<sup>1</sup> at vorr Drottinn hefir aftr skipat fulla heilsu sínum vin, ok litlu síðar enn hann er klæddr, koma byskuparnir nokkurir fyrir hann<sup>2</sup> af 5 konungsgarði, blíðir í ásjánu, með beiskri samvizku;<sup>3</sup> þeir líka sik samharmandi, enn ero alt at eins sínum föður<sup>4</sup> meinmælum brigzlandi<sup>5</sup> stundum, áeggjandi at hann krjúpi konunginum ok fyrir komi svá kirkjurètt-  
 inum. Enn þeira falsligum flutningi svarar svá erki-  
 10 byskup með hógværd<sup>6</sup> ok einfeldi: "Bræðr mínir," sagði hann, "þer sjáit nú,"<sup>7</sup> "at heimrinn með sínum  
 "kumpánum herðir sik móti mèr; ok þó hörmum  
 "vèr sárligar enn alt annat, at synir móður<sup>8</sup> minnar  
 "stríða móti mèr; ok þótt vèr þegðim þar um, 15  
 "munu eigi þegja vorir eftirkomendr, hversu þer  
 "hafit oss fyrirlátið<sup>9</sup> ok yðr at baki látið í vorri  
 "þraut, eigi at eins fyrirlátið, nema heldr yðarn  
 "erkibyskup, þótt<sup>10</sup> syndugan, með vorum mótstöðu-  
 "mönnum undir dóm dregit; ok enn grunar oss af 20  
 "sjálfra yðarra orðum, at þer sæð<sup>11</sup> eigi at eins  
 "frammlútir<sup>12</sup> á oss í fjársökum fyrir annarra<sup>13</sup> hönd,  
 "heldr búnir at rangdæma oss með leikmönnum.  
 "Enn at þer heftist af svá miklu ráðleysi, fyrir-  
 "bjóðum vèr öllum yðr, í krafti lýðninnar<sup>14</sup> undir 25  
 "háaska vígslunnar at sitja hèðan ífrá nokkurn þann

He reproves  
the bishops.

<sup>1</sup> *morgin*, T.

<sup>2</sup> *hann* added by the editor.

<sup>3</sup> *samvitzku*, T.

<sup>4</sup> *fodr*, T.

<sup>5</sup> *brigzlandi*, T.

<sup>6</sup> *hoguerd*, T.

<sup>7</sup> After *nú*, T. adds *sagði hann*, evidently a clerical repetition of the same words after *Bræðr mínir*.

<sup>8</sup> *modr*, T.

<sup>9</sup> *fyrirlitid*, T., which is the correct form of the past participle of *fyrirlíta*, to look upon with con-

tempt, to scorn; but I have altered it into the corresponding form of the verb *fyrirlíta*, to forsake, both because the context exacts it on account of the repetition of it in the next line, and because that form alone meets the sense here.

<sup>10</sup> *þot*, T.

<sup>11</sup> *seed*, T.

<sup>12</sup> *framlutir*, T.

<sup>13</sup> *annara*, T.

<sup>14</sup> So U.; *lyðinnar*, T.

happen as that a sudden sickness abate quickly. And so the morrow of Tuesday cometh round, when our Lord hath restored his friend to full health again; and shortly after the archbishop had dressed, some of the bishops come before him from the king's court, blithe of countenance, but of bitter conscience, making as if they grieved sorely with him, but whiles taunting their father none the less with hurtful words, urging him to bow to the king's might, and thus to have the right of the church fordone. But to their wily pleading the archbishop giveth a lowly and single-hearted answer:—

“My brethren,” said he, “ye see now, how the world  
 “ with his comrades braceth up against me; but more  
 “ than all other things we grieve, that the sons of my  
 “ mother fall a-warring against me; now although we  
 “ should be silent, yet those who shall live hereafter  
 “ will nowise be so, as to how ye have forsaken me,  
 “ and left me behind in all my trouble, and yet not  
 “ only forsaken me, but rather dragged your own arch-  
 “ bishop, albeit he is a sinful man, in fellowship with our  
 “ common enemies before worldly judgment; and still our  
 “ mind misgives us that, judging from your own words,  
 “ you are not only eagerly bent against us in money  
 “ affairs on behalf of others, but that ye are even ready  
 “ to judge us wrongfully in fellowship with lay-folk.  
 “ But that ye be restrained from so great a folly, I  
 “ forbid you all, by virtue of due obedience, under peril  
 “ of your cousecration, henceforth to take seat in any

Summons  
them before  
the papal  
court.

“ dóm, er minni persónu til heyrir. Ok at þær megit  
 “ oss eigi dæma upp hëðan ífrá nokkurn þann  
 “ dóm, þá stefnum vër yðr alla samt upp á páfans  
 “ garð ok heilagrar kirkju dóm, er<sup>1</sup> rangdæmdum gerir  
 “ rëtt, ok þeim hjálpar, er vanhluta verða. Svá ok í 5  
 “ aðra grein, at sá kvittr ferr með fólkinu, at kon-  
 “ ungmenn muni leggja hendr á mik með harðindum,  
 “ þá bjóðum vër yðr, í krafti lýðninnar, at þær verndit  
 “ oss með þeiri stríðu, er lögin<sup>2</sup> leggja þeim, er  
 “ þvílíkt gera. Enn þat vil ek, at þær vitið, at þótt 10  
 “ fíandinn með sínum fylgjorum grimmist á mik,  
 “ skal ek hëðan<sup>3</sup> ífrá aldri fyrir þeim á hæl fara,  
 “ heldr fylgja þeiri skyldu með hugarkrafti, er ek tók  
 “ af sjálfum Guði.” Svá lýkr þessu máli, at merkis-  
 maðr ok oddviti byskupanna, Gillibert af Lundúnum, 15  
 setr þegar á appelleran fyrir þá alla upp í móti  
 erkibyskupinum. Skilja þeir svá, at byskuparnir  
 flestir skunda á konungs fund ok garð, enn Heinrekr  
 víglufaðir hans dvelst eftir hjá honum með samharm-  
 an<sup>4</sup> ok heilögum kærleik, sem hann varðveitti jafnan 20  
 stöðugt.

## KAP. XXXIV.

HÉR<sup>5</sup> SNÚAST BYSKUPAR Í MÓTI SANCTI THÓMASI.

Becket says  
mass;

Sem byskupar eru<sup>6</sup> brutt, geingr Thómas til kirkju, ok  
 gerir sem fyrr var honum ráðlagt, segir allar tíðir af 25  
 hinum sæla Stephano protomartyre ok syngir sjálfr messu,  
 ok nú með pallio móti vana, því at einginn<sup>7</sup> virkr dagr  
 hefir þat privilegium. Sem messu upphafit byrjar:

<sup>1</sup> *ær*, T.

<sup>2</sup> *laugin*, T.

<sup>3</sup> *heden*, T.

<sup>4</sup> *saanharmam*, T.

<sup>5</sup> *Hier*, T.

<sup>6</sup> *ær*, T.

<sup>7</sup> *cingin*, T.

“ such judgment as may concern my person. And in order that ye may henceforth pass no such judgment on me, I summon you all together to the pope’s court and before the judgment of the holy church, who doeth aright to those who are wrongfully judged, and helpeth them that are overborne. And now, secondly, that the rumour runneth about among all folk, that the king’s men are minded to lay hands on me with violence, I demand of you likewise, in virtue of your due obedience, that ye defend me with all the hardihood which the law provideth against those who commit such deeds. But I desire that you should know, that even though the fiend with all his followers rage against me, I am minded never henceforth to draw back before them, but to follow with all my strength of mind the duty which I have received from God himself.”

This affair cometh to such an end, that the standard-bearer and leader of the bishops, Gilbert of London, setteth straightway up an appeal on behalf of them all against the archbishop. And such way they separate, that most of the bishops hie to meet the king, and go to the court, but Henry, his father by consecration, stayeth behind and abideth with him in compassionate grief and holy love, which he preserved steadfastly throughout.

#### CHAP. XXXIV.

##### HERE THE BISHOPS TURN AGAINST SAINT THOMAS.

As soon as the bishops were gone away, Thomas goeth to church and doeth even as he had been counselled before, in that he sayeth all the hours of the blessed protomartyr Stephen, and singeth the mass himself; being now robed, against wont, in his pall, which is a privilege that goeth with no working day. Now when

*Etenim sederunt*, eru nær staddir kirkjunni nokkurir konungsmenn ok klerkar, hugleiðandi með nokkurri undran, hvat söngriun<sup>1</sup> þýddi, eðr<sup>2</sup> hví hann mundi sunginn þenna tíma. Sem embættið<sup>3</sup> er<sup>4</sup> úti, leggur Thómas af sèr pallium ok mítruna eftir ráði vana<sup>5</sup> sinna, enn skryðdr messuklæðum fyrir utan hökul leggur hann yfir sik eina klerkakápu. Hér með, sakir mannlígs ótta ok sterkrar trúar til Guðs miskunnar, tekur hann sèr til hlífðar várs Drottins líkam, luktan í propiciatorio, ok lætr upp undir kápuna, styrkist 10 hann þegar í huginum af svá blezuðu föruneysi. Ok svá búinn víkr hann út af kirkjunni á veg til konungsgarðs, eigi fjölmennari sinna vegna enn með tvo klerka. Sem hann nálgast garðinn, tekur hann sjálfr krossinn af öðrum klerkinum, er áðr bar, ok því nær 15 koma byskupar út af garðinum, er enn Gillibert af Lundúnum þeira foringi, meirr kominn af forvitni, hvat erkibyskupi líðr, enn nokurri góðgirnd nè góðvild, sem brátt prófast; því at hann varpar þegar meynrðum á Guðs mann, fyrir þá eina sök, er hann 20 bar sjálfr krossinn. Segir hann lýsa í sínum vanmetnaði, hvárt hugarfar hann hafði. Erkibyskup segir, at þat var eingum<sup>6</sup> manni vanmetnaðr at bera píslar-mark Jesú Kristi, sem sjálfr hann vottar: “Ef “ nokkurr<sup>6</sup> vill koma minn veg með eftirdæmi, taki 25 “ hann krossinn ok fylgi mèr. Enn ef svívirðing er “ nokkur eðr<sup>7</sup> vanmetnaðr, muni heldr því máli til “ heyra, er þèr vilit mèr fyrirkoma ok með úlærðum “ mönnum mik dæma, þar sem þèr ættið mik at verja, “ ok yðart blóð fyrir mitt út at leggja. Svá er<sup>8</sup> 30 “ decretað, at aldri skal hinn hærri dæmast af hinum “ lægra, eðr<sup>9</sup> bindast af hans atkvæði. Mjök rasar þá

Conceals the Eucharist on his body;

bears the cross himself;

is mocked by Gilbert Foliot.

Becket reprimands the bishops anew.

<sup>1</sup> *saungrinn*, T.

<sup>2</sup> *ædr*, T.

<sup>3</sup> *embættid*, T.

<sup>4</sup> *ær*, T.

<sup>5</sup> *eyngum*, T.

<sup>6</sup> *nockur*, T.

<sup>7</sup> *ædr*, T.

<sup>8</sup> *ær*, T.

<sup>9</sup> *ædr*, T.

the beginning of the mass : Etenim sederunt, is given forth, certain king's folk and clerks happened to be standing anigh to the church, thinking in their mind, with some wonder, what this song might import, or why it should happen to be sung as at this time. By the counsel of his friends Thomas layeth aside, straightway when service is over, both pall and mitre, but robed in mass-raiment, out-taken the mass-hackle, he putteth on a cassock thereover. Hereby, both for the sake of natural fear and strong faith in the mercy of God, he taketh for his protection the body of our Lord, locked up in a propitiatory, and putteth it under the cassock, and forthwith he was strengthened in his mind by that blessed fellowship. Thus arrayed he wendeth his way out of the church unto the king's court with no larger following on his part than two clerks only. On approaching the court, he taketh himself the cross from the one of the clerks who bore it before, and nigh to that nick of time the bishops come out from the court, their leader being still Gilbert of London, he having been drawn hither, more for the sake of curiosity to know how it might fare with the archbishop, than from any kindness of heart or good-will, as is soon proven ; for straightway he casteth hurtful words at the man of God, for the only sake, that he bore the cross himself. He sayeth that he showed now, in his disgrace, what sort of mind he bore about. The archbishop sayeth, that it was disgrace to no man to bear the token of the passion of Jesus Christ, even as he testified himself :—"Whoever  
" wisheth to go my way, following my example, let  
" him take his cross, and follow me. But if there be  
" any shame or dishonor, it must needs appertain to  
" your case, who wish to undo me, and to judge me in  
" fellowship with unlearned people, whereas ye ought  
" to defend me, yea and shed your blood for me. It  
" is so decreed, that the higher must never be judged by  
" the lower, or be fettered by his vote. Surely the rule

1164. “ heimsins skipan, ok hneisist Guðs rætt, ef sauðr berr  
 “ hirðinn, eðr<sup>1</sup> þræll herra sinn, eðr<sup>1</sup> lærisveinn meist-  
 “ ara sinn, eðr son föður<sup>2</sup> sinn. Ek var fyrr með  
 “ Heinreki konungi hans canceler, hlýðandi hans boði  
 “ gott ok ilt, enn nú þjóna ek öðrum konungi, ok á 5  
 “ ek nú þess rættar at reka. Enn, at tilteknu dæmi,  
 “ skilr þeira konunga rætt svá mikit sem gull ok blý;  
 “ þat er hvártveggja<sup>3</sup> málmr, ok eigi jafn; annarr er  
 “ bjartr, fagr ok skírr, annarr<sup>4</sup> svartr, dökk<sup>5</sup> okk úskírr.  
 “ Heilug kirkja<sup>6</sup> hefir göfugt veldi af sjálfum Guði, enn 10  
 “ hann<sup>7</sup> vald þat, er<sup>8</sup> stjórnar eftir vild sinni; annat er  
 “ fagrt, enn annat svart; annat af gulli, annat af blý;  
 “ annat til sælu andligrar,<sup>9</sup> annat til sælu líkamligrar.  
 “ Fyrir þessa merking væri yðr byskupunum sjánda,  
 “ hvar þer standit, þá er þer dæmit mik, þar sem vèr 15  
 “ eigum með rætttri setning<sup>10</sup> alla yðr at dæma, eigi at  
 “ eins at dæma, heldr at binda ok leysa, eigi at eins á  
 “ jarðríki, heldr bæði á himni ok jörðu.” Sem hér  
 er<sup>11</sup> komit eyrindi erkibyskups, geingr at honum  
 hógværliga<sup>12</sup> Robert byskup Herefordensis ok segir 20  
 svá: “ Minn faðir,” sagði hann, “ látið mik heldr bera  
 “ krossinn, því at svá hæfir.” Erkibyskup svarar:  
 “ Betr er<sup>13</sup> at ek sjálfr bera hann; þá þarf eingum vera  
 “ efanligt, hverjum ek þjóna.” Þeim orðum svarar<sup>14</sup>  
 svá Gillibert: “ Svo herklæddr, sem þú þykkist nú, ok 25  
 “ komir þú sjálfr slíkr í konungs herbergi, mun hann  
 “ venda sínu sverði upp á þinn háls.” Heilagr Thómas  
 svarar:—“ Vèr<sup>15</sup> biðjum Guð, at hans mildi geri ráð

Robert of Hereford's offer to bear the cross is declined by Becket.

<sup>1</sup> *aðr*, T.

<sup>2</sup> *fodr*, T.

<sup>3</sup> *huartueggja*, T.

<sup>4</sup> *annar*, T.

<sup>5</sup> *dauckr*, T.

<sup>6</sup> *kirkiu*, T.

<sup>7</sup> *hann*, i.e. the king, so altered by the editor; *annat*, T., a senseless anticipation of *annat*, which follows

almost immediately four times repeated.

<sup>8</sup> *ær*, T.

<sup>9</sup> So U.; *annðligar*, T.

<sup>10</sup> *settning*, T.

<sup>11</sup> *ær*, T.

<sup>12</sup> *hoguevrliga*, T.

<sup>13</sup> *ær*, T.

<sup>14</sup> *suara*, T.

<sup>15</sup> *vær*, T.

“ of the world fareth after a reckless fashion, and the  
“ right of God shall be degraded, indeed, if the sheep  
“ is to smite the shepherd, or the slave his lord, or the  
“ disciple his master, or the son his father. I was afore-  
“ time with king Henry his chancellor, doing obediently  
“ his bidding good as well as evil, but now I serve  
“ another king, and am bound to wreak his right. But  
“ the right of these kings differeth even as widely as,  
“ by way of example, gold differeth from lead ; either is  
“ metal, yet far from being equal ; one is bright, glittering  
“ and pure, the other swarthy, dim and drossy. The  
“ holy church hath a noble power even from God him-  
“ self ; but the king a power which governeth according  
“ to its self-will. The one is fair, the other is dark ;  
“ one is of gold the other of lead ; the one for spiritual  
“ salvation, the other for bodily bliss. By this expound-  
“ ing let it be seen by you, bishops, where ye stand,  
“ even when ye judge me, whereas I, by rightful sen-  
“ tence, ought to judge you all, yea not only to judge,  
“ but also to bind and loose, not only on earth, but both  
“ in heaven and on earth.”

Now when the archbishop hath proceeded thus far in his harangue, bishop Robert of Hereford goeth up to him in a lowly fashion, and sayeth thus :—

“ My father,” said he, “ let me rather bear the cross,  
“ for so it behoveth.”

The archbishop answereth :—

“ Nay, better that I bear it myself, for then it need  
“ be matter of doubt to no one whom I serve.”

To these words Gilbert answereth thus :—

“ If thou come into the king’s chamber even in such  
“ armour as thou deemest thyself to have on now, he  
“ will give his sword a turn at the neck of thee.”

The holy Thomas answereth :—

“ We pray God that his mercy take all care of us.”



1164.  
The arch-  
bishop re-  
viled by  
Gillb. Foliot.

The king  
leaves his  
chamber  
when Becket  
enters.

The king's  
men claim  
the money.

Becket  
again ap-  
peals to his  
absolution  
from all  
state obli-  
gations.

“ fyrir oss.<sup>1</sup>” Gillibert svarar: “Lengi<sup>2</sup> hefir úvizkan<sup>3</sup>  
“ farit með þik, ok ykkar skilnaðr mun seinn vera.”  
Móti þessum meynrðum leggr Guðs maðr eingi andsvör,  
nema geingr þegjandi framm<sup>4</sup> at því herbergi, sem sjálf  
konungrinn sitr í. Enn svá sem honum flyzt<sup>5</sup> af ferð-<sup>5</sup>  
um erkibyskups, hversu hann er búinn, ok berr sjálf  
krossinn, víkr hann undan í annat herbergi með öllum  
skunda, ok eigi lætr hann frammi þat hvassa sverð  
at sinni, sem Gillibert ógnaði. Thómas erkibyskup  
sezt<sup>6</sup> niðr með sínum klerkum í þat herbergi, sem kon-<sup>10</sup>  
ungrinn hafði áðr í<sup>7</sup> setið ok rýmt, ok byskupar annan  
veg gegnt honum. Eftir litla hríð þysja inn konungs  
menn, með þeim boðskap upp á Thómam erkibyskup,  
at hann gjaldi skyn ok góða grein herra konunginum  
fyrir allan þann fjárhlut, er hann hafði undir sinni<sup>15</sup>  
forsjó, meira ok minna, þá er hann var canceler, ok  
veiti þat skilríki nú í stað, at einþingum konungsins  
varnaði hafi hann sukkat án orlofi, ok leggi á eið  
sinn; ef hann fellr at máli, skal hann þola byskupa  
dóm ok annarra<sup>8</sup> ríkismanna. Heilagr Thómas svarar<sup>20</sup>  
hèr svá til: “þá er vèr vorum kjörinn til erkibyskups  
“ í Lundúnum, er undir margra manna vitorði, hversu  
“ herra konungrinn gerði oss frjálsan af þeim lutum  
“ öllum, er<sup>9</sup> til heyra krúnunni; ok sakir þess, at  
“ bestum mönnum innan lands er þetta kunnigt,<sup>10</sup> þá<sup>25</sup>  
“ er<sup>11</sup> eigi sannligt, at nú sè<sup>12</sup> oss sakir gefnar til fæg-  
“ jalda eðr<sup>13</sup> reiknings, sem vèr erum<sup>14</sup> byskup vorð-  
“ inn,<sup>15</sup> ef þá var þagat, er vèr vorum í lægri stètt. Ok  
“ með því, at vèr eigum eingan reikning at gera,  
“ viljum vèr því síðr eið vinna, at vèr viljum öngu<sup>30</sup>

<sup>1</sup> *ossa*, T.

<sup>2</sup> *leingi*, T.

<sup>3</sup> *uuitzkan*, T.

<sup>4</sup> *fram*, T.

<sup>5</sup> *flytz*, T.

<sup>6</sup> *setz*, T.

<sup>7</sup> *f* added by the Editor.

<sup>8</sup> *annara*, T.

<sup>9</sup> *er* added in U.

<sup>10</sup> *kuningt*, T.

<sup>11</sup> *ar*, T.

<sup>12</sup> *see*, T.

<sup>13</sup> *aðr*, T.

<sup>14</sup> *erum*, T.

<sup>15</sup> *vordin*, T.

Rejoineth Gilbert :—" Folly hath long indeed fared  
" about with thee, and late, forsooth, shall come about  
" the parting of you twain."

Against these hurtful words the man of God giveth  
forth no answer at all, but walketh in silence even unto  
the chamber, wherein the king himself is sitting. But  
when the king heareth, how the archbishop cometh there,  
and how he is arrayed, and how he beareth the cross  
himself, he turneth away into another chamber in great  
haste, nor showeth he forth this time the bitter sword, as  
Gilbert had threatened.

Archbishop Thomas, with his clerks, sitteth down  
in the chamber, wherein the king had been sitting afore,  
but had just quitted ; and all the bishops the other way  
right against him.

After a little while the king's men rush in, with the  
message to archbishop Thomas, that he render vouchers  
and good account to the lord king for all the moneys  
great and small, which he had under his care all the  
time he was chancellor, and that he deliver forthwith  
a warrant to show, that he hath squandered none of the  
king's property away without leave, and attest the same  
with his oath ; if the case should go against him he is to  
suffer judgment dictated by bishops and other men of  
might.

The holy Thomas thus answereth to this :—

" When we were chosen archbishop at London, many  
" folk were witnesses, how the lord king absolved us  
" from all matters relating to the crown ; now inasmuch  
" as this is known unto the best men in this land, it  
" is nowise fair, that now we should be made liable to  
" fines, or that we should render any accounts now that  
" we have become bishop, since silence was kept when-  
" as we were in a lower station. And seeing that we  
" have no account to render, we will not only not  
" deliver the oath, but we will give no answer at all  
" unto this."

1164.

“ til svara.” Þessi fortekin andsvör herra erki-  
 byskups ero<sup>1</sup> þegar flutt herra konunginum. Er<sup>2</sup> nú  
 eigi langt, áðr byskupar ok annat stórmenni eru<sup>3</sup>  
 kallaðir með ákefð í sjálfs konungs herbergi; ok er  
 þeir koma þar, byrjar konungrinn sína kæru á Thóman<sup>5</sup>  
 erkibyskup með þvilíku efni:—“ Góðir höfðingjar,”  
 sagði hann, “ hvar er heyrt fyrr enn hær, at nokkurr<sup>4</sup>  
 “ maðr gangi svá í konungs herbergi, sem þessi Thómas,  
 “ oss ok váru ráði til háðuligrar svívirðu? Því at eigi  
 “ sótti hann oss sem dygdarmann ok trygða, heldr<sup>10</sup>  
 “ sem einn svikara, gerandi þá með sönnu sjálfan sik  
 “ opinberan at svikum. Slíkt skal af eingum manni  
 “ heyrt, at nè einn hafi lyst at veita konungs valdi  
 “ svá máttka<sup>5</sup> vanvirðu, sem þessi hefir oss vunnit.”  
 þetta sanna þeir allir með konunginum; segja erki-<sup>15</sup>  
 byskup jafnan verit hafa mjök hegómligan ok metna-  
 aðarfullan, ok þessi vanvirða se<sup>6</sup> eigi konunginum  
 einum ger,<sup>7</sup> heldr öllu ríkinu. Segja ok nokkurir, er<sup>8</sup>  
 djarfari voru, at slíkt fellr konunginum makliga,<sup>9</sup> at  
 hann mæti af þeim meingerðum, er<sup>10</sup> hann hóf yfir<sup>20</sup>  
 alla menn, ok gaf svá mikit efni til ofbeldis. Konungr-  
 inn svarar: “ Þat mótkast,” sagði hann, “ er oss réttliga  
 “ fundit. Ef vèr hófum þvilíkan metnaðarmann með  
 “ vorum orðum, skulum vèr hann því síðr mikla  
 “ hèðan ífrá, at hverr sem at því verðr kunnr, at<sup>25</sup>  
 “ honum veiti fylgd frá þessarri stund, skal svá dæmast  
 “ sem óvin vors ríkis. Hær með skal hann<sup>11</sup> ok  
 “ þola dóm fyrir þá alla ódygð ok eiðrof, grun ok  
 “ illgirnd, er hann hefir gert krúnunni.” Enn er

The king  
 prefers  
 accusation  
 against  
 Becket.

The by-  
 standers  
 accede to  
 the king.

Abettors of  
 Becket to be  
 punished as  
 traitors.

<sup>1</sup> *ero*, T.

<sup>2</sup> *Ær*, T.

<sup>3</sup> *aru*, T.

<sup>4</sup> *nokkur*, T.

<sup>5</sup> *matha*, T.

<sup>6</sup> *se*, T.

<sup>7</sup> *gerr*, T.

<sup>8</sup> *er*, T.

<sup>9</sup> *mahligan*, T.

<sup>10</sup> *er*, T.

<sup>11</sup> After *hann* T. has *dæmaz*, which I have struck out of the text as being an evident clerical repetition of *dæmast* in the preceding line, and making a senseless tautology; for *dæmast* and *þola dóm* means in the context one and the same thing.

These peremptory answers of the archbishop are brought straightway to the lord king. And no long time weareth away or ever the bishops and the other lords are eagerly called together into the king's own chamber, where, when they have assembled, the king beginneth his accusation against archbishop Thomas in this way :—

“ Good Lords,” said he, “ where has such a thing been heard of ere here, as that any man should go into the chamber of the king after the fashion of this Thomas, for the mocking and the shaming of ourselves and our council ? not coming to us as if we were a man of good faith or trust, but rather as if we were a traitor, thus making himself guilty, in sooth, of open treachery. Such things shall have been heard afore of no man, as that any one ever listed even to bring so mighty a shame upon the power of a king, as this one hath done to us.”

In this they all are of one mind with the king ; saying that the archbishop hath ever been a right vainglorious man, and full of arrogance, and that this shame was done not to the king alone, but to the whole kingdom. Some moreover among the bolder men say, that it falleth right deservedly to the king to have to encounter now hurtful deeds from him, whom he had exalted over all men, thereby enabling him to bring about such mighty violence.

The king answered :—

“ This reproof,” he said, “ is rightfully brought against us. If indeed we have exalted such an overweening man with our word, so much the less shall we magnify him henceforth, that any one who shall be known to grant him aid and following from this hour, shall be judged as an enemy of our realm. Besides this, he shall have to suffer judgment withal, for all the unfaith and oath-breaking, suspiciousness and malice, of which he hath become guilty against the crown.”

1164. byskupar heyra, at enn skal í dóm fara, óttast þeir nokkut, því at þeir mega muna, hversu Thómas erkibyskup fyrirbauð þeim, í krafti hlýðninnar, at dæma sik oft; því biðja þeir orlofs, um litla stund at víkja í annat herbergi til ráðagerðar. Konungr biðr þá gera 5
- The bishops contrive to escape judging Becket by promising the king to join him in persecuting the archbishop.
- góð ráð. Sem þeir tractera, ero<sup>1</sup> mörg uppköst af ústaðfesti þeira; enn þat verðr stöðugt, at með þeim hætti skulu þeir undan færast við konunginn at sitja dóminn, at snarast með honum í fylgi ok alla aðra frammistöðu, er þeir megu veita, móti Thómasi erkibyskupi, innan lands ok utan. Sem þessi vegr er fastmælum bundinn, standa þeir upp ok birta þat sama konunginum, biðjandi sik svá undan dómnum. Þessum útveg jálttar konungrinn, at þeir skulu allir vera sem einn maðr at vinna yfir Thómam erkibyskup. 15

## KAP. XXXV.

## GUÐS MAÐR THÓMAS RÍÐR AF FUNDI.

- The king's men assume a threatening attitude.
- Nú sem konungs vald ok byskupar hafa sambundizt móti sælum Thómasi, skorter eigi skynleysi með ýmsri únáð framm<sup>2</sup> í þat herbergi, at herra Thómas sitr í. 20 Lokusveinar slá sér lausum með stengr<sup>3</sup> ok stafi, ok láta mjök ferliga. Hér með er flókt<sup>4</sup> ok ferð byskupanna til ok frá, með ýmissum orðflaugum. Hvar af svo stendr, at Bartholemeus Exoniensis kemr nú fyrst<sup>5</sup> til erkibyskups. Hann líkar sik góðan með 25 knéfalli ok segir svá: "Faðir," sagði hann, "þyrmit yðr " sjálfum ok oss byskupunum, bræðrum yðrum, því at " allir vèr fordjörfumst í dag af þeiri hermd, er<sup>6</sup> herra
- The bishop of Exeter prays Becket to yield.

<sup>1</sup> ero, T.  
<sup>2</sup> fram, T.  
<sup>3</sup> steingr, T.

<sup>4</sup> flaukt, T.  
<sup>5</sup> fyrst, T.  
<sup>6</sup> er, T.

But when the bishops hear that they have to repair to a court once more, they wax somewhat afeard in remembering, as well they might, how archbishop Thomas had forbidden them, in virtue of their obedience, to judge him any more; wherefore they pray for leave to turn for a little while into another chamber, there to take counsel between them. The king bids them take good counsel. Now while they thus reason together, their want of steadfastness bursteth forth in manifold proposals; but this they settle between them, to beg the king to be let off from sitting in this court, on condition that they lend him their aid and stand forward with him in all things in their power against archbishop Thomas, within the land as well as abroad. This course being now settled by fast vows, they stand up and make the same known unto the king, and thereby pray to be let off from the judgment. This shift findeth acceptance with the king, it being understood that they shall all hold together as one man to bear archbishop Thomas over.

## CHAP. XXXV.

## GOD'S MAN THOMAS RIDETH AWAY FROM THE MEETING.

Now when the king's power and the bishops have combined against the blessed Thomas, there is no lack of witless jibe and sundry worrying coming from within into the chamber wherein lord Thomas is sitting. The doorkeepers swirl about at large with rods and staffs, deporting themselves after a right fell fashion. At the same time the bishops are seen fluttering and flitting to and fro with sundry ejaculations. Hence it is told that Bartholomew of Exeter cometh first up to the archbishop. He showeth a sweet mien kneeling down and speaketh thus:—

“Father,” he said, “spare yourself and us bishops, your brethren, for we are all confounded to-day by that revengeful wrath which the lord king and his

1164. “ konungrinn ok hans ráð hefir á þínu höfði. Boð-  
 “ skapr er nú birtr, at hverr<sup>1</sup> sá byskup eðr<sup>2</sup> annarr<sup>3</sup>  
 “ maðr, er með yðr stendr lengr,<sup>4</sup> skal svá höndlast<sup>5</sup>  
 “ sem konungs svikari.” Herra Thómas sèr<sup>6</sup> upp á  
 hann byskupinn, meðan hann flytr, ok svarar síðan : 5  
 Becket spurms him. “ Gakk brutt þú hèðan,” sagði hann, “ því at þú skilr  
 “ eigi Guðs vilja.” Litlu síðar<sup>7</sup> koma framm<sup>8</sup> fyrir  
 Five bishops appear for the same purpose. hann fimm<sup>9</sup> byskupar ; er þá Hilarius af Cistr svá  
 sem þeira foringi. Hann byrjar svá : “ Hèr til hefir  
 “ þú verit vorr formaðr, ok af því áttum vèr þèr at 10  
 “ hlýða. Nú er<sup>10</sup> svá komit þínum hag, sem eigi er  
 “ kjörligt. Þú sórt mínum herra, konunginum, at veita  
 “ honum trúnað ; enn þat hefir þann skilning, at hans  
 “ líf ok limir með veraldligu valdi sè<sup>11</sup> af þèr heilir<sup>12</sup>  
 “ haldnir með öllum þeim vönnum, sem hann vill 15  
 “ hafa í sínu valdi ok ríki. Nú með því at þú vill  
 “ þær siðvenjur<sup>13</sup> fyrirsma, verðr þú ljóss meinsæramaðr,  
 “ ok því viljum vèr hèðan ífrá þínu ráðleysi á eingan  
 “ veg hlíta. Ok til þess at vèr byskuparnir færimest  
 “ því lögligar undan þínu oki, setjum vèr enn at nýju 20  
 “ oss ok vort góz<sup>14</sup> undir vald ok vernd herra<sup>15</sup> páfans,  
 “ stefnum þik þar með á nefndan dag, at þú svarir  
 “ í curia, hvat er á þik kæríst.” Hèr til svarar erki-  
 byskup eigi fleira : “ Heyri ek,” sagði hann. Síðan víkja  
 byskuparnir til sætis annan veg móti honum, ok sitja 25  
 þegjandi<sup>16</sup> meðan Heinrekr hefir ráð með sínu stór-  
 menni. Enn sú var lykt á þeira máli, sem undir dóms

Becket is  
condemned  
as traitor.

<sup>1</sup> huer, T.

<sup>2</sup> adr, T.

<sup>3</sup> annar, T.

<sup>4</sup> leingr, T.

<sup>5</sup> haundlast, T.

<sup>6</sup> serr, T.

<sup>7</sup> sidarr, T.

<sup>8</sup> fram, T.

<sup>9</sup> fim, T.

<sup>10</sup> ar, T.

<sup>11</sup> sic, T.

<sup>12</sup> After *heilir* T. adds *ok*, which can scarcely represent the original translation, but appears to be a

clerical insertion due to the scribe having had in his mind the common phrase *at* (or *með*) *heilum ok höldnu*, sound and safe. The reading proposed finds corroboration in one of the old authorities : “ sed quia domino regi fidelitatem jurasti, hoc est vitam, membra et terrenam dignitatem sibi per te salvam fore.” etc.” Gervase, 1392.

<sup>13</sup> *siðvenjur*, T.

<sup>14</sup> *godz*, T.

<sup>15</sup> *herrans*, T.

<sup>16</sup> *þegjandi*, T.

“ council have conceived against thy head. Now a message has been made known, that whosoever among the bishops or among other men shall dare to stand by you any further, the same shall be dealt with as the king’s traitor.”

Lord Thomas keepeth his eye on the bishop, while he giveth forth these words, and then answereth him :—

“ Get thee gone hence,” said he, “ for thou understandest not the will of God.”

Shortly afterwards there come before him, five bishops; Hilary of Chichester being this time their leader as it were. He thus beginneth addressing him :—

“ Hitherto thou hast been our captain, and therefore it was our duty to obey thee. But now thy conditions have come to a plight which is nowise to be wished for. Thou didst swear to my lord, the king, to be faithful unto him ; but that is so to be understood, that his life and limbs together with his worldly power should be holden whole by thee, as well as all such customs which it pleaseth him to have throughout his sway and realm. Now whereas thou wilt hold these customs in contempt, thou becomest a manifest perjurer, and therefore we will henceforth put trust in thy folly in no way. And in order that we, the bishops, may withdraw the more lawfully from under thy yoke, we place ourselves and our fortune once more under the power and protection of the lord pope, and thereby summon thee to appear on a settled day in the curia, there to answer to whatever charges may be brought against thee.”

To this the archbishop answered nought more than—  
“ I hear,” said he.

Then the bishops turn to their seats, the other way straight against him, and sit silent, while king Henry is taking counsel with his lords. But their conference came to a close by such a sentence being passed, as that



1164. atkvæði, at Thómas skal réttkallaðr eiðrofi ok konungs svikari. Eftir þá gerð standa upp jarlar ok barúnar nokkurir ok ganga framm<sup>1</sup> til erkibyskups. Einn af þeim heitir Robert af Lecestr. Hann tekr svá til orðs jarlinn:<sup>2</sup> “Herra konungr býðr þér at ganga til sín,<sup>3</sup> 5  
 “at gefa skynsemd,<sup>4</sup> sem þú hëzt<sup>4</sup> fyrra dags, af öllu “því, er á þik kæríst;<sup>5</sup> ella heyr þann dóm, er þér “diktaðist.” “Dóm!” segir erkibyskup. Þú talar Vilhjálmr jarl<sup>6</sup> af Rundinel: “Hugsit, herra, með yðr,” sagði hann, “at fyrir utan erkibyskups tign munum<sup>10</sup> “vèr kallast yðrir jafningjar fyrir kynferð ok aðra “hluti, ok því megi þér vel þola vorn dóm.” Erki- byskup svarar: “Herra jarl,” sagði hann,<sup>7</sup> “vèr sögðum “fyr í dag, hversu frjáls ok liðugir vèr vorum heil- “agri Kantuariensis kirkju upp gefinn fyrir utan<sup>15</sup> “skuld ok fêpinu; ok því segjum vèr líkt ok fyrir í “dag, at í kennimannligri stëtt, eigum vèr eigi fêsekt- “um svara, ok eigi viljum vèr.” Þá svarar Robert jarl: “Þetta veit við alt öðruvíð<sup>8</sup> enn Gillibert af “Lundúnum flutti mínum herra konunginum ok oss.” 20 Thómas erkibyskup talar þá enn: “Heyr oss, herra “jarl,” sagði hann. “Svá miklu mætari sem sálin er “líkamanum, skyldast þú at lýða oss framar enn “höfðingja jarðneskum; því at svá sem hann hefir vald “yfir holdinu, svá höfum vèr vald yfir sálinni. því<sup>25</sup> “skilr þú, at eingin lög leyfa þat, at synir dæmi fêður- “inn,<sup>9</sup> ok enn síðr vill heilög skynsemd, at þeir “fordæmi hann. Ok með því at eingin jarðligr maðr “á mik at dæma nema einn herra páfinn, þá dreg ek “mik með því móti undan konungsins dómi, sem allra 30

Altercation  
between  
Becket and  
the earl of  
Leicester.

<sup>1</sup> fram, T.  
<sup>2</sup> jallinn, T.  
<sup>3</sup> skynsæmd, T.  
<sup>4</sup> hietz, T.  
<sup>5</sup> kæriz, T.

<sup>6</sup> jall, T.  
<sup>7</sup> hann added in U.  
<sup>8</sup> odruuiss, T.  
<sup>9</sup> fodrinn, for fodr sinn?, T.

Thomas shall be rightly holden a perjurer and the king's traitor. After this deed certain earls and barons stand up, and come forth before the archbishop. One of them was hight Robert of Leicester. He thus taketh up the word, even the earl :—

“ The lord king biddeth thee come to him to render reason, even as thou didst promise the other day, for all things which are laid to thy charge ; or else, hear the judgment which has been passed upon thee.”

“ Judgment !” says the archbishop.

Then speaketh Earl William of Arundel :—

“ Bear this in your mind, lord,” said he, “ that when you are bereft of your archiepiscopal dignity, we shall be called youequals, both as to kin and other things, and therefore you may well suffer to be judged by us.”

Quoth the archbishop :—

“ Lord earl,” said he, “ we have said to-day already, how we were given up to the holy church of Canterbury, free and of all things absolved, without any debt or any fine ; and, therefore, we say the same as we have said to-day already, that abiding in pastoral order, we have no fines to pay down, nor will we either.”

Then answereth Earl Robert :—

“ This pointeth all contrariwise to the message that Gilbert of London brought unto the king and unto ourselves.”

Speaketh again the archbishop Thomas :—

“ Hearken to us, lord earl,” said he, “ so much more precious the soul is than the body, even as much more art thou in duty bound to obey us, rather than a worldly lord ; for as he hath power over the flesh, even so have we power over the soul. Hence thou understandest, that no laws permit the sons to judge the father, but still less desireth holy reason that they should condemn him. Now inasmuch as no earthly person may judge me but the lord pope alone, I by this means withdraw from the judgment of the king, as well as from that of all other persons, that I place

1164. “ annarra, at ek set mik ok mína kirkju með öllu því  
 “ gózi<sup>1</sup> föstu ok lausu, sem henni til heyrir, undir  
 “ herra páfáns vald ok vernd. Hér með stefni ek yðr  
 “ öllum byskupum, jörlum ok barúnum, at þér<sup>2</sup> svarit  
 “ mér á páfagarði,<sup>3</sup> hvat þér hafit móti oss fram- 5  
 “ farit;<sup>4</sup> ok svá hlífðr undir skildi almenniligrar kristni  
 “ ok postoligs sætis vernd geing ek nú hēðan brutt  
 “ at sinni.”

Becket  
stumbles in  
leaving the  
palace.

Með þessum orðum stendr hann upp ok geingr  
 fram<sup>5</sup> í garðinn, ok eigi langt áðr hann drepr fæti ok 10  
 rasar mjök. Enn þetta tilfelli þýða svá hans öfundar-  
 menn, at nú sýnist fyrir manna augum, hversu hann  
 ferr ráðlauss ok rasandi með sinni vandygð ok þrá-  
 lyndi. Samlagast þessir heimskum mönnum, er líf ok  
 mannkosti dæma gjarna eftir veraldligri<sup>6</sup> ásjónu. Enn<sup>7</sup> 15  
 sæll Thómas erkibyskup líkist á þeim degi Guðs post-  
 olum, er fagnandi fóru af því meingerðarþingi, er Júðar  
 settu þeim, með húðstrokum ok afarkostum. Sem  
 erkibyskup með sinni fylgd kemr út at portinu, var  
 þat læst í fyrstu. Ok þat affar honum nokkurn ótta, 20  
 því at herra Thómas er ráðinn í at leita brutt af  
 Norðantún, ef hann fær<sup>8</sup> komizt. Lættist ok brátt með  
 Guðs vilja þessi tálman, því at þeir sjá lykla marga  
 einshvers staðar<sup>9</sup> á múrinum, ok bera til hvern at  
 öðrum, þar til portinu hæfir. Er þar fyrir úti sú fylgd 25  
 erkibyskups, er<sup>10</sup> eigi vill hann fyrirláta, hestr hans með  
 söðli<sup>11</sup> ok þat annat, sem honum til heyrir. Svá stígr  
 hann á bak ok víkr á veg til klaustrs nokkurs, er  
 heilagr Andress hefir höfðingskap yfir; ok fram<sup>11</sup> á  
 veginn fyrir hann renna fátækir menn með andligum 30  
 fagnaði, svá segjandi: “ Blezaðr sè sá Guð, er frelsaði  
 “ sinn þjónustumann af valdi óvina.” Sem herra erki-

The gate is  
locked, but  
the keys are  
found on the  
wall.

He rides  
away to St.  
Andrew's.

<sup>1</sup> godzi, T.

<sup>2</sup> þær, T.

<sup>3</sup> pafaagardi, T.

<sup>4</sup> framfarit, T.

<sup>5</sup> fram, T.

<sup>6</sup> veralligri, T.

<sup>7</sup> En, T.

<sup>8</sup> fær, T.

<sup>9</sup> staðr, T.

<sup>10</sup> ær, T.

<sup>11</sup> saudi, T.

“ myself and my church with all the wealth, fast and loose, thereunto belonging, under the power and protection of the lord pope. Hereby, I summon you all, bishops, earls, and barons, to answer me at the court of the pope for your proceedings against me ; and thus sheltered behind the shield of the catholic church, and the protection of the apostolic see, I go hence now as at this time.”

With these words he riseth, and walketh forth into the court, yet not far, ere his foot trippeth, and he stumbleth mightily. This mishap his evil-wishers interpret suchwise, as that now it be manifested to the eyes of all folk, how recklessly and reft of all heed he goeth about in his unfaith and stubbornness of mind. These men make fellowship with fools, who rashly judge life and good parts from worldly appearance. But the blessed archbishop Thomas resembleth that day God's apostles, who went away rejoicing from that parliament of evil deeds, unto which the Jews summoned them, having been scourged and dealt with harshly. When the archbishop with his suite cometh out to the gate, it was found locked at first. And this giveth him some fear, for lord Thomas hath made up his mind to seek to get away from Northampton if he may. And soon this hindrance becometh lighter through the will of God, for they see many keys somewhere on the wall, of which they bore to the lock one after the other until the very one was found which fitted the gate. Outside there waiteth for the archbishop the following that foresaketh him not, his horse to wit, with saddle on, and such other things as appertain thereto. So he mounteth the horse, and rideth to a certain monastery over which the holy Andrew hath lordship ; and unto the road before him run forth poor people in spiritual rejoicing, saying :— “ Blessed be God, who hath delivered his servant from the power of the enemies.”

1164. byskup sèr þenna fjölda, ok heyrir þeira fagnað, talar hann svá til sinna manna : "Sè,"<sup>1</sup> sagði hann, "hversu væna fylgd várr Græðari veitir oss út af valdi þeira, er oss þynguðu.<sup>2</sup> Því er nauðsynligt, at þessir sè<sup>3</sup> í boði voru í dag, at vèr<sup>4</sup> gleðimst allir samt í Guðs<sup>5</sup> "gjöfum." Svá kemr hann framm<sup>5</sup> til klaustrsins, ok geingr brátt til borðs með þeiri fátækra manna fylgd, er áðr var greind. Ok er hann hefir setið um stund glaðværr ok blíðr sínu fólki, koma þagat tveir byskupar framm<sup>5</sup> fyrir hann, Gillibert ok Hilarius, með<sup>10</sup> því eyrindi, at þeir segjast fundit hafa einn góðan veg til friðar millum konungs ok erkibyskups. Herra Thómas spyr,<sup>6</sup> hversu<sup>7</sup> sá er fallinn. Gillibert svarar : "Með því, at fémál<sup>8</sup> er í milli ok greinir mest í sundr yðart samþykki, er sá veigr vænn til friðar, ef þer vilit<sup>15</sup> leggja mínum herra konunginum í pant ii. jarðir Ottenford<sup>9</sup> ok Vingeçham,<sup>10</sup> þá mun hann bliðkast ok

He entertains at his table a large number of poor people.

The bishops of London and Chichester propose a new compromise.

<sup>1</sup> *se*, T.

<sup>2</sup> So T.

<sup>3</sup> *se*, T.

<sup>4</sup> *uar*, T.

<sup>5</sup> *fram*, T.

<sup>6</sup> *spyr*, T.

<sup>7</sup> *huerssu*, T.

<sup>8</sup> *feemaal*, T.

<sup>9</sup> So altered by the editor, *Oxenford*, T. ; misread on account of the old MS. spelling *Otteford*, appearing like *Occeford*, the *n*, however, seems to be introduced by the Icelandic translator in consequence of his identifying the name with Oxford, for where I have found it in old records, the spelling varies only between *Otteford* and *Otford*.

<sup>10</sup> So altered by the editor, *Uingeth*, T. I think the translator's original must have presented some such form of the name as *Vingech*, with an uncertain sign after the *h*, which was dropped in the transcrib-

ing of the word, and that it was meant to represent *Wingecham*, i.e. *Wingeham*, the *c* being a mere scribe's peculiarity, such as we frequently find in old MSS. as f.e., *michi for mibi*, &c. The estate of *Wingham*, in Kent, may well be meant here, for in the *Doomsday Book* we find the entry of the name in the following words : "*Iipse archiepiscopus tenet Wingeham in domino*," vol. i. 3, 6, ed. 1783. In Dr. Giles's edition of *Alan of Tewkesbury*, the name is given as *Muncheaham*, Migne, cxc, 215 ; in *Lupus' Quadrilogus*, Brussels, 1682, an identical form of it is given ; but in some MSS. of that work, e.g. MS. Ff. iv. 46 in University Library, Cambridge 4<sup>o</sup>, fol. 86 a, the name is spelt *Wincheham*, undoubtedly another form of *Wingeham* ; and in the *Quadrilogus prior*, Paris, 1495, the name is given as *Wynguchm*, i.e.

When the archbishop seeth this crowd, and heareth their rejoicing, he thus speaketh to his people:—

“Behold,” he said, “what a goodly following our Healer granteth us in coming away from the power of those who oppressed us. These therefore must needs be bidden to our feast to-day, that we may all rejoice together in the gifts of God.”

So he cometh forth to the monastery, and soon goeth to table with the company of poor folk afore-mentioned. And when he hath sat awhile, cheery and blithesome to his people, two bishops come there before him, Gilbert and Hilary, for the purpose of telling him, that they have found a good way for bringing about peace between the king and the archbishop. Lord Thomas asketh what manner of way that might be.

Gilbert answereth:—

“Now that it is a money affair which standeth atwixt you and chiefly parteth your agreement in sunder, this is a way by which peace may be looked for, if you will give my lord the king security in the two estates, Otford and Wingham; then will he wax

which is  
rejected by  
Becket.

“ litlu síðar yðr bæði samt aftr skipa jarðirnar ok  
“ sína vináttu.” Herra Thómas svarar: “ Oss er sann-  
“ liga flutt, at sú jörð, er Ecka<sup>1</sup> heitir ok enn í dag  
“ heldr Heinrekr konungr undir sínu valdi, er eign  
“ Cantuariensis kirkju, ok þótt hennar formanni heyri 5  
“ með skyldu at kalla aftr jörðina, óttar oss, at þat  
“ dvelist á vorum dögum. Enn því síðr skulum<sup>2</sup> vèr  
“ veðsetja aðrar tvær jarðir, at þessa jörð Eckam skul-  
“ um vèr aldri upp gefa, ok eingan lut annan hêðan  
“ ífrá,<sup>3</sup> þann er Cantuariensis kirkja á með réttu at 10  
“ hafa, þótt vèr þrotnim<sup>4</sup> aftr at kalla.” Sem bysk-  
upar heyra andsvörin, snúa þeir reiðir á brutt, segjandi  
konunginum af sinni ferð. Æsist konungrinn þá enn  
með sinni reiði ok hermdarorðum til erkibyskups.

Nú er aftr at venda til herra Thómas, sem hann 15  
sitr yfir borð ok lætr<sup>5</sup> lesa af Tripartita Hystoria, þar  
sem skrifat stendr af þeim ófriði, er gerr var Liberio  
páfa, ok þessi orð várs Herra, er hann talar til sinna  
lærisveina: “ Ef þèr hafit í þessarri borg ofsóttir verit,  
“ flýit þá til annarrar.”<sup>6</sup> Erkibyskup lítr þá til klerks- 20  
ins<sup>7</sup> ok hugleiðir einkanliga, hvað hann less af þeim  
guðspjallligum<sup>8</sup> flóttu,<sup>9</sup> sem brátt prófaðist.<sup>10</sup> Um kveldit,

Wyngham, evidently the same name in a slight French disguise, the *w* being introduced for hardening the *g*, so as to make the word read in English fashion, Wingham. But for the form which the modern biographers give, Mundeham, I find no authority at all in the old writers. The right of property to an estate of this name formed, however, at this time the subject of dispute between Becket and John the marschal, that dispute being the formal pretext for calling together this Northampton council. Cf. Fitzstephen, Migne, cxc., 133-134 and Ep. xcii. and ccclxxxv., ib. 565-566 and 724.

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Alan of Tewksbury, l.c.

<sup>2</sup> skulu, T.

<sup>3</sup> i fra, T.

<sup>4</sup> þrotnin, T.

<sup>5</sup> letr, T.

<sup>6</sup> Math. x. 23.

<sup>7</sup> So U.; *klersins*, T.

<sup>8</sup> *gudspjallligum*, T.

<sup>9</sup> So U. correctly, as appears from note 11; *flotta*, flight, T. *Ótta*, from *ótti*, fear, has no doubt been adopted by a later scribe, with reference to the verses in the gospel, following the quotation already given: v. 26, Fear them not, therefore, &c., and v. 28, And fear not them which kill the body, but are not able to kill the soul, &c.

<sup>10</sup> In one of the Latin lives occurs a sentence corresponding to this

“ soft, and shortly afterwards return to you both together,  
“ the estates and his friendship.”

Lord Thomas answereth :—

“ Truthfully it has been reported to us, that the estate  
“ of Eccham, which king Henry holdeth in his power  
“ even unto this day, is the property of the church of  
“ Canterbury, and although it is the bounden duty of  
“ her ruler to reclaim the estate, I fear it will be delayed  
“ in my days. But the less are we minded to give  
“ security in other two estates, that even this estate of  
“ Eccham we shall never give up, nor henceforth any  
“ other property of which the church of Canterbury  
“ ought to be the rightful owner, although power faileth  
“ us to reclaim it.”

When the bishops hear these answers, they turn  
angry away, and tell the king the tale of their journey.  
And yet more the king waxeth mad in his anger and  
his harmful words towards the archbishop.

Now we have to turn back to archbishop Thomas,  
whereas he sitteth at table, and has read to him out of  
*Historia Tripartita* that which is written therein of the  
troubles which were brought about against pope Libe-  
rius, and these words of our Lord, when he speaketh to  
his disciples :—

“ If ye have been persecuted in this city, flee into the  
“ other.”

Then the archbishop looketh unto the clerk and pon-  
dereth much within him over what he readeth of that  
flight in the gospel, as soon came to be proven. Late



News is brought to Becket of evil-doers having vowed to murder him.

Becket resolves to fly from the country.

sama dags sem síðla er vorðit, koma til erkibyskups tveir göfgir menn ok hans góðir vinir, þeir ero<sup>1</sup> með sárum angri ok þeim tíðindum af konungs garði, at nokkurir menn, mjök frægir af illgerðum, hafa sambundizt í þá Guðs reiði, at hafa fyrr erkibyskupsins líf<sup>5</sup> enn sinn mat á næsta morgin. Herra Thómas hugleiðir þetta mál, í hvern háska nú er komit, ok virðir með sinni vitru, at kirkjunnar sök<sup>2</sup> er minnur<sup>3</sup> kunnig innan um kristnina, heldr enn svá miklu máli heyrir, ok því óttast hann, ef hann þolir þegar líflát, at þat kallist meirr framit ok þolt fyrir nokkura hans sjálfs eiginliga sök, enn vernd eðr frelsi Guðs réttar, ok þaðan fái heldr kirkjan niðrfall enn nokkura<sup>4</sup> uppreist. Því staðfestir hann sinn hug at leita undan, fyrst at sinni, at dæmum hins blezaða Pauli apostoli, er hann 15 tífyði or Damasco á náttarþeli til lengri<sup>5</sup> nytsemdar heilagri kristni.

## KAP. XXXVI.

## ER THÓMAS FERR BROTT, OK AF BUSTIGLI MERKING.

Becket has his bed made in the church of St. Andrew's.

Guðs maðr, herra Thómas erkibyskup, sem hann 20 hefir staðfest, at vægja fyrir sínum óvinum at sinni, hefir hann þann tilbúnat, at hann lætr gera sæng sína millum tveggja altara í klaustrakirkjunni. Þagat til geingr hann, sem náttar,<sup>6</sup> enn gefr allri sinni fylgd orlof til náða, utan heldr eftir hjá sèr einn bróður,<sup>7</sup> er hans 25 fullkominn trúnað hefir í þessu máli. Sem hans menn ero<sup>8</sup> í brutt, stendr heilagr Thómas á bæn ok less vii. iðranarpsalma með letania, fallandi á knè vit hvert heilags manns<sup>9</sup> nafn. Enn eftir þat legst hann niðr í

somewhat dilapidated passage :  
 "respexit archiepiscopus discipulum qui scripsit hæc, jam ut conjectabam, et sicut mox exitus probabit, evangelicam in animo concipiens fugam." Herbert, 1157.

<sup>1</sup> *aro*, T.

<sup>2</sup> *sauk*, T.

<sup>3</sup> So T.

<sup>4</sup> *nokura*, T.

<sup>5</sup> *leingri*, T.

<sup>6</sup> So U.; *natt*, T.

<sup>7</sup> *brodr*, T.

<sup>8</sup> *aro*, T.

<sup>9</sup> *manz*, T.

in the evening of that very day there come to the archbishop two men of noble kin and good friends of his, both being in sore tribulation and bringing the tidings from the king's court, that certain persons, right far famed for evil deeds, have allied themselves together so to incur the wrath of God, as to have the life of the archbishop even before their meal the next morning.

Lord Thomas then weigheth in his mind this matter, and the danger wherein he now standeth, and wisely considereth, that the cause of the church is yet less known throughout Christendom than it behoveth such a mighty matter to be; and therefore feareth he, if he suffer death even at this time, that it may be deemed to have come to pass rather through some private guilt of his own, than through his defence of the freedom of God's right; and that the church might reap thereof some detriment rather than any righting. He therefore maketh up his mind, rather to make good an escape, now first for a while, after the example of the blessed apostle Paul, when he fled from Damascus anight-time, for a more enduring profit of holy church.

#### CHAP. XXXVI.

##### HOW THOMAS FARETH AWAY.

Now when God's man, lord Thomas archbishop, hath made up his mind to give way, for the time being, to his enemies, he thus setteth about it, that he ordereth a bed to be made for him between two altars in the church of the cloister. When night falleth he betaketh him thither, but giveth leave to all in his following to go to rest, out-taken one brother whom he keepeth about him, and who had his full trust in this affair. When his folk are gone away holy Thomas standeth praying, and readeth seven hymns of repentance together with the litany, kneeling at the name of every holy man. But

He sets off  
in the mid-  
dle of the  
night.

A vision.

sængina fyrir tvenna sök, þá aðra, at hvíla nokkut mæddan líkam; enn þá aðra, at staðarfólkit tæki alvarligan svefn, áðr hann leitar út af kirkjunni ok klaustrinu. Sem honum þikkir tími til, stendr hann upp lágliga, ok sá bróðir með honum, ganga út af klaustrinu laundyr nokkurar ok svá frammi í veg um nóttina, sem Jesús Krístr gerir ráð fyrir. Hér ferr nú sá bustígull, er klekr nokkurr<sup>1</sup> sá þvílíka sýn af á þeiri sömu nótt. Honum sýndist, sem Heinrekr konungr færi<sup>2</sup> á dýraveiði með öllu sínu stórmenni, byskupum, 5 jörlum, ábótum, príórum ok baránum, með öðrum virðingamönnum síns valds, á þann skóg, er Valburg<sup>3</sup> heitir. Sem þeir hafa sik frammi<sup>4</sup> á mörkina með ópi ok þyss, springr upp fyrir þeim þat dýr, er bustígull heitir. Sem þeir sjá dýrit, renna þeir ákaflega þar eftir, 15 með áeggjan ok háreysti. Enn bustígull leitar undan hart ok hlykkjótt higat ok þagat, at hann megi forða sér, stefnandi til sjófar með öllu megni. Þat er hans fararblómi, at hann berr á baki sér þá bók, er heitir Actus Apostolorum. Enn þat þarf í sýn þessa, at allir, 20 er ofsækja dýrit, eru á einnhvern hátt vanaðir<sup>5</sup> á sína<sup>6</sup> limu, haltir eðr<sup>7</sup> lamdir, eineygir eðr<sup>7</sup> nefskornir, varralausir eðr<sup>7</sup> lasmærir með einhverju kyni. Sem bustígull kemr til sjófar, hleypr hann á kaf, ok kom aldri upp síðan. Enn er konungrinn ok hans fylgd sér 25 þat, snúa þeir aftir, ok litlu síðar kastar upp þykkri þoku yfir jörðina, ok þvísa næst rignir blóði. Honum klerkinum þykkir Heinrekr konungr snúa til herbergis, þat sýnist honum eitt eyðihús, mjök þaklaust, fjarri

<sup>1</sup> *noekur*, T.

<sup>2</sup> *feri*, T.

<sup>3</sup> William of Canterbury, who also gives this dream, calls the wood Waberghe. The place meant may possibly be Walburgetone al. Walbergetone, the modern Walberton in the rape of Arundel in Sussex,

which, according to the Domesday book (see ed. 1783, i., fol. 25), was held by William the Conqueror of the earl of Arundel.

<sup>4</sup> *fram*, T.

<sup>5</sup> *vaanadr*, T.

<sup>6</sup> *sinu*, T.

<sup>7</sup> *eðr*, T.

after that he lieth on the bed, for a twofold reason ; firstly, to give some rest to a weary body ; and, secondly, that the people of the place might fall into sound sleep before he endeavoured to get out of the church and the cloister. When he thinketh the time fit thereto, he standeth up softly, and the brother with him, and both walk out of the cloister through a certain secret door, and so along the way, all through the night, as Jesus Christ giveth them counsel to. Here now goeth the hedgehog, concerning which a certain priest saw the following vision that very night. It seemed to him, that king Henry went a-hunting the deer with all his great folk, bishops, earls, abbots, priors, and barons, and other people of honours in his realm, into the wood which is called Walburg. Now as they proceed into the wood with whooping and din, there starteth up before them the animal called hedgehog. When they see the animal, they run exceeding eagerly after it, urging each other on with loud crying. But the hedgehog fleeth away from them fast, veering hither and thither, that he may save himself, and making for the sea with all his might. This is his pageantry, that he carrieth on his back the book which is called Actus Apostolorum. But it appertaineth to this vision, that all who persecute the animal are disabled on their limbs in some way or other, being either lame or maimed, one-eyed or nose-chopped, lipless or decrepit in some way. Now when the hedgehog cometh to the sea, he leapeth into the deep, and came up never again. But when the king and his following seeth this, they turn back, and shortly afterwards a thick mist was cast over the earth, with rain of blood following it. Now the clerk saw, how the king wended to his chamber, which it seemed to him was a deserted house well-nigh roofless, and far away from the abodes

manna bygðum. Hér sezt<sup>1</sup> konungrinn niðr, hafandi nú svá undarligan búnat á sínu höfði, sem eitt sjappel, vundit saman af refahölum einum. Klæðnaðr hans<sup>2</sup> niðr frá er með hvítu líne<sup>3</sup> bæði víðr, skukkótt ok síðr. Ok sem hann sitr einmana, rignir blóðit niðr yfir<sup>5</sup> hann, því at húsit var þakvana,<sup>4</sup> sem fyrr sagðist. Taka nú refahalarinn fyrst með svá miklu blóði sem þeir verða fyldir, enn síðan drýpr æ sem tíðast á klæðnað<sup>5</sup> konungsins, þar til at allar skukkur ok brukkur línklæðisins voru svá fullar, at flýtr yfir. Geingr nú þessu<sup>10</sup> næst blóðit svá í vöxt umbergis hann, at um síðir fellr í munninn honum, ok gerist nú sú nægð at blóðinu, at ýmist fellr út eðr inn. Er nú draumrinn úti, enn hans þýðing er sú réttskilin, sem hér fylgir.

## KAP. XXXVII.

15

ÚTSKÝRING AF DRAUMINUM.<sup>6</sup>

Interpreta-  
tion of the  
vision.

Bustígull þessi, er upp vaktist fyrir óp ok ákall Heinreks konungs ok hans ríkismanna, merkir Thómam erkibyskup, sem fyrr var tjáð. Því at hann var háðuliga mót réttindum útrekin af ríki konungsins ok<sup>20</sup> sinni áttjörð með atkalli stórmennis í landinu. Allir þeir er eltu þenna bustígul frá sinni bygð, voru vanaðir einhverju lýti, er þýðist fyrir þeira andlig sár. Þeir voru blindir ok eineygir, nefskornir ok vagleygir, varralausir ok haltir, bjúgir ok fótbrotnir, handlami ok<sup>25</sup> visnir, aflausir<sup>7</sup> ok lasmærir. Sá er blindr, eftir orðum sæls Gregorii, er hatar<sup>8</sup> guðligt ljós ok geingr í myrkrum heimligs eftirlætis með skammsýni fallvaltrar blíðu. Sá er einsýnn, er sèr með hugviti, hvat er fremjanda væri,<sup>9</sup> enn illvili<sup>10</sup> blindar hann, svá at<sup>30</sup>

<sup>1</sup> setz, T.<sup>2</sup> So U.; han, T.<sup>3</sup> líne, T.<sup>4</sup> sakvana, T.<sup>5</sup> klædnat, T.<sup>6</sup> drauminum, added in U.<sup>7</sup> aflausir, T.<sup>8</sup> hatur, T.<sup>9</sup> veri, T.<sup>10</sup> illuilli, T.

of men. Here the king sitteth down, wearing a strange apparel about his head, in the likeness of a chaplet, twisted together entirely of foptails. His raiment below was made of white linen both wide and foldy and long. Now, whenas he sitteth thus alone, the blood raineth down on him, the house being unthatched as was said afore. Now the foptails gather first as much blood as filleth them, but then it drippeth quick and freely unto the king's garment, until all the folds and the cringes of the linen raiment become so full that the blood floweth over. Then the blood waxeth so mightily around the king that, at last, it floweth into the mouth of him, and now becometh so plenteous, that whiles it ebbeth out, whiles it floweth in. And now the dream is over, but the right areding of it is such as here followeth.

## CHAP. XXXVII.

## THE DREAM AREDED.

This hedgehog which was started awake by the whooping and the crying of king Henry and his men of might, betokeneth archbishop Thomas, as has been said before; for he was shamefully and against all right driven out of the realm of the king and the land of his own kin by the crying of the lords of the land. All those who chased this hedgehog away from his dwelling were the worse for some blemish or other, which betokeneth their spiritual sores. They were blind and one-eyed, nose-chopped and wall-eyed, lipless and lame, bent and broken-footed, cripple-handed and wasted, maimed and mightless. He is blind who, in the words of the blessed Gregory, hateth godly light, and walketh in the darkness of worldly indulgence, keeping his short-sighted eye on delights that perish. He is one-sighted who hath wisdom of mind to see what he ought to do, but evil will so blindeth him that he spurneth spiritual

hann hafnar andligu lífi. Sá er nefskorinn, er eingva<sup>1</sup> skynsemdar grein berr á sína gerð; því at neflauss maðr hefir einga kenning ilms eðr<sup>2</sup> fylu. Sá hefir flekkótt auga, er svá þykkist vitr, at þar fyrir gleymir hann sannri vitru, er víkr til himinríkis, þá er hann<sup>5</sup> vefr sitt<sup>3</sup> hugskots auga í veraldar hægóma. Sá er varralauss, er sik játtar undir stjórnarvald heilagrar kristni, enn þegir síðan yfir áminning ok rætti<sup>4</sup> hirting sinna undirmanna. Þvílíka kallar spámaðrinn sem þá hunda, er<sup>5</sup> eigi kunna geyja.<sup>6</sup> Sá er haltr, er<sup>10</sup> vel veit, hvat hann skal gera ok sætti, enn drepr fæti svá hart í sinni úvenju, at hann haltrar brott af Guðs götu. Sá er hryggbjúgr, er svá alvarliga legst undir ok veraldar áhyggju, at þar fyrir gleymir hann allri upplitning, enn greyfist niðr í jarðliga blíðu. Þeir<sup>15</sup> eru<sup>7</sup> fótbrotnir, handlami, visnir eðr<sup>8</sup> lasmærir, er þat kosta með allri ástundan, at fullgera fýstir síns líkama, ok því vanmegnast þeir frá þeim krafti, er leitar eilífra fagnaða. Þessir allir, svá lýttir ok lamdir, sem stendr í drauminum, sýna þat af konungsmannna fígúru,<sup>9</sup> er<sup>20</sup> töpuðu<sup>10</sup> náttúrulegri fegrð andligrar skynsemi, þá er þeir sóttu sælan Thómam erkibyskup, svá sem til útlegðar,<sup>11</sup> fyrir svikara nafn ok fepínur.<sup>12</sup>

Nú er at víkja til þýðingar, hví várr Herra sýndi Thómam heldr fyrir bustígul enn annat kvikvendi.<sup>25</sup> Enn þar er<sup>13</sup> ljós skynsemi til, því at bustígull er með hörðu hári, verjandi sik með þeiri hlíf fyrir vopnum, dýrum ok ofrhita. Hársins snarpleiki<sup>14</sup> merkir harðlífi heilags Thómæ, er hann skryðdi móti skeytum andligrar freistni, ok því bar hann vel sèr á baki postol-30

<sup>1</sup> *eyngva*, T.

<sup>2</sup> *ædr*, T.

<sup>3</sup> *sitr*, T.

<sup>4</sup> *reittri*, T.

<sup>5</sup> *ær*, T.

<sup>6</sup> Isaiah lvi. 10.

<sup>7</sup> *æru*, T.

<sup>8</sup> *ædr*, T.

<sup>9</sup> In this sentence sticks some corruption which I cannot clear up.

<sup>10</sup> *taupuðu*, T.

<sup>11</sup> *utlegðar*, T.

<sup>12</sup> *fepínur*, T.

<sup>13</sup> *ær*, T.

<sup>14</sup> *snarpleika*, T.

life. He is nose-chopped who hath no reasonable conception as to what his deeds are like; for a noseless man hath no perception of smell, foul or fragrant. He hath a spotted eye, who so prideth himself on his own wisdom, as even thereby to forget the true wisdom which aimeth heaven-ward, inasmuch as he foldeth the eye of his mind in the vanity of the world. He is lipless, who doeth homage to the government of holy church, but afterwards holdeth his peace, instead of admonishing and rightfully chastising his inferiors. Such people the prophet likeneth unto mute dogs which cannot bark. He is lame, who well knoweth what he ought to do, but trippeth his foot so hard against his evil wont, that he limpeth away from the paths of God. He is bent of back, who layeth himself under the yoke of worldly concern in such earnest as to forget for it all uplifting of soul, but burieth himself in worldly sweetness. They are broken-footed, cripple-handed, wasted and decrepit, who study with all their diligence to fulfill the lusts of their body, whereby they become reft of that strength which seeketh eternal joy. All these, blemished and maimed in the said wise, as is related in the dream, show forth in a figure the king's men, who lost the natural beauty of spiritual reason, when they prosecuted the blessed archbishop Thomas into banishment, as it were, for a traitor's name and money fines.

Now it behoves to turn to the interpretation, why our Lord showed Thomas rather in the likeness of a hedgehog than any other quick thing. But for that there is a clear reason to be shown, for a hedgehog hath stiff hair which he useth as a defence against weapons, beasts and over-heat. The roughness of the hair signifieth the hard manner of living of the holy Thomas, which shrouded him against the darts of spiritual temptation, and therefore he might well be said to bear on his back the Works of the Apostles, inasmuch as he gave



anna verk, þá er hann gaf sik, at þeira dæmum, undir þján ok þyngd líkamans, ok at síðustu <sup>1</sup> undir sjálf boðaföll mannligrar grimdar með sárum dauða. Hér eftir sýndist klerkinum, sem myrkr ok þoka þröngdi <sup>2</sup> jörðina, ok úr þeim myrkva rigndi blóði. Jörð merkir í þessum <sup>5</sup> stað jarðligar samvizkur, <sup>3</sup> er fyldest syndamyrkri at fyrirkoma réttvísun með sínum ólögligum dómi. Þessum sagði spámaðrinn: Vei þeim, er með lögleysu <sup>4</sup> þröngva <sup>5</sup> réttvísa. Sannliga kom myrkr yfir þær samvizkur, <sup>6</sup> er drógu kristinn réttinn undir vondar úvenjur. <sup>10</sup> Af þeim myrkva rigndi blóði, þá er villter menn frá Guðs lögum gáfu dreyrugt ráð yfir erkibyskupsins höfud. Þessu næst sitr Heinrekr konungr í eyðihúsi með hvítu <sup>7</sup> línklæði, er bæði var sítt ok vítt. Þat klæði merkir veraldar blíðu stundligs ríkis. Þat klæði <sup>15</sup> vildi Heinrekr konungr rúmt hafa, þá er hann dæmdi svá lærðan sem ólærðan. Krúna bar hann á höfði samsetta refahölum. Sæll Gregorius vottar höfud manns <sup>8</sup> merkjast fyrir hugskot, því at limir lúta höfði, enn hugsanir brjósti. Reflig krúna á konungs höfði voru <sup>20</sup> svik ok slægligar fortölur, <sup>9</sup> at draga konungsins hjarta í móti erkibyskups vilja; því voru halar, at refsins slægð liggir í halanum. Hali er ok endir á hverju kvikvendi; svá feingu þeir ok dáligan enda, <sup>10</sup> er reðu manndráp eðr <sup>11</sup> vunu úbættir með öllu. Skukkur í klæði konungsins merkja illa ráðgjafa, er hans ríki veraldligu gáfu þá skugga ok stærð hugarins, at hann bæri <sup>12</sup> sik

<sup>1</sup> *síðrztu*, T.<sup>2</sup> *þraungdi*, T.<sup>3</sup> *samvitzkur*, T.<sup>4</sup> *laugleysu*, T.<sup>5</sup> *þraungva*, T.<sup>6</sup> *samvitzkur*, T.<sup>7</sup> *hvíta*, T.<sup>8</sup> *manz*, T.<sup>9</sup> *fortalur*, T.<sup>10</sup> *enda*, T.<sup>11</sup> *eðr*, T.<sup>12</sup> *beri*, T.

himself, following their example, under hardship and heavy trials of body and, at last, under the clashing breakers of man's fury in his excruciating death.

After this it seemed to the clerk as if darkness and mist lay thick on the earth, and from that mist blood rained adown.

In this place earth signifieth earthly consciences, who were filled with the darkness of sin, and endeavoured to for-do the rightwise with their unlawful doom. Unto such spake the prophet :—

“Woe to them that oppress the righteous with ini-  
“quity.”

And verily darkness fell on the conscience of those who dragged Christian right under evil abuses. From that darkness rained blood, when those who had strayed away from God's laws conceived a bloody counsel against the head of the archbishop.

Then, next, king Henry sitteth in a deserted house in white linen garment, which was both wide and long.

This garment betokeneth the worldly bliss of temporal power. This very raiment king Henry desired to have wide, when he judged the learned even as the unlearned.

A crown he wore on his head woven together of fox tails.

The blessed Gregory witnesseth, that the head of man signifieth the mind, since the limbs yield obeissance to the head, even as the thoughts obey the breast. The fox-tail crown on the king's head betokened the deceits and wily persuasions which drew the king's heart against the will of the archbishop; of tails it was made, because the wiliness of the fox abideth in the tail. The tail, too, is the end of every quick thing; hence the wretched end, which befell those who compassed the manslaughter or wrought it, without doing any boot therefor at all. The folds in the king's garment betoken evil counsellors, who cast on his worldly rule those shadows and imparted to it such overweening spirit, as that the king

brott or öllu<sup>1</sup> hófi. Þessir halar ok skukkur uppi ok niðri báru konunginum um síðir svá nóga blóðdrykkju, at bæði hann ok þeir<sup>2</sup> höfðu þar af fullan munn. Þessi er sönn<sup>3</sup> glósa, sem vitr maðr má vel skilja, þótt eigi sè<sup>4</sup> langt um gert. 5

Another  
vision.

Fylgir hær ok önnur sýn, er varð á sömu nótt, ok enn þýðist til þess flóttá, er Guðs maðr Thómas tók upp með frelsi laganna. Klerkar erkibyskups höfðu sèr einir herbergi<sup>5</sup> til svefns<sup>6</sup> á þeiri nótt, er herra Thómas flýði, ok því eru<sup>7</sup> þeir als úvitugir, hvern skaða 10 þeir feingu. Einn af klerkunum heyrir í svefni, nærri miðnætti, at ein<sup>8</sup> skærilig rödd hljóðar<sup>9</sup>, þessa tvo versa<sup>10</sup> upp í loftið: Anima nostra sicut passer erepta est de laqueo<sup>11</sup> venantium, laqueus contritus est, et nos liberati sumus. Þetta þýðist<sup>12</sup> svá: Várt líf er svá leyst 15 af veiðimanna snöru, sem einn titlingr, snaran er slitin, enn vèr erum<sup>13</sup> frjálsir. Þessi rödd<sup>14</sup> auðsýnir, at dauða snara var upp egnd fyrir erkibyskupi, áðr enn hann forðaðist með flóttá. Enn hvat má þar um setla, hversu sáran angr ok hörmuligan þeir mundu fá at 20 morni, er<sup>15</sup> með bráðum atburð höfðu látið svá blezað faðerni, er bæði var blítt ok sætt öllum sínum mönnum, svá at allir unnu honum hugástum. Því er þat ljóst, sem síðar stendr skrifat, at allir þeir<sup>16</sup> af erkibyskupsins fylgd, sem framarr<sup>17</sup> voru mentir, leituðu suðr 25 um sjó, þegar þeir höfðu vissu síns virðuligs föður.<sup>18</sup> Enn þann tíma sem Heinrekr konungr spyrr með sannindum<sup>19</sup> þessor tíðindi af brottferð erkibyskups,

Interpreta-  
tion.

<sup>1</sup> *auðu*, T.

<sup>2</sup> The pronoun refers to *illa ráðgjafa*, page 236, line 6.

<sup>3</sup> *saunn*, T.

<sup>4</sup> *see*, T.

<sup>5</sup> So U.; *herberg*, T.

<sup>6</sup> So U.; *svefs*, T.

<sup>7</sup> *eru*, T.

<sup>8</sup> *einn*, T.

<sup>9</sup> So U.; *hlóðar*, T.

<sup>10</sup> *versaa*, T.

<sup>11</sup> *laqueo*, added in U.

<sup>12</sup> *þýðis*, T.

<sup>13</sup> *erum*, T.

<sup>14</sup> *rauðd*, T.

<sup>15</sup> *er*, T.

<sup>16</sup> After *þeir*, T. adds *er*, which gives no sense.

<sup>17</sup> *framarr*, T.

<sup>18</sup> *fodr*, T.

<sup>19</sup> *sannyndum*, T.

bore away from all moderation. These tails and folds up and down brought to the king, at last, such plenteous drink of blood, that he and his counsellors had the mouth full thereof. This is a true gloss, and one that a wise man may well understand, although no lengthy writ be made thereof.

Here, too, followeth another sight, which befell the same night, and still may be interpreted as betokening the flight unto which God's man Thomas betook himself, without having lawful freedom thereto. The clerks of the archbishop had a chamber for themselves to sleep in that very night, in which lord Thomas fled away, wherefore they wist not at all what loss there befell them. One of the clerks heareth in sleep, anigh to midnight, a clear-sounding voice chant these two verses up in the air:—

*Anima nostra sicut passer erepta est de laqueo venantium, laqueus contritus est, et nos liberati sumus.*

Which is, being interpreted: Our life is freed from the snare of the fowler even as a sparrow, the snare is broken and we are free.

This voice showeth that the snare of death was set up for the archbishop or ever he saved himself by flight. But imagine how sore and sorrowful a regret they must have felt in the morning, who by such a sudden hap had lost that blessed parent, who was so blithesome and sweet towards all his folk that they all loved him with their whole heart. It therefore becometh easy to understand, which shall be found written anon, how all such of the suite of the archbishop, who were men of parts, betook themselves south over sea, as soon as they had got sure news of the whereabouts of their reverend father. But when king Henry heareth the true tidings of these things, he is filled with sorrow

verðr hann bæði hryggr ok reiðr, kallandi saman, þegar í stað, bæði byskupa ok aðra landshöfðingja<sup>1</sup> til ráðagerðar.<sup>2</sup> Siti þeir nú um stund á ráði, sem þeim líkar, enn vèr hyggjum at merkiliga, þessu næst, hvat líðr heilögum Thómasi. 5

## KAP. XXXVIII.

HÈR<sup>3</sup> BYRJAR FLÓTTA THÓME ERKIBYSKUPS.

The flight of Becket.

Virðuligr Guðs maðr, heilagr Thómas hóf sinn heilagan flóttu, þá er liðit var frá holdgan Drottins þúsundrat hundrat .lx. ok .viij.<sup>4</sup> ár, á þrettanda kalendas 10 dag Novembris mánaðar, á annarri nótt eftir festum Lucæ evangelistæ.<sup>5</sup> Því at þing í Norðantún byrjaðist á fimta degi viku, sem fyrr segir, þat er pridie idus Octobris, þat er festum Calixti páfa,<sup>6</sup> er vèr köllum at vetrnóttum.<sup>7</sup> Þingit stóð um sex daga; byrjaðist 15 sem nú sagðist, enn laukst þriðjudag í annarri viku. Ok á þeirri næstu nótt fór heilagr Thómas af klaustri Andreæ postola.<sup>8</sup> Þat samþykkir ári várs Herra, at þá hafi hann erkibyskup verit þrjá vetr,<sup>9</sup> enn hafi nú .xl. ok .vij. vetr<sup>10</sup> sjálfs síns aldra.<sup>11</sup> 20

He disguises himself.

Heilagr Thómas torkennir sik fyrir nafn ok klæðabúnað, at eigi verði hann kendr eðr<sup>12</sup> fanginn. Lagði af klerkaklæði,<sup>13</sup> enn hafði einfaldan kanúkabúnat,<sup>14</sup> ok

<sup>1</sup> So U.; *landshofðin* only, T.

<sup>2</sup> So U.; *raagerdar*, T.

<sup>3</sup> *hier*, T.

<sup>4</sup> Again the same blunder as before, dating events four years too late.

<sup>5</sup> i.e. Tuesday, Oct. 20th, the feast of St. Luke the Evangelist, Oct. 18, having fallen on the preceding Sunday.

<sup>6</sup> As is shown above, page 184, note 5, this is a mis-statement, the 14th of Oct. having fallen on a Wednesday in 1164.

<sup>7</sup> The words in italics are evi-

dently the translator's or the scribe's gloss.

<sup>8</sup> Consequently Becket's flight begins in the night between the 20th and 21st Oct. 1164.

<sup>9</sup> He had in reality been archbishop two years and not full five months of the third.

<sup>10</sup> *vetr*, T.

<sup>11</sup> This tale of his age gives A.D. 1165, but see Preface.

<sup>12</sup> *ædr*, T.

<sup>13</sup> *klerkaklædi*, T.

<sup>14</sup> *kanukabunad*, T.

and wrath, and calleth forthwith together both bishops and other lords of the land to take counsel with them. Let them now sit a-counselling a while as it liketh them, whilst we pay close heed to how it fareth with the holy Thomas.

## CHAP. XXXVIII.

## HERE BEGINNETH THE FLIGHT OF ARCHBISHOP THOMAS.

The worthy God's man, Saint Thomas, set off on his holy flight, whenas one thousand and sixty and eight years had passed from the incarnation of our Lord, on the twentieth day of October, on the second night after festum Lucae Evangelistæ. For the meeting of Northampton began on the fifth day of the week, as is said before, that day being pridie Idus Octobris (14 of October), which is the festum Calixti papæ, *and we call the tide of winter nights*. The meeting stood six days, and began even as we have said now, but came to end on the third day the following week. On that very night the holy Thomas left the monastery of Andreas the Apostle. It agreeth with the years of our Lord that he must have been then archbishop for three winters, being forty winters and seven of his own age.

Holy Thomas maketh himself unknowable both as to name and outfit of garment, that he might not be found out or taken prisoner. He put off the gear of a cleric and took on the plain raiment of a canon; nor

1164.  
Calls him-  
self brother  
Christian.

Travels to  
Graham,  
and  
then to  
Lincoln;

then to a  
certain her-  
mitage.

Thence to  
Boston.

eigi vill hann nú kallast Thómas erkibyskup, heldr bróðir Kristianus; ok þat nafn heyrir honum vel, því at Kristianus þýðist kristinn maðr. Eigi vill hann<sup>1</sup> ok ganga þjóðbrautir, heldr leyniliga smástiga. Stefnir hann sinn veg norðr til Linkolni,<sup>2</sup> ok geingr á fyrstu<sup>3</sup> 5 nótt xx. mílur ok fimm<sup>4</sup> framm<sup>5</sup> til þess bæjar, er Graham<sup>6</sup> heitir.<sup>7</sup> Þar hvílist hann um hríð ok sofnar, enn geingr síðan framm til Linkolni aðrar xx. mílur ok fimm.<sup>8</sup> Þar tekr hann herbergi nokkut fráskilliga í húsum þvátara eins. Annan dag flyzt<sup>9</sup> hann yfir á 10 þá, er þar fellr í gegnum staðinn, enn geingr síðan xl. mílur framm til heremitorium<sup>10</sup> nokkurs, er stendr einsliga, því at vötnin kringja nálíga umbergis. Þar dvelst sæll Thómas vel þrjá daga, ok lætr vötnin geyma sín. Einn samt hefir hann herbergi, ok eigi ríkara kost, 15 enn bróðirinn kaupir úti, hvárt sem verðr ertrarèttr eðr<sup>11</sup> eitthvert potagium. Bróðirinn stendr fyrir erki- byskupi, meðan hann etr, hugleiðandi, hver fátækt ok fásinni er þar var inni hjá svá virðuligum manni. Tekr hann í hjarta, svá at hann tárast af, geingr út 20 af húsinu, at hann geri eigi Guðs manni hrygd í sínum gráti.

Af þessu heremitorio geingr hinn sæli Thómas til

<sup>1</sup> So U.; *h'm*, T.

<sup>2</sup> So U.; *Lincol*, T.

<sup>3</sup> *fystu*, T.

<sup>4</sup> *fm*, T.

<sup>5</sup> *fram*, T.

<sup>6</sup> Probably the present Grantham.

<sup>7</sup> *heitir*, T.

<sup>8</sup> *fm*, T.

<sup>9</sup> *flytz*, T.

<sup>10</sup> It seems, according to Herbert, Migne, cxc., 1164, whose authority is followed by Mr. Morris, that the proper name of this lonely place was Hermitorium, belonging to the order of the Canons Regulars of St. Gilbert of Sempringham. I find

no mention of this place among religious houses in Lincolnshire belonging to the order. But Herbert's statement of its being "in medio aquarum situm" identifies it topographically with the priory of Haverholme (anciently Haverholme), which stood on an island surrounded by the waters of the Sleaford river. The Hermitorium of Herbert ought to have been situated, according to his description of Becket's travels, on the river Witham along which he went in a boat from Lincoln.

<sup>11</sup> *ædr*, T.

doth he call himself now archbishop Thomas but rather brother Christian, which fitteth him well; for Christian is, being interpreted, even a christian person. Nor chooseth he to travel on the high-roads, but along lonely little tracks. He wendeth his way northward towards Lincoln, and walketh the first night twenty-five miles onwards unto the town called Graham. There he resteth a while and hath some sleep; and afterwards goeth towards Lincoln, another twenty-five miles. Here he chooseth lodging in a house out of the way, with a certain fuller. The next day he passeth the river which floweth through the town, whereupon he walketh forty miles towards a certain hermitage, which stood in a lone spot, being nearly surrounded with waters. Here the blessed Thomas tarrieth well nigh three days, letting the waters ward him. He hath a chamber for himself alone, and no richer fare than what the brother buyeth abroad, a repast of peas or any other potage as it might happen. The brother would stand before the archbishop, while he was eating, bethinking him of the poverty and loneliness, which prevailed in that room about such a venerable man. This he so taketh to heart that he sheddeth tears thereover, and leaveth the chamber, that he may not grieve God's man with his weeping.

From this hermitage the archbishop goeth to Botolf's



1164.  
Havelor,

Bótúlfs steins.<sup>1</sup> Enn þaðan ferr<sup>2</sup> hann enn um vatn nokkut til þess bæjar, er Havelorr<sup>3</sup> heitir. Enn<sup>4</sup> síðan leggur hann af dagferðir, því at í þeim luta lands hefir hann oft verit ok er mjök kunnigr. Því liggur hann í leynum á daginn, enn geingr um nætr, ok stefnir nú<sup>5</sup> mjök veginum til austrs, því at hann veit vel, hvar hann ætlar til brottferðar af landinu, ef Guð lofar. Ok sakir þess, at hann þarf bæði menn ok hesta, ok farkost suðr yfir sjóinn, enn er<sup>6</sup> eigi sjálfir festerkr nú vorðinn, vendir hann at því sjótúni, er Hestræi<sup>7</sup> 10 heitir; þar er formaðr yfir príórr einn, er lýtr undir Kanciam. Því leggur herra erkibyskup allan sik ok sinn vilja í ljós fyrir honum. Þar kemr hann nokkurum fámm dögum fyrir allra heilagra messu, ok dvelst þar fram<sup>8</sup> um hátíðina.<sup>7</sup> Stendr hann í lítilli 15 afstúku, meðan messurnar syngjast, ok sér þaðan um einn glugg várs Herra líkam. Príórrinn sýslar honum einn lítinn bát til sjóferðar ok tvo rökva<sup>9</sup> prestbræðr til fylgis. Allra heilagra messa var þá á mánadegi.<sup>9</sup> Ok á þeirri næstu nótt eftir, góðri stund fyrir dag, 20 ferr heilagr Thómas brott af Estrehi fram<sup>10</sup> til sjófar

and Eastry,  
where he  
stays over  
All Souls  
day.

Monday  
night he  
sets off;

<sup>1</sup> A mistranslation of Botolfs-toune, i.e. Botolf's town, the old vernacular name of Boston. This form of the name occurs in none of the extant Latin lives.

<sup>2</sup> *fer*, T.

<sup>3</sup> Haverol, Herbert, l. c., Haverolot, Alan, *ib.*, 216, which Robertson supposes to be Haverholme. Becket, 134, note a.

<sup>4</sup> *En*, T.

<sup>5</sup> *er*, T.

<sup>6</sup> *fram*, T.

<sup>7</sup> Herbert states, with reference to the time which it took Becket to get to Eastry "Nocte itaque ibat et die "latitabat octo noctibus dierum conficiens iter." And with reference to the time of his departare from England: "Latuit autem lux mundi

"futura in pago hoc (i.e. Estrei)  
"usque ad diem Animarum diebus  
"octo. Die vero Animarum, qui  
"fuit tertia feria, quintus decimus  
"dies ab illa tertia feria, ab illo die  
"Martis, quo apud Northampton  
"pugnarat ad bestias, nocte parum  
"ante diem absque omni vectura  
"in scapha intravit mare." Herbert, 1164-1165. For the contradictory statements with regard to the dates which the early writers connect with the council of Northampton, see preface.

<sup>8</sup> *rosku*, T.

<sup>9</sup> This is a mistake, All Saints fell on a Sunday; the feast day was Dies Animarum, All Souls, the following Monday, Nov. 2.

<sup>10</sup> *fram*, T.

town, whence he walketh still further to the place called Havelorr. After this he leaveth off journeying by day, for in this part of the country he hath been often, and knoweth it right well. He therefore lieth in lone hiding places by day, but walketh on by night, and now wendeth his way east, for he well knoweth where he is minded to take his departure from the land, if God give him leave to. Now inasmuch as he standeth in need both of men and horses, and a craft wherein to cross south over sea, but is himself no longer well furnished with money, he wendeth towards a certain sea-town called Eastry, over which there ruleth a certain prior who oweth allegiance to Canterbury. The archbishop therefore maketh himself and all his will clearly known unto him. He came here some few days before the mass of All Saints, and tarrieth over the feast. He standeth in a little side chapel while mass is being sung, and seeth from there through a window the body of our Lord. The prior findeth him a little boat for his sea-faring, and two brisk mass-brothers, to make him fellowship. This time the mass of All Saints fell on a Monday, and the night next following it, a good hour before daybreak, the holy Thomas goeth from Eastry forth unto the sea with his

1164. með þrim bræðrum sínum, ok lætr út af Englandi, þar sem Sandvík heitir. Ok sá þriðji dagr, er hann er í hafi, er hinn fimtándi frá þeim þriðja degi, er hann var mest angraðr í Norðanþún.<sup>1</sup>

Arives in Flanders. Svo vel verðr hann reiðfara<sup>2</sup> með vilja Guðs, at 5 sama kveld tekr hann Flandr, eina mílu frá því þorpi<sup>3</sup> er Grafningr heitir, heldr hann þegar á veg fram<sup>4</sup> til þorpsins.<sup>5</sup> Stormr er veðrs með mikilli vætu, enn vegrinn blautr; ökkvast<sup>6</sup> leirinn við fætrna,<sup>7</sup> ok er mjök þungfært.<sup>8</sup> Erkibyskup ferr af 10 kápunni ok veðr henni um herðar sèr. Geingr hann svá mæðiliga, sem vitr maðr má marka, var nýkominn af sjó ok þeim veltingum, er verða kann á litlum báti, enn úvanr þvílíku vási öllu<sup>9</sup> jafnsaman. Ok

The sight of a falcon gives Becket amusement. rétt<sup>10</sup> í veginum berr svá til, at nokkúrir ungir menn 15 koma í mót honum, ok einn af þeim berr fagran fálk sèr á hendi. Enn þótt erkibyskup væri<sup>11</sup> mjök móðr, víkr honum þegar til fyrri gleði,<sup>12</sup> er hann sá fuglinn, ok nemr staðar. Enn er þeir sjá, at Thómas gefr sèr at um fuglinn, horfa þeir upp á hann, ok einn þeira 20 talar svá: "Sè,"<sup>13</sup> sagði hann, "þessi maðr er Kantu-

He is on the point of being detected. "ariensis<sup>14</sup> erkibyskup, utan ek fallerist." Annarr svarar: "Sannliga ertu úvitr maðr, at Kantuariensis "erkibyskup mundi svá fátækliga fara mega." Enn er signaðr Thómas heyrir orðræðu þeira, heldr hann 25

<sup>1</sup> For a comparative account of the various statements of the old authorities concerning Becket's wanderings from Northampton to Eastry, see preface.

<sup>2</sup> *raadfara*, T.

<sup>3</sup> *þorfi*, T. Herbert 1165, says the place where Becket landed was "per unam leugam distans a Gra-veninges," and was called by the people Oie in Bolonia.

<sup>4</sup> *fram*, T.

<sup>5</sup> *þorfsins*, T.

<sup>6</sup> *auchaz*, T., ökkvast (-sk) is the

correct form of this verb, which in eastern Iceland is still in use, though less frequent than its corresponding noun *ökkvi*, a lump, which is common.

<sup>7</sup> *fetrna*, T.

<sup>8</sup> *þungfært*, T.

<sup>9</sup> *aulu*, T.

<sup>10</sup> *reitt*, T.

<sup>11</sup> *veri*, T.

<sup>12</sup> *glæði*, T.

<sup>13</sup> *Sie*, T.

<sup>14</sup> *Kanntuariensis*, T.

three brethren, and putteth to sea away from England at the place called Sandwich, and the third day, Tuesday, that he is on the sea, is the fifteenth from the Tuesday when he was so hard afflicted at Northampton.

By the will of God he hath such happy voyage, that this same night he maketh Flanders, one mile from a certain township called Gravelines, and straightway he maketh for that township. The weather is stormy with much wet, but the road is miry and the clay cleaveth in lumps to the feet, which maketh walking right heavy. The archbishop taketh off his cloak and foldeth it about his shoulder. So on he walketh wearisomely, as a wise man may understand, having just come from the sea and the tossing which is like to happen on a small boat, and being, moreover, but little wont to such wet toil all at once. And right on the road it so falleth, that some young men come up to him, one of whom beareth a fair falcon on his hand. Now although the archbishop was right aweary, he recollecteth former joys, when he seeth the bird, and standeth still. And when they see that Thomas turneth heedfully towards the bird, they look at him, and one of them speaketh thus:—

“Behold,” he said, “this man is the archbishop of Canterbury, unless I mistake.”

Another answers:—

“What a fool thou must be, to be sure, to think that the archbishop of Canterbury would ever go about in such a poor gear.”

But when archbishop Thomas heareth their talk, he

1164. ekki til dvala, ok hefir sik þegar framm<sup>1</sup> á veginn, ok eigi langt áðr hann fyrirlegst með öllu, því at vegrinn var svá meinligr, sem fyrr sagði. Hann talar svá til bræðranna: “Hæðan fæ<sup>2</sup> ek eigi farit, utan “ þèr berit mik eðr<sup>3</sup> sýslit mèr reiðskjóta.” Þeir 5 renna þegar í bygðina, er næst var, ok leigja<sup>4</sup> eitt ross fyrir pening silfrs, þat er beisllaust<sup>5</sup> ok söðullaust,<sup>6</sup> nema hefir sila nokkurn um hálsinn. Þeir breiða klæði sín á bakit, ok lètta erkibyskupi svá til reiðar. Ok litlu síðar<sup>7</sup> koma væpntir hofmenn með 10 hestum á móti honum, ok spyrja þegar, sem þeir mætast: “Ert þú Cantuariensis erkibyskup?” Hann svarar þegar, sem brosandir nokkut lítt: “Satt er þat,” segir hann, “at svá ríðr hann rètt Kantuariensis “ erkibyskup.” Fyrir þessa hans undirtekt af leiðast 15 þeir sinni ástöðu ok skilja vit svá búit.
- Ríðr Thómas framm til Grafnings, taka þeir sèr herbergi með húsbónda einum. Ok þann tíma, er undir borð er skipat, sitr bróðir Kristján síðastr<sup>8</sup> af þeim fjórum kumpánum. Húsbóndinn er vitr maðr, 20 ok merkir með sèr, at sá bróðir, er Kristianus kallast, hefir sèr einn hátt<sup>9</sup> ok hæversku yfir borðinu. Hann skynjar hèr með hans líkamligt form, hversu<sup>10</sup> þat er fagrliga skapat með ásjónu vel<sup>11</sup> fallinni, með breiðu<sup>12</sup> enni ok fögrum augum. Því tekr hann með sèr 25 stöðugt ráð, at þessi er meiri maðr, enn hann hafði fyrr tekit<sup>13</sup> í sitt herbergi. Ok með því at kvittr hafði komit í Flandr, at Cantuariensis erkibyskup hafði fjótt ok leyniliga af Norðantún brutt farit, hyggr hann ok fyrir satt, at þessi Kristján sè<sup>14</sup> Cantu- 30 ariensis erkibyskup. Fyrir þessa sök kallar hann til

He is over-  
come by  
fatigue.

His people  
hire him a  
horse.

Courtiers  
question  
him as to  
his identity.

He takes  
lodging in a  
hostel in  
Grav.

Brother  
Christian's  
manners  
betray him.

<sup>1</sup> fram, T.

<sup>2</sup> fer, T.

<sup>3</sup> ædr, T.

<sup>4</sup> leiga, T.

<sup>5</sup> beislaust, T.

<sup>6</sup> sæðullaust, T.

<sup>7</sup> síðarr, T.

<sup>8</sup> síðastr, T.

<sup>9</sup> So U.; haat, T.

<sup>10</sup> huerssu, T.

<sup>11</sup> So U.; well, T.

<sup>12</sup> breide, T.

<sup>13</sup> tekitt, T.

<sup>14</sup> sie, T.

tarrieth no longer, but betaketh himself forthwith along the road ; but ere long he must needs lie down withal, the road being so heavy even as is said afore. He now speaketh to the brethern :—

“Hence I may nowise move unless ye carry me or  
“ else find me a horse to ride on.”

Straightway they run to the nearest dwellings and hire a horse for a penny in silver, without bridle and without saddle, having only a rope tied round the neck. They spread their clothes on the back of it, and then lift the archbishop up for a ride. Shortly afterwards some armed court folk on horseback come up and meet him, asking straightway as they met :—

“Art thou the archbishop of Canterbury ?”

He answered at once, smiling a little :—

“To be sure,” says he, “this is the way in which the  
“ archbishop of Canterbury would ride.”

By reason of this answer they fall back from pressing their search further ; and the matter being thus over, they depart.

Now Thomas rideth unto Gravelines, where they take lodging with a certain host. And at the time, when they sit down to table brother Christian sitteth the last among the four companions. The host is a wise man, and noteth in his mind that the brother who is called Christian hath a manner and courtesy of his own at table. Thereby too he perceiveth, how the form of his body is fairly shapen, with a well favoured countenance, a broad forehead, and fair eyes. He therefore becometh quite convinced in his mind that this one must needs be a greater man than ever he had taken into his house before. And whereas a rumour had already got to Flanders of the archbishop of Canterbury having suddenly and secretly betaken himself away from Northampton, he holdeth that surely this Christian must needs be the archbishop of Canterbury. He therefore calleth to him his carline

1164.

sín kerling sína ok talar vit hana launmæli, hvert efni hær mun í vera um gestinn þenna. Sem hon heyrir þetta, verðr henni annars hugar við, ok skundar þegar framm<sup>1</sup> fyrir borðit, stendr ok sèr upp á hann bróður<sup>2</sup> Kristjan, brosir síðan ok snýr<sup>3</sup> brott til hús- 5 bóndans : “ Satt er,” sagði hún, “ hann sjálfr er.” Er nú eigi langt, áðr rættir fjölgast, því at kerling trýtir<sup>4</sup> æ sem tíðast at bera fyrir Thómam, bróður<sup>5</sup> Kristján, þat er hon hefir bezt<sup>6</sup> til, ertrnar, eplin ok ostana, því at lætr hon, sem hon sjái eingan<sup>7</sup> utan þenna Kristján. Enn er 10 erkibyskup sèr, hversu horfir, grunar hann um, at kerling muni hafa feingit<sup>8</sup> nokkurn ávital, hverr maðr hann er, ok gjarna vill hann því kaupa nú, at hafa réttu færri, ok vera eigi réttkendr af henni. Sem borð er upptekit, geingr húsbóndi til bróður<sup>9</sup> Kristjáns,<sup>10</sup> svá 15 glaðr sem með ölværð,<sup>11</sup> ok mælti til hans<sup>12</sup> þessum orðum : “ Verit Guði velkominn, síra minn,” sagði hann, “ ok gleðist af því gózi, er ek má yðr veita.” Bróðir Kristján tekr honum vel ok harðla blítt<sup>13</sup> ok biðr hann sitja til samræðu upp í hjá sèr. “ Nei,” 20 sagði hann bóndinn, “ þat er<sup>14</sup> eigi mitt sæti nè rúm, “ heldr á gólfinu<sup>15</sup> fyrir fótum yðr.” Bróðir<sup>16</sup> Kristján svarar : “ Hverr er ek,” sagði hann, “ einfaldr bróðir, at “ þèr þurfi nokkut um mik at finnast?” Bóndinn segir : “ Sjálfum þèr er kunnigt, hverr þú ert, þótt þú 25 “ látir annat yfir fljóta, ok fyrir utan ef þikkjumst “ ek vita, at þótt þú nefnist einfaldr bróðir, eru<sup>17</sup> þèr “ í sannleik Cantuariensis erkibyskup.” Herra Thómasi

<sup>1</sup> fram, T.<sup>2</sup> brodr, T.<sup>3</sup> snýrr, T.<sup>4</sup> The meaning of *trýta*, is settled by the corresponding passage in Herbert, 1166 : “ Rustica igitur, “ mox sollicitior circa ministerium, “ *discurrit, festinat.*”<sup>5</sup> brodr, T.<sup>6</sup> bezt, T.<sup>7</sup> eyngan, T.<sup>8</sup> nockura, T.<sup>9</sup> brodr, T.<sup>10</sup> Kristian, T.<sup>11</sup> oluerd, T.<sup>12</sup> The words *mælti til hans* added in U.<sup>13</sup> blídt, T.<sup>14</sup> ær, T.<sup>15</sup> So U. ; *gólpinu*, T.<sup>16</sup> So U. ; *brodr*, T.<sup>17</sup> æru, T.

and speaketh secretly unto her as to what indeed must needs be the truth concerning this guest of theirs. As soon as she heareth this, she was startled in her mind, and runneth round unto the other end of the table, where she taketh her stand and gazeth at brother Christian, then smileth, and turneth away to the host:—

“ True enough,” she said, “ ’tis he himself.”

Now, ere long, the dishes begin to multiply, for the carline trottesth at her quickest in setting before Thomas, brother Christian that is, all the best things she hath in the house, the peas and the apples and the cheeses, for so she goeth on as if she saw no one, indeed, but this Christian alone.

But when the archbishop seeth how things now are turning, his mind misgiveth him, that the carline must have got some inkling of who he was, and fain would he now make the bargain, to have a less number of dishes, and not to be known by her.

When the table was removed the host goeth up to brother Christian, glad, as if cheered with wine, and speaketh to him these words:—

“ Be welcome in God, my lord,” said he, “ and gladden yourself with whatso good things I may afford to find you.”

Brother Christian taketh this right blithely, and prayeth him to come up and sit beside him for a talk.

“ No,” said he, the host, “ my seat is not there nor my place either, rather sit I on the floor at your feet.”

Brother Christian answereth:—

“ Who am I,” said he, “ a simple brother, that thou shouldst hold me of any such account ?”

The host answereth:—

“ It must needs be best known unto thyself who thou art, although thou lettest other things float about on the surface; and without doubt meseems I wot, although thou callest thyself a simple brother, that thou art indeed the very archbishop of Canterbury.”



1164. þykkir vandi nokkurr í vera ; honum líkar eigi lygðin, enn vildi þó gjarna leynast. Þat ræðr hann af, sem honum samir beztr, at hann segir bónda nærgætan vera, enn biðr hann þó jafnframm með góðum trúnaði þat geyma. Húsbóndi heitir<sup>1</sup> því ok gerir svá. Enn 5 því varar hinn heilagi Thómas, at húsbóndinn haldi þar trúnað yfir, at hans<sup>2</sup> vizka sèr í gegnum, hvat á mundi koma, eðr<sup>3</sup> hversu mörg eftirleitan ok forgildra honum mundi veitt af Heinreki konungi, at hvergi mætti hann frjáls fara eðr<sup>3</sup> sínum fæti hvíldar leita. 10

King Henry sends letters south over sea to order the arrest of Becket.

Ok þetta prófaðist svá. því at Heinrekr konungr gerði bæði brèf ok orðsendingar suðr um sjó fjögurra vegna fyrir hann. Einkanliga<sup>4</sup> skrifar hann jarlinum í Flandr, er Filippus heitir.<sup>5</sup> Í því brèfi standa svá harðsnúin orð, sem hær fylgir : “ þat sè<sup>6</sup> yðr kunnigt<sup>7</sup> 15 “ ok<sup>8</sup> öllum<sup>9</sup> vorum vinum, at sá Thómas, er var um “ tíma Cantuariensis erkibyskup, hefir leynzt<sup>10</sup> ok flýit “ or voru valdi sem einn vondr drottins svikari, ok “ því skal honum vei vera í öllu voru ríki ok vorra “ vana, svá framt sem vár orð ok vald má honum 20 “ þyngja.” Tók Filippus jarl þetta brèf Heinreks konungs með mikilli blíðu ok samblæstri, því at hann var áðr hinn mesti óvin Thóme erkibyskups fyrir þá sök, sem hær stendr skrifat. Stephanus konungr, er ríkti næst fyrir Heinreki yfir öllu Englandi, átti dóttur 25 eina ; hon var fögr mærl ok gekk í klaustr þegar á ungum aldri, þróaðist hon svá í góðu lífi, at í fulltíða aldri gerðist hún abbadís yfir þeim lifnaði.<sup>11</sup> Nú er at víkja

Enmity of the count of Flanders

and the count of

<sup>1</sup> heitr, T.

<sup>2</sup> So U. ; han, T.

<sup>3</sup> ædr, T.

<sup>4</sup> Einkanliga, T.

<sup>5</sup> Count of Flanders, A.D. 1168-1191.

<sup>6</sup> see, T.

<sup>7</sup> kunnicht, T.

<sup>8</sup> So altered by the editor, af, T.

<sup>9</sup> aullum, T.

<sup>10</sup> leynz, T.

<sup>11</sup> i.e. Mary of Blois, who was abbess of Rumsey, in Hampshire, whence, despite Becket's opposition, she was married in 1160 to Count Matthew of Flanders. Having lived in wedlock with him for nine or ten years, and bore him two daughters, Ida and Maud, she was separated from him (1169 or 1170)

Lord Thomas deemeth this somewhat of a puzzle; to tell a lie liketh him not, and yet he would fain be unknown. He therefore taketh the counsel which was the most seeming to him, saying that the host has indeed been close in his guess, indeed, but prayeth him at the same time to keep this to himself in good faith. For this the host giveth his word, and keepeth it withal. But the reason why the holy Thomas warned the host to keep the matter to himself in good faith was this, that his wisdom saw through all that was like to happen, how he would be beset with manifold spying and waylaying from king Henry, so much so, that he might fare free nowhither, or find anywhere rest for his feet.

And even so things came about. For king Henry sent both letters and messages south over sea before the archbishop into all four parts of the land. But especially he writeth to the earl of Flanders, by name Philip, a letter wherein stood these harsh words, which here follow :—

“ Be it known unto you, and all our friends, that that  
“ Thomas, who was archbishop of Canterbury for a while,  
“ has betaken himself to lone hiding places, and hath  
“ fled from our realm like an evil traitor, wherefore woe  
“ be to him within our whole kingdom, and the lands  
“ of our friends, in so far as our word and power may  
“ reach to work trouble on him.”

Earl Philip received this letter with great friendliness and manifold plotting, for he was, even before, the greatest enemy of archbishop Thomas, on account of those things which shall now be told of :—

King Stephen, who ruled over all England next before king Henry, had a certain daughter; she was a right beauteous maid, and betook herself to a nunnery even in her young age, and grew so ripe in good works as to become an abbess over that community as soon as

116A.  
Boulogne  
to Becket.

annat,<sup>1</sup> at Filippus jarl í Flandr á bróður þann, er Matheus heitir, jarl yfir Bolonia. Þessi Matheus, at ráði bróður<sup>2</sup> síns, hefr þat bonorð, at fá abbadísar, konungsdóttur, til eiginhúsfrú. Er þá svá komit tíma, at Heinrekr er konungr, enn Thómas kanceler á hans 5 garði. Jarlarnir sækja traust Heinreks konungs at þessu máli, ok hann var búinn at ganga<sup>3</sup> með þeim í þessa Guðs reiði, áðr Thómas canceler stóð í móti með öllu megni. Ok þat fær hann aflat með Guðs vilja<sup>4</sup> ok fulltingi, at svá ljótr hjúskapr tókst eigi. Þessi 10 var hans sök<sup>5</sup> æ síðan við þá bræðr báða, at hann dró þá brutt or helvíti með sinni rettvísi. Fèkk hinn sæli Thómas fagra merking í því máli, er hann tálmaði svá ljótan hórdóm, ok tók þar hatr fyrir; því at ljóst er í því verki, at hann stóð til hægri handar sælum J6-15 hanni baptiste. Enn hverja þjalma nær<sup>6</sup> eðr<sup>7</sup> firr Heinrekr konungr egnir fyrir fætr Thóme erkibyskupi, ferr hann frjáls ok liðugr, því at Guð greiðir hans göngur.<sup>8</sup> Enn þó hugsar hann einkanliga at fara, sem hann má leynilegast, um land Philippi jarls. 20

## KAP. XXXIX.

## AF FERÐ THÓME.

Snemma um morgininn, sem varla er vegljóst, ræðr hann á ferð brutt af Grafning, geingr hann xij. mílur þann dag, mjök krankan veg sakir leirs ok vætu,<sup>9</sup> er<sup>10</sup> 25

and confined to the nunnery of St<sup>e</sup>. Austreberta (Austreberthe de Montreuil) in the diocese of Amiens, where she is said to have died, 1182. Cf. Diceto. 532, Matthew Paris, sub 1160, Gallia Christiana, Tome x., 1319.

<sup>1</sup> Professor Unger reads þangat for annat, but retaining the latter makes sense, wherefore I have removed the emendation.

<sup>2</sup> brodr, T.

<sup>3</sup> So U.; gang, T.

<sup>4</sup> So U.; uillia, T.

<sup>5</sup> sauk, T.

<sup>6</sup> nærr, T.

<sup>7</sup> ædr, T.

<sup>8</sup> gaung, T.

<sup>9</sup> vetu, T.

<sup>10</sup> ær, T.

she was of mature age. Now it behoveth to record another thing, namely, that earl Philip in Flanders had a brother by name Matthew, who was earl of Boulogne. Following the counsel of his brother, Matthew proposed to take for his wife the abbess, the king's daughter. This befell even at the time whenas Henry had become king, and Thomas was the chancellor at his court. The earls besought king Henry to grant them his aid in this matter, and he was right fain to join them in thus incurring God's anger, or ever chancellor Thomas set himself to withstand it with all his might. Yet so much could he do, by the will and helping of God, that this lewd marriage never came off. This was his guilt towards these two brothers, that by his rightwise dealings he dragged them out of hell. Indeed the blessed Thomas won a fair comparison by this affair, hindering such a lewd adultery, though receiving but hatred therefore, for in that work, it is clear enow, that he stood at the right hand of blessed John the Baptist. But whatsoever trammels the king pitcheth for the feet of archbishop Thomas, afar or anigh, he travelleth free and frank, for God maketh his going straight. But especially he maketh up his mind to travel as secretly as may be through the lands of earl Philip.

#### CHAP. XXXIX.

##### OF THE TRAVELLING OF THOMAS.

Early in the morning, while as yet day was scarcely light enough to show the way, he setteth off on his journey from Gravelines, and walketh that day twelve miles along a road right wretched with clay and moist

1164. verða kann á vetrar tíma, er jörðin blotnar af regnum. Nær kveldi þess dags kemr hann til grámúnkaklaustrs nokkurs, er Klaremaries<sup>1</sup> heitir ok stendr vit stað hins heilaga Audomari byskups.<sup>2</sup> Þegar ferr<sup>3</sup> hann þaðan um nóttina, sem segist óttusöngur,<sup>4</sup> stígr á skip,<sup>5</sup> ok flyzt<sup>6</sup> upp eftir vatni því, er klaustrið stendr hjá, til þess staðar, er Valdemunstr<sup>6</sup> heitir, þat var forðum einseta heilags Bertini ábóta. Er hann nú vel hirðr fyrir sínum óvinum, því at sá stað er alla vega luktr vötnum. Ok sem hann dvelst þar um fimm<sup>7</sup> daga, kemr þagað<sup>8</sup> 10 Goðskal ábóti, biðjandi<sup>8</sup> erkibyskup fara með sèr til abbatiam<sup>9</sup> sancti Bertini.<sup>10</sup> Stígr þá enn herra Thómas á skip, ok flyzt<sup>11</sup> upp eftir vatninu til staðarins. Ok í veginum talar einn maðr svá til hans í skipinu: “Síra minn,” sagði<sup>12</sup> hann, “vèr munum koma í dag til góðra<sup>13</sup> 15 “manna, er yðr munu fagrliga fagna, einkanliga fyrir “þat, er þèr komust heilir or valdi yðvarra óvina. “Látið þá kenna yðra tilkvomu,<sup>13</sup> ok gefit þeim gott “orlof at eta tvímælt<sup>14</sup> í dag, hvat er Guð gefr fyrir “utan kjöt.” Heilagr Thómas svarar: “Miðvikudagr<sup>20</sup> 20 “er á morgin, ok því hæfir oss at þarnast.” Sem hèr stendr, talar annar<sup>15</sup> maðr til hans: “Síra minn,” sagði hann, “vera kann, at þeir í klaustrinu hafi fiskafátt “at fagna yðr, ok þurfa<sup>16</sup> þeir þá vorkynndar.” Erki-

He proceeds to Clair-Marais near St. Omer;

thence to St. Bertin.

<sup>1</sup> Clarus Mariscus, eight leagues to the westward from St. Omer, was a convent belonging to the Cistercian order of Clairvaux.—Gallia Christiana, ix., 179–180.

<sup>2</sup> From the Latin Sanctus Audomarus, or Audomaropolis, also Fanum Sti. Audomari, the modern St. Omer.

<sup>3</sup> fer, T.

<sup>4</sup> ottu saungr, T.

<sup>5</sup> flytz, T.

<sup>6</sup> Herbert, Migne, cxc., 1169, calls the place Eldminster, but in the

Quadrilogus prior it is, as here, called Waldeminster.

<sup>7</sup> fem, T.

<sup>8</sup> So U.; biandi, T.

<sup>9</sup> This monastery was founded by St. Bertin of Constance, A.D. 648, close outside St. Omer.—Gallia Christiana, iii., 471 ff.

<sup>10</sup> So U.; abbanam, T.

<sup>11</sup> flytz, T.

<sup>12</sup> sadi, T.

<sup>13</sup> tilkvomu, T.

<sup>14</sup> tuimellt, T.

<sup>15</sup> annar, T.

<sup>16</sup> þyrfa, T.

mire, which is like to happen in winter tide when the earth becometh wet with rains. Towards evening he cometh to a certain monastery of grey friars called Clairmarais, which standeth nigh to the place of the holy bishop St. Omer. Hence he starteth that very night, when matins are being sung, steppeth aboard ship, and is brought up the water, on the side of which the monastery is situated, to the place which is called Valdeminster, which aforetime was the hermitage of the holy abbot Bertinus. Here he is well hid from his enemies, this place being surrounded on all sides by waters. Now whenas he tarrieth here for five days, abbot Godschal cometh hither, praying the archbishop to go with him to the abbey of Saint Bertinus. St. Thomas then steppeth once more aboard ship, and is thus brought up the water to the stead. And on the way a certain person thus talketh to him on board the ship:—

“My lord,” he said, “to-day we shall come to good folk who will give you good cheer, for this reason chiefly, that you got whole out of the power of your enemies. Let your coming stand them in good stead, and give them full leave to eat two meals to-day of whatsoever fare God may give, all meat out-taken.”

Holy Thomas answereth:—

“To-morrow is Wednesday, and it therefore behoveth us to fast.”

But even as matters stand thus, another person speaketh to him:—

“My lord,” said he, “it may well be, that they in the monastery have few fish wherewith to welcome you, and if it be so, they need some indulgence.”

1164.  
A miracle.

byskup svarar: "Vorr Herra beri þar forsjó fyrir." Ok rétt<sup>1</sup> samtíða þessum orðum stökkur einn mikill fiskr or vatninu ok framan í fang erkibyskupi, ok er hann haldinn í stað. Lofa þeir Guð fyrir fagra sending, ok virða svá þegar nokkurir, at várr Herra sýndi kær-<sup>5</sup> leik<sup>2</sup> sinn í þessarri sending ok viðbragði til erki-  
byskups.

Enn er heilagr Thómas erkibyskup kemr til klaustrans, er honum þar fagnað með allri blíðu, bæði af ábóta ok öllum hans bræðrum, ok hær er hann laðaðr<sup>10</sup> ok leiddr til hvíldar eftir langa mæðu. Hann er nú kominn í Fracka konungs ríki, brutt or valdi sinna óvina. Hær veitist honum ok af Guði, at hans heim-  
onligsti<sup>3</sup> maðr, Herbert af Bosea ok enn fleiri aðrir klerkar af hans fylgd koma til móts vit hann; því at<sup>15</sup> ástin, sem fyrr var sagt, hrærði hjörtu þeira, at sækja sem fyrst lands ok lagar svá blezaðan föður<sup>4</sup> ok herra. Hær berr ok svá til, at fyrr nefndr Ríkarðr af Luci, harðla kær<sup>5</sup> Englands konungi, kemr þar til klaustrans, sem hann vendir heim af pílagríms<sup>6</sup> ferð<sup>20</sup> nokkurri. Sem hann fær<sup>7</sup> sanna vissu af, at herra Thómas erkibyskup er þar kominn,<sup>8</sup> með þvílíku efni sem um ríð hefir sagt verit, geingr hann til móts við hann með þeim fagrmælum, at koma honum aftr í fulla vináttu Heinreks konungs, ef hann vill snúa<sup>25</sup> heim til Englands með honum. Erkibyskup hefst undan, ok trúir honum varla, ok því svá, at Ríkarðr hefir gefit honum þá raun. Ok sem ekki vinst at, stærist metnaðr<sup>9</sup> Ríkarðar, svá at erkibyskupi veitir hann einga virðing, heldr lætr hann nokkur þau orð<sup>30</sup>

Richard of  
Luci

offers to  
bring about  
peace be-  
tween the  
archbishop  
and the  
king, but  
Becket re-  
fuses his  
services.

<sup>1</sup> reitt, T.

<sup>2</sup> kærleik, T.

<sup>3</sup> heimonligsi, T.

<sup>4</sup> fodr, T.

<sup>5</sup> kær, T.

<sup>6</sup> So U.; pílagrins, T.

<sup>7</sup> fer, T.

<sup>8</sup> After *kominn* T. adds *sem*, which makes no sense, and is clearly either a repetition of *sem* in the beginning of the sentence, or of the *sem* which follows almost immediately after.

<sup>9</sup> *mettnadr*, T.

The archbishop answereth :—

“ Let our Lord see to that.”

And even at this very nick of time a large fish boundeth out of the water into the lap of the archbishop, and was taken hold of at once. They now praise God for a good gift, and straightway some of them deem that by this godsend, and by thus turning to the archbishop, our Lord verily showed his love towards him.

But when the holy archbishop Thomas cometh to the monastery, he is welcomed there in a right blithesome fashion, both by the abbat and all his brethren ; and after a long trouble he is now bid and brought to rest here, having got into the realm of the king of the French, away from, and out of, the power of his enemies. Here, too, God granteth him the joy, that he who was the most intimate with him, Herbert of Bosham, besides many other clerks of his following, cometh to meet him ; for the love, of which we have told afore, moved their hearts to go over land and water to join such a blessed father and lord. Here it also befalleth, that the afore-named Richard de Luci, a dear friend of the king of England, cometh to the monastery, as he is wending his way homeward from a certain pilgrimage. As soon as he hath true knowledge of archbishop Thomas having come there, in the manner that has been told now for a while, he goeth to meet him with fair words offering to bring him back into full friendship with king Henry, if he will return home to England with him. But the archbishop hangeth back, having but a slight faith in the man, even because of Richard having given him reason thereto before. And so when this matter may be brought about in no manner, the pride of Richard so swelleth, that he showeth the archbishop no honour, but rather lets fall certain such words as that he may



1164. um fara, sem hann megi honum sakir gefa eðr<sup>1</sup> finna. Ok því skilja þeir vit svá búit. Fær<sup>2</sup> nú erkibyskup sanna vissu, fyrir frammburð<sup>3</sup> klerka sinna, hvat fram<sup>4</sup> fór í Englandi, síðan hans flótti varð kunnigr. Ok því skal nú sæll Thómas hvílast í klaustri<sup>5</sup> Bertini, meðan vèr víkjum þangat sögunni.

## KAP. XL.

## ER KONUNGR SENDI TIL RÓMS.

Five bishops  
are sent by  
the king to  
the pope.

With these  
he sends  
some of his  
clerks, and  
of lay-lords  
the earl of  
Arundel.

Nú<sup>5</sup> er þar til at taka, sem fyrr var uppgefit, at Heinrekr konungr fór í ráð með byskupum ok öðru<sup>10</sup> stórmenni, hvat upp skal taka í slíku vandkvæði, sem nú var nýliga vorðit í flótta Thóme erkibyskups. Ok verðr þat stöðugt, at fimm<sup>6</sup> byskupar af landinu skulu fara til kuriam, at flytja mál Heinreks konungs móti Thómasi erkibyskupi. Ok eru<sup>7</sup> þeir til valdir, sem<sup>15</sup> eru<sup>7</sup> klerkdómsmenn miklir ok málsnjallir, enn hvárki til fulls ráðvandir nè vinir erkibyskups. þeira fremstr er Gillibert af Lundúnum; annarr<sup>8</sup> Roðgeirr af Jork, hann bar pallium með erkibyskups nafni, sem enn mun síðar<sup>9</sup> getit verða í þessu máli; þriði Hilarius<sup>20</sup> af Cistr; fjórði Bartholomeus af Exonien; fimti Roger af Vigornen. Hèr með skipar konungrinn þeim til fylgis nokkura sæmiliga menn af sínum klerkum, er þat skulu alt sanna, sem þeir vilja fram<sup>10</sup> bera. Gerir hann ok eigi síðr nokkura mikils háttar menn<sup>25</sup> af leikvaldinu; má þar nefna til Vilhjálmm jarl af Arundinel, er<sup>11</sup> sæmiliga stendr í sínu rúmi, hvárt sem hann er innan lands eðr<sup>12</sup> utan. Hann tekr með brèfum herra konungsins, því at hann skrifar bæði til

<sup>1</sup> *adr*, T.  
<sup>2</sup> *Fær*, T.  
<sup>3</sup> *framburd*, T.  
<sup>4</sup> *fram*, T.  
<sup>5</sup> *Nv*, T.  
<sup>6</sup> *fm*, T.

<sup>7</sup> *aru*, T.  
<sup>8</sup> *annar*, T.  
<sup>9</sup> *sidarr*, T.  
<sup>10</sup> *fram*, T.  
<sup>11</sup> *ær*, T.  
<sup>12</sup> *adr*, T.

prefer or find certain cases against him. And thereat they part.

Now from the telling of his clerks, the archbishop heareth true news as to how matters went on in England after his flight had become known there. Let therefore the blessed Thomas rest at the monastery of Bertin while we return thither (to England) for to take up the story.

## CHAP. XL.

### HOW THE KING SENT TO ROME.

Now we must turn back where we left the story, and tell, how king Henry fell a-counselling with the bishops and other lords, as to what was to be done in such troubles as had lately befallen, even in the flight of archbishop Thomas. And this they settle, that five of the bishops of the land shall go to the curia, to plead the cause of the king against archbishop Thomas. Unto this are chosen such, as are men of great clerkship and skill of speech, but neither thoroughly upright, nor friends of the archbishop. Foremost among them is Gilbert of London, second Roger of York, who wore pall with the name of archbishop, as will be mentioned again later on in this story, a third was Hilary of Chichester, a fourth Bartholomew of Exeter, a fifth Roger of Worcester. The king moreover ordereth certain worthies from among his clerks to do them fellowship, who are to bear witness to all things being true which the messengers may happen to set forth. Besides these he likewise sendeth out certain lay persons of great account; among whom may be named earl William of Arundel, who filleth his place right seemly abroad as well as at home. He receiveth the letters of the king, who writeth both to the king of the French and to the pope.

1164. Frakka konungs ok páfans. Ok til þess, at sendiboðar konungsins megi honum bera sem mesta frægð, svá fyrir herra páfanum sem Frakka konungi ok öðru stórmenni, hvar er þeir koma, gerir hann sèr þá líking, sem hann vili lögin gjarna geyma, at allr 5 varnaðr ok eignir Kantuariensis kirkju skulu standa með fullri náð ok frelsi, svá sem Thómas setti þat alt saman undir vernd sinnar appellacionis til heil-agrar Róma kirkju ok herra páfans. Með þessum boðskap gerast fjögurra vegna þeir rennarar um ríkit, at 10 þar til sendiboðar koma heim af curia, skal alt kyrt vera. Enn þann tíma er sendiboðar eru <sup>1</sup> albúnir með miklum metnaði, ráða þeir í veg, ok hafa nægra silfr enn sannindi, meira gull enn þann góða vilja, er þvilíkum persónum til heyrði. Þær presentur, er <sup>2</sup> þeir bera með sèr af 15 konungsins hálfu, eru <sup>3</sup> eigi smáleitar, því at vel er <sup>4</sup> kunnigt, hversu sjálfr herra páfinn er <sup>4</sup> nú fèþurfe, sakir þess úfriðar, er honum veitist af únáðum.<sup>5</sup> Svo er ok hans rómversku ráði þat hugat af Heinreki konungi, at þeir muni meirr hyggja at presentum enn 20 rættindum, ok svá muni þeim sýnast málefnin, sem féggjafir dikta fyrir þeira brjósti. Svá sækja þeir sína ferð með miklum prís, þar til er þeir koma suðr um sjó; ok þá sömu nótt, sem Thómas erkibyskup tók á litlum báti út af Englandi ok fèkk blíðviðri, feingu 25 þessir á <sup>6</sup> stóru skipi svá mikit vás bæði storms ok

Couriers are sent to all four quarters of the realm to stay proceedings against Hecket till the return of the ambassadors. The ambassadors are loaded with presents for the cardinals.

<sup>1</sup> *æru*, T.

<sup>2</sup> *ær*, T.

<sup>3</sup> *æru*, T.

<sup>4</sup> *ær*, T.

<sup>5</sup> *onauðum*, T. The text is unquestionably corrupt here, and the translation therefore a guess work. I have adopted *únáðum* from a fragment of a vellum MS. of our Saga contained in No. 662a 4° of the Arnarnaganean Collection of MSS. at Copenhagen, which I call A., of a much earlier date than T.; for it

is clear, almost beyond a doubt, that such must have been the reading of the original from which T. was copied, the scribe having attempted to emend it by *ónauðum*, a wrongly formed word, probably meaning by it *ónauðum*, importunities. Professor Unger proposes *ofnauðum* exceeding need. But none of these readings can be the right one. It is not improbable that after *únáðum* a word is dropped, f.e. *Rómverja*.

<sup>6</sup> Om. in T.: *i*, U.

Now in order that the messengers of the king may the more glorify him before the pope, as well as before the king of the French and other lords, wheresoever they may happen to come, he maketh like to be full willing to heed the law, so that all belongings and possessions of the church of Canterbury be in full peace and freedom even as they were left when Thomas placed them under the protection of his appeal to the holy church of Rome and the lord pope. Now four couriers are sent into the four quarters of the realm with the message, that all shall be left quiet until the ambassadors return home from the curia.

When the messengers are albout, and have been fitted out with great state, they betake themselves on the road, having silver in greater plenty than sooth, and more of gold than of that good-will which it behoved that such persons should bear about. The presents they carry with them on behalf of the king are nowise mean to look at, for it is well known, how greatly the lord pope himself is now in want of money, on account of that unpeace which now troubleth him. So also his Roman council king Henry deemeth likely to think more of presents than of justice, and to view matters even as the presents dictate to their mind.

In this manner they pursue their journey with much pomp until they come south beyond sea ; and the same night that archbishop Thomas set off from England in a little boat and had the mildest of weathers, these men, on board a large vessel, met with such stress both of

1164.  
They arrive  
in Flanders.

ofsævis, at þeim hœlt vit háska. Sem þeir voru komn-  
ir í Flandr, halda þeir þegar fram<sup>1</sup> á veg, ok þann  
sama dag at aftni, sem Thómas erkibyskup hafði farit  
áðr um morgininn af klaustri heilags Audomari, koma  
þeir í staðinn ok eru<sup>2</sup> þar um nótt, ok þó leynist 5  
fyrir þeim, hvar byskupinn ferr. Á næsta morgin  
riða þeir ok sækja upp í Franz.

They enter  
France.

Verðr nú heilagr Thómas erkibyskup sannliga víss  
af þeira ferðum, ok gerir, sem hann var vanr, með  
mikilli vizku<sup>3</sup> sín ráð ok útvegu, á þann hátt, at 10  
hann sendir meistara Herbert ok enn annan sinn  
klerk, vitran mann, at slást í föruneysi með sendi-  
boðum konungsins úvitöndum,<sup>4</sup> at þeir megi öll<sup>5</sup> þeira  
ráð ok frammferði<sup>6</sup> því smásmugligar skilja, sem þeir  
fylgja fastara. Svá fara þessir eftir, sem hinir fara 15  
undan, ok hafa dagliga vissu af, hvat þeim líðr.

Becket  
sends Her-  
bert of  
Boseham  
and another  
clerk to  
espny their  
movamenta.

The ambas-  
sadors  
arrive at  
Compiègne,  
and deliver  
to king  
Louis a  
letter from  
king Henry  
requesting  
the former  
to show  
Becket no  
hospitality.

Er nú ekki<sup>7</sup> fyrr at segja af sendiboðum Heinreks  
konungs, enn þeir koma í þann stað, er Kompin heitir.  
Þar finna þeir Hlöðvi, Frakka konung, ganga fyrir hann  
ok kveðja sem honum sómndi, tjá honum síðan bréf 20  
Heinreks konungs af Englandi. Hvert uppbrotið hefir  
líkan skilning, sem fyrr var skrifat af Philippo jarli,  
at sá Thómas, er fyrr var Cantuariensis erkibyskup,  
hafi úr hans ríki svá flýit ok farit sem einn svikari.  
Hèr með stendr svá, at Heinrekr konungr biðr Hlöðvi 25  
konung svá mjúkliga sem<sup>8</sup> sinn herra, at hann láti þann  
Thómam hvárki hafa friðland nè nokkura náð í öllum  
Franz. Sem Hlöðvir konungr hefir brëfit yfirlesit,<sup>9</sup> hitn-

<sup>1</sup> fram, T.

<sup>2</sup> eru, T.

<sup>3</sup> vizku, T.

<sup>4</sup> uuitaandum, T.

<sup>5</sup> aull, T.

<sup>6</sup> framferdi, T.

<sup>7</sup> ekki, T.

<sup>8</sup> The words *mjúklega sem* are adopted from a vellum fragment, which I call B., contained in the same No. of the Arnam. Coll. of MSS. as A., see p. 262, note 5, and ac-

ording to Professor Unger of the same date. There is little doubt possible as to this being the reading of T.'s original, for the reading of T., as it stands, is evidently wrong, the demonstrative *svá* being left without its correlative *sem*, to say nothing of Henry addressing the king of the French *svá, sinn herra*, i. e. as his liege lord.

<sup>9</sup> *ifirlesit*, T.

storm and exceeding high sea, that they hung well nigh in open danger. When they had got to Flanders, they set off forthwith on their way, and on the eve of that very day, in the morn of which archbishop Thomas had left the monastery of St. Omer, they arrive in the town where they stay over night ; and yet it was hid to them, where the bishop fared. Next morning they ride off, proceeding up land into France.

Now when holy Thomas heareth the true tidings about their journeying, as was his wont, he taketh his measures in great wisdom, resorting to the shift of sending master Herbert and another of his clerks, a wise man, to fall in with the company of the king's messengers unawares, that these two may know all their purposes and proceedings the more fully the faster they follow them. So these two follow after as the others travel on before them, and have daily certain knowledge of what the king's messengers are about.

Now there is nought to tell of the messengers of king Henry until they come to the place called Compienne, where they meet Louis, the king of the French, and go before him and greet him in a beseeming manner, and then deliver unto him the letter of king Henry of England. On being opened the import of it was found to be like unto what has been written of earl Philip afore : to wit, that that Thomas, who was formerly archbishop of Canterbury, had departed and fled out of the king's realm as a traitor. Therewithal this standeth in it, that king Henry prayeth king Louis as humbly as if he were his liege lord, not to let that Thomas have any harbour or any grace throughout all France. When king Louis has read the letter, he becometh hot in heart

1164. ar hann í sínu hjarta með guðligu vandlæti, ok herðir sinn hug í móti því orði Heinreks konungs, er<sup>1</sup> hann kallaði Thómam sælan sæmd sinni<sup>2</sup> aftignaðan ok undir svikara nafn settan; því at forligt orð gerir oftliga stygð góðum manni, því at Salómon segir, at sá einn<sup>3</sup> má vitr kallast, er temprá kann sína tungu. Hlöðvir<sup>3</sup> konungr talar þá: “Hèr stendr svá skrifat,” sagði hann, “at Thómas sè aflagðr sínum heiðr ok valdi; enn vèr “ spyrjum yðr, hverr þat mátti með røttu gera, at “ depónera hann. þat er kunnigt, at Heinrekr er<sup>10</sup> “ konungr í Englandi, ok vèr erum<sup>4</sup> røttr konungr “ eigi síðr hèr í Franz, ok megum vèr þó eigi því “ heldr aftigna einn minsta klerk í öllu voru ríki.” Enn er Heinreks konungs sendiboðar heyra þvílíkt andsvar, er<sup>5</sup> eingi þeira svá harðr, at vernda kynni<sup>15</sup> þat, er hann sagði, fá þeir ok eingan orskurð af Hlöðvi<sup>6</sup> konungi, þann er þeir megi bera sínum herra. Ok því taka þeir fjótt orlof ok gera sinn veg framm til Sennonisborgar.

King Louis censures Henry for his dealings with Becket.

Becket's messengers come to Compiègne.

Enn eftir þeira bruttferð af Kompin koma þar næsta<sup>20</sup> dag<sup>7</sup> sendiboðar Thóme erkibyskups. þeir beiðast einkanliga at finna konunginn, því at þeir hafa brèf erkibyskups til hans, í hverju hann kynni konunginum sína útleğð, biðjandi friðlands í hans ríki fyrir Guðs skyld. þeir fá fjótt orlof, því at Frakka konungr<sup>25</sup> tekr þeim með sannri blíðu, einkanliga í þann púnkt, sem þeir bera honum kveðju erkibyskups, því at honum hafði Thómas alla tíma hugþekkr verit, af fyrsta er hann varð Heinreks konungs canceler, fyrir þá dygð ok mikilmensku, er hann veitti sínum herra með<sup>30</sup>

<sup>1</sup> *ær*, T.

<sup>2</sup> Here U. reads (*at*) *sinni aftignadar*, i.e. deprived of his honour for the time being. I have adopted *sæmd* from B., having no doubt of its representing the reading of the original of T.; for *sinni sæmd aftignaðan* is a synonymous expression for

*aflagðr sínum heiðr*, line 8, the very words of the letter which roused so much the anger of king Louis.

<sup>3</sup> *Hlaudsir*, T.

<sup>4</sup> *ærum*, T.

<sup>5</sup> *ær*, T.

<sup>6</sup> *Hlaudui*, T.

<sup>7</sup> *dag*, T.

from godly zeal, and setteth his mind hard against that word of king Henry, wherein he said that the blessed Thomas was deprived of his honour, and placed under the name of a traitor; for a wanton word often raiseth indignation in a good man, for Solomon saith that he alone is to be called wise, who knoweth how to temper his tongue. Then king Louis speaketh:—

“Here it is so written,” said he, “that Thomas is deprived of his honour and office; but we must ask you, who could rightly do this, even to depose him? It is well known, that Henry is king of England, and that we are no less rightfully king here in France, yet for all that we have not the power to degrade the least clerk in our realm.”

But when the messengers of king Henry hear this answer, none of them hath hardihood enough to defend what he had written, nor do they get any decision from king Louis to bring back to their master. Speedily, therefore, they take leave, and proceed to the city of Sens.

But the day after their departure from Compienne, the messengers of archbishop Thomas come there. They pray earnestly to be allowed to see the king, because they carry a letter for him from the archbishop, wherein he maketh known to the king his exile, and prayeth for harbour in his realm for the sake of God. They soon get leave to see the king of the French, for he welcometh them right blithely, chiefly for this reason, that they brought him the greeting of the archbishop, for Thomas had at all time been right dear to the king's heart, from the first when he became chancellor of king Henry, for that faith and high-mindedness wherewith he stood his master in stead by wholesome counsels of right-



1104. heilum ráðum rættrar skynsemdar. Enn sakir þess, at Frakka konungi eru<sup>1</sup> þessir báðir menn úkunnigir, sem nú standa fyrir honum, spyr<sup>2</sup> hann þá svá fallit: "Eru þit af heimamönnum Thóme erkibyskups?" Þeir segja svá vera. Konungurinn tekur þá hæverskliga<sup>5</sup> móti þeim báðum ok minnist til þeira. Síðan tekur hann Herbert til frásagnar, greinandi þá mæðu er Thómas erkibyskup hafði þolt á sjó ok landi, síðan hann fór brutt af Norðantún; segir hann ok konunginum, hverjar meingerðir ok afarkosti hann fékk, áðr<sup>10</sup> enn hann forðaði sér með flóttu. Enn er Hlöðvir konungur heyrir svá hörmuliga ræðu, tárast hann með heilagri samþing. Síðan segir hann þeim innvirðuliga, hvat Heinrekr konungur hafði skrifat til hans á skaða erkibyskups, ok hversu<sup>3</sup> hann hafði svarat, ok 15 enn talar hann: "Heinreki konungi hefði nytssamligt "verit á þessi tíð at hugleiða, hvat Davíð setr svá "réttskýrt<sup>4</sup> í sálminum, at sú reiði er ein ábyrgðar- "laus fyrir Guði, sem eigi snarast í gegn hans "lög máli, ok eigi ríss með yfirgirnd, heldr af harmi 20 "lögbrotsins."<sup>5</sup> Hér<sup>6</sup> til svarar meistari Herbert: "Minn herra," sagði hann, "þessarar ritningar mundi "konungurinn gjarna geymt hafa, ef hann yndi sér "jafnvel í kirkjunni sem þer, þá er<sup>7</sup> þvílíkt verðr "sungit."<sup>8</sup> Konungurinn brosir at orðum hans. Brýtr<sup>25</sup> nú upp þessu næst bréf erkibyskups, er stendr með þeirri beiðslu,<sup>9</sup> sem áðr var sagt, ok þó svarar konungur einu þar til at sinni. Eru sendiboðar á konungs garði um nóttina frjálsliga reiknaðir bæði með blíðu

Herbert relates all Becket's trials.

The messengers are well received and treated gratis.

<sup>1</sup> *aru*, T.

<sup>2</sup> *spyr*, T.

<sup>3</sup> *huerssu*, T.

<sup>4</sup> *reirttakyrrt*, T.

<sup>5</sup> *laugbrottzins*, T. It does not clearly appear to what Psalm this quotation refers. The incident is also recorded by Herbert, 1170, but there the king quotes the words:

"Iracimini et nolite peccare," from Psalm iv. 4.

<sup>6</sup> After *Hér* T. adds a superfluous *med*.

<sup>7</sup> *ar*, T.

<sup>8</sup> Herbert himself, 1170, says this answer was given by his fellow traveller.

<sup>9</sup> *beislu*, T.

wise understanding. But, inasmuch as both the men who happened even now to be standing before the king of the French were unknown unto him, he questioneth them in the following manner :—

“Are ye of the household of archbishop Thomas ?”

They say that even so they are. Then the king giveth both a courteous greeting, and kisseth them. He then calleth on Herbert to tell the whole tale, by setting forth all the trouble which archbishop Thomas had endured both a-sea and a-land, from the time he set off from Northampton ; he also telleth the king what manner of ill-dealings and threats he met with or ever he got off and saved himself by flight. When king Louis heareth so sad a tale, he sheds tears in holy compassion. Then he telleth them with full exactitude what king Henry had written to him, for the purpose of harming the archbishop, as also, how he himself had answered thereto ; and afterwards he further speaketh :—

“It would have been profitable to king Henry, as at this time, to call to mind what David setteth forth so rightly and wisely in the Psalm, that such anger alone incurreth no responsibility before God, which turneth not against his law, and riseth not from pride, but from regret for the law being broken.”

To this answereth master Herbert :—

“My lord,” said he, “this scripture the king would certes have heeded, if he were as fond of staying in church as you are, when such things are being sung.”

The king smiled at these words of Herbert, and then breaketh open the letter of the archbishop, wherein there stood the prayer, of which the tale has been told afore ; yet as at that time the king answered nought thereto. This night the messengers stay at the king’s court, being entertained freely, and having both blithesome cheer

1164. ok góðum kosti. Enn um morgininn tímanliga kallar konungrinn sitt ráð, birtandi þeim bréf ok beiðslu<sup>1</sup> erkibyskups. Geingr þat fjótt, því at allir standa með, at þat hafi góðan enda. Eru því næst sendiboðar innkallaðir. Konungrinn talaði svá til þeira: "Herra 5  
 " Thómas hefir skrifat til vor svá fallin orð, at vèr  
 " munim gefa honum friðland í voru ríki, ok þat  
 " viljum vèr gera gjarna, því at krúnu Frakka konungs  
 " hefir þat lengi<sup>2</sup> fylgt, at útlægja eigi saklausu, heldr  
 " at hjálpa þeim, sem útlægðir verða fyrir vandlæti 10  
 " Guðs borðoða." Þeir þakka honum hæverskliga af hálfu Thómas erkibyskups, taka síðan blítt<sup>3</sup> orlof ok hafa sik fram<sup>4</sup> í veg til Sennonis, sem herra Thómas hafði boðit þeim.

## KAP. XLI.

15

## AF SENDIMÖNNUM THÓME.

The king's ambassadors arrive at the pope's court, and gain some of the cardinals by presents.

Sem sendiboðar Heinreks konungs koma degi fyrr með ríkdóm ok presentum fram<sup>5</sup> í páfagarð, enn fátækir sendimenn Thóme erkibyskups, ýta þeir þegar bæði flutning ok fjárlut við cardinales sèr til fylgis. 20 Var þar svo skipat, sem háttr er<sup>6</sup> heimsins, at menn eru<sup>7</sup> mislíkir; aðrir tapa rettvísi ok fylgja fèmunum, enn aðrir óttast Guð ok sinna lögnum; aðrir segja Heinrek konung í Englandi harðla rettvísan ok stjórnssaman, enn Thómam erkibyskup framngjarnan<sup>8</sup> 25 ok forsugan; aðrir mæla þvers<sup>9</sup> í mót,<sup>10</sup> at erki-byskup frammi standi með Guðs rétti, sem hann sór

<sup>1</sup> *beizlu*, T.

<sup>2</sup> *leingi*, T.

<sup>3</sup> *blídt*, T.

<sup>4</sup> *fram*, T.

<sup>5</sup> *fram*, T.

<sup>6</sup> *er*, T.

<sup>7</sup> *eru*, T.

<sup>8</sup> *framgiarnan*, T.

<sup>9</sup> *þvers*, T.

<sup>10</sup> After *mót* T. has *aðrir mæla þat*, which is an evident repetition of the same words just before, with *þat* added to them; what *aðrir mæla þvers í mót* is at *erkibyskup frammi standi með Guðs rétti*. If the reading of T. were adopted, two parties

and good fare. But early next morning the king calleth his council together, making known unto them the letter and the request of the archbishop. This affair is soon settled, inasmuch as all gave their countenance to its having a good end. Then the messengers were called in, and the king thus spoke to them :—

“ Lord Thomas hath written to us words to the purpose, that we should grant him harbour in our realm ;  
“ now this we are fain to grant, for it hath long gone  
“ with the crown of the king of the French not to exile  
“ the sackless, but rather to help those who happen to  
“ be exiled for their jealousy on behalf of the command-  
“ ments of God.”

They thank him courteously on behalf of archbishop Thomas, whereupon they take a blithe leave, and betake themselves onward along the way to Sens, as lord Thomas had ordered them to do.

## CHAP. XLL

### OF THE MESSENGERS OF THOMAS.

Now the messengers of king Henry, coming to the pope's court with their riches and presents the day before the poor messengers of the archbishop Thomas, set forth among the cardinals their plea, and hold out to them their wealth, in order to gain their countenance. Here the things go even according to the ways of the world, that men are right unlike each other, some forfeiting rightwiseness and following wealth, others fearing God and heeding the law ; some saying that king Henry in England was a most righteous and a zealous ruler, but that archbishop Thomas was presumptuous and insolent. Others gainsaying this straightly, saying that the archbishop stands forward for the right of God,

1164. í vígslu sinni, ok því kalla þeir skyldugt, at hin rómverska móðir styrki hann í lögligri frammferð,<sup>1</sup> enn berist eigi mót þeim, er hún á at efla til allra góðra luta. Vel má svá kalla, at cardinales geingi með þrætum í tvo staði,<sup>2</sup> því at sumir ruglast af ágirnd, 5 sumir af ótta fyrir páfans hönd eðr<sup>3</sup> sína, ef Heinrekr konungr hefir eigi fullnað<sup>4</sup> allra sinna<sup>5</sup> mála; ok því vilja þeir þat ekki heyra, sem erkibyskupsins málum er<sup>6</sup> til greiða, ok eigi vilja þeir minnast við hans boða, sem þeir koma á garðinn. Þat angrar mjök þá 10 kumpana; því at þeir skilja vel, at slíkir eru<sup>7</sup> vinir Heinreks konungs enn öfundarmenn<sup>8</sup> erkibyskups. Þó flytr Drottinn svá þeira mál, at þeir fátækir fá fyrr orlof sama dags sinnar þarkvomu inn fyrir herra páfann enn byskupar fullríkir at fè. Enn er þeir 15 koma inn, kveðja þeir virðuliga, sem vert var, postoligan herra, bera honum þar næst auðmjúka kveðju<sup>9</sup> síns virðuligs föður,<sup>10</sup> Thóme erkibyskups. Þeir segjast fyrir þá sök þar komnir, at kynna herra páfanum, hvat erkibyskupi líðr. Byrja þeir þar með orlofi herra 20 páfans í fyrstu, hversu Thómas erkibyskup var ofsótrr í Norðantún af Heinreki konungi ok hans stórmenni; hær næst, hversu hann forðaði sér með leyniligum flótta, síðan hverja farlengd<sup>11</sup> ok vegarvás er hann bar lands ok lagar alt framm<sup>12</sup> í klaustr sancti Bertini. 25 Enn er Alexandr páfi hafði heyrtr ræðu þessa, kemst

Dissensions among the cardinals.

Becket's messengers are received by the pope.

They tell him the whole story of Becket's trials.

among the cardinals favourable to Becket would be admitted to have existed, of which one only contradicted the party antagonistic to him, but did nothing else; and was yet a distinct party from that which backed Becket at the papal court. Any such disposition of parties is as impossible as the reading which supports it. U. reads: "adrir" "mæla þverss í mót; adrir mæla "þat," &c.

<sup>1</sup> framferð, T.

<sup>2</sup> So U.; stad, only, T.

<sup>3</sup> ædr, T.

<sup>4</sup> fullnat, T.

<sup>5</sup> sína, T.

<sup>6</sup> ær, T.

<sup>7</sup> æru, T.

<sup>8</sup> aufundarmenn, T.

<sup>9</sup> kvedia, T.

<sup>10</sup> föðr, T.

<sup>11</sup> farleingd, T.

<sup>12</sup> fram, T.

even as he had sworn in his consecration, and hold therefore the Roman mother in duty bound to strengthen him in his lawful proceedings, but that she may nowise fight against him, whom she ought to strengthen in all good things. It may well be said, that the cardinals divided amidst quarrelling into two factions, inasmuch as some became confounded from greed, others from fear for the pope, or themselves, in case king Henry should not be able to carry his affair fully out; these therefore will listen to nought that may aid onward the case of the archbishop, nor will they kiss his messengers when they come to the court. This grieveth the two companions sorely, as they well understand, that these are friends of king Henry, but are men who bear the archbishop malice. Yet suchwise did the Lord speed their errand that, poor as they were, they got, the same day they came there, leave to go before the lord pope himself, even sooner than the bishops themselves well furnished with wealth. But when they enter, they salute the apostolic lord worthily, even as was due, whereupon they bring him a humble greeting from their reverend father Thomas. They say that they have come there for the purpose of making known unto the lord pope, how it fareth with the archbishop. Now, with the leave of the lord pope they begin first by relating, how archbishop Thomas was persecuted at Northampton by king Henry and his lords; then, how he saved himself by a secret flight; then, how far he had had to journey, and what travelling hardships he had been put to by land and by sea, even all the way unto the monastery of St. Bertin. But when pope Alexander

1164. hann við ok klökkur<sup>1</sup> af huggæði, enn talar síðan :  
 “ Thómas erkibyskup,” sagði hann, “ lifir enn í líkam-  
 “ anum, ok þó krúnast hann þegar með þíslarvættis fegrð  
 “ í andanum.” Svá segir hann blezaðr, ok gefr sendi-  
 boðum erkibyskups<sup>2</sup> blítt orlof með<sup>3</sup> postoligri blezan 5  
 til síns herbergis.

King  
Henry's  
ambassadors  
are heard in  
consistorio.

Gilbert  
Foliot  
speaks.

Enn þegar á næsta morgin, sem cardinales eru<sup>4</sup> samt  
 komnir í consistorio herra páfans, kallast þagat sendi-  
 boðar Heinreks konungs, bæði byskupar ok leikmenn.  
 Þar koma ok sendimenn heilags Thóme, at þeir megi 10  
 heyra hvat gerist, þótt þeir standi lægra ok flyti  
 færra. Sem kominn er<sup>5</sup> heyriligr<sup>6</sup> tími stefnu þeirar,  
 sýnir enn Gillibert af Lundúnum sína mikilmennsku,  
 því at hann stendr fyrstr upp, ok tekr svá til eyrendis  
 upp á persónu páfans. “ Heilagr faðir,” sagði hann, 15  
 “ almennilig stjórn heilagrar Guðs kristni víkr at yðr  
 “ þeiri forsjó yfir andligum sonum yðrum, at þeir, er  
 “ vel vilja, styrkist með yðvarri röksemd<sup>6</sup> þat gera,  
 “ sem þeir skilja rétt,<sup>7</sup> enn þeir rangt skilja með  
 “ illum vilja, sè<sup>8</sup> af páfaligu valdi svá hirtir, at þeir 20  
 “ snarist frá illu ok geri gott. Sá maðr trúist eigi  
 “ yðarri vizku<sup>9</sup> vel líka, er sèr einum trúir, ok eingis  
 “ manns ráð vill heyra, utan<sup>10</sup> heldr gera alt með bræði  
 “ ok sínu einræði, berandi sundrlyndi meðal vár byskup-  
 “ anna, at hverr hati annan, virða<sup>11</sup> eingis vald ok vilja 25  
 “ konungs af Englandi, nema heldr leggja hans herradóm  
 “ svá ódýrt sem als ekki. Svá veit vit, sem ek kann  
 “ segja yðr, at nýliga hefir upp sprungit mikit missætti  
 “ millum kirkjunnar ok konungs í Englandi, er auð-

<sup>1</sup> klaukr, T.

<sup>2</sup> So U.; *arkibiskup*, T.

<sup>3</sup> So U.; *m* only in T.

<sup>4</sup> *eru*, T.

<sup>5</sup> *er*, T.

<sup>6</sup> *rauhsemd*, T.

<sup>7</sup> *reit*, T.

<sup>8</sup> *sic*, T.

<sup>9</sup> *vitzku*, T.

<sup>10</sup> *utan*, T.

<sup>11</sup> This infinitive, as well as *leggja* in the following line, must be considered as being governed by *vill* in l. 23.

had heard this tale, he was moved thereat, and he softened in the kindness of his heart, whereupon he spoke as follows:—

“ Archbishop Thomas,” said he, “ liveth still in the body, and yet he is already being crowned in the spirit with the glory of martyrdom.”

Thus speaketh he, the blessed one, and giveth to the messengers of the archbishop sweet leave with apostolic benediction to go to their chamber.

But, the next morning, as soon as ever the cardinals are assembled in the consistory of the lord pope, the messengers of king Henry are called thither, both bishops and laymen. There too come the messengers of the holy Thomas, in order that they may hear, what cometh to pass, though they stand lower, and have less to say. When the due hour of that assembly hath come, Gilbert of London showeth off his greatness once more, being the first to rise ; whereupon he thus commenceth addressing the pope in person:—

“ Holy father,” said he, “ the catholic governance of the holy church of God imposeth upon you the duty of taking care of your spiritual sons, in order that those who are men of good will may be strengthened through your authority to do that, which they understand to be right, but that those, whose understanding goeth wrong through ill-will, be so chastised by the power of the pope, that they turn away from evil, and do that which is good. It is not to be believed that such an one can be well loved by your wisdom, who believeth in himself only, and will lend ear to no man’s counsel, but rather chooseth to do all things rashly and wilfully, bringing about discord among us bishops, that each may hate the other, and choosing to hold of no worth the power and the will of the king of England, nay, far rather to value his lordship as cheaply as even nought at all. Now matters stand thus, even as I can tell you that, of late, great discord has sprung up between the church and the king of England, which would have been



1164. “ veldliga <sup>1</sup> myndi lægzt hafa, ef góðvili <sup>2</sup> ok vizka hefði  
 “ um geingit meirr með stilling enn stríðu, meirr með  
 “ ráði enn rasandi forsi. Thómas erkibyskup eignast  
 “ þann lut, at heyra eingis manns ráð, eigi heldr vár  
 “ byskupanna enn annara, ok því fær <sup>3</sup> hann með sinni 5  
 “ frammleypi <sup>4</sup> þat er hann fýsir, þat er únáð ok  
 “ margfaldr <sup>5</sup> órói, er <sup>6</sup> sturlar <sup>7</sup> friðsama menn. því at  
 “ hans ákefð gefr eingu <sup>8</sup> gaum, eigi tímunum, ei skyn-  
 “ semd, <sup>9</sup> heldr egndi hann sér ok oss byskupunum þær <sup>10</sup>  
 “ snörur, at ef vor vizka hefði eigi skilit þá sömu þjálma, 10  
 “ myndi þessi mál enn til verri lykta leitt <sup>11</sup> hafa. Enn  
 “ síðan vèr forðuðumst hans umsátir, sneri hann sínum  
 “ glæp upp á herra konunginn, at vanvirða svá alt hans  
 “ ráð ok ríki. Hèr með úfrægði hann oss, bræðr sína,  
 “ ok til þess, at hann mætti bæði konunginum ok oss 15  
 “ fyrirmæla, vann hann svá úheyrdan lut, <sup>12</sup> at hann flýði  
 “ sitt fóstrland fyrir utan ógn ok afarkosti. því má  
 “ honum vel segjast, at hann flýrr hinn ómildi, þótt eingi  
 “ bjóði honum ofríki.” <sup>13</sup> Sem hère er komit eyrindi <sup>14</sup>  
 byskupsins, talar herra páfinn. <sup>15</sup> “ þyrm, bróðir !” sagði 20  
 hann. Gillibert svarar : “ Sannliga mun ek þyrma  
 “ honum.” Herra páfinn segir : “ Eigi biðjum vèr, at  
 “ þú <sup>16</sup> þyrmir honum, heldr sjálfum þèr.” Við þessi  
 orð sljófar svá Drottinn vit ok skilning byskupsins,  
 at eigi gekk síðan orð af hans munn.

25

He is  
 snubbed by  
 the pope.

<sup>1</sup> *auduelliga*, T.

<sup>2</sup> *godvika*, T.

<sup>3</sup> *ferr*, T.

<sup>4</sup> *framleypi*, T.

<sup>5</sup> So U.; *marfaldr*, T.

<sup>6</sup> *ær*, T.

<sup>7</sup> *sturlar*, T.

<sup>8</sup> *eyngu*, T.

<sup>9</sup> So U.; *skynsend*, T.

<sup>10</sup> *þær*, T.

<sup>11</sup> *leidt*, T.

<sup>12</sup> *lyt*, T.

<sup>13</sup> So U.; *afriki*, T.; *af ríki*, i.e. out of the realm, B.; and *bjóði*

*honum af ríki* would then mean “ order him out of the realm,” to which, on second thought, Prof. Unger gives preference to *ofriki*; but a similar speech of Gilbert's is found in Alan, Migne, cxc. 218, and Gervase, 1395, winding up with the proverbial saying: *fugit impius nemine persequente*, of which our text is a close translation; but *afriki* or *af ríki* are simple blunders.

<sup>14</sup> *eyrindi*, T.

<sup>15</sup> *pauinn*, T.

<sup>16</sup> *þv*, T.

“allayed right easily, if good-will and wisdom had gone between with quiet rather than strife, with heed rather than headlong insolence. It belongeth to archbishop Thomas to listen to no man’s counsel, to that of us bishops no more than to that of others, and therefore he gaineth by his hastiness even that which he desireth, worry, to wit, and manifold trouble, which confoundeth peaceful folk. For his eagerness giveth heed to nothing, neither time, nor reason; far rather did he set up for himself and us bishops snares which, had our wisdom not betimes taken heed of these very trammels, these matters would have come even to a worse end. But when we had escaped his waylayings, he turned his wicked folly against the king, throwing contempt on all his council and rule. Besides this, he cast shame on us, his brethren, and in order that he might curse both the king and ourselves, he committed such an unheard-of deed as to flee away from his native land, without being overawed or threatened with hard dealings. Of him it may therefore well be said: ‘the wicked fleeth though no one ‘pursue him.’” Now when the bishop had got thus far in his harangue, the lord pope speaketh:—

“Spare, brother,” said he.

Answered Gilbert:—

“Certes, I will spare him.”

The lord pope answered:—

“Nay, we pray not that thou spare him, but rather thyself.”

At these words the Lord so blunteth the wit and the understanding of the bishop, that after this not one word did proceed from his mouth.

1164.  
Hilary of  
Chichester  
speaks.

Enn Hilarius byskup tekr síðan til máls, er meira traust hefir á snjöllum frammburð<sup>1</sup> glæsiligra<sup>2</sup> orða, enn á sannindum<sup>3</sup> mætra skynsemda. Hann segir svá til herra páfans.: “Heilagr<sup>4</sup> faðir,”<sup>5</sup> segir hann, “yðarri hæð ok heilagleik til heyrir aftr at kalla ok endr-<sup>6</sup> bæta,<sup>7</sup> utan<sup>7</sup> alla dvöl, til friðsamligrar farsældar ok rættrar uppreistar, hvat er kristni Guðs ok almúganum verðr til áskilnaðar, sem nú hafð<sup>8</sup> þær heyrtr af Lundúna byskupi um hríð. Þær megit eigi dissimulera, ef eins manns vanstilli sturlar heilaga<sup>10</sup> kristni með dul ok drambvísi, ok þess kœstar at hvern hatu annan. Harmr er oss þat, er Thómas erkibyskup hafnar hvers<sup>9</sup> manns ráðum, ok diktar svá meinliga útvegu með sínu einræði, at hann megi sèr ok sínum herra konunginum, þar með lærðum<sup>15</sup> ok leikfólki, sem mestar únáðir inn bera. Enn slík framferð<sup>10</sup> í kristni Guðs heyrir á eingan veg svá mikilsháttar persónu, ok því skildust þeir réttlaga vit hans fors ok ráðleysi, sem áðr voru hans undir-<sup>20</sup> menn af skyldunni.” Byskupinn talar svá snjalla<sup>20</sup> latínu, sem hvert orð væri<sup>11</sup> skreytt, ok því þíkkir mönnum sem nokkur veraldlig<sup>12</sup> gleði, hversu listuliga hann þykkist sína tölu greiða. Hæðan gerist svá, at hlátr mikill brestr upp í herberginu, því at menn höfðu lengi bundizt. Hær með leggr honum einn ríkr<sup>25</sup> maðr byskupinum svá fallin orð: “Seint ok illa komtu

He is  
laughed at  
and reviled.

<sup>1</sup> *framburd*, T.

<sup>2</sup> *glæsiliga*, T.

<sup>3</sup> *sannindum*, T.

<sup>4</sup> So altered by the editor; *heidarligr*, honourable, T., which is an inadmissible title in addressing the holy father, and is, no doubt, a scribe's blunder. In Alan, l. c., where a similar speech of Hilary is recorded, it begins with “Domine

pater;” in Gervase, l. c., with “pater” simply.

<sup>5</sup> *fad*, T.

<sup>6</sup> *ennrætr*, T.

<sup>7</sup> *utan*, T.

<sup>8</sup> *haf*, T.

<sup>9</sup> *huers*, T.

<sup>10</sup> *framferd*, T.

<sup>11</sup> *ueri*, T.

<sup>12</sup> *uerallig*, T.

But next to him speaketh bishop Hilary, he who trusteth more in a clear-spoken delivery of smart words, than in the truthfulness of meet reasoning. He speaketh thus to the lord pope :—

“ Holy father,” says he, “ it cometh to your highness  
“ and holiness to call back and restore, without tarry-  
“ ing, to peaceful happiness and just righting whatso-  
“ ever bringeth about estrangement between God’s  
“ church and the commonalty, after the manner ye have  
“ just heard of for a while from the bishop of London.  
“ It behoveth you, not to wink at such a thing as the  
“ foolhardiness of one man disturbing holy church by  
“ presumption and overweening pride, and endeavouring  
“ to bring it about, that people should hate one another.  
“ It is indeed a great sorrow to us, that archbishop  
“ Thomas spurneth the advice of every one, and con-  
“ triveth by his wilfulness such means of escape as may  
“ bring the greatest trouble upon himself, and his lord  
“ the king, and thereby, too, upon learned folk and lewd  
“ alike. But doings of this kind within the church  
“ beseem nowise such a great person, wherefore they  
“ were right in parting from his insolence and reck-  
“ lessness, who formerly were under him by duty.”  
The bishop speaketh such smart Latin, as if every word  
were decked in elegance, and folk think it somewhat  
of a worldly glee to watch, how gracefully he himself  
deemeth he delivereth his speech. Hence it cometh to  
pass, when the people had long restrained themselves,  
that a great laughter bursteth up in the hall, where-  
amidst a certain lord casteth on the bishop these  
words :—

“ Late and ill didst thou come to harbour.”

1164. " til hafnar." <sup>1</sup> Í þessu orði gerir Guð byskupinn svá þöglan, <sup>2</sup> sem hann hafi látið tunguna.

Roger of  
York speaks.

Enn er Roðgeirr erkibyskup af Jork sèr þat, hversu þessir tveir hafa farit, hugleiðir hann nú með sèr, at honum skal eigi svá takast, at nokkurr <sup>3</sup> veiti honum <sup>5</sup> hlátr fyrir sína vanstilli, heldr skal hann temprá sik með megni, hvat sem honum býr í skapi. Hann hefr svá sitt mál til herra páfans: " Verk ok vili Kantu-  
" ariensis erkibyskups frá upphafi eru <sup>4</sup> eingum kunnari  
" enn sjálfum mèr, ok því kann ek lýsa, hver <sup>5</sup> hans <sup>10</sup>  
" lund er, at þat er hann hefir statt um sinn, mun  
" hann eigi auðveldliga <sup>6</sup> um vanda; ok því má skilja,  
" at þat hugar harðindi <sup>7</sup> hefir hann fætt með löngum  
" úvana, fyrir þá grein, at hann prófaðist jafnan maðr  
" svá þrágjarn. Því sèr ek eigi líkara útveg honum <sup>15</sup>  
" til hirtingar, enn yður <sup>8</sup> skilning ok skipan leggi  
" honum heilt ráð með harðri hendi, svá at hann  
" megi kenna sjálfan sik." Sem hèr er komit tölunni, <sup>9</sup>  
" hvílist hann litla hríð, enn legg'r síðan til þessi orð:  
" þat vænti ek," sagði hann, " at þeim, er undirstanda <sup>20</sup>  
" mín orð ok vorn vanda Englistanna, nægist <sup>10</sup> vel,  
" þótt ek tali eigi lengra." <sup>11</sup> Sem hann þagnar, talar  
Bartholomeus svá til herra páfans: " Heilagr faðir,"  
sagði hann, " þetta mál þarf eigi draga mönnum til  
" mæðu með orðafjölda; því at svá mikit efni geingr <sup>25</sup>  
" eigi til vegar, fyrr enn Thómas erkibyskup er nær. <sup>12</sup>

Bartholo-  
meus of  
Exeter  
speaks.

<sup>1</sup> The translator's original has evidently not known the reason for the laughter, which Alan records, ib. 219: "Et certe virum tantæ auctoritatis id non decuit, nec oportuit, nec aliquando oportuebat." [Ita grammatisabat Hilarius Cicestrencis dicendo: Oportuebat.] . . . Audito igitur qualiter facundus ille grammaticus prosiliret de portu in portum, soluti sunt in risum universi. Inter quos unus

. . . inquit: "Male tandem venisti ad portum."

<sup>2</sup> þaughlan, T.

<sup>3</sup> nokkur, T.

<sup>4</sup> ærs, T.

<sup>5</sup> huerr, T.

<sup>6</sup> auðuelliga, T.

<sup>7</sup> hardinni, T.

<sup>8</sup> ydr, T.

<sup>9</sup> tauhenni, T.

<sup>10</sup> negiz, T.

<sup>11</sup> leingra, T.

<sup>12</sup> nærr, T.

At this word God rendereth the bishop so reft of speech, as if he had lost the tongue.

But when Roger, archbishop of York, seeth how these twain have fared, he thinketh to himself that he shall not proceed in such a way, as that any man should laugh him to scorn for his rashness, but shall temper himself by all his might, despite whatsoever may abide in his mind. He thus beginneth his address to the pope :—

“The works and the will of the archbishop of Canterbury, from the beginning, are known to no man better than to myself, and therefore I can bring to light what his temper is ; for what he has once resolved, he will not readily reverse ; therefore it standeth to reason, that this stubbornness of will he must needs have nourished by long evil habit even therefore, that he has always been found to be a man of obstinate bent of mind. I see therefore no measure more likely to serve as chastisement for him, than this that your wisdom and commandment minister to him a wholesome counsel with a hard hand, so that he may acknowledge his fault.”

Having proceeded thus far in his speech, he resteth a little while, but afterwards addeth these words :—

“I hope,” said he, “that those who understand my words and the wont of us Englishmen, be well content though I speak no further.”

When he is silent Bartholomew speaketh to the pope :—

“Holy father,” said he, “it behoveth nowise to drag this affair on, and thus to be troubling people with a multitude of words, for this great matter cannot be brought to settlement until archbishop Thomas is pre-

1164. " því biðjum vèr yðart vald, at þèr skipit þá legatos  
 " af yðru sæti, at þessum málavöxtum veiti lögligt  
 " próf, ok yðr svá flyti, sem fallit er." Eigi talar  
 hann fleira. Vigornensis byskup þagði á stefnu þessi,  
 ok má þat trúast af góðum vilja; því at Thómas erki- 5  
 byskup var vígslufaðir hans, sem fyrr sagði. Enn  
 þessu næst stendr upp jarlinn.<sup>1</sup> Vilhjálmr af Arun-  
 dinel, biðr orlofs at tala nokkur orð, ok því gefnu hefr  
 hann svá sína ræðu: " Heilagr faðir," sagði hann, " hvat  
 " er byskupar þessir hafa talað um stund, er oss með 10  
 " öllu leynt, er eigi undirstöndum latínu; því hæfir  
 " oss, eftir voru viti at gera yðr kunnigt, til hvers  
 " vèr erum<sup>2</sup> sendir á yðarn fund af mínum herra  
 " konunginum. Eigi er þat vart eyrendi, at efla  
 " þrætur<sup>3</sup> eðr<sup>4</sup> meinmæli,<sup>5</sup> einkanliga sízt fyrir svá 15  
 " ágætum herra, sem þèr erut, hvers boði ok banni  
 " öll<sup>6</sup> kristnin hneigir ok alt jarðríki lýðir; heldr  
 " erum<sup>7</sup> vèr komnir, at bera yðr bréf ok eyrindi míns  
 " herra, konungsins af Englandi, birtandi þann góðvilja,  
 " er hann venst<sup>8</sup> at venda<sup>9</sup> til yðar ok enn vendir 20  
 " hann. Enn fyrir hverja mátti hann sína gæzku<sup>10</sup>  
 " ok góðvilja yðr kunnan gera nema<sup>11</sup> voldugustu  
 " menn<sup>12</sup> af sínum löndum? Hefði hann þessum  
 " æðri<sup>13</sup> fundit, væri<sup>14</sup> þeir gjarna hèr komnir, sakir  
 " yðvarrar tignar. Vel<sup>15</sup> er ok minniligt, hvílíkan veg 25  
 " ok virðing minn herra konungrinn<sup>16</sup> veitti yðr ok  
 " heilagri Róma kirkju í vígslu sinni, þá er hann<sup>17</sup>  
 " setti sik ok alt sitt góz<sup>18</sup> undir yðart vald ok vilja,  
 " ok þat má með sönnu segjast, upp á mína trú, at

William,  
 earl of  
 Arundel,  
 speaks in  
 the vernac-  
 ular.

<sup>1</sup> iarlínn, T.

<sup>2</sup> arum, T.

<sup>3</sup> þretur, T.

<sup>4</sup> ædr, T.

<sup>5</sup> meinmæli, T.

<sup>6</sup> aull, T.

<sup>7</sup> arum, T.

<sup>8</sup> uenst, T.

<sup>9</sup> uænda, T.

<sup>10</sup> gæzku, T.

<sup>11</sup> næma, T.

<sup>12</sup> So U.; m'm, T.

<sup>13</sup> ædrir, T.

<sup>14</sup> væri, T.

<sup>15</sup> Væl, T.

<sup>16</sup> So U.; konunginn, T.

<sup>17</sup> hann added in U.

<sup>18</sup> góðr, T.

“ sent. I therefore pray your might, that you ordain  
“ legates from your see to make a lawful inquiry into  
“ all these matters, in order to report to you the case  
“ even as it is.”

He speaketh nought more.

The bishop of Worcester was silent at this meeting, and from good-will, belike, since archbishop Thomas was his father by consecration, as is said afore.

But next to this standeth up the earl William of Arundel, praying for leave to speak a few words, the which having been granted him, he beginneth his speech in this wise :—

“ Holy father,” said he, “ what these bishops have  
“ been speaking now a while is utterly hidden to us,  
“ who do not understand Latin ; it behoveth, therefore,  
“ that I make known unto you on what errand  
“ we are sent hither to meet you from my lord the  
“ king. My errand is nowise to swell strife or harm-  
“ ful language, and least of all indeed before such an  
“ excellent lord as you are, to whose bid and ban all  
“ Christianity boweth, and whom all the realms of earth  
“ obey ; but rather have we come to bring you letters and  
“ message from my lord, the king in England, in order to  
“ show forth that good-will which he has been wont to  
“ bear, and still beareth you. But through whom could  
“ he make known unto you his devotion and good-will,  
“ but through the mightiest men in his lands ? Had he  
“ found any persons still nobler than these are, he would  
“ have sent them for the sake of your exaltedness. It is  
“ also well to be borne in mind, what honour and worship  
“ my lord the king paid to you and the holy church of  
“ Rome in his coronation, when he put himself and all  
“ his goods under your power and will ; and, in sooth,  
“ I can testify, on my faith, that than the lord king of



1164. " herra konunginum í Englandi finst eingi veraldar  
 " stjórnari til friðargæzlu<sup>1</sup> traustari ok til yðar góð-  
 " fúsari. Svá er<sup>2</sup> ok eigi síðr Thómas Cantuariensis  
 " erkibyskup vel vorðinn í sínu<sup>3</sup> valdi ok vígslu<sup>4</sup>;  
 " því at hann er<sup>5</sup> bæði skygn at greina sik ok aðra,<sup>5</sup>  
 " þótt nokkurum sýnist hann nokkut forr ok fram-  
 " hvass. Ok ef þessi sturlan væri<sup>6</sup> eigi til vor inn-  
 " komin, mundu lærðir ok leikmenn með fagnaði lifa  
 " undir góðum konungi ok hinum bazta<sup>7</sup> erkibyskupe.<sup>8</sup>  
 " því er<sup>9</sup> sú vár bæn einkanlig til yðar, heilagr faðir, 10  
 " at yðart vald ok mildi beri þá forsjó,<sup>10</sup> at þetta stríð  
 " mætti líða, enn friðr formerast með fagnaði sannrar  
 " elsku." Jarlinn<sup>11</sup> talaði svá heiðarliga upp á sína  
 " móðurtungu,<sup>12</sup> at margir lofuðu mjök.

His speech  
is cheered.

The ambas-  
sadors en-  
deavour to  
get the pope  
to declare  
the king in  
the right,  
but without  
avail.

Margt var talað á stefnu þeiri, því at sendiboðar 15  
 Heinreks konungs höfðu margan útbjót,<sup>13</sup> at hans vili  
 mætti fullgerast.<sup>14</sup> Sú er ein þeira umleitan, at herra  
 páfínn dæmi konunginn réttvísan í öllum skiftum  
 þeira erkibyskups; ok eigi er fegra, enn þetta flytja  
 með þeim nokkurir cardinales, er meirr elska presentur 20  
 Heinreks konungs enn frumtign heilagrar kirkju. Enn  
 í þessarri raun stendr vel herra páfínn, því at hann  
 óttast vel Skapara sinn, ok þíkkist víst vita, fyrir skil-  
 ríkra manna flutning, at allar gerðir Heinreks konungs,  
 er at víkja kirkjunni, eru<sup>15</sup> með eingum<sup>16</sup> hætti lög- 25

<sup>1</sup> *fridargæzlu*, T.

<sup>2</sup> *er*, T.

<sup>3</sup> So U.; *sinnu*, T.

<sup>4</sup> *uitrleik*, T. I have ventured the alteration on the following grounds: I can make T.'s reading yield no satisfactory sense; the reading of T. *sinnu* (note 3) before *valdi* seems to indicate that the scribe's mind was influenced by a following feminine noun (*vígslu*?) to which he inclined to let the possessive pronoun refer rather than to the neuter *vald*; lastly, in Gervase and Alan the corresponding Latin words are: "in suo gradu et ordine." It

is conceivable that *vígslu* was first corrupted into *uitzku*, and that again into *uitrleik*.

<sup>5</sup> *er*, T.

<sup>6</sup> *veri*, T.

<sup>7</sup> After *bazta* T. adds *konungi ok*.

<sup>8</sup> *archibiskupa*, T.

<sup>9</sup> *er*, T.

<sup>10</sup> So U.; *forsio*, T.

<sup>11</sup> *jarlinn*, T.

<sup>12</sup> *modrtungu*, T.

<sup>13</sup> *vitriot*, T.

<sup>14</sup> *fulgeraz*, T.

<sup>15</sup> *aru*, T.

<sup>16</sup> *eyngum*, T.

“ England no ruler on earth is found trustier for the  
“ upholding of the peace, or of greater good-will to-  
“ wards yourself. So also has archbishop Thomas of  
“ Canterbury shown himself no less duly fitted for  
“ his office and order, for he is both clear-sighted in  
“ searching himself and others, although to some he may  
“ seem somewhat forward and eager-minded. And if  
“ this trouble had not come upon us, learned men and  
“ layfolk would live joyfully together under a good  
“ king and the best of archbishops. It is therefore our  
“ inwardest prayer to you, holy father, that your power  
“ and grace bring such foresight to bear, as that this  
“ strife might pass by, but peace might be established  
“ in the rejoicing of true love.”

This honourable speech the earl delivered in his mother-tongue, in such manner as to gain much praise from many people therefore.

Many things were spoken at this meeting; for the messengers of king Henry tried many a shift that his will might be fulfilled. And one of the things they endeavour to bring about is this, that the lord pope judge the king rightwise in all dealings that have passed between him and the archbishop; and, shame to say, the messengers are backed herein by some of the cardinals, who love more the presents of king Henry, than the primacy of the holy church. But in this trial the lord pope standeth steadfast, duly fearing his Creator, and deeming also that he knoweth for sure, through the representation of honest-minded folk, that none of the deeds of king Henry which have aught to do with the church are in any way fit to be passed into law. This

1164. leiðandi. Sá er annarr bænastaðr konungsmanna, at herra páfinn bjóði Thómasi erkibyskupi upp á hlýðni, at hann fari heim í England til kirkju sinnar, ok geri eingum manni únáðir upp hēðan. Alexander páfi dvelr þat, því at honum þikkir uggligt,<sup>1</sup> ef svá gerist, 5 at skifti þeira konungs ok erkibyskups fari nokkut líkt sem miðil herra dýflizunnar ok bandingjans, þá er annarr lemr, enn annarr liggr undir. Sem þetta hvártki<sup>2</sup> veitist, er<sup>3</sup> sú þriðja umleitan, at herra páfinn geri sína sendiboða til Englands, at prófa málin ok 10 úrskurða síðan, allri appelleran fráskildri. Ok þetta sýnist herra páfanum vel sagt á nokkurn hátt, ok þó ferr hann undan þessum veg, því at hann treystir eingum<sup>4</sup> sínum undirmönnum til þeirar réttvísí, at þeir standi úhallir í þeim hæðar mun, sem nú sýndist 15 í millum konungs ok erkibyskups; ok því lyktar<sup>5</sup> svá stefnuna, at sendiboðar þiggja með öllu ekki<sup>6</sup> utan þat, at herra páfinn gefr þeim orlof ok eggjar, at þeir bíði þar Thóme erkibyskups,<sup>7</sup> því at í hans fráveru segir hann<sup>8</sup> eingan veg á geranda málinu. 20 Ganga svá sendiboðar út af stefnunni, at heldr vit hót, hversu<sup>9</sup> þat muni lýða, er konunginn í Englandi skal eingis virða, segjast eigi þora, upp á sinn háls, at dveljast lengr<sup>10</sup> í kuria, enn þeim var boðit, ok skiljast með lítilli blezan vit svá búit. Ríða þeir svá brutt 25 af Sainz, at flestra<sup>11</sup> þeira orð voru meirr harðlig enn heilaglig, meirr með reiði enn réttvísí. Ok því fari þeir nú, sem vegr vísar, enn vèr snúum þessu næst til hins heilaga Thómam, þar sem hann<sup>12</sup> var uppgefinn í klaustri Sancti Bertini. 30

Thirdly, they propose that the pope have the dispute settled in England by legates. This he also declines to do.

The ambassadors return.

<sup>1</sup> uggligt, T.

<sup>2</sup> huarki, T.

<sup>3</sup> er, T.

<sup>4</sup> eyngum, T.

<sup>5</sup> lyktar, T.

<sup>6</sup> æcki, T.

<sup>7</sup> erkibyskup, T.

<sup>8</sup> segir hann, U., correctly; segia þeir, T.

<sup>9</sup> huersau, T.

<sup>10</sup> leingr, T.

<sup>11</sup> fleistra, T.

<sup>12</sup> hann added in U.

is another proposition of the king's men, that the lord pope order archbishop Thomas by virtue of his vow of obedience to return home to England to his church, and give henceforth trouble to no man. This the pope Alexander putteth off, because it misdoubteth him that, if this were done, the dealings between the king and the archbishop would go after the fashion of those between the gaoler and the prisoner, where one smiteth whilst the other lieth alow. Now when neither of these things is granted, the third proposal is this, that the lord pope send his legates to England, to inquire into these affairs, and then to give decision therein, all appeal being excluded. This seemeth to the pope to be in a certain measure a fair request, yet he holdeth back from following this way, because he trusteth none of the men under him to such rightwiseness as to stand untottering amid that disparity of station, which now was seen to be between the king and the archbishop. The meeting therefore came suchwise to an end, that the ambassadors got nought granted of their requests at all, but this, that the pope giveth them leave to go, exhorting them however at the same time to await the coming of archbishop Thomas ; for in his absence, he saith, the affair may nowise be brought about. Now the messengers walk away from the meeting in such wise, that they well nigh hold out threats, as to how such a thing might be borne with, that the king of England should be held of no worth ; they say, moreover, that, as they regard their necks, they dare tarry at the pope's court no longer than they were bidden ; and at things thus done they depart with a scanty blessing. So they ride away from Sens, in such a manner, that the words of most of them were rather those of hardness than holiness, those of wrath rather than of rightwiseness. Let them, therefore, fare as the way wendeth, while next we turn to the blessed Thomas, whereas we left him in the monastery of St. Bertin.

116A.

## KAP. XLII.

## THÓMAS KOM Í CURIA.

Sendiboðar herra Thómas erkibyskups voru nær<sup>1</sup> ok heyrðu, sem fyrr var sagt, hvat er framm<sup>2</sup> fór í dagþingan fyrir herra páfanum, ok því taka þeir blítt<sup>3</sup> 5 orlof með postoligri blezan,<sup>4</sup> aftr vendandi sínum veg. Hafa þeir at flytja sínum herra þau tíðindi, sem heldr blíðast hann með, bæði af herra páfanum ok Frakka konungi, svá ok at hans mótstöðumenn feingu ekki eyrendi. Því sýnist heilögum Guðs manni at finna<sup>10</sup> herra páfann fyrr enn síðar.<sup>5</sup> Veitir<sup>6</sup> Guð Drottinn honum nú þegar svá mikla huggan, at virðuligir menn koma til hans bjóðandi honum sitt fylgi upp í Franz, bæði honum til sæmdar ok trausts móti óvinum. Má þar til nefna tignastan mann, er heitir Milo Tarva-15 nensis byskup,<sup>7</sup> ok annan<sup>8</sup> Gottskal ábóta.<sup>9</sup> Svá ríðr herra erkibyskup út af klaustra heilags Bertini upp í Franz til þeirar borgar, er Suescon heitir, ok dvelz þar um nóttina. Ok þegar á næsta dag eftir með Guðs vilja kemr þar Hlöðvir<sup>10</sup> Frakka konungr, 20 sýnandi sælum Thómasi svá mikla<sup>11</sup> blíðu, at án dvöl geingr hann til þess herbergis, er erkibyskup sitr í. Verðr þar mikill fagnafundr með tveim góðum mönnum. Harmar herra konungrinn þær þynganir, er<sup>12</sup> erkibyskupinn hefir þolt, ok þar með segir hann 25

Becket's  
messengers  
return, and  
bring him  
good tidings.

Becket  
starts for  
Sens

He meets  
the French  
king at  
Soissons.

<sup>1</sup> *narr*, T.

<sup>2</sup> *fram*, T.

<sup>3</sup> *blíðt*, T.

<sup>4</sup> *blazan*, T.

<sup>5</sup> *sidarr*, T.

<sup>6</sup> *Weitir*, T.

<sup>7</sup> *i.e.* Milo II. Anglus, bishop of Terouane (Taravannæ), 1159–1169, see Roger, Migne, cxc, 90, where, through a misreading in Dr. Giles's edition, he is called Milo Carvanensis, and Herbert, *ib.* 1178: Milo tunc Teruanensis episcopus.—

*Rollu Treuernensis, i.e.* R. of Trèves, T., following, as it seems, no extant authority, unless the reading is traceable to the same source from which the Quad. Prior, fol. 24, bb, has got Milo Treuerensis.

<sup>8</sup> *annat*, T.

<sup>9</sup> Abbat of St. Bertin, 1163–1177, Gallia Christ. III. 499.

<sup>10</sup> *Hlauduir*, T.

<sup>11</sup> *mickla*, T.

<sup>12</sup> *ær*, T.

## CHAP XLII.

## HOW THOMAS COMETH TO THE POPE'S COURT.

The messengers of archbishop Thomas were anigh and overheard, as has been said before, what came to pass at the meeting this day before the lord pope; and therefore they take a loving leave with apostolic blessing, wending their way back again. They have to bring back to their lord tidings by which he waxeth right blithe, both from the lord pope and from the king of the French, with this news moreover, that his enemies could not carry out their errands. For this reason it seemeth good to God's man to go and meet the lord pope, sooner rather than later. And now God sendeth him such great comfort, that worshipful folk come to him and offer him their attendance through France, both for his honour and his safety against enemies. Among these men it may be fitting to name the noblest, hight Milo, bishop of Terouane, and another, the abbat Gotschal.

Now the archbishop rideth away from the monastery of the holy Bertin up into France to a certain city called Soissons, where he tarrieth over night. Straightway the next day Louis, the king of the French, cometh there, by the will of God, showing such great kindness to lord Thomas as that, without delay, he goeth to the chamber wherein the archbishop sitteth. And a meeting of great joyance the two good men had between them. The lord king grieveth over all the heavy trials which the archbishop has had to suffer, and therewithal he speaketh thus:—

1164. svá: "Alla þá náð ok nauðsyn, sem þær vilit af voru  
 " ríki þiggja, skal í yðru valdi vera. Góz<sup>1</sup> vart ok  
 " sannr góðvili skal yðr styrkja, svá lengi<sup>2</sup> sem várr<sup>3</sup>  
 " Herra þolir, at þær þurfit várra velgerða." Þenna  
 frjálsleika ok svá konungliga mildi þakkar hinn heil- 5  
 agi Thómas með fögrum orðum. Dvelst hann í Sue-  
 skon um nokkura daga, enn tekr síðan blítt<sup>4</sup> orlof.  
 Gerir Hlöðvir konungr hann svá vel af garði, at hann  
 fær<sup>5</sup> honum marga sveina af sínu hirðfólki, bæði til  
 vegarvísis, ok at hann hindri eingan lut þann í sinni 10  
 umreið, er hann þarf að<sup>6</sup> hafa. Svá kemr herra erki-  
 byskup í páfagarð, ok þær kominn finnr hann skjótt  
 ok brátt, at cardinales vanda sumir til hans lítilli  
 blíðu, ok skilr hann glögt,<sup>7</sup> hvaðan þat leiðir; enn  
 eigi því síðr fær<sup>8</sup> hann blítt orlof sama dag inn fyrir 15  
 herra páfann. Er þær líkt orðfelli ok fyrr var lesit af  
 Frakka konungi, því at rekstr ok mæðu erkibyskups  
 með útlegrðar þínu harmar herra páfann ok hans cardi-  
 nales, þeir er sín hjörtu sýndu með Guði. Ok eftir  
 litla stund talar svá herra páfann til erkibyskups: 20  
 " Nú, at sinni, bróðir vorr, munu þær taka hvíld ok  
 " herbergi, enn koma fyrir oss í morgin ok bræðr<sup>9</sup>  
 " vora með frammsettum<sup>10</sup> greinum, er snarast millum  
 " kirkjunnar ok konungs í Englandi." Þetta gerist  
 svá, at herra Thómas tekr blezan til herbergis. 25

He comes to  
 the pope's  
 court.

<sup>1</sup> *Godz*, T.

<sup>2</sup> *leingi*, T.

<sup>3</sup> *var*, T.

<sup>4</sup> *blídt*, T.

<sup>5</sup> *færr*, T.

<sup>6</sup> *ath*, T.

<sup>7</sup> *glaugt*, T.

<sup>8</sup> *færr*, T.

<sup>9</sup> *brædr*, T.

<sup>10</sup> *frammsettum*, T.

“ Whatever favours and needful things you may be pleased to accept in our kingdom shall be at your own disposal. Let our means and true good-will be your support as long as our Lord suffereth that you stand in need of our charity.”

This liberality and truly kingly bounteousness the holy Thomas thanketh for in fair words. In Soissons he tarrieth for several days, whereupon he taketh blithe leave. King Louis seeth him off in so goodly a fashion that he giveth him many knights from among his courtfolk both to be his guides, as also to see that he lack nought on his journey, whereof he may happen to stand in need. Thus the archbishop cometh to the court of the pope, and having arrived there, findeth out soon and swiftly, that some of the cardinals turn towards him a right scanty favour, and full clearly he understandeth whence such things must needs proceed; yet none the less he getteth, that very same day, sweet leave to come before the lord pope. Now words fall here much after the same fashion as those, whereof you read before concerning the king of the French, in that the lord pope, and the cardinals who show their hearts to be with God, grieve the worry and the trouble the archbishop hath had over and above the suffering of exile. And after a little while the lord pope speaketh thus to the archbishop:—

“ At present, brother, you will withdraw to your chamber and go to rest; but to-morrow you will come before us and our brethren, setting forth the matters which divide the church and the king in England.”

And so it falleth, that lord Thomas receiveth blessing and goeth to his chamber



## KAP. XLIII.

## ER THÓMAS LESS SAKIR.

Sem heilagr Thómas sitr náðugt í sínu herbergi, birtir hann klerkum sínum þá skipan herra páfans, at á næsta morgin er kemr skal honum tjást með greinum 5 áskilnaðar-efni þeira Heinreks konungs. Yrkir hann á þá, ef nokkurr vill þenna framburð<sup>1</sup> á sik taka. Enn þat er fjótt at flytja, at hær um segjast allir vanfærir, ok því skilr herra Thómas, at þessi vandi vill at honum lúta. Kemr nú svá tíma, at hann er innkallaðr ok 10 svo virðuliga tekinn af herra páfanum, at hann skipast rétt hitt næsta til sætis honum. Ok eftir hugsanar-tíma lítinn ætlar<sup>2</sup> erkibyskup, sakir páfans<sup>3</sup> virðingar, at flytja standandi sitt eyrindi; enn herra páfinn gerir honum signum, at hann siti. Síðan byrjar hann 15 sitt mál með þvílíku upphafi: “þat er mönnum kunnigt,” sagði hann, “at ek var forðum með Heinreki kon-“ ungi, ok þá bar ek hugsan fyrir því, at mik skyldi “eigi stórt greina mót hans vilja. Enn síðan Guð “Drottinn þoldi, at ek vikist þaðan í brott til nokk- 20 “urrar forsjó heilagrar kirkju, þótt óverðugr, sýndist “mèr, sem ek leiddist úr því rúmi, at gera alt sem “konungrinn vildi. Nú hefir ek lítt skipat mik önd- “verðan<sup>4</sup> hans vilja, ok þegar flýði frá mèr öll<sup>5</sup> hans “vinátta. Enn þótt hon hafi firzt mik um tíma, þarf 25 “ek þar um eingis manns fylgi, ef ek vil hana aftr “kaupa; því at ef ek segi já öllu því, er hann vill, þá “er hann sáttr vit mik. Nú þótt félagar mínir, enskir<sup>6</sup> “menn, orðfleyti þat, at ek hafi fyrir lausung eina

Becket sets  
forth his  
case in cu-  
ria.

<sup>1</sup> *framburd*, T.

<sup>2</sup> Editor's conjecture: *talar*, T.

<sup>3</sup> *pasuans*, T.

<sup>4</sup> *aunduerdan*, T.

<sup>5</sup> *auðl*, T.

<sup>6</sup> *einskir*, T.

## CHAP. XLIII.

## HOW THOMAS READETH OUT THE CHARGES.

Now when as the holy Thomas sitteth in quiet in his chamber, he maketh known to his clerks how the lord pope had commanded that on the next following morning should be laid before him under due heads, the causes of the contention between him and king Henry. He now calleth upon them, asking if any one of them will take it upon him to expound the matter. But it is a soon told tale, that for this task they all of them deem themselves unfit, and therefore lord Thomas understandeth that this difficult matter must needs fall to himself. Now cometh round the hour of his being called in, when such a worthy welcome is given to him by the lord pope, as to be shown to a seat even next unto him. Having sat a-thinking for a little while, the archbishop prepareth to rise, in order to deliver his speech standing out of reverence for the pope; but the lord pope maketh a sign to him to sit down. He then beginneth his delivery, setting out in the manner following:—

“It is known to people,” said he, “that once on a time I was with king Henry, when I was wont to give good heed to this one thought, that in no great matter should I run counter his will. But since the Lord God suffered that I should turn away thence to take upon me some oversight of holy church, unworthy though I were thereof, it seemed to me, that I had departed the place where it behoved me to do all things even as the king desired. Now have I set myself slightly against his will, and straightway all his friendship has fled away from me. Yet although it has estranged itself from me for a while, I am in need of no man’s aid, should I have a mind to buy it back again; for if I choose to say yea to all his will, he is at peace with me at once. Now although Englishmen, my fellow-countrymen, carry abroad the rumour that I have betaken myself out of

1164. "lyft<sup>1</sup> or mínu ættlandi, þá er<sup>2</sup> þat eigi fagr flutn-  
 "ingr.<sup>3</sup> Ef sekum manni þykkir jafnan sú meingerð  
 "mest, at útlægjast frá sínu fóstrlandi, þá sæmdi<sup>4</sup> mēr  
 "harðla lítt, at firrast mína kirkju, mína hjörð ok  
 "skyldu, ok þola þenna vansa útleğðar ok fátæktar<sup>5</sup>  
 "utan skynsemdar sök,<sup>6</sup> utan heldr at eins til lýtis ok  
 "ámælis. Ok hversu þat er í sannleik, kann vera  
 "með Guðs vilja, at hēr lýsist." Síðan bregðr<sup>6</sup> hann  
 upp rollu einni, er hann bar forðum af Clarenthun,  
 ok á standa vanar konungs í Englandi. Ok talar síðan<sup>10</sup>  
 til herra páfans : "Heilagr faðir," sagði hann, "hēr er  
 "mín útleğðar sök, ok ef þer orlofit, fari hon bæði  
 "samt hēr í dag undir yðra heyrn ok þann úrskurð,  
 "sem þer vilit á leggja, því at eigi kendi ek þat míns  
 "valds, at samþykkja þær<sup>7</sup> nýjungar, sem hēr standa<sup>15</sup>  
 "skrifaðar." Herra páfinn býðr, at þær<sup>7</sup> heyrist.  
 Síðan less erkibyskup.

The royal  
 customs.

Stendr þar svá í fyrstu, sem konungsmenn daktuðu,  
 at þvílíkir eru<sup>8</sup> konungs vanar í Englandi :

Ef lærða menn skilr á eðr<sup>9</sup> leikmenn, lærðan ok<sup>20</sup>  
 leikmann, um einhverja rentu eðr inntekt heilagrar  
 kirkju, þá skal þeira áskilnaðr prófast á konungs  
 garði ok úrskurðast.

Sá annarr :<sup>10</sup> Hvat sem tveim klerkum eðr<sup>11</sup> fleirum  
 verðr til áskilnaðar við leikmenn, komi þeir á konungs<sup>25</sup>  
 garð áðr<sup>12</sup> stefndir fyrir sýslumenn, ok eftir þeira  
 rannsak á máli klerkanna, sendist þeir um dóm bysk-  
 ups. Ok því svá, at konungs vald ok leikmenn  
 megi því framarr<sup>13</sup> skilja, með hvílkri skynsemd kirkj-

<sup>1</sup> lyftz, T.

<sup>2</sup> ar, T.

<sup>3</sup> flutningr, T.

<sup>4</sup> sendi, T.

<sup>5</sup> sauk, T.

<sup>6</sup> bragðr, T.

<sup>7</sup> þer, T.

<sup>8</sup> eru, T.

<sup>9</sup> ædr, T.

<sup>10</sup> annar, T.

<sup>11</sup> ædr, T.

<sup>12</sup> Editor's conjecture: ædr, T.  
 Cf. "clerici citati et accusati de  
 "quacumque re, moniti a justitia  
 "regis, venient in curiam ipsius,"  
 &c. Mansi. xxi. 1194.

<sup>13</sup> framarr, T.

“ the land of my kin out of mere treachery, it is certainly no fair rendering of the story. If a guilty man always findeth this the heaviest affliction, to be banished from his country, it would right ill beseem me to estrange myself from my church, my flock, my duty; and to suffer this dishonour of exile and poverty without any reasonable cause, for nought but mere blame and rebuke. Now, how the truth of the affair standeth, will, mayhap, by God’s will, be clear anon.” Then he taketh forth the roll, which he had carried erst away from Clarendon, whereon there stand written the customs of the king of England; and then speaketh to the lord pope:—

“ Holy father,” said he, “ here is the cause of my exile, and if you give leave thereto, then, to-day, let it both come to your hearing and undergo the decision which you are minded to pass thereon, for I did not deem that I had any power myself to consent to the novelties which stand written here.”

The lord pope ordereth them to be read. Whereupon the archbishop readeth.

First there standeth even this, which the king’s men dictated, that such as follow are the royal customs in England.

If differences arise between learned men and layfolk, between a clerk and a laic, about any rent or income of holy church, those differences shall be examined at the king’s court, and shall be decided even there.

Secondly. In whatsoever matter two or more clerks happen to be at variance with layfolk, let them come to the king’s court, having first received a summons through the bailiffs and, these having tried the cases of the clerks, let them be sent before the bishop’s court. This to be done, in order that the secular power and layfolk may know all the better with what wisdom the church frameth

1164. an semr sína dóma. Enn ef klerkr fellst fyrir vottum eðr<sup>1</sup> viðrgeingr, þá skal hann síðan einga vernd af kirkjunni hafa.

Sá þriði: Eingi erkibyskup eðr<sup>1</sup> ljóðbyskup, nè nokkurr af meirum formönnum kirkjunnar skal fara 5 brott af Englandi, nema með konungs orlofi, ok þó svá, at þeir sveri þann eið, at gera konunginum eingan vantrúnað í sinni bruttveru.

Sá fjórði: þótt leikmaðr hafi bannsettr verit af byskupi, skal hann eingan<sup>2</sup> eið sverja, áðr hann 10 leysist, heldr at eins framm<sup>3</sup> játta sik á dóm kirkjunnar.

Sá fimti: At sá skal eingi bannsetjast af byskupum, sem hefir konungs vald eðr<sup>4</sup> herradóm í landinu, fyrr enn konungr er fundinn eðr<sup>4</sup> hans umboðsmaðr; taki þá lands lögmaðr<sup>5</sup> til sín ok orskurði þat, er konung- 15 dæminu heyrir. Enn þat er justisar leyfa kirkjunni, fari til byskups.

Sætti:<sup>6</sup> Sú skal appelleran í Englandi, er erkidjárn gerir til byskups, eðr<sup>7</sup> ljóðbyskup til erkibyskups. Enn ef erkibyskup fyrirnemst at gera rétt af, skal 20 konungs vald þrýsta honum at dæma, því at til herra páfans skal eigi appellera brott af rkinu.

Sjöndi: Ef erkistóll, byskupssæti, ábótadæmi eðr<sup>7</sup> þríors eru<sup>8</sup> höfðingjalaus, fyrir fráfall sinna formanna, lúta þegar allar þessar eignir ok innrentur undir<sup>9</sup> 25 konungs garð til árligrar aftektar. Enn þann tíma sem konunginum líkar, at maðr kjósist í stað hins frammfarna,<sup>10</sup> kallar hann samt í sína kapellu þá lærða menn sem hann vill, at með þeira samþykkt ok sínu ráðuneyti kjósist formaðrinn. Ok í þeim sama stað 30 skal kjörinn eið vinna at vera konunginum trúr<sup>11</sup> til lífs ok lima ok veraldligrá<sup>12</sup> sæmda.

Sá er hinn áttandi: Ef sekr maðr rýfr lögsamda

<sup>1</sup> *ædr*, T.

<sup>2</sup> *eyngan*, T.

<sup>3</sup> *fram*, T.

<sup>4</sup> *ædr*, T.

<sup>5</sup> *laugmaðr*, T.

<sup>6</sup> *Sætt*, T.

<sup>7</sup> *ædr*, T.

<sup>8</sup> *æru*, T.

<sup>9</sup> *undir*, T.

<sup>10</sup> *framfarna*, T.

<sup>11</sup> *trúrr*, T.

<sup>12</sup> *veralligra*. T.

her judgments. But if a cleric be convicted on evidence or shall confess, let him have no defence thenceforth from the church.

Thirdly. No archbishop, or diocesan bishop, nor any one of the upper men of authority in the church shall go away from England, unless with the leave of the king, and yet only on the condition, that they swear to show the king no unfaith while they are away.

Fourthly. When a laic has been excommunicated by a bishop, he shall swear no oath before being absolved, but only appeal his case to the judgment of the church.

Fifthly. No person shall be excommunicated by the bishops who has on hand a royal office or lordship in the land, until the king or his steward has been seen on that matter, whereupon the justiciary of the country shall take the case in hand and give decision in those things which appertain unto the kingdom. But whatsoever the justices leave for the church, let that go before the bishop.

Sixthly. Let appeals in England be made in such way, that the archdeacon appeal to the bishop, and the diocesan bishop to the archbishop. But should the archbishop forbear dealing rightly with a case, the king's power shall press him to pass judgment thereon, for no appeal shall be allowed out of the realm to the lord pope.

Seventhly. When an arch-throne, a bishop's see, an abbatship, or a priory shall become reft of their heads by the death of their rulers, these estates with their revenues shall thereby fall to the crown, yielding thither their yearly income. But at such time as it pleaseth the king that a person should be chosen to fill the place of the departed, he will call together into his chapel such of the learned folk as he chooseth, that by their counsel and his consent the ruler be chosen. In this same place he who has thus been elected shall make an oath to be faithful to the king in life and limb and earthly honour.

Eighthly. If a guilty person break a lawful sum-

1164. stefnu byskups eðr<sup>1</sup> erkidjákns, má hann forboðast, enn eigi bannsetjast, ef hann er af þeiri borg, kastala, eðr<sup>1</sup> bæ, sem konunginum til heyrir; því at valdsmaðr af konungs hálfu yfir þeim stað, er<sup>2</sup> stefndr sitr í, skal gera<sup>3</sup> rétt af honum. Enn ef hann vanrækir, 5 sè<sup>4</sup> stefndr á konungs miskunn, ok þá má byskup hirta þat er hans er<sup>5</sup> í málinu.

Sá er hinn níunde<sup>6</sup> Heinreks konungs vani: Ef lærðan ok leikmann skilr á um einhverja eign, hvárt hon heyrir kirkju til eðr<sup>7</sup> konungs valdi, nefnist í 10 dóm þar yfir tólf menn af leikvaldi, hvárr rættara mælir; ok fari þat mál<sup>8</sup> hvárt er þeir dæma eftir atvikum, undir konungs vald eðr<sup>9</sup> kirkjunnar dómara.

## KAP. XLIV.

## ER THÓMAS YFIRVANN KARDINALES.

15

Some of the cardinals are opposed to Becket, especially William bishop of Pavia,

Sem hér er komit frammburði herra erkibyskups, birta kardinales, hverir þeir voru, ok hversu fjarri þeir fóru réttlætis veg í málum þessum, fyrir óleyfða vingan Heinreks konungs; ok má þó sèrliga nefna til þess efnis einn kærasta konungsins vin í curia, er heitir 20 herra Vilhjálmr kardinalis, byskup af þeiri borg, er<sup>10</sup> kallast Pavia.<sup>11</sup> Hann setr sik berliga framm<sup>12</sup> í fylgi með konunginum með svá mörgum útvegum, at þat aflar Guðs manni mikla mæðu á þeim degi, því at kardinalis sparir hvárki klerkdóm nè klókskap, at hafa 25

<sup>1</sup> *adr*, T.

<sup>2</sup> *ar*, T.

<sup>3</sup> So U.; *gert*, T.

<sup>4</sup> *sa*, T.

<sup>5</sup> *ar*, T.

<sup>6</sup> *niund*, T.

<sup>7</sup> *adr*, T.

<sup>8</sup> The words *fari þat mál* are inserted by the editor. The reading of T. gives no sense. The sentence *ok hvárt er þeir dæma, &c.* is evidently meant to give the general gist of this ninth custom, which is effected in a natural way by insert-

ing the above words; but this paragraph of the constitutions, as indeed the greater number of them, is dealt with very loosely in our text. See Preface.

<sup>9</sup> *adr*, T.

<sup>10</sup> *ar*, T.

<sup>11</sup> Among the bishops of Pavia occurs a Guilielmus Cardinalis, 1166, but the episcopal order is so disturbed about this time, that the years of his reign cannot be made out.

<sup>12</sup> *fram*, T.

mons of a bishop or an arch-deacon, he may be put under an interdict, but nowise be excommunicated, if he happeneth to be of a town, a castle, or a village belonging to the king; for the king's chief justice of the place wherein the summoned person hath his dwelling shall wreak right on him. If, however, he neglect this, let the summoned be at the mercy of the king; and then the bishop shall be allowed to inflict punishment for that which appertaineth to him in the case.

This is the ninth custom of king Henry: If a learned man and a laic differ about any property, as to whether it belong to the church or to the crown, let twelve laymen be nominated into a court to judge which of the two is in the right; and then let the case go as they judge according to circumstances, either before the king's power, or before the judge of the church.

#### CHAP. XLIV.

##### HOW THOMAS OVERCAME THE CARDINALS.

Now, when the archbishop had proceeded thus far in his delivery, the cardinals make known, who they were, and how far from the way of rightwiseness they went in these affairs for the sake of their unlawful friendship to king Henry; but in this case is one especially to be named as the dearest friend of the king at the pope's court, he namely, hight lord cardinal William, bishop of the city which is called Pavia. He layeth himself openly out for backing the king with so many shifts that it giveth God's man right great trouble on that day; for the cardinal spareth neither clerkship nor wiliness, whilst



1164.  
who defends  
the customs

as legal.

He blames  
Becket for  
his flight  
and the  
disturbance  
he has  
brought  
into the  
church.

Becket con-  
founds the  
cardinal by  
tearing up  
his argu-  
ments, and

úti báðar hendr, aðra<sup>1</sup> til lofs ok eftirmælis við konung í Englandi, enn aðra til lýtis Thómasi erkibyskupi; svo til eftirmælis við konunginn, at allar þær þynganir, sem nú voru lesnar upp á skaða kirkjunnar, skreytir hann ok fegrar með falligum lit af réttindum 5 laganna, at því framar<sup>2</sup> megi þat lofast eðr<sup>3</sup> með nokkurum hætti vel þolast. Enn gerðir Guðs manns í framferðum<sup>4</sup> ok flóttu leggr hann svá lágt, at hann setr honum spurningar grein, hví hann lysti, einn primas, at leiða svá mikinn óróa inn í Guðs kristni fyrir svá 10 lítið efni. Enn ástundan þessa kardinalis greinir sú bók, er heitir Speculum Hystoriale,<sup>5</sup> at hann hugði byskupinn minna brjósts ok veikra,<sup>6</sup> enn síðan reyndist, ok at hans framburðr fyrir herra páfanum myndi aunarligrar, vizku<sup>7</sup> ok orðfellis, enn<sup>8</sup> eigi hans undir- 15 stöðu, ok þegar nýteknar greinir riði at honum með úvöru, myndi hans fávizka<sup>9</sup> fordjarfast ok falla til hinnar mestu háðungar fyrir svá dýrum herra. Enn þetta fór alt á aðra leið, enn hann hugði, því at sá fækk svívirðu, er til hennar hafði sáð; því at flærðin 20 kann þat oft vinna, at hon særir oft sinn upphafara. Fór ok svá í þessum stað; því at þenna dag varð öllum ljóst, framar<sup>10</sup> enn fyrr, at virðuligr herra Thómas erkibyskup var nógligar græddr eiginni vitru fyrir guðliga mildi, enn nýliga særðr af sér lægra manni; 25 ok þótt eigi sé langt um gert, má merkiligt sýnast vitrum manni, hversu hann confunderaði þenna cardinalem. Enn þat er svá fallit, at í<sup>11</sup> fyrstu hlýddi hann athugliga öllu hans eyrindi, enn sem þat var úti,<sup>12</sup> byrjar hann í sínu andsvari<sup>13</sup> þá grein fyrsta, sem 30

<sup>1</sup> *adrar*, T.

<sup>2</sup> *framar*, T.

<sup>3</sup> *aðr*, T.

<sup>4</sup> So altered by the editor: *framferdir*, T., which may possibly mean here: faring abroad.

<sup>5</sup> Cf. Spec. Hist. Vincent. Belov. ed. Duaci, fol. 1624, lib. 29, c. 18, p. 1190.

<sup>6</sup> *ueykra*, T.

<sup>7</sup> *uitzku*, T.

<sup>8</sup> *ænn*, T.

<sup>9</sup> *fauuitzka*, T.

<sup>10</sup> *framarr*, T.

<sup>11</sup> The í is added in U.

<sup>12</sup> *vti*, T.

<sup>13</sup> *annsuari*, T.

he keepeth both hands at work, one for the praising, of the king of England, and the pleading of his cause, and the other for the shaming of archbishop Thomas. Such-wise he pleadeth on behalf of the king, that all the oppressions for the harming of the church, which have been read even now, he clothes in a fine garb and beautifieth with the fair colour of lawfulness, in order that the same might all the rather be permitted or be well borne with in some measure. But the doings of God's man, his proceedings and flight abroad, he deemeth so vile as to warrant him putting to the archbishop the question, why he, a primate, did list to bring so great a disturbance into the church of God for such a small matter. The purpose of this cardinal is set forth in the book called *Speculum Historiale*: namely, that he assumed the archbishop to be a man of a lesser and weaker breast than came to be proven afterwards; and that his speaking before the lord pope would proceed from alien wisdom and wording, but not from his own reasoning; and that when the clauses which have just been mentioned should come upon him unawares, his scanty wisdom would be confounded and turn out to the greatest shame for such a mighty lord. But all this went quite another way than he had thought, for he got the shame who had sown for it; for such, haply, is oft enough the working of guile, that it often woundeth its own author. So, too, matters fared in this place; for it became known on that day to all folk, better than ever before, that the worthy lord archbishop Thomas had been healed through his own wisdom, by the grace of God, in a greater degree than he had just been wounded by one inferior to himself. Now although there be no long tale to tell of the affair, yet it will seem to a wise man a thing worthy of attention, how he confounded this cardinal. It fell in this way, that at first he listeneth with good heed to the whole of his speech, but when that was over, he giveth his answer, beginning with the clause

1164.  
showing  
them to be  
contrary to  
the statutes  
of the  
Fathers.

honum gaf fyrsta. Enn hversu hann leysti í sundr í liðu alt þat flærðsemdar net, er cardinalis hafði egnat á frelsi kirkjunnar, bar mikla dásemd í hjörtum heyrandi manni. Því at fyrr nefnt Speculum segir, at af sér greindum decretis heilagra feðra leiddi hann skilrík 5 vætti, hversu sá vani ok þessi annarr þveraðist mót kirkjunni, ok hverja meinsemd hann flutti Guðs fólki, ef hann efdist í kristninni, ok því er klæðnaðr<sup>1</sup> kardinalis í brott, ok nú öllum bjart, at hans umliðin orð voru framar lygð enn lög, framar<sup>2</sup> fóttröð enn 10 friðr lærdómsins. Ok því fæll, sem Guð vildi, at hær af fækk hinn heilagi Thómas hina mestu virðing, bæði af herra páfanum ok öllum þeim, sem öfundar myrkrin höfðu eigi blindat. Enn þeir sem í djúpit voru dregnir, máttu eigi hit sanna sjá. Enn æ verðr ljóst í 15 fylgjöndum greinum, hversu páfans skynsemdar auga var glögt<sup>3</sup> vorðit í rétta<sup>4</sup> sýn, eftir heilagri skýring ok lögsamdri herra Thómas erkibyskups, þá er hann orskurðar ok afdæmir þat<sup>5</sup> fordæmiligt er, enn leggrr þat undir vægð, sem honum virðist kirkjunnar rættir 20 þola mega, sem í því lýsist sem eftir ferr.

Becket  
reaps great  
fame from  
his speech.

## KAP. XLV.

## AFDÆMDIR VANAR HEINREKS KONUNGS.

Þeir nú vanar, er fyrr lásust in consistorio domini papæ af hóflausri yfirgirnd Heinreks konungs, voru 25 mestir ok meinlegstir heilagri kirkju. Enn þeir sjö, sem eigi eru<sup>6</sup> greindir, sýndust með nokkurum hætti þolligir. Enn af þeim .ix. sem hærra ganga, harnar

<sup>1</sup> *klædnadr*, T.  
<sup>2</sup> *framarr*, T.  
<sup>3</sup> *glaugt*, T.

<sup>4</sup> *reittra*, T.  
<sup>5</sup> After þat U. adds *er*.  
<sup>6</sup> *er*, T.

which came first in the order. But the manner in which he undid, knot by knot, all that net of craftiness, which the cardinal had set for entrapping therein the freedom of the church, brought a right sweet delight unto the hearts of those who listened thereto. For the aforesaid Speculum saith that, from specially cited decretals of the holy fathers, he brought forward convincing testimonies, as to how this custom or that stood straight against the church, and as to what hurt it must needs bring upon the people of God, if it were allowed to gain power in the church; hereby then is clean swept away the garb which the cardinal had given these customs; and to everyone it is now clear, that his words were rather lying than lawful, and aimed rather at treading the clergy under foot than bringing peace to them. Things therefore fell out even as God would, inasmuch as the holy Thomas got the greatest honour both from the lord pope, and all such whom the darkness of envy had not struck with blindness. But those who had been dragged into the deep might nowise see the truth. But from the things that follow hereafter it will be fully manifest, how the eye of the pope's reason had already now become clear and right-sighted, through the holy and lawful interpretation of the lord archbishop Thomas, while he giveth decision and passeth judgment on that which was condemnable, but treateth with lenity that, which it seemeth the right of the church may endure, as will be clear from what follows hereafter.

#### CHAP. XLV.

##### THE CUSTOMS OF KING HENRY CONDEMNED.

The nine customs which were read afore in the consistory of the lord pope concerning the unmeasured masterfulness of king Henry were the weightiest, and the most hurtful to the holy church. But the seven which are not named seemed in some measure endurable. But over these nine, which aimed further, the lord pope

1164. svá herra páfínn, at hann má eigi tárur halda, at nokkurn kristinn konung skyldi lysta, at draga svá margfaldliga<sup>1</sup> undir sik heilagrar kirkju røtt<sup>2</sup> mót Guðs boðorðum ok heilagra feðra setningum; ok því setr hann á endaligan orskurð, at þessir níu vanar<sup>5</sup> eru<sup>3</sup> bólváðar siðleysur ok afdæmdar allri Guðs kristni. Sem þenna sentenciam hefir páfínn diktað,<sup>4</sup> snýst hann til Thóman erkibyskups ok talar svá:

“ þessir vanar bera vitni, hversu<sup>5</sup> þer féllut hátt, “ bróðir, þá er þer samþykktut eðr<sup>6</sup> sóruð, í niðrbrot 10 “ víglu yðvarrar, at halda þá mót almenniligu frelsi “ kirkjunnar. Ok ef þer hefðit eigi<sup>7</sup> seinna upp risit “ ok eigi lausn af oss þegit, stæði yðart mál með mikl- “ um voða, því at háski víglunnar, er þer vunnut, “ bæri yðr brutt or þeiri sæmd ok valdi, er þer tókut. 15 “ Enn nú sè Guði lof, at þat er<sup>8</sup> misgerðut, leiddi “ hans miskunn yðr fyrir augu,<sup>9</sup> ok<sup>10</sup> endrbættuð<sup>11</sup> “ svá vel yðarn stètt, at fyrir lögliga staðfesti hafið<sup>12</sup> “ þer nú þegar tekit mótköst<sup>13</sup> ok meingerðir, fátækt “ ok útleğð, ok því er yðr bæði veitandi sönn<sup>14</sup> elska 20 “ ok allr sá styrkr, sem hin rómverska móðir kann “ yðr veita ok má yðr leggja. Ok með vorri blezan “ farit í Guðs signan til yðarra herbergja.” Lýkr svá þeiri dagþingan, at hverr tekr sína náð.

The nine  
customs,  
afore-men-  
tioned, are  
condemned.

## KAP. XLVI.

25

## ER THÓMAS RESIGNERADL.

Á næsta morgin eftir, sem vanar Heinreks konungs voru dæmdir, ok herra páfínn með cardinalibus sitr í

<sup>1</sup> *margfalliga*, T.  
<sup>2</sup> *reit*, T.  
<sup>3</sup> *aru*, T.  
<sup>4</sup> *dichtad*, T.  
<sup>5</sup> *hucrasu*, T.  
<sup>6</sup> *ædr*, T.  
<sup>7</sup> *eigi* added by the editor.

<sup>8</sup> After *er* U. adds *þer*.  
<sup>9</sup> *augu*, T.  
<sup>10</sup> After *ok* U. adds *þer*.  
<sup>11</sup> *endrbættud*, T.  
<sup>12</sup> *hafi*, T.  
<sup>13</sup> *motkaust*, T.  
<sup>14</sup> *saunn*, T.

sorroweth in such way, that he may not restrain his tears in thinking that any christian king should list to seize in such a manifold manner to himself the right of holy church against the commandments of God and the sentences of the holy fathers; and therefore he passeth thereon the final decision that these nine customs are accursed abuses, and shall be condemned and excluded from the whole church of God. When the pope hath dictated this sentence, he turneth to archbishop Thomas and speaketh thus :—

“ These customs bear witness, how deep you fell, brother, when at the peril of your consecration, you consented or swore to uphold them against the catholic freedom of the church. And if you had not arisen afterwards, or got our absolution, your affairs would now have come to a perilous plight; for otherwise the deed, by which you brought your consecration into such danger, would thrust you away from that honour and office which you once received. But God be praised now, that His mercy has opened your eye to what you did amiss, and that you have so well redeemed your station that, through your steadfast abiding in the law, you have had to encounter troubles and hurtful dealings, poverty and exile, and therefore it behoveth to show you true love and all such support, as the Roman mother may afford to yield and accord to you. Now go with our benediction and the blessing of God unto your chamber.”

This day's meeting cometh to such end, that each one betaketh him to rest.

## CHAP. XLVI.

### HOW THOMAS RESIGNED.

The morning after the customs of king Henry were condemned, as the pope sitteth with the cardinals in his

1164. sínu herbergi, kemr Thómas erkibyskup at utan ok biðr orlofs. Sem þat er þegit, geingr hann inn ok knéfellr fyrir herra páfanum með þvílíkum orðum:

“ þat krefr Guð af kristnum manni, at hann segi  
 “ sannleik, bæði af hjarta ok munni, ok þessi skylda 5  
 “ stendr í hverjum stað, enn einkanliga fyrir yðarri  
 “ ásjánu, heilagr faðir. Því játta ek, at vesall glæpr  
 “ færir þau þyngsl at heilagri Guðs kristni, sem hon  
 “ þolir í Englandi; því at eigi gekk ek inn um réttar  
 “ dyrr í sauðahús heilagrar Guðs kristni várs Lausn- 10  
 “ ara, Jesu Krists, því at til þessa valds ok virðingar  
 “ kallaði mik eigi lögligr<sup>1</sup> kosningr, heldr var ek með  
 “ konungligri ógn ok vilja settr í þetta sæti. Þar  
 “ með fór þat, at ek játti meirr þeim vanda móti  
 “ mínum vilja fyrir konungsins skyld enn skapara 15  
 “ míns. Því er eigi undarligt, at mér gangi margt  
 “ gagnstaðligt. Enn þótt mín innganga<sup>2</sup> til Guðs  
 “ embættis sè<sup>3</sup> mér harðla óttanlig, þorði ek eigi því  
 “ heldr at gefa erkistólinn í vald Heiureks konungs,  
 “ þótt ek væri<sup>4</sup> þess fýstr af bræðrum mínum. Enn 20  
 “ nú með Guðs vilja er ek kominn í þann stað, at  
 “ þessum vanda má ek réttlíga af mér víkja.<sup>5</sup> Því  
 “ gef ek minn erkistól upp í yðart vald, heitagr faðir,  
 “ at eigi verða ek, syndugr ok vanfærr, þeiri hjörð  
 “ til grátligrar hrapanar,<sup>6</sup> sem ek ætti at stjórna til 25  
 “ eilífs fagnaðar.” Sem hann hefir svá sagt, dregr  
 hann af sèr vígslugullit ok fær herra páfanum, biðj-  
 andi hann kjósa Kantuariensi kirkju annan formann,  
 sterkara í guðligu stríði: “ því at ek nam aldri at  
 “ kjósa nè þera byskupsins tign ok nafn með skyld- 30  
 “ ugu embætti.”<sup>7</sup> Eftir svá talað geingr hann út af

Becket  
resigns his  
office into  
the hands of  
the pope.

<sup>1</sup> lauglidr, T.

<sup>2</sup> innganga, T.

<sup>3</sup> sá, T.

<sup>4</sup> ueri, T.

<sup>5</sup> uik only, T.

<sup>6</sup> So U.; krafanas, T.

<sup>7</sup> embætti, T.

chamber, archbishop Thomas cometh in from without, and prayeth for leave to speak. This being granted, he goeth up, and falleth on his knee, before the lord pope with these words:—

“ God demandeth from the christian that he speak the truth from heart and mouth; and this it is our bounden duty to do every where, but most especially so before your countenance, holy father. I therefore have to confess, that my miserable offence bringeth upon the holy church of God, the heavy troubles which she has now to endure in England; for I did not enter by the right door into the fold of the holy church of God and our Saviour, Jesus Christ; for I was called to this office and honour, not by a lawful election, but rather was I installed in this see by the overbearing will of the king. Thereby it came to pass, that I consented to this hard task against my will, rather for the sake of the king than my Creator. It is therefore nowise to be wondered at, that many things go against me. Now although the manner of my entering into the divine office is right fearful to me, yet I dared not give the arch-see into the power of king Henry, urged though I was by my brethren to do so. But now, by the will of God, I have come to the place, where I may rightly deliver myself of this trouble. I therefore give my arch-see up into your power, holy father, that sinful and feeble that I am, I may not bring that flock into woful downfall, which I ought to lead towards eternal joy.”

Having thus spoken, he draweth from off his hand the consecration ring, and handeth it to the lord pope, praying him to choose another ruler for the church of Canterbury, a stronger one in the godly warfare:—

“ For I never did choose for myself or bear the dignity and name of a bishop by duly ministering to that office.”



1164.  
The pope  
and those  
around him  
sit in tears.

herberginu. Enn herra páfinn sitr eftir með tárurum, ok flestir er inni sátu; því at svá hryggilig ræða af þvílíkum manni frammborin<sup>1</sup> ok frammsfutt<sup>2</sup> mátti góðum mönnum hugkvæmilig<sup>3</sup> vera; þeir ok, sem voru heilögum Thómasi heimelligir, eru<sup>4</sup> fallnir í mikit 5 hugarangr, ef hann fær eingva uppreist, enn þeir staddir í úkunnu<sup>5</sup> landi, ok því eru<sup>6</sup> þeir þarfandi guðligrar hugganar, ok hana fá þeir skjótt, sem nú mun ek segja.<sup>7</sup>

Some of the  
cardinals  
counsel a  
change of  
archbishop  
at Canter-  
bury.

Herra Alexander páfi tekr nú til með cardinalibus 10 af þessu efni ok áskilnaði millum konungs ok erkibyskups. Ok þegar án dvöl bresta upp fýmsar tillögur,<sup>8</sup> því at nokkurir segja, at þat muni konunginum vænast til hugbótar, ef skift er formanni<sup>9</sup> í Kancia, með því at Thómas hefir viljanliga resignerat. Þat segja 15 þeir ok honum sjálfum friðvænna, at honum<sup>10</sup> sè skiput önnur kirkja. Enn þeir, er þetta til lögðu, vissu með sèr, hvárt þeim var nálægri,<sup>11</sup> presentur konungs í Englandi, eðr<sup>12</sup> sátt friðkaup heilagrar kristni. Hær<sup>13</sup> í mót falla aðrir cardinales, er svá segja: "Mun þat 20 " rétt fyrir Guði, at Thómas erkibyskup af sviptist " sinni sæmd ok valdi fyrir vilja Heinreks konungs, " þar sem hann hefir eigi at eins fyrirlátið fóstrland " ok frelsi, heldr ok þolat háaska lífs ok lima fyrir " unsátir sinna úvina?<sup>14</sup> Eðr hvat munu þá heimligir 25 " höfðingjar segja brátt byskupunum, ef svá skal " ganga, utan, þegar nokkut ríss við, bjóða þeim " annathvært, gefa upp sæmdina, eðr<sup>15</sup> knèfalla? Eðr " hverr formanna heilagrar kirkju mun til verða at

Others ob-  
ject to such  
a course be-  
ing adopted.

<sup>1</sup> framborin, T.

<sup>2</sup> framstutt, T.

<sup>3</sup> hugkvæmilig, T.

<sup>4</sup> eru, T.

<sup>5</sup> So U.; kunnu, T.

<sup>6</sup> eru, T.

<sup>7</sup> segiast, T.

<sup>8</sup> tillogr, T.

<sup>9</sup> So U.; form'n, T.

<sup>10</sup> So U.; k' only, T.

<sup>11</sup> nálægri, T.

<sup>12</sup> eðr, T.

<sup>13</sup> Hær, T.

<sup>14</sup> uninna, T.

<sup>15</sup> eðr, T.

Having spoken thus, he walketh out of the room. But the lord pope sitteth behind in tears as did most of those who sat therewithin ; for such a sorrowful speech, given forth and pronounced by such a man, might well go to the heart of any good man. Those, too, who were familiar friends of the holy Thomas have now fallen into great sadness of heart, lest he should get no righting of his affairs, they being moreover placed in a foreign land, and therefore standing all the more in need of comfort from God ; and that they soon get, as I shall now relate.

The lord pope Alexander now setteth himself, with the cardinals, to dealing with this matter and the dissension between the king and the archbishop. And forthwith there burst forth sundry proposals, some of the cardinals saying that, belike, it must be most to the mind of the king, that the ruler of Canterbury be changed, now that Thomas had resigned of his free will. They also say, that it would be most likely to bring peace to himself, if he were translated to another church. But those who brought forward this counsel must have best known themselves which they had most at heart, the presents of the king of England, or the purchase of a settled peace for the holy church. Against this stand other cardinals, saying : " Shall this be right before God, that " archbishop Thomas be reft of his dignity and office, " because it is the will of king Henry, having already " had not only to forego fatherland and freedom, but " also to encounter peril of life and limb, on account " of the waylayings of his enemies? Or what will " worldly lords then shortly say to the bishops, if " this shall be allowed to come to pass? what, but " this that, whenever they shall be withstood in aught, " they will command the bishops either to give up their " honour, or to crouch before them? Or who among the " rulers of the holy church will be likely to undertake to

116A. " veita henni fullting<sup>1</sup> eðr<sup>2</sup> forstöðu, ef fyrir þá<sup>3</sup>  
 " sömu vernd, sem þeir veita henni, skulu þeir bæði  
 " þínast af kirkjunni ok<sup>4</sup> af konungs valdi. Úgræði-  
 " ligan<sup>5</sup> skaða ok niðrfall f ær<sup>6</sup> þá almennilig kristni,  
 " ef svá skal fara. Því mun öllum góðum mönnum<sup>5</sup>  
 " sýnast eingi annarr<sup>7</sup> vegr lögligr eðr<sup>8</sup> lofsamligr í  
 " þessu máli, enn Thómas sè<sup>9</sup> aftr leiddr í alla sæmd  
 " ok virðing." Svo gangast á kardinales með greinum ;  
 því at vinir Heinreks konungs biðja berliga herra  
 páfann, at hann víki eftir konungsins vilja. Ok eigi 10  
 því stór verðr sú lykt<sup>10</sup> á, sem Guð vildi, at herra  
 páfinn lætr Thómam inn kalla ok segir honum svá :  
 The pope " Nú fyrsta birtist oss af sjálfs þíns dygðarverkum,  
 " hversu elskuligt vandlæti<sup>11</sup> þú hefir haft, ok enn hefir  
 " þú, fyrir kirkjunnar lögum ok kirkjunni ok klerk- 15  
 " dóminum.<sup>12</sup> Heyrðum vèr ok, hversu<sup>13</sup> skæra játning  
 " þú gerðir af þínum kosning. Hèr með gæft<sup>14</sup> þú vilj-  
 " andi þitt vald í vora hönd. Því höfum vèr staðfest,  
 reinstates " í nafni Guðs ok heilagra postola Petri ok Pauli, at  
 Becket in " erkistóll í Kancia með úskerðri<sup>15</sup> sæmd, valdi ok virð- 20  
 his archi- " ing skipum vèr aftr í yðra hönd." Ok með þessum  
 episcopal " orðum fær<sup>16</sup> herra páfinn signoðum Thómasi aftr vígslu-  
 office, " gullit í tignarmark erkibyskupligrs sóma, enn talaði  
 and assigns " svá til hans : " Með því, at vit erum<sup>17</sup> bræðr í útlegðar  
 him a place " grein,<sup>18</sup> svá skulum vèr fylgjast, í lofi Guðs, meðan vèr 25  
 of sojourn in " lifum báðir. Enn sakir þess, at þèr hafit lengi<sup>19</sup> skemti-  
 Pontigny. " liga leitt<sup>20</sup> yðra lífdaga, sýnist oss heyriligt, at í  
 " yðarri þraut ok þolinmæði, er<sup>21</sup> þèr berit fyrir<sup>22</sup>

1 *fullting*, T.2 *ædr*, T.3 So U. ; *þria*, T.4 *ok* added in U.5 *Vgræðiligan*, T.6 *færr*, T.7 *annar*, T.8 *ædr*, T.9 *sie*, T.10 *lycht*, T.11 *vandlæti*, T.12 So U. ; *klerdominum*, T.13 *hverssu*, T.14 *gæft*, T.15 So U. ; *uskerdi*, T.16 *færr*, T.17 *ærum*, T.18 *græin*, T.19 *leingi*, T.20 *leidt*, T.21 *ær*, T.22 *fyrir*, T.

“ yield her an availing aid or wardship, if for that very  
“ protection which they afford her they must needs be  
“ tortured, both by the church and the power of the  
“ king? Unhealable harm and downfall shall then be  
“ the lot of the catholic church, if things shall be allowed  
“ to go on in such manner. It will, therefore, be clear to  
“ all good men, that no other way is lawful or com-  
“ mendable in this affair, than this one, that Thomas be  
“ restored to his full honour and dignity.”

In this manner the cardinals strive among them; for the friends of king Henry pray the lord pope openly to shape his course agreably to the will of the king. Yet, none the less, the matter cometh, even according to the will of God, to such an end that the lord pope ordereth Thomas to be called in, when he thus speaketh to him:—

“ Now first becometh it manifest unto us, from thy  
“ faithful deeds, how praiseworthy a zeal thou hast  
“ shown and showest still on behalf of the laws of the  
“ church, and the church itself, and the clergy. We have  
“ also heard how pure a confession thou hast made of  
“ thy election. And, moreover, thou hast of thy own  
“ free will given thy office up into our hand. We have  
“ therefore determined, in the name of God and the holy  
“ apostles, Peter and Paul, to deliver the arch-see of  
“ Canterbury again into your hand with unshorn  
“ honour, power, and dignity.”

With these words the lord pope giveth to the blessed Thomas again the consecration ring, in token of archiepiscopal honour and dignity, thus speaking to him:—

“ Inasmuch as we are brothers in the matter of banish-  
“ ment, let us go in fellowship together, God permit-  
“ ting, while we are both alive. But because you  
“ have long led a merry life, it seemeth to us right  
“ fitting that, in your trials and longsuffering, which

1164. " Guðs nafni, gerist þér fátækra manna faðir ok fèlagi ;  
 " því nefnum vèr yðr stað í Pontis, at þér lifit þar  
 " einkanliga með þeim grámúnkum, er þar þjóna. Leggit  
 " af hinn meira kostnað, enn látið fylgja yðr fá heim-  
 " olliga klerka ok sveina, ok bíðit svá þann dag, er 5  
 " Guð sendir oss til friðar ok náða."

Becket  
 receives  
 apostolic  
 blessing,  
 and rides  
 away to  
 Pontignac.

Svo lyktast<sup>1</sup> eyrindi heilags Thóme á páfagarði, at hann tekr postoliga blezan ok ríðr til Pontis, eigi með meira fjölmenni enn páfinn hafði til vikit.<sup>2</sup> Enn aðrir hans menn skipast í þá staði, sem hann sjálf gerir. 10 Enn<sup>3</sup> þótt<sup>4</sup> aðrir dreifist, má þar nefna til meistara Herbert af Bosea, at hann skilst eigi við Thómam erkibyskup, meðan hann má honum fylgja ; því at miðil þeira var einkanlig elska, sem fyrr var lesit. Var þat ok viðrkvæmilt, at hann fylgdi erkibyskupi 15 iðuliga, með því at hann skyldi síðar<sup>5</sup> marga lute<sup>6</sup> skrifa af hans þrautum ok dýrðligu lífi, því sannligar sem honum var kunnara, hversu gjörzt hafði.

## KAP. XLVII.

ER VORR HERRA VITRADIÐ HINUM HEILAGA THÓMASI. 20

1165. Signaðr Thómas erkibyskup, sem hann er kominn í Pontis, hugleiðir með sér, hvern búnat honum samir bezt at bera millum þvílíkra hreinlífismanna, ok virðist honum heyriligt, at hann sammyndist þeim í klæðnaði, sem hann líkist í lifnaði. Var ok sú góðvild í hans 25 brjósti, at honum sýndist æ fegra at herða sitt líf fyrir guðliga tign í öllu því, er hann mátti. Hæðan

Becket  
 adopts the  
 Dominican  
 garb, and  
 receives it  
 from the  
 pope

<sup>1</sup> *lyktaz*, T.

<sup>2</sup> He arrived at Pontigny on St. Andrew's day, Nov. 30th, 1164.

<sup>3</sup> *En*, T.

<sup>4</sup> *þot*, T.

<sup>5</sup> *sidarr*, T.

<sup>6</sup> *lute*, T.

“ you must needs endure for the name of God, you should become father and fellow of poor folk ; we name for you, therefore, a dwelling-stead in Pontigny, that you live there after hermit fashion with the Grey-Friars there ministering. Lay aside the greater costs, but let a few familiar clerks and attendants accompany you, and abide the day which God shall send for our peace and rest.”

In such way come to an end the affairs of holy Thomas at the pope's court, that he receiveth apostolic blessing, and rideth to Pontigny with no greater following of people than the pope had signified. The other folk of his suite betake themselves to such places as he himself ordaineth. But though all the others are scattered about, yet master Herbert of Bosham may be named as one who parteth not from archbishop Thomas ; for between them there was a dear love, as has been read afore. And it was but fitting that he should always be in fellowship with the archbishop, since it was he who afterwards was to write many things concerning his trials and his glorious life, and these the more truthfully, the better it was known to him how they had come to pass.

#### CHAP. XLVII.

##### HOW OUR LORD REVEALED HIMSELF IN A VISION TO THE HOLY THOMAS.

Having arrived in Pontigny, the blessed archbishop Thomas falleth a-thinking what sort of apparel it would be most seemly for him to wear among men of such pure manner of life ; and it seemeth to him right fitting that he should conform to such folk in dress, unto whom he was like in living. For in the devotion which abode in his breast he deemed it ever his sweetest duty to afflict his life for the glory of God in all things, wherein he might do so. Hence it cometh to

1165. leiðir þat, at hann sendir meistara Herbert með bréfi sínu á fund Alexandri páfa, biðjandi at hann sendi honum þvílíkan búnat, sem bræðr bera í Pontis. Sem Herbert kemr í páfagarð<sup>1</sup> ok tjár erkibyskups bréf, tekr herra páfinn þat elskuliga,<sup>2</sup> ok lætr þegar gera 5 með stóru lèrefti einn grámunka búnat; þenna vígir hann sjálfir ok talar síðan til meistara Herberts: "Seg by Herbert of Boecham. " svá Thómasi Kantuariensis erkibyskupi, at hann " virði þat með þessum fátæka búnaði, er honum " sendist, at þvílíkan berum vèr sjálfir." Sem meist- 10 ari Herbert kemr aftr í Pontis með klæðnaðinn, tekr heilagr Thómas hann með fagnaði, svá at fám dögum síðar leggur ábótinn þann sama búnat yfir erkibyskup, fráskilliga í einu herbergi, þeim einum nærveröndum,<sup>3</sup> sem erkibyskupi voru heimelligir. Ok sem hann ferr<sup>4</sup> 15 í kuffinn, ok hettan tjár sik aftr á herðarnar, talar meistari Herbert brosand: "Ef þetta klæði er fagrliga " formerat, kann ek eigi sjá, ok þat virðist auðsýnt, " at hettunni hefir herra páfinn eigi hagliga á komit,<sup>5</sup> " því at hon er miklu minni enn hæfir." Hinn sæli 20 Thómas svarar honum brosand: "Forsjáliga er þat " svá gert, at hettan minki<sup>6</sup> heldr enn æxli<sup>7</sup> minn " vöxt,<sup>8</sup> at eigi megir þú svá nótera<sup>9</sup> mik sem fyrir " fám dögum,<sup>10</sup> er þú kallaðir mik skutbreiðan,<sup>11</sup> því at " ef hettan væri<sup>12</sup> breið ok stór, mundir þú kalla mik 25 " álútan." Má af þvílíku marka, hversu signaðr Thómas bar blezað brjóst ok glatt hjarta til sinna heimonligra manna. Sem hann hefir tekit grámunka-klæði, kemr hann í capitulum fyrir allan conventum, biðjandi svá mjúkliga, sem tárin auðsýna, at þeir 30
- The abbat puts on the archbishop the robe.
- Herbert jests the cut and fit of it.
- Becket gives him a repartee in the same strain.
- Thus dressed the archbishop appears before the convent, and

<sup>1</sup> *pafuagard*, T.<sup>2</sup> *eskuliga*, T.<sup>3</sup> *nerueröndum*, T.<sup>4</sup> *fer*, T.<sup>5</sup> *humint*, T.<sup>6</sup> *minnki*, T.<sup>7</sup> *ægsli*, T.<sup>8</sup> *uogst*, T.<sup>9</sup> *nottera*, T.<sup>10</sup> *daugum*, T.<sup>11</sup> Properly: broad in the prow.<sup>12</sup> *ueri*, T.

pass, that he sendeth Master Herbert with a letter to meet pope Alexander, praying that he would send him such attire as was worn by the brethren of Pontigny. When Herbert cometh to the court of the pope, and presenteth the letter of the archbishop, the lord pope receiveth it lovingly, and ordereth forthwith to be made of a large sheet of linen a Grey-Friar dress which he then halloweth himself, whereupon he speaketh to Master Herbert:—

“Tell Thomas, archbishop of Canterbury, to prize this in the poor dress which is now sent to him, that even we ourself wear such an one.”

When Master Herbert bringeth the raiment back to Pontigny, the holy Thomas giveth him a joyous welcome; and the abbat doeth that same raiment on the archbishop a few days afterwards, privily, in a certain cell, in the presence of those only, who were familiar friends of the archbishop. Now as he doeth on the cowl and the hood falleth aback over the shoulder, Master Herbert speaketh smiling:—

“If this is to pass for a well shapen garment, I am not one to see it, and it is clear, that the lord pope hath not got the hood thereon over-deftly, for it is much less than it ought to be.”

The blessed Thomas answereth him smiling:—

“It is done with foresight, in order that the hood lessen rather than eke out the growth of me, and that thou mayest not mark me, as a few days ago, when thou didst call me broad in the fore part; for if the hood were broad and large thou wouldst call me hunch-backed.”

From such things as these it may be seen what a sweet mind and merry heart the blessed Thomas bore towards his familiar friends. Now when he hath taken on the grey friars' dress, he goeth into the chapter before the whole of the convent beseeching them tenderly, as his tears show, to be mindful of him in their



1166. prays the monks to remember him in their prayers.

His health succumbs to the uncouth food of the community.

but improves by change of diet.

A vision.

minnist hans í bænum sínum. Tekr nú heilagr Thómas sem nýjan<sup>1</sup> lifnat, bækr at lesa, ok biðjast fyrir með náðuligum kyrrleik<sup>2</sup> ok heitri ástundan til himneskra luta. Hèr með hefir hann þá bindindi, at hafa einga fæðu utan eftir grámúnka reglu, 5 enn þat er þurt ok þeiflaust. Enn<sup>3</sup> þat harðlífi berr eigi hans náttúra, því at hann hafði alla<sup>4</sup> götu sælliga fæðzt<sup>5</sup> með vænum kosti, ok því fellr hann í svá harðan krankdóm, at hann legst í rekkju.<sup>6</sup> Ok er hans heimonligir menn verða vísir af sjálfum honum, hvat 10 veldr sjúkdóminum, biðja þeir hann ok ráðleggja, fyrir Guðs nafn, at hann næri<sup>7</sup> sína náttúru með þeirri fæðu. er<sup>8</sup> hans lífi gagnar. Ok þetta ráð tekr hann með góðum vilja, þótt nauðigr, ok endrbætist í fulla heilsu eftir fá daga. Enn hversu hans mannkostir voro háfir 15 ok almáttkum<sup>9</sup> Guði þægiligir, birtist þessu næst fyrir þá himneska vitran, er hann þiggr í Pontis.

Sem hinn sæli Thómas hefir messu sungit á einn dag, ok legst niðr fyrir altari til bænar, með grátligum andvörpum, því at hann hugðist vera einn samt í kirkjunni, kemr yfir hann rödd svá hljóðandi: "Thóma, 20 "Thóma, kirkja mín mun dýrkast í blóði þínu." Erki-byskupinn svarar: "Hverr ertu, Drottinn?" Röddin talar: "Ek er Jesús Kristr, bróðir þinn." Sæll Thómas segir: "Verði svá vel, Drottinn minn, at kirkja þín 25 "dýrkist í blóði mínu!" Guðs Son mælir þá enn: "Sannliga man kirkja mín dýrkast í blóði þínu. Enn "þá er hon dýrkast af þèr, skaltu tignast af mèr." Af þessi vitran fyldist hinn sæli Thómas með svá háleitum fagnaði, sem eingi má orðum skýra, ok svá mikill hiti 30

<sup>1</sup> nyan, T.

<sup>2</sup> kyrrleik, T.

<sup>3</sup> En, T.

<sup>4</sup> allu, T.

<sup>5</sup> fedz, T.

<sup>6</sup> rekiu, T.

<sup>7</sup> næri, T.

<sup>8</sup> ær, T.

<sup>9</sup> almathum, T.

prayers. Now the holy Thomas taketh up a new manner of life, as it were, reading books, and praying in calm quietude, and fervid striving after heavenly things. Therewithal he exerciseth such temperance as to take no food but according to the rule of Grey-Friars, that being dry and without savour. But this hard way of living his nature may nowise endure, for he had alway fed sumptuously on goodly fare, and therefore he falleth into such hard sickness, that he taketh to his bed. Now when his familiar friends know from himself, what causeth his illness, they pray and counsel him, in the name of God, to nourish his body with such food as may be wholesome for his life. This counsel he taketh in a good part, though unwilling, and improveth into a fully restored health after a few days. But how high his virtues were, and acceptable to God Almighty, is now revealed through a heavenly vision, which he had while staying at Pontigny.

On a certain day, when the blessed Thomas has sung mass, as he falleth down before the altar to pray weeping and sighing, thinking that he was left alone in the church, there cometh over him a voice saying:—

“ O Thomas, O Thomas, my church shall be glorified in thy blood ! ”

The archbishop answereth : —

“ Who art thou, Lord ? ”

The voice speaketh : —

“ I am Jesus Christ, thy brother.”

The blessed Thomas says : —

“ May the bliss befall me, O my Lord, that thy church be glorified in my blood ! ”

The Son of God speaketh still : —

“ Verily, my church shall be glorified in thy blood ;  
“ but when she is glorified through thee, thou shalt  
“ be honoured by me.”

From this vision the holy Thomas was filled with such exceeding joy, that in no words may it be interpreted ;

1165. guðligrar ástar gekk þegar at hans hugskoti, at hann girntist þetta fyrirheit umframm<sup>1</sup> alla luti, at gefa sitt líf fyrir Guðs nafni. Þessu samtíða, sem sæll Thómas þiggr birtingina, var ábótinn staðarins innan kirkju svá leyniliga,<sup>2</sup> at erkibyskup vissi eigi.<sup>3</sup> Ábóti sá<sup>5</sup> prófast svá valdr maðr, at hann heyrði alla þá orðræðu, sem fyrr var skrifat, millum Græðara vors ok erkibyskups, því geingr hann framm<sup>4</sup> af leyni ok víkr at erkibyskupi svá mælandi: "þetta má yðr, herra, " óumræðiligr fagnaðr vera, at þer hafit talað vit<sup>10</sup> " sjálfan Guð." Signaðr Thómas svarar: "Hversu " kom þat í þína skilning ok kynning?" Ábótinn segir: "Svo sanna vissu hefir ek þar af, at ek heyrði " öll<sup>5</sup> ykkur orð." Erkibyskup talar: "Ef svá er, " sem þú talar ok sannar, þá biðjum vèr yðr ok<sup>15</sup> " bjóðum, at þenna lut segir þú eingum manni, meðan " vèr lifum í líkam." Ok þat trúist ábótinn vel fylt hafa.

Enn nú næst<sup>6</sup> lystir at setja framm<sup>7</sup> .ii. luti mjök úlíka: annarr er bjatr, fagr ok fákunnligr, annarr<sup>20</sup> svartr, ljótr ok úlíkr. Bjatr hlutr er þat blezaða líf, er Thómas leiðir framm<sup>7</sup> í Pontis, er nú gæddist<sup>8</sup> litlu með guðligri vitran; enn úfagr lutr, þessum úlíkr, er þat hryggiliga líf, er Heinrekr konungr leiðir framm<sup>9</sup> í Englandi, sem nú mun segjast. 25

## KAP. XLVIII.

## AF HARDLEIK HEINREKS KONUNGS.

The king's  
ambassadors  
return home  
and tell him

Nú<sup>10</sup> er þar at taka til sögu,<sup>11</sup> sem fyrr var frá vikit, at byskupar ok aðrir sendiboðar Heinreks konungs

<sup>1</sup> *umfram*, T.

<sup>2</sup> *leyniliga*, T.

<sup>3</sup> Added in U.

<sup>4</sup> *fram*, T.

<sup>5</sup> *avall*, T.

<sup>6</sup> So U.; *næstir*, T.

<sup>7</sup> *fram*, T.

<sup>8</sup> *giæddiz*, T.

<sup>9</sup> *fram*, T.

<sup>10</sup> *Nv*, T.

<sup>11</sup> *saugu*, T.

and such fervour of godly love shot forthwith through his soul, that he yearned above all things else for the privilege of giving his life for the name of God.

At the same time that the blessed Thomas had this vision, the abbat of the place was inside the church, but so hidden that the archbishop knew nought thereof.

The abbat is proved to be one of the chosen ones, so that he heareth all the words spoken between our Healer and the archbishop, as they have been written above, and therefore he walketh forth from his hiding place and turneth to the archbishop, speaking thus:—

“This, my lord, must be an unutterable joy to you, to have been speaking with God himself.”

The blessed Thomas answereth:—

“How did it come to your ken and understanding?”

The abbat answereth:

“Such sure knowledge have I thereof, that I heard all the words between you both.”

The archbishop speaketh:—

“If it be so, as thou sayest and witnessest, then bid we and command you, not to tell this thing to any man while we are in the body.”

And this, it is believed, the abbat kept faithfully.

But now, next in order to these matters, it seemeth good to set forth two things right unlike each other; the one being bright, fair and seldom heard of, the other dark, ugly, and of another sort. The bright thing is the blessed life which Thomas leadeth in Pontigny, he who was, even a while ago, blessed by a divine vision; but an unfair thing, and right unlike unto this, is that woful life which king Henry leadeth in England, as now shall be told of.

## CHAP. XLVIII.

### OF THE HARDNESS OF KING HENRY.

Now we have to take up the story, where we left it afore, how the bishops and the other messengers of king

1165.  
the result  
of their  
journey.

The king  
orders all  
church pro-  
perty to be  
seized in the  
diocese of  
Canterbury  
left by  
deceased  
clergy.

He gives the  
diocese in  
the charge  
of Roger of  
York.

The see of  
Canterbury  
he gives in  
charge of  
Ranulf of  
Broch.

koma heim í land, ok flytja honum, hversu þeira eyrindi ok útferð í curiam hefir á alla vega framkvæmdarlaus<sup>1</sup> vorðit. Segja svá konunginum, at þeir þikkjast hvárki hafa fundit alvöru með herra páfanum nè Frakka konungi. Verðr<sup>2</sup> Heinrekr konungr við þessa sögu<sup>3</sup> 5 forlīga reiðr, svá at hefndarhugr<sup>4</sup> æsir hann fram í bræði móti kirkjunni með þeim hætti, at hann gerir sína menn með bræfum um alt erkibyskupsdæmi Thóme, í hverjum hann býðr sínum mönnum,<sup>5</sup> at þeir taki alt þat góz undir sik, með harðri hendi, ok kasti 10 á konungs eign, er þeir prestar áttu, er andast í allri sýslunni, svá kirkjur sem öll<sup>6</sup> önnur þeira þing. Hann skipar ok með valdi lærðum mönnum í kirkjurnar, eðr<sup>7</sup> gerir af annat, hvat er honum líkar, enn þó gerir þann 1 lit,<sup>8</sup> at byskup skyli visitera sýsluna, velr hann þar til 5 Rodgeirr erkibyskup af Jork. Byrjaði hann upp í fyrstu<sup>9</sup> þá visiteran sem einn ljóðbyskup; enn er stundir liðu, efdist svá metnaðr með honum, at hann lét bera kross fyrir sèr um sýsluna, sem hann væri<sup>10</sup> Kantuariensis erkibyskup. Mun þeinar úhæfu enn síðar getið 20 verða. Enn yfirvald erkistóls í Kancia ok als þess góz,<sup>11</sup> er þangat liggir undir, skipar Heinrekr konungr þeim manni, er hann vissi mestan úvin Thóme erkibyskups, er heitr Ranulfh af Broch. Kynferði þess manns voru kallaðir Brochi, þat var eitt hit harðasta 25 fólk í Englandi, ok höfðu jafnan vanizt at vera öfundsamir<sup>12</sup> ok öndverðir sælum Thóme. Herra Ranulf skipar ræði staðarins út af sèr einum klerk ok frænda sínum, er<sup>13</sup> heitir Robert. Liggir svá erkistóllinn<sup>14</sup> undir hernaðar hendi allan tíma, meðan heilagr Thómas er í 30

<sup>1</sup> framkvæmdarlaus, T.

<sup>2</sup> Werðr, T.

<sup>3</sup> saugu, T.

<sup>4</sup> hefndarhugr, T.

<sup>5</sup> mönnum added in U.

<sup>6</sup> aull, T.

<sup>7</sup> ædr, T.

<sup>8</sup> So U.; litt, T.

<sup>9</sup> So U.; fyrsta, T.

<sup>10</sup> ueri, T.

<sup>11</sup> godz, T.

<sup>12</sup> aufundsamir, T.

<sup>13</sup> ær, T.

<sup>14</sup> So U.; erchistolinn, T.

Henry come back home to the country and relate to him how their errand and journey abroad to the pope's court has been in vain in every way. They tell the king that they have found no uprightness in the lord pope or in the king of the French either. At this tale king Henry becometh so mightily wroth, that now a spirit of revenge rouseth him into fury against the church, in such manner, that he sendeth out his men with letters throughout the whole of the archbishopric of Thomas, wherein he commandeth his people to seize with a hard hand, and confiscate, in the name of the king, all property belonging to priests who happen to die in the diocese, churches as well as all other things to them belonging. He also installeth with force learned men into the churches or disposeth of them in whatsoever other way that pleaseth him, but ordereth, for the sake of appearance, a bishop to visit the diocese, whereto he chooseth Roger archbishop of York. This visitation he began at first after the manner of a diocesan bishop, but as time wore on pride so grew within him, that he had a cross borne before him, as if he were indeed the archbishop of Canterbury. Of this unseemly deed mention will be made further on. But the stewardship of the see of Canterbury, and all properties thereto belonging, king Henry giveth into the hands of him, whom he knew to be the greatest enemy of archbishop Thomas, hight Ranulf of Broch. The family of this man were called the Brochs, who were about the greatest ruffians in England, and had at all times been wont to bear the blessed Thomas envy and malice. Lord Ranulf chooseth a certain clerk and kinsman of his, hight Robert, to hold of him the stewardship of the see. In such wise the see lieth under the hand of the enemy, all the time that

1165? útlegrð. Má af því marka, hversu eignir kirkjunnar mundu fara bæði fastar ok lausar, at alt hennar frelsi var komit sem í varga munn. Enn er þessi framferð<sup>1</sup> Heinreks konungs fréttist suðr um sjó, harmar þat margr maðr, hversu afskapliga ferr móti allri skipan<sup>5</sup> laganna, at Kantúariensis erkibyskup skal í útlegrð vera, enn hans tignarsæti skal leggjast undir þess<sup>2</sup> leikvald, er bæði var ranglátr ok fullr með hatri. Einkanliga þykkir herra páfanum mjök í móti, því at hann elskar Heinrek konung af þeiri vináttu, sem 10 fyrr hafði hann<sup>3</sup> honum tæð með örlátri<sup>4</sup> góðvild, þótt nú kólni til nokkut; ok því skrifar hann<sup>6</sup> til hans svá fallit bréf.

Hearing this the pope writes king Henry.

#### *Bréf herra Páfans.<sup>6</sup>*

Alexander, þjónn þjóna Guðs, sendir kveðju ok postoliga blezan hinum kærasta syni sínum Heinreki, Englands konungi, Andigaviæ hertuga ok jarli<sup>7</sup> Nordmanniæ ok Equitanniæ. Faðir er skyldugr at gefa heil ráð syni sínum með öllu<sup>8</sup> því, sem hann veit honum hjálpsamligt. Nú með því at vèr tókum at 20 gjöf guðligrar handar postoliga tign, ok þó mjök úmakligr, þá megum vèr eigi baki snúa við vorum sonum, er<sup>9</sup> til vor kalla í sínar nauðsynjar fyrir þat faðerni sem vèr erum<sup>10</sup> þeim skyldbundnir til fulltings ok friðanar. Þar er<sup>11</sup> fölnar fegrð heilagrar kristni, eðr<sup>12</sup> 25 flekkast hennar birti, megum vèr eigi fyrir sál vora með öllu yfir þegja. Nú víkr þar til einkanliga voru máli, sem er uppreist ok sæmd yðarra landa, Thómas erkibyskup af Cancia, er<sup>13</sup> þær hafit útlægt frá ríki ok

<sup>1</sup> framferð, T.

<sup>2</sup> So U.; þat, T.

<sup>3</sup> hann added in U.

<sup>4</sup> arlatri, T.

<sup>5</sup> hann added in U.

<sup>6</sup> This letter does not occur among the extant collections of the letters of Pope Alexander III.

<sup>7</sup> jarli, T.

<sup>8</sup> öllu, T.

<sup>9</sup> er, T.

<sup>10</sup> erum, T.

<sup>11</sup> After er T. adds ok.

<sup>12</sup> eðr, T.

<sup>13</sup> er, T.

holy Thomas is in exile. From this it may well be understood which way the properties of the church, fixed and loose, must needs go, since all her freedom had fallen, so to say, into the mouth of wolves. But when these dealings of king Henry are rumoured south over sea, many a man grieveth sorely, how abominably things fare contrary to every ordinance of the law; the archbishop of Canterbury being forced to abide in banishment, his throne being subjected to the lay power of him who was both a man of iniquity, and full of hatred. But most chiefly the lord pope taketh these things to heart, because he loveth king Henry for the sake of the friendship which he had shown him aforetime in bounteous goodwill, although now some coolness setteth in; wherefore he writeth to him a letter such as here followeth:—

*The Letter of the Lord Pope.*

Alexander, the servant of the servants of God, sendeth greeting and apostolic benediction to his most beloved son Henry, King of England, Duke of Anjou and Earl of Normandy and Aquitaine. A father is in duty bound to give wholesome counsel to his son by all means which he knoweth to be profitable unto him. Now whereas we have received the gift of apostolic dignity freely from the hand of God, right unworthy though we be, we may nowise turn our back upon our sons, who in their need call unto us in the name of that fatherhood whereby we are bound to afford them availing help and to bring about their peace. Wheresoever the beauty of holy church fadeth, or her brightness becometh spotted, there, by our soul, we may not abide silent altogether. Now our language toucheth most chiefly him who is the pride and honour of your country, Thomas archbishop of Canterbury, whom you have banished from your realm and



1165? vináttu;<sup>1</sup> þá mætti þat meirr enn fullgert vera, ok þótt hann hafi í nokkuru niðrat yðra tign, mætti södd<sup>2</sup> verða yður<sup>3</sup> reiði, því at nóg er skrifað. Enn ef hann finst<sup>4</sup> réttlíga virðr með öllu meinlauss, hugleiðit þat með yðr, hversu<sup>5</sup> sá konungr stýrir réttlíga sitt<sup>5</sup> ríki, er fyrir utan sök<sup>6</sup> landflæmir svá lofligan formann frá kirkju sinni, enn skipar hennar ríkdóm ok réttarbætr í vald ok yfirgang úráðvandra leikmanna, hær með setr hann sik sem erfingja lærðra mamma, ok auðgar sinn garð með annars góz.<sup>7</sup> Dæmit þann 10 réttlíga, er svá gerir, at hann betri sik; því at sá konungr, er ranglíga stýrir sjálfan sik, er mörgum<sup>8</sup> manni únytsamligr. Nú biðjum vør yðra tign, at vorn<sup>9</sup> virðuligan bróður<sup>10</sup> ok vin, Thómam erkibyskup, er sakir sinnar vizku má kallast skuggsjó<sup>11</sup> yðars ríkis, 15 taki þær aftr í land ok yðra vináttu með sínum fullum heiðr í alla staði, at þær af verði hann yðarr góðr vin ok félagi, ok af góðum betri ok af betra beztr; því at svá kann verða eftir fæð ok fjarvist, at síðan verðr heitari ástúð manna í millum. Nú gefi sá yðr 20 góð ráð, er heldr í sinni hendi líf ok hjörtu konunganna ok einn er efling allra góðra luta. Valet.

<sup>1</sup> *saudd*, T.

<sup>2</sup> After *vináttu* something, probably a whole line, is fallen out, of which this might have been the gist: *nú, þótt þær vilir hegna honum er hann snaraðist gegn yðrum vilja*; now although you have a will to punish him for having risen against your will, &c. (?). In the translation I have taken the text as it is, but have had to turn it a little to make it read.

<sup>3</sup> *ydr*, T.

<sup>4</sup> *finnz*, T.

<sup>5</sup> *huersu*, T.

<sup>6</sup> *sauk*, T.

<sup>7</sup> *godz*, T.

<sup>8</sup> *maurgum*, T.

<sup>9</sup> So U.; *wor* only, T.

<sup>10</sup> *brodr*, T.

<sup>11</sup> *skuggsjo*, T., cpr. page 2, line 21, and note 4.

your friendship, a deed wherein you might seem to have more than fully done your part ; yea, although he might have brought down your honour in aught, your anger ought to be satisfied now, for the shriving has been plentiful. But if, rightwisely judged, he should be found to be altogether sackless, then it behoveth you to consider, how far such a king governeth his kingdom aright who, without cause, chaseth such a laudable ruler out of the land and away from his church, and delivereth her wealth and right into the overbearing power of wrong-doing layfolk, setting himself up, besides, as the heir of learned men, and enriching his court with the goods of others. Judge him aright who doeth such things, that he may mend his ways ; for a king who governeth himself wrongly is unprofitable unto many a man. Now pray we your majesty, that our worthy brother and friend archbishop Thomas, who for the sake of his wisdom may be called the mirror of your kingdom, you receive back into your land and into your friendship, with his honour whole in every wise, in order that thereupon he may become your good friend and fellow, and from good better, and from better best ; for such things will happen, as that when coldness and separation have past over, the friendship between people groweth all the warmer. May He now give you good counsel, who holdeth in His hand the life and the hearts of kings, and who alone enableth us to do all good things.

## KAP. XLIX.

ER THÓMAS ERKIBYSKUP OK HEINREKR KONUNGR  
SENDA TIL PÁFANS.

1168.  
Other people write to the king advising him to visit the pope personally.

He writes to the pope intimating a desire for a personal interview on condition that Becket be nowhere near.

Becket beseeches the pope not to grant such an interview.

His letter arrives in curia before the king's messengers.

Samtíða þessu herra páfans brèfi, sem nú var lesit, skrifa fleiri góðir menn af Franz til konungs í Eng- 5 landi með friðsamri umleitan,<sup>1</sup> segja þat vænast til farsældar, ef konungrinn vildi sækja páfans fund; segja þá líkast, at allir tregar myndi úr leggjast málum byskups, ef því líkir geingi millum fyrir vald ok góðvilja. Ok svá kemr þeim fortölum, at konungrinn 10 hlýðir á nokkut lítt, ok gerir sína sendiboða með bréfum til herra páfans. Þar er svá skrifat millum annara luta, at eftir bæn ok tillögu góðra manna vill konungrinn finna herra páfann til viðtals, með því skilorði, at Thómas erkibyskup sé<sup>2</sup> hvergi nærri.<sup>3</sup> Ok 15 sem þessi konungsins bréf fara suðr um sjó, flýgr brátt fyrir Thómam í Pontis, hver kostaboð konungrinn hefir gert Alexandro páfa; ok því bregðr hann<sup>4</sup> við með öllum skunda ok skrifar til herra páfans bæði mjúkliga ok þó einarðliga, biðr hann halda einga<sup>5</sup> stefnu 20 við konung af Englandi sér fráveranda, segir konungrinn svá myrkan mann ok klókan í málsemdum, at úvönnum manni við hans lund sé eigi með öllu auðvelt at sjá við hans<sup>6</sup> útvegum. Þetta bréf heilags Thóme kemr fyrr í curiam enn sendimenn Heinreks 25 konungs, ok því er páfinn forhugsaðr, hversu hann vill svara kostaboðum konungsins. Enn þann tíma sem sendiboðarnar koma í páfagarð fá þeir fremri vissu, enn flutz<sup>7</sup> hafði til Englands, hversu<sup>8</sup> herra páfiun hafði

<sup>1</sup> So U., *uleitan*, T.

<sup>2</sup> *sie*, T.

<sup>3</sup> *nerri*, T.

<sup>4</sup> *hann* added in U.

<sup>5</sup> *eynga*, T.

<sup>6</sup> So U.; *han* only, T.

<sup>7</sup> *flutz*, T.

<sup>8</sup> *hversu*, T.

## CHAP. XLIX.

HOW ARCHBISHOP THOMAS AND KING HENRY SEND  
TO THE POPE.

About the same time that the letter of the lord pope, which was read even now, was written, several good men in France write to the king in England, endeavouring to bring about peace, saying that a happy issue was most chiefly to be hoped for if the king would go and have a meeting with the pope; saying further, that thereby the thing likeliest to happen would be, that all troubles would be cleared away from the bishops' affairs if such men as themselves were to mediate in the matter by their might and good-will. These persuasions bring it about, that the king giveth some little heed to the matter, and sendeth his messengers with letters to the lord pope, wherein amongst other things it is found written that, through the prayer and counselling of good men, the king desireth to have a meeting with the lord pope for to converse with him; but on the condition that archbishop Thomas be nowhere near. Now as these royal letters go south over sea, it swiftly flieth to Thomas in Pontigny, what sort of choice the king has given to pope Alexander; and, therefore, he bestirreth himself with all speed, and writeth to the lord pope, meekly and yet earnestly, praying him not to hold any meeting with the king of England in the absence of himself; saith, that the king is a man so obscure, and so crafty in his language, as that to one not accustomed to his temper, it would be not altogether an easy matter to pay due heed to his shifts. This letter of the holy Thomas cometh to the pope's court before the messengers of king Henry, and therefore the pope has made up his mind how to answer the king's proffer. But by the time the messengers come to the pope's court, they get more certainty than had come to England as yet, of the way in which the lord pope had condemned the customs

1165. fyrirdæmt vana Heinreks konunga, enn fylgt málum erkibyskups. Hér með fá þeir minni blíðu herra páfans, enn þá varði, ok af þessu öllu saman verðr svá, fyrir flutning kardinalium, vina Heinreks konunga, at þeir hafa fult at bera sínum herra; svo ok þat herra páfans<sup>5</sup> bréf, sem þeir taka út ok bera heim til Englands, þyngir heldr enn lættir alla þá frétt, er þeir höfðu at<sup>1</sup> flytja konunginum. Þat bréf uppbrotið talar svá eftir kveðjusending: “þær skrifuðut<sup>2</sup> svá til vár, at þær<sup>3</sup> mund-  
 “ ut fyrir góðra manna tillögur unna oss viðræmalis, ef<sup>10</sup>  
 “ bróðir vár Thómas erkibyskup væri<sup>4</sup> hvergi nærri.  
 “ Enn þessi vegr sýnist oss hvárki lögligr<sup>5</sup> nè góð-  
 “ mannligr; ok of mjök af leiðist þá hit rómverska  
 “ vald sinni skyldu, ef vèr skulum sýnast með nokk-  
 “ urum hætti þeim samlagast, er byskupinn forðast;<sup>15</sup>  
 “ eðr<sup>6</sup> hverr skal þá svara fyrir kirkjuna í Cancia, ef  
 “ herra Thómam skal útlægja frá þeiri dagþingan, er  
 “ hennar rættir ok nytsemdir skulu tracterast. Guð  
 “ firri oss því, at afkynjast svá<sup>7</sup> vorri rómverskri  
 “ kristni, at veita yðr þat eðr<sup>8</sup> nokkurum veraldar<sup>20</sup>  
 “ höfðingja, at setja þeim fjarrvist ok forlitning, sem  
 “ fyrir rætt Guðs ok staðfesti laganna er áðr útlægðr  
 “ ok fyrirlitinn af öðrum.”<sup>9</sup> Svá skrifar herra páfinn.  
 Enn þessu bræfi ok öllu samt, er nú hefir<sup>10</sup> Heinrekr  
 konungr spurt af páfagarði, fyllist hann með svá<sup>25</sup>  
 dauðligri reiði, at hann legst til umhugsanar með  
 vándra manna ráði, hvat hann megi þess gera, at  
 herra páfanum<sup>11</sup> mætti harmr ok mótgerð í þykkja.

The pope writes to the king his reasons for refusing him the audience.

<sup>1</sup> So U.; *af*, T.

<sup>2</sup> So U.; *skripudut*, T.

<sup>3</sup> *þær*, T.

<sup>4</sup> *veri*, T.

<sup>5</sup> *laugligr*, T.

<sup>6</sup> *ædr*, T.

<sup>7</sup> After *sua* T. adds *bædi*.

<sup>8</sup> *ædr*, T.

<sup>9</sup> This letter does not occur among the extant collections of the letter of pope Alexander.

<sup>10</sup> *hafir*, T.

<sup>11</sup> *pauanum*, T.

of king Henry, but had given his support to the affairs of the archbishop. Besides this they are received with less kindness by the lord pope than they had recked of; and from these things, taken all together, it cometh to pass that, through the tale-telling of the cardinals, who were of the friends of king Henry, the messengers have plenty of news to bring back to their lord; moreover that letter of the lord pope, to boot, which they have to take away and carry home with them to England, maketh heavier rather than lighter all the news which they had to bring back to the king. This letter being opened proceedeth thus after the salutation:—

“ You have written to us, to say that through the counselling of good men you would accede to having a conference with us, if our brother, archbishop Thomas, were nowhere near. This way, however, seemeth to us neither a lawful nor a kindly one; and surely the Roman church would stray too far away from the path of duty, if we should be seen in any way joining fellowship with those who shun the archbishop; or who is then to answer for the church of Canterbury, if lord Thomas is to be banished from a conference, where her right and necessities are discussed? God forbid that we should so far degenerate from our Roman church, as to grant you or any other worldly lord to impose absence or lay contempt upon him, who for the right of God and steadfast zeal of the law is already banished and held in contempt by others.”

Thus writeth the lord pope.

But from this letter, taken together with all the things which king Henry has now heard from the court of the pope, he is filled with such a deadly wrath, that he falleth a-thinking, by the counsel of evil-minded men, what things he may now do, whereby the lord pope might think himself harmed and evilly done by.

## KAP. L.

## ER HEINREKR KONUNGR SNÝST Í MÓT PÁFANUM.

King Henry writes to the emperor proposing an alliance against Rome.

Sem Heinrekr konungr hefir staðfest í sínu hjarta, at hann skal nýðast á þeiri trú, er hann tók í fontinum, ok efla þat stríð móti herra páfanum, sem honum 5 sjálfum horfði til sárrar þínu, þat er svá ljósara, at hann skrifar bréf til Friðreks Alimanniæ keisara, er stendr með villupáfa móti réttbornum ok sannkristnum Alexandro. Þau bréf eru<sup>1</sup> svá dauðliga samsett, at Heinrekr konungr afeignar sér alla hlýðni við Róma- 10 kirkju ok Alexandrum páfa, enn býðr sik fram<sup>2</sup> í svardaga til fylgis með Friðreki keisara ok þeim, er hann vill hefja<sup>3</sup> ok halda móti Alexandro páfa.<sup>4</sup> Þessi bréf skipar hann tveim til meðferðar ok framburðar,<sup>5</sup> er heita Jón decan af Exenford<sup>6</sup> ok Rikarðr af 15 Yualcestr.<sup>7</sup> Þessum fær konungr svá mikit umboð, at þeir skulu sverja upp í hans sál svá frekan eið, sem Friðrekr keisari vill stafa þeim til sambands við sik ok sína fyigjara.<sup>8</sup> Ok hvat þarf þat lengja,<sup>9</sup> enn þessir fara ok framkoma,<sup>10</sup> fylla með svardögum ok fast- 20 mælum þat villunnar boð með öllum greinum, sem áðr var tjáð. Ok sem þeir koma aftr í England, samsvarnir villumönnum upp á konunginn, nægist honum þetta eigi, heldr lætr hann almúgann í öllu Englandi vinna þenna eið, at af segjast hlýðni Alex- 25 andri páfa með svá miklu megni, at hverr maðr xij. vetrum ellri vann þessi særi. Þat fylgir, at hann stefnir þing í landinu, fyrirbjóðandi um alt ríkit, at Rómaskattr lúkist í þenna punkt, ok at eingi sè svá

This alliance is mutually sanctioned.

The king causes the English nation to renounce by oath allegiance to the pope.

forbids Peter's

<sup>1</sup> *æru*, T.

<sup>2</sup> *fram*, T.

<sup>3</sup> *hafia*, T.

<sup>4</sup> *pafua*, T.

<sup>5</sup> *framburðar*, T.

<sup>6</sup> *i. e.* John of Oxford, he was made dean of Salisbury in 1165; bishop of Norwich, 1175-1200.

<sup>7</sup> At this time archdeacon of Poitiers, afterwards bishop of Winchester, 1174-1188.

<sup>8</sup> So U.; *fylgara*, T.

<sup>9</sup> *leingia*, T.

<sup>10</sup> *frankoma*, T.

## CHAP. L.

## HOW KING HENRY TURNETH AGAINST THE POPE.

That king Henry has settled in his heart to become traitor to the faith which he received at the font, and to stir up a war against the lord pope which pointeth to sore torment for himself, is made yet clearer now, because he writeth letters to Frederick emperor of Germany, who standeth up for the heretic pope against the rightful and truly catholic Alexander. These letters are framed in so deadly a manner, that king Henry renounceth all obedience to the church of Rome and pope Alexander, but cometh forward offering on his oath to make alliance with emperor Frederick and him whom he hath a will to set up and back against pope Alexander. These letters he ordereth two men to take charge of and deliver, they being hight John dean of Oxford and Richard of Ilchester. To these men the king giveth such broad commission as to swear upon his soul any oath, however great, the emperor Frederick may choose to frame for them for the purpose of an alliance with him and his followers. What need of further lengthening the tale, than to say that these men depart, and come to their journey's end, and fulfil with sworn oaths and plighted words this sacrilegious ordinance in all points even as it has been stated afore. And as they come back to England having sworn themselves into community with heretics in the name of the king, he is not content with this, but ordereth all the people of England to swear an oath renouncing obedience to pope Alexander, and exacteth it with such force that every person in England above twelve years of age must needs swear this oath. Besides this he summoneth a parliament in the country, forbidding throughout the whole realm that Peter's penny be paid



1165.  
pence to be  
paid, and  
appeals to  
be made to  
Rome.

djarfr, at hann appelleri til herra páfans, eðr<sup>1</sup> virði nokkurs, hvárt hann talar blítt<sup>2</sup> eðr<sup>3</sup> strítt. Verðr ok nokkurr<sup>5</sup> at því kunnr, at hann veiti vináttu eðr<sup>6</sup> fylgi herra páfanum ok Thomasi erkibyskupi, skal hans góz<sup>7</sup> alt upptækt ok falla í konungs garð. Ok til 5 þess at fyrr nefndar skipanir haldist almenniliga, skyldar hann til Ríkarð af Luci ok Ríkarð erkidjárn af Peituborg með öllum höfðingjum í landinu at virða þær<sup>8</sup> sem lögteknar ok flytja innan um ríkit. Enn er þessar skipanir, svo harðar ok úkristiligar, með 10 særum þeim, sem fyrir runnu, spyrjast í Franz, harma góðir menn allir, hversu Heinrekr konungr geingr afskeiðis. Enn þó liggur þat þyngst herra páfanum; því at hann vildi honum bezt, ok því fær<sup>9</sup> hann eigi bundizt at skrifa enn til hans, hvat sem þat vinnr. 15 Með þeim bréfum gerir hann ij. virðuliga menn Geirarð subdjárn ok meistara Vivianum. Þeir koma framm<sup>10</sup> fyrir Heinrek konung, tjándi honum hálf nauðgum herra páfans bréf, hvert uppbrotið ok yfirlesit heldr því líkan skilning, sem þessu næst mun greint verða. 20

The pope  
writes to  
king Henry  
again.

## KAP. LI.

BRÉF PÁFANS TIL HEINREKS KÖNUNGS.<sup>11</sup>

The pope's  
letter.

Alexander byskup, þjónn þjóna Guðs, sendir Heinreki Englands konungi skylduga kveðju. Svá mikla frægð sem vèr heyrðum af yðr flutta margan dag, 25 hörmum vèr<sup>12</sup> ok harðla mjök undrum þá eymdar tíma, er yfir yðr líða; hví mikil vitra, þrýdd með náttúrulegri skyn ok tignarhæð, má svá rasandi fara,

<sup>1</sup> *ædr*, T.

<sup>2</sup> *blídi*, T.

<sup>3</sup> *ædr*, T.

<sup>4</sup> *strídi*, T.

<sup>5</sup> *noekur*, T.

<sup>6</sup> *ædr*, T.

<sup>7</sup> *godz*, T.

<sup>8</sup> *þær*, T.

<sup>9</sup> *fær*, T.

<sup>10</sup> *fram*, T.

<sup>11</sup> This letter does not occur among the collected letters of pope Alexander.

<sup>12</sup> *vær*, T.

thereof as at this time, and that no one dare be so bold as to appeal to the lord pope, or heed in aught whether his language be mild or masterful. Further, should anyone be known to accord friendship or give aid to the lord pope or to archbishop Thomas, all the goods of that same person are to be confiscated and forfeited unto the king's court. And in order that the said ordinances be holden by the whole people, he ordereth Richard de Luci and Richard archdeacon of Poitier, together with all the lords within the land, to hold them as sanctioned law and to promulgate them throughout the realm. But when these ordinances, hard and unchristian as they were, together with the oaths which went before them, are heard of in France, all good men grieve how king Henry goeth astray. Yet heaviest it lieth on the lord pope, for he had the best will towards the king, and therefore he could not restrain himself from writing to him once more, no matter what may come of it. These letters he sendeth by two worthy men, sub-deacon Gerard and master Vivian. They come before king Henry delivering unto him, half-unwilling, the letter of the lord pope, which, opened and read through, containeth the sense which shall be recorded now next in the order.

## CHAP. LI.

### THE POPE'S LETTER TO KING HENRY.

Bishop Alexander, the servant of the servants of God, sendeth Henry, England's king, due salutation. The greater the fame which we heard borne abroad of you for many a day, the more we must grieve and wonder exceedingly at the wretched times which now are passing over you: how great wisdom, adorned with natural intellect and exalted dignity, can go on in this

1165.

þar sem þær vitið, at hverr maðr er því meirr skyld-  
bundinn Guði, sem hann þiggr meira lán í þessum  
heimi. Miskunnsamr Guð hóf yðra virðing svá hátt  
meðal manna, at hann setti yðr máttugan konung ok  
auðgaðan allri þessa heims dýrð umframm<sup>1</sup> flesta. 5  
Hvat eru<sup>2</sup> þær honum skyldugir fyrir þetta alt, utan  
standa með honum ok efla hans vilja í öllum lutum?  
Hverr mundi nú trúa því, sem flyzt af yðr, at þær  
hafit þeim samsvarizt, er fyrr sýndust yðr ranglátir  
ok Guðs lögum gagnstaðligir, enn fyrirlítið þann, sem 10  
þú sýndist yðr lögligr.<sup>3</sup> Heyrt hafit<sup>4</sup> þær Sannleikinn  
svá segjanda postolunum: Sá sámir mik, er<sup>5</sup> yðr  
virðir, ok sá hafnar mik, er<sup>5</sup> yðr fyrirlítr. Nú þótt  
yður<sup>6</sup> hugáreiting þikkist oss mein gera með þvílíkri  
forlitning, er hitt miklu sárara, at þær hafnit þann, er 15  
yðr skapaði ok skipaði svo voldugan mann. Ok nú,  
sákir þess, at þær snarist svá hart móti heilagri Róma  
kirkju bæði með eiðum ok aflögligum setningum, þá  
tekr hon aftr<sup>7</sup> í sinn faðm þat legátavald, er fyrr  
veitti hún yðr til forsjó yfir Englandi, því at betr<sup>8</sup> samir 20  
nú, at þat víkist, sem fyrr var, til kirkjunnar í Kancia  
ok elskuligs bróður vors, Thómam erkibyskups, at  
bæði af vorri röksemd<sup>9</sup> ok sinni megi hann hirta  
eðr<sup>10</sup> með öllu þína kirkjunnar úvini; ok upp segjum  
vèr lengr<sup>11</sup> at byrgja hans munn, heldr boði hann 25  
hèðan ífrá Guðs réttilæti<sup>12</sup> eftir<sup>13</sup> skyldu<sup>14</sup> síns em-  
bættis. Nú þótt þær<sup>15</sup> hefðit gefit oss efni at tala  
nokkut stríðara til yðar,<sup>16</sup> ef oss líkaði, þá víkjum vèr  
heldr aðra leið, enn at sinni föðurliga<sup>17</sup> áminnandi

<sup>1</sup> *umfram*, T.<sup>2</sup> *eru*, T.<sup>3</sup> *laugligr*, T.<sup>4</sup> *hafit*, T.<sup>5</sup> *er*, T.<sup>6</sup> *yðr*, T.<sup>7</sup> *aftr*, T.<sup>8</sup> *betr*, T.<sup>9</sup> *rauksemd*, T.<sup>10</sup> *ædr*, T.<sup>11</sup> *leingr*, T.<sup>12</sup> *rættileti*, T.<sup>13</sup> *eftir*, T.<sup>14</sup> So U.; *skyllu*, T.<sup>15</sup> *þær*, T.<sup>16</sup> *yduar*, T.<sup>17</sup> *faudrliga*, T.

headlong madness, when you know that every man is the more indebted to his God, the more good fortune he is endowed with in this world. Merciful God reared your honour so high among men, that he set you up as a mighty king and richly endowed with all the glory of this world beyond most other people. What is your due to Him for all this, but to stand by Him, and to do His will in all things? Who would now believe what is rumoured of you, that you should have sworn yourself into bounden fellowship with those, whom formerly you deemed as of the wicked and as apostates from the laws of God, or that you should hold in contempt him who then seemed lawful unto you? You have heard Truth Himself thus speaking unto the apostles :—He honoureth me who honoureth you, and he scorneth me who despiseth you. Now much as you deem, in the malice of your heart, that you wound us by such contempt, the thing much the more painful of the two to us is, however, that you should spurn Him who created you, and made you such a mighty man. And now, by reason of your turning so hard against the holy church of Rome, both by oaths and unlawful enactments, she must take back to her own bosom that legate's office which afore she granted you for the supervision of England; for it besemeth now better, that it return to where it was formerly, to the church of Canterbury and to our beloved brother, archbishop Thomas, in order that by our authority and his own he may punish or inflict penalties withal on the enemies of the church; and we refuse hereby to shut up his mouth any longer; let him rather henceforth pronounce the justice of God according to the duty of his office. Now although you have given us cause to speak to you more sternly still, if we should choose, we rather turn into the other way of once more

1166. fyrir þessi vor bréf, ok biðjum af Guðs álfu ok hins heilaga Petri ok Pauli, sjálfum yðr til syndalausnar, at þér takit herra Thómam erkibyskup heim til yðar með sannri blíðu, ok hans úskerðri sæmd með konungligri ástúð. Gerit svá fyrir Guðs sakir ok heil- 5 agrar kristni, fyrir tignar sakir sjálfs yðvars ok sóma ríkis yðvars; þá mun Guð<sup>1</sup> styðja með friði yðart vald, ok gera þann enda stundligs ríkis, er upp byrjast með, sælu hins eilífa ríkis. Heyrit vora sendiboða til góðra luta, ef þér vilit oss nokkura hlýðni veita. 10 Valete.

## KAP. LII.

## KONUNGR BLÍÐKAST EKKI.

The king receives the pope's messengers coolly,

þetta bréf herra páfans, sem nú var lesit, flyzt<sup>2</sup> Heinekei konungi fyrir sunnan sjó í Norðmandi, heyrir hann 15 þat at kalla með eyrum líkamans, ok þó er hann harða fjarri, sakir úhlýðni ok harðleika hjartans, svá at varla gefr hann sik liðugan at hafa nokkut samtal með sendiboðum, þótt þeir umleiti með góðvild ok friðsemi at bræða þann harðýðgissjökul, sem hann berr 20 í sínu brjósti til Thómam erkibyskups. Því at eigi seinna enn siðvenjur koma til greina, geingr upp í hávaða fyrir konunginum, segist þat fyrir eingis manns orð gera skulu, at leggja konungstignina eðr<sup>3</sup> afneita sèr þá landsvana, sem at krúnunni lúta ok 25 hans foreldri hafði haldit með sæmd hverr eftir<sup>4</sup> annan. Lærðir menn, er<sup>5</sup> við voru þeira tal, eru<sup>6</sup> konunginum heimonligir, ok því mæla þeir alt eftir<sup>7</sup> konungsins vild, segja ekki<sup>8</sup> utan virðingar hót ok guðligum sóma hvergi í mót, er konungrinn vill hafa, 30 ok því megi þat í friðargrein loffiga til láta. Segja

and when the customs come to be discussed, he gives them angry answers.

The clerks present side

<sup>1</sup> gud, T.  
<sup>2</sup> flytz, T.  
<sup>3</sup> æðr, T.  
<sup>4</sup> eptir, T.

<sup>5</sup> ær, T.  
<sup>6</sup> æru, T.  
<sup>7</sup> eptir, T.  
<sup>8</sup> æcki, T.

fatherly admonishing you by these our letters ; and we pray in the name of God and the holy Peter and Paul that, for the remission of your own sins, you receive this archbishop Thomas home to you in true kindness, and with his honour unshorn, and in kingly love. Do this for the sake of God and the holy church, for the sake of your majesty and the honour of your realm ; then will God increase your power with peace and make the end of your secular kingdom such as to be the beginning of the bliss of the everlasting kingdom. Give ear unto our messengers in good part if you have the will to accord any obedience to us. Farewell.

## CHAP. LII.

## THE KING SOFTENETH NOT.

This letter of the lord pope is brought to king Henry sojourning south beyond sea in Normandy ; he listeneth thereto, so to say, with the ears of the body, yet he is right afar from it by reason of his disobedience and his hardness of heart, so that he scarcely giveth himself leisure to hold any converse with the messengers, although they endeavour by good-will and in a peaceful manner to melt that ice of hardness which he beareth in his breast towards archbishop Thomas. For no sooner come the customs to be treated of, than the king breaketh out into loud talk, saying that he will do it for no man's word to lay down the kingly majesty, or to renounce those customs of the land which concern the crown, and his forefathers one after the other had maintained in due honour. The learned men who overhear their talk are close friends of the king, and therefore speak all of them according to the will of the king, saying that what the king requireth is but due to his worth, and in no wise against divine honour, and therefore may be laudably yielded for the sake of peace. They say that by the

1188.  
with the  
king.

svá skipat af feðrunum, at Guðs rættir ok heilagrar kirkju skal hefja konungliga tign enn hvergi minnka. Konungsvaldit skal ok friða kirkjunnar sæmd enn eigi þyngja. Heilög kirkja sæmir konunginn með smurning ok vígalugerð, ok þar fyrir skyldast hann at 5 vernda sína móður.<sup>1</sup> Skyldast ok heilög móðir at

The messen-  
gers leave  
with threats.

vegsama sinn son andligan. Nú sakir þess at sendi-  
boðar herra páfans skilja konunginn mjök harðan ok úvíkjanligan til friðar, láta þeir fara til nokkur hóf-  
samlig orð, hversu lengi<sup>2</sup> konunginum muni duga at 10 halda þvílíku þrálýndi móti kirkjunni. því dveljast þeir litla hríð, hafa sik aftr<sup>3</sup> í veg ok heim í kuriam. Segja þeir herra páfanum, at eigi er<sup>4</sup> friðvænligt.

Henry  
deigns not  
to answer  
the pope,  
but entrusts  
the reply to  
the bishop  
of Lisieux.

Heinrekr konungr virðir eigi svá mikils þat herra páfans<sup>5</sup> bréf, er nú kom honum næst, at hann vili 15 sjálfr móti skrifa, utan<sup>6</sup> heldr kastar því framm<sup>7</sup> úmerkiliga, at byskupinn af Lyxion skrifi þat, er honum líkar, haldinni konungs staðfesti í alla staði. Byskupinn samsetr þat sama bréf með úeinurð ok eftirmæli<sup>8</sup> við konunginn. Þat byrjar svá: 20

### *Byskupsins bréf.<sup>9</sup>*

The bishop's  
letter.

Virðuligum herra sínum, Alexandro páfa, sendir kveðju<sup>10</sup> byskup af Lyxion. Heinrekr konungr tók sæmiliga yðra sendiboða, ok mundi þó enn frammar<sup>11</sup> gerzt hafa, ef yðr þótti alt einn veg. Um<sup>12</sup> frið ok 25 sætt við Thómam erkibyskup ok hans heimkvomu tók hann vel eftir yðarri bæn ok tilmæli; hafði þar við lærðra manna ráð ok vina<sup>13</sup> sinna, ok sagði, at erki-

<sup>1</sup> *modr*, T.

<sup>2</sup> *leingi*, T.

<sup>3</sup> *aptr*, T.

<sup>4</sup> *er*, T.

<sup>5</sup> *pauans*, T.

<sup>6</sup> *utan*, T.

<sup>7</sup> *fram*, T.

<sup>8</sup> *eftirmæli*, T.

<sup>9</sup> This letter is but a summary of bishop Arnulf's letter, cf. Arnulf Lexoviensis episcopi epistolæ, ep. lxii. Migne, cci. 91-92.

<sup>10</sup> *Q.*, T.

<sup>11</sup> *framarr*, T.

<sup>12</sup> *Vm*, T.

<sup>13</sup> So U.; *sinna*, T.

ordinances of the fathers, it behoveth the right of God and the right of holy church to exalt kingly dignity, but to diminish it in no wise. So also shall kingly power ward with peace the honour of the church, but not oppress it: The holy church honoureth the king with anointment and coronation, and therefore he is bounden to defend his mother; as also the holy mother is in duty bound to glorify her spiritual son. Now as the messengers of the lord pope find how headstrong the king is, and not to be swayed into the way of peace, they let fall some gentle words, as to how long the king thinketh it will do for him to abide in such a cross-grained frame of mind towards the church. For this reason they tarry but a little while, and betake themselves again on the way home to the pope's court. They tell the pope how things look anything but likely for peace.

The lord king giveth not even so much heed to that letter of the lord pope which he received last, as to write himself an answer thereto; but throweth only out a disdainful hint that the bishop of Lisieux may write in answer to it whatever he thinketh fit, his own steadfast will being held to in every way. The bishop frameth this same letter in an insincere mind and in obsequious language towards the king. It beginneth thus:—

*The Bishop's Letter.*

To the worthy lord, pope Alexander, the bishop of Lisieux sendeth greeting. King Henry gave a seemly reception to your messengers, and yet things would have sped better still, if you two were of one mind in all things. As concerning peace and concord with archbishop Thomas, and his return home, he took these things in a good part according to your prayer and request; calling in, as touching these very matters, the counsel of learned men and his friends, and said, that as for him



1168. byskup mætti svá fara heim sem heiman fyrir honum ok hans mönnum, ok taka sinn byskupsstól úskerðan, ok halda síðan með farsæld ok friði framar<sup>1</sup> enn fyrr Guði til dýrðar ok sér til sóma, at haldinni konungs tign at fornu ok nýju um alla luti. Enn sendiboðar<sup>5</sup> yðrir vildu því öngu játta fyrir yðra hönd, er þeim þótti Guðs rétti nokkut hættligt. Nú biðjum vèr, sem framfallinn<sup>2</sup> yðr til fóta, at þèr þyrmit með þolinmæði, þótt áminningar yðrar sè seinna innleiddar til friðar ok framkvæmdar,<sup>3</sup> enn<sup>4</sup> þèr vildit. Látið eigi útal 10 manna fá hrygð ok hrapan fyrir eins manns sök<sup>5</sup> ok þverúð; því at oftliga<sup>6</sup> vinnr meira til samþykkis linleikr ok hógþær hvíld, enn stríðleikr ok stórmæli. Valete.

## KAP. LIII.

## THÓMAS SKRIFAR BRÉF TIL HEINREKS KONUNGS. 15

Becket's  
letter to  
king Henry.

Nú<sup>7</sup> er at renna augum til hins heilaga Thóman erkibyskups, þar sem hann sitr í Pontis, hversu hann hefir aftr<sup>8</sup> þegit með páfans bulla þat legátavald með úskóddum heiðr, er fyrr var greint. Hann fregnar alla þá framferð,<sup>9</sup> sem Heinrekr konungr kýss sèr 20 til handa innan lands ok utan. Spurt hefir hann ok, hversu<sup>10</sup> föðurliga<sup>11</sup> herra páfinn leitar honum lækningar, ok fær<sup>12</sup> eigi til gróðrar hans meinum vikit. Því sýnist honum heyriligt sínu embætti,<sup>13</sup> at þegja eigi lengr,<sup>14</sup> heldr gefa konunginum, sínum andligum syni, nokkur 25 áminningarorð; ek því skrifar hann svo fallit brèf<sup>15</sup> til Englands.

<sup>1</sup> framarr, T.

<sup>2</sup> framfallinn, T.

<sup>3</sup> So U.; framkvædar, T.

<sup>4</sup> So U.; er, T.

<sup>5</sup> sauk, T.

<sup>6</sup> optluga, T.

<sup>7</sup> Nv, T.

<sup>8</sup> aftr, T.

<sup>9</sup> framferð, T.

<sup>10</sup> hversu, T.

<sup>11</sup> föðurliga, T.

<sup>12</sup> fær, T.

<sup>13</sup> embætti, T.

<sup>14</sup> leingr, T.

<sup>15</sup> bréfit, T.

or his men the archbishop might come back home even as he had gone away from home, and receive his see unshorn and hold it afterwards in bliss and peace greater than before, to the glory of God and to his own honour ; only that royal dignity of former and later times should be holden to unimpaired in all things. But your messengers would say yea on your behalf to nought which they deemed as in any way dangerous to the right of God. Now pray we, as if we were kneeling down to your feet, that you exercise mercy and long-suffering, though your admonitions be more tardily followed and worked out towards the establishment of peace than you would wish. Let not be brought upon an untold multitude of people grief and downfall for the sake of one man's stubbornness ; for often worketh meekness and calm abiding more towards bringing about peace and concord, than does sternness and strong language. Farewell.

## CHAP. LIII.

## THOMAS WRITETH A LETTER TO KING HENRY.

Now it behoves to turn our eyes towards the holy archbishop Thomas, whereas he dwelleth in Pontigny having received again, by a bull of the pope, that legate's office with unimpaired honour, of which mention has been made afore. He getteth news of all the proceedings which king Henry chooseth to take in hand both inland and abroad. He has also heard, how fatherly the lord pope seeketh to find healing for him, and yet affordeth not to bring it about that his hurts grow whole. It therefore seemeth to him to belong to his office to be silent no longer, but to minister to the king, his spiritual son, some words of admonition ; and therefore he writeth to England a letter framed as here followeth :

*Bréf.<sup>1</sup>*

1168.

Herra sínum ok kærum vin Heinreki, Englands konungi, sendir Thómas, lágr þjónn Kantarabyrgis kristni, ok postoligs sætis legatus, ok forðum yðarr minsti þjónustusveinn, kveðju<sup>2</sup> Guðs ok sína. Langt er síðan 5 mik lysti at tala með yðr, nokkut mjök fyrir mína skuld ok svá fyrir yðra. Því fyrir mína, at mér senum<sup>3</sup> myktist<sup>4</sup> yðvart hjarta ok minntist þeirar þjónustu, er ek veitti yðr forðum at Guðs vitand eftir<sup>5</sup> minni kunnastu. Ok ef þer vildit svá vfkja, mundi 10 yðr hugnæmt, hvar ek sit fátækr með útlenskum<sup>6</sup> lýð, þótt vær hafim lífs næring af Guðs forsjó ok góðra manna<sup>7</sup> veizlu. Ok hversu samir þvílík fjarlægð, mætti yður<sup>8</sup> vitra vel skilja, af því at<sup>9</sup> Guð gerði með okkr, at þer erut herra minn ok konungr minn 15 ok andligr son minn. Fyrir herradóm skyldast ek yðr til heilræðis sem mínum lávarði, fyrir konungdóm til rætttrar virðingar, ok sem byskup til áminningar, fyrir faðerni andligt til ávítanar ok ráðningar, því at faðir á fyrst at<sup>10</sup> hirta son sinn með blíðmælum, þá með 20 stríðmælum, síðast<sup>11</sup> með ráðningum. Konungi veri hugsanda, hversu<sup>12</sup> hann skyldast af Guðs álfi at semja sik, ok aðra at sínum dæmum, styrkja góða menn, enn hegna rangláta. Svo hētu þer Guði í vígslu yðvarri, þá er þer tókut bæði smurning ok 25 tvíeggjat sverð. Krismat höfut sýnir yðra dýrð, krismat brjóst merkir yðra vizku, krismaðir armleggir<sup>13</sup> þýða konungligan styrk til lögligrar verndar fyrir kristni Guðs. Þessarra þriggja gjafa, dýrðar, vizku,

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Epist. clxxix., Migne, exc. 651-653.

<sup>2</sup> Q. only, T.

<sup>3</sup> sienum, T.

<sup>4</sup> myktiz, T.

<sup>5</sup> optir, T.

<sup>6</sup> utlendzkum, T.

<sup>7</sup> So U.; mana, T.

<sup>8</sup> ydr, T.

<sup>9</sup> The words þv at added in U.

<sup>10</sup> So U.; aa, T.

<sup>11</sup> sidarst, T.

<sup>12</sup> huersu, T.

<sup>13</sup> So U.; armlegir, T.

*Letter.*

To his lord and dear friend Henry, England's king, sendeth Thomas, humble servant of the church of Canterbury, and legate of the apostolic see, and aforetime the least swain in your service, God's greeting and his own. Long it is since I desired to speak to you ; much indeed for my own, but much also for your sake. For my sake, in order that, having seen me, your heart might soften, and be put in mind of the service which aforetime I did you, God knoweth, to the best of my power. And would you but turn your heed to these things, surely, you would call to mind where I sit destitute among outlandish folk, although we find nourishment for our body by the providence of God and the bounty of good people. And how such a sojourn afar from home be-seemeth, your wisdom may well understand, for God hath so done by us that you are my master, and my king, and my spiritual son. By your mastership I am bound to give you wholesome counsel as my lord, by your kingdom rightfully to worship you and, as bishop, to admonish you ; by my spiritual fatherhood I am bound to rebuke and chastise you, for it behoveth the father to correct his son, first in words of kindness, then in words of sternness, and at last by punishments. The king ought well to consider, how he is bound in duty, on behalf of God, to conduct himself, and others by his own example, to fortify the good, but to punish the wicked. This you promised to God in your coronation, when you received both the ointment and the two-edged sword. The anointed head showeth your majesty, the anointed breast signifieth your wisdom, the anointed arms betoken kingly strength in the lawful warding of the church of God. These three gifts, majesty, wisdom, strength, those

1165. styrktar, mistu þeir konungar, er forðum geingu á Guðs rétt, sem var Saul, Pharao ok Nabagodonosor, ok aðrir fleiri. Enn þeir konungar, er eftir<sup>1</sup> lögbrot bjuggu sik undir iðran, þágu þegar aftr<sup>2</sup> fyrir Guðs miskunn þessa þrjá luti, ok framar<sup>3</sup> enn fyrr, sem ó Davíð ok Ezechias. Jesús Krístr smíðaði sína heilaga kristni, ok leysti hana til sín með svo miklu verði, sem er sjálfs hans blóð. Þessa sína brúði skipaði hann í tvo flokka, lærdóms ok leikmanna, með þeim hætti, at lærdómrinn skal dæma<sup>4</sup> leikvaldit, enn eigi leik- 10 valdit lærdómminn. Því er ljóst, minn herra, at byskupinn á yðart vald yfer<sup>5</sup> at bjóða. Eingan megi þer bannfæra eðr<sup>6</sup> leysa, eingan vígja klerkanna, né yfir þá dæma, eigi skipa kirkjur eðr<sup>6</sup> tíundir taka, eðr<sup>6</sup> banna<sup>7</sup> byskupum at vanda um illgerðir sinna undir- 15 manna, eðr<sup>8</sup> aðra hluti draga undir úvenjur Heinreks konungs móðurföður<sup>9</sup> yðvars. Því at eigi finst ritað, at vorr Herra kallist siðvenja, heldr sjálfir Sannleikrinn. Hlýð nú, herra konungr, ok heyr heilagt ráð trúlynds þjóns þíns, áminning byskups þíns ok hirting föður<sup>10</sup> 20 þíns. Varast samlag eðr<sup>11</sup> samneyti þrætumanna ok bannsettra; því at nær<sup>12</sup> er kunnigt allri heimsins bygð, hversu vel ok virðuliga þer hófútt yðart ríki til Guðs ok rómverskrar kristni með fylgd ok flutningi, svá ok hversu páfinn hefir yðr elskat umframm aðra höfðingja. 25 Nú ef upphafit er<sup>13</sup> lofsamligt, berit hugsan fyrir, at endinn verði eigi forlitligr. Nú ef þer vilit yðra andarheilsu, gerit nú svá góðan lut, rænit eigi heilaga kristni sinni sæmd, minnist heldr, hvern eiðstaf þer lögðut<sup>14</sup> á altarið, er þer vígðust til konungs af Theo- 30

<sup>1</sup> *eftir*, T.<sup>2</sup> *aftr*, T.<sup>3</sup> *framarr*, T.<sup>4</sup> *dæma*, T.<sup>5</sup> *yfer*, T.<sup>6</sup> *eðr*, T.<sup>7</sup> So U.; *banna*, T.<sup>8</sup> *eðr*, T.<sup>9</sup> *móðurfödur*, T.<sup>10</sup> *föður*, T.<sup>11</sup> *eðr*, T.<sup>12</sup> *nær*, T.<sup>13</sup> *er*, T.<sup>14</sup> *lögðut*, T.

kings forfeited, who of old trespassed upon the right of God, such as were Saul, Pharaoh, and Nebuchadnezzar, with sundry others. But the kings who, after having broken the law, were ready to repent, received back at once, through God's mercy, these three things, yea even in a fuller measure than before, such as David and Hezekiah. Jesus Christ built up his holy church, and ransomed it to himself by so great a price even as is his own blood. This his own bride he divided into twain hosts, learned men and lay-folk, in such manner, that the clerkhood should judge the lay-power, not the lay-power the clerkhood. It is therefore clear, my lord, that the bishop has to rule over your power. You may nowise excommunicate or absolve any one; not one of the clerks may you consecrate, nor pass judgment on any one of them; of churches you may nowise dispose, nor take any tithes to yourself, nor forbid the bishops to reprove those beneath them for their evil deeds, nor drag any other church matters in under the evil customs of your mother's father, king Henry. For it is found written nowhere that our Lord be called Custom, but rather the very Truth. Hark thou now, O lord king, and give ear unto a holy counsel of a faithful servant, unto the admonition of your bishop, and unto the chastisement of your father. Shun the fellowship or the community of schismatics and of excommunicated persons; for it is known well nigh to the whole inhabited world, how you began your reign worshipfully towards God and the Roman church, in the aid and furtherance you afforded her; as also, how the pope hath loved you beyond all other lords. Now if the beginning was laudable, take heed lest the end be contemptible. Now, if you desire your soul's salvation, then do a good deed: rob not the holy church of her honour, but remember rather what kind of oath you delivered on the altar, when you were consecrated king by archbishop Theobald; what you

1108. baldo erkibyskupi; hvat þer<sup>1</sup> sórut um lagahald heil-  
 agrar kristni, eðr<sup>2</sup> hverr styrktarmaðr þer skyldut  
 vera kirkjunni í Kanncia, er yðr gaf vald ok vígalu.  
 Gerit nú svo vel, minn góði herra, gjaldit aftr<sup>3</sup> heil-  
 agri kirkju eignir<sup>4</sup> sínar úskerðar, kastala, þorp<sup>5</sup> ok 5  
 bæsi, er þer hafit skift ok skutlat higat ok þagat eftir<sup>6</sup>  
 vilja yðrum enn eingum rættindum. Svo ok ef yðr  
 sýnist, látið oss í friði ok frelsi heim fara til<sup>7</sup> stóls  
 vors ok þar sitja með náðum. Ok ef þetta veitist,<sup>8</sup>  
 viljum vðr yðr þjóna með allri vorri kunnastu at höldn- 10  
 um<sup>9</sup> ok heilum Guðs rætti í alla staði. Enn ef þessu  
 verðr neitað, má yðr í hug koma, hvern enda þat  
 mun hafa. Gefi várr Herra yðr vel at skipast,<sup>10</sup> sèr til  
 dýrðar enn yðr til sálubótar. Valete.

## KAP. LIV.

15

## ÚTLÆGÐIR FRÆNDR THÓME.

This letter  
 exasperates  
 the king.

Nú<sup>11</sup> sem þetta bréf hins heilaga Thómas erki-  
 byskups kemr fyrir Heinrek konung, tekr hann eigi  
 svá föðurlig ráð ok áminningar, sem honum var nú  
 venjuligt, því at hans hjarta angrast af þeiri sturlan, 20  
 sem syndagjaldit kann at vinna þeim, sem Guðs ótta  
 hefir frá sèr vísat. Hann reiðist bréfinu bæði fyrir  
 einarðlig orð, ok svá þat er kveðjusending vottar, at  
 erkibyskup hefir aftr<sup>12</sup> þegit legátavaldit. Eigi líkar  
 honum ok vel þat, er hann spyr, at flestir höfðingjar 25  
 í Franz sinna meirr erkibyskupi enn honum í þeira  
 skiftum.<sup>13</sup> Því legst hann í ráðagerð með nýju grimdar-  
 kyni, hvat hann megi til þess taka, at Thómasi

<sup>1</sup> þar, T.<sup>2</sup> eðr, T.<sup>3</sup> aftr, T.<sup>4</sup> eignir, T.<sup>5</sup> þorf, T.<sup>6</sup> eftir, T.<sup>7</sup> til added in U.<sup>8</sup> veitist, T.<sup>9</sup> höldnum, T.<sup>10</sup> skipa, T.<sup>11</sup> Nu, T.<sup>12</sup> aftr, T.<sup>13</sup> skiptum, T.

swore as to holding the laws of the holy church, or as to what stay you would be to the church of Canterbury, which bestowed upon you both power and coronation. Be now pleased, my good lord, to restore to holy church her properties undiminished, castles, villages and towns, which you have distributed and dissipated hither and thither according to your own will, but according to no right. So also, if it seem good to you, let us go in peace and freedom back to our see, and abide there in quiet. And if you grant this, we will serve you as best we know how, saving, however, God's right in every way. But if this should be refused, you have reason well to consider what end it will have. May our Lord grant, that you be so well disposed as to do his glory and to work your salvation. Farewell.

## CHAP. LIV.

## THE KIN OF THOMAS ARE BANISHED.

Now when this letter of the holy archbishop Thomas cometh before king Henry, he, as was his wont now, taketh no heed of such fatherly counsels and admonitions, for his heart is aggrieved by that trouble of mind which the wages of sin oft will bring upon him, who has turned away from him the fear of God. He turns wroth at the letter, both on account of the frank words in which it was framed, as also because the salutation testified that the archbishop had received the legate's office back again. Nor liketh it him well to hear, that most lords in France side with the archbishop rather than with himself in their dealings together. He therefore falleth a-thinking, by what new manner of cruelty, he may contrive a thing



1168. erkibyskupi sè mest í móti umframm<sup>1</sup> aðra luti. Enn þat verðr fundit með þess tillögu, er friðinn hatar jafnan, at allir frændr<sup>2</sup> ok fálagar Thóme erkibyskups skulu hans gjalda, ok sú skal allra þeira útlegrðar<sup>3</sup> sök af Englandi, er þeir voru honum skyldir. 5 Svo harða stríðu setr konungrinn hér á óheyrðri grimd, at hverr<sup>4</sup> maðr vígrðr ok úvígrðr, karl ok kona, ungr ok gamall, ríkr ok fátækr, er fanst í nokkurri frændsemi<sup>5</sup> við heilagan Thómam, er nú keyrðr í útlegrð. Ok svá úmannliga er at unnit, at sængarkonan 10 ok brjóstbarnit í vöggu liggjanda ferr sömu leið. Hér með ferr<sup>6</sup> þat til auka, at allir þeir, sem skilningaraldr höfðu, kúgast til at vinna eið yfir guðs-spjallabók, at þeir skulu allir fara til fundar erkibyskups ok gráta fyrir honum sína vesöld. Var þat 15 fundit fyrir tvífalda sök; þá aðra, at særa því margfaldligar<sup>7</sup> byskupsins hjarta ofan á útlegrðina, enn fyrir þá aðra, at hann beygrðist fljótarar at miskunna þessum ölmusumönnum<sup>8</sup> ok knèfalla konunginum. Enn er sætlegggr heilags Thóme útlægðist af Anglia, 20 kastar Heinrekr konungr sinni eign á alt þat góz<sup>9</sup> í föstu ok lausu, er þeir áttu, sem nú landflæmir hann. Hér með eru<sup>10</sup> Guðs eignir því forligar ok fastara undan dregnar<sup>11</sup> kirkjunni, sem erkibyskupinn hafði boðit í sínu brèfi, at þær skyldi með Guðs lögum 25 aftr<sup>12</sup> leggjast.

þat sáluga fólk, sem útlægðist,<sup>13</sup> sækir flest suðr um sjó, ok margir af þeim alt framm<sup>14</sup> í Pontis á fund erkibyskups. Enn þat má góðr maðr hugleiða, hversu þat blezaða brjóst mundi samharma þeira sorg, einkan- 30

All Becket's kin are banished.

All adults must swear to present themselves with waiting before the archbishop.

The king confiscates the properties of the Becket family, and appropriates church properties hated than ever before.

<sup>1</sup> *umfram*, T.

<sup>2</sup> *frændr*, T.

<sup>3</sup> *utlegðar*, T.

<sup>4</sup> *hver*, T.

<sup>5</sup> *frændsemi*, T.

<sup>6</sup> *fer*, T.

<sup>7</sup> *margfalligar*, T.

<sup>8</sup> Editor's conjecture, *ölmusum*, T.

<sup>9</sup> *godz*, T.

<sup>10</sup> *ær*, T.

<sup>11</sup> So U.; *dregmir*, T.

<sup>12</sup> *aptr*, T.

<sup>13</sup> *utlegðiz*, T.

<sup>14</sup> *fram*, T.

such as shall vex the soul of archbishop Thomas beyond every thing else. So now this is contrived, by the counsel of him, who always hateth peace, to let all the kith and kin of archbishop Thomas suffer for him, insomuch as to make it for all of them a guilt unto banishment from England that they happen to be akin to him. And such a relentless masterfulness with unheard of cruelty the king bringeth to bear, that every person, consecrated or not consecrated, man and woman, young and old, rich and poor, on being found to be in any way related to the holy Thomas, is now driven into exile. And in such inhuman manner are these dealings carried out, that the woman sick with child, and the suckling baby lying in the cradle, must needs go one and the same way. Hereunto is added still, that all who have come to years of discretion, are forced to make an oath on the book of the gospels to go to meet the archbishop and to bewail their misery before him. This was contrived for a twofold reason; the one, to wound in a still more manifold manner the bishop's heart, over and above the banishment; the other, to make him incline the quicker to compassion with these folk of alms, and so to bow to the king. But straightway as the kin of the holy Thomas has been banished, the king casteth his possession on all the property, fast and loose, which belonged to those whom he now chaseth out of the land. Besides this, the property of God is dragged away from the church, all the faster and more fiercely because the archbishop had demanded in his letter that by the law of God it should be restored.

Most of the forlorn folk who were banished betake themselves south over sea, and many of them go all the way to Pontigny to meet the archbishop. But any good man may imagine how that blessed breast must needs be moved to compassion with their grief, for this

1168. liga<sup>1</sup> fyrir þat er hann sýndist verða sem þeira útleigðar sök þó úviljandi,<sup>2</sup> ok eigi því heldr viknar hann í þessum öfundar<sup>3</sup> stormi, heldr stendr hann æ því sterkligar, sem hann er fallsins framar knúinn. Treystir hann nú blezadr<sup>4</sup> á vini sína, at gera nokk-5 urt ráð fyrir þeim fátæka fjölda. Ok svo geingr nú með honum mildi Guðs, at öllum þessum þiggr hann einhverjar hjálpir í ýmissa staði. Þeir voru aðrir af hans frændum, at heldr vildi leita sár útvega enn kæra sik fyrir honum, ok þótt þeir ynni sína nauðungar-10 eiða þar um, var þeim þat lofigt af lögunum,<sup>5</sup> finst ok svá skrifat, at til varygðar lét herra páfinn leysa marga af þeim særum.

Becket provides for all the exiles in some way.

Many of them were absolved from their oath by the pope.

Enn er þetta eyndarverk Heinreks konungs spyrst<sup>6</sup> suðr<sup>7</sup> um sjó, harma góðir menn, hversu hans<sup>8</sup> öfund 15 studerar æ frammleidis<sup>9</sup> at angra meinlausan erkibyskupinn ok nú áðr útlægan. Sannliga má segja, at nú er umvoltin sú víðfrægð Heinreks konungs, er herra Thómas veik til næst í sínu bræfi. Fyrr var tíðrætt um hans góðvild, frammistöðu ok fylgi með Rómverja 20 kristni ok rættkjörnum Alexandro páfa, enn nú rísa málsemdir af hans óhlýðni ok eiðum með sambandi þrætumanna, þar með af hatri ok hermdum, er hann efdi móti erkibyskupinum. Því at eigi sýnist vitram mönnum sækiligt, þótt herra Thómas byði fyrir þá 25 sök sitt vald af höndum fyrir herra páfanum, er hann hafði leiðzt til úleyfðrar samþykktar með konunginum. Ei virðist ok saknæmt, þótt herra páfinn<sup>10</sup> skipaði honum aftr<sup>11</sup> sinn heiðr ok heila sæmd, ok heyrði þá kardinales máttuliga þar um, er meirr elskuðu frammlög 30 Heinreks konungs enn heilagrar kirkju lög. Nú skilja

The law advisers of the crown find it unadvisable to prosecute Becket.

<sup>1</sup> *einlannlega*, T.

<sup>2</sup> So U.; *ouviljandi*, T.

<sup>3</sup> *afundar*, T.

<sup>4</sup> *blezadr*, T.

<sup>5</sup> *laugunum*, T.

<sup>6</sup> *spyrdr*, T.

<sup>7</sup> So U.; *sydr*, T.

<sup>8</sup> *han* only, T.

<sup>9</sup> *frammleidis*, T.

<sup>10</sup> *paufinn*, T.

<sup>11</sup> *aptr*, T.

reason chiefly, that it might seem as if he were the very cause of their banishment, though unwilling; yet none the more doth he soften down in this storm of malice, but standeth rather the faster, the harder he is pushed on to the fall. He now calleth upon his friends to make some provision for the destitute multitude. And in such manner standeth God's mercy beside him, that he findeth relief in some degree for all these people in various places. Then there were others among his kinsfolk who rather chose to go by themselves in search for ways of livelihood, than to complain to him; and although they had sworn their unwilling oaths to the contrary, this was permissible in law; it being found written moreover, that the pope, out of wary heed, let loosen many of them from that oath.

But when this sad deed of Henry is rumoured south beyond sea, good men grieve, how his envy studieth still without relenting to vex the harmless archbishop, already an outlaw. Truly it may be said, that now hath tumbled alow the fair fame of king Henry, to which lord Thomas alluded in his last letter. Formerly much was talked of his good-will, support and aid of the Roman church and the rightly chosen pope Alexander; but now the word goeth abroad of his disobedience, and the oaths wherewith he hath allied himself to schismatics, as also of the hatred and malice which he emboldened against the archbishop. For wise men deem it not a matter wherefore lord Thomas could be prosecuted at law, that he delivered out of his hand his office before the lord pope, for the reason that he had been led into an unlawful consent with the will of the king. Nor is it deemed a matter of guilt either, that the pope restored to him again his honour and whole dignity, and gave but a slight hearing in that matter to those of the cardinals who loved more the proffers of king Henry, than the laws of the church. Now wise men understand,

1168.  
wherefore  
the king  
dealeth all  
the more  
harahly  
with the  
church.

Peace is  
brought  
about be-  
tween the  
pope and his  
enemies.

vísir menn, sem verkin votta, at slíkar greinir rísa af grunni með konungsins hjarta, ok því er auðsýnt, sem sögunni líðr, at hann ferr æ harðnandi meirr ok meirr móti kirkjunni, þótt aðrir höfðingjar, er mótgang veittu kristninni, sè<sup>1</sup> nú komnir í nokkurn 5 myktaranda,<sup>2</sup> sem fremstan má til nefna Friðrek keisara. Nú er undir lok liðinn fjórði hans villupáfi,<sup>3</sup> er þeir kölluðu Calixtum.<sup>4</sup> Gerist nú svá með mildi Guðs ok góðra manna fortöllum, at keisarinn leggr af ílsku<sup>5</sup> þeiri, at taka þá fleiri, ok snýr nú til friðar 10 við Alexandrum páfa.<sup>6</sup> Varð sú þeira sætt, sem segir in cronicis, at keisarinn krossaðist til Jórsalalands með alt sitt herfólk, því at þá var nýliga vunnit Jórsalaríki undir Saladin konung af Babilon fyrir bölvaðan<sup>7</sup> ágang ok úfrið heiðinna þjóða, sem fylli- 15 liga stendr í þess háttar letrum.<sup>8</sup> Hær með snýst Grikklands konungr ok Sikileyjar konungr til sættar við herra páfann litlu síðar.<sup>9</sup> Ok þá er þvílíkir lutir heyrast, verðr öllum því ljósara, hverr harðýðgismaðr Heinrekr konungr í Englandi hefir verit, at þá er 20 aðrir sjást um ok bætast, verðr hann af hörðum harðari ok af vondum verri.

## KAP. LV.

## PÁFI FÓR HEIM Í RÓM, ENN THÓMAS VAR EFTIR.

Pope Alex-  
ander re-  
turns to  
Rome.

Nú<sup>10</sup> fagnar heilög Rómverja kristni, er herra páfinn 25 ok keisarinn eru<sup>11</sup> sáttir, ok því flýgr sú frægð innan

<sup>1</sup> *sic*, T.

<sup>2</sup> *myktaranda*, T.

<sup>3</sup> *villupafui*, T.

<sup>4</sup> Here the chronology and connection of events is utterly misplaced, Calixtus was the third anti-pope of Alexander III., and he renounced his schism first 1178; in fact he was not yet in his antipapal

existence. For other chronological mistakes, see preface.

<sup>5</sup> *illsku*, T.

<sup>6</sup> *pauz*, T.

<sup>7</sup> *bauluadan*, T.

<sup>8</sup> *i.e.* in cronicis, cf. line 12.

<sup>9</sup> *sidarr*, T.

<sup>10</sup> *Nv*, T.

<sup>11</sup> *eru*, T.

and deeds bear witness, that these matters swell the heart of the king from its very core; and therefore, it becometh clear, as the story weareth on, that he goeth on, hardening more and more against the church, yea, even though other lords, who had shown the church some enmity, had now turned into a spirit of meekness, foremost among which emperor Frederick may be named. Now has come to his end the fourth of his heretical popes, whom they called Calixtus. And it now so befalleth by the grace of God and the persuasions of good men, that the emperor layeth aside the wickedness of setting up any more of them, but turneth to peace with pope Alexander. Their peace was concerted in such wise as is said in the chronicles, that the emperor took the cross for Palestine with all his war-host, for by this time a short while ago the kingdom of Jerusalem had been conquered by Saladin, king of Babylon, through the accursed inroads of heathen nations, as standeth fully set forth in such kind of writings. Hereby, too, the king of Greece and the king of Sicily turn, a little later, to peace with the lord pope. Now when these things are heard of, it becometh the clearer to all folk, how hard of heart king Henry in England was that when others take heed and amend, he became from hard harder, and from evil worse.

#### CHAP. LV.

##### THE POPE GOETH TO ROME, BUT THOMAS ABIDETH BEHIND.

Now rejoiceth the holy church of Rome, that the lord pope and the emperor are at peace; and therefore the

1168. um Franz, at eftir<sup>1</sup> loffigum sið rómverskra byskupa, setlar herra Alexander páfi at vanda heim í Róm til síns öndvegis.<sup>2</sup> Ok er þat fregn hinn<sup>3</sup> signaði Thómas erkibyskup, ferðast hann fjótliga til Sains, ok fylgir herra páfanum,<sup>4</sup> ok snýrr<sup>5</sup> aftr<sup>6</sup> í Pontiniacum. Varð<sup>5</sup> þessi skilnaðr þeira síðastr í þessu lífi, því at þeir sést aldri síðan líkamliga. Enn þat er eigi gleymanda, hversu<sup>7</sup> þeir skildust merkiliga; því at með nokkurum hætti setti páfinn sik sjálfan eftir<sup>8</sup> hjá erkibyskupinum, þótt hann sneri heim til Róms, þá er hann 10 samлагаði sína röksemd<sup>9</sup> byskupains valdi, at hann mætti öroggr<sup>10</sup> vega Guðs úvini með sverði hins heilaga Petri, svá frjálsliga sem hann hefði beggja<sup>11</sup> þeira vald í hendi. því at herra páfinn hafði nú feingit fulla raun, hvert ofressi Thómas erkibyskup tók sér í 15 fang, því at hann sjálf hafði gert marga orðsending ok áminning til Englands bæði lærðum ok leikmönnum, sem hann sat í Sainz, ok stóð sem áðr, utan heldr þyngir, því at lærdómrinn líkist nú konungsmönnum, at draga undir sik kirkjunnar góz<sup>12</sup> í Cancia. Má þar 20 einkanliga nefna til Jocelin, byskup af Sarisber, ok Jón hans decan af Oxenford; þeir báðir samt halda undir sik eina kirkjueign harðla góða, er lýtr undir stólinn í Kancia. Herra páfinn<sup>13</sup> hafði gert þeim báðum áminning þar um svá frama at leggja em-25 bættið, ef þeir hefði eðr<sup>14</sup> haldi eignina. Enn þeir stóðu sem áðr, hafandi bæði samt, jörð ok embætti. Her með fregn heilagr Thómas svá mikit hatr Englis-

He is accompanied part of the way by Becket.

They part for the last time.

The pope gives extended powers to Becket before parting.

Bishop Jocelin of Salisbury and John of Oxford invade the church of Canterbury.

Friends of Becket are exiled.

<sup>1</sup> *eptir*, T.

<sup>2</sup> *aundvegis*, T.

<sup>3</sup> *hins*, T.

<sup>4</sup> *pauanum*; T. He went with the pope as far as Bourges on his way to Rome: "Dominus vero papa Romam reversurus iter in-  
" greditur, quem prosequatur ar-  
" chiepiscopus usque Bitaricum." Alan. Migne, cxc. 224. The pope arrived at Bourges on, or just before,

the 28th April. Jaffé. Reg. Pont., 708.

<sup>5</sup> *snýrr*, T.

<sup>6</sup> *aftr*, T.

<sup>7</sup> *hversu*, T.

<sup>8</sup> *eptir*, T.

<sup>9</sup> *rauhsemd*, T.

<sup>10</sup> *avroggr*, T.

<sup>11</sup> *bæggia*, T.

<sup>12</sup> *gods*, T.

<sup>13</sup> *pauinn*, T.

<sup>14</sup> *ædr*, T.

rumour flieth abroad through France that, agreeably to the laudable custom of Roman bishops, pope Alexander is minded to wend his way home to Rome to his throne. And when the blessed archbishop Thomas heareth this, he journeyeth speedily to Sens, in order to see the lord pope off, whereupon he returneth to Pontigny. This was the last parting of them in this life, for they never saw one another again in the body. But it may nowise be forgotten, how memorably they parted; for in a certain way the lord pope left himself behind with the archbishop, although he returned home to Rome, inasmuch as he joined his authority to the archbishop's office, in order that he might slay in a dauntless fashion the enemies of God with the sword of the holy Peter, as freely as if he had in hand the power of both of them. For the lord pope had now tried to the full, what an overmatch lord archbishop Thomas had undertaken to grapple with; for he himself had sent many a message and admonition to England, both to lay-men and learned folk, while he sat in Sens, and yet all stood as before, nay groweth rather heavier still, for the clergy now take after the king's men, dragging under them the goods of the church of Canterbury. Among these may chiefly be named Jocelin, bishop of Salisbury, and John of Oxford, his dean; they both hold in their power a certain right goodly church property, which oweth allegiance to the see of Canterbury. The lord pope had given to both so earnest a warning in the matter, as even to lay down their office if they should appropriate or hold the property. But they stood still as before, holding both together, the estate and the office. Hereby the holy Thomas heareth rumours of the great



1165. manna upp á útleigð frænda<sup>1</sup> sinna, at jafnvel skulu úskyldir menn hans gjalda, ef þeir hafa honum heimolligir verit, er hann sat í Cancia, þótt þeir haldi landsvist at kalla. Má hér nefna til herra Vilhjálms, er var kapalín erkibyskups. Hann er<sup>2</sup> nú 5 gripinn af konungsmönnum alt til dýflizu, ok sitr þar í fangelsi,<sup>3</sup> sem er erkibyskupsdæmi<sup>4</sup> Jocelin af Sarisber; ok þó finnr hann í sinni þrönging<sup>5</sup> hvárki manndóm né formæli byskupsins. Sýnist erkibyskupi öll samt þessi mál svá margfaldliga<sup>6</sup> sjúk, at eigi sé lengr<sup>7</sup> þolanda 10 pínulaust,<sup>8</sup> ok því skrifar hann sitt bréf hvárum þeira, ok þat bréf er byskupinum til heyrir, byrjast svá.

William, the archbishop's chaplain, is imprisoned within the diocese of Salisbury.

### Bréf.<sup>9</sup>

1166. Thómas, með Guðs miskunn erkibyskup af Cantarabyrgi ok páfans legatus, sendir kveðju<sup>10</sup> Jocelin byskupi. 15 Þat veit vorr Herra, hversu vèr þikkjumst yðr elskat hafa ok yðvarn sóma aukit með einkanligri ástúð. Enn hér í mót tókum<sup>11</sup> vèr af yðr mótgang ok marga óhlýðni, svá at vèr megum eigi hörmungarlaust herma. Ok er<sup>12</sup> oss þat fremra, er<sup>13</sup> þær fyrirlítið herra páfann,<sup>13</sup> 20 ok fremit byskups embætti<sup>14</sup> með óhlýðni við hann, ok þar fyrir fellr virðing undir háska vígslunnar, því at vitra þín vill eigi við kennast, hversu<sup>15</sup> slíkt er afskapligt, ok hinum lægrum háskasamligt til eftirdæmis.<sup>16</sup> Undrum<sup>17</sup> vèr ok, er<sup>18</sup> þær vitið Vilhjálms, 25 kapalín vorn, í yðvarri byskupsýslu haldinn í böndum

1166. Becket places the bishop of Salisbury, under interdict.

<sup>1</sup> *frænda*, T.

<sup>2</sup> *er*, T.

<sup>3</sup> *fanghelsi*, T.

<sup>4</sup> *erchibyskupsdæmi*, T.

<sup>5</sup> *þrönging*, T.

<sup>6</sup> *margfalliga*, T.

<sup>7</sup> *lengr*, T.

<sup>8</sup> *pínulaust*, T.

<sup>9</sup> Cf. Epistola cxlvii., Migne, cxc.

<sup>10</sup> Q only in T.

<sup>11</sup> *taukum*, T.

<sup>12</sup> *er*, T.

<sup>13</sup> *pauann*, T.

<sup>14</sup> *embætti*, T.

<sup>15</sup> *hversu*, T.

<sup>16</sup> *eftirdæmis*, T.

<sup>17</sup> *Undrum*, T.

<sup>18</sup> *er*, T.

hatred which the English people bring to bear in the banishment of his kinsfolk, that even persons nowise related to him must have to suffer for him, if they be found to have been familiar with him whilst he abode at Canterbury, although in name they be allowed to dwell in the land. Among these may be named sir William, who was the chaplain of the archbishop. He is now seized by the king's men, and taken even to prison; and in prison he sitteth at a place within the bishopric of Jocelin of Salisbury; and yet he findeth in his affliction neither manful aid nor a kind word on his behalf coming from the bishop. To the archbishop all these matters seem so manifoldly evil, that this may be endured no longer without punishment, and therefore he writeth a letter to each of them; and that letter which concerneth the bishop beginneth thus:—

*Letter.*

Thomas, by God's grace archbishop of Canterbury and the pope's legate, to bishop Jocelin sendeth greeting. Our Lord alone knows best how dearly we have loved you, as we think, and how we have increased your honour with our especial loving-kindness. But in return for this we receive from you enmity and disobedience in many ways, a thing we may not mention without grief. Yet it is to us a matter of greater concern still, that you should hold in contempt the lord pope, and perform the office of a bishop in his despite, whereby your dignity runneth the risk of bringing into peril your ordination, since your wisdom will not acknowledge, how abominable these things are, and dangerous for the example of the lower men. We also marvel that, knowing William, our chaplain, to be kept in your bishopric in bonds and prison, you should

1106. ok dýflizu, enn sýnit honum eingva mennsku.<sup>1</sup> Hér fyrir bjóðum vèr yðru bróðerni, undir krafti <sup>2</sup> heilagrar lýðni ok banns viðlögu, með postoligu valdi, at þèr leggit niðr sönghljóð <sup>3</sup> í hverri kirkju als yðars byskupsdæmis, ok þegit svá um allan þann tíma, sem síra 5 Vilhjálmr sitr herfanginn, ok þetta áfelli skal eigi fyrr leysast, enn herra páfanum ok oss veitist löghig yfirbót.

Svá endist bréf til byskupsins. Enn þat á decan, sem hær fylgir. 10

*Bréf Thóme.<sup>4</sup>*

and John  
dean of  
Oxford.

Thómas, með Guðs miskunn Kantarabyrgis erki-  
byskup, sendir Jóni decan þá kveðju, at snarast frá illu  
ok gera gott. Ranglæti þitt ok ráðleysi höfum <sup>5</sup> vèr  
þolat, sem fremst er þreytanda eftir <sup>6</sup> lögunum eins 15  
manns <sup>7</sup> at bíða. Enn nú er reynt, at vorar biðstundir  
auka þína meinsemd, ok vart heilsuráð víkr þú sjólf-  
um þèr til áfellis með forlitning við herra páfann ok  
oss. Nú ero <sup>8</sup> þínar sakir svá berar, at þær skylda  
lögin ok vort byskupligt embætti fram <sup>9</sup> í móti þèr, 20  
ok því setjum vèr þik, Jón, með þessu voru bréfi í  
sterkasta forboð, fráskildan Guðs líkam ok heilagri  
kirkju, þar til sem þú betrar þinn lífsveg ok bætir  
lögliga þat sem brotið er. Bjóðum vèr þèr, undir  
hæstu banns <sup>10</sup> þínu ok viðlögu, <sup>11</sup> at þú sammeter <sup>12</sup> 25  
hvarki konunginn nè <sup>13</sup> aðra menn þínu forboði.

Svá líkast þessi bréf; ok er ljóst af því, sem eftir <sup>14</sup>  
ferr, at hvárgi þessarra snerist til bata. Má þat ok  
sannliga segja af þèri öld, <sup>15</sup> sem nú var í Englandi,

<sup>1</sup> *menzku*, T.

<sup>2</sup> *krapti*, T.

<sup>3</sup> *söunghliod*, T.

<sup>4</sup> This letter I cannot find as existing in the original now.

<sup>5</sup> *haufum*, T.

<sup>6</sup> *eptir*, T.

<sup>7</sup> *manz*, T.

<sup>8</sup> *ero*, T.

<sup>9</sup> *fram*, T.

<sup>10</sup> *þanz*, T.

<sup>11</sup> *viðlaugu*, T.

<sup>12</sup> *sammeter*, T.

<sup>13</sup> *næ*, T.

<sup>14</sup> *eptir*, T.

<sup>15</sup> *auð*, T.

show him no kindness. For this reason we command your brotherhood, by virtue of holy obedience and at the peril of excommunication, and with apostolic authority, that you put down song and chant in every church throughout your diocese, and thus abide silent all the time that sir William sitteth captive; nor shall this interdict be undone until a lawful boot has been done to the lord pope and unto ourselves.

Thus endeth the letter of the bishop. But the dean's own here followeth.

*Thomas' Letter.*

Thomas, by God's grace archbishop of Canterbury, sendeth to dean John the greeting to turn from evil and do good. Thy iniquity and folly we have endured to the utmost length that long-suffering can lawfully wait for any man. But now it is proven, that our waiting but giveth growth to thy disorder, and that thou turnest our wholesome counsel to thy own condemnation, by holding the pope in contempt as well as ourselves. Now thy guilts are so manifest that they force the laws and our episcopal office to proceed against thee; and therefore we pronounce upon thee, John, with this our letter the most peremptory excommunication, and sever thee from God's body and holy church until thou mendest the ways of thy life and doest lawful boot for all thy trespasses. We likewise command thee, at the penalty and peril of the highest ban, that thou entangle neither the king nor any other people in thy excommunication.

Thus these letters end; and yet it will be clear, from what followeth hereafter, that neither of these men turned into better ways. And it may in truth be said of the

116a.

at illviljuðum manni var lætt at lifa ok leika í hærri stætt ok lægri, því at eingi fanst sá, er mót stæði. Höfðingi landsins var öllum þeim samvinnandi, er lögin smáðu,<sup>1</sup> ok þat skilr Thómas erkibyskup, at þar af eflast allar úhæfur; því at sjúkt höfud angrar alla 5 limu. Hær af leiðir, at sá blezaðr faðir vill enn í annat sinn vitja herra konungsins með sínu bræfi, er<sup>2</sup> svo byrjar.

*Bréf Thóme til Heinreks Konungs.<sup>3</sup>*

Thómas, með Guðs miskunn Kantarabyrgis erki-10 byskup ok postoligs sætis legatus, sendir Heinreki Englands konungi ástsamliga kveðju til umbótar. Bifðandi höfum vèr beðit,<sup>4</sup> ef þèr vildit víkja yðru ráði á réttan veg. Enn hví þat dvelst enn í dag, óttumst vèr at þat valdi, sem ritningin segir: Ef syndugr 15 maðr færisk<sup>5</sup> í djúp lastanna, gleymir hann sjólfum sèr, ok hversu<sup>6</sup> nauðugliga hann er staddr. Vær biðum ok þess sendimanns,<sup>7</sup> er oss flytti svá fallin orð: Konungrinn í Englandi, sonr þinn, var dauðr, enn nú lifir hann; týndr var hann, enn nú fundinn. 20 Ok þótt of mjök dvelist sjá sendiboði, leggjum vèr eigi af dagliga yðr leiðréttu<sup>8</sup> biðja fyrir augliti<sup>9</sup> Guða. Nú svá sem veraldar ríki er þèr af Guði lèð,<sup>10</sup> svá erum<sup>11</sup> vèr settir meistari af Guðs hálfu yfir andligri forsjó, ok því dregr oss skylda þèr at senda áminningarorð 25 ok hirtingar. Vildi Guð, at yrði leiðréttingar,<sup>12</sup> því at eigi þorum vèr þegja, sem þik tekr henda; því at heilög

<sup>1</sup> So altered by the editor; *smaadi*, T.

<sup>2</sup> *er*, T.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. Epistola clxxx. Migne, *ib.* 653-657; but the two letters differ considerably from each other.

<sup>4</sup> *bedit*, T.

<sup>5</sup> Editor's conjecture; *fær sik*, T., cf. peccator, cum venerit in profundum, contemnet. It seems pretty evident, that the writer had in his mind a translation of the pas-

sage from an earlier stage of the language when the reflexive form was yet the common one, and by modernising it thoughtlessly made nonsense of it.

<sup>6</sup> *huersu*, T.

<sup>7</sup> *sendimanr*, T.

<sup>8</sup> *leidreitru*, T.

<sup>9</sup> *augliti*, T.

<sup>10</sup> *leid*, T.

<sup>11</sup> *erum*, T.

<sup>12</sup> *leidreitningar*, T.

times which now passed over England, that it was an easy matter for a man of ill-will to live and sport as he liked in stations high or low, for no one was found to withstand him. The lord of the land was a fellow-labourer with all who chose to despise the laws, and archbishop Thomas understandeth, that hence every abomination draweth its strength; for a sick head affecteth every limb. Hence it cometh about, that this blessed father maketh up his mind once more to come before the lord king with a letter, which beginneth thus:—

*Thomas' letter to King Henry.*

Thomas, by God's grace archbishop of Canterbury and legate of the apostolic see, sendeth Henry, England's king, a loving greeting for repentance. Waiting we have waited if you would turn your manner of life into the right way. But this having been delayed even to this day, we fear the cause thereof must be what is written: If a sinful man falleth into the deep of wickedness, he forgetteth himself and the peril of his condition. We have also been awaiting the messenger who should bring us such words as:—The king of England, thy son, was dead, but now he liveth; lost he was, but now he is found. And long though this messenger delay coming, we leave not off praying daily, before the face of God, for the righting of your condition. Now even as an earthly kingdom is given to thee by God, so likewise are we ordained master on behalf of God over the spiritual polity, and therefore we are drawn on by duty to send thee words of admonition and chastisement. Would God that it might lead to the mending of your ways, for we dare not be silent, as to the hap that hangeth over thee, for the holy book declareth the

116a. bók segir sömu<sup>1</sup> ábyrgð hirtingarmanns<sup>2</sup> þegjanda ok löstinn<sup>3</sup> vinnanda; eigi at eins er sekr sá sem gerir, heldr ok sá er samþykkir; enn sá er samþykkir, er ásakan lýtr at, ok þegir hann þó; ok sá styrkir lögbrot, er eigi stendr mótt. Rjúfast þá réttindin, er vanrækt 5 kallar sik miskunn. Þat er Guðs rættir ok lög,<sup>4</sup> at byskupar ok prestar dæmi sína undirmenn, enn dæmist sjálfir af engu veraldligu valdi.<sup>5</sup> Þat er<sup>6</sup> háttir góðs höfðingja,<sup>7</sup> at reisa kirkjur ok fyrndar endrbæta, sæma lærða menn ok styðja til rætttra luta, eftir<sup>8</sup> dæmum 10 hins góða Constantini keisara. Hann sýndi<sup>9</sup> rétt lærðra manna,<sup>10</sup> þá er hann sagði svá: “þer, byskupar, eigit<sup>11</sup> af öngum veraldar manni at dæmast, heldr at “bíða Guðs.” Hverr mundi þann kalla með heilli samvizku,<sup>12</sup> er brýtr föður<sup>13</sup> sinn undir bardaga, eðr<sup>14</sup> 15 þræll herra sinn? Sömu<sup>15</sup> leið er sá örvita,<sup>16</sup> er þeim vill mýgja með ofsa ok meingerðum, er á stjórnarvald yfir honum, bæði at leysa ok binda. Nú ef þú vill góðr konungr vera ok réttkristinn, þá skil þik son kirkjunnar enn eigi föður,<sup>17</sup> ok þer samir at 20 heyra kennimenn, enn<sup>18</sup> eigi læra; fylgja þeim í stjórn, enn eigi fyrir ganga. Mátèr er sett valdi þínu, at dómi Guðs ok manna. Gjör svá vel, gakk eigi um endimarkit, svo mikit sem Skaparinn hefir þer veitt. Lát þer þörf<sup>19</sup> vinna lánit, svo at þú forðist 25

<sup>1</sup> *sömu*, T.

<sup>2</sup> *hirtinngarmannz*, T.

<sup>3</sup> *laustinn*, T.

<sup>4</sup> *laug*, T.

<sup>5</sup> The words *sjálfir af engu veraldligu valdi* are inserted by the editor, the sentence terminating abruptly in T. by *dæmist*. Cf. “Semper vero de] jure effectum est, sacerdotali concilio de sacerdotibus judicia provenire. Nam qualescunque pontifices . . . . nullatenus videntur a potestate seculari posse vel debere percipi.” Migne, *ib.* 658–656.

<sup>6</sup> *er*, T.

<sup>7</sup> *hofðingia*, T.

<sup>8</sup> *eptir*, T.

<sup>9</sup> *sýndiz*, T.

<sup>10</sup> So U.; *mann*, T.

<sup>11</sup> *eigit*, T.

<sup>12</sup> *samvitku*, T.

<sup>13</sup> *fodr*, T.

<sup>14</sup> *ædr*, T.

<sup>15</sup> *Sömu*, T.

<sup>16</sup> *örvita*, T.

<sup>17</sup> *fodr*, T.

<sup>18</sup> *ænn*, T.

<sup>19</sup> *þaurf*, T.

responsibility of the chastiser remaining silent to be the same as if he committed the wickedness himself. He is not only guilty who doeth evil, but also he who consenteth thereto ; but he consenteth who beholdeth things worthy of reproof, yet holdeth his peace ; and he encourageth trespasses who withstandeth them not. Then, forsooth, is right rent in sunder, when neglect calleth itself mercy. It is God's right and law, that bishops and priests should judge those who are beneath them, but shall be judged themselves by no secular power. It is the way of a good lord to rear churches and to restore those worn with eld, to honour learned men and strengthen them in that which is right, after the example of the good emperor Constantine. He showed forth the right of the learned men when he spoke thus :—" Ye " bishops are to be judged by no man of this world, but " have to await (the judgment of) God." Who would deem as of sane mind a son bearing down and beating his father, or a thrall so dealing with his master ? . In like way is he reft of reason who seeketh to overwhelm with insolence and hurtful deeds him who hath the power of governing over him both for binding and loosing. Now if thou wilt be a good king and a truly christian, understand that thou art the son of the church, not her father, and that it beseemeth thee to hearken unto the learned men, not to teach them ; to follow them in your government, but not go before them. A measure is set for thy power by the judgment of God and man. May it now please thee, not to go beyond the landmark, being so richly endowed with what the Creator hath granted thee. Let God's gifts fulfil thy want, that thou mayst



1100. ránit. Hugleið heldr, hvern þú vart, er þú komt í veraldar ljós, ok nú í aðra grein, hvílíkan Guð hefir þik gert, hafit ok tignat, sæmt ok auðgat, svá at allir fyrir þer knéfalla, ok svá segja: "Heill herra, hær er sá, sem Guð hefir valit." Hversu máttu ömbuna 5 þvilíkar gjafir? Þat leggr þú hær í mót, sem angrligt er at greina: lætr menn þína herja upp á Guðs eign ok kennimanna. Enn hverja rænr þú eðr<sup>1</sup> hatar,<sup>2</sup> utan<sup>3</sup> þá, sem Lausnarinn talar af: Qui vos odit, me odit? Vær kunnum nú segja þær, þótt þú fyrirlætir<sup>4</sup> 10 alt þitt ríki, kvánfang ok fæ,<sup>5</sup> með annarri fullsælu, ok geingir í hreinlifnat, feingir þú varla Guði ömbunat sitt lán. Leitaðu dæmi ritninga<sup>6</sup> ok sjá, hvat þær hæfir. Saul konungr var valdr af Guði, ok er hann ofbeldist með óhlýðni, fyrirfórst hann ok öll<sup>7</sup> hans sett. Ozias,<sup>15</sup> frægr Júða konungr af mörgum sigri, er Guð gaf honum, hófst í kennimanna þjónustu, fórn at færa, því var hann líkþrá lostinn ok or kirkju rekinn, ok dó í því. Hygg at, hversu Aachas konungr féll dauðr niðr, fyrir þá sök,<sup>8</sup> er<sup>9</sup> hann sína hönd lagði yfir<sup>10</sup> örkina 20 helgu.<sup>11</sup> Þvilíkt verðskyldar sá veraldar konungr, er kirkjuna vill hafa undir sinni hendi, því at örkin<sup>12</sup> merkir heilaga kristni. Nú lát þær, herra, annars víti at varnaði; eigna þær eigi annars vald, ok ræn eigi lávarð þinn. Tvenn eru<sup>13</sup> völd heilagrar kristni, bysk- 25 upa ok konunga, ok er byskupanna byrðr því þyngri, at þeir eiga<sup>14</sup> svörum at halda fyrir konunganna framferð,<sup>15</sup> ok því er réttligt, at sá<sup>16</sup> sé<sup>17</sup> leiðtogi, er ábyrgjast skal þann, sem hann leiðir. Lát þær í hug koma, at byskuparnir hafa freistað at bannfæra konungana. 30

<sup>1</sup> aðr, T.<sup>2</sup> hatar, T.<sup>3</sup> utan, T.<sup>4</sup> fyrirlætir, T.<sup>5</sup> fæ, T.<sup>6</sup> ritninga, T.<sup>7</sup> öll, T.<sup>8</sup> sök, T.<sup>9</sup> er, T.<sup>10</sup> yfir, T.<sup>11</sup> helgin, T.<sup>12</sup> örkin, T.<sup>13</sup> eru, T.<sup>14</sup> eiga, T.<sup>15</sup> framferð, T.<sup>16</sup> sá, T.<sup>17</sup> sé, T.

forbear plundering. Call rather to mind who thou wert, when thou camest into the light of the world, and now, on the other hand, what man God has made thee, how he hath exalted thee, and given majesty unto thee; how he has honoured and made thee wealthy, so that all folk kneel on their knee before thee, saying, "All hail, lord, here is he whom God hath chosen." In what manner mayst thou return such gifts? Thou givest in return that which it is sad to relate, in that thou makest thy men war against God's property and that of the learned folk. But whom dost thou rob or hate but those of whom the Saviour speaketh: *Qui vos odit, me odit?* We can now tell thee that, although thou shouldst forsake all thy realm, thy wife and wealth with all other bliss, and shouldst go into a life of purity, thou mightest scarce repay God for his gifts. Search the scripture for examples, and see what it behoveth thee to do. King Saul was chosen by God, and when he became insolent and disobedient, he perished and all his kin. Hoshiah, a far-famed king of the Jews for many a victory which God gave him, exalted himself into the office of the priest to do sacrifice, wherefore he was smitten with leprosy and driven from the church, in which plight he died. Give heed how king Achas fell down dead by reason of having laid his hand on the holy ark. Such things deserveth any king of this world who desireth to keep the church under his hand, for the ark signifieth holy church. Now, lord, let the wite of others be a warning to thee; make not thy own the office of another, and rob not thy Lord. Twain are the powers in holy church, the power of the bishops, and the power of the king; and the burden of the bishops is all the heavier that they have to answer for the behaviour of the kings, and therefore it is right, that he be the guide who hath to be responsible for him whom he leadeth. Let this be recalled to thy mind, that bishops have risked to excommunicate kings. Pope

1166. " at hversu sem heimrinn hafnar honum með sínum  
 " elskörum, skulum vèr eigi því heldr fyrirlíta hann,  
 " heldr halda með honum móti Heinreki konungi,  
 " hver harðindi sem hann færir at honum. því geri  
 " sá góði herra oss kunnigt, hvern stað hann kýss í 5  
 " voru ríki, ok skal hann þann sèr ok sínum mönnum  
 " forbúinn finna, svá mörgum sem hann vill." Enn  
 er erkibyskups maðr heyrir svá mikinn frjálisleik,  
 þakkar hann herra konunginum margfaldliga, tækr orlof-  
 aftr<sup>1</sup> í veg, finnr sinn herra, ok segir hvar komit er. 10

Becket  
chooses  
Sens.

He departs  
from Pon-  
tigny.

Heilagr Thómas þakkar Guði ok kýss at fara til  
 Sainz sakir mikillar árgæzku ok hæverskra manna.  
 Ok fljótliga býst hann brott af Pontis eftir<sup>2</sup> .ij. ár  
 liðin hans þarveru. Fylgir honum margt fólk út af  
 staðnum; er þar fremstr ábótinn með sínum bræðrum. 15  
 Sem þeir ríða fram<sup>3</sup> í veginn báðir samt, erkibyskupinn  
 ok ábótinn, kemst herra Thómas mjök vit ok fellir tár.  
 Herra ábótinn spyr, hvat því veldr. Ok með því at  
 heimonleikr var miðil þeira, segir heilagr Thómas  
 honum svá: "Míner<sup>4</sup> lífdagar munu brátt líða; því 20  
 " at minn Drottinn virðist mèr at birta á þessarri  
 " nótt, hvílkum dauða mínir dagar munu lúkast; því  
 " at maunlrápara sverð mun mèr at bana verða."  
 Ábótinn spyr einkanliga, hvat fyrir hann hafði borit.  
 Heilagr Thómas svarar: "Þótt þú sèr oss heimonligr, 25  
 " segjum vèr þèr eigi fyrr sýn þessa, enn þú játtar  
 " oss á þín sannynði, at segja hana eingum manni,  
 " meðan vèr lifum í líkam." Ábótinn játtar því með  
 allri góðfýst. Herra Thómas segir: "Svo sýndist  
 " mèr, sem ek væri<sup>5</sup> staddr í kirkju nokkurri úkunnri. 30  
 " þar var herra Alexander páfi<sup>6</sup> með kardinalibus ok  
 " Heinrekr konungr af Englandi. Kvomu ok harðar

Becket's  
dream fore-  
boding his  
death.

<sup>1</sup> *aptr*, T.

<sup>2</sup> *eptir*, T.

<sup>3</sup> *fram*, T.

<sup>4</sup> *Míner*, T.

<sup>5</sup> *veri*, T.

<sup>6</sup> *paui*, T.

“ that howsoever the world with those who love it  
 “ may spurn him, we shall hold him in contempt none  
 “ the more, but rather stand by him against king Henry,  
 “ with whatsoever hardships he may beset him. Let  
 “ the good lord therefore make known unto us what  
 “ city he chooseth for himself within our kingdom, and  
 “ he shall find the same prepared for him and his men  
 “ as many as he likes.” But when the archbishop’s  
 messenger heareth this exceeding bounteous offer, he  
 thanketh the lord king in a manifold manner, where-  
 upon he taketh leave and wendeth his way back, and  
 meeting his lord telleth him how the affair has sped.

The holy Thomas thanketh God, and chooseth to go  
 to Sens, for the sake of the great fertility of the country  
 and the courteous ways of the folk there. And speedily  
 he maketh ready to leave Pontigny after having passed  
 two years sojourning there. A multitude of people follow  
 him out of the town, foremost among whom is the abbat  
 with his brothers. As they ride on along the road both  
 together, the archbishop and the abbat, the heart of  
 lord Thomas was moved within him, and he shed tears.  
 The lord abbat asketh what the cause thereof might be.  
 And whereas there was close friendship between them,  
 lord Thomas speaketh thus to him:—“The days of  
 “ my life will soon pass away, for my Lord deigned to  
 “ reveal to me, last night, by what manner of death my  
 “ days should come to a close; for the sword of the  
 “ man-slayer will be my bane.” The abbat inquireth  
 heedfully as to what kind of vision had passed before him.  
 Holy Thomas answereth, “Although you are our inti-  
 “ mate friend, yet we shall not tell this sight to you  
 “ until you promise, on your true word, to tell it to no  
 “ one whilst we are still in the body.” This the abbat  
 promised in all devotion. Lord Thomas saith:—

“It seemed to me, as if I was placed in a certain church  
 “ unknown to me. The lord pope Alexander with the  
 “ cardinals was there, as was also king Henry of England.

1166. "greinir ok margar með okkr konunginum um laga-  
 "haldit ok okkarn áskilnat. Fylgdi herra páfnn<sup>1</sup>  
 "mínu máli, enn kardínales Heinreki konungi. Ok  
 "rètt í okkarri deilu hlaupa framm á mik at úvöruu  
 "fjórir herklæddir riddarar, grípa mik þegar af þeim 5  
 "stað ok fanga grimmliga,<sup>2</sup> svá at þeir bera vopn á  
 "mik, ok einu af þeim sneið svá mikit af mínu  
 "höfði, sem krismat er, ok þar fyrir þröngdi<sup>3</sup> mik  
 "svá, at ek þóttist lífit láta. Enn þat vil ek, at þú  
 "vitir, herra ábóti, at eigi hryggjumst<sup>4</sup> ek af þessi 10  
 "vitran, heldr geri ek þar fyrir hinum hæsta Guði  
 "miklar þakkir, nema heldr harma ek þat, at þeir,  
 "sem mér fylgja, munu mér afslegnum dreifast<sup>5</sup> ok  
 "villiráða fara, sem þeir sauðir er sér eiga eingan<sup>6</sup>  
 "hirði." Þá sömu sýn sagði erkibyskup síðar<sup>7</sup> ábót- 15  
 "anum af Lucenti<sup>8</sup> með sama skilorði, at leynt væri.<sup>9</sup>  
 Ok því gerði hann svá blezaðr,<sup>10</sup> at kristnin hefði fult  
 skilríki fyrir ij. votta, þann tíma er hon átti at birtast.  
 Ok sakir þess, at herra erkibyskup hefir þau orð gert  
 konungi Hlöðvi,<sup>11</sup> at hann kýss at vera í Sainz, víkr 20  
 hann þangat í veg. Skiljast þeir ábóti af Pontis með  
 miklum kærleik. Enn er Guðs maðr kemr til Sennou,  
 geingr herra Hugi erkibyskup<sup>12</sup> út í mót honum með  
 hátíðligri processione. Var<sup>13</sup> þar í öllum lutum fagnaðar-  
 samliga fyrir honum búit. þar með ferr sú blíða 25  
 Frakka konungs, at á hvern tíma sem hann kemr í  
 staðinn ok hefir vitjað kirkjuna, geingr hann án dvöl  
 til Thómam erkibyskups, trakterandi margt með honum  
 af lands stjórn ok ríkis nauðsynjum, því at hann  
 skildi þar fyrir vera vizku ok valinn góðvilja. 30

The arch-  
 bishop ar-  
 rives at Sens  
 (on St. Mar-  
 tin's Day,  
 Nov. 11,  
 1166).

<sup>1</sup> *pauinn*, T.

<sup>2</sup> *grimliga*, T.

<sup>3</sup> *þraungdi*, T.

<sup>4</sup> So U.; *hryggium*, T.

<sup>5</sup> So U.; *drifaz*, T.

<sup>6</sup> So U.; *eynga*, T.

<sup>7</sup> *sidarr*, T.

<sup>8</sup> *i.e.* of Vallis-Lucens, Vaului-  
 sant, a monastery in the bishopric

of Sens. The abbat at this time  
 was Petrus I., 1159-1179, Gallia  
 Christ. xii. 231, 232.

<sup>9</sup> *veri*, T.

<sup>10</sup> *blezadr*, T.

<sup>11</sup> *Hlaudui*, T.

<sup>12</sup> *i.e.* Hugo I. archbishop of Sens,  
 1142-1168, Gall. Christ. *ib.* 47-50.

<sup>13</sup> *War*, T.

“ Many and hard contentions arose between us, me and the king, concerning the holding of the law and the dispute between. The lord pope backed my case, but the cardinals stood by king Henry. And aright as we quarrelled, four knights in armour bounded forth, setting on me unawares, seizing me on the spot forthwith, and cruelly making me prisoner, so that they brought even weapons to bear upon me, and one of them cut as much from my head as all the part that is anointed; and therefore I was borne down in such manner as me thought I lost my life. But that will I, that thou know, lord abbat, that we are aggrieved in no way by this vision, nay we give great thanks therefore to the highest God; far rather do I sorrow for this that, after I shall be cut down, those who follow me will be scattered about, and must needs go astray without a purpose, like sheep which have got no shepherd for them.” This same vision the archbishop told afterwards to the abbat of Lucenti on the same condition that it should be kept secret. And this he, the blessed one, did for this reason, that the church might have a lawful proof thereof through two witnesses at the time when it was to be revealed.

Now having sent a message to king Louis saying that he desireth to abide in Sens the lord archbishop wendeth thitherward his way. He and the abbat of Pontigny part in great love. But when God’s man cometh to Sens, archbishop Hugh of that see cometh out to meet him in a solemn procession. In every way things had been made ready for him, so as to make him a joyful welcome. Along with these matters goeth such kindness on the part of the French king, that every time he cometh to the city, having first visited the church, he goeth without tarrying to archbishop Thomas, discoursing with him many things concerning the government of the land and the affairs of the realm, for he found that in him abode wisdom and choice good-will.

1165.

## KAP. LVII.

## ER PÁFINN SKRIFAR TIL ENGLANDS.

The pope writes to the bishop of London to intercede on Becket's behalf with king Henry.

Nú<sup>1</sup> er<sup>2</sup> þar til at víkja, sem Heinrekr konungr fregn, hversu Thómas erkibyskup er sæmiliga settir bæði með kost ok kærleik<sup>3</sup> herra konungsins í Franz; 5 liggir honum eigi hægt með öllu, ok þó fær<sup>4</sup> hann nú eigi at gert. Frèttir ok herra Alexander páfi í Róm, hversu<sup>5</sup> erkibyskupinn var hótum hrærðr út af Pontis, af þeim stað er hann hafði skipat honum í útleğðar tíma. Harmar herra páfinn,<sup>6</sup> at Heinrekr konungr 10 er<sup>7</sup> svá langhaldr ok hatsamr, sem birtist, at hann vildi svá alla gera láta til erkibyskupsins, sem hann gekk fyrir. Nú minnist herra páfinn<sup>8</sup> sik prófat<sup>9</sup> hafa,<sup>10</sup> at með sínum brëfum ok heilræðum fær<sup>11</sup> hann Heinrek konung eigi linat; ok því leitar hann þess 15 vegar, ef nokkurr af hans heimonligum mönnum innan lands feingi vikit honum; ok þar<sup>12</sup> treystir á herra páfinn<sup>13</sup> til þessar trúnaðar, sem er Gilbert Lundúna byskup, er sumum sýndist eigi hlutvandari enn til meðallags.<sup>14</sup> Hann skrifar honum brëf í England, er 20 svá byrjast.

*Brëf.*<sup>15</sup>

Alexander byskup, þjónn þjóna Guðs, sendir virðuligum bróður<sup>16</sup> sínum Gillibert, Lundúna byskupi, kveðju ok postoliga blezan. Þá er Heinrekr konungr bað oss, 25 at vèr skipaðim yðr byskupsstól í Lundúnum, bæði

<sup>1</sup> Nu, T.<sup>2</sup> ar, T.<sup>3</sup> kærleik, T.<sup>4</sup> ferr, T.<sup>5</sup> hverssu, T.<sup>6</sup> páfuinn, T.<sup>7</sup> ar, T.<sup>8</sup> páuinn, T.<sup>9</sup> prouat, T.<sup>10</sup> hafua, T.<sup>11</sup> ferr, T.<sup>12</sup> aa added after þar in T.<sup>13</sup> páuinn, T.<sup>14</sup> meðallags, T.

<sup>15</sup> This letter is dated Claremont, 8th June, 1165 (ad Clarum montem, vi. id. Jun.), Alex. III. papæ epist. cccxlix., Migne, cc., 373-375, and is made to fit into events nearly a year and a half after date. See preface.

<sup>16</sup> brodr, T.

## CHAP. LVII.

## HOW THE POPE WRITETH TO ENGLAND.

Now we must turn to king Henry, whereas he heareth the news, how honourably archbishop Thomas hath been placed, living both at the cost and in the charity of the lord king of France; this matter lieth on him not altogether easily, and yet he might do nought there-against now. The lord pope Alexander also heareth in Rome, how the archbishop was removed by threats from Pontigny, away from that place which he had set apart for him during his exile. The lord pope grieveth for king Henry being so long-grudging and so filled with hatred, as appeared now, inasmuch as he his desired all folk to deal with the archbishop according to the example he was the first to set. Now the lord pope deemeth he hath fully proven, that with his letters and wholesome counsels he may nowise bring king Henry to soften down; he therefore seeketh the way of trying if perchance someone of the intimate friends of the king within the land might bring about a change in his mind. This trust the lord pope confideth to Gilbert bishop of London, who to some people seemed a man of no more than middling uprightness. The pope writeth a letter to him to England which beginneth thus:—

*Letter.*

Bishop Alexander, the servant of the servants of God, to his worthy brother Gilbert, bishop of London, sendeth greeting and apostolic blessing. When king Henry prayed us to translate you to the see of London, both in



1166. til ríkisstjórnar sakir vizku yðarrar, ok eigi síðr andligrar hjálpar, veittum vèr þat vinsamliga, því at vèr væntum þaðan ávöxt meira. Vær trúum yðr vita, hversu konungr í Englandi skiftir<sup>1</sup> skape,<sup>2</sup> svá nú í mót kristninni sem fyrir stóð hann með henni; 5 vill eigi, at vor sè vitjað eðr<sup>3</sup> málum til vor vikit, sambínt þrætumönnum ok bannfærðum. Hèr með ferr<sup>4</sup> þat, hversu hann gerir til vors elskuliga bróður<sup>5</sup> Thómas erkibyskups móti dæmum annarra höfðingja, útlægði<sup>6</sup> hann fyrst sjálfan með ofsókn ok afarkostum, 10 enn þar eftir<sup>7</sup> alt hans kynferði, sem vèr megum eigi úharmandi boða. Nú í þriðja stað sýndist honum ópolligt, at erkibyskupinn væri<sup>8</sup> kyrr í Pontis með fátækum grámúnkum eftir<sup>9</sup> vorri skipan. Nú heimtum vèr af yðr fyrirheitna dygd, biðjum ok bjóðum, at 15 þèr hafit með yðr Robert<sup>10</sup> byskup Herefordensem, ok tjáit konunginum, at hann betri<sup>11</sup> sik ok bæti þat, sem brotið er, elski Skapara sinn ok vegsami móður sína Róma kirkju; sè<sup>12</sup> síðan styrkr ok staðfastr í vingan ok virðing heilags Petri ok vorri, frjálsi stefnugerðir 20 til vor ok bróður<sup>13</sup> vors Thómam erkibyskups, ok kalli hann heim til stóls síns með skyldugri virðing, fremi miskunnarverk ok þyngi eigi kirkjur eðr<sup>14</sup> kennimenn, hvárki fyrir sik né aðra, styði þá heldr með konungligri gæzku,<sup>15</sup> at sá hæsti konungr, er ríki gefr 25 öllum konungum, varðveiti svá hans jarðligt ríki, at þar fyrir andvirði hann sèr himnaríki.<sup>16</sup> Tjáið fyrir

<sup>1</sup> *skiptir*, T.

<sup>2</sup> *skapa*, T.

<sup>3</sup> *ædr*, T.

<sup>4</sup> *fer*, T.

<sup>5</sup> *brodr*, T.

<sup>6</sup> *útlægdi*, T.

<sup>7</sup> *eptir*, T.

<sup>8</sup> *veri*, T.

<sup>9</sup> *eptir*, T.

<sup>10</sup> *Roger*, T. U., a manifest blunder, the bishop's name being Robert de Melun.

<sup>11</sup> *bætri*, T.

<sup>12</sup> *Sie*, T.

<sup>13</sup> *brodr*, T.

<sup>14</sup> *ædr*, T.

<sup>15</sup> *gæzku*, T.

<sup>16</sup> Cf. "Ut ille, per quem reges regnant, temporale ei regnum conservet in terris, et sempiternum largiatur in cœlis," Migne, *ib.* 374. Our author, having misunderstood largiatur, has translated the passage so as to make really nonsense of it

order that the government of the kingdom might benefit by your wisdom, as also no less that you might afford the king spiritual care, we fain granted this in a friendly manner, for we looked forward to an increasing fruit thereof. We believe that you must know, how the king of England changeth his mind, now against the church of England even as formerly he stood up for it, inasmuch as he forbiddeth that we should be visited, or that appeals be made unto us, and moreover allieth himself with schismatics and excommunicated people. Along with this goeth his manner of dealing with our beloved brother, archbishop Thomas, straight against the example of other lords: first driving him into exile, and after that, all his kin, through persecution and hard dealings, the which we may not mention without grief. Now, in the third place, it seemed to him a matter not to be borne with, that the archbishop should abide in quiet in Pontigny in company with poor Gray-monks, according to our command. Now we lay claim to the faith which you have pledged already aforetime, and pray and demand that you take with you bishop Robert of Hereford, and urge on the king that he mend his life, and do boot for what he has trespassed; that he love his Creator, and honour his mother the Roman church; that he be sithence strong and steadfast in the friendship and honour due to the holy Peter as well as to ourself; that he let appeals be free to ourself and our brother, archbishop Thomas, and that he recall him home to his see in dutiful honour; that he do the works of mercy, and lay no burdens on churches or clerks either on his own behalf or on behalf of others, but rather fortify them with kingly kindness, that the highest King, who giveth kingdom to all kings, may thus hold in His keeping his earthly kingdom, that thereby he may gain for himself the reward of the kingdom of heaven. Set it before him, in a fatherly

1165. honum föðurliga,<sup>1</sup> at hann óttist Guðs reiði, enn elski sína hjálp. Þjóðum vèr yður at heimta saman Rómaskatt um alt England, því at eigi viljum vèr setla Heinreki konungi, at hann tálmi þat, ok sendit oss sem fjótast. Þat látið ok fylgja, at þer megit lána 5 oss nokkut fè, enn takit. síðar<sup>2</sup> þar í mótt af gózi hins heilaga Petri. Valets.

Svo stendr bréf herra páfans<sup>3</sup> til friðar ok formælis heilagri kirkju fyrir Heinreki konungi. Enn hvat Lundúna byskup fór fram,<sup>4</sup> mun eigi finnast skrifat; 10 enn þat má heyrast í bræfi til herra páfans,<sup>5</sup> hversu byskupliga ok stórum einarðliga hann segist hafa staðit fyrir konunginum með ávítanarorðum. Enn þat mun sagan votta heldr upp hêðan, at meirr sê bréf þetta sett með orðaskreytingum enn fullum sannindum.<sup>6</sup> 15 Þat byrjar svá :

## KAP. LVIII.

ER LUNDÚNA BYSKUP SKRIFAR.<sup>7</sup>

“Herra sínum ok postoligum feðr, herra Alexandro páfa,<sup>8</sup> sendir kveðju Gillibert Lundúna byskup með 20 skyldri þjónkan einkanligrar hlýðni. Yðvart boð, heilagr faðir, tókum vèr Robert<sup>9</sup> byskup með skyldri virðing, flytjandi fram fyrir konunginn yður<sup>10</sup> hjálpsamlig orð. Hèr með lögðum vèr mjúka bæn með áeggjan til batnaðar, ok þar næst ávitan svá stríða, 25 sem framast byrjaði einvaldskonung at ásaka. Enn hann tók blíðliga ok með mikilli þökk<sup>11</sup> yðra áminning,

<sup>1</sup> *fauðrliga*, T.

<sup>2</sup> *sidarr*, T.

<sup>3</sup> *pauans*, T.

<sup>4</sup> *fram*, T.

<sup>5</sup> *pauans*, T.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>6</sup> *sannyndum*, T.

<sup>7</sup> Cf. Gilberti Foliot epistolæ, ep. clxxiv., Migne, ib. 377–379. As is

generally the case in this Saga, this letter is only an abstract of the Latin original.

<sup>8</sup> *paua*, T.

<sup>9</sup> *Roger*, T. U., the same blunder as pointed out before, p. 378, note 10.

<sup>10</sup> *ydr*, T.

<sup>11</sup> *þaukt*, T.

manner, that he fear God's anger, but love his own salvation. And we demand that you collect Rome-scot from all England—for we cannot bring ourselves to believe it of king Henry that he will put a hindrance in the way thereof—and send it with all speed to us. Add to this a prayer to be allowed to lend us some money, on compensating yourself afterwards by an equal share out of the wealth of the holy Peter. Farewell.

So standeth the letter of the lord pope for the peace and in defence of the holy church before king Henry. But it will not be found written, how the bishop of London went about indeed, but from a letter of his to the lord pope it will be heard in how bishoplike a manner and how mightily boldly he professeth to have stood forth before the king with his word of reproving. But henceforth the story will bear witness, rather showing that in the framing of this letter there was more of elegant wording than of full truth. It beginneth thus :—

#### CHAP. LVIII.

##### HOW THE BISHOP OF LONDON WRITETH.

“ To his lord, and apostolic father, lord pope Alexander, Gilbert, bishop of London, in dutiful service of especial obedience, sendeth greeting. Your command, holy father, I and bishop Robert received in due veneration, setting forth before the king your wholesome words. To this we added a humble prayer and exhortation that he might mend his life and, next thereafter, such a stern upbraiding as with which at the utmost it might be becoming to reprove a sovereign king. But he took blithely and with many thanks

1165. svarandi stilliliga sérhverri sök. Sagðist í fyrstu sinni vingan eigi<sup>1</sup> frá yðr vikit hafa, ok eigi heldr hugsat svá mikla úhæfu, heldr kveðst<sup>2</sup> hann virða ok yðr unna sem sínum herra ok andaligum feðr. Rómaborgar kristni vill hann virða ok veggsama sem sína móður,<sup>3</sup> 5 ok yðrum boðum lítillátliga hlýðnast í öllum lutum, at haldinni tign ok sóma síns ríkis. Enn þar kom hann hógliga við, hversu þær tókut málum þeim, sem honum þótti varða, ok þar hneit við, sem hann þóttist virðr lítils, þvert frá því sem hann hugði til yðar, ok 10 þó lét hann þegar fylgja í öðru orði, at þær mundit<sup>4</sup> síðar<sup>5</sup> betr gera; því at hann skildi með sinni vizku,<sup>6</sup> at faðir á heimilt at gera við son sinn, hvárt er honum líkar, blítt<sup>7</sup> eðr<sup>8</sup> strítt.<sup>9</sup> Eingum manni kveðst hann bannat hafa yðar<sup>10</sup> at vitja; enn hafa vill 15 hann sóma síns ríkis, at eingi klerkr fari úr hans konungsdæmi, nema hann sýni áðr sín eyrindi með bræfum, at þau sè krúnunni hvergi í mót, ok svá gjörfu biðr hann fara hvern undir yðvarn herradóm, er vill. Enn ef hær finst nokkut ofgert í, ok vill 20 hann bæta eftir<sup>11</sup> lærdra manna dómi í sínu ríki. Til samneytis með þrætumönnum svaraði hann svá: sagði sik eigi vita enn í dag, at keisarinn Friðrekr hafi bannfærðr<sup>12</sup> verit; enn ef þat er<sup>13</sup> til, vill hann bæta þat sem fyrri grein undir dómi sinna<sup>14</sup> lærdra manna. Enn 25 þat er til heyrir herra Thómasi erkibyskupi, föður<sup>15</sup> vorum, lagði hann undir þvílíkt andsvar,<sup>16</sup> sagðist hann aldri út hafa kvatt úr sínu ríki, ok svá sem hann fór or landi með sínu sjálfæði, svá fari hann aftr<sup>17</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Added in U.; om. T.

<sup>2</sup> *kuez*, T.

<sup>3</sup> *modr*, T.

<sup>4</sup> So U.; *mundi*, T.

<sup>5</sup> *sidarr*, T.

<sup>6</sup> *uitzku*, T.

<sup>7</sup> *blídt*, T.

<sup>8</sup> *ædr*, T.

<sup>9</sup> *strídt*, T.

<sup>10</sup> *yduar*, T.

<sup>11</sup> *eftir*, T.

<sup>12</sup> *bannfærdr*, T.

<sup>13</sup> *ær*, T.

<sup>14</sup> So U.; *sinni*, T.

<sup>15</sup> *fodr*, T.

<sup>16</sup> *anndauar*, T.

<sup>17</sup> *aptr*, T.

“ your admonition, giving a calm answer to every charge.  
“ In the first instance he said that he had not turned his  
“ friendship away from you, nor had he either thought  
“ of such an abomination, nay, he declareth that rather  
“ honoureth he and loveth you as his lord and spiritual  
“ father. The church of Rome he will honour and wor-  
“ ship as his mother, and humbly obey your commands  
“ in all things, saving the honour and the dignity of  
“ his kingdom. But he adverted gently to the manner  
“ in which you had taken up those affairs on which he  
“ deemed that much lay, and there was the offence, whereas  
“ he deemed that he had been held in slight honour by  
“ you, contrary to what he had looked for from you,  
“ and yet forthwith in the next word, he gave utterance  
“ to the hope that later you would do better; for he  
“ understood in his wisdom that a father is free to deal  
“ with his son in which of two ways he pleaseth, gently  
“ or sternly. He averreth that he has forbidden no man  
“ to go visit you, but he claimeth full honour to be  
“ done to his kingdom, so that no clerk go out of his  
“ realm, unless he show first by letters that his errands  
“ be in no way against the crown, and these things  
“ having been observed, he biddeth any man who is so  
“ minded to go unto your lordship. But should it be  
“ found that herein he had exceeded his right in aught,  
“ he is willing to make amends therefor in accordance with  
“ the judgment of learned folk within his realm. As to  
“ the communion with schismatics he gave this answer :  
“ saying he knew not to this day that the emperor Frederic  
“ had been excommunicated, but if that should happen  
“ to be so, he is willing to do boot for it, even, as for the  
“ aforesaid matter, in accordance with the judgment of  
“ his learned men. But as to the matters concerning lord  
“ archbishop Thomas, our father, he gave thereto this  
“ answer : saying he had never called upon him to leave  
“ the realm, and whereas he had left the country at his  
“ own free pleasure, so let him return back and come home

1165. ok heim komi með fullum friði, ok þó með þeiri yfirbót, at hann láti haldast allar konungligar siðvenjur í landi, sem hann hefir svarit. Hèr með ferr<sup>1</sup> þat, ef nokkur<sup>2</sup> kirkja eðr<sup>3</sup> kennimaðr finst af honum mishaldinn, leggr hann í dóm sem fyrr, ok vill gjarna<sup>5</sup> bæta. Þvílík svör feingum vèr, ok vildum frammar<sup>4</sup> hafa komit undir yðarn dóm þessu öllu<sup>5</sup> samt.”

Sem hèr er komit brèfi byskupsins, snýr hann sèr í þat rúm at gefa ráð herra páfanum : “ Hugsit, heilagr “faðir,” segir hann, “ hversu málit skal endast með þvílíkt<sup>10</sup> boð ok andsvör. Konungrinn sýnist í góðum veg,<sup>6</sup> er hann býðr erkibyskupinum heim í land með frið ok frelsi, sem fyrr var tjáð. Því biðjum vèr sem framfallnir,<sup>7</sup> at þèr temprið yðra reiði frá forboði ok banns áfelli, þótt þèr sèið uppkvevktir með eldi Heilags<sup>15</sup> Anda ok vandlæti laganna. Virðit með yðr heilræði<sup>8</sup> spámansins : Calamum quassatum non conteres, et linum fumigans non extingues. Hugsit, herra, hvárt meirr stendr til gróðrar, mikit sár í líkam, eðr<sup>9</sup> limr afhögginn<sup>10</sup> með öllu. Nú sem þèr erut sæztr læknir í<sup>20</sup> kristninni, leggit hug á heldr at græða sárit, ef nokkut ér,<sup>11</sup> enn af sníða kristninni þann göfgasta<sup>12</sup> lim, er<sup>13</sup> seint eðr<sup>14</sup> aldri mun at heilu græddr verða. Konungr er mýkjandi með hóglyndi, sem þèr<sup>15</sup> vitið, ok sigrandi með þolinmæði, því at konunglig ógn kann að<sup>16</sup> vega<sup>25</sup> nógu smarpt ok hefna sín, ef hann þikkist harðliga beiddr.<sup>17</sup> Hvárt myndi þèr kjörít hafa af því, sem ek set fram : hafa þolat með hugarkrafti,<sup>18</sup> eðr<sup>19</sup> þarnast hlýðni af öllu Eínglandi, ok sè þó erkibyskupinn í

<sup>1</sup> ferr, T.

<sup>2</sup> nokkr, T.

<sup>3</sup> ædr, T.

<sup>4</sup> framarr, T.

<sup>5</sup> aullu, T.

<sup>6</sup> uegh, T.

<sup>7</sup> framfallnir, T.

<sup>8</sup> So U.; heilræidi, T.

<sup>9</sup> ædr, T.

<sup>10</sup> afhaugginn, T.

<sup>11</sup> ær, T.

<sup>12</sup> gaußgazta, T.

<sup>13</sup> ær, T.

<sup>14</sup> ædr, T.

<sup>15</sup> þær, T.

<sup>16</sup> ath, T.

<sup>17</sup> bæiddr, T.

<sup>18</sup> hugarkrafti, T.

<sup>19</sup> ædr, T.

“ in full peace, but with such a mending of his ways,  
“ that he let all kingly customs be holden in the land  
“ even as he has sworn already. Unto these things he  
“ addeth also this, that if any church or any clerk be  
“ found to be wrongfully dealt with by him, he will  
“ submit the case to judgment, as aforesaid, and is fain  
“ to do boot therefor. These were the only answers we  
“ got, though we endeavoured to bring all these matters  
“ together further, even under your own judgment.”

Having proceeded thus far with his letter the bishop  
turneth about to give advice to the lord pope :—

“ Consider now, holy father,” says he, “ how the affair  
“ may end, after such offers and answers. The king  
“ seemeth to be in a fair way, since he biddeth the  
“ archbishop come home into the country in peace and  
“ freedom, as was said afore. Therefore we pray, as if  
“ kneeling down before you, that you restrain your wrath  
“ from interdict and excommunication, enkindled though  
“ you may be by the fire of the Holy Ghost and zeal  
“ on behalf of the law. Call to your mind the wholesome  
“ counsel of the prophet: *Calamum quassatum non*  
“ *conteres, et linum fumigans non extingues.* Consider,  
“ O my lord, which is likeliest to be healed, a great  
“ wound on the body, or a limb cut off altogether. Now  
“ that you are the highest leech in Christendom, give  
“ your mind rather to the healing of the wound, if there  
“ be any, than to cutting off from the church her noblest  
“ limb, which late or never will be healed whole. A  
“ king, as you know, is to be won over by meekness, and  
“ to be conquered by long-suffering ; for the king’s wrath  
“ knoweth how to deal its blows swiftly enough and  
“ to wreak revenge, if he deemeth he is hard baited.  
“ Which of the two things I now set before you would  
“ you rather choose : to bear things (as they are) in  
“ a longsuffering mind, or to forego homage from all  
“ England, the archbishop abiding none the less in exile



1165. útleð sem áðr? Nú þótt ek eðr<sup>1</sup> nokkurir fleiri se<sup>2</sup> auðmjúkir yðarri hlýðni, eru<sup>3</sup> eigi því síðr margir búnir at beygja hálsinn fyrir skurgoðinu Baal. Nú hörmum vèr grátandi þat sálutjón, er<sup>4</sup> vèr fyrir sjám, ef þèr farit hart framm. Nú ef vèr hörmum með<sup>5</sup> skyldu kristninnar angr ok úfór, geingr enn hærra<sup>6</sup> boðorð á yðra tign, at þèr leitið henni lækningar<sup>6</sup> ok eilífs friðar. Rómaskattr er<sup>7</sup> til reiðu af öllu Englandi, ok flyzt<sup>8</sup> til yðar<sup>9</sup> sem fyrst má, enn þótt frestist um nokkura daga, mun eigi sekt á falla. 10 Enn um fjárlán, heilagr faðir, er<sup>10</sup> eigi at tala, því at rekstr ok útgerðir konungsmanna hafa sópat öll<sup>11</sup> vor lausafé.<sup>12</sup> Valetè in Kristo.

The pope writes again to England on behalf of Becket.

Sem þetta bréf Lundúna byskups kemr í Róm<sup>13</sup> ok heyríst af herra páfanum, sýnist sem hann hneigist 15 nokkut til friðsemdar á konunginn af þess háttar fortöllum, ok skrifar aftr<sup>14</sup> í England með bænarorðum, at konungrinn<sup>15</sup> áminnist sem oftast<sup>16</sup> af sínum kærum vinum at mýkjast alvarliga til herra Thómam erki-byskups ok kalla hann heim fyrir utan alla þyngan, 20 at heilög kristni mætti fagnat fá með samþykt ok vináttu beggja sinna höfðingja.<sup>17</sup> Enn hvat sem Lun-

<sup>1</sup> *ædr*, T.

<sup>2</sup> *see*, T.

<sup>3</sup> *æru*, T.

<sup>4</sup> *ær*, T.

<sup>5</sup> *herra*, T.

<sup>6</sup> So U.; *lækningr*, T.

<sup>7</sup> *ær*, T.

<sup>8</sup> *flytz*, T.

<sup>9</sup> *yduar*, T.

<sup>10</sup> *ær*, T.

<sup>11</sup> *auðl*, T.

<sup>12</sup> *lausafæ*, T. In the Latin original, the passage relating to the loan does not appear. The inference is therefore that it must have been suppressed in some editions of Foliot's letters; an inference which gains support from the fact that the salutation, *valetè in Christo*,

does not occur in the now known Latin recensions of Foliot's letter.

<sup>13</sup> This must be a mistake. Foliot's letter must have been delivered to the pope on his way to Rome before he reached his destination, for his answer—the very letter to which our Saga now proceeds to allude—was written in Gradu Mercurii, 22 Aug. this same year 1165, but the pope's entry into Rome took place first on the 23rd of November following. Jaffe, Reg. Pont., 706.

<sup>14</sup> *aftr*, T. This letter is found among Alexandri III. papæ epistolæ et privilegia, cccxxii., Migne, cxc. 397, 398, "Quod circa ea."

<sup>15</sup> *konunginn*, T.

<sup>16</sup> *oftaz*, T.

<sup>17</sup> *höfðingja*, T.

“ as before? Now although I and some other people  
“ humbly yield obedience unto you, there are many, none  
“ the less, ready to bend the neck to the carven image of  
“ Baal. Now grieve we in tears the peril of souls which  
“ we foresee if you should proceed in a hard manner.  
“ But as duty constraineth us to grief for the woe and  
“ disaster of the church, so your exaltedness is thereby  
“ bounden by a still higher commandment, to find her  
“ healing and everlasting peace. The Rome-scot is  
“ ready from all England, and will be brought to you as  
“ soon as may be; but if it should be delayed for some  
“ days, a fine, we trust, will not fall due thereon. But  
“ as to lending you money, holy father, it is altogether  
“ out of question, because the lawsuits and exactions of  
“ the king’s men have swept up all our ready money.  
“ Valete in Christo.”

When this letter of the bishop of London arriveth in Rome, and is heard by the lord pope, it appeareth as if he did bend somewhat towards peace with the king from these persuasions; and he writeth back to England praying that the king be admonished by his dear friends, as often as might be, to soften down in earnest towards archbishop Thomas, and to call him home without any burden being laid on him, in order that holy church might rejoice in the concord and friendship of both her lords. But however fair a face the bishop of

1165. dúna byskup fegrar eðr<sup>1</sup> herra páfinn skrifar, stendr alt á sömu leið ok áðr.

## KAP. LIX.

## AF VITRAN.

1166? Várr Herra Jesús Kristus, Maríu son, býðr svá ber-  
liga sínum mönnum, at elska úvini<sup>2</sup> sína ok biðja  
fyrir þeim af hjarta. Ok nú lystir oss at leiða samt  
.ij. vini Guðs, hversu þetta boðorð hafa tíguliga fyllt  
með líkum hætti ok undirstöðu, annarr<sup>3</sup> í forna lög-  
máli, enn annar á miskunnartíma. Dýrðarsamligri 10  
maðr Samúel grèt<sup>4</sup> margan dag misfelli Saul kon-  
ungs, er hans blóði eftir<sup>5</sup> leitaði. Annarr<sup>6</sup> er sign-  
aðr Thómas erkibyskup, harmandi með tárur, síð  
ok árla, misfarar Heinreks konungs, ok hvern enda,  
hans þrályndi myndi fá; ok af oftsamligri<sup>7</sup> hugsan 15  
þar um sýnir Drottinn honum með tveim draumum  
náliga bæði þessa heims götur<sup>8</sup> ok annars lífs, hversu<sup>9</sup>  
konunginum mundi ganga.

Svo bar fyrir hann eina nótt, at hann þóttist staddr  
á fjalli nokkuru mjök háfu, ok á því láglandi, sem 20  
liggr undir niðri, sèr hann Heinrek konung með svá  
einkanligum hætti, at útalligr fuglafjöldi flykkist at  
honum alla vega ok vill þröngva<sup>10</sup> honum at foraði  
einu. Hèr með veitir fuglunum sína liðveizlu sá maðr,  
er einkanliga var kærast<sup>11</sup> konunginum, ok hann 25  
virði mest næst sjálfum sèr. Guðs maðr Thómas skilr  
í drauminum, at konungrinn öflugast<sup>12</sup> eigi í móti svá  
miklum fjölda, því at hann hvatar undan at voðanum.  
Ok því þíkkist hann honum sampínast, ok þar á minn-

<sup>1</sup> *adr*, T.

<sup>2</sup> *uvini*, T.

<sup>3</sup> *annar*, T.

<sup>4</sup> *grett*, T.

<sup>5</sup> *eptir*, T.

<sup>6</sup> *Annar*, T.

<sup>7</sup> *oftsamligri*, T.

<sup>8</sup> *gautur*, T.

<sup>9</sup> *huerssu*, T.

<sup>10</sup> *þraungua*, T.

<sup>11</sup> *kærast*, T.

<sup>12</sup> *auflugaz*, T.

London may put on matters, and however the pope may write, all things abide in the same state as before.

## CHAP. LIX.

### CONCERNING A VISION.

Our Lord, Jesus Christ, Mary's son, commandeth his people right clearly to love their enemies, and to pray for them of a whole heart. And now we desire to bring forward two friends of God, showing how nobly they fulfilled this commandment, both in a like manner and in a similar state of things ; one under the old law, the other in time of grace. (One is) the glorious man Samuel (who) wept many a day for the evil ways of king Saul, who sought his blood. The other is the blessed archbishop Thomas, sorrowing in tears, early and late, for the evil ways of king Henry, and the end his strong-headedness may come to ; and through his constant thought on this matter the Lord showeth him in two dreams clearly both the ways of this world and those of the life to come, as to how it would fare with the king.

It seemed to him, one night, that he was standing on a certain mountain and right high, and on the lowland lying underneath he seeth king Henry in such a strange condition, that an innumerable multitude of birds flocks round him from everywhere, essaying to push him into a certain slough. Therewith lendeth his aid to the birds the man who was the most beloved of the king, and whom he held in the greatest honour next to himself. God's man Thomas understandeth in his dream that the king may nowise have strength to bear him up against so great a multitude, for he hasteneth away from it towards the danger. And therefore he thought he took

1166? ast, hversu vinátta þeira var elskulig, sem hann var konungsins kanceler; því gerir hann ráðinn sik í at hjálpa honum. Er þá líkt, sem í augabragði sè<sup>1</sup> hann kominn<sup>2</sup> á láglandit, ok þikkist hafa í hendi eina svipu ok slá fuglana brutt fjögurra vegna frá kon- 5 unginum, svá at hann fær<sup>3</sup> frelsi. Enn þann ríka mann, er honum gerði ofrafi, þikkist Thómas taka með stórum ávítanarorðum. Svá lýkst þessi draumr.

Enn í annan tíma gekk svá til, at herra erkibyskup liggir í sæng sinni vakandi um nótt, hugsandi þá enn 10 til Heinreks konungs ok hans afkvæmis, því at þann tíma átti hann tvo sonu Heinrik ok Galfridum. Sæll Thómas berr angrliga hugsan fyrir fóstura sínum, Heinreki unga, ok öllum þeim feðgum, hvílíkir uppheldismenn þeir mundi verða, eðr<sup>4</sup> hversu<sup>5</sup> langlífir, eðr<sup>6</sup> 15 hvern hátt þeir myndi enda sína daga. Eftir<sup>7</sup> því líkar hugsanir sofnar hann, ok því næst heyrir hann í loftið<sup>8</sup> upp<sup>9</sup> svá fallinn versa :

Mors tulit una ambos, mors altera sed mala patrem.

Ok þegar vaknar hann af þunganum, ok harmar 20 sárliga þann skilning, sem hann tekr af versa þeim, er nú var lesinn. Enn hversu skýrast þessir báðir draumar á sinni tíð, mun í enda<sup>10</sup> sögunnar<sup>11</sup> sagt verða með vilja várs Herra.

Skal nú hëðan venda framm til Róms ok sjá, hvat 25 páfinn<sup>12</sup> spyr enn í nýjungum norðan af Englandi. Þat flyzt<sup>13</sup> honum nú þaðan, sem fyrr var getið í sögunni, at Roðgeirr erkibyskup lætr bera kross fyrir sèr um sýslu Kantuariensis kirkju, sem hann sè vorð-

<sup>1</sup> see, T.

<sup>2</sup> So U.; komit, T.

<sup>3</sup> færr, T.

<sup>4</sup> æðr, T.

<sup>5</sup> hversu, T.

<sup>6</sup> æðr, T.

<sup>7</sup> Eptir, T.

<sup>8</sup> loftid, T.

<sup>9</sup> upp, T.

<sup>10</sup> enda, T.

<sup>11</sup> saugunnar, T.

<sup>12</sup> páfinn, T.

<sup>13</sup> flytz, T.

compassion on the king, and called to mind, how their friendship had been wont to be full of love, when he was the king's chancellor ; so he maketh up his mind to help him. It then seemed to him as if in the twinkle of an eye he was on the lowland, and he thought he had in his hand a whip, wherewith he beat the birds off to all four quarters away from the king, so that he gained his freedom. But on the mighty man, who sought to overpower him, Thomas thought he lay heavy words of chastisement. And so this dream endeth.

But a second time it so happened that the lord archbishop lay in his bed awake on a certain night, still thinking of king Henry and his offspring, for at that time the king had two sons, Henry and Geoffrey. The blessed Thomas beareth on a sorrowing thought for his foster-son, the young Henry, and for all of them, father and sons together, as to how far they would turn out profitable men, or how long-lived they might be, or in what way they might end their days. After these thoughts he falleth asleep, whereupon he heareth up in the air this verse :

*Mors tulit una ambos, mors altera sed mala patrem.*

And forthwith he awaketh from the heaviness of sleep, and grieveth sorely for the meaning which he maketh out of the verse which was read even now. But how these dreams come to be fulfilled in their season will, by the will of our Lord, be told at the end of the story.

Hence let us wend onward to Rome, and see what kind of news the pope heareth still brought from the north from England. The tidings now brought to him thence tell o that which has been mentioned before in the story, of archbishop Roger namely having a cross borne before him about the diocese of the church of Canterbury, as if he had

1166. The pope threatens the arch-bishop of York with penalties for having the cross borne before him in the diocese of Canterbury.

inn primas yfir öllu Englandi. Sýnist herra páfanum<sup>1</sup> þessi ofdirfð á eingan veg þollig,<sup>2</sup> því skrifar hann bréf til Englands með stórum ávítum<sup>3</sup> ok hótanarorðum. Er Roðgeirr ánefndr í þessi oftekju, því at honum sendist bréfit, enn aðrir byskupar eru<sup>4</sup> settir<sup>5</sup> undir sveigingarorð, at slíkar muni þeira tillögur<sup>6</sup> æ til mótgangs ok minkanar við Thómam erkibyskup. Læstr ok herra páfinn<sup>6</sup> þat lýsast í sínum orðum, at þeir allir samt verðskylda sèr stríða ráðning, ef erkibyskupinn vill á þá leggja.<sup>7</sup> Enn er Roðgeirr<sup>10</sup> hefir þetta bréf herra páfans yfirlesit, kallar hann saman byskupa til umráða, því at þeir allir saman eru<sup>8</sup> nú í kúrhugum,<sup>9</sup> hvárt herra Thómas kastar eingu klatri á þá, ef þeir halda kyrru fyrir. Því verðr þat ráð með þeim, at þeir skulu fyrr at bragði<sup>15</sup> verða með appelleran undan<sup>10</sup> erkibyskupi til páfans,<sup>11</sup> ok þá appellacionem semr Lundúna byskup með snild

<sup>1</sup> *pafuanum*, T.

<sup>2</sup> *þolig*, T.

<sup>3</sup> So U.; *avitu*, T.

<sup>4</sup> *aru*, T.

<sup>5</sup> *tillaugr*, T.

<sup>6</sup> *pauinn*, T.

<sup>7</sup> At Sens, on or before Jan. 21, 1164, the pope had granted the arch-bishop of York the privilege of having the cross carried before him throughout all England, Epp. Alex. pape, cccxxv., Migne, cc., 283. This is a certain date, although the letter bears none, because in a letter to Becket, dated the same day, cccxxiv., Migne, *ib.*, 282-283, the pope explains the matter, evidently in order to pacify Becket's mind. This letter to the archbishop of York, couched in a most affectionate language throughout, is immediately followed by another to him, cccxxvi., Migne, *ib.*, peremptorily forbidding him, in the fiercest language pos-

sible, to have the cross carried before him through the diocese of Canterbury. Both letters are referred to the same place and date by the collectors, and even by Jaffé. But the impossibility of both being written in one day is in itself transparent enough, and becomes still more so when the historical situation is taken into consideration. The latter of the two, therefore, to which our text evidently refers, I cannot help connecting with a letter of the pope dated Laterani v. kal. Feb. (Jan. 28) 1166, cccxxxiv., Migne, *ib.*, 406-407, to the bishops of England, warning them under serious threats not to invade in any way the rights and privileges of Canterbury.

<sup>8</sup> *aru*, T.

<sup>9</sup> So U.; *kurhugum*, T.

<sup>10</sup> *undan*, T.

<sup>11</sup> *pauans*, T.

indeed become primate of all England. This seemeth to the lord pope an overboldness not to be borne with in any way, and therefore he writeth a letter to England with stern rebukes and with threatening words. Roger is the one who is mentioned by name therein as guilty of this presumption, for to him the letter is sent ; but other bishops are alluded to in words of such import as that these things must be due to their persistently giving their counsel for the purpose of afflicting and dishonouring archbishop Thomas. The lord pope also maketh it appear from his words, that they deserve, all of them together, a stern correction, if the archbishop should be minded to lay it on them. But when Roger has read through this letter of the pope, he calleth the bishops together for to take counsel with them ; for they are now all in a cowered mind, lest lord Thomas should bring some trouble upon them, if they should remain quiet in the matter. They therefore take the counsel to be the first to move, and to issue an appeal from the archbishop to the pope, and this appeal the bishop of London frameth with elegance and smooth



116a. ok sléttmæli<sup>1</sup> ok því samlandi, at ásaka erkibyskupinn með minkanargreinum ok meinyrðum, sem lýsast í svá föllnu bréfi.<sup>2</sup>

## KAP. LX.

BRÉF BYSKUPA TIL THÓMAM.<sup>3</sup>

5

Virðuligum herra sínum, Thómasi erkibyskupi, senda kveðju<sup>4</sup> byskupar í Englandi, með mjúkri lýðni ok skyldugri þjónustu. Þat úfriðar efni, er byrjaðist með yðvarri bruttferð, hugðum vèr at yður<sup>5</sup> vitra myndi lægt hafa. Enn þar blektumst vèr, þá er<sup>6</sup> vèr hugð- 10 um,<sup>7</sup> at þèr sæktið<sup>8</sup> ánauð ok fátækt ok erfíði<sup>9</sup> til þess eina, at mýkja konungs reiði ok bæta yðvart umliðit líf með bænum ok bókalesningum, enn eigi til þess at brjóta kappi við konunginn, sem nú prófast, ok reisast á hans ríki með hótum ok harðindum. Nú er 15 friðar ván í fjarska, enn örvænting<sup>10</sup> innan húsa.<sup>11</sup> Hvat hugsit<sup>12</sup> þèr, hvern enda hafa skal? Sparit heldr Guði nokkut, enn<sup>13</sup> ætlið yðr allan dóm. Forðist at auka þyngsl yfir þunga.<sup>14</sup> Hugsit, hvern ávöxt gerir hvárt, þolinmæði eðr<sup>15</sup> metnaðar ákefð. Hægir hóg- 20 væri,<sup>16</sup> enn hótan hrærir. Betri<sup>17</sup> er orðstírr af yfirbót, enn umlestr<sup>18</sup> af yfirgirnd. Minniligt mætti yðr vera, hvílikr þú vart í fyrstu; hversu<sup>19</sup> þú komt í konungs garð lágr kotkarls<sup>20</sup> son, fátækr ok lítills virðr; ok þessu næst sæmdi yðr at hugleiða, hverr þik hóf í 25 svá mikla sæmd af lágum, at þín vinátta þótti mest verð í öllu landi, þegar konunginn leið. Ok at yðrar sæmdir mætti eigi á hjóli leika, skipaði hann yðr með

<sup>1</sup> sléttmæli, T.<sup>2</sup> bréfi, T.<sup>3</sup> Giles, Epp. Sti. Thomæ, I. 126.<sup>4</sup> Q, T.<sup>5</sup> yðr, T.<sup>6</sup> ær, T.<sup>7</sup> So U., hugdudum, T.<sup>8</sup> sektið, T.<sup>9</sup> erfíði, T.<sup>10</sup> oruventing, T.<sup>11</sup> hus, T.<sup>12</sup> hugsit, T.<sup>13</sup> ænn, T.<sup>14</sup> So U.; cf. page 408, 17. þyngsl

aa yfir þynga, T.

<sup>15</sup> æðr, T.<sup>16</sup> hogneri, T.<sup>17</sup> Batri, T.<sup>18</sup> umlestr, T.<sup>19</sup> huersou, T.<sup>20</sup> kottharll, T.

wording, mixing therewith accusations against the archbishop, and adding thereto dishonouring charges and hurtful words, as appeareth from the manner of this letter :

## CHAP LX.

## LETTER FROM THE BISHOPS TO THOMAS.

To their worthy lord, archbishop Thomas, the bishops in England, with meek obedience and due service, send greeting. That cause of unpeace which arose by your departure we thought your wisdom would have allayed already. To our utter deception, we had conceived in our mind, that you sought bondage and poverty and trouble for that reason alone, that you might assuage the wrath of the king, and mend your past life by prayers and the reading of books, but not for the purpose of stirring up contention against the king, as is now proven, and setting yourself up against his kingdom with threats and hardihood. Now is hope for peace far off abroad, but indoors despair thereof. What think you, as to what end this will have? Leave something for God, rather than reserve for yourself the whole judgment. Take heed that you do not add heavy weight to a heavy burden. Consider, which is the fruit that each beareth forth, long suffering, and overweening ambition. Meekness stilleth, but threat stirreth. Better to gain fame by repentance, than ill-fame by insolence. Well might you call to mind who thou wast at first, how thou camest into the king's court a humble son of a cot-carl, poor, and held of little worth; and next thereto it might beseech you to consider, who he was who exalted thee to so great an honour from a humble state, that thy friendship was deemed of the greatest worth in the whole land, next indeed to the king's, and who, in order that your honour

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konungligu valdi, at kristninni stynjandi, í hæsta tignarsæti í öllu Englandi. Ok hvat leggi þér hér í mót? Hverr mun rómr á falla, ef konunginn tekr öxi<sup>1</sup> fyrir ástuð, hamar fyrir heiðr, mein fyrir margfaldan sóma? Vægit virðing yðvarri, ok lægit yðra<sup>5</sup> úsannsynni; ok þótt þér vilit oss eigi heyra, virðit þó nauðsyn herra páfans<sup>2</sup> ok kristninnar; því at eigi mun Heinrekr konungr einn upp<sup>3</sup> standa, ef hann er grimmliga knúinn. Til sýnist nokkurum sá friðar vegr, at skipa hógværdarmann<sup>4</sup> til sætis í Kanciam, enn þat<sup>10</sup> vill konunginn eigi enn. Ok er<sup>5</sup> þat sæti hættligt hverjum, er tæki. Nú vill konunginn sættast, at höldnum sið ok sóma er höfðu fyrri konungar, bæði við kirkjur ok lærða menn, ef nokkut finnst brotligt<sup>6</sup> með honum. Hverjum decretum megi þér þann pína,<sup>15</sup> er býðst<sup>7</sup> undir sættina? Ein er allra vor bæn, sem tárin votta, at þér hjálpið hjörð yðra, enn hrindit eigi framm í dauðligt forað. Mjök mislíkar oss öllum, hversu<sup>8</sup> þér hafit strítt<sup>9</sup> Jocelin byskupi, bróður<sup>10</sup> vorum ok Jóni hans decan. Er þat nýr<sup>11</sup> háttr frammferða<sup>12</sup> <sup>20</sup> at stórmæla fyrst, enn leiða síðan at sökum. Ok til þess at vorar sæmdir ok embætti sé undan yðru svá foraðsligu<sup>13</sup> valdi, setjum vèr oss ok vora luti undir hönd Róma kirkju ok herra páfans. Nefnum vèr yðr dag, in ascensione domini<sup>14</sup> sé þér þar kominn. Ok <sup>25</sup> jafnframm biðjum vèr, at þér víkit til friðar ok frjálshit oss af rekstri.<sup>15</sup> Ok þá biðjum vèr<sup>16</sup> yðr vel lifa, ef þér gerit konungsins vilja ok vorn.

<sup>1</sup> *auxi*, T.<sup>2</sup> *pauans*, T.<sup>3</sup> *upp*, T.<sup>4</sup> *hoguerdarmann*, T.<sup>5</sup> *ær*, T.<sup>6</sup> *brotligt*, T.<sup>7</sup> *byz*, T.<sup>8</sup> *huerssu*, T.<sup>9</sup> *stridt*, T.<sup>10</sup> *brodr*, T.<sup>11</sup> *nyrr*, T.<sup>12</sup> *framferda*, T.<sup>13</sup> *forasligu*, T.<sup>14</sup> Consequently the letter was written early enough in the year 1166, to allow the English bishops time to prepare for and undertake a journey to Rome, to be there on the 2nd of June, the day of the month on which Ascension day fell n that year.<sup>15</sup> So U.; *restri*, T.<sup>16</sup> *uær*, T.

might not play loose on a whirling wheel, placed you by royal power, amid the groanings of the church, in the highest seat of honour in all England. And what do you give in return for this? What kind of rumour will it call forth, if the king received in return an axe for affection, a hammer for honour, maiming for manifold favours? Spare your dignity, and restrain your ingratitude; and although you may be unwilling to listen to us, you should pay heed to the necessity of the pope and the church, for, to be sure, king Henry will not stand alone if he be fiercely pressed. To some folk this seemeth a way likely to lead to peace, that a man of moderation should be installed in the see of Canterbury; but this is not the king's will, as yet. Yea and dangerous enough is that seat to anyone who should take it. The king is willing, on the customs and honour enjoyed by former kings being faithfully holden, to make peace with churches and learned men, if there be found any guilt in him. By what decrees then may you impose penance on him who offereth to make peace? One is the prayer of all of us, as our tears witness: that you save your flock, but thrust it not onward into a deadly slough. It misliketh us all sorely, how harshly you have dealt with bishop Jocelin our brother, and John his dean. It is indeed a new manner of proceeding, first to excommunicate, and then to bring home the charges. And in order that our honour and office be freed from this so disastrous power of yours, we place ourselves and all our affairs under the hand of the church of Rome and the lord pope. We name you the day in Ascenscione Domini to be there. At the same time we pray, that you turn yourself towards peace, and thus save us the trouble of further worry. And so we bid you live well, if you do the king's will and our own.

1166. Þetta byskupanna bréf flyzt<sup>1</sup> herra Thómasi, þar sem hann sitr í Franz; ok sem hann hefir þat greint ok articulerat, snýr<sup>2</sup> hann til þess vegar at gefa þeim líkt móti líku, svá at hann sýni þeim sína sannyrði; enn<sup>3</sup> einga þeira appelleran vill hann<sup>4</sup> halda, heldr með 5 öllu cassera. Ok því skrifar hann aftr í gegn til sérhverra luta svarandi, er þeir framm settu. Þat bréf hefr svá.

## KAP. LXI.

BRÉF THÓMAS ERKIBYSKUPS TIL BYSKUPA.<sup>5</sup> 10

Thómas, með Guðs miskunn lágr þjónn Kanterabyrgis kristni, sendir virðuligum bræðrum<sup>6</sup> sínum, öllum Englands byskupum, þá kveðju, at gera þat, sem enn gera þeir eigi. Bréf yðart kom til vor, er meira berr ávítanar enn hugganar, meira til áleitni, 15 enn styrkingar mót ástinni er eigi leitar sinn ávinning heldr guðliga tign. Drottinn Jesús Kristr dó fyrir oss, hlýðinn föður<sup>7</sup> alt til krossins, sýnandi oss svá geranda fyrir<sup>8</sup> hans sök,<sup>9</sup> ef nauðsyn kallar. Hversu<sup>10</sup> má yðvarr stëttr sjá í mót svá mikilli elsku, ef þer óttist 20 miðr Guð enn mann, framarr<sup>11</sup> elskandi yðarn líkam enn Skaparann, framarr<sup>11</sup> búmir til hlýðni veraldar konungi enn yðrum erkibyskupi? Ef keisari eðr<sup>12</sup> konungr býðr yðr rætt,<sup>13</sup> megi þer gera, enn ef þat er rangt, eigi þer mót rísa. Vèr höfum hlýtt ok þagat, 25 ef nokkurr<sup>14</sup> yðar vildi minnst vígslu sinnar ok vernda frelsi kristinnar; enn nú er ljóst af brèfum yðrum, sem harmar hugskot vart, at meirr stande<sup>15</sup> þer búmir

<sup>1</sup> flytz, T.

<sup>2</sup> snyrr, T.

<sup>3</sup> ænn, T.

<sup>4</sup> hann added in U.

<sup>5</sup> Cf. Thoms Cant. Archiep. Epistolæ, ep. lxxv., Migne, cxc. 536-548.

<sup>6</sup> bræðrum, T.

<sup>7</sup> födr, T.

<sup>8</sup> So altered by the editor; fra, T., which gives no meaning.

<sup>9</sup> sauk, T.

<sup>10</sup> Hueressu, T.

<sup>11</sup> framarr, T.

<sup>12</sup> ædr, T.

<sup>13</sup> reitt, T.

<sup>14</sup> nockur, T.

<sup>15</sup> stande, T.

This letter of the bishops is brought to lord Thomas whereas he abideth in France, and when he hath digested it in its sundry articles, he taketh the course of giving them like for like, so as to show them the truthfulness of their words; but he will hold to their appeal in no wise, but setteth it aside altogether. And therefore he writeth back to them, answering to everything which they had set forth. Which letter beginneth thus :

## CHAP. LXI.

## THE LETTER OF ARCHBISHOP THOMAS TO THE BISHOPS.

Thomas, by God's grace humble servant of the church of Canterbury, sendeth all his venerable brethren, the bishops of England, the greeting, that they do what as yet they do not. Your letter hath come to us, the burden of which is rather one of rebuke than of comfort, one more fit to vex, than to strengthen the love which seeketh not its own profit but rather the honour of God. The Lord Jesus Christ died for us, obedient to his Father even unto the Cross, showing that the same it behoveth us to do, for his sake, if need should require. How can your order keep so great a love before your eyes, if ye fear less God than man, and love your body more than the Creator, being readier to obey a king of this world than your own archbishop? If emperor or king command you to do what is right, ye are allowed to do it; but if it be wrong, it is your duty to rise against it. We have listened in silence if any of you would remember his ordination and defend the freedom of the church; but now it is manifest from your letter, which grieveth our soul, that ye stand ready rather to put her to

1166. til hneykingar enn henni til uppreistar. Enn þótt þær kjósit yðr svá afskapliga iðn, at stríða kristninni, hefir hon svá góðan grundvöll, at eigi má hún falla fyrir yðr; því at þat er henni náttúrligt, með skipan Guðs, at ef hon lýtr á kné í falli sinna formanna,<sup>1</sup> effist hon mest<sup>5</sup> ok endrbætist, því at þeir dýrkast af Guði, er fyrir henni þreyta. Nú er yðvart traust eigi at sækja, heldr þess, er svá mælti fyrir spámánninn: Exsurge, domine, et judica causam tuam. Nú ef þær angrit kristnina, hvat þurfum vèr undra, þótt þær ávítið oss? Saklaus 10 er<sup>2</sup> kirkjan; eigi sjám vèr ok vora sök. Tókum vèr nokkurs yðvars góz,<sup>3</sup> fat eðr<sup>4</sup> fjör, uxa eðr<sup>4</sup> asna? Ef þat finst með oss, skulum vèr ferfalt aftr<sup>5</sup> bæta. Enn ef þat eyðist, hvers<sup>6</sup> skulum vèr þá gjalda, er þær látið oss mæta einn öllum þunga,<sup>7</sup> mótgang ok 15 meingerðum, skapraunum ok skaða. Nú ef þær mættið<sup>8</sup> strjúka þann blindleik af augum yðr, sem lengi<sup>9</sup> hefir harðla mjök meinat, hæfði yðr at virða, hvern enda þessi mál skulu hafa. Enn sú álitning verðr eigi rétt, ef manna munr eðr<sup>10</sup> ríkdómr hefir háseti með yðr. 20 Því at þat fyrsta<sup>11</sup> sem þær at vikut um vora bruttferð, sýnist oss án réttvirðing<sup>12</sup> þýtt<sup>13</sup> ok upptekit; því at í sannleik eignast þat efni tvenna undirstöðu, at firra þá glæp, sem gera vildu, ok at kynna kirkjunnar sök,<sup>14</sup> at eigi sýndimst vèr einn í því máli, er Guðs rættir ok hennar 25 var ofsótttr. Þær vildut, at ek mintist hversu lágr kotkarls<sup>15</sup> son ek kom á konungs garð, ok ek játtar

<sup>1</sup> formann, T.

<sup>2</sup> ar, T.

<sup>3</sup> godz, T.

<sup>4</sup> ædr, T.

<sup>5</sup> aptr, T.

<sup>6</sup> So altered by the Editor. *hversu*, T., i.e. how shall we then pay you for, &c., obviously not the meaning. Cf. "Si vero non est quod offenderim, ut quid me so-

"lum derelinquistis in causa Dei?"  
*ib.*

<sup>7</sup> þunga, T.

<sup>8</sup> mættid, T.

<sup>9</sup> leingi, T.

<sup>10</sup> ædr, T.

<sup>11</sup> fyrsta, T.

<sup>12</sup> ríettvirðing, T.

<sup>13</sup> þydt, T.

<sup>14</sup> sauk, T.

<sup>15</sup> kotkarllz, T.

shame than to hold her up. But choosing for yourselves as you do such an abominable task as to war against the church, she standeth nathless on so good a foundation, that she may nowise fall before you; for by God's ordinance it is her nature that, if she stoop on her knee by the fall of her rulers, she is thereby most strengthened and restored, for they are glorified by God who strive for her. Now it is not your support which is to be sought, but His, who thus spoke through the prophet: *Exsurge, Domine, et judica causam tuam.* Now that you bring sorrow upon the church in this manner, why should we wonder that you lay blame on ourself? The church is sackless; nor do we either see our guilt. Have we taken the goods of any of you, the clothes or the life, the ox or the ass? If aught such shall be found in us, we shall requite it fourfold. But if nought of the kind should be found in us, for what deed of ours, then, must we needs suffer, that you make us alone bear all the burden, all enmity and vexation, all the provocation and all the injury? Now if you could but wipe away from your eyes the blindness which for a long time hath been your great bane, it would behove you to consider, what end these affairs must have. But such a consideration may nowise be right, if respect of persons or wealth sitteth in the high seat within you. For as concerning the first matter on which ye touch, my departure to wit, it seemeth to us summed up and interpreted without having been weighed in the right manner; for, in truth, that matter was done for a twofold reason: first, namely, to prevent those, who were so minded, from committing a crime, and, secondly, to make known the cause of the church, in order that it might not seem as if we were alone in the case, whereas the right of God and herself was being persecuted. Ye desire that I should call to mind, how humble a cot-carl's son I came to the king's court, and I owe that my kin is not of a



1186. Því, at mín kynferð er<sup>1</sup> eigi af konunga ætt sem nokkurra af yðr; enn þó er mín kynslóð í sannleik svá sæmilig í Lundúnum, at kotkarla<sup>2</sup> nöfn voru fjarri mínum ættmönnum. Því svörum vèr öðru þar til, at oss sýnist kjörligra, at verða sómi lítillar ættar, enn 5 vansæmi stórrar. Því svörum vèr þriðja, at þótt vèr sèem lægri at burðum enn einhverr yðar,<sup>3</sup> hefir Guðs miskunn svá skipat, at vèr erum<sup>4</sup> öllum yðr æðri vorðinn. Minnast má þess, at af hjarðarsveini varð heilagr Davíð konungr Ísraels,<sup>5</sup> ok af fiskimanni hófst 10 hinn sæli Petrus í höfðingsskap ok herradóm<sup>6</sup> allrar kristni. Enn þat er þèr sögðut mik fátækan koma til konungs, er ok eigi mjök satt, því at í-nóg fór ek fèkátliga sem ek var erkidjárn, þá er ek tók á hverju ári þrjúhundrat<sup>7</sup> marka brent. Urættisýni<sup>8</sup> eignir þèr 15 mèr til Heinreks konungs, tjándi hversu<sup>9</sup> hátt hann hefir oss hafit. Enn hví hann gerði svá, svari honum eigin samvizka. Þèr sögðut oss kjörinn til byskups fyrir konungs vald, at stynjandi Guðs kristni; þat er at skilja án yðvarri samþykkt. Enn í þessum orðum 20 fellr á yðr ritningin, at hverr sá sem lýgr, drepr sína sál. Lygð er öllum fyrirboðin, enn einkanliga yðr byskupunum; því at sjálfir viti þèr, at minn kosningr gerðist með yðru<sup>10</sup> játyrði. Enn þótt öfund<sup>11</sup> hafi bititð þar um nokkurs yðvars hjarta, ok hafi mælt móti 25 tungunni, svari hann því sjálf; þarf<sup>12</sup> ok eigi at segja,<sup>13</sup>

<sup>1</sup> *ær*, T.

<sup>2</sup> *kotharlla*, T.

<sup>3</sup> *yduar*, T.

<sup>4</sup> *ærum*, T.

<sup>5</sup> *Israel*, T. cf. p. 18, 20.

<sup>6</sup> *herradóm*, T.

<sup>7</sup> *þriu hundrat*, T., cf. p. 188, 1, and notes 1 and 10.

<sup>8</sup> *Vrettsýni*, T.

<sup>9</sup> *hversu*, T.

<sup>10</sup> *ydrv*, T.

<sup>11</sup> *öfund*, T.

<sup>12</sup> So altered by the editor, *i.e.* þarf hann; þarf, T.

<sup>13</sup> Here T. and U. read, *suari hann þvi sialfr þar ok ægi at segja*, obviously false grammar. The words, *ok hafi mælt móti tungunni . . . . leyndiat med Guðs fólki*, unless the Icelanders original of this letter has differed from what it is now, seem to be of an intercalary nature; for, according to the Latin, the sentence should run, *Enn þott öfund hafi bititð þar um nokkurs yðvars hjarta, veiti Guð þeim líkn*, &c.: "Verum si quem torsit invidia, si quem affixit ambitio, si cui

royal line, as is that of some of you ; but so honourable, forsooth, is my family in London, that the cot-carl's name has ever been far away from my kinsfolk. To this we have, secondly, to answer : that it seemeth to us preferable, to become the pride of a small stock, than the disgrace of a great one. Thirdly we give this answer, that though we be of a lower birth than any of you, God's grace hath so disposed that we have become higher than all of you. It may be called to mind, that the holy David became from a herd-swain the king of Israel, and from a fisherman the blessed Peter was exalted to be lord and head of all the church. But as to what you say about my having come poor to the king, there is not much of truth in that either ; for I had enough money to bless myself with when I was archdeacon, when I took in every year three hundred marks of burnt silver. You impute to me ingratitude towards king Henry, while setting forth how high he hove me. But why he did so let his own conscience answer him. You say that we were chosen bishop, through the power of the king, amidst the groanings of the church, that is to say, without your consent. But in these words the scripture falleth on you : whosoever lieth killeth his soul. Lying is forbidden to all, but most chiefly to you, the bishops, for ye know yourselves that my election was fulfilled by your consent. But if envy for that matter gnawed at the heart of some one among you, and spoke in a manner contrary to the language uttered by the tongue, let him answer thereto himself ; but let it not be

1166. at þar styndi öll<sup>1</sup> kristni, þótt einn eðr<sup>2</sup> tveir öfund-  
samr<sup>3</sup> leyndist með Guðs fólki. Veiti Guð þeim líkn,  
er<sup>4</sup> svá gerði, ok gjarna fyrirlátum vèr. Enn þat, er  
þer sögðut oss fá herra konunginum hamar ok öxi<sup>5</sup>  
fyrir sæmd ok góðvilja, er þat með öngum hætti svá 5  
skiljanda sem þer settuð oss til lýtis undir úsannsýni,  
heldr má rætt ok löglic<sup>6</sup> hirting merkjast fyrir hamar  
ok öxi, er vort embætti<sup>7</sup> skildast honum at veita fyrir  
afbrot laganna, þótt í aðra grein sèr<sup>8</sup> vèr honum  
skuldbundnir<sup>9</sup> til myktar<sup>10</sup> ok góðvilja fyrir þat háseti, 10  
er hann heldr yfir Guðs fólki. Enn þau hót, sem þer  
drógut um nauðsyn herra páfans<sup>11</sup> eðr<sup>12</sup> fjölmenni  
Heinreks konungs móti honum ok kristninni, sama  
yðr harðla lítt, því at getur þvílíkar stæði afskapliga  
einum lýðmanni, enn yðr hálfu verr, er bæði kallizt 15  
kennimenn ok vinir konungs. Hugsit um, hræðslu  
fullir, hvárt gullkerit í Babilon samþykkir eigi hjörtum  
yðrum, er fagrt var utan, en fult með ólyfjan. Þèr<sup>13</sup>  
segizt gráta úfarir kristinnar,<sup>14</sup> enn því jafnframm<sup>15</sup>  
dragizt þèr í friðargrein, at annarr<sup>16</sup> kjörizt í vort rúm 20  
til Kanciam. Nú hafið ráð mitt, grátið eigi kristnina,  
heldr sjálfa yðr; því at vèr væntum í Guði, at heilög  
kristni forðist fyrir vorar gerðir niðrfall ok sorgarefni.<sup>17</sup>  
Sjáit heldr um sjálfa yðr, hvílikt uppheldi þèr veitið  
henni, eðr<sup>18</sup> forgöngu<sup>19</sup> yðvarri hjörð. Hafit fyrst 25

“ tam pacifica, tam legitima, tam  
“ sine contradictione facta electio  
“ dolorem et amaritudinem impres-  
“ sit, eatenus ut ob hoc machinetur  
“ et velit turbari omnia, indulgeat  
“ ei Dominus.”

<sup>1</sup> aull, T.

<sup>2</sup> ædr, T.

<sup>3</sup> öfundsamr, T.

<sup>4</sup> ær, T.

<sup>5</sup> auri, T.

<sup>6</sup> lauglig, T.

<sup>7</sup> embætti, T.

<sup>8</sup> seer, T.

<sup>9</sup> skuldbunnir, T.

<sup>10</sup> myktar, T.

<sup>11</sup> þauans, T.

<sup>12</sup> ædr, T.

<sup>13</sup> þær, T.

<sup>14</sup> kristinnar, T.

<sup>15</sup> jafnfram, T.

<sup>16</sup> annar, T.

<sup>17</sup> sorgarefni, T.

<sup>18</sup> ædr, T.

<sup>19</sup> forgaungu, T.

said that the whole church was groaning because one or two envious persons happened to be hidden among God's people. May God grant his mercy to him who was in that case, and we forgive him readily. But whereas you say that I give to the lord king hammer and axe for honour and good-will, let this in no wise be understood to mean ingratitude as you interpret it for our reproach; let by hammer and axe far rather be betokened the right and lawful chastisement which it is the duty of our office to minister to him for trespassing the law, although, on the other hand, we owe him meekness and goodwill for that high station which he holdeth over God's people. But the threats which ye draw forth about the necessity of the lord pope, and about the multitude of people which king Henry can muster against him and the church, surely they befit you ill, for such hints would suit a layman abominably, but you half the worse, who are both called ministers of the word and friends of the king. Consider and be filled with fear, whether the gold vessel of Babylon answereth not to your hearts, being fair outside, but full of abomination within. Ye profess to weep for the ill fate of the church, but at the same time ye put it forward, as a condition of peace, that another person be chosen for Canterbury in our place. Now, take my counsel, weep not for the church, but rather for yourselves; for we hope, by God, that the holy church may escape, through our deeds, downfall and cause for sorrow. Look ye rather after yourselves, as to what upholding ye afford her, or what sort of leadership you afford your flocks. Take first

1153. sjálfir þat ráð, er þér<sup>1</sup> kenlut oss. Hrindit eigi sauðum Guðs á villistiga, fyrir þá veraldarelsku<sup>2</sup> ok hægómadrð er opinberliga birtist með yðr vera. Þér segit konung sættast vilja með þeim skilmála, at hann haldi öllum sínum sóma. Enn þat hefir 5 þann skilning, at sèr greint lögmál kirkjunnar ok curiæ samsetist undir siðvenjur, ok tapi svá kirkjan æfinliga sinni frumtign ok frelsi. Þat sýnist oss eigi vel standa í yðru brèfi, at vèr hafim stórmælt fyrst Jocelin byskup ok Jón decan, enn sýnt sakir þeira, 10 þar sem þér vitið, at augljósar<sup>3</sup> ílskur<sup>4</sup> ásaka þá báða með berri óhlýðni bæði vit herra páfann<sup>5</sup> ok oss. Mun ei<sup>6</sup> þat til, at þrent bann sè fallit yfir þá báða, þótt byskupinn sè enn eigi bannsunginn? Verkit sjálf bannfærir<sup>7</sup> mann í skipuðu lögmáli 15 heilagrar Róma kirkju, ok þat heitir páfa bann. Þat er annat, ef ljósar sakir bera mann undir bannsetning síns byskups, ok sá kallast sunginn í bann. Þat er hit þriðja, ef maðr samneytir bannsettum með óhlýðni ok fyrirlitning við kirkjunn. Þessar greinir tjám vèr 20 yðr, eigi sem lærandi heldr sýnandi, hversu þessar greinir allar hlaðast at Jóni decan, ok því mun yðr sýnast ofmælt, at vèr leitaðim saka eptir áfellit. Enn þat er oss eigi ljósara, hvar þér byskuparnir vilit svara þeim letrum<sup>8</sup> miðil landa, at yðr skal mislíka, 25 þótt opinberr glæpamaðr sè lögliga píndr með stórmælum. Enn þat er þér kölluðuzt<sup>9</sup> appellera oss til herra páfans, virðum vèr svá mikils, sem þér hafit með öllu þagat, því at kirkjunnar lög lofa þeim einum appellera undan sínum formanni til æðra dóms, sem 30 þat gerir með skrifaðri skynsemd ok nauðsyn, enn eigi

<sup>1</sup> Added in U.

<sup>2</sup> *veraldarelsku*, T.

<sup>3</sup> *augljósar*, T.

<sup>4</sup> *illskur*, T.

<sup>5</sup> *pauann*, T.

<sup>6</sup> *ei*, T.

<sup>7</sup> *bannfærir*, T.

<sup>8</sup> *letrum*, T.

<sup>9</sup> So altered by the editor; *kaulludut*, T.

home to yourselves the counsel ye taught us. Thrust not the sheep of God into stray paths for that love of the world and of vain-glory which manifestly showeth itself to be in you. Ye say the king is willing to make peace by holding his honour whole. But that means, that the very laws of the church and the curia shall be placed in rank below the customs, that so the church lose for ever her supremacy and freedom. Nor does that seem to us to stand well in your letter, that we have excommunicated bishop Jocelin and dean John, before showing their guilt, while ye know, that manifest wickedness maketh both guilty of open disobedience, both to the lord pope and ourself. Shall it not be so, that a threefold guilt of ban hath fallen on both of them, although the bishop is not excommunicated as yet? The deed itself bringeth on the doer the guilt of ban according to the sanctioned law of the holy Roman church; which is called pope's ban. Another case is this: if manifest guilts bring a man under the ban of his bishop; such an one is said to be pronounced in ban. A third case is this: if a man communicate with those, over whom ban has been pronounced for disobedience to and contempt of the church. Not that we are telling you these matters for to teach you, but rather to show you, how all these things heap on dean John; and therefore it will seem to you clear enough that you have gone too far in saying that I did search about for charges after having visited him with ban. But this certainly is not clear to us, where on earth ye bishops are ready to answer for writing such a thing as that you are discontented at an open criminal having been lawfully brought under the penalty of excommunication. But whereas ye declare that you summon us before the pope, we hold that matter of as much account as if you had been silent altogether; for the laws of the church allow such an one only to appeal from his superior to a higher judgment, who doth it by written reasons adduced and out of necessity, but not out of malicious

1186.

með ákasti öfundar eðr drambsamri hafnan við sinn formann. Þurfi þér ok eigi þat starf fyrir yðr at leggja, at rekast til Róms, því at þat herra páfans vald, er hann eftir<sup>1</sup> lagði hjá oss, skal yðr nægjast, ef þér betrizt eigi. Einkanliga má þik þar til nefna, Gilli- 5 bert, Lundúna byskup, ok bróður<sup>2</sup> þinn, erkibyskup af Jork. Þit gáfut þat ráð, at fyrir konungliga ógn skyldi vorir umboðsmenn eigi svá djarfir, at þeir sendi oss eðr<sup>3</sup> vorum nauðsynjum nokkurn minsta fjárlut. Var þat enn diktat þvert móti lögum, at þá friðheilaga 10 eign, er vèr hlífðum með appellacione, skyldum vèr þarnast í eyrendum kirkjunnar. Því rangligar<sup>4</sup> greip konungs garðr ok þú, Lundúna byskup, Gillibert, þat sama góz<sup>5</sup> oss fráverandum, ok svá mikit sem þú hefir undir þik dregit, krefjum vèr af þér undir banns<sup>6</sup> 15 viðlögu.<sup>7</sup> Mun yðr nú þikkja sannast þat, er þér skrifuðut, at vèr leggim þyngal yfir þunga, þegar vèr þegjum eigi yfir þeim úsóma ok harðbrysti, er þér ok vorir úvinir veitið oss ok kirkjunni; því at útlegð vorri ok vorra frænda<sup>8</sup> ok fjár upptöku, skapraun ok 20 skaða samþínizt þér því síðr, at þér gangit í gripdeild ok hernat upp á kirkjuna með hennar niðrbrots- mönnum. Ok má sýnast undarligt, at þvilík frammferð<sup>9</sup> aftar yðr eigi kinnroða, ok kiunroði úfremdar, úfremd iðranar, enn iðran umbótar, svá at fyrir rétta yfirbót 25 standi þér upp hêðan gyrðir guðligu sverði ok stríðit<sup>10</sup> fyrir heilagri kristni, því at formanni er þat bótlaus vanvirða at varpa sínum fólkvopnum sèr á bak ok verða vondr flóttamaðr, enn úvinir leiði hans bráði hertekna með sínum sonum svá sem til útlegðar. Nú 30 ef þér lýðit ok hafit vort ráð til heilags umskiptis<sup>11</sup>

<sup>1</sup> *eptir*, T.<sup>2</sup> *broðr*, T.<sup>3</sup> *ædr*, T.<sup>4</sup> *ra gligarr*, T.<sup>5</sup> *goðz*, T.<sup>6</sup> *banz*, T.<sup>7</sup> *uidlaugu*, T.<sup>8</sup> *frænda*, T.<sup>9</sup> *framferð*, T.<sup>10</sup> So U.; *stridir*, T.<sup>11</sup> *umskiptis*, T.

vexation, or out of haughty repudiation of his superior. Nor need ye set before yourselves the task of drifting all the way to Rome, for the papal power which the pope left behind with us will suffice for you if you mend not your ways. Touching this, thou, Gilbert, bishop of London, art chiefly to be named, and thy brother, the archbishop of York. You two gave the counsel, that under royal wrath our bailiffs should not dare minister to ourself or our wants the least articles of value. Moreover it was ordered, straight against law, that the sacred property over which we pronounced peace by our appeal, we should forego even for the use of the church. So much the more wrongfully did the king's court, as also didst thou, Gilbert, bishop of London, seize that same property in our absence; and so much thereof as thou hast made to thyself we claim from thee, under pronouncement of ban. Ye will deem now, that what you wrote cometh true, that we add a load to a heavy burden, in not abiding silent at the shame and hardness of heart which you and our enemies bring to bear on us and the church; for so far from showing compassion on us for our exile and the banishment of our kinsmen, for the confiscation of our wealth, for all the provocation and injury we must endure, ye set with robbery and harrying on the church in fellowship with those who strive to break her down. And a wondrous thing it must seem that such proceedings do not bring out on you a blush, or the blush confusion, or the confusion repentance, or the repentance reformation, so that through a right amendment of life ye might stand forward henceforth girt with a godly sword, and waging the war of the holy church; for to the leader it is an irreparable shame to throw his weapons of fight on his back and become a wretched runaway, whilst his enemies lead his bride captive with her sons even into exile. Now if ye obey and follow my counsel for a holy change and repentance ye will do well, but if ye



1167. ok betranar, munu þær vel fara, enn ef þær haldit uppteknu, dæmi Guð miðil vár ok yðar. Valete.

## KAF. LXXII.

## AF SENDIBOÐUM PÁFANS.

The bishops persuade king Henry to write to the pope.

Nú<sup>1</sup> sem bréf heilags Thómas erkibyskups kemr 5 frammi í England fyrir byskupana, tjá þeir konunginum, hvern skilning þat hefir at halda; ok einkanliga sýnist þeim öllum samt þungliga horfa þat, er svá stendr millum luta, at erkibyskup kasserar þeira appelleran ok þikkist hafa yfir þeim páfans<sup>2</sup> vald, enn þat 10 sýnist þeim hættligt, síðan þeir vilja standa þar sem fyrr. Því rísa upp at nýju miklar ráðagerðir millum konungs ok byskupanna, hvat upp skal taka, ok verðr þat stöðugt, sem um eina stund mátti eigi mjök líkligt þikkja, at herra konungrinn skrifi til Róms. Enn áðr 15 nokkut greinist, hvat hann vill skrifa, má vitr maðr eftir<sup>3</sup> leita, hví konungr þessi hafði annan slag frá herra páfanum enn annan til. Enn þat er sýnt, at umbrot ok obbeldi bar hann til hvárstveggja, því at fyrirfarandi lutir ok fylgjandi votta, at eigi var hann 20 iðrandi maðr.<sup>4</sup> Þá er hann sór sik undan honum, hugðist hann at vinna í einum rykk báða samt herra páfann<sup>5</sup> ok herra Thóman erkibyskup; því báða, at herra páfinn<sup>6</sup> skyldi óttast úblíðu svá ríks höfðingja, at beygja þar fyrir erkibyskupinn sér at knèfalla. Enn 25 er þat gekkst eigi, sýnist honum<sup>7</sup> aftr<sup>8</sup> venda; því at hann skilr vel, at erkibyskupinn fær<sup>9</sup> hann eigi undirbrotið, utan þeir hafi einn ok sama dómara; því at

<sup>1</sup> *Nv*, T.

<sup>2</sup> *pauans*, T.

<sup>3</sup> *eftir*, T.

<sup>4</sup> The punctuation so altered by the editor; *at eigi var hann iðrandi maðr, þa er &c.*, T., U.

<sup>5</sup> *pauann*, T.

<sup>6</sup> *pauinn*, T.

<sup>7</sup> So altered by the editor, *i.e.* "videtur illi;" *hann*, T., *i.e.*, "videtur ille," which is obviously not what is meant here.

<sup>8</sup> *aptr*, T.

<sup>9</sup> *færr*, T.

hold to what you have begun, let God judge between ourself and you. Valete.

## CHAP. LXII.

## CONCERNING THE MESSENGERS OF THE POPE.

Now when the letter of the archbishop Thomas cometh to England before the bishops, they make known to the king the import of its contents, but what to all of them together seemeth most chiefly to bode of trouble is this, that among other things it standeth written therein that the archbishop rejecteth their appeal utterly, averring that he hath a papal power over them, which seemeth to them dangerous, inasmuch as they desire henceforth to stand where they have stood heretofore. Great consultations therefore arise anew between the king and the bishops, as to what is to be done now; and in the end they settle on having done even that, which once upon a time would not have seemed like to come to pass, namely, that the lord king should write now to Rome himself. But before we set forth, what seemeth good to him to write, a wise man will search belike why this king would be beating his course now from the lord pope now towards him. But it is clear that in both he was borne on by rebellion and violence, for things aforegone and to follow hereafter bear witness that he was nowise a repentant person. When he swore himself away from the pope, he meant to overcome by one stroke both of them together, the lord pope and the lord archbishop Thomas: yea both of them for this reason, that the lord pope should, by taking fright at the wrath of such a mighty lord, bend the archbishop to fall on his knee before (the king). But when this would not go, it seemed good to him to turn back; for he well understandeth, that he may not bear the archbishop down unless they both (king and archbishop) have one and the same judge, for it was nowise to be hoped, that

1167. Þat var vonleysa,<sup>1</sup> at erkibyskup vildi dæmast af þrætumanni, þótt Heinrekr konungr gæfi honum sín særi. Hèr fyrir semr Heinrekr konungr sitt brèf til herra páfans<sup>2</sup> með undirhyggju,<sup>3</sup> at hann megi fá fullnað<sup>4</sup> sinna mála allra. Enn þat er<sup>5</sup> svá reist með 5 mýkt ok bænarorðum, at herra páfinn<sup>6</sup> muni senda tvo legatos at prófa öll<sup>7</sup> þau mál, er snarast í millum hans ok erkibyskups, ok þar með úrskurða, allri appelleran fráskildri. Annat brèf ritar konungrinn til curiam heimolligum tveim vinum sínum af cardinali- 10 bus, er heita Vilhjálmr ok Otta. Sú er bæn konungs til þeira, ef herra páfinn<sup>8</sup> víkst undir at gera legatos, at þeir bjóðist til rekstrar ok mæðu þar um, ok fá vald sem sterkast at dæma yfir Thómam erkibyskup. Þessi ráð byrjast á allan hátt sem konungrinn beiddi,<sup>9</sup> 15 því at herra páfinn<sup>10</sup> er friðgjarn ok fýsti mjök, at únáðir ok deilur mætti lægjast. Því skipar hann ij legatos til Englands. Tekst honum þat svá einkan- 20 liga, at þeir sömu verða skipaðir, sem Heinrekr konungr hafði kjörít. Ok er<sup>11</sup> þat eigi þýðanda til lýtis herra páfanum,<sup>12</sup> sem vel lýsist ok prófast litlu síðar; heldr svá sem sæll Gregorius segir af formönnunum, at sá hugr sem dreifist í margar ok ýmissar fjölskyldur,<sup>13</sup> leiðist fljótt ok stundum blekkist, ef fyrstu tilteyging verðr eigi frá vikit. Þat má annat hère til halda, at 25 eigi væri<sup>14</sup> herra páfanum<sup>15</sup> ljósar allar lymstur sinna undirmanna.

Þessir taka nú öflugt vald til prófs ok úrskurðar yfir öllum málagreinum Heinreks konungs ok Thómas erkibyskups, ráða síðan í veg norðr um fjall. Ok 30

and request him to send to England two legatos to decide between him and Becket without an appeal.

The pope grants the king's request.

<sup>1</sup> *vonleysa*, T.

<sup>2</sup> *pauans*, T.

<sup>3</sup> *undirhyggju*, T.

<sup>4</sup> *fullnað*, T.

<sup>5</sup> *er*, T.

<sup>6</sup> *pauinn*, T.

<sup>7</sup> *aull*, T.

<sup>8</sup> *pauinn*, T.

<sup>9</sup> *bæddi*, T.

<sup>10</sup> *pauinn*, T.

<sup>11</sup> *er*, T.

<sup>12</sup> *pauanum*, T.

<sup>13</sup> *fjölskyldur*, T.

<sup>14</sup> *veri*, T.

<sup>15</sup> *pauanum*, T.

the archbishop would suffer judgment from a schismatic pope, whatever oaths king Henry might swear him. For this reason king Henry frameth his letter to the lord pope in a crafty manner, with a view to bringing about all his affairs to his own satisfaction. It beginneth in words of humbleness, praying that the lord pope be pleased to send two legates to examine into all the cases which he and the archbishop have together, and thereby to give decision in them without any appeal being allowed. Another letter the king writeth to the curia, to two familiar friends of his among the cardinals, hight William and Otto. Such is the prayer of the king to these men, in case the lord pope should accede to appointing legates, as that they should offer themselves for this inquiry, and undertake the trouble of the affair, and should procure as full a power as might be for passing sentence on archbishop Thomas. In the beginning these counsels are followed even as the king prayed for, because the lord pope is a man of peaceful mind, and right desirous that troubles and quarrels should be allayed. He therefore appointeth two legates to go to England. And so singularly he turneth that affair out of hand, that the very men are appointed thereto whom king Henry had chosen. This, however, is not to be interpreted in a manner reproachful to the lord pope, as things well show and prove shortly afterwards; but rather in the spirit in which the blessed Gregory speaketh of the rulers (of the church): saying, that a mind which is distraught by many and varied duties, is swiftly misled and sometimes beguiled, if the first temptation be not warded off. Another cause may also be adduced here, this namely, that the cunning ways of his underlings were nowise known to the lord pope.

These men now receive a mighty power for inquiring into and deciding all the differences between king Henry and archbishop Thomas, whereupon they betake themselves

1167. er þeir koma í Franz, flýtr síra Vilhjálmr eigi djúp-  
 ara enn svá, at hann hrósar sínum heiðr, ok hælíst  
 fast um, at nú hefir hann feingit vald yfir Thómam  
 erkibyskup. Enn er Hlöðvir konungr fregu af ferð<sup>1</sup>  
 þeira, hversu<sup>2</sup> úvænlig var til góðra luta, bregðr ð  
 hann vit með öllum skunda, ok skrifar til herra  
 páfans,<sup>3</sup> tjándi bæði mjúkliga ok þó einarðliga, hvert  
 missýni höndlaði<sup>4</sup> hug herra páfana,<sup>5</sup> þá er hann gerði  
 út slíka sendiboða, sem ráðnastir máttu finnast at  
 fylgja öllum vilja Heinreks konungs; segir, at angr 10  
 ok útleğð erkibyskups mun eingan létta<sup>6</sup> fá fyrir  
 þess háttar útveg, heldr nýjar meingerðir ok undirbrot.  
 Fær þetta letr svá mikít aflat í frelsi kirkjunnar eftir<sup>7</sup>  
 skynsemdarorðum Frakka konungs, at síra Vilhjálmr  
 ok þeir kumpánar velta or valdi, fyrr enn varði, því 15  
 at herra páfinn<sup>8</sup> sendir bréf á bak þeim, flettandi þá  
 brutt af öllu dóms atkvæði. Enn í leyfi<sup>9</sup> leggr hann  
 þeim um at leitast, ef nokkurr<sup>10</sup> friðr má formerast  
 með þeira tillögum ok annarra lærðra manna. Enn er  
 Vilhjálmi kemr þetta aftrkast,<sup>11</sup> bregðr honum heldr í 20  
 brún, ok þó heldr hann framm<sup>12</sup> ferðinni, þar til er  
 hann finnr Heinrek konung fyrir sunnan sjó. Mundi  
 fagnafundur þeira hafa vorðit heldr meiri, ef eigi hefði  
 vald tapast með svá bráðum atburð, því at eigi var  
 þar úþvílíkt<sup>13</sup> sem harmaði hvárr annan. Nemr þar stað 25  
 í ráðagerðum, at síra Vilhjálmr skal prófa málsnild ok  
 mjúkyrði sína, ok ríða upp í Franz biðjandi Thómam  
 erkibyskup koma til samtals í þann stað, sem honum  
 nefnist. Þetta sama ferr framm, at sendiboðar kalla  
 samt lærða menn ok jafnvel byskupa nokkura. þar 30

but after-  
 wards de-  
 prives the  
 legates of  
 their abso-  
 lute power.

The legates  
 summon  
 Becket and  
 several  
 bishops and  
 the clergy to  
 a meeting.

<sup>1</sup> So altered by the editor; *ferd-  
 um*, T., an evident blunder of the  
 scribe, as is proven by *úvænlig var*  
 in the following line.

<sup>2</sup> *hversu*, T.

<sup>3</sup> *pauans*, T.

<sup>4</sup> *haundladi*, T.

<sup>5</sup> *pauans*, T.

<sup>6</sup> *leitita*, T.

<sup>7</sup> *eptir*, T.

<sup>8</sup> *pauinn*, T.

<sup>9</sup> *leyfi*, T.

<sup>10</sup> *nockur*, T.

<sup>11</sup> *aptrkast*, T.

<sup>12</sup> *fram*, T.

<sup>13</sup> So altered by the editor; *þvi-  
 líkt*, T. The emendation is too  
 obvious to require an explanation.

a-journeying north over the mountain. And when they come into France, Sir William floateth no deeper than this, that he boasteth of his honour, and vaunteth mightily that now he hath got power over archbishop Thomas. But when king Louis heareth of their journeying, how unlikely it looked for aught good to come thereof, he bestirreth himself in all haste, and writeth to the lord pope, setting forth meekly, yet earnestly, the missight that had captivated the mind of the lord pope, in appointing such legates, who were the most determined men that could be found to carry out all the will of king Henry; says, that the archbishop, sorrowing and exiled as he is, is likely to get no relief by this kind of device, but rather fresh harming and oppression. This writing effecteth so much for the freedom of the church, through the well reasoned words of the king of France, that they both, Sir William and his companion, tumble down from their power ere they were aware, for the lord pope sendeth a letter after them, stripping them clean of all power to pronounce a judgment. But he giveth them leave to try, if any peace might be brought about through their counsels and those of other learned men. But when it cometh to the knowledge of Sir William that he is thus beaten aback, he was mightily startled, and yet he pursueth the journey until he meeteth king Henry, he being then south beyond the sea. Their meeting would have been one of greater joy, had not this loss of power befallen so suddenly, for indeed it was not unlike one at which each was grieving for the other. In now taking counsel together they come to an agreement that Sir William try his eloquence and sweetness of speech, and ride into France to pray archbishop Thomas to come to a conference to a certain stead named to him. And so this cometh to pass, that the legates summon together to a meeting learned men, and even certain bishops. Thither, also, cometh the

1167. kemr ok hinn heilagi Thómas með þeim tilbúnaði heilagrar staðfesti, sem Drottinn sýndi honum á næstu nótt fyrir þenna fund. Hann sagði um morgininn sínum heimolligum mönnum, at honum þótti nokkurr<sup>1</sup> maðr byrja sèr eitr í einu gullkeri harðla vænu, ok þenna 5 draum kallar hann rætast<sup>2</sup> á þeim degi, þá er Vilhjálmr cardinalis skeinkir honum skreyttar málsemdir, þær sem erkibyskupinn skilr eitrligar fyrir innan ok kirkjunni meinsamligar, þótt þær sýndist glæstar fyrir utan. Því víkr herra Thómas á eingan veg fyrir hans orðum 10 eðr<sup>3</sup> umleitan, ok skiljast við svá búit. Víkja<sup>4</sup> þá enn sendiboðar aftr<sup>5</sup> til konungs, ok segja honum, hversu erkibyskup var úvíkjanligr, þiggja síðan gjafir vegligar, ok venda eftir<sup>6</sup> þat aftr<sup>7</sup> í Róm. Öfluðu<sup>8</sup> þeir fjár enn frið öngan,<sup>9</sup> ok sannliga hefði þeim verit 15 betri heimaseta.

But Becket remains utterly unyielding.

## KAP. LXIII.

HÉR<sup>10</sup> BANNAR KONUNGR AT BIÐJA FYRIR THÓMASI.

Eftir<sup>11</sup> þenna fund, er signaðr Thómas hêlt með sendiboðum herra páfans,<sup>12</sup> ríðr hann aftr<sup>13</sup> til Sainz. 20 Má nú vel segja, at honum flytjast dagliga nýjar úhæfur norðan af Englandi, er hann skilr leiða af konungsins úvönnum.<sup>14</sup> Því ríss hann upp þessu næst framar<sup>15</sup> enn fyrr, gyrðandi sik sterkliga guðligu hefndarsverði þeim til hirtingar, sem nú gerast níðingar; 25 því at hann veit þann formann í Guðs banni, er latr legst niðr af hegning rêttrar hirtingar ok refsingar. Nú sakir þess at hann sèr ekki stoða góðar áminn-

<sup>1</sup> *nockur*, T.

<sup>2</sup> *ræsz*, T.

<sup>3</sup> *æðr*, T.

<sup>4</sup> *Wihia*, T.

<sup>5</sup> *aptr*, T.

<sup>6</sup> *eptir*, T.

<sup>7</sup> *aptr*, T.

<sup>8</sup> *Avfluðu*, T.

<sup>9</sup> *öngan*, T.

<sup>10</sup> *Hier*, T.

<sup>11</sup> *Eptir*, T.

<sup>12</sup> *pauans*, T.

<sup>13</sup> *aptr*, T.

<sup>14</sup> *uuanum*, T.

<sup>15</sup> *framarr*, T.

holy Thomas, so equipped in holy steadfastness, even as the Lord had appointed on the night before this meeting.

He told some of his familiar people in the morning that he dreamed that a certain man blended for him poison in a golden cup right precious, which dream, he deemed must be fulfilled the day when cardinal William poured out for him ornate wordiness, which the archbishop perceiveth to be poisonous within, and baneful for the church, although on the outside it seemed glittering enough. For this reason lord Thomas yieldeth in no way to his words or endeavours, and thereat they parted. The legates then wend their way once more back to the king, and tell him, how unyielding the archbishop was, whereupon they receive lordly gifts, and then betake themselves back to Rome. Wealth they won, but peace they procured not; and verily it would have been better for them to have sat at home.

#### CHAP. LXIII.

##### HERE THE KING FORBIDDETH TO PRAY FOR THOMAS.

After this meeting which the blessed Thomas had with the legates of the lord pope, he rideth back to Sens. It may now be well said that news of fresh abominations came daily to his ear from the north from England, which he well understandeth take their rise from the evil customs of the king. Next to these things, therefore, he riseth up higher than before, girding himself strongly with a godly sword of revenge for the punishment of those who now become mean cowards; for he knoweth such a ruler to be under the condemnation of God who lazily hangeth back from inflicting the right chastening and punishment. Now, seeing that kind admonitions do not avail, he beginneth in such



1166.  
Excommunications at  
Vézelay, on  
Whit Sunday, 12 June,  
and other  
excommunications.

ingar, byrjar hann svá í fyrstu<sup>1</sup> sína framferð,<sup>2</sup> at hann bannsetr oddvita ílskunnar, Gillibert, Lundúna byskup, ok Jocelin af Sarisber. Lýsir hann ok af nýju banni Jóns decans, ok þar með bannsetr hann Rikard af Yuelcestr,<sup>3</sup> er var förunautr<sup>4</sup> Jóns, at vinna eiðana<sup>5</sup> forðum upp<sup>6</sup> á sál Heinreks konungs. Hann bannsetr ok Rikard af Luci ok annan Jocelin af Ballolio.<sup>6</sup> Þar með bannsetr hann úvin friðarins, Ranúlf af Broch, er með annarri Guðs reiði hafði þau bölvana- verk unnit,<sup>7</sup> at sakir hats<sup>8</sup> við Thómam erkibyskup hêlt hann nokk- 10 ura klerka sem herfangna, er honum voru heimonligir, sem hann sat heima í Kancia, ok hêr með heldr sá dauðason sjálfan erkistólinn, sem fyrr var sagt. Hann bannsetr ok þann mann, er heitir Hugi de Sancto Claro, ok annan, er heitir Thómas Bernards son, þeir 15 voru ránsmenn kirkjueignar í Cancia. Hêr með bann- færir<sup>9</sup> hann marga af konungsins höll<sup>10</sup> bæði ráðgjafa, hirðmenn ok herbergissveina. Hann stefnir ok nokkura klerka af konungs garði í nefndan dag á sinn fund. Enn sakir þess, at þeir fyrirnemast at koma, bannsetr 20 hann þá, sömu leið ok aðra. Ok svá er nú skiput kapella Heinreks konungs, at tapað hefir hon nú sínu hreinferði, því at, varla finnst sá maðr, at eigi sè annat- hvárt bannsettr eðr<sup>11</sup> bannsettum samnetjaðr.<sup>19</sup> Enn hvat taka þeir upp, er í því líkan vanda voru komnir? 25 Þat sem hörmuligt er at segja, at þeir bakverpa alla

<sup>1</sup> *fystu*, T.

<sup>2</sup> *framferð*, T.

<sup>3</sup> *Vincestr*, T., U. The Latin form is generally *Ivelcestria*, but the Icelandic's original must, in all probability, have been *Yuelcestria*, the spelling of the first syllable accounting for his mistaking it for *Uintonia*. Cf. p. 380, 16, and note 7.

<sup>4</sup> *faurunautr*, T.

<sup>5</sup> *upp*, T.

<sup>6</sup> It is evident that the translator has followed here two historical

sources, in one of which the bishop of Salisbury was called *Jocelinus de Sarisberia*, but in the other *Jocelinus de Ballolio*, i. e., *Joc. de Bailleul*, for both names designate one and the same person.

<sup>7</sup> *unnit* added by the editor.

<sup>8</sup> *hatr* only, T.

<sup>9</sup> *bannferir*, T.

<sup>10</sup> *hauð*, T.

<sup>11</sup> *aðr*, T.

<sup>12</sup> On the dates of these excommunications see preface.

manner his proceedings, that he pronounceth ban over the captains of the wicked, Gilbert, bishop of London, to wit, and Jocelin of Salisbury. He also proclaimeth anew the ban of dean John, and therewithal he excommunicateth Richard of Ilchester, who was John's travelling companion when they went to swear the oaths aforetime upon the soul of king Henry. He also excommunicateth Richard de Luci and another one, Jocelin of Bailleul. Besides these he excommunicateth the enemy of peace, Ranulph de Broch, who, besides other deeds calling forth the wrath of God, had committed such accursed acts as, out of hatred to archbishop Thomas, to keep prisoners sundry clerks who had been his familiar friends, when he had his seat at home at Canterbury; wherewithal that son of death holdeth, over and above all this, the arch-see itself, as was said afore. He putteth under ban moreover a person called Hugh de St. Clare, and another, hight Thomas the son of Bernard; who both had robbed the church of Canterbury of her property. Besides these he excommunicateth many of the royal palace, both counsellors, courtiers, and attendants. He also summoneth sundry clerks from the king's court to meet him on a certain day. But by reason of their forbearing to come, he also excommunicateth them in the same manner as the others. And now the chapel of king Henry is in such a plight, that it hath lost its purity, for there is scarcely found a man who is not either himself excommunicated, or hath entangled himself with excommunicated people. But what do they resort to who had got into this peril? That, which it is grievous to relate; inasmuch as they (not only) turn all

1166.  
The excommunicates  
pay no heed  
to the cen-  
sure.

The king  
forbids  
prayers to be  
offered up  
for Becket.

The excom-  
municates  
write for an  
absolution  
to Rome.

King Louis  
strongly re-  
commends  
Becket's  
case to the  
popa.

iðran ok yfirbót, heldr þikkist konungrinn ok hans hirðfólk hefna<sup>1</sup> sín á Thómasi erkibyskupi með þeim údæmum, er hverju manns eyra má afskapligt heyrast. Þar sem kristnir venst<sup>2</sup> at biðja fyrir villumönnum, heiðnum ok Gyðingum, þá geingr nú þat boð í hverja<sup>3</sup> kirkju um alt Englands ríki, at einginn<sup>4</sup> dirfist, lærðr eðr<sup>5</sup> leikr, hátt eðr lágt, at biðja fyrir Thómasi erkibyskupi. Virði sá sem vill, hvat þessi Guðs maðr hefir þolt umframm<sup>6</sup> flest dæmi, er<sup>7</sup> fyrr var hann útlægðr í líkam<sup>8</sup> ok þar með ofsóttir í limunum, öllum sínum<sup>10</sup> frændum; enn nú þolir hann ofsókn vondra manna upp á sálina, sem ferligt er frásagnar ok úheyrt í píslarsögum heilagra. Hèr með hugsa Guðs úvinir ok erkibyskupsins, at þeir skulu hann fyrsmá í öllum lutum, ok eingrar lausnar af honum beiðast, heldr at skrifa<sup>15</sup> til herra páfans, at hann sendi þeim lausn ok líkn, at únýttri<sup>8</sup> allri framferð<sup>9</sup> ok áfelli erkibyskups.

Ok er þessi bréf flytjast brutt af Englandi, ok þaðan upp í Franz, fær<sup>10</sup> Lofuiss Frakka konungr sanna vissu, hvat nú er diktað til forlitningar erkibyskupinum. 20 Fyllist sá blezaðr<sup>11</sup> herra með várs Drottins vandlæti ok skrifar sem harðast til herra páfans, at hann standi sterkliga í herbúðum himnakonungs, at eigi ofrist úmildir svá injök, at þeir sýnist vega sigr á Thómasi erkibyskupi; biðr hann halda sína valdshand með<sup>25</sup> heilagri staðfesti, svá at hann leysi eingan, þann er heilagr Thómas hafði bundit. Ok svá fallin orð setr hann meðal annarra: "Sá er angrar Thómam erkibyskup," sagði hann, "eðr<sup>12</sup> minkar í nokkuru hans " vald, hann snertir<sup>13</sup> meinliga vart augasjálðr." Enn 30

<sup>1</sup> hefna, T.

<sup>2</sup> venst, T.

<sup>3</sup> eingin, T.

<sup>4</sup> ædr, T.

<sup>5</sup> umfram, T.

<sup>6</sup> So U.; enn, T.

<sup>7</sup> lakam, T.

<sup>8</sup> unyttri, T.

<sup>9</sup> framferð, T.

<sup>10</sup> fær, T.

<sup>11</sup> blezaðr, T.

<sup>12</sup> ædr, T.

<sup>13</sup> snert, T.

repentance and reformation away from them, but the king and his courtiers think to revenge themselves on archbishop Thomas with such an unexampled evilness as to every man's ear who heareth thereof must seem abominable. While the church is wont to pray for heretics, gentiles and Jews, the command goeth now forth to every church throughout the realm of England, that no man, learned or lay, in high station or low, dare pray for archbishop Thomas. Let now any one who desireth it consider what this man of God has suffered beyond most known examples: first he was exiled in body, and persecuted in his limbs, all his kindred to wit, but now he suffereth persecution against his soul by evil people, which is a right fell thing to relate, and unheard of in stories concerning the martyrdom of saints. Hereby, too, the enemies of God and the archbishop make up their mind to despise him in all things, and to pray him for no absolution, but to write to the lord pope requesting him to send them absolution and comfort, that thus be made null and void all the proceedings and censures of the archbishop.

And when these letters are brought away from England, and thence into France, Louis, king of the French, cometh to know for certain, what now has been written to the dishonouring of the archbishop. Filleth he, that blessed lord, with jealousy for our Lord, and writeth with all haste to the lord pope, praying him to stand stoutly before the camp of the heavenly King, in order that the wicked may not exult in such a manner as to appear to have gained a victory over archbishop Thomas; prayeth he him to keep the hand of his power in holy steadfastness, so as to absolve no one of those whom archbishop Thomas had already bound. And among other things he writeth words to this import:—

“Whosoever aggrieveth archbishop Thomas,” said he, “or impaireth in aught his power, the same toucheth “hurtfully the very apple of our eye.” But contrarious

1166-7.  
The pope is  
perplexed.

svá fymislig letr beggja konunganna með sér greindri þæn ok atstöðu, sem nú koma fyrir herra páfann<sup>1</sup> í sama punkti, var eigi fyrir sakleysi, þótt hann mæddist nokkut. í, síðan hér fór jafnframm<sup>2</sup> flutningr ok átektir þeira, er hans ráðuneyti skyldu vera; því at í hverri 5 tilraun standa sumir kardinales með Heinreki konungi,

but absolves  
none of the  
excommunicates.

hvat þeir mega. Enn þó hallast herra páfinn<sup>3</sup> svá undan, enn um sinn, at hann leysir eingan<sup>4</sup> bannsettan, utan skrifar heldr til Frakka konungs, bæði með þæn ok boði, at. hann til prófi,<sup>5</sup> hvat er hann kann, at friðr 10 mætti formerast miðil Heinreks konungs, ok erkibyskups. Skrifar hann ok til margra höfðingja í Frans, ok eigi síðr fram<sup>6</sup> í England, at þeir semi<sup>7</sup> svo sínar tillögur<sup>8</sup> með kristiligum góðvilja, at heilög kirkja ok hennar klerkar mætti náðir fá. Hann ritar ok til 15 Heinreks konungs svá fallit brèf, sem hér stendr, eftir<sup>9</sup> minni kveðjusending.

He requests  
king Louis  
of France  
and many  
lords of that  
country to  
endeavour to  
bring about  
peace.

### Bref páfana.<sup>10</sup>

1167. Yðvarri vitru er<sup>11</sup> vel kunnigt, hversu föðurliga<sup>12</sup> vèr höfum offliga<sup>13</sup> yðar<sup>14</sup> vitjað með áminning ok 20 bænarorðum fyrir oss ok aðra, at þær skyldut virðuligan bróður<sup>15</sup> vorn, Thómam erkibyskup, taka í sætt með yðr, ok gjalda honum ok hans mönnum kirkjur sínar með eignum ok öllum hlutum, er þær létu án lögum. Er nú þessi framferð,<sup>16</sup> svá úheyrilig, kunnig 25 vorðin nær allri kristni, ok þó fám vèr á eingan veg yðr mýkt,<sup>17</sup> eigi með blíðu nè stríðu. Aflar oss þat

<sup>1</sup> *pauann*, T.

<sup>2</sup> *jafnfram*, T.

<sup>3</sup> *pauinn*, T.

<sup>4</sup> *eyngan*, T.

<sup>5</sup> *profui*, T.

<sup>6</sup> *fram*, T.

<sup>7</sup> *sæmi*, T.

<sup>8</sup> *tillögr*, T.

<sup>9</sup> *eftir*, T.

<sup>10</sup> Ep. Alex. papæ C.DLXXXVII.,

“Quam paterne et,” dated Beneventi, xi. Kal. Junii (22 May) 1167, Migne, cc., 486-487.

<sup>11</sup> *ær*, T.

<sup>12</sup> *föðurliga*, T.

<sup>13</sup> *offliga*, T.

<sup>14</sup> *yðuar*, T.

<sup>15</sup> *bróðr*, T.

<sup>16</sup> *framferð*, T.

<sup>17</sup> *mýkt*, T.

in their several prayers and entreaties as were the letters of both kings, that now came before the lord pope in one and the same nick of time, it was nowise without cause that he should wax somewhat weary thereat, inasmuch as along therewith went the arguing and the pleading of those, whose duty it was to be his counsellors; for in every attempt (at having peace settled) some of the cardinals stand by king Henry to the utmost of their power. Yet the lord pope backeth in such wise out of the matter still, once more, that he absolveth no one who had been excommunicated, but writeth to the king of the French, praying and commanding him to endeavour to do all he can, in order that peace might be brought about between king Henry and the archbishop. He also writeth to many lords in France as well as in England, exhorting them to frame their counsels with Christian good-will, in such way as that the holy church and her clerks might have rest. Moreover he writeth to king Henry a letter so worded as here followeth, after the lesser salutation:—

*The Pope's letter.*

Unto your wisdom it is well known, how fatherly we have often visited you with admonition and words of prayer on behalf of ourself and others, in order that you might be pleased to receive in peace our worthy brother, archbishop Thomas, and to give back to him and to his people their churches with their property and all other things, which they have lost in an unlawful manner. This unheard-of manner of proceeding has now become known to the whole church, and yet we cannot bring you to soften down by any means, gentle or hard.

1167. mikillar hörmungar, því at von yðvarrar leiðrættu<sup>1</sup> tapast nálíga fyrir oss; þar sem vèr vildim yðr elska sem hinn kærasta<sup>2</sup> várn son, því frammar angrar oss sá háski, er þèr eigut fyrir höndum. Nú krefr oss heilög ritning at ásaka yðr, þótt vèr elskim yðr, þá er hon 5 segir svá formanninum: Kalla þú með staðfesti, þeyt rödd<sup>3</sup> þína sem móthorn, segjandi fólkinu glæpi sína.<sup>4</sup> Ok enn segir Drottinn: Nema þú tjáir ranglátum ranglæti sitt, mun ek hans blóð ok líf af þinni hendi út heimta.<sup>5</sup> Nú bætir þú því síðr þín ranglæti um- 10 liðin, at þú<sup>6</sup> eykr æ frammleiðis<sup>7</sup> ok finnr þá ofsókn með óheyrðu grimdarkyni, sem eingi framdi fyrir<sup>8</sup> þèr, at vèr hafim lesit. Ok þá er þèr þikkist byrgja hjálparveg fyrir öðrum, streingir þú aftr lífs inngöngu fyrir þèr sjálfum. Nú biðjum vèr þann Guð, er líf ok sæmd 15 konunganna hefir í sinni hendi, at hann mýki yðvarn hug sér at þjóna. Látið yðr eigi læging í þikkja at lúta<sup>9</sup> þeim, er yðr skapaði ok gæddi<sup>10</sup> góðum lutum. Vilit þèr oss ok eigi heyra, stendr yðvart mál með miklum háska. Valete. 20

Enn hvat Heinrekr skipast til betra fyrir þetta herra páfans<sup>11</sup> bréf, virði sá með sér, er less eðr<sup>12</sup> heyrir þat næsta capitulum, sem hær fylgir.

## KAP. LXIV.

## AF THÓMASI ERKIBYSKUPI OK HEINREKI KONUNGI. 25

The king of France endeavours to mediate peace be-

Nú<sup>13</sup> sem Frakka konungr hefir yfir lesit herra páfans<sup>14</sup> bréf til friðargerðar miðil konungs ok erki- byskups, vill hann gjarna hlýðinn vera sem kirkjunnar

<sup>1</sup> *leidreittu*, T.

<sup>2</sup> *kærasta*, T.

<sup>3</sup> *raudd*, T.

<sup>4</sup> Cf. Is. lviii., 1.

<sup>5</sup> Cf. Ezech. iii., 18–21.

<sup>6</sup> So U., þau, T.

<sup>7</sup> *framleiðis*, T.

<sup>8</sup> So U.; *fra*, T.

<sup>9</sup> So U.; *lyta*, T.

<sup>10</sup> *giæddi*, T.

<sup>11</sup> *pauans*, T.

<sup>12</sup> *ædr*, T.

<sup>13</sup> *Nv*, T.

<sup>14</sup> *pauans*, T.

This giveth us great grief indeed, inasmuch as the hope of your reformation hath nearly forsaken us; and while we would still love you as our dearest son, we must grieve the more for the peril which awaiteth you. Now holy scripture demandeth of us to rebuke you, although we love you, when it saith: Cry thou with steadfastness; lift up thy voice like a trumpet, declaring unto the people their wickedness. And again the Lord saith: Unless thou declarest unto the unrighteous his unrighteousness, I shall require his blood and life at thy hand. Now, so far from doing boot for thy past transgressions, thou doest increase them continually, and contrivest, in an unheard-of kind of cruelty, a persecution which no man that we have read of ever exercised before thee. And whilst thou meanest to close the way of salvation to others, thou boltest the entrance of life to thyself. Now pray we God, who hath the life and honour of kings in His hand, that He soften your heart for to do His service. Deem it not a humiliation to bow to him who created you and endowed you with good things. If you will not hearken to us, wot that your case standeth in a right perilous plight. Valete.

But how far Henry changeth for the better through this letter of the lord pope, let him judge who readeth or heareth the next chapter hereafter following.

#### CHAP. LXIV.

##### CONCERNING ARCHBISHOP THOMAS AND KING HENRY.

Now when the king of the French hath read through the letter of the lord pope touching the settling of peace between the king and the archbishop, he is fain to show himself an obedient son of the church; he therefore



1167-8.  
tween king  
Henry and  
the arch-  
bishop,

always sum-  
moning  
Becket to  
his inter-  
views with  
king Henry;

but his en-  
deavours at  
mediation  
remain  
fruitless.

1169.  
At one of  
these meet-  
ings Becket  
delivers his  
case into the  
hands of  
king Henry.

"Saving  
God's  
honour;"

son; ok því hefir hann sik frammi með þeim hætti, at hann kallar til sín konung af Englandi, talandi með honum af þeim málagreinum, sem lesist hafa í sögunni.<sup>1</sup> Enn þat geymir vakrliga Lofuis konungr, at á hverri stefnu er<sup>2</sup> hann heldr við Heinrek kon- 5 ung<sup>3</sup> lætr hann jafnframm vera Thómam erkibyskup. Ofþiliga<sup>4</sup> biðr sá blezaðr konungr, at hvárrtveggi<sup>5</sup> þeira sættist heilliga; einkanliga tjár hann Heinreki konungi, at hann hafi þann Guð fyrir sínum augum, er honum leiði alla lysting þessa lífs, segir hann 10 skyldugan at ömbuna Guði með öðrum hætti sínar veizlur, enn stríða upp á kirkjuna í Englandi ok hennar klerka, eðr<sup>6</sup> hatast við Thómam erkibyskup. Enn þótt hann tali svá, er því líkt sem hann verpi öllum sínum orðum í vind, því at harðýðgi Heinreks 15 konungs er miklu meirr sollin til erkibyskupsins, enn hann fái nokkura mýkt<sup>7</sup> fyrir slíkar fortölur.

Nú geingr svá til á nokkurum fundi,<sup>8</sup> sem þeir halda, at Heinreki konungi flyzt<sup>9</sup> af hljóði, at Thómas erkibyskup með öllum sínum greinum muni gefast í 20 hans vald; því tekr konungrinn honum þegar heldr blíðara enn eftir<sup>10</sup> vana. Ok þat sama sýnist Guðs manni at gera þann sama dag, at rétt sem konungarnir sitja báðir samt með mörgu stórmenni hvárstveggja ríkis, Franz ok Englands, ríss upp að<sup>11</sup> úvöru signaðr 25 Thómas ok geingr lítillátliga fyrir Heinrek konung með þess háttar orðum: "Herra konungr," sagði hann, "allar þær greinir, er oss komu til áskilnaðar frá " fyrsta tíma ok hær til, gefum<sup>12</sup> vör í Guðs vald, at " þær skipit eftir<sup>13</sup> yðvarri vild, heilli sæmd ok hald- 30 " inni várs Herra." Við þessi orð hin síðustu styggist

<sup>1</sup> *sögunni*, T.

<sup>2</sup> *er*, T.

<sup>3</sup> So U.; *k'gr*, T.

<sup>4</sup> *Optiliga*, T.

<sup>5</sup> *kvartueggi*, T.

<sup>6</sup> *eðr*, T.

<sup>7</sup> *mýkt*, T.

<sup>8</sup> At Montmirail, on the Epi-  
phany, 1169.

<sup>9</sup> *flytz*, T.

<sup>10</sup> *eftir*, T.

<sup>11</sup> *ath*, T.

<sup>12</sup> *gefum*, T.

<sup>13</sup> *eftir*, T.

setteth about the matter in such way as to summon to him the king of England, discoursing with him on the affairs which have been read in the story already. But king Louis payeth good heed to causing archbishop Thomas to be present at every meeting which he happeneth to hold with king Henry. Oftentimes that blessed king prayeth them both to make peace of a whole heart; and especially he urgeth king Henry to keep before his eyes that God who is able to work in him to loathe all the lusts of this life, saying, that he is bound in duty to requite God his bestowals in some other manner than by warring against the church of England and her clerks, or by pursuing hatred against archbishop Thomas. But speaking in this manner it seemeth as if he was only casting his words abroad on the wind, for king Henry's hardness of heart towards the archbishop is too deep rooted by far for him to soften in aught by such exhortations.

Now it cometh to pass, at a certain meeting which they happen to hold that the news is brought to king Henry secretly, that archbishop Thomas is minded to deliver himself and all his affairs into his power; for this reason the king receiveth him forthwith more blithely than had been his wont heretofore. This same thing it seemed good to God's man to do this very day; so that even as the kings are sitting both together, with many mighty lords from either kingdom, France and England, around them, the blessed Thomas riseth of a sudden and walketh humbly before king Henry, addressing him in words to this import:—

“Lord king,” said he, “all the affairs which have brought about discord between us from the first time even unto this we deliver into the power of God, that you may dispose of them after your own will, the honour of our Lord being whole and holden to.”

At these last words king Henry becometh right

1169.

whereat  
king Henry  
turns angry  
and answers  
Becket in  
severe re-  
proaches.

King Henry  
offers to  
treat Becket  
as former  
kings have  
dealt with  
his prede-  
cessors of  
Canterbury.

All present  
at the meet-  
ing recom-  
mend the  
fairness of  
the pro-  
posal.

harða mjök Heinrekr konungr, kastandi þegar mein-  
mælum á berar brýnn erkibyskupinum, segir hann alt  
af bernsku verit hafa bæði digraa ok drambvísan ok  
úminnigan als þess góða, er<sup>1</sup> honum var vel til gert.  
Enn er Thómas erkibyskup hefir þolt þvilík orð, er<sup>1 5</sup>  
bæði voru hörð ok háðulig, víkr Heinrekr konungr  
sær í sætinu at Frakka konungi ok segir svá: “Herra  
“ minn,” sagði hann, “ek kann yðr segja með sönnu,<sup>2</sup>  
“ at hvat er öðru viss verðr mælt eðr,<sup>3</sup> gert, enn  
“ þessum Thómasi líkar, segir hann æ þat vera móti 10  
“ Guði, ok vèr hafim þar fyrirgert öllu voru gózi,<sup>4</sup> ef  
“ vèr erum<sup>5</sup> honum eigi eftirlátir<sup>6</sup> um alla luti. Enn  
“ til þess at þèr ok allir góðir menn vitið, at ek vil  
“ hvárki leyniliga nè opinberliga standa í mótt sanu-  
“ yndum Guðs eðr<sup>7</sup> skyldri sæmd, þá er þat mitt 15  
“ boð til friðar ok náða, sem nú megi þèr heyra.  
“ Ek segi<sup>8</sup> svá, at margir hafa verit fyrir mèr kon-  
“ ungar í Englandi, sumir ríkarí enn ek, enn sumir  
“ eigi ríkarí. Margir hafa ok verit erkibyakupar  
“ Kantarabyrgis fyrir Thómasi, miklir menn ok heilagir. 20  
“ Nú<sup>9</sup> hvat er einnhverr erkibyskupinn hans forfaðir  
“ gerði nokkurum minnsta konunginum<sup>10</sup> mínum for-  
“ föður,<sup>11</sup> geri hann þat sama vit mik, ok minnum  
“ við vel semja.” Þessi orð Heinreks konungs sýnast  
öllum með bráðu tilliti harða réttvís utan einum 25  
Thómasi erkibyskupi. Ok margir tala með háreysti,

<sup>1</sup> *ær*, T.<sup>2</sup> *sænnu*, T.<sup>3</sup> *ædr*, T.<sup>4</sup> *godzi*, T.<sup>5</sup> *ærum*, T.<sup>6</sup> *eftirlátir*, T.<sup>7</sup> *ædr*, T.<sup>8</sup> *segir*, T.<sup>9</sup> *Nú*, T.<sup>10</sup> *nokkurn minnsta lut konung-  
inum*, T. U.—The reasons for this  
emendation are: first, that the  
words: *hvat er einnhverr . . . gerði*

*nokkurn minnsta lut* are not gram-  
mar; secondly, that they ex-  
press, if anything, the opposite of  
what the king meant; and, thirdly,  
because the corresponding Latin  
words, as recorded by Alan and  
adopted in the *Quadrilogus*, are:  
*Quod igitur antecessorum suorum  
major et sanctor fecit antecesso-  
rum meorum minimo, hoc mihi  
faciat et quiesco.* Alan, *Migne*,  
cxc., 225.

<sup>11</sup> *forfaudr*, T.

mightily cross-grained, smiting forthwith harmful words at the bare brows of the archbishop, saying that from his very childhood he hath been stomachful and haughty, and unmindful of all the good that ever was done to him. But when archbishop Thomas hath had to endure these words, hard and shameful as they were, king Henry turneth about in the seat towards the king of the French, saying :—

“ My lord,” said he, “ I can tell it you for sure, that  
 “ whatever may be said or done in any other way than  
 “ that very one which this Thomas liketh, he will ever  
 “ protest that it be done against God, and that we have  
 “ forfeited all our goods if we do not yield to him in all  
 “ things. But in order that you and all good men may  
 “ know that I desire neither secretly nor openly to stand  
 “ against the truth of God or the honour I owe Him,  
 “ my proposal for peace and quiet is this, which now  
 “ ye may hear. For this I say, that many have been  
 “ before me the kings in England, some mightier than I,  
 “ others not mightier. Many too, have been the arch-  
 “ bishops of Canterbury before Thomas, great men and  
 “ holy. Now in whatever manner any one of the arch-  
 “ bishops, his forefathers, dealt with any one the least of  
 “ the kings, my forefathers, let him do the same to me,  
 “ and we shall be well agreed.” These words of king  
 Henry seem, at a hasty glance, right fair to all, outtaken  
 archbishop Thomas alone. And many speak out in loud  
 voice, saying that now the king hath humbled himself

1169. at herra konungrinn lægir sik í-nóg. Enn Thómas erkibyskup svarar eingu til. Enn konungr af Franz talar svá til hans : “ Vili þer, herra erkibyskup, vera  
 “ meiri heilögum mönnum, eðr<sup>1</sup> Petro postola betri?  
 “ Nú sjái þer sjálfir, at friðr er fyrir dyrum, ok þer<sup>5</sup>  
 “ megit fá hann, ef þer vilit.” Thómas erkibyskup  
 svarar þá : “ Satt er þat, herra konungr, at Kantuari-  
 “ ensis erkibyskupar voru meiri ok helgari enn ek.  
 “ Enn þótt sérhverr<sup>2</sup> þeira á sínum tíma hreinsaði  
 “ saur ok syndir fólksins með réttvísi ok kæmi því<sup>10</sup>  
 “ mörgu af kristni Guðs, er langr úvani hafði haldit,  
 “ feingu þeir eigi öllu ráðit eftir<sup>3</sup> Guðs lögum ; eðr<sup>4</sup>  
 “ hvern mundi nú þenna freistanareld móti oss ok  
 “ vorum vinum upptendra, ef þeir hefði með rótum  
 “ uppsniðit þat, er Guðs réttindum var í mót? Enn<sup>15</sup>  
 “ þótt einhverr þeira hafi annathvært mjök sljór eðr<sup>4</sup>  
 “ of forr verit, er<sup>5</sup> oss þar af eingi dæmi dragandi,  
 “ heldr skyldumst vèr fyrir Guði at gera svo, sem vèr  
 “ viljum svara. Enn at tala til hins heilaga Petrum,  
 “ er hann eigi fyrir þat lofandi, er hann neitaði Kristi,<sup>20</sup>  
 “ heldr sæmum vèr hann ok sælan segjum, er hann  
 “ stóð með kristiligri einurð á síðustum<sup>6</sup> tímum alt  
 “ til krossins. Ok með því at hann vildi eigi þat  
 “ samþykkja vit Neronem keisara, sem hann sá horfa  
 “ til sáluháská, leyfði hann oss formönnum þat dæmi,<sup>25</sup>  
 “ at kaupa eigi stundligan frið með vanvirðu laganna  
 “ eðr<sup>7</sup> þögn<sup>8</sup> kirkjunnar réttinda. Nú ef ek keypti  
 “ svá dýrt dauðligs manns vináttu, at ek gerði þá  
 “ burði sem þrælborna, er vorr Herra frjálsaði með  
 “ sínu blóði, firðist ek harðla mjök eftirdæmi<sup>9</sup> hins<sup>30</sup>  
 “ heilaga Petri. Fjarri sè þat mínu lífi, ok langt af.”  
 Enn svá sem þessi orð heyrast af erkibyskupi, líkist

and king  
Louis urges  
Becket to  
accede to it

But Becket  
refuses it  
utterly.

His refusal  
causes great

<sup>1</sup> *ædr*, T.  
<sup>2</sup> *sierhuerr*, T.  
<sup>3</sup> *eptir*, T.  
<sup>4</sup> *ædr*, T.  
<sup>5</sup> *er*, T.

<sup>6</sup> *sidustum*, T., for *siderstum*.  
<sup>7</sup> *ædr*, T.  
<sup>8</sup> *þagn*, T.  
<sup>9</sup> *eptirdæmi*, T.

enough. But archbishop Thomas answereth nought to this. But the king of the French thus speaketh to him :—

“Do you desire, lord archbishop, to be greater than saints, or better than the apostle Peter? Now you must see for yourself that peace is at the door, and that you may have it if you choose.”

Archbishop Thomas then answereth :—

“ True it is, lord king, that there have been archbishops of Canterbury greater and holier men than I be. But although each of them, in his season, cleansed the people from filth and sin by rightwiseness, and removed many things from God’s church which had obtained by long abuse, they might not bring it about, however, to rule all things according to God’s law ; or else who might now enkindle this fire of trial against ourself and our friends, if they had cut up by the root that which was against the right of God? But though some one among them may have been either too remiss or too forward, we can derive no example from such, far rather are we in duty bound before God to do even that for which we are ready to answer. But talking about the holy Peter, he is not to be praised because having denied Christ, but we glorify him and bless him because he stood in Christian steadfastness in his last days even unto the cross. And inasmuch as he would not give the emperor Nero his consent to what he saw was aimed at the peril of the soul, he left to us, the rulers of the church, the example of not purchasing secular peace by dishonouring the law, or by keeping silence about the right of the church. Now if I should purchase the friendship of mortal man so dear as to make those creatures slaveborn whom Jesus Christ ransomed with his blood, I should depart far indeed from the example of the holy Peter. Be it far, yea and long distanced, from my life.”

But when these words are heard from the archbishop, this meeting resembleth that at which he was present

1100.  
tumult in  
the meeting,

Þessi fundr þeim, er hann átti fyrr í Norðantún; því at nú ámælir honum hver tunga, segja hans ofstærð ok yfirgirnd<sup>1</sup> því valda, er menn mega eigi frið fá. Ok einn jarl af Englandi skýtr á eyrindi, hann segir svá:

and one of  
the earls  
present ad-  
vises that  
Becket  
should now  
be driven  
out of  
France.

“Með því,” sagði hann, “at erkibyskup þessi kýss þann 5  
“hlut sér til handa, at niðra rikismönnum ok vanvirða  
“hvers manns tillögur, því geri svá vit hann Franz  
“sem fyrr England; fari sá ráðlauss, sem reika vill,  
“ok eingi fylgi honum.” Svá segir jarlinn,<sup>2</sup> ok mun  
Guð því mót standa, at svá verði. Ok þótt Lofuis 10  
Frakka konngr verði nú leiddr um sinn<sup>3</sup> nógu mjök  
með falsyrðum ok uudirhyggju Heinreks konungs,  
mun Drottinn svá geyma hans, at freistni vondra  
manna firri eigi Thómam erkibyskup þeiri hjálp ok  
friði, sem hann hafði þegit í Frakklandi. 15

## KAP. LXV.

## AF SKILNADI KONUNGA.

The kings  
part com-  
pany.

Þenna fund, sem nú var lesinn, höldu konungar síðast at sinni miðil sín í Franz. Er nú skipat, at af þeim fundi skal Heinrekr konngr venda heim aftr í ríki 20 sitt. Er honum fyrirbúin náttveizla í þeim stað . . . .<sup>4</sup> eftir<sup>5</sup> skilnað konunganna, enn Frakka konngr hefir skipað sína reið í annan stað, er heitir Mons Mirabilis, ok þó víkr svá veginum, áðr hann kvíslast til þessarra beggja staða, at báðir konungarnir ero<sup>6</sup> í sömu<sup>7</sup> reið. 25 Gera þeir svá sem skilnað sinn, áðr þeir stigi á hesta, báðir nú líkir með stygðar yfirbragði til Thómam erkibyskups, því at hvárrgi<sup>8</sup> þeira heilsar hann. Ríða þeir á veginn fyrir, því at Guðs maðr verðr<sup>9</sup> seinna

<sup>1</sup> *yfirgirnd*, T.

<sup>2</sup> *ialinn*, T.

<sup>3</sup> *sinni*, T.

<sup>4</sup> Here the name of the place is evidently left out. I can find no mention made of it by the contemporary writers.

<sup>5</sup> *eptir*, T.

<sup>6</sup> *ero*, T.

<sup>7</sup> *saumu*, T.

<sup>8</sup> *hvárgi*, T.

<sup>9</sup> *verða*, T.

aforetime in Northampton ; for now every tongue upbraideth him, saying, that his stomach and masterfulness is the cause that the people may not obtain peace. And a certain earl from England holdeth forth, saying :— “ Since now,” said he, “ this archbishop chooseth for himself the part to revile mighty people and to disdain the counsels of everybody, let France do to him even as England did before ; let him run wild who hath will to stray, and let none keep him company.” So saith the earl ; but God will withstand things coming to such a pass. And although Louis the king of the French be led now a while far too much by the false words and the wiles of king Henry, the Lord will however keep him so that the temptations of wicked men deprive not archbishop Thomas of that help and peace which he had been receiving in France.

## CHAP. LXV.

### OF THE PARTING OF THE KINGS.

This meeting of which you read even now, was the last which the kings held between them in France now for a while. It is now so arranged that king Henry hath to wend back home to his kingdom. A night's quarters are prepared for him in the place . . . when the kings shall have parted company, while the king of the French hath disposed to ride unto the place hight Montmirail ; but until the way branched off severally for these two places, it happened to run in such way that both kings joined in one and the same train. Before they mounted their horses they took leave of each other as it were, and now both alike bear a frowning countenance towards archbishop Thomas, for neither of them giveth him a farewell greeting. They are the first to ride away, for



1169. Becket resolves to follow king Louis where-soever he goes.

King Henry boasts of having overcome his traitor.

John bishop of Poitiers rebukes Becket for his un-governable pride.

St. Louis and Becket at Montmirail. King Louis changes his behaviour towards Becket.

búinn. Enn þó er hann ráðinn, hversu styggiliga sem Frakka konungr lætr, at honum skal hann fylgja til gistingar. Enn hvárt Heinrekr konungr las nokkut annat fyrr á veginum, greinir eigi bók, enn þat er<sup>1</sup> skrifat, at hann setr Thómasi erkibyskupi gildan um-5 lestr með gráleitu gabbi, ok í millum annarra brigzla<sup>2</sup> hælist hann mikit um, segist hafa hefnt sín á þeim svikara. Fær<sup>3</sup> hann ok eftir<sup>4</sup> sinni vild nóga fylgendr í málinu. Þvílíkar eru<sup>5</sup> orðræður konungsmanna, sem Thómas erkibyskup kemr framm í veginn. Heyrir<sup>10</sup> hann nú gjörla, hversu þýtr, ok þegir þó með öllu, þar til hann svarar einum þeira bæði lágt ok linliga. Sá maðr heitir Jón, Pictavensis byskup,<sup>6</sup> enskr at kyni, ok hafði forðum verit góðr félagi Thómass erkibyskups. Hann er nú svá harðsnúinn í sínum tillögum,<sup>7</sup> að<sup>8</sup> 15 öll<sup>9</sup> kristni í Englandi myndi falla, ef þessi ofstærismaðr, Thómas, skal henni lengi<sup>10</sup> stjórna. Hér til svarar Guðs maðr: "Sjá við, bróðir," sagði hann, "at heilug kristni fái fyrir yðr eigi niðrfall, því at Guðs " miskunn<sup>11</sup> mun<sup>12</sup> svá til hjálpa, at fyrir mínar syndir 20 " fái hon eigi niðrhrapan."

Skilja síðan konungarnir alvarliga. Ríðr sæll Thómas þar eftir,<sup>13</sup> sem Frakka konungr ferr fyrir. Koma þeir svá framm<sup>14</sup> í þann stað, sem fyrr var nefndr. Er nú skipan á komin, því at sín herbergi hafa<sup>15</sup> hvárir, 25 konungr ok erkibyskup; enn þó veittust signaðum Thómasi allir hlutir<sup>16</sup> nógliga af konungs garði. Brugðit er ok þeiri skipan, sem Lofuis konungr hafði haldit um hríð, at finna erkibyskupinn, ok þar er

<sup>1</sup> *ær*, T.

<sup>2</sup> *brigzla*, T.

<sup>3</sup> *Fær*, T.

<sup>4</sup> *eptir*, T.

<sup>5</sup> *æru*, T.

<sup>6</sup> i.e. John the III., Bishop of Poitiers, 1162-1182.

<sup>7</sup> *tillaugum*, T.

<sup>8</sup> *að*, T.

<sup>9</sup> *aull*, T.

<sup>10</sup> *leingi*, T.

<sup>11</sup> *miskun*, T.

<sup>12</sup> *mun*, T.

<sup>13</sup> *eptir*, T.

<sup>14</sup> *fram*, T.

<sup>15</sup> *hafua*, T.

<sup>16</sup> So U.; *hlytir*, T.

God's man is later ready. But he hath made up his mind to this, that, howsoever frowningly the king of the French may bear himself, he shall follow him wheresoever he shall put up for quarters. The book relateth not whether king Henry let his censures run on any matter on the way ere (archbishop Thomas came up), but it is written that he giveth archbishop Thomas a mighty lecture with malicious jeering, amongst other reproaches boasting mightily in saying that now he hath had his revenge on that traitor. He also findeth followers in this matter as many as he desireth. Of this kind is the talk of the king's men, when Thomas cometh up with them on the road. He now heareth clearly, how the wind whistleth, yet he keepeth quite silent until he answereth one out of the company in a low and meek manner. That man is hight John, bishop of Poitiers, English of kin, who had aforetime been in good fellowship with archbishop Thomas. He is now so cross-grained in what he hath to say, as to aver, that the whole church in England must needs fall down, if this over-weening man, Thomas, is to govern it long. To this God's man answereth :—

“Look, brother, to this,” said he, “that the holy church come not to a down-fall through you ; for God's mercy will surely grant that for my sins she may come to ruin nohow.”

Then the kings part for good. The blessed Thomas rideth after, whereas the king of the French rideth before. And thus they arrive in the town aforementioned. Now a change hath set in, because the king and the archbishop have each their chambers severally ; but for all that the blessed Thomas was supplied with all things plentifully from the king's court. Changed, too, is the wont, to which king Louis had held for a while, namely, to visit the archbishop ; and it is easily found that a spirit of estrangement hath taken harbour

1160. auðfundit, at fæð er inngeingin með honum. Þar fyrir  
 and es-  
 tranges him-  
 self from  
 him. úgleðjast harðla mjök fylgdarmenn hins signaða Thóme,  
 ok þykkjast eigi sjá sín ráð, ef þeir flotna upp af  
 Franz<sup>1</sup> fyrir úblíðu konungsins. Enn heilagr Thómas  
 heldr sér<sup>2</sup> með öllu réttum, ok eigi bregðr hann sinni<sup>5</sup>  
 St. Louis  
 and Becket  
 at Chartres. beztu<sup>3</sup> gleði.<sup>4</sup> Af fyrr nefndum stað ríðr Frakka  
 konungr í þann stað, er Chartres<sup>5</sup> heitir, þagat ríðr ok  
 herra erkibyskup. Enn er hann nálgast kastalann,  
 How Becket  
 is greeted  
 there on his  
 arrival. rennr út margt fólk, sakir forvitnis, á veginn móti  
 honum; ok þeim, er út fara, má vel heyra þat, er<sup>10</sup>  
 Sannleikrinn segir, at Guð Faðir birtir þat oftliga<sup>6</sup>  
 smásveinum,<sup>7</sup> er leynist fyrir spekingum.<sup>8</sup> Þessir gleðja  
 Guða mann, þá er þeir segja svá: "Sjá, fêlagi, þar  
 " ríðr hann erkibyskupinn, sá er<sup>9</sup> fyrra dags á  
 " konungsstefnunni hêlt<sup>10</sup> úbeygðri sinni staðfesti ok<sup>15</sup>  
 " eigi lægði Guða rétt fyrir hót eðr<sup>11</sup> reiði<sup>12</sup> konungs af  
 " Englandi." Svá ero<sup>13</sup> konungr ok erkibyskup samtíða  
 í Chartres,<sup>14</sup> ok þaðan ríða þeir báðir samt til Sains.  
 Dvelst konungr þar um ríð, ok stendr<sup>15</sup> fæð him sama.  
 Enn þó hefir herra erkibyskup allan kost ok<sup>16</sup> svá<sup>20</sup>  
 vænan, sem þá er blíðast var.

Becket's  
 friends de-  
 spair of  
 their future,  
 but he  
 encourages  
 them.

Líðr nú svá þar til sem einn dag sitr erkibyskup  
 með sínum heimolligum mönnum í luktu<sup>17</sup> herbergi.  
 Ferr þá enn til orðræðu, hvat fyrir mun liggja, ef  
 reiðir undir fótum. Erkibyskup þegir hjá um stund, 25

<sup>1</sup> So U.; *franz*, T.

<sup>2</sup> *sik*, T.; the choice of emenda-  
 tion lying between *sik* . . . *réttan*  
 or *sér* . . . *rétttum*, I have decided  
 on the latter as being the more idi-  
 omatic of the two. Prof. Unger pro-  
 poses *öllum* for *öllu*; which is not  
 to the point.

<sup>3</sup> *bestu*, T.

<sup>4</sup> *glæði*, T.

<sup>5</sup> *Celtes*, T., Cfr. "Recedentes  
 " itaque a præfato castro, quod  
 " Mons Mirabilis nominavimus, et  
 " venientes ex die Carnotum, &c."  
 Herbert, Migne, exc. 1283. On the  
 misreading in the original of the

name of the place, which cannot be  
 traced to Carnotum, the only form  
 used in the Latin biographies, see  
 preface.

<sup>6</sup> *optliga*, T.

<sup>7</sup> *smásveinum*, T.

<sup>8</sup> Matth. ii. 25.

<sup>9</sup> Added in U.

<sup>10</sup> *hêlt*, T.

<sup>11</sup> *eðr*, T.

<sup>12</sup> *reiði*, T.

<sup>13</sup> *ero*, T.

<sup>14</sup> *Celtris*, T.

<sup>15</sup> *standr*, T.

<sup>16</sup> Editor's emendation; *a*, T.

<sup>17</sup> *luktu*, T.

in his mind. For this reason the followers of the blessed Thomas wax right sad, deeming that they see not what their affairs may come to, if they must needs go adrift out of France before the unkindness of the king. But lord Thomas holdeth himself altogether upright, and changeth not from his wonted joyfulness when at its best. From the town afore-named the king of the French rideth to a place called Chartres, whither also rideth the archbishop. But when he approacheth the castle, many people run out for the sake of curiosity on to the road to meet him, and to those who thus go out may well be applied that which Truth Himself saith: that God the Father revealeth often unto babes that which is hidden to the wise. These folk gladden the man of God, saying: "Behold, good fellow, there he rideth, the archbishop, he who at the kings' meeting the other day held his steadfastness unbent, and lowered God's right nowise to the threats or the wrath of the king of England."

Thus the king and the archbishop sojourn together in Chartres, whence they both ride to Sens together. There the king tarrieth a while, the same estrangement continuing. Yet the lord archbishop is found in all fare, and even as goodly as ever before while their relations were at their blithest.

Now time weareth on to a certain day, when the archbishop happeneth to be sitting within a closet with his familiar friends. It was their topic still, what hap would await, in case they should have to drift away. The archbishop sitteth silent thereby for a while, but presently he speaketh thus:—

1169. enn talar síðan: "Ei stendr oss, kristnum mönnum," segir hann, "at kvíða nokkuru, vèr eigum þann " Föður<sup>1</sup> á himnum, er<sup>2</sup> alla forsjó berr fyrir vorum " nauðsynjum, sem sjálfr vottar hann í sínum orðum: " Leitið fyrst himinríkis, segir hann, ok áhyggist um 5 " ekki síðan.<sup>3</sup> Mun ok þessu næst svá verða, sem þer " mundit kjósa," segir erkibyskup, "ok því berit yðr " vel." Ok harða nærri þessum orðum klappar einn af konungssveinum,<sup>4</sup> ok þegar innginginn segir hann svá: "Herra konungr af Franz kallar yðr." "Til þess," 10 segir einn af kumpánum erkibyskups, "at reka oss " alla í brutt af ríkinu." Heilagr Thómas svarar: "Hvarki berr þik til spádóms vöxtr<sup>5</sup> nè kynferði, ok " því lát liggja þær getur, sem þú vilt gjarna at eyðist." Síðan stendr hann upp ok fylgir piltinum<sup>6</sup> framm í 15 herbergi Frakka konungs. Sem hann geingr inn ok niðr sezt,<sup>7</sup> sér hann þegar, at konungrinn er höndlaðr<sup>8</sup> með harmi nokkurum, því at hann sitr með hneigðri ásjónu þegjandi, ok einginn<sup>9</sup> var þar glaðr inni. Sem svá hefir liðit um eina stund, eflast nú sumir erki- 20 byskups menn í þeiri hugsan, at konunginum muni fyrir þikkja at kveðja þá brutt af ríkinu, enn þat muni þó fyrir víst upp spretta. Svá ferr eigi til, sem<sup>10</sup> þeir hugðu, heldr framarr<sup>11</sup> vel enn nokkurn<sup>12</sup> mundi vara. Því at Frakka konungr stendr upp af sætinu, 25 ok fellr allr til jarðar fyrir erkibyskupinn með svá tárlligri góðfýst ok iðran, at hann mátti varla tala. Herra erkibyskup vildi gjarna lyfta<sup>13</sup> hann upp ok lètta<sup>14</sup> hans harm. Enn þess er eingi kost, fyrr enn konungrinn hefir gert svo mjúka játning, sem honum 30 þikkir þurfa, fyrir þat<sup>15</sup> úsannsyni, er hann hefir í

King Louis  
sends for  
Becket sud-  
denly.

<sup>1</sup> fodr, T.

<sup>2</sup> ar, T.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. Matth. vi., 33, Luke xii., 31, 38.

<sup>4</sup> konungssveinum, T.

<sup>5</sup> uuxtr, T.

<sup>6</sup> piltinum, T.

<sup>7</sup> setz, T.

<sup>8</sup> huundlaðr, T.

<sup>9</sup> eingin, T.

<sup>10</sup> Added in U.

<sup>11</sup> framarr, T.

<sup>12</sup> nokkur, T.

<sup>13</sup> lyptta, T.

<sup>14</sup> leitta, T.

<sup>15</sup> þa, U.

“It beseemeth us not, being Christians,” says he, “to fear in aught. We have a Father in heaven who provideth all for our need, as He Himself testifieth in His words: ‘Seek ye first the kingdom of heaven,’” saith He, “‘and bear care for nought beside.’ And withal the things to befall next hereafter will be even such as you would have chosen yourselves,” saith the archbishop, “so be of good cheer!”

And close on these words having been uttered, one of the king’s pages tappeth at the door, and aright as he steppeth inside he saith thus: “The lord king of France calleth you.” “For the purpose,” saith one of the companions of the archbishop, “to drive us all away from the realm.”

The holy Thomas answereth: “Neither thy growth nor thy kin warrant in thee the gift of prophecy, so let alone all such guesses, as thou wouldst fain thyself should come to nought.”

Then he standeth up and followeth the swain unto the chamber of the king of the French. As he entereth it and sitteth down, he sees at once that the king is taken by some grief, for he sitteth with a drooping countenance, silent; nor was any one glad within that chamber. Now when a certain space of time had thus passed away, some of the archbishop’s men grow strengthened in their belief, that the king’s sadness must arise from regret at having to summon them to quit the realm; and yet that surely this is what matters must needs come to, his regret notwithstanding. In such way, however, as they thought, the matter cometh not to pass, but, on the contrary, turneth out better by far than any one could have looked for. For the king of the French standeth up from the seat and falleth flat on the earth before the archbishop, with such a tearful devotion and repentance that he might scarcely speak. The lord archbishop would fain lift him up and lighten his grief. But this the king will nowise allow until he hath made such a sweet confession as he deemeth fit for the unfair-

1169.  
and prays,  
weeping, for  
his pardon;

and pro-  
mises never  
to abandon  
him.

They be-  
come fast  
friends,  
again.

fallit. Þar af segir hann svá blezaðr með gráttligri röddu: "Sæti faðir minn," sagði hann, "þér einir " skildut rétt, enn vèr allir vorum blektir ok blindir, " er þat ráð gáfum yðr, með vilja ok yfirgirnd dauðligs " manns, at gefa Guðs sæmd ok kirkjunnar rétt<sup>1</sup> 5 " undir leikligt vald. Mjök iðrar mik ok angrar; " miskunna mèr, kærasti faðir, ok leysit mik af þeima " glæp. Heit ek því til yfirbótar, at frá þeima degi " skal ek í eingri raun fráskila verða í því öllu, sem " ek má yðr styrkja." Enn virði þat vitr maðr, með<sup>10</sup> hvílíku hjarta erkibyskupinn, svá fallinn, mundi upp sitja bæði með fagnaði andar ok líkams, síðan hann heyrði svá háleita<sup>2</sup> mykt af slíkum manni. Vill<sup>3</sup> nú konungr upp rísa með fylgi erkibyskups; skilja þeir svá með miskunn Heilags Anda, at signaðr Thómas ok<sup>15</sup> hans menn geingu enn glaðari brutt enn þeir kvomu. Er nú eigi langt, áðr auðsýnist<sup>4</sup> umvending Frakka konungs; því at hans signuð elska ok heimonleikr kemr aftr<sup>5</sup> í öllum greinum til Thómam erkibyskups. Fær<sup>6</sup> nú Guðs maðr af þessari sinni staðfestu, er<sup>7</sup> 20 nú hafði hann næst framit, sem nýja frægð um allan Franz.

## KAP. LXVI.

AF FUNDI<sup>8</sup> THÓMAS ERKIBYSKUPS OK KONUNGA.

Nú er<sup>9</sup> þar til at taka, sem konungr í Englandi 25 spyr, hversu Frakka konungr hefir herra Thómam aftr<sup>10</sup> tekit í alla ölværð<sup>11</sup> ok blíðu, sem þá er bzt var. Grefst hann innan með sinni grimd, ok gerir sendiboða með bræfum til konungs í Franz. Þar er

Now the  
anger of  
king Henry  
is roused

<sup>1</sup> reitt, T.

<sup>2</sup> So U.; *haleita*, T.

<sup>3</sup> Will, T.

<sup>4</sup> *auðsýnist*, T.

<sup>5</sup> *aftr*, T.

<sup>6</sup> *Fær*, T.

<sup>7</sup> *ær*, T.

<sup>8</sup> *fundr*, T.

<sup>9</sup> *ær*, T.

<sup>10</sup> *aftr*, T.

<sup>11</sup> *auðverð*, T.

ness into which he had fallen. Whereupon the blessed king speaketh thus, in a weeping voice :—

“Sweet father mine,” said he, “you alone understood things aright, but we were all blind and bound in darkness, who gave you the counsel, yielding to the will and masterfulness of a mortal man, to deliver God’s honour and the right of the church under the yoke of lay powers. Sorely do I repent and grieve; have pity on me, dearest father, and absolve me from this deed of wickedness. And in order to do boot for this, I promise, that from this day I shall sever myself from you in no trial in any matter wherein I may afford to strengthen you.”

Let a wise man consider with what heart the archbishop, lately fallen, must needs be sitting there now rejoicing both in spirit and body on hearing so deep a devotion from such a man. Now first the king is willing to rise up by the aid of the archbishop; and in such a way they part, by the mercy of the Holy Ghost, that the blessed Thomas and his men went away much more rejoicing than they came there. Now no long time passeth away ere a change in the ways of the king of the French becometh manifest, for his blessed love and loving kindness return now again in all things to archbishop Thomas. Now through the steadfastness which once more he hath shown forth, the man of God gaineth fresh fame, as it were, throughout the whole of France.

## CHAP. LXVI.

### OF THE MEETING OF ARCHBISHOP THOMAS AND THE KINGS.

Now the story is to be taken up whereas the king of England heareth how the king of the French hath received Thomas again with all kindness and friendship even as when things went on at their best between them. Inwardly he is now sorely torn by his wrath, so he sendeth messengers to the king of France with letters,



1189. anew, and he writes to king Louis to abandon Becket.

svá skrifat, at hann segist harða mjök undra, hví Lofuis konung lysti svá gera, at halda þann mann í virktum, sem öllum mönnum gerir únáðir: “þér sjálfir,” segir hann, “vorut nær,<sup>1</sup> sáð ok heyrðut, “hversu<sup>2</sup> ek lægði mína tign, boðinn til allrar<sup>5</sup> “rèttvísi;<sup>3</sup> þér heyrðut ok eigi síðr, hvers ofbeldi “þat vann, er friðrinn fekkst eigi, ok þó elski þér “þann, ok haldit með sæmd í yðru ríki. Nú með “því at hann fyrirmsáði bæði yðra tillögu ok allra “annarra, stendr yðr þat á eingan<sup>4</sup> veg at styðja 10 “hann, eðr<sup>5</sup> halda mèt til vanvirðu eðr<sup>5</sup> kinnroða.” Enn er Frakka konungr hefir þessi bréf yfirlésit, segir hann svá sendimönnum: “Farit heim aftr<sup>6</sup> til konungs “yðvars, berandi honum þessi orð:—Ef hann kallar “þat fylgja krúnu sinni, at halda siðvenjur allar í 15 “Englandi, þótt mönnum sýnist þær<sup>7</sup> berliga móti “kirkjunni, fylgi vorri<sup>8</sup> krúnu með erfðum miklu “lofsamligar at hjálpa nauðstaddum<sup>9</sup> ok einkanliga “Guðs kennimönnum, er útlægjast<sup>10</sup> móti öllum rètt- “indum. Nú skal Thómas erkibyskup rýma því 20 “síðr út af Franz, at fyrir hvert bréf, er Heinrekr “konungr sendir, skal vaxa virðing hans.” Þvílík eyrendi fá sendimenn, ok batnar eigi brjóst Heinreks konungs, sem þeir flytja<sup>11</sup> honum hinu síðustu<sup>12</sup> orð, er nú voru lesin ok at víkja sæmdum Thóme erki- 25 byskups.

Becket now requests king Louis to report to the pope the termination of the last meeting with king Henry.

Svo ok í annan stað sem Guðs maðr fregn þvílíkan kærleik til sín af Frakka konungi, gerir hann<sup>13</sup> Guði margfaldar þakkir, ok hær fyrir treystist hann at biðja konunginn, at hann með sínu stórmenni, bæði 30 byskupum ok leikvaldi, skrifi til herra páfans,<sup>14</sup> hversu

<sup>1</sup> nær, T.

<sup>2</sup> huerssu, T.

<sup>3</sup> reittuisi, T.

<sup>4</sup> eyngan, T.

<sup>5</sup> ædr, T.

<sup>6</sup> aftr, T.

<sup>7</sup> þer, T.

<sup>8</sup> So U.; fyrri voru, T.

<sup>9</sup> nauðstaddum, T.

<sup>10</sup> vtlægjaz, T.

<sup>11</sup> So U.; fyltia, T.

<sup>12</sup> síðurztu, T.

<sup>13</sup> Added in U.

<sup>14</sup> páfans, T.

wherein this is written, that he professeth to marvel much how king Louis desired to do such a thing as to hold that man in honour who giveth trouble to everybody.

“You yourself,” he said, “were present, and saw and heard, how I lowered my majesty, ready to do every justice; no less did you hear by whose insolence it was brought about that peace might not be formed, and yet that very man you love and hold in honour within your realm. Now inasmuch as he despised your counsel as well as the advice of all other people, it beseemeth you in no way to hold him up or to maintain him to my dishonour and blushing shame.”

But when the king of the French hath read these letters, he speaketh thus to the messengers.

“Go ye home back to your king, and bring him these words:—As he maintaineth that it appertaineth to his crown to uphold all customs in England, although it seem to people that they be manifestly against the church, so there goeth also with our crown an heirloom which is much more praiseworthy, which is to help those beset by need, and most chiefly God’s teachers who are banished against all right. Now as to archbishop Thomas, so far from being sent out of France, he shall increase in honour for every letter that king Henry may send.”

Such is the message given to the ambassadors; nor doth the breast of king Henry wax wholesomer when they bring him the words last read concerning the honour of archbishop Thomas.

So, on the other hand, when God’s man heareth of such love towards him in the king of the French, he rendereth manifold thanksgivings to God; and for this reason he now feeleth bold enough to ask the king that he, together with his lords, both bishops and the lay powers that be, write to the lord pope, telling how

1166. fundr þeira Heinreks konungs varð hinn síðasti,<sup>1</sup> eðr<sup>2</sup> hvat olli, er<sup>3</sup> þeir sættust eigi. Ok þetta veitir gjarna konungrinn bæði fyrir sik ok aðra, at hann skrifar til Róms, hversu<sup>4</sup> fór, eðr<sup>5</sup> hvern háska heilög kristni þolir í Englandi, ef svá skal lengi<sup>6</sup> standa,<sup>5</sup> eðr<sup>7</sup> hversu<sup>8</sup> vorum Herra mun líka sú hin langa útleğðar þína, er meinlause<sup>9</sup> erkibyskupinn þolir. Ok at þessum brèfum lesnum í Róm, angrast at nýju herra páfínn,<sup>10</sup> at Heinrekr konungr skal eingan enda gera sinna vandkvæða.<sup>11</sup> Ok til þess at eigi sýnist hann<sup>10</sup> með öllu hjá sér leiða, enn vildi gjarna með góðu vinna, gerir hann tvo sendiboða til Englands,<sup>12</sup> at þeir tjái Heinreki konungi, hvat honum hæfir til lífs ok úrgöngu sinna vandræða,<sup>13</sup> at eigi ofþreyti hann miskunn Guðs ok þolinmæði heilagrar Róma kirkju. Enn af<sup>15</sup> ferðum þessarar sendiboða sjám vèr eigi nauðsyn at gera lengra,<sup>14</sup> enn þeir fundu Englands konung ok vinna eingan lut minnsta með sínum fortölum;<sup>15</sup> því at verndir voru nógar ok afsakanir í öllum lutum bæði af konungi ok hans mönnum. Svo venda þeir<sup>20</sup> aftr<sup>16</sup> í Franz ok finna Lofuis konung ok Thómat erkibyskup, greinandi hvárumtveggja mótbáru ok klóksamligar sakverndir Heinrekr konungs. Þaðan fara þeir aftr<sup>16</sup> í Róm, ok er<sup>17</sup> úti þeira ferð.<sup>18</sup>
- Enn þessu næst er<sup>19</sup> þat segjanda af Heinreki kon-<sup>25</sup> ungi, at hann gerir sína pílagrímsferð<sup>20</sup> til Dionisium

King Louis then writes to Rome advocating the cause of the church in England and of the archbishop.

Whereupon the pope sends once more messengers to remonstrate with king Henry.

Their journey being in vain, they return to Rome, visiting king Louis and Becket on the way.

King Henry goes on a pilgrimage to St. Denis.

<sup>1</sup> *síðasti*, T.

<sup>2</sup> *ædr*, T.

<sup>3</sup> *ær*, T.

<sup>4</sup> *hverssu*, T.

<sup>5</sup> *ædr*, T.

<sup>6</sup> *leingi*, T.

<sup>7</sup> *ædr*, T.

<sup>8</sup> *hverssu*, T.

<sup>9</sup> *meinlauss*, T.

<sup>10</sup> *pauinn*, T.

<sup>11</sup> *uandkvæða*, T.

<sup>12</sup> The Commissioners here alluded to were subdeacon Gratian, and Vivian, archdeacon of Orvieto, cfr.

Epist. Alex. Papæ, DCVIII., dated Beneventi, ii. kalendas Martii (28th Feb.), to king Henry, and DCIX., dated ib. vi. Id. Martii (10th March), to archbishop Becket. Migne, cc. 371-373.

<sup>13</sup> *uandræða*, T.

<sup>14</sup> *leingra*, T.

<sup>15</sup> *fortaulum*, T.

<sup>16</sup> *aftr*, T.

<sup>17</sup> *ær*, T.

<sup>18</sup> So U., *fadir*, T.

<sup>19</sup> *ær*, T.

<sup>20</sup> *ferð* added in U.

the last meeting between him and king Henry turned out, and what the cause was of their not coming to peace. This the king granteth readily both for the sake of himself and others; and so he writeth to Rome, how matters turned out, setting forth what hurt holy church must needs have to suffer in England, if things shall long abide in this same state, observing also how contrary to the will of our Lord must be that long penalty of banishment which the harmless archbishop must endure. And when this letter has been read in Rome, the lord pope grieveth anew, that king Henry is minded to put no end to his troublesome proceedings. And in order that it may not appear as if he would let the affair pass by him altogether unheeded, but would fain bring it to an end by way of kindness, he sendeth two envoys to England for to set forth to king Henry, what it behoveth him to do for his life's salvation and escape out of his troubles, ere he try overmuch the mercy of God and the long-suffering of the holy church of Rome. But of the travels of these envoys we see no need to write aught further than to say that they met the king of England, but might not prevail with him in the least by their remonstrances, for there was defence enough, and excuses in all things forthcoming both from the king and his men. So they wend their way back to France, and meet king Louis and archbishop Thomas, rendering account to both of them of the gainsayings and the cunning shifts of king Henry. Thence they proceed back to Rome, and their journey cometh to an end.

Next to these things it is to be told of king Henry that he setteth out on a pilgrimage to St. Denis in

1189. í Franz, þar sem heitir Mons Martirum, ok sá Guðs kappi lét sitt lofsamligt líf. Herra Thómas erkibyskup lætr eigi sem hann heyre,<sup>1</sup> at Heinrekr konungr sè þar í landi. Enn Lofuis konungr setr svá ráð með sinni blezaðri góðgirnd, at þeir finnast konungarnir. 5 Svá hefir hann ok orð sent herra Thómasi, at hann skal þar koma.<sup>2</sup> Hefir nú Frakka konungr sik fram<sup>3</sup> með byskupum ok öðrum<sup>4</sup> góðgjörnum mönnum, at Heinrekr konungr vægi fyrir Guðs skyld ok lægi þau vandkvæði,<sup>5</sup> sem mönnum hafa lengi<sup>6</sup> meinat í mis- 10 sætti þeira erkibyskups. Enn þar í mót eru<sup>7</sup> þegar nýjar sakagiftir,<sup>8</sup> at Thómas erkibyskup hafi í eingu anzat honum, síðan hann kom í Franz, ok einga virðing honum veitt. Frakka konungr biðr hann kærliga,<sup>9</sup> fyrir dýrð ok vináttu þeira heilagra manna 15 Guðs er nú hafði hann heim sótt, at hann skyli mýkjast ok taka Thómam erkibyskup heim í land með heilli sætt ok hjartaligum<sup>10</sup> kærleik,<sup>11</sup> vorum Herra til lofs, ok heilagri kristni til fagnaðar. Hèr kemr<sup>12</sup> máli, at Heinrekr konungr sýnist verða leiddr með 20 fortölum<sup>13</sup> á hjálpsamligan friðarveg, segir þann sinn góðan vilja, at Thómas erkibyskup vendi heim í land ok take<sup>14</sup> alla sína sæmd. Ok sem þat er játtað, tala nokkurir með fagnaði, at konungrinn skuli minnst til erkibyskups með friðarkoss, at því elskuligar megi 25 frá berast, hversu<sup>15</sup> þeira sætt hafi gerzt. Enn þar svarar svá til Heinrekr konungr: "Vel má ek kyssa

King Louis endeavours once more to bring about peace between king Henry and the archbishop.

King Henry at last declares it to be his good will that Becket return to England in peace;

<sup>1</sup> *heyre*, T.

<sup>2</sup> This meeting took place on Octava Sti Martini, (Tuesday, Nov. 18th). Cfr. Epist. Sti Thomæ Cant., xlii., Joanni et Alexandro, clericis suis, and Epist., cix., Willelmo Senonensi Archiepiscopo, Migne, exc. 565-69, and 584-88; Fitzstephen, *ib.* 160; Herbert, *ib.* 1280.

<sup>3</sup> *fram*, T.

<sup>4</sup> *audrum*, T.

<sup>5</sup> *vandkvæði*, T.

<sup>6</sup> *leingi*, T.

<sup>7</sup> *aru*, T.

<sup>8</sup> *sakagiftir*, T.

<sup>9</sup> *kierliga*, T.

<sup>10</sup> *hjarlanligan*, T., an acc., an obvious blunder, as is proved by *heilli sætt*, dat. just preceding it.

<sup>11</sup> *kærleik*, T.

<sup>12</sup> *kæmr*, T.

<sup>13</sup> *fortaulum*, T.

<sup>14</sup> *taka*, T.

<sup>15</sup> *hversu*, T.

France, to the place called Montmartre, where that champion of God lost his laudable life. Lord Thomas maketh as if he hear not that king Henry is in the land. But king Louis bringeth matters about, by his blessed good-will, in such a way, that he and king Henry hold a meeting between them. He likewise sent word to lord Thomas that he should come there. Now the king of the French layeth himself out, in fellowship with bishops and other men of good-will, to bring king Henry to yield, for the sake of God, in order to allay the troubles which, by the discord between him and the archbishop, had so long been an affliction to the people. But against this there are forthwith brought up such new accusations, as that archbishop Thomas had taken no notice of him in aught since he came to France, nor shown him any honour at all. The king of the French prayeth him lovingly, by the glory and the favour of those holy men of God whom he had now come to visit, to soften, and to take archbishop Thomas home to his country in full peace and heartfelt love, for the praise of our Lord and the joy of holy church. At last the matter cometh so far, that king Henry seemeth about to be led by persuasions into a wholesome path of peace, inasmuch as he declareth it to be his good pleasure, that archbishop Thomas wend home to his country, and receive again all his honours. Now when this had been granted, some people said rejoicingly that it behoved the king to give the archbishop the kiss of peace, in order that the rumour might be borne the sweetlier abroad of the manner in which their peace was settled. But to this king Henry answereth thus :—

1169.  
but refuses  
Becket the  
kiss of  
peace.

“Thómam erkibyskup,” sagði hann, “enn með því at  
“ek sór þat einn tíma í bræði minni, þá er<sup>1</sup> mér  
“mislíkaði til hans, at veita honum eingan koss um  
“aldr, þá sèr ek eigi nauðsynligt at rjúfa mín særi þar  
“um.” Thómas erkibyskup skilr þessi orð, ok kennir<sup>5</sup>  
þegar af kunnri lund, at eigi er brjóstið hjart, þótt  
orðin fari slétt,<sup>2</sup> ok því svarar hann opinberliga, at  
þetta heldr hann eingan sættarfund, utan friðarkoss  
fari til eftir<sup>3</sup> svo stóra misþykt, sem víða um lönd<sup>4</sup>  
var nú kunnig. Hvat lengra,<sup>5</sup> enn Heinrekr konungr<sup>10</sup>  
segir nauðsyn krefja, at menn taki náð eftir<sup>6</sup> langa  
mæðu, segir dag<sup>7</sup> liðinn ok<sup>7</sup> langt í myrkri at ríða  
til herbergis. Svá lyktast þessi fundr, at Heinrekr  
konungr ríðr í veg ok veitir Thómasi erkibyskupi  
enn klausur nokkurar eigi fagarar; segist hafa verit<sup>15</sup>  
þyngaðr fyrir hans skyld um allan þann dag, ok  
þat fleira sem hann lætr rjúka. Sè,<sup>8</sup> svá vendir hann  
heim í ríki sitt, enn heilagr Thómas aftr<sup>9</sup> í Sainz.  
Stendr nú svá um stund, at margir góðir menn harma,  
er<sup>10</sup> æ skal nokkut móti rísa fólsum<sup>11</sup> friði millum<sup>20</sup>  
þessarra höfðingja.

Becket de-  
clares that  
he considers  
this no  
peace at all  
without the  
kiss. But  
king Henry  
pleads  
against it an  
advanced  
hour of the  
day, and  
rides away,  
and winds  
up with  
some angry  
words to  
Becket.

## KAP. LXVII.

AF VÍGSLU HEINREKS UNGA<sup>12</sup> TIL KONUNGS.

Henry the  
young  
crowned to  
king.

Lásum vèr, í fyrra kapitulo, hversu Heinrekr kon-  
ungr fór undan at gefa signuðum Thóme friðarkoss. 25  
Skildi þat ok rættliga Guðs maðr, að því volli sú sára  
samvizka er<sup>13</sup> hann bar í brjósti, sem enn prófast; því at  
Heinrekr konungr hefir fullan vilja sem fyrr, at auka

<sup>1</sup> *ær*, T.

<sup>2</sup> *slétt*, T.

<sup>3</sup> *eptir*, T.

<sup>4</sup> *laund*, T.

<sup>5</sup> *leingra*, T.

<sup>6</sup> *eptir*, T.

<sup>7</sup> So U.; *at*, T.

<sup>8</sup> *Sie*, T.

<sup>9</sup> *aptr*, T.

<sup>10</sup> *ær*, T.

<sup>11</sup> *faulrudum*, T.

<sup>12</sup> *unga*, T.

<sup>13</sup> *ær*, T.

“ I might well kiss archbishop Thomas,” saith he, “ but because, once upon a time, I swore in my wrath, when his ways misliked me, never more in my life to give him a kiss, I see it not necessary to break my oath sworn thereon.”

Archbishop Thomas understandeth these words, and perceiveth at once, from the well known temper of the king, that his heart is nowise bright, though the words go smoothly enough, and therefore he answereth openly that he considereth this no meeting of peace at all unless the kiss of peace follow after so great a discord, now known far and wide throughout many lands. What more, but king Henry saith that need requires that men go to rest after so long a toil, saith that the day is past, and that he hath far to ride to his chamber in the dark. In such way cometh this meeting to an end, that king Henry rideth away, and casteth at archbishop Thomas still some remarks nowise handsome, saying that all through that day he hath been hard pressed for his sake, and many other things besides he letteth fly. Behold, thus he wendeth back to his realm, while holy Thomas goeth back to Sens. Thus matters stand now a while, and many good men grieve, that there should always arise something to bring the peace between the two lords to fail.

## CHAP. LXVII.

### CONCERNING THE CORONATION OF THE YOUNG HENRY.

In the foregoing chapter we read how king Henry backed out of giving the kiss of peace to the blessed Thomas. The man of God understood it aright, that the cause thereof was the bitter conscience which the king bore in his breast, as cometh to be proven still, for king Henry hath yet as full a will as before to eke out his hurtful



1170. meingerðir erkibyskups, ef hann má. Enn hvat mun hann nú til fá? Útlægðr er nú áðr erkibyskupinn ok allir hans frændr,<sup>1</sup> gózin<sup>2</sup> upptekin, úhlýðni hlaðin með svá úheyrðum illvilja, að hann skal þarnast bæna miðil kristinna manna, ok þó þrotnar eigi vondr<sup>5</sup> ráðgjafi at færa<sup>3</sup> hëðan<sup>4</sup> framm<sup>5</sup> þat. Heinrekr konungr hefir þat með höndum, at láta vígja til krúnu Heinrek son sinn, ok því svá brátt, at heilagr Thómas skyli missa þeirar sæmdar, er honum einum til heyrði eftir<sup>6</sup> æfnligri frumtign Kantuariensis kirkju, at smyrja<sup>10</sup> ok krúna konung í Englandi. Enn til þess, at eigi sýnist konungrinn gera þessa smán erkibyskupi með einvild sinni, smíðar hann þau ráð, at leiða herra páfann<sup>7</sup> í samþykki, eðr<sup>8</sup> enn framar<sup>9</sup> í fullkomliga skipan, at sjá vígsla fremist fyrir utan alla röksemd<sup>10</sup> 15

Thóme erkibyskups. Með svá úheyriligri bæn gerir konungrinn sína sendiboða til Róms með brëfum, er þar einkanliga ok eiginliga nefndr Roðgeirr erkibyskup af Jork, at hann krúni herra konunginn með herra páfans skipan ok orlofi. Enn með því at herra páfann<sup>11</sup> 20 Alexander hefir<sup>12</sup> þar yfir sanna vissu, at þessi víglugerð er<sup>13</sup> eiginlig Thómasi erkibyskupi, skilr hann ok eigi síðr, hvaðan þessa umleitan leiðir, því skrifar hann aftr<sup>14</sup> í gegn til Heinreks konungs með hófsamligum greinum, at þá bæn, er<sup>15</sup> víglugerðinni heyrir, 25 stendr honum eigi at veita, nema Thómas erkibyskup leggi til blíða samþykkt fyrir sik ok erkistólinn í Kancia. Ok með því at herra páfann<sup>16</sup> grunar fyrir þat hatr ok úhlýðni, sem Thómasi erkibyskupi veitist

King Henry desires to crown his son before Becket returns,

and requests the pope to authorise thereto the archbishop of York.

The pope refuses to accede to the request,

<sup>1</sup> *frændr*, T.

<sup>2</sup> *godzin*, T.

<sup>3</sup> *færa*, T.

<sup>4</sup> After *hëðan* U. adds *meira*, which is scarcely to the point.

<sup>5</sup> *fram*, T.

<sup>6</sup> *eptir*, T.

<sup>7</sup> *pauann*, T.

<sup>8</sup> *ædr*, T.

<sup>9</sup> *framar*, T.

<sup>10</sup> *rauksemd*, T.

<sup>11</sup> *pauinn*, T.

<sup>12</sup> *hefir*, T.

<sup>13</sup> *ær*, T.

<sup>14</sup> *aptr*, T.

<sup>15</sup> *ær*, T.

<sup>16</sup> *pauinn*, T.

deeds towards the archbishop, if he may bring it about. But what will he now devise? The archbishop is already an outlaw together with all his kin, his goods are confiscated, disobedience is heaped up with such an unheard of ill-will, that he must needs forego even prayers among Christian folk, and yet an evil counsellor hath not come to the end of his means for still carrying these things further onwards. King Henry hath now on hand to have his son Henry crowned, and with all speed, in order that the holy archbishop Thomas should forego the honour which appertained to him alone, according to the time-honoured supremacy of the church of Canterbury, to anoint and crown the king of England. But in order that it may not appear as if the king brought this dishonour upon the archbishop from his own willfulness, he frameth the plot to bring the lord pope to give his consent or, far rather, to give a peremptory command to this coronation being performed without any authority at all from archbishop Thomas. With this unheard-of request the king sendeth his envoys to Rome with letters, wherein Roger archbishop of York is chiefly and particularly named as he who should crown the lord king with the leave, and at the command of the lord pope. But the lord pope Alexander, knowing for sure that the performance of this coronation belongeth to archbishop Thomas alone, and understanding no less whence this request taketh its rise, writeth back to king Henry a letter meekly setting forth that it is not in his power to grant this prayer, concerning the coronation, unless archbishop Thomas give willing consent thereto on behalf of himself and the arch-throne of Canterbury. But having misgivings already beforehand of the hatred and disobedience likely to be shown to archbishop Thomas in Eng-

1170. í Englandi, at byskuparnir muni dirfast eigi því síðr  
and commu- með eftirlæti<sup>1</sup> vit konunginn at gera vígalu þessa, þá  
nicates the decision to Becket. gerir hann önnur bréf til Thómam erkibyskups, at  
honum verði alt þetta efni kunnigt vel; þar með lætr  
By letters hann fylgja þat opit bréf, at fyrirbýðr undir banns<sup>2</sup> 5  
patent he forbids the bishops in  
England to crown the king's son.  
pínu, at nokkurr<sup>3</sup> byskup í Englandi dirfist á þá vígslu-  
gerð utan vild Thómas erkibyskups.<sup>4</sup> Koma þessi  
bréf hvártveggi framm, sem skipat var, ok eigi því  
síðr heldr Heinrekr konungr uppteknum hætti, kallandi  
saman byskupa með ánefndum degi, at þeir kome til<sup>10</sup>  
June 24th Lundúna í festo Johannis baptiste<sup>5</sup> at sæma vígalu  
1170. Heinreks unga sonar hans.

Enn er signuðum Thómasi flytjast herra páfans bréf,  
ok þar með nokkur<sup>6</sup> frétt norðan af Englandi, at eigi  
muni fjarri fara því, sem páfinn<sup>7</sup> gat um<sup>8</sup> framm- 15  
Becket causes the pope's letter  
to be con- veyed to England.  
girnd<sup>9</sup> ok úhlýðni byskupanna, þá gerir hann sína  
sendiboða til Englands, at byskupum berist boðskapr  
herra páfans<sup>10</sup> at þeir haldi sínar hendr af sagðri  
vígalugerð. Enn þar er annat fyrri, því at byskupar  
vilja eigi sjá bréfit, heldr fara þeir framm sem til 20  
The bishops refuse to see it.  
The arch- úspiltra mála. Gerist sú bölvut vígala af Rodgeiri  
bishop of York, with him of London and  
Salisbury, crown the prince, and the king  
gives a great banquet in celebration of the coro-  
nation.  
Stóðu þar nærri tveir byskupar bannsettir, Gillibert  
ok Jocelin; ok margir aðrir bæði klerkar ok kennimenn.  
Eflir Heinrekr konungr gamli veizlu mikla í vígalugerð<sup>25</sup>  
sonar síns, ok þjónar sjálfr þeim nýja konungi, ok  
eigi vill hann nú samdægris láta kalla sik konungsnafni.

<sup>1</sup> *eftirlæti*, T.

<sup>2</sup> *banz*, T.

<sup>3</sup> *nockur*, T.

<sup>4</sup> So U.; *erchibiskup*, T.

<sup>5</sup> According to Fitzstephen the coronation took place "pride fes-  
"tum Sanctorum Viti et Modesti,"  
Migne, cxc., 164, i.e., Sunday, 14th  
June; but by William of Canter-  
bury, Migne, *ib.*, 248, who is fol-  
lowed by the compilers of the

Quadrilogues, the festum beati Jo-  
hannis baptiste, i.e., Wednesday,  
June 24th, is, as here, given as the  
coronation date.

<sup>6</sup> *nockura*, T., an evident slip of  
the pen.

<sup>7</sup> *pausin*, T.

<sup>8</sup> A self-evident emendation; ok,  
T.

<sup>9</sup> *framgirnd*, T.

<sup>10</sup> *pausan*, T.

land, and misdoubting, that the bishops may have the hardihood, his word notwithstanding, to perform this coronation out of obsequiousness to the king, the lord pope writeth another letter to archbishop Thomas, in order to make the whole affair well-known unto him; this epistle he causeth to be accompanied by letters patent, forbidding, under penalty of excommunication, any bishop in England to presume to undertake this coronation without the leave of archbishop Thomas. Both these letters reach their destination even according as the pope had ordered, and yet, king Henry proceedeth with his design, none the less, summoning the bishops to come to London on a certain named day, the feast of St. John the Baptist, to wit, in order to celebrate the coronation of his son, the young Henry.

But when to the blessed Thomas are brought the letters of the lord pope and, at the same time, certain rumours from the north from England, importing that things are likely to take a course not far from what the pope conjectured concerning the presumption and disobedience of the bishops, he sendeth his messengers to England, in order that the pope's message may be made known to the bishops, so that they keep their hands back from performing the said coronation. But there a thing he had not recked of cometh to pass, inasmuch as the bishops refuse even to see the letter, and so set to work, as if this was an affair in which there was nothing amiss. This cursed coronation is performed by archbishop Rodger in St. Peter's church at Westminster in London. Two excommunicated bishops stood thereat, Gilbert and Jocelin, and many more, both clerks and priests. King Henry now maketh a great banquet in celebration of the coronation of his son, and doeth homage himself to the new king, and on that same day he forbiddeth, that he be addressed by the title of king.

1170. Má þat líkligt þykkja, at samsæti þetta væri<sup>1</sup> því líkt, er forðum hélt Herodes tetrarcha, þá er höfud Johannis baptiste var uppdiskat. Enn þó berr þat umframm í þeim stað, at hær sátu fleiri opinberliga bannsettir. Enn svo mikit fors ok frammgirnd sem<sup>5</sup> Heinrekr konungr gamli lagði til at krúna son sinn sèr lifanda, má vera, at hann iðrist þess innan<sup>2</sup> síðarri tíma. Eigi má ok sýnast undarligt, þó með leyndum Guðs dómi vyrði þat land ok fólk undir<sup>3</sup> miklu áfelli úheyrðrar gæpsku eftir<sup>4</sup> lítinn tíma liðinn, er svá<sup>10</sup> vafðist afskapliga hverr með öðrum at fyrirlíta sjalfan Guð ok hans umboðsmenn, einkanliga sjalfan herra páfann<sup>5</sup> ok sinn eiginligan erkibyskup svá heilagan.

## KAP. LXVIII.

## AF BODSKAP OK FORBØÐI PÁFANS.

15

Nú<sup>6</sup> sem heilagr Thómas erkibyskup spyr þessi hörmungartíðindi, hversu Heinrekr konungr hefir nú enn ofgeystr farit í vígslugerð sonar síns, þikkir honum eigi létt<sup>7</sup> á bjóða um hans vanstilli.<sup>8</sup> Virðist ok svá erkibyskupinum, sem hær sè<sup>9</sup> sá lutr vunninn,<sup>10</sup> 20 at með öllum sínum greinum megi á einga lund ópíndr vera, ef Róma kirkja ok lögin skulu nokkurn rétt hafa. Því skrifar<sup>11</sup> hann til herra páfans, greinandi í fyrstu, hversu<sup>12</sup> þeir Heinrekr konungr fundust in Monte Martirum,<sup>13</sup> ok hvað þá gekk til, er þeir sættust 25 eigi. Hær næst skrifar hann, í hversu háfa þjónustu

Becket complains to the

<sup>1</sup> So U.; *uer*, T.

<sup>2</sup> I have not ventured to alter this word, because it makes some sense as it stands; but I have little doubt that the original reading must have been: "inna síðarri tíma," a classical usage of genitivus temporis.

<sup>3</sup> *undir*, T.

<sup>4</sup> *eptir*, T.

<sup>5</sup> *pafuanum*, T.

<sup>6</sup> *Nú*, T.

<sup>7</sup> *liett*, T.

<sup>8</sup> *vannstilli*, T.

<sup>9</sup> *see*, T.

<sup>10</sup> *uunninn*, T.

<sup>11</sup> Epist. S. Thomæ, xxv., Migne, *ib.*, 474-481.

<sup>12</sup> *huerssu*, T.

<sup>13</sup> So U.; *martirio*, T.]

It may well be thought likely, that this banquet resembled the one, which Herod the Tetrarch held of yore, when the head of St. John was dished up. Yet in this place the banquet was so far distinguished from the other, that here sat together a greater number of folk publicly excommunicated. Yet with all the overweening insolence and ambition which King Henry the Old bringeth to bear in the crowning of his son, whilst he was yet alive, it may be, that he rue it in time to come. Nor may it seem wondrous either that, through the secret judgment of God, the land and the folk therein should fall within a brief space of time under an exceeding heavy visitation for this unheard-of folly, by which each got so abominably entangled with the other in one common contempt of God Himself and his vicars, especially the lord pope himself, and their very own archbishop, such a holy man too as he was.

#### CHAP. LXVIII.

##### OF THE POPE'S MESSAGE AND INTERDICT.

Now when the holy Thomas heareth the sorrowful tidings, how king Henry has, once more, proceeded in a headlong manner in the matter of the coronation of his son, he deemeth that these matters convey no light forebodings as to his recklessness. It also seemeth to the archbishop that now a deed has been done which, duly regarded in all its bearings, may in no wise be left unpunished, if the church of Rome and the laws are to have any right at all. He therefore writeth to the lord pope, informing him, in the first instance, as to what manner of meeting he and the king had had at Montmartre, as also, how it came about, that they did not come to peace. Hereby he setteth forth in his writing

1170.  
pope of the  
king's pro-  
ceedings.

Heinrekr konungr hefir leitt bannsetta byskupa í Englandi með allri þeiri óhlýðni við Róma kirkju ok forsmán Kantuariensis kirkju, sem herra páfanum er kunnig. Hér með biðr hann, at postoligr herra rísi upp til hegndar fyrir svá údæmiligt verk, ok þótt hér 5 til hafi þolat verit, segir erkibyskupinn berum orðum, at héðan upp er eigi þolanda. Mjök jafnframm<sup>1</sup> skrifar Lofuis Frakka konungr til herra páfans af sama efni ei með lægra krafti<sup>2</sup> elskunnar til Guðs ok kirkjunnar, því at hann herðir berliga herra páfann<sup>3</sup> 10 til rættrar frammferðar,<sup>4</sup> biðr hann þar til virða sína þjónustu ok þeira vináttu, at úvinir<sup>5</sup> Thóme erkibyskups taki sín gjöld, sem lögin dikta<sup>6</sup> þeim, er<sup>7</sup> úhæfur hlaða án afláti yfir<sup>8</sup> höfutglæpi.<sup>9</sup> Enn þann tíma sem herra páfinn sér þvílíkt bréf, þínist hans 15 huggæði,<sup>10</sup> því at langar biðstundir til þata gera vondum mönnum mikinn voða, því tekr hann um síðir sér í hönd hefndarsverð hins heilaga Petri, skrifandi til erkibyskups Rotomagenssem, er Rotherodus heitir, ok til Bernardum Nivernensem byskups, at undir krafti<sup>11</sup> 20 heilagrar hlýðni fari þeir báðir sem fyrst á fund Heinreks konungs í Englandi, berandi honum einarðliga með ógnarorðum þann boðskap, at ef hann semr eigi falslausan frið með Thómasi erkibyskupi undir rétta yfirbót ok afterskipan<sup>12</sup> allra luta, skal hit sterkasta 25 forboð falla yfir<sup>13</sup> alt hans ríki, svá fyrir sunnan sjó sem í Englandi, enn hann sjálfr með fullu bannsetjast.<sup>14</sup> Önnur<sup>15</sup> bréf gerir hann til Thómam erkibyskups

The pope writes to Rotrou, archbishop of Rouen, and the bishop of Nevers, to threaten king Henry with interdict unless he make peace with Becket.

The pope informs

<sup>1</sup> *jafnfram*, T.

<sup>2</sup> *krapti*, T.

<sup>3</sup> *pafuanum*, T.!

<sup>4</sup> *framferðar*, T.

<sup>5</sup> *uvinir*, T.

<sup>6</sup> *dikta*, T.

<sup>7</sup> *ær*, T.

<sup>8</sup> *ifir*, T.

<sup>9</sup> *hafufutglæpi*, T.

<sup>10</sup> *huggæði*, T.

<sup>11</sup> *krapti*, T.

<sup>12</sup> *afterskipan*, T.

<sup>13</sup> *ifir*, T.

<sup>14</sup> Epist. Alex. papæ, dclxxvi., dated Beneventi, xiv. Kalendas Februarii, i.e., 19th Jan., 1170. Migne, cc., 637-39. This letter does not, of course, refer to the coronation, which had not yet taken place, but only to the contest between the king and the archbishop.

<sup>15</sup> *Aunnur*, T.

how high a service king Henry had committed to the excommunicated bishops in England, over and above all their disobedience towards the church of Rome and their contempt towards the church of Canterbury, which was already known to the lord pope. Therewithal he prayeth, that the apostolic Lord arise and punish such an unexampled deed ; saying, in plain words, that although hitherto things have been endured, henceforth they may be borne with no longer. Much at the same time Louis, the king of the French, writeth to the lord pope about this same matter, in no less strength of love to God and to the church, for he openly urgeth the lord pope on to a right proceeding, praying him by a right heed to his dutiful service and the friendship between them, to see that the enemies of archbishop Thomas receive the retribution which the laws award those, who, without ceasing, heap abomination over and above deadly crimes.

Now when the pope seeth this letter, it giveth pain to his compassionate heart, since a long waiting for a man to mend his ways but bringeth the wicked into peril ; he, therefore, at last, seizeth in his hand the punishing sword of Saint Peter, writing to the archbishop of Rouen, hight Rotherodus, and to Bernard, bishop of Nevres, ordering them by virtue of holy obedience to go both together at their speediest to king Henry in England, and to bring him the straight message in threatening words, that unless he come to a guileless peace with archbishop Thomas, on the condition of doing rightful boot, and restoring back all things, the sternest interdict shall befall the whole of his realm, south beyond sea, as well as in England, but that he himself shall be fully excommunicated. Another letter he writeth to archbishop



1170. Becket that the archbishop of York is suspended.

He excommunicates the bishops of London and Salisbury.

The archbishop of Rouen and the bishop Nevres execute their commission promptly.

með þeim formála, at þau sömu bréf skal hann uppi láta þeim tíma, er honum líkar. Enn sá herra páfans boðskapr er svá fallinn, að Rodgeirr er af flettr öllu embætti,<sup>1</sup> ok enn fleiri byskupar, er<sup>2</sup> við voru vígsluna.<sup>3</sup> Enn hær umframm geingr þat bréf, er enn boðar Gilbert ok Jocelin at nýju sem fyrr bannsetta.<sup>4</sup> Þenna boðskap allan saman berr út af curia virðuligr maðr, byskup af Sainz, því at hans eyrindi var þat í Róm at flytja frjálsi kirkjunnar bæði af hálfu Frakka konungs ok erkibyskups. Enn þann tíma sem greindir 10 byskupar, Rothomagensis ok Nivernensis, heyra páfans boðskap með svá sterkum orðum á sjálfa hlýðni Róma kirkju, bregða þeir við báðir sem röskir<sup>5</sup> menn, sækja Heinrek konung fyrir sunnan sjó berandi honum heilliga ok stórum einarðliga, hvat er þeim var 15 boðit, segja honum í opin augu, at afleiðingr<sup>6</sup> ok orðaglæsur hans eftir<sup>7</sup> vana stoða honum nú eigi, skýra honum þar með, hvert áfelli yfir gnæfir öllu hans ríki, svá fyrir sunnan sjó sem í Englandi, at þegja skulu allar kirkjur ok eingin þjónusta fremjast utan 20 skírn ok skrift<sup>8</sup> dauðstöddum<sup>9</sup> mönnum, þeim er leita með iðran ok yfirbót annmarka. Hær með tjá þeir konunginum, at nefndr er<sup>10</sup> dagr af herra páfanum, nær<sup>11</sup> þessi stríða ok stórmæli skulu öll<sup>12</sup> publicerast, ef eigi sættist hann fyrri með heilum hug ok alvar- 25 ligum friði til Thóman erkibyskups. Votta þat ok ljósliga, at hjá þeim liggir boðskaprinn, ok þeir skulu frambera<sup>13</sup> fyrir hvers manns<sup>14</sup> þökk þat, sem þeim er

<sup>1</sup> embætti, T.

<sup>2</sup> ær, T.

<sup>3</sup> Epist. Alex. papæ dclxii., dated Verulis, iv. Idus Septembris, i.e., 10th Sept., 1170. Migne, *ib.*, 699-700.

<sup>4</sup> Epist. Alex. papæ, dclxiii., dated Ferentini, xvi. Kalendas Octobris, i.e., 16th Sept., 1170. Migne, *ib.*, 700-702.

<sup>5</sup> raushir, T.

<sup>6</sup> So T.; *afleiðingar*, U., which, perhaps, is the better reading.

<sup>7</sup> eptir, T.

<sup>8</sup> skript, T.

<sup>9</sup> dauðstauddum, T.

<sup>10</sup> ær, T.

<sup>11</sup> nærr, T.

<sup>12</sup> avll, T.

<sup>13</sup> frambera, T.

<sup>14</sup> manz, T.

Thomas with a word that he may produce it whenever it seem good to him. But the import of this message of the lord pope was that Roger should be clean deprived of his office, and some other bishops beside who were present at the coronation. Along with this goeth yet another letter, which pronounceth once more Gilbert and Jocelin as anew excommunicated. All these messages are brought from the pope's court by a worthy man, the bishop of Sens, for his errand to Rome had been to plead the freedom of the church, both on behalf of the king of the French and the archbishop. But when the aforementioned bishops of Rouen and Nevres receive the message of the Pope, and the strong words whereby they were bound in obedience to the Roman church, they bestir themselves promptly, calling upon king Henry south beyond sea, and bringing him in a right bold manner the whole message which they had in commission; they declare to his face, that now his wonted manner of staving things off, as well as his fine wordiness, will avail him nought at all; at the same time they make clear to him, what visitation now hangeth over all his realm, south beyond sea, as well as in England; inasmuch as all churches are to abide in silence, and no service is to be performed therein out-taken baptism, and the shriving of the dying who may wish therefor in penitence and repentance for their trespasses. Besides this they make known unto the king, that a day has been fixed by the lord pope, on which this stern excommunication is to be published, if in the meantime he should not establish concord of a whole heart and in sincere peace with archbishop Thomas. They also testify, that this message is now in their possession, and that they mean to promulgate, despite any one, that which they have been ordered to make known. Now king

1170.  
King Henry  
then gives  
his consent  
to a peace  
meeting  
with Becket  
in "Prato  
Proditorum,"  
on  
the 22nd  
of July.

skipat. Heinrekr konungr sèr nú, at sundin mjófast heldr til útsiglingar, ok því víkr hann sem honum sýnist til þeirar mýktar,<sup>1</sup> at sættarfundr er settr í Franz upp á<sup>2</sup> festum Mariæ Magdalænæ.<sup>3</sup> Sækir þangat allmikitt fólk. Einkanliga kemr þar Lofuis Frakka<sup>4</sup> konungr með svá blezaðri ástundan sem fyrr, at hann kallar þá menn í sína fylgd, sem hann vissi góðgjarnasta at sætta sundrþykki. Á þat mót sækir ok signaðr Thómas erkibyskup. Enn hvort er því olli meir fjölmenni eðr forspá ókominna hluta, skipast<sup>5</sup> 10 þessi sættarfundr í öngri<sup>4</sup> borg eðr kirkju, heldr undir berum himne á einni fagri jörð, er landsmenn kalla Svikara Eing.<sup>5</sup>

## KAP. LXIX.

## AF SÆTT ERKIBYSKUPS OK KONUNGS.

15

Peace estab-  
lished.

Sem sættarfundr er skipaðr, hafa herra páfans sendiboðar sik frammi mille annarra<sup>6</sup> góðra manna. Er nú eigi langt, því at Heinrekr konungr gerir sik svá mjúkan,<sup>7</sup> at þeir er friðinn leita, kjósa upp á hverja grein. Hann játar með orðum ok handleggr erki- 20 byskupinum, at þær ánefndar jarðir, sem hann hefir lengi haldit undan erkistólinum í Kancia, skal hann með fullu skilríki aftr<sup>8</sup> leggja. Hèr<sup>9</sup> með gerist brèf á þeim sama fundi, at Heinrekr konungr skrifar leiur í England öllum valdsmönnum ok alþýðu, birtandi full- 25 komna sætt í öllum hlutum, hvort er til heyrir fastri eign eðr lausum penningum. Ok svo er nú gert um alla hluti, sem þeim sýndist örugt<sup>10</sup> í falslausan<sup>11</sup> frið,

<sup>1</sup> *mýktar*, T.

<sup>2</sup> With this word the handwriting of T. changes.

<sup>3</sup> i.e. Monday, July 22.

<sup>4</sup> *öngri*, T.

<sup>5</sup> Lat. Pratum proditorum.

<sup>6</sup> *annara*, T.

<sup>7</sup> *miukann*, T.

<sup>8</sup> *aftr*, T.

<sup>9</sup> *Hier*, T.

<sup>10</sup> *örugt*, T.

<sup>11</sup> *falslausann*, T.

Henry seeth clearly that the straits through which to sail away grow rather narrow, and therefore it seemeth good to him to turn about, and to soften so far, as to consent to a peace meeting being held up in France on the feast of Mary Magdalene. To this meeting there went a great multitude of people. Thither cometh, chiefly to mention, Louis, king of the French, for the same blessed purpose as before, inasmuch as he summoneth to his following those whom he knew to be most kindly disposed to bring about peace out of discord. Unto this meeting the blessed archbishop Thomas also betaketh himself. But whether it was owing to the multitude of the assembly, or it was to be an omen of things to come, this meeting was held, not in any town or church, but in the open air, on a certain fair spot of land which the folk of the country call Traitors' Meadow.

#### CHAP. LXIX.

##### CONCERNING THE PEACE BETWEEN THE ARCHBISHOP AND THE KING.

As soon as the meeting openeth, the messengers of the lord pope come forward amongst other good people. Now there is no delay, because king Henry showeth himself as pliant on every point as the peace-makers could wish. He promiseth in plain words, and giveth the archbishop handsel thereon, that he will restore, with all things thereto appertaining, such estates, named by name, as he hath withheld for a long time from the archsee of Canterbury. At this same meeting a letter is framed besides, which king Henry writeth home to England to all men in authority and to the commonalty, making known that a full peace hath been arrived at in all matters whether appertaining to fixed property or loose chattels. And in all things matters are now settled in a manner, which seemed to those who went

1170 er á meðal gengu, þó at mönnum<sup>1</sup> segði nokkut mis-  
 jafnt hugr um, hversu ganga mundi; ok tóku þeir  
 þann efa fyrir ljósa skynsemd, at hvat maðr játar  
 fyrir þröngving<sup>2</sup> eina samt, gengr honum eigi nær  
 hjarta til góðra lykta. Enn hvat er nú grunar hvern 5  
 þar um, gera menn þakkir þó Guði fyrir, ok kalla  
 dagsverkit harðla nytsamligt. Ok þann tíma sem  
 fundrinn leysist ok menn búast til burtreiðar, víkr  
 Thómas<sup>3</sup> erkibyskup at Heinreki konungi ok leiðir  
 hann á einmæli. Gjörir konungrinn sig harðla mjúkan 10  
 at víkjast eftir,<sup>4</sup> sem erkibyskupinum líkar. Heilagr  
 Thómas byrjar þá svá fallin<sup>5</sup> orð: "Minn herra kon-  
 ungr," sagði hann, "eg bið, at yðvart vald styggest  
 " eigi við, þó at Rodgeir erkibyskup ok enn nokkurir  
 " fleiri aðrir fái lögliga<sup>6</sup> hirting fyrir þá tekju, sem 15  
 " þeir hafa framit í vígslugerð sonar yðvars." Þessu  
 játar konungrinn blíðlega, at þat má gerast utan hans  
 forþykkju. Sæll Thómas þakkar honum þessi orð með  
 frábæru lítilæti. Konungrinn spyr þá: "Hversu ætli  
 " þer<sup>7</sup> nú at riða, herra?" sagði hann. Erkibyskup 20  
 svarar: "Ek hefi hugsat at víkja upp í Franz til vina  
 " minna, áðr ek snýr heimleiðis." Konungrinn talar:  
 " þat mætti nú sýnast vel fallit, at þer<sup>7</sup> riðit með  
 " oss ok sýnit svá nýjan frið ok félagskap eftir<sup>8</sup> langa  
 " misþykkt." Erkibyskup svarar: "Oss má þat réttliga<sup>9</sup> 25  
 " virða til óhæversku, ef vèr<sup>10</sup> förum<sup>11</sup> svá af Franz  
 " með fjótu viðbragði, at vèr þökkum<sup>12</sup> eigi höfðingj-  
 " um þessa lands þá góðvild ok velgerðir, er þeir  
 " hafa oss tæð<sup>13</sup> í vorri nauðsun. Enn þegar vèr

Becket asks the king secretly for leave to excommunicate the archbishop of York and those who assisted at the coronation of the king's son; and his request is granted.

The king requests Becket to accompany him into his kingdom. Becket refuses it, pleading farewell calls in France.

<sup>1</sup> maunnum, T.

<sup>2</sup> þraungung, T.

<sup>3</sup> So U.; Tomas, T.

<sup>4</sup> eptir, T.

<sup>5</sup> fallinn, T.

<sup>6</sup> laughiga, T.

<sup>7</sup> þer, T.

<sup>8</sup> eptir, T.

<sup>9</sup> réttliga, T.

<sup>10</sup> uær, T.

<sup>11</sup> faurum, T.

<sup>12</sup> þauckum, T.

<sup>13</sup> tied, T.

between as peace-makers fully secure to establish a guileless peace ; although certain people had sundry misgivings, as to how it might turn out in the end, being misdoubtful thereof for the very good reason, that whatsoever a man consenteth to, only because he is forced, he will never set his heart on that same thing ever coming to a good end. Yet, notwithstanding the misdoubting that sundry folk harbour about this matter, people offer their thanksgiving to God therefore, accounting the day's doing as one right profitable. And at the time the meeting is over, and people make ready to ride away, archbishop Thomas turneth to king Henry and taketh him aside for a secret talk. The king showeth himself right kindly disposed to turn in all things according to the liking of the archbishop. Whereupon the archbishop addresseth him in words so framed as here followeth :—

“ My lord king,” said he, “ I pray that your Mightiness be not offended though archbishop Roger and some more of the others receive a lawful punishment for their presumption in the crowning of your son.”

The king giveth a kindly answer, protesting that this may be done without giving him offence. For these words the blessed Thomas rendereth him thanks in exceeding humility. Then the king asketh :

“ Whither are you minded now to ride, lord ?” said he.

The archbishop answereth : “ I have made up my mind to ride up into France to my friends, before I turn me homeward.”

The king speaketh : “ It would seem right well fitting that you should now ride along with us, for thus to show our newly established peace and good fellowship after a long discord.”

Answers the archbishop : “ We might well be blamed for want of courtesy if we should betake ourselves out of France in such a hasty manner as not even to thank the lords of the land for the good-will and kind deeds which they have shown us in our need. But when

117a. “verðum liðugir hær<sup>1</sup> af, skulum vér gjarna til  
 “yðar<sup>2</sup> koma.” Konungurinn talar þá: “Þessu munu  
 “þær<sup>3</sup> ráða, enn þó sýnist oss vel fallit, at fyrir góðra  
 “manna augsýn, er heyrðu vára friðargerð, taki þær<sup>3</sup>  
 “yðr til fylgdar<sup>4</sup> einn af vorum heimolligum mönnum<sup>5</sup> 5  
 “jafnframm<sup>6</sup> því bræfi, er vér<sup>7</sup> skrifaðum til Englands,  
 “at þessir tveir vottar gangi með okkarre<sup>8</sup> sætt, ok  
 “sýnit, hvar sem þær<sup>9</sup> komit.” Þessu játar gjarna  
 erkibyskupinn. Tekr konungurinn þar til einn dekan  
 af Sarisber at fylgja sælum Thómasi. Ok væri þessi 10  
 hans gerð loflig, ef hún gengi af hjarta með sönnu<sup>10</sup>  
 hjarta ok góðvilja, enn eigi til þess at hnekkja með  
 undirhyggju herra páfans boðskap ok hneigjast svá  
 undan því áfelli, er hann var makligr at fá. Hær<sup>11</sup>  
 með leggr konungurinn erkibyskupi þat blíðubragð nú 15  
 at sinne, sem góðir menn glöddust<sup>12</sup> af, at hann sjálfr  
 stendr nær, sem herra byskup heilagr Thomas stígr  
 á hest, ok berr<sup>13</sup> stigvæl at hans fæti. Skilja síðan með  
 blíðum kærleik.

The king  
 assists  
 Becket into  
 the stirrup.

King Henry  
 goes to  
 Normandy;  
 but Becket  
 remains in  
 France  
 a while to  
 see how  
 faithfully  
 the king  
 keeps the  
 settlement  
 of peace.

Vendir Heinrekr til Norðmandi, enn erkibyskup upp 20  
 í Franz, ok þar dvelst hann um hríð, því at vitrir  
 menn leggja þat til með honum, at hann sjáist vel  
 fyrir um<sup>14</sup> heimferð sína í England, leggi enn heldr  
 Heinreki konungi til nokkura raun í fyrstu, er dagar  
 líða, hversu fastorðr hann er í friðinum, hær<sup>15</sup> með at 25  
 erkibyskup geri sína sendiboða til Englands með  
 sættarbræf þeira Heinreks konungs, at þeir heyri ok  
 honum aftr<sup>16</sup> flyti, hversu sættin<sup>17</sup> rómast í landinu.  
 Þetta sama ráð hefir Guðs maðr, at hann sendir til

<sup>1</sup> hær, T.  
<sup>2</sup> yðuar, T.  
<sup>3</sup> þær, T.  
<sup>4</sup> So U.; fylgdar, according to  
 pronunciation, T.  
<sup>5</sup> mannum, T.  
<sup>6</sup> jafnfram, T.  
<sup>7</sup> vær, T.  
<sup>8</sup> okkarre, T.

<sup>9</sup> þær, T.  
<sup>10</sup> sönnu, T.  
<sup>11</sup> Hær, T.  
<sup>12</sup> glödduz, T.  
<sup>13</sup> berr, T.  
<sup>14</sup> um, T.  
<sup>15</sup> hær, T.  
<sup>16</sup> aftr, T.  
<sup>17</sup> sættinn, T.

“ we have got this affair off our hands, we shall be fain to come to you.”

Then the king spake : “ You must needs have your own will in this matter, yet it seemeth to us well fit, that before the face of the good people who overheard the settlement of our peace you should have for your companion one of our familiar friends together with that letter which we wrote to England, in order that the two may stand as witnesses to our agreement, and that you show (the letter) wheresoever you come.”

To this the archbishop giveth a ready consent. And the king appointeth a certain dean of Salisbury to be the companion of the blessed Thomas ; which deed would have been laudable enough if it had proceeded from a truly sincere heart and good-will, instead of being aimed at staving off in a wily manner the publication of the message of the lord pope, for thereby to be able to slink away from that censure which he had fully deserved. Besides this the king now showeth the archbishop at this time a turn of kindness which gave great joy to the good folk who were present, inasmuch as happening to stand anigh when the archbishop mounteth his horse, he assisteth his foot into the stirrup ; whereupon they part in great friendship.

Now king Henry wendeth his way towards Normandy, but the archbishop his into France, where he tarrieth yet a while, for wise men counsel him to keep a heedful look-out concerning his homeward journey to England, and to try king Henry for some days, to begin with, as to his good faith concerning the peace, as also to send his messengers to England with the letter of agreement between him and the king, in order that they may hear and report to him, how the settlement of peace is spoken of in the land. By this counsel the man of God abideth, inasmuch as he sendeth to England mes-



1170. Englands með sættarbréf ok þar með stórmælubríf byskupanna, sem fyrr var tjáð. Enn aðra sendiboða gerir hann til Heinreks konunga, at hann megi þaðan marka, huersu konungr heldr sættina. Þessir sendimenn eru sæmiligar persónur, heiter annarr<sup>1</sup> meistari Jón, er 5 næstr varð byskup í Kancía eftir<sup>2</sup> Thómam,<sup>3</sup> annarr<sup>1</sup> sendiboði·er Herbert af Boseam. Þessum býðr erki-byskupinn með stöddu,<sup>4</sup> hvárt konungrinn vill halda orð sín um aftrlag<sup>5</sup> eigna þeira, er játaðar voru í þeira sætt. Ok ef þeim prófast konungr vel stöðugr,<sup>6</sup> 10 skulu þeir fara fyrir erkibyskupinn til Englands með eyrendum hans, enn elligar skulu þeir aftr<sup>7</sup> venda sama veg. Fara þeir ok finna Heihrek konung í Norðmandi, ok heilsa hann af erkibyskups<sup>8</sup> hálfu spyrjandi litlu síðar með röksamligri<sup>9</sup> einorð, hvárt eignir þær eru 15 lausar, er hann játaði á sættarfundinum. Enn konungr bregðr á lund sína, svarar um fátt ok hefst undan. Sendiboðar eru djarfir ok knfja fast á orskurði.<sup>10</sup> Konungr ríss<sup>11</sup> þá við ok svarar svá: “Meistari Jón,” segir hann, “fyrr skulu þer<sup>12</sup> sýna mér<sup>13</sup> ok mínu ríki 20 “meire góðvild enn fyrr, áðr enn ek veiti yðr nokkuð.” Þeir kumpánar sjá fyrir þessi konungs annsuör,<sup>14</sup> at gert er eyrendi þeira, hafa sig aftr<sup>15</sup> í veg<sup>16</sup> á fund

Becket sends messengers to the king to ascertain his mind.

The mission ends in incivilities from the king.

<sup>1</sup> annar, T.

<sup>2</sup> eftir, T.

<sup>3</sup> The words, *er næstr varð byskup í Kancía eftir Thómam*, form a blunder the source of which I cannot point out. The name of Becket's successor at Canterbury was Richard; and the John here mentioned is John of Salisbury, who afterwards became bishop of Chartres (John I.) 1176–80, succeeding William the 1st, 1135–76. Cfr. Herbert: “Misit itaque dominus noster ad hoc sanctae recordationis magistrum Joannem Saresberiensem postea Carnoten-

“sem episcopum, &c.” Migne, *ib.* 1252. Gallia Christ. viii. 1146–1149.

<sup>4</sup> stauddu, T.

<sup>5</sup> aftrlag, T.

<sup>6</sup> stauðugr, T.

<sup>7</sup> aftr, T.

<sup>8</sup> So U.; *erkibyskup*, T.

<sup>9</sup> *rauhsamligri*, T.

<sup>10</sup> So U.; *oskurdi*, T.

<sup>11</sup> ris, T.

<sup>12</sup> þer, T.

<sup>13</sup> mér, T.

<sup>14</sup> So U.; *annsuar*, T.

<sup>15</sup> aftr, T.

<sup>16</sup> *veg*, T.

sengers with the letter of peace, and therewithal the letter excommunicating the bishops, of which mention has been made before. But he sendeth other messengers to king Henry, in order that through them he may learn how the king keepeth the covenant of peace. These messengers were two worthy persons, one of whom was hight Master John, who was archbishop of Canterbury next after Thomas, the other messenger was Herbert of Bosham. These men the archbishop ordereth to ascertain for sure, whether the king means to keep his words concerning the restoration of the properties which in their covenant he had promised to give up. So, if they should find the king standing faithfully by his word, they were to go, on behalf of the archbishop, to England with his errands ; otherwise they were to return to him the same way back again. Now they go and meet king Henry in Normandy, and bring him a greeting on behalf of the archbishop, asking him, shortly afterwards, in frank sincerity, whether the properties, as he had promised at the peace meeting, were now at the archbishop's free disposal. The king turned according to the wonted ways of his mind, giving few answers and evasive. The messengers are bold, and press hard for a decided answer. Then the king raised himself and answered thus :

“ Master John,” says he, “ you must first show me and my realm greater good-will than you have shown heretofore, ere I grant you anything at all.”

The two companions see from these answers of the king that their errand is done ; and then betake themselves away again to meet the archbishop. But when

erkibyskups. Enn er þeir flytja honum, hversu fór, geymir Guðs vin orða sinna, þótt honum mislíke m.jök.

## KAP. LXX.

## AF ERKIBYSKUPI OK KONUNGL

5

Meeting  
between  
Becket and  
the earl of  
Blois.

Meeting of  
Becket and  
Henry at  
Tours.

Henry  
avoids  
giving the  
pax to the  
archbishop.

Nokkurum tíma síðar enn Thómas erkibyskup hefir fundit brest í sættargerð þeira Heinreks konungs um eignir þær, er greindar voru, fellr þat efni til, at stefna er lögð<sup>1</sup> í nefndum stað í millum konungs ok erkibyskups ok Theoballdum<sup>2</sup> jarls af þeim stað, er 10 Blesis heitir, því at greinir nokkurar gengu millum þeira til áskilnaðar. Því ríðr Heinrekr konungr upp í Franz ok dvelur<sup>3</sup> í Turon nokkura daga, því at stefnutíminn er eigi kominn. Enn er heilagr Thómas fregnar til fara konungsins, ríðr hann í Turon,<sup>4</sup> því at 15 honum er forkunnr, at freista enn, hversu at<sup>5</sup> fari með þeim. Enn er konungr heyrir nálægð erkibyskups, sýnir hann í öðru<sup>6</sup> lagi svo mikið tillæti, at hann gerir fyrst sína menn heimolliga langt á veginn<sup>7</sup> fyrir hann, enn ríðr síðan sjálfr móti honum. Enn í aðra 20 grein fylgir þat, at herra Thómas þikkist hafa séð<sup>8</sup> stundum blíðara Heinrek konung, enn nú er í þeira fundi; ok svo stendr þat til kvelds.<sup>9</sup> Enn árla um morgininn eftir<sup>10</sup> sem konungr er klæddr, lætr hann syngja sér<sup>11</sup> sálumessu, ok því hana heldr enn dags 25 officium, at hann vill eigi hætta til at taka pacem af erkibyskupinum, ef hann stæði at messunne. Eftir<sup>12</sup>

<sup>1</sup> *laugd*, T.

<sup>2</sup> So U.; *Thoballdum*, T.

<sup>3</sup> So T.

<sup>4</sup> This meeting took place fifteen days after the meeting at Montmirail, Sunday, the 18th of Jan. John of Salisbury, *Epist.* CCLXXXIV. ed. Giles, ii., p. 201.

<sup>5</sup> So U.; *et*, T.

<sup>6</sup> *audru*, T.

<sup>7</sup> *uegin*, T.

<sup>8</sup> *sied*, T.

<sup>9</sup> *kuellr*, T.

<sup>10</sup> *eptir*, T.

<sup>11</sup> *sier*, T.

<sup>12</sup> *Eptir*, T.

they tell him how things had gone, the friend of God taketh heed of his words, much though the matter mis-liked him.

## CHAP. LXX.

## OF THE ARCHBISHOP AND THE KING.

Some time after archbishop Thomas had found out the breach of the covenant between him and king Henry concerning the properties above mentioned, it befalleth that a meeting is settled in a certain place between the king and the archbishop and earl Theobald of the place called Blois; for there happened to be certain matters in dispute between them. King Henry therefore rideth up into France and tarrieth for certain days in Tours, the time for the meeting having not yet arrived. But when the holy Thomas hath news of the travels of the king, he rideth unto Tours, being curious once more to try, how things may fare between them. But when the king heareth the near approach of the archbishop, he, on the other hand, showeth him so great a consideration, as first to send secretly his men far on the way to meet him, and then to ride himself the same way to meet him. But on the other hand, certain things went along with all this which made lord Thomas think, that he had sometimes seen king Henry in a sweeter mood than he was now at this meeting of theirs, and so matters stand until evening. But early the next morning, as soon as the king is dressed, he ordereth requiem to be sung for him, the which he desireth to be sung rather than the day's office, for the very reason, that he will not chance receiving the kiss of peace from the archbishop, in case he should happen to be standing anigh to him during the mass. After the service, the king hurrieth

1170.

embættit flýtir konungr heldr, hefir<sup>1</sup> sig þegar á hesti fram<sup>2</sup> til fundarins. Thómas erkibyskup verðr seinna búinn, enn sækir eftir<sup>3</sup> röskliga,<sup>4</sup> því at hann hugsar, at ekki skulu þeir konungr svá búit skilja. Enn er þeir finnast, fara í orð nokkur ok sannsögur<sup>5</sup> með<sup>5</sup> þeim. Segir konungr, at erkibyskup úminnist<sup>6</sup> þeira sæmda, er hann segist honum veitt hafa, enn herra Thómas gefr honum aftr<sup>7</sup> í gegn, at konungrinn er með öllu gleymandi þá dygðarþjónustu, er hann segist honum veitt hafa fyrr meirr með allri sinni kunn-<sup>10</sup> áttu. Enn er þeir koma til stefnunnar, halda þeir konungr ok jarl á málum sínum. Er þar góðr tillögumaðr<sup>8</sup> Thómas erkibyskup, ok aðrir með honum, svá at þeir sættast þegar samdægris. Ok sem þat er úte, hefir<sup>9</sup> Thómas erkibyskup frammi<sup>10</sup> sitt efni næsta<sup>15</sup> með kær<sup>11</sup> á konunginn, hví hann venr sik svo lausmálan<sup>12</sup> um þat, er hann heitir<sup>13</sup> guði ok góðum mönnum.<sup>14</sup> Vinnast þeir Theubaldus jarl svá í neyti, at hann gengr nú milli konungs ok erkibyskups. Verðr þá enn svá dregit í síðustu,<sup>15</sup> at herra kon-<sup>20</sup> ungr játar, at gefa aftr<sup>16</sup> jarðirnar, enn biðr byskup fara heim til stóls síns með þeim hætti, at hann sýne sik nytsamligan öllu landsfólki.<sup>17</sup> Skilja þeir við svá búit.

King and archbishop exchange mutual rapproches.

Henry and Theobald make peace through the mediation of Becket and others.

Henry promises once more to give up the property of Canterbury.

They meet at Chaumont.

Enn fám dögum<sup>18</sup> síðar finnast þeir í öðrum<sup>19</sup> stað<sup>25</sup> skamt frá Blesis, er heitir Mons Caluus.<sup>20</sup> Sá fundr

<sup>1</sup> hefir, T.

<sup>2</sup> fram, T.

<sup>3</sup> eptir, T.

<sup>4</sup> rauskliga, T.

<sup>5</sup> sannsaugur, T.

<sup>6</sup> Editor's conjecture; minniz, T., minniz eigi, U.

<sup>7</sup> aftr, T.

<sup>8</sup> tillaugumadr, T.

<sup>9</sup> hefir, T.

<sup>10</sup> frammi, T.

<sup>11</sup> kiaru, T.

<sup>12</sup> lausmálann, T.

<sup>13</sup> heitr, T.

<sup>14</sup> mannum, T.

<sup>15</sup> sidurztu, T.

<sup>16</sup> aftr, T.

<sup>17</sup> lanzfólki, T.

<sup>18</sup> daugum, T.

<sup>19</sup> audrum, T.

<sup>20</sup> So U.; Caluus, T.

somewhat, and betaketh himself on horseback unto the meeting. Archbishop Thomas is longer in getting ready, but followeth at a brisk pace, for he is minded not to allow himself and the king to part in this manner. But when they meet, it cometh to words and mutual reproaches between them, the king saying that the archbishop was right unmindful of the honours which he deemed he had bestowed on him, but lord Thomas returning it him by saying that the king was utterly forgetful of the faithful service which he protesteth he showed him aforetime to the best of his power. Now when they come to the meeting, the king and the earl set forth each his own case. And a wholesome counsellor archbishop Thomas showeth himself, and certain other folk with him, so that the king and the earl came to peace that very day. Now when this matter is over archbishop Thomas bringeth next forward his own affairs, complaining to the king, how untrusty he showeth himself in promises made to God and good people. And in such manner the archbishop and earl Theobald return each others' services, that the earl now goeth between the king and the archbishop. At last the matter was brought once more so far, that the king promised to return the estates, but bade the archbishop go home to his see in such manner as to show himself profitable to all the folk of the land. And thereat they parted.

But a few days after this they met in another place called Chaumont. This meeting was summoned a short

1170. er svá laginn, at erkibyskup fýsir eftir<sup>1</sup> at leita, ef hann kynni fá með Guðs vilja þann kærleik af konunginum, sem forðum var millum þeira. Sýnist ok konungurinn alvarliga glaðr í þann púnkt. Ok þá tala þeir marga hluti með sèr<sup>2</sup> heimolliga, ok í milli ann-<sup>5</sup> arra<sup>3</sup> hluta segir konungurinn svá: “Hvat mun því “valda, herra erkibyskup,” segir hann, “er yðr sýnist “at skipast öndverðr<sup>4</sup> mót vorum vilja? því at ef þèr<sup>5</sup> “vildit oss eftirlátir<sup>6</sup> vera, mundi<sup>7</sup> enn sem fyrr alla “vora góða hluti yðru valdi upp gefa.” Enn til þess-<sup>10</sup> arra<sup>8</sup> orða getr eigi bók, at erkibyskup gefi andsvör. Enn meistari sá, er þetta komponeraði með latínu, segir sæmiliga hugkvæmt hafa vorðit til dæmis, hversu Sathan líkti sik örlátan<sup>9</sup> á fjallinu forðum, ef vor Herra vildi lúta honum. Svá ok sem Græðari vor þoldi<sup>15</sup> freistanar anda þá umleitan síðasta<sup>10</sup> upp á sinn manndóm, svá varð þessi orðræða Heinreks konungs á síðasta fundi þeira erkibyskups, því at ei sáust þeir síðan í þessi veröldu. Vendir konungr í Normandí ok eflir þar stóra setu. Má þat svá upp taka fyrir honum<sup>20</sup> með annarri<sup>11</sup> undirhyggjo, at honum væri byrr<sup>12</sup> at báðu, hversu til tækist um erkibyskups heimkvomu; því at eigi var hann líkligr at lægja ráðleysi sinna undir- manna, síðan hann vildi hvergi nær koma, enn kunni því klókligar at afsaka sik, sem hann sýnist firr manna<sup>25</sup> augum vera.

King Henry  
returns to  
Normandy

<sup>1</sup> *eftir*, T.

<sup>2</sup> *sier*, T.

<sup>3</sup> *annara*, T.

<sup>4</sup> *önduerðr*, T.

<sup>5</sup> *þær*, T.

<sup>6</sup> *eftirlátir*, T.

<sup>7</sup> So U.; om. in T.

<sup>8</sup> *þessara*, T.

<sup>9</sup> *örlátan*, T.

<sup>10</sup> *síðarsta*, T.

<sup>11</sup> *annari*, T.

<sup>12</sup> *byr*, T.

distance from Blois, because the archbishop desireth to see if, by the will of God, he might not gain for himself the same love from the king which once aforetime there was between them. The king also seemed to be sincerely pleased at this. Now they speak many things privily between them, and amongst other matters the king saith :—

“ What may be the cause, lord archbishop,” saith he, “ that it seemeth good to you to set yourself straight against our will? For if you would but be yielding towards us, we should, now as before, deliver all our good things into your power.”

But the book mentioneth not that the archbishop giveth any answer to this.

But the master who wrote these things in Latin, saith that these words had called fitly to mind the example of Satan vaunting his bounty on the mountain, of yore, if our Lord would but fall down to him; as also that as this trial of His manhood was the last that our Healer had to suffer from the spirit of temptation, so likewise took this speech of king Henry place at their last meeting, for they saw each other no more in this world.

So the king wendeth his way into Normandy to establish a great court there. His aim herein may be interpreted, by his wiliness in other things, to have been to sail by a double wind at will, whichever course things should take on the archbishop's return; for he was not likely to repress the recklessness of his underlings, since he chose to be nowhere near; but, on the other hand, he would know, how to excuse himself all the more cunningly, the farther away he was to the eyes of man.



## KAP. LXXI.

1170. ER SANCTE THÓMAS BAD FRACKA KONUNG UM STEIN.

Sem Guðs maðr, heilagr Thómas erkibyskup, hefir <sup>1</sup> dvalizt í Franz at prófa trygðir Heinreks konungs, ört <sup>2</sup> um þrjá mánaði frá þeira sættargerð, ok inn 5 gengr allra <sup>3</sup> heilagra messa í upphafi Novembris, hafði hann verit full sex ár í útlegð; byrjar þá öll <sup>4</sup> ár á þeim blezaða degi, því at fyrr í hans flóttagrein var svá lesit, at hann lét <sup>5</sup> á næstu nótt eftir <sup>6</sup> allra heilagra messu út af Englandi. Í þenna sama tíma <sup>10</sup> býst <sup>7</sup> hann nú aftr <sup>8</sup> til síns fósturlands. <sup>9</sup> Var búaðrinn fljótr, því at eigi var ríkdóm at flytja. Enn þat er greinanda, at <sup>10</sup> var einn maðr, Symon at nafni, enskr at kyni, hann elskar sælan <sup>11</sup> Thómam ok býðr sig í hans föruneysi <sup>12</sup> framm <sup>13</sup> til Englands á kynnis- <sup>15</sup> leit at finna frændr sína, ok þat veitir honum erkibyskupinn. Lyftir <sup>14</sup> nú Guðs maðr burt af Sainz þakkandi staðarfólkinu einkar fagrliga, hverja hæversku þeir höfðu honum tæð <sup>15</sup> í sinne þarvist, víkr síðan til sinna vina, gefandi öllum blíða Guðs <sup>16</sup> kveðju fyrir <sup>20</sup> vel gert sèr ok sínum fátækum mönnum. <sup>17</sup> Síðast finnr hann Frakka konung, því at hans veizlor ok velgjörðir váro svá þakkandi, sem maðr girnist at fá æskiligan enda í góðum hlutum. <sup>18</sup> Ok fyrr enn greinist orð þessi þeira konungs ok erkibyskups, hæfir oss at <sup>25</sup> vikja til frásagnar hëðan <sup>19</sup> í frá um litla stund.

Boeket prepares to go to England.

He takes leave of his friends at Sens,

and pays a farewell visit to the king of France.

<sup>1</sup> *hefr*, T.  
<sup>2</sup> *aurt*, T.  
<sup>3</sup> So U.; *alla*, T.  
<sup>4</sup> *aull*, T.  
<sup>5</sup> *liet*, T.  
<sup>6</sup> *eptir*, T.  
<sup>7</sup> *byz*, T.  
<sup>8</sup> *aptr*, T.  
<sup>9</sup> *fosturlanz*, T.  
<sup>10</sup> Om. in T.

<sup>11</sup> *sælann*, T.  
<sup>12</sup> *fauruneysi*, T.  
<sup>13</sup> *fram*, T.  
<sup>14</sup> *Lyptir*, T.  
<sup>15</sup> *tied*, T.  
<sup>16</sup> So U.; *gud*, T.  
<sup>17</sup> *maunnum*, T.  
<sup>18</sup> So U.; *hlutu*, T.  
<sup>19</sup> *hieþan*, T.

## CHAP. LXXI.

HOW SAINT THOMAS ASKED THE KING OF THE FRENCH  
FOR A STONE.

Now, when God's man, the holy Thomas archbishop, had tarried in France for to try the faith of king Henry for three months full, reckoned from the peace they made between them, and the mass of All Saints cometh on in the beginning of November, he had been in exile for full six year; and all these years begin on that blessed day; for it was read above, in the story of his flight, that he put to sea away from England on the night next following the mass of All Saints. At this time he maketh ready to return to his own country. The preparations were speedily over, for of riches there were none to be carried along. But it must be told that a certain man, Symon by name, and English by kin, who loved the blessed Thomas exceedingly, offereth to enter his travelling company, being minded to go to England to visit his kinsfolk, whereto the archbishop gave him leave. Now the man of God betaketh himself away from Sens, thanking the people of the town in a right fair fashion, for the hospitality they had shown him in his sojourn there; whereupon he turneth to his friends, giving them all a sweet salutation in God, for all the kind deeds they had done to him and his poor companions. Lastly he goeth to visit the king of the French, for in such wise it was fit that his grants and good deeds should be thanked for, even as one yearneth that all good things should have a desirable ending. And now, before we set forth the words that passed at this time between the king and the archbishop, it behoveth to turn to a certain tale, away from this matter, for a little while.

Story about  
a carbuncle  
belonging to  
the French  
regalia.

Þat greina lögteknar<sup>1</sup> bækr, at herra Karólus mikli keisari, er réttliga<sup>2</sup> má kallast forþrís allra Frakka konunga, fór út yfir haf til Jórsala, at frjálssa landit af heiðinna manna valdi, sem Drottinn hefir boðat ok birt Constantino Miklagarðs konungi. Ok sem hann 5 er staddr í Jórsalaríki, bar til þann hlut, er menn kalla tíðendi, at sá náttúrusteinn, er karbúnkúlus heitir, fanst<sup>3</sup> af veiðimönnum.<sup>4</sup> Sá steinn hefir þat kyn, at hann vex<sup>5</sup> framm í enni undir horni þess dýrs, er unicornis heitir. Ok þann tíma sem dýrit 10 fellir hornit eftir<sup>6</sup> þess skipan, sem öllu stýrir, finst<sup>7</sup> sá enn ágæti steinn af þeim mönnum<sup>8</sup> helzt,<sup>9</sup> er fjöll rannsaka<sup>10</sup> fjarri manna bygðum. Enn þeim steine hefir Guð lagt svo mikils háttar lof, at hann má kallast sem herra yfir öllum<sup>11</sup> náttúrusteinum, ok berr<sup>12</sup> 15 þat hæst í því máli, at honum fylgir svá mikil birte, at hann lýsir í myrkri, ok því er hann dýrr, at þeim má þikkja úlíkligt, er fjarri fæðast, sem nú bar hér<sup>13</sup> raun á. Karólus keisari fregnar þat, at steinninn var litlu fundinn, ok því falar hann steininn, enn kaupir 20 síðan með svá miklu verði, at hann reiddi fyrir, sem segist, svá mikit brent silfr sem áttatigir punda, ok svá kostaðan flutti hann þenna karbúnkúlum heim í Franz, ok lét<sup>14</sup> setja í skærasta<sup>15</sup> fingrgull. Var steinninn svá víðr með þeim umgang, er gullit gerði, 25 at nálíga klæddi höndina.<sup>16</sup> Þat var æfínlíga<sup>17</sup> síðan<sup>18</sup> vígslugull Frakka konunga, ok þótti öllum þeim enn mesti mæta gripir ok sæmdar næst sjálfri krúnunni, bæði fyrir dýrleik ok einkanlíga fyrir þat, hverr<sup>19</sup> afiat

<sup>1</sup> laugteknar, T.

<sup>2</sup> riéttlíga, T.

<sup>3</sup> fanz, T.

<sup>4</sup> veidimaunnum, T.

<sup>5</sup> uegs, T.

<sup>6</sup> eptir, T.

<sup>7</sup> finz, T.

<sup>8</sup> maunnum, T.

<sup>9</sup> hellz, T.

<sup>10</sup> rannsaka, T.

<sup>11</sup> aullum, T.

<sup>12</sup> ber, T.

<sup>13</sup> hier, T.

<sup>14</sup> liet, T.

<sup>15</sup> skærastata, T.

<sup>16</sup> haundina, T.

<sup>17</sup> Efinlíga, T.

<sup>18</sup> sípan, T.

<sup>19</sup> huer, T.

Authentic books relate how the lord emperor Charlemagne, who may rightfully be called the glory of all French kings, went out beyond the main unto Jerusalem for to free the country from the power of heathen men ; even as the Lord had announced and revealed unto Constantine the king of Micklegarth (Constantinople). Now when he tarried in the kingdom of Jerusalem a thing befell which men call a portent, inasmuch as a certain magic stone, called carbuncle, was found by some hunting folk. The origin of this stone is such that it groweth on the forehead beneath the horn of the animal which is called unicornis. For at the time the animal sheds the horn according to His ordination Who ruleth all things, this excellent stone is found, chiefly by such people as ransack mountain tracts afar from the dwellings of men. But unto this stone God hath granted such glory that it may be called a lord over all other magic stones, for this reason chiefly, that it beareth about such brightness, that it flameth in the dark, and therefore is so precious, that those who are born afar may think it incredible, even as came to be proven at this time. The emperor Charlemagne heard the news of the stone having been lately found, wherefore he bid for the stone, and afterwards bought it at so great a price that he disbursed for it, as the tale goes, as much silver even as eighty pounds ; and at this price he brought this carbuncle home to France, and had it set in a ring of the sheerest gold. The stone was so broad, together with the setting of the gold surrounding it, that it nearly covered the whole of the hand. This ring was ever afterwards the coronation ring of the French kings, and was held by them all to be the most precious treasure next indeed to the crown itself, both by reason of its great price as also on account of him who procured it. Now things are

hafði. Nú er svá undirbúið, at þeir Lofuis konungr ok Thómas erkibyskup mega tala sinn kærleik; <sup>1</sup> því at konungrinn gerir sik svá blíðan móti þakklætis-  
orðum erkibyskups, at hann spyr innvirðuliga, hvárt sá er nokkurr <sup>2</sup> hlutr, at hann vili þiggja í þeira skiln- 5  
aði; segir at honum skal veitast, hvat er hann vill. Heilagr Thómas horfir þá við ok segist gjarna vilja fingrgull et góða. Konungrinn svarar, sem með nokk-  
urri <sup>3</sup> áhyggju: "Herra erkibyskup," sagði hann, "vel  
" er yðr kunnigt, <sup>4</sup> hversu þat gull er til komit, ok 10  
" með hverri virkt várir forfeðr ok forverendr hafa  
" þat haldit, því at þat er altekit í þessu landi, at sá  
" Frakka konungr, sem gullsins <sup>5</sup> missir, afkynjast  
" svá mjök sínu foreldri, <sup>6</sup> at hann herr <sup>7</sup> eigi um aldr  
" íhalla sína krúno. því hörmum <sup>8</sup> vær þat, er vær 15  
" nenum eigi at veita yðr, þessa bæen, því at eingi  
" vor höfðingjanna hefir til þess hugarkraft <sup>9</sup> at vera  
" öðrum <sup>10</sup> lægri." Erkibyskup svarar: "Þetta skal  
" ok eigi meirr <sup>11</sup> sækja at sinni, enn fá mun ek stein-  
" inn, þótt síðar sè." <sup>12</sup> Þessarri <sup>13</sup> orðræðu þeira var 20  
nær stödd <sup>14</sup> drottningin Frakka konungs, er Aldæla  
hèt, þeira son var Filippus, er síðar mun getið  
verða, því at af karbúnkúlo er nú hær ekki meira  
eðr lengra, því at þessi forspá erkibyskups bíðr  
síðari hluta. Tekr hann nú orlof af Frakka kon- 25  
ungi með signuðum þeira kærleik, <sup>15</sup> sem tárin <sup>16</sup>  
votta.

1170.  
Becket goes  
to Whit-  
sand.

Vendir síðan erkibyskup til sjófar ok þeirar víkr,  
er Uitsand heitir, því at þaðan <sup>17</sup> ætlar hann í haf,

<sup>1</sup> kærleik, T.

<sup>2</sup> nokkur, T.

<sup>3</sup> nokkuri, T.

<sup>4</sup> So U.; kunnit, T.

<sup>5</sup> gullsins, T.

<sup>6</sup> foreldri, T.

<sup>7</sup> her, T.

<sup>8</sup> haurmum, T.

<sup>9</sup> hugarkraft, T.

<sup>10</sup> audrum, T.

<sup>11</sup> meir, T.

<sup>12</sup> sè, T.

<sup>13</sup> Þessari, T.

<sup>14</sup> stödd, T.

<sup>15</sup> kærleik, T.

<sup>16</sup> tarinn, T.

<sup>17</sup> þáan, T.

so arranged that the king and archbishop Thomas may speak of a loving heart together, and the king returneth so sweetly the words of gratitude uttered by the archbishop, that he asketh him beseechingly, whether there be anything that he would like to accept for a parting gift ; and saith that whatever he asketh for, that same thing he shall have. The holy Thomas then turneth about and saith that he will fain have that good golden ring. The king answereth, as if in some degree smitten with regret :—

“ Lord archbishop,” said he, “ You well know, in what manner that gold ring hath been come by, and in what reverence our forefathers and predecessors have held it, for in this land it is held as a sooth saying that whosoever of the French kings should lose the ring, the same may nowise wear an untottering crown ever thereafter. For this reason it grieveth us that it should not be in our power to grant you this prayer ; for no one of us, lords, hath strength of mind to bear being lower than his peers.”

The archbishop answereth : “ At present this prayer shall not be further pressed ; but the stone I shall get, though it may be later.”

At this conversation was present the queen of the French king, who was named Adelaide. Their son was Philip, who will be mentioned hereafter ; for here there is no further nor longer tale to be told, for the fulfilment of this soothsaying of the archbishop awaiteth a later part of the story. And now he taketh leave of the king of the French in blessed love, as their tears even testify.

Then the archbishop wendeth his way seaward unto that bight which is called Witsand, for from thence he

þegar til fellr. Ok meðan<sup>1</sup> hann sitr þar til byrjar í endalykt Nóvembris mánaðar, skal segja nokkuð af Englandi, hversu þat býst í móti honum, eðr hversu bréfum herra páfans ok Heinreks konungs verðr tekit, sem þau kvomu framm.<sup>2</sup> 5

## KAP. LXXII.

ER ÞEIR BYRJA UPP<sup>3</sup> STEYTT MÓTI SANCTE THÓMASI.

Sendiboðar Thómas byskups sem þeir kvomu til Englands með boðskapinn, fara þeir svá með hverri grein, sem hann hafði ráð fyrir gert. Enn sú var 10 hans forsögn,<sup>4</sup> þat er til heyrir Rodgeiri erkibyskupi af Jork, at honum skal berast boðskapr herra páfans á þeiri hátíð, sem hann er heima at stólinum ok stendr sjálfr í messusöng.<sup>5</sup> Enn af sættarbræfi konungs ok erkibyskups er þat greinanda, at þat verðr 15 tjáð justisum ok valdsmönnum,<sup>6</sup> enn einkanliga<sup>7</sup> þeim, er halda erkistólinn í Kancia, at þeir rýme völdin,<sup>8</sup> þótt síðarla sè,<sup>9</sup> enn þessi megi stjórna, sem erkibyskupinn hefir til skipað at búa fyrir sinni heimkvomu. Má þat sýnast vel trúlegt, at þeim er boðskapinn báru 20 hafi hann fengit sitt umboð at veita staðnum forsjó, því at þeira aftrhvarf<sup>10</sup> er eigi greint á fund erkibyskups. Enn þat er ljóst, at sættarbréf þetta heimkomit<sup>11</sup> í landit fær þungan róm af ranglátum, því at þeir fýsast þann frið, er syndugir eignast, enn hata þá friðsemi, 25 sem af Guði leiðir. Ok með því at þeir skilja glögt,<sup>12</sup> með hverju hjarta konungr hefir sæzt,<sup>13</sup> gjörast þeir vísir um, at eigi mun hálsinn borga, þótt enn ræni

<sup>1</sup> meðan, T.<sup>2</sup> fram, T.<sup>3</sup> upp, T.<sup>4</sup> forsögn, T.<sup>5</sup> messusöng, T.<sup>6</sup> valldzmannum, T.<sup>7</sup> einkanliga, T.<sup>8</sup> vauöldin, T.<sup>9</sup> sè, T.<sup>10</sup> aftrhvarf, T.<sup>11</sup> So U.; heimkom, T.<sup>12</sup> glögt, T.<sup>13</sup> sæz, T.

is minded to put to sea as soon as wind at will befalleth. And while he is awaiting fair wind there about the end of November, we shall turn to England to relate, how that country prepareth to receive him, and how the letters of the pope and king Henry are received there when they arrive.

## CHAP. LXXII.

### HOW THEY COMMENCE STRIFE AGAINST SAINT THOMAS.

The messengers of bishop Thomas, when they arrive in England with his message, proceed in all things even as he had counselled them beforehand. But his order concerning Roger archbishop of York was this, that the message of the lord pope should be brought to him on that very feast day, when he should happen to be home at his see, and whilst he should happen to be himself in the midst of saying the mass. But concerning the letter of reconciliation between the king and the archbishop, this is to be related, that it is made known unto justices and officers, but most chiefly unto those, who have in charge the arch-see of Canterbury: that they vacate their office, late though it be, but that such an one should rule there whom the archbishop had ordained to put things to rights against his return home. It seemeth full likely that the archbishop must have given the commission to take care of the see to those who bore his message, for there is no record of their having returned back to him. But it is clear, that this letter of reconciliation arriving in the land, receiveth a heavy judgment from the wicked ones; for they yearn for the peace which is the portion of sinners, but hate that peaceableness which cometh from God. And while they understand clearly in what frame of mind the king must have come to peace, they make sure that their neck will not have to pay it, though they rob the church. For it is



1170. þeir kirkjuna. Því at<sup>1</sup> svá er skrifað, at mikit á fjórða mánaði, þat er frá sættargerðinni framm<sup>2</sup> til Marteinsmessu,<sup>3</sup> tóku þeir, sem áðr, innrentu kirkjunnar, ok því stóðu kornhlöður<sup>4</sup> tómar, er Guðs maðr kom heim. Enn þessum tíðendum af heimkvomu erki-<sup>5</sup> byskups urðu allir góðir menn ok einkanliga<sup>5</sup> fátækir svá fullir af fagnaði, sem blezan sjálfs Drottins væri komin yfir þá, sem síðar mun greinast. Þann fyrirbúnað hefir ok annan<sup>6</sup> erkibyskupinn sinnar tilkvomu, sem byrjar háleitan hirðe sinnar hjarðar, at hann<sup>10</sup> sendir meistara Jón heim til Kanciam með því brèfi til bróður Thóman, er þar stóð æztr<sup>7</sup> maðr í kór, at hann leysi fólkit af Guðs álflu ok erkibyskupsins, þat sem samneytist þrætumönnum<sup>8</sup> eðr<sup>9</sup> bannsettum.

Nú er at segja frá Rodgeiri erkibyskupi, hversu<sup>15</sup> hann flettist or fagnaði, sem ráð váro til sett, at sendiboðit kemr í Jork eina hátíð um pistil í hámessu, sem erkibyskup sitr skrýddr í sæti sínu, tekr hann með boðskap, enn sendiboði ferr<sup>10</sup> til hests.<sup>11</sup> Erki- byskupinn er svá bráðlát, at hann les þegar brèfit,<sup>20</sup> enn flettir af sèr skrúðanum því næst, segir síðan öllu fólki, hátt ok vægðarlaust, hvert áfelli komit er, at þeir skulu allir vera sem bannsettir, er nær váro vígslo unga konungs. Hèr<sup>12</sup> eftir<sup>13</sup> kallar hann til sín Gillibert ok Jocelin, sýnandi þeim, hversu við þá er<sup>25</sup> gert. Enn af þessu efni lögligrar<sup>14</sup> hirtingar við byskupana, efdist svá mikill ófriðr, at klerkar þeira, frændr ok vinir, með fornum fjandmönnum<sup>15</sup> Thóme erkibyskups gera sem herhlaup í landinu at mæta erki-

People rejoice at the return of the archbishop.

Becket sends Master John with letters to brother Thomas of Canterbury.

Archbishop Roger of York is excommunicated.

and the bishops of London and Salisbury.

A great commotion is caused thereby in the country:

<sup>1</sup> at om. in T.; added in U.

<sup>2</sup> fram, T.

<sup>3</sup> i.e. Nov. 11. Cf. Ep. S. Thomæ, xvii., Migne, cxc., 484-487.

<sup>4</sup> kornhlaudur, T.

<sup>5</sup> einkanliga, T.

<sup>6</sup> annann, T.

<sup>7</sup> æztr, T.

<sup>8</sup> þrætumannnum, T.

<sup>9</sup> æþr, T.

<sup>10</sup> fer, T.

<sup>11</sup> hestz, T.

<sup>12</sup> Hier, T.

<sup>13</sup> eptir, T.

<sup>14</sup> laugligrar, T.

<sup>15</sup> fjandmannnum, T.

written, that far into the fourth month, that is, from the date of the peace unto Martinmass, they went on, as before, receiving the income of the church, and therefore the granaries stood empty, when God's man came home. But at the tidings of the return of the archbishop all good people, and the poor especially, were filled with such gladness, as if the very blessing of God had befallen them, as will be related anon. Secondly, the archbishop maketh this preparation for his return, even as it becometh an exalted shepherd of his flock, that he sendeth master John home to Canterbury with a letter to brother Thomas, who was the senior canon there, ordaining him to absolve, on behalf of God and the archbishop, the people who commune with schismatics or excommunicates.

Now we have to tell the tale of archbishop Roger, how he became suddenly reft of joy, even as had been intended, inasmuch as the messenger cometh to York on a certain feast day as the epistle is being read in the high mass, the archbishop, robed in his accoutrements, sitting in his seat, and receiving the message, while the messenger betaketh himself back to his horse. The archbishop in his haste readeth the letter at once, and forthwith flingeth off his raiment, and then declareth to all the people, in a loud and unsparing manner, what censure had fallen on him, inasmuch as all who were present at the coronation of the young king are to be counted as excommunicates. Hereafter he summoneth to him Gilbert and Jocelin, showing them, what had been done unto them. But out of this matter, which was but a lawful punishment inflicted on the bishops, such great enmity now took growth, that their clerks, kinsfolk and friends, in fellowship with old foes of archbishop Thomas, stir up a warfare, as it were, through the country, in order therewith to

1170.  
and Ranulf  
of Broek  
with three  
other  
knights  
raises the  
war cry  
against  
Becket.

skupi, ef hann berr<sup>1</sup> at, því at þeir hafa heyrt, at hann kom í Flandr fyrir nokkuru, ok sitr þar til byrjar. Er fyrir þessu liði dauðasonrinn Ranulf af Brok með fullu bannsettr,<sup>2</sup> ok með honum þrír aðrir, Reinalldr, Guzalin<sup>3</sup> ok Geruasius. Þessir fara með væpntu liði<sup>5</sup> at vakta þær hafnir, sem þeim þikkir von erkibyskups, ok einkannliga<sup>4</sup> þá vík, er Dorobernia heitir, er beinast horfir móti Flandr. Hēr<sup>5</sup> með fylgir sá ofsi ok upp-gangr, at þeir kúga lærða menn til þeira særa, at fylgja sēr, við hvern sem þeir eiga skifta.<sup>6</sup> Ok þó 10 leiðist hēr inn orðskviðrinn, at hverr<sup>8</sup> á sēr vin með óvinum.

The earl of  
Boulogne  
warns  
Becket of  
the danger.

Sem þetta heyrir jarlinn af þeim stað, er Bononia heitir, hversu ófriðliga horfir, minnist hann góðrar vináttu, er lengi<sup>9</sup> hafði staðit með þeim erkibyskupi, 15 ok lætr koma einn lærðan mann í skip til Flandrs, er Milon<sup>10</sup> heitir, með þeim trúnaði, at hann skal sækja á fund erkibyskups ok flytja honum, hverr<sup>11</sup> voði yfir ligg, ef hann ferr<sup>12</sup> til lands<sup>13</sup> síns. Þat far sem Milon klerkr er í, tekr annat lægi í Flandr við Sand, ok 20 þar gengr hann af skipi með öllum<sup>14</sup> skunda ok sækir á fæti fund erkibyskups, sem hann spyr, hvar hann sitr. Ok rætt<sup>15</sup> sem hann kemr við Sand, mætir hann

<sup>1</sup> ber, T.

<sup>2</sup> bannzsettr, T.

<sup>3</sup> While the names of Reginald de Warenne, and Gervase de Comhelle are familiar from the known contemporary writers the name of Guzalin seems peculiar to this life alone.

<sup>4</sup> einkannliga, T.

<sup>5</sup> Hier, T.

<sup>6</sup> skipta, T.

<sup>7</sup> hier, T.

<sup>8</sup> huer, T.

<sup>9</sup> leingi, T.

<sup>10</sup> William of Canterbury calls him dean of Boulogne. Migne cxc., 249. The see of Boulogne

did not exist till nearly four centuries later. But in the "ecclesia "Morinensis," which afterwards was moved to Boulogne, a dean Milo occurs about 1094, but the name of the dean of that church at this time was Evrard. Gall. Christ. x. 1557.

<sup>11</sup> huer, T.

<sup>12</sup> fer, T.

<sup>13</sup> lanz, T.

<sup>14</sup> aullum, T.

<sup>15</sup> riett, T. U. reads: ok sækir aa fæti fund erchibyskups. Sem hann spyr, hvar hann sitr, ok riett sem hann kemr vid Sand, &c.

meet the archbishop if he should arrive; for they had heard that he had come into Flanders a while ago, and was tarrying there awaiting a fair wind. At the head of this company is that son of death, Ranulf of Broc, wholly excommunicated, and three other fellows with him: Reginald, Guzalin, and Gervase. They go with an armed company in order to keep watch of such harbours into which they thought the archbishop likely to put, and most chiefly of the bight called Dover, which is straight-way over against Flanders. Along with this there goeth such violence that they force learned men to swear to yield them their fellowship with whomsoever they may have to deal. Yet withal the saw came true here, that 'each has a friend amid foes.'

For when these things come to the ears of the earl of Boulogne, how matters look unpeacefully, he becometh mindful of the good friendship which for a long time had been between him and the archbishop, and ordereth a certain learned man, by name Milo, to put to sea in a vessel for Flanders, entrusting him with the private errand to go meet the archbishop, and make known unto him, what danger there hangeth over him if he go back to his own country. The vessel, on board which the clerk Milo is, putteth into harbour in Flanders off Whitsand, and there he departeth from the vessel in all haste, and proceedeth afoot to find the archbishop out, when he hath learned whereas he resideth. And as soon as he cometh to the town of Sand he meeteth the archbishop

117a. skjótt erkibyskupinum framm<sup>1</sup> við sjóenn, því at hann hafði spacerat at sjá til veðrsfalls, sem siglingamönnum<sup>2</sup> er kært.<sup>3</sup> Herra Thómas, sem þeir mætast, kennir þegar klerkinn, ok spyr brosandí, hvert hann vill fara, er hann gengr svá varmt. Klerkrinn svarar<sup>5</sup> lítilátliga: “Annat er mitt erendi til yðar,<sup>4</sup> herra, enn “ leita fars, því at minn herra Bononiensis jarl, yðvarr<sup>4</sup> “ vin, sendi mik at birta yðr, hverr<sup>5</sup> háski yðar<sup>6</sup> bíðr, “ ef þær<sup>7</sup> komit til Englands í þenna púnt. Því at “ grimmir illir yðrir óvinir hafa samhleype gert í mót<sup>10</sup> “ yðr, at geyma hafnir með væpntu liði ok forsát.” Signaði Thómas svarar honum: “Trú mēr, son minn, “ at af þeim veg, sem nú er ek kominn ok byrjaðr “ er, víkjum vær eigi, hver ógn eðr óttá, styrkr eðr “ sturlan ríss<sup>8</sup> í móti. Ok þótt ek víska, at líf mitt<sup>15</sup> “ lægi í skauti, skal ek framm<sup>9</sup> halda, því at nógu “ lengi<sup>10</sup> hefir þat fólk ráðlaust farit í minni frávero, “ sem ek játaðist undir í minni vígslu at veita nokk- “ ura vakra umhyggju. Nú gefi þeim Guðs Son ok “ sannr Guð sína miskunn,<sup>11</sup> þótt ek geta eðr fáí eigi<sup>20</sup> “ veitt þeim þá leiðsögn,<sup>12</sup> sem ek væra skyldugr.”<sup>13</sup> Sem hann blezaðr hefir<sup>14</sup> svá talat, sjá þeir, at skip rennr á lægið, þat er nýkomit af Englandi. Ok þegar sem skiparar hafa lægt ok umbúizt, eru þeir spurðir af fylgd erkibyskups, hversu friðligt sè<sup>15</sup> í Englandi<sup>25</sup> eðr<sup>16</sup> fólkí blítt um heimkvomu erkibyskups. Þeir segja flestir, at þat er harðla kært,<sup>17</sup> at hann vitè<sup>18</sup> síns stóls ok fóstrlands, utan einn af kumpánum lýstr annan<sup>19</sup>

A crew arriving from England brings news of the danger awaiting the archbishop.

<sup>1</sup> fram, T.

<sup>2</sup> siglingamaunnum, T.

<sup>3</sup> kært, T.

<sup>4</sup> yduar, T.

<sup>5</sup> huer, T.

<sup>6</sup> yduar, T.

<sup>7</sup> þær, T.

<sup>8</sup> ris, T.

<sup>9</sup> fram, T.

<sup>10</sup> lengi, T.

<sup>11</sup> miskunn, T.

<sup>12</sup> leiðsögn, T.

<sup>13</sup> skyldugr, T.

<sup>14</sup> hefir, T.

<sup>15</sup> sè, T.

<sup>16</sup> epr, T.

<sup>17</sup> kært, T.

<sup>18</sup> vitè, T.

<sup>19</sup> annan, T.

by the seaside, he having gone out for a walk in order to take note of the turn of the weather, as those who are about to sail are fond of doing. As soon as they meet, lord Thomas recogniseth the clerk, and asks him smiling whither he be bound, being so warm with walking.

The clerk answereth humbly : “ I have an errand with you, lord, though not to ask you to give me a berth across ; for my lord the earl of Boulogne, your friend, sent me to make known unto you what peril awaiteth you, if you come to England at this present time. For your evil and cruel enemies have banded together against you, for the purpose of watching the harbours with armed people waylaying you there.”

The blessed Thomas answereth him : “ Believe me, my son, that on no account shall we abandon the way on which we are now, and on which we have proceeded thus far, whatever awe or fear, might or terror, may happen to rise up against us. Nay, even if I knew that my life was at stake, I should make onward still, for long enough have the people wandered about in their folly, during my absence, on whom in my consecration I undertook to bestow a watchful care. Now, may God’s Son, and the true God grant them His mercy, though I may not be able, or not be allowed to afford them the guidance which is due from me.”

When the blessed man had thus spoken, they behold that a certain vessel runneth into the harbour arriving from England. And as soon as the sailors have furled sail and made the vessel snug, they are questioned by the followers of the archbishop as to the state of peace in England, as also as to how fain the people are to have the archbishop home again. Most of them say that people dearly wish that he should come back to his see and to the land of his birth again. But one of the ship-

1170. undir, ok segir svá : “ þær<sup>1</sup> sálugir menn, hvat vili  
 “ þær, sálugir menn, utan sækja yðvarn dauða. Ek  
 “ kann segja yðr, at lægið í Dorobernia býðr yður<sup>2</sup>  
 “ þá forsát, at yðrum formanni er til reiðu bönd<sup>3</sup> eðr  
 “ bane, ef hann hefir sik óvaran.”<sup>4</sup> Menn óttast nokk-<sup>5</sup>  
 ut af orði þessu, ok biðja Guðs mann heldur<sup>5</sup> biða,  
 enn fara svá brátt undir forz ok íllvilja sinna óvina.  
 Enn þar er svá fast fyrir, at hvergi viknar til, því at  
 erkibyskup svarar : “ Ek sér<sup>6</sup> nú England,” segir hann,  
 “ ok ef Guð styrkir minn vilja, skal ek brátt mínum<sup>10</sup>  
 “ fæti á þat stíga. Enn hugsí þær,<sup>7</sup> mínir menn, hvat  
 “ ek segi yðr. Verði svá, at ek komumat eigi með  
 “ lífi til kirkju minnar í Kanciam, þá býð ek yðr,  
 “ upp á hlýðni, at þær<sup>8</sup> flytið mik þangað til graftar<sup>4</sup>  
 “ ef yðr er eigi forlīga bannat. Ok þótt ek hafi nú<sup>15</sup>  
 “ lengr frá verit henni flæmdir, stendr þat, at son  
 “ hvílíst í faðmi mæðr sinnar.” Lýkr svá tali þessu,  
 at mörgum<sup>9</sup> byskupsins ástvinum bítr þá þegar í  
 brún.<sup>10</sup>

People advise Becket to put off the voyage, but he remains deaf to all remonstrances.

## KAP. LXXIII.

20

ER SANCTE THOMAS KOM TIL ENGLANDS OK HEIM Í  
 CANCÍA.

Arrival in England.

Kalendis dag<sup>11</sup> Decembris, þriðja dag<sup>11</sup> í fyrstu viku  
 aðventunnar, þat er, einni nótt eftir<sup>12</sup> messu, lætr í haf  
 út af Flandr til Englands göfugligr<sup>13</sup> Guðs maðr ok<sup>25</sup>  
 sterkr stólpe kristninnar blezaðr Thómas erkibyskup.  
 Falla honum svá veðr með Guðs vilja, at eigi tekr  
 hann Dorobernensem, sem vondir menn hugðu, heldr

<sup>1</sup> *þær*, T.

<sup>2</sup> So T.

<sup>3</sup> *band*, T.

<sup>4</sup> *varann*, T.; *ovarann*, U.

<sup>5</sup> So T.

<sup>6</sup> *sær*, T.

<sup>7</sup> *þær*, T.

<sup>8</sup> *graptar*, T.

<sup>9</sup> *maurgum*, T.

<sup>10</sup> *brunn*, T.

<sup>11</sup> *dagh*, T., i.e., Tuesday, Dec. 1,  
1170.

<sup>12</sup> *eftir*, T. After *eftir*, the name  
of the Saint “Andreasar,” is evi-  
dently omitted.

<sup>13</sup> *göufugligr*, T.

mates elbowing someone else saith: "You doomed people, what do you mean, you doomed people, but to fetch your death? I can tell you, that the harbour of Dover offers you such an ambush that your lord will find there awaiting him bonds or bane if he fare unwarily."

From these words the company become somewhat smitten with fear, and pray the man of God to tarry rather than to go so recklessly against the insolence and ill-will of his enemies. But he is now so firm that he yieldeth nowhither in the least, but answereth:—

"I have England now in view," saith he, "and if God giveth strength to my will, I shall soon plant my foot thereon. But ye, my people, be mindful of what I tell you: If it should so befall, that I may not get alive to my church at Canterbury, I order you, by due obedience, to carry me thither and bury me there, unless you be forcibly forbidden to do so. And although I have now been a long time chased away from her, yet it standeth fast, that a son resteth in the bosom of his mother."

In such way this talk cometh to an end, that the countenance of many a one of the well-beloved friends of the archbishop was turned then and there.

### CHAP. LXXIII.

#### HOW SAINT THOMAS RETURNETH TO ENGLAND AND HOME TO CANTERBURY.

On the first day of December, being the third day of the first week of Advent, one night, to wit, after (St. Andrews) mass, putteth to sea, away from Flanders for England, the glorious man of God, the strong pillar of the church, the blessed archbishop Thomas. By the will of God the wind turneth in such wise, that he maketh not the harbour of Dover, as evil-minded folk had thought he would, but putteth into the same har-



1170. fær hann þá sömo<sup>1</sup> höfn,<sup>2</sup> sem hann lét<sup>6</sup> fyrr út af Englandi, ok Sandvík heitir. Enn er skipið nálgast höfnina,<sup>4</sup> lætr erkibyskup setja upp á skipinu þann sama kross, er Kantúariensis byskupar, í<sup>5</sup> Englandi<sup>6</sup> primates, váro vanir at láta fyrir sér bera. Sem kross- 5 inn kennist, þikkjast þeir vita, hverr<sup>7</sup> fylgir, ok er eigi langt, áðr fátækir koma samt, svá margir sem þá var fremst mátuligt. Ok margir aðrir góðir menn renna til hafnarinnar, styðja skipið í lendingunne, falla framm<sup>8</sup> ok fagna sínum feðr með tárurum ok þess 10 háttar orðum: “Blezaðr sér þú kominn, faðir fátækra “ ok föðurlausra.”<sup>9</sup> Enn heilagr Thómas tekr þeim svo mjúkt sem sínum ástvinum, svá at blezan er þeim með öllu búin. Enn er riddarar heyra, at herra Thómas hefir tekið land í Sandvík, skunda þeir þangað með væpntu 15 liði. Ok er þat sér dekan, er forðum skipaði Heinrekr konungr til fylgdar sælum Thómasi, rennr hann móti þeim ok biðr þá vara sik, segir, at konunginum þikki þat móti sér gert, ef erkibyskupinum er misboðit. Er nú þvilit fyrir hans orð, sem víghugr lægist með 20 þeim, enn þó vilja þeir lágt eðr eigi heilsa erkibyskupinum, sem þeir koma fyrir hann, utan<sup>10</sup> kæra<sup>11</sup> þegar með hörðum<sup>12</sup> anda, hví hann hefist<sup>13</sup> at bannsetja<sup>14</sup> byskupana, enn suma sínum sæmdum af fletta, ok hræra svo alla jörð með ófriði sinna frammferða,<sup>15</sup> 25 herða hugi<sup>16</sup> manna ok þó öngum<sup>17</sup> til bata í sinni tilkvomu: “Má þat ok vita, hversu ferliga þú styggvir “ gamla konung í þvílíkum ósóma, er þú eflir upp á

Adoring crowds meet him on landing.

The knights also march with an armed host to meet him; but are warned by John of Oxford not to insult the archbishop.

They press on Becket to remove the excommunication of the bishops.

<sup>1</sup> *saumo*, T.

<sup>2</sup> *haufn*, T.

<sup>3</sup> *liet*, T.

<sup>4</sup> *haufnina*, T.

<sup>5</sup> *j*, T.

<sup>6</sup> For *í Englandi* Prof. Unger proposes *ok Englands*.

<sup>7</sup> *huer*, T.

<sup>8</sup> *fram*, T.

<sup>9</sup> *faudrlausra*, T.

<sup>10</sup> *utan*, T.

<sup>11</sup> *kæra*, T.

<sup>12</sup> *haurdum*, T.

<sup>13</sup> Editor's emendation; *hefir*, T., which cannot possibly give any sense.

<sup>14</sup> *bannsetra*, T. U.

<sup>15</sup> *framferða*, T.

<sup>16</sup> *hugi*, T.

<sup>17</sup> *öngum*, T.

bour, whence aforetime he put to sea on leaving England, the same being the very harbour of Sandwich. But when the craft approacheth the harbour, the archbishop causeth to be raised aloft on board ship the cross which the archbishops of Canterbury, being primates of England, were wont to have borne before them. Forthwith, on the cross being descried, people deem they know sure enough who must needs accompany it, nor weareth any long time away ere there come together as many poor people as at the utmost might fitly be collected there. Many other good folk beside hie to the harbour, staying the vessel in landing, falling prostrate, and greeting their father with tears and words such as: "Blessed be thou, returning home, thou father of the poor and fatherless." But saint Thomas receiveth them as sweetly as if they were his own beloved kin, and so his blessing is freely ministered to them withal. But when the knights hear that lord Thomas hath made a landing at Sandwich, they hasten thither with an armed host. But this being seen by the dean whom king Henry had aforetime appointed as companion of the blessed Thomas, he speedeth to meet them for to bid them beware, lest the king might deem himself offended against should the archbishop be dealt ill with. Through these words of his, it now appeareth as if the warlike spirit abated within them; yet they will greet the bishop only in a low voice or even not at all, as they appear before him; nay, forthwith they rebuke him in a fierce mind for having excommunicated the bishops and stripped some of them of their honours, thereby disturbing all the land by his unpeaceable proceedings, and exasperating the mind of the people, and yet bettering no one by his return: "Yea and it is well known, how fiercely thou angerest the old king by such shame as thou bringest upon his beloved friends without any cause."

1170. "hans ástvini án öllum<sup>1</sup> tilverka." Enn er erkibyskup sèr, hversu riddarar fara með mikilli bræði, svarar hann með allri hógværi ok segir: "Eigi mun þetta gamla konungi mislíka við mik, því at hirting byskupanna er ger með hans góðri samþykt." Enn<sup>5</sup> er riddarar heyra þessi orð, linast þeir nokkut, ok leggja nú til bænar, at hann muni leysa stórmæli byskupanna. Erkibyskup segir, at þat má vel bíða, þar til er hann kemr í Kanciam. Ok sem riddarar fá ekki af erkibyskupi, hverfa þeir<sup>2</sup> frá samtali hans, ok<sup>10</sup> verða brátt vísir, at þar er einn maðr lærðr í fylgd erkibyskups alt af Sainz, er fyrr<sup>3</sup> var nefndr ok Symon<sup>4</sup> heitir, þenna krefja þeir þegar, sem hann er kominn í land konunganna, at hann svere þeim þann trúnaðareið, að fylgja þeira málum, hvat sem til fellr.<sup>15</sup> Enn her ríss í mót heilagr Thómas með allri röksemd,<sup>5</sup> segir at þessi ok engi lærðra manna skal þeim nokkurn eið vinna, "ef ek er hjá." Sem þessi vegr er luktr fyrir konungs mönnum,<sup>6</sup> líkar þeim því verr, ok snúa til hesta sinna. Enn erkibyskup dvelst í þeim stað<sup>20</sup> um nóttina ok bíðr skjóta, enn ríðr næsta dag eftir<sup>7</sup> sex mílur til Kantuarium. Er þat mikillar frásagnar vert, hverja sæmd hann fékk<sup>8</sup> á þeim veg, líka til dæmis at taka ok Græðara várom veittist forðum, er hann reið síðast til Jórsala, því at klerkar ganga<sup>25</sup> skryddir út af kirkjunum með fögrum<sup>9</sup> söng<sup>10</sup> á veginn víða mót honum með krossum ok heilögum dómum

But hearing that the king has consented to it, they change threats into prayer. But Becket refuses to listen to them until he comes to Canterbury. They then endeavour to force archdeacon Symon of Sens, to swear an oath of allegiance to their cause; but Becket forbids it; and the knights depart in anger.

Archbishop Becket enters Canterbury in great state.

<sup>1</sup> *aullum*, T.

<sup>2</sup> Editor's interpolation; the construction, *fá ekki af erkibyskupi frá samtali hans*, is not Icelandic grammar. The emendation is borne out by the Latin words at the corresponding point of the story in the *Quadrilogues*: "Et ita recesserunt tunc milites."

<sup>3</sup> *fyr*, T.

<sup>4</sup> This Simon, cf. p. 474, is

probably the same person whom Fitzstephen designates as "qui-  
dam archidiaconus Senonensis,"  
*Migne*, exc., 172.

<sup>5</sup> *rauksemd*, T.

<sup>6</sup> *maunnum*, T.

<sup>7</sup> *eftir*, T.

<sup>8</sup> *feók*, T.

<sup>9</sup> *saugrum*, T.

<sup>10</sup> *saung*, T.

But when the archbishop seeth with what great anger the knights proceed, he answereth them in all meekness, saying :

“This the old king will mislike in me nohow, for the chastisement of the bishops has been administered to them with his good consent.”

But when the knights hear these words they soften down somewhat, and now turn into prayer, entreating him to undo the excommunication of the bishops. The archbishop rejoineeth that that matter may well wait until he arrive in Canterbury. And the knights, unable to sway the archbishop in aught, turn away from the talk with him, and soon get a sure knowledge of a certain learned man being amid the following of the archbishop, who had come all the way from Sens ; he being the man aforementioned, hight Symon. Of this man the knights demand forthwith that, having arrived within the dominions of the kings, he swear an oath of allegiance, promising to back their case, whatever may happen. But against this riseth forthwith the holy Thomas, with all authority, saying, that neither shall this nor any other of the learned men swear any oath to them “if I be present.” This way being thus closed to the king’s men, they like their lot even worse than before, and turn away to their horses. But the archbishop tarrieth at this place over night awaiting his palfreys ; but the next following day he rideth six miles onward towards Canterbury. And worthy indeed to be largely told of is the great honour which he received in that journey, one, speaking by way of example, similar to that which was bestowed upon our Healer aforetime, when he rode for the last time to Jerusalem. For clerks proceed full-robed out of the churches in many places on to the road to meet him with sweet singing, with crosses and holy relics, in fellowship with their

1170. ok sínu sóknarfólki, fagnandi sínum feðr ok blezan beiðandi. Enn fátækra manna fjöldi var sá, er varla mátti telja í mótrás ok þjónustu, því at margir af þeim verpa sínum klæðum niðr á veginn fyrir hann, enn hvarirtveggju, ríkir ok fátækir, kalla sem einni 5 röddu: <sup>1</sup> “Blezaðr er sá, er kemr í nafni Drottins.” Nú fyrir þá þröng <sup>2</sup> ok þjónkan, sem fólkit veitir erkibyskupinum, vinst honum varla dagr framm <sup>3</sup> til staðarins, þó at vegrinn <sup>4</sup> væri skamr. Enn er hann kemr til Kantuariam, hefir sú blezut kirkja öngvann <sup>5</sup> 10 heiðr meira, enn hon veitir sínum herra ok erkibyskupi á þann sama dag með klukkum ok klerkum, með skrúða forkunnlegum ok fögrum <sup>6</sup> lofsöngum <sup>7</sup> langt út á veginn í mót honum. Svá leiða synir sinn föður <sup>8</sup> andligan með hátíðligri processione <sup>9</sup> ok fjölda 15 fólksins inn í höfuðkirkjuna staðarins. Enn er Guðs vinr kemr þar, fellr hann fyrir æzta altari alt til jarðar, ok liggir svá, meðan síðasta bæn in processione segist fyrir honum, ok enn nokkuru lengr sakir sinnar góðfýsi. Enn eftir <sup>10</sup> þat gefr hann blezan ok minnist 20 til allra lærðra manna, meira ok minna er at honum gekk. <sup>11</sup> Síðan gengr hann í höll <sup>12</sup> sína ok heldr þann dag hátíðligan með gleði ok fagnaði góðum. Síðla sama dags koma sunnan frá sjó menn erkibyskups, er heim skyldu hafa flutt þann kost, er kirkjunni var 25 nauðzunligr, ok segja eigi úvænligra af sinni ferð, enn konungsmenn kvomu at þeim ok drógu af þeim kostinn með harðri hendi. Herra erkibyskup segir, at þat mun eigi gert eftir <sup>13</sup> konungs boði, ok þann kost mun hann vel aftr <sup>14</sup> bæta. 30

He goes to pray at the altar;

gives out blessing to the people; then goes to the palace.

The same day some of his servants have been robbed by the king's men.

<sup>1</sup> *rauddu*, T.

<sup>2</sup> *þraung*, T.

<sup>3</sup> *fram*, T.

<sup>4</sup> *uegrin*, T.

<sup>5</sup> *aunguann*, T.

<sup>6</sup> *faugrum*, T.

<sup>7</sup> *lofsaungum*, T.

<sup>8</sup> *fauðr*, T.

<sup>9</sup> After *processione* T. adds *segis fyrir honum*, cf. l. 19.

<sup>10</sup> *eptir*, T.

<sup>11</sup> *gieck*, T.

<sup>12</sup> *hauð*, T.

<sup>13</sup> *eptir*, T.

<sup>14</sup> *aptr*, T.

parishioners, and welcoming their father, and praying blessings on him. But of poor people such multitude, as might scarce be told, streamed on to the road to meet him, doing homage to him; for many of them threw their clothes on the road before him, but both conditions of men, rich and poor, call out, as with one voice, saying: Blessed is he who cometh in the name of the Lord. Now, by reason of the throng brought about by the people doing homage to the archbishop, daylight scarcely serveth him to reach the place, although the way was short. But when he cometh to Canterbury, that blessed church had no greater honour to offer than what she bestowed upon her lord and archbishop on that same day, in bells and clerks dressed in robes of passing fairness with beauteous anthems proceeding to meet him far on the way he was coming. In this manner the sons bring their spiritual father in solemn procession, together with the multitude of the people, into the cathedral church of the city. But when the friend of God cometh there, he falleth before the high altar down to the earth, and lieth thus prostrate while the last procession-prayer is being said before him, yea and longer still, on account of his devotion. But after that he giveth out the blessing, and kisseth all the learned men, high and low, who come up to him. Thereupon he betaketh himself to his palace, and celebrateth the day in gladness and joyous feasting. Late on that same day arrive from the south coast the archbishop's men, who were to have brought home the provisions which were necessary to the church, with no more cheering news to tell of their journey than that the king's men came upon them and dragged away from them the provisions with a violent hand. The lord archbishop answereth that that must needs be a deed not done at the bidding of the king, and that he will surely do good boot for these provisions.

1170.

## KAP. LXXIV.

ER BYSKUPAR FÓRU Á FUND<sup>1</sup> HEINREKS KONUNGS AT  
RÆGJA.

The knights  
come to  
Canterbury,  
and with  
them cer-  
tain clerks  
with letters  
from the  
bishops,  
praying for  
absolution  
of the  
bishops.

Discussion  
with the  
knights.

Um morguninn eftir<sup>2</sup> koma riddarar til Kantuárium á fund erkibyskups, er fyrir litlu skildu við hann í 5 Sandvík. Þar eru ok með þeim klerkar, er bera bréf byskupanna, ok hljóðar þat alt eitt sem riddararnir flytja. Hēr<sup>3</sup> til svarar heilagr Thómas: “Byskupar þessir með þeim öðrum,<sup>4</sup> er í stórmælum standa, eru “eigi af oss bannsettir, heldr af sjálfum páfanum, ok 10 “því er ei vart at leysa, heldr hins æðra, er á lagði.” Þeir svara: “Hvat er þá ljósara, enn þú vilt aftigna “konunginn bæði sæmd ok vígslu, síðan þú strengir<sup>5</sup> “þá með stórmælum, er hann vígðu.” Erkibyskup svarar: “Unga<sup>6</sup> konung viljum vēr eigi aftigna, heldr 15 “viljum vēr veita honum tvær vígslur eðr þrjár, ef “hans sómi væri þá meiri enn áðr. Enn þó at vær “höfum þann vilja, er hann áttum vígja, eru þeir alt “eins þínandi, er hann krúnuðu móti lögum<sup>7</sup> kirkj- “unnar. Ok gjarna vildim vēr, at konungrinn legði 20 “þar enga misþykt á. Enn þó í aðra grein virðist oss, “sem vēr ok vart góz sè<sup>8</sup> lítt friðheilagt hēr í landi, “ef enn skal ræna sem fyrr vára menn, ok nú var “gert fyrir litlu suðr við sjó, er vín þat, er vēr “ætluðum kirkjunne, var handdregit<sup>9</sup> brott af várom 25 “mönnum.<sup>10</sup> Nú heyrði yðr vel vinum konungsins,

<sup>1</sup> fund, T.<sup>2</sup> eftir, T.<sup>3</sup> Hær, T.<sup>4</sup> audrum, T.<sup>5</sup> strengir, T.<sup>6</sup> Vnga, T.<sup>7</sup> laugum, T.<sup>8</sup> sè, T.<sup>9</sup> handdregit, T.<sup>10</sup> maunnum, T.

## CHAP. LXXIV.

HOW THE BISHOPS WENT TO MEET KING HENRY WITH  
SLANDEROUS REPORTS.

The next morning came unto Canterbury the knights who had lately parted from the archbishop at Sandwich. With them, too, were certain clerks, carrying letters from the bishops; the purport of which was all of one accord with the words of the knights. To this the holy Thomas answereth :

“ These bishops, together with the other folk who  
“ happen to be under sentence of excommunication, are  
“ not excommunicated by us, but by the pope himself,  
“ and therefore it is not for us to give the absolution,  
“ but for the higher one, who hath passed the sentence  
“ on them.”

They answer : “ What can be clearer then, than that  
“ thou wilt strip the king both of his honour and coro-  
“ nation, since thou encompassest with excommunication  
“ those who crowned him ?”

The archbishop answereth : “ We desire nowise to  
“ dishonour the young king ; far rather would we crown  
“ him twice or even thrice, if his honour might thereby  
“ be made greater than it was before. But though we,  
“ to whom it belonged to crown him, desire this, they  
“ are to be punished, none the less, who crowned him  
“ against the laws of the church. And fain would we  
“ that the king might mislike it in no way. Yet, on the  
“ other hand, it seemeth to us that we and our goods  
“ enjoy but scanty peace and protection in this land, if  
“ our men are to be robbed as heretofore, even as hap-  
“ pened but lately on the south coast, whenas the wine  
“ which we had intended for the church was dragged  
“ by violent hands from our men. Now it would behove  
“ you well, being friends of the king, to set these mat-



117a. “ at tjá slíkt fyrir honum, því at engi sómi er þat  
 “ hans tign, at kirkjan sè vanvirð.” Riddarar flytja  
 því fastara eyrendi byskupanna. Ok um síðer, með  
 ráði sinna manna, svarar erkibyskupinn : “ Til þess, at  
 “ sá friðr haldist, er settr var millum kirkjunnar ok <sup>5</sup>  
 “ konungsins, munum vèr í Guðs nafni ok hans  
 “ myskunn á hætta, at taka þann vanda upp á oss,  
 “ treystandi á mildi herra páfans, at leysa byskupana,  
 “ ef þeir ganga til lögligrar <sup>1</sup> festu fyrir öll sín afbrot  
 “ at standa á kirkjunnar dóme, ok virðum vèr hær 10  
 “ til konungsins blíðu. Enn ef þeir vilja eigi til festu  
 “ ganga, fá þeir öngva <sup>2</sup> lausn af oss, hverr <sup>3</sup> sem þat  
 “ flytr.”

Becket  
promises  
to absolve  
the bishops  
if they enter  
a lawful  
bail.

The knights  
turn away  
amidst  
angry re-  
proaches.

But the  
archbishop  
remains  
silent.  
Becket's  
conditions  
are brought  
to the  
bishops,  
whereat  
bishops  
Gilbert and  
Jocelin heat-  
ate, while  
archbishop  
Eoger per-  
suades them  
to resist  
utterly, and  
to resort to  
the king's  
power.

Fyrir svá fortakit orð snúa riddarar reiðir brutt með  
 ljótri orðræðu ok brigzlum.<sup>4</sup> Einkanliga leggr sig <sup>5</sup> 15  
 framm<sup>6</sup> til þess dauðasonrinn Ranulf af Brok, því at  
 hans bannsettr munnr meinmæilir smurðan<sup>7</sup> erki-  
 byskupinn, at honum má reikna í fulla guðlastan. Enn  
 erkibyskupinn svarar honum öngu<sup>8</sup> orði, ok skilja  
 við svá búið. Flytjast nú brátt byskupunum þessi 20  
 kostaboð, ok er svá skrifað, at Gillibert ok Jocelin  
 mundu hafa þegið þann veg, ef Rodgeir erkibyskup  
 hefði ei spilt fyrir þeim. Fyldist þat með honum,  
 sem ritað er, at hin þriðja tunga sturlar margan.  
 Hann tekr svá til orðs: “ Átta þúshundrat punda <sup>25</sup>  
 “ skærra<sup>9</sup> gullspenninga liggir í várom thesaur, hafi  
 “ þar Guð lof fyrir. Enn mestan<sup>10</sup> hlut þess fjár vil  
 “ eg út gefa, til þess, at minkist þverúð ok þrjózka  
 “ Thómas erkibyskups, ok hans dul ok dramb at engu  
 “ verði. Ok því bið ek ykk, bræðr mínir, látið hann 30  
 “ eigi fá fyrirkomit ykkru siðlæti. Anzit eigi um  
 “ ógnir hans, sækjum heldr allir samt á fund gamla

<sup>1</sup> laugligrar, T.

<sup>2</sup> öngva, T.

<sup>3</sup> huer, T.

<sup>4</sup> brigzlum, T.

<sup>5</sup> sigh, T.

<sup>6</sup> fram, T.

<sup>7</sup> smurdann, T.

<sup>8</sup> öngu, R.

<sup>9</sup> skærra, T.

<sup>10</sup> mestann, T.

“ ters before him ; for it adds no honour to his majesty  
“ that the church should be dishonoured.”

For all this the knights urge the affairs of the bishops still more eagerly. And by the counsel of his men the archbishop answereth at last : “ In order that the peace  
“ may endure which was settled between the church  
“ and the king, I shall then, in the name of God and by  
“ His mercy, venture to take upon ourself the risk,  
“ trusting in the indulgence of the lord pope, to absolve  
“ the bishops, if they will enter a lawful bail for all  
“ their trespasses to abide by the judgment of the  
“ church ; and in thus yielding we have chiefly regard  
“ to the friendship of the king. But if they will not  
“ enter a bail, they will receive no absolution from us,  
“ whosoever may plead for them.”

At this peremptory word the knights turn away in anger, with foul language and reproaches. More especially that son of death, Ranulph of Broc, layeth himself out therefor, for his accursed mouth heapeth abuses on the anointed archbishop in such a manner, that they may be accounted of as full blasphemies. But the archbishop answereth him not one word, and thereat they parted. Now these conditions are soon brought to the bishops, and it is written that the bishops Gilbert and Jocelin would have accepted this way of settlement had not archbishop Roger talked them over. On him therefore was fulfilled what is written : “ the third tongue trou-  
“ bleth many.” He set his word forth in this manner :  
“ Eight thousand shining pennies of gold are lying in our  
“ treasury ; praise be to God therefor. But the greater  
“ part of that hoard will I deliver up, if thereby might  
“ be lessened the obstinacy and wilfulness of archbishop  
“ Thomas, and his pride and presumption come to  
“ nought. And therefore pray I you, my brethren, let  
“ him not bring it about to undo your steadfastness.  
“ Give no heed to his threats ; but let us rather proceed  
“ all together to see the old king, who has stood by us

1170. “ konungs, er allan<sup>1</sup> tíma hefir<sup>2</sup> oss herraliga staðið  
 “ móti várom óvin, ok enn mun hann svá gera, utan<sup>3</sup>  
 “ þit bleyðizt ok víkit frá honum, enn samþykkizt  
 “ hans fornum fjandmanni Thómasi þessum. Munu  
 “ þit þá í hans vingan, sem verðugt er, ei um aldr<sup>5</sup>  
 “ aftr<sup>4</sup> komast, heldr mun hann kalla ykk, sem  
 “ þit erut, huglausir hlauparar ok vondir svikarar, ok  
 “ reka ykk báða, sem lögin<sup>5</sup> dikta, brott úr sínu ríki,  
 “ enn taka upp alt ykkart góz. Hvat liggr þá fyrir  
 “ ykk? Segið mèr, á hverju landi vili þið helst vall- 10  
 “ arar vera ok öreigar<sup>6</sup> brauðs at beiða, öllu<sup>7</sup> flettir,  
 “ ok háðuliga afsettir. Svá ferr<sup>8</sup> sem ek segi, ef þit  
 “ knéfallit þeim, er bann ok bölvan<sup>9</sup> feldi á<sup>10</sup> ykk.”  
 Þvílík orð heyra byskuparnir ok taka með samþykt  
 svo eitrligar fortölur.<sup>11</sup> 15

The bishops  
are per-  
suaded by  
the arch-  
bishop of  
York, and  
they all go  
south over  
sea to Nor-  
mandy to  
meet the  
king, whom  
they pray  
for protec-  
tion.

The arch-  
bishop of  
York's slan-  
der of  
Becket.

Snúast nú allir með einu ráði at fara suðr um sjó  
 á fund gamla konungs, finna þeir hann í Norðmandí  
 ok falla flatir honum fyrir fætr, syrgjandi ok kærandi<sup>12</sup>  
 upp á Thómam erkibyskup, hversu hann hefir grimm-  
 luga<sup>13</sup> viðr þá gert, segja sitt mál með öllu<sup>14</sup> fyrir 20  
 borð borið, utan konungsins rettindavald veiti þeim  
 ásjó, enn stilli svá erkibyskup þann, at hann bannfæri  
 eigi hvern mann. Hèr<sup>15</sup> með leggr Rodgeir þessi orð,  
 því at hann skilr, at konungrinn þarf röskrar<sup>16</sup>  
 brýningar, sakir þess at hann pikkist nú sáttr viðr 25  
 erkibyskupinn, hann segir svá: “ Mèr<sup>17</sup> einum af oss  
 “ kumpánum er, eigi bannat at blaðra tungunni, því  
 “ at hverr er þessum mínum bræðrum veitir samtál,  
 “ skal sekjast af. Svo gerir Thómas við vini þína,

<sup>1</sup> allann, T.  
<sup>2</sup> So T. U. adds með, but it is  
not required.  
<sup>3</sup> utan, T.  
<sup>4</sup> aftr, T.  
<sup>5</sup> laugin, T.  
<sup>6</sup> aureigar, T.  
<sup>7</sup> aullu, T.  
<sup>8</sup> fer, T.

<sup>9</sup> baulfan, T.  
<sup>10</sup> So U.; om. in T.  
<sup>11</sup> fortaur, T.  
<sup>12</sup> kærandi, T.  
<sup>13</sup> grimliga, T.  
<sup>14</sup> aullu, T.  
<sup>15</sup> Hier, T.  
<sup>16</sup> rauskrar, T.  
<sup>17</sup> Mier, T.

“ in a lordly manner all through, against our enemy, the  
“ which he will do still, unless your heart fail you, and  
“ you turn away from him and become of one mind  
“ with his former foe, this Thomas. Then shall ye  
“ right worthily never again in your life be partakers  
“ of his friendship, far rather shall he call you, what  
“ you are, faint-hearted deserters and evil traitors, and  
“ drive you both, according as the law provideth, away  
“ from his realm, and confiscate all your goods. What  
“ fate will then await you? Tell me, in what country  
“ would you like to abide as pilgrims, and bereft of all  
“ wealth beg your bread, stripped of all things, and  
“ shamefully degraded? In this manner that I have  
“ told you must things come to pass, if you bow your  
“ knees to him who let fall on you excommunication  
“ and curses.” The bishops having heard such words,  
received with consent these venomous persuasions.

Now they all bestir themselves in one mind to proceed south beyond sea to go see the old king, whom they meet out in Normandy, falling flat down to his feet grieving, and accusing archbishop Thomas for his cruel dealings with them, saying, moreover, that their cause will be utterly thrown over-board unless the power of the king's justice grant them furtherance, and restrain that archbishop from excommunicating every man. Unto this Roger addeth these words, perceiving that the king requireth to be egged on stoutly, because he deemeth himself now at peace with the archbishop. And thus he proceedeth: “ I am the only one of my comrades  
“ to whom it is not forbidden to move the tongue, for to  
“ every one else, who talketh to these brethren of mine,  
“ it must needs count for a guilt. And Thomas dealeth

1170. “ sem nú megit þær<sup>1</sup> heyra. Svo minnst hann þeira  
 “ sæmda, er þær<sup>1</sup> hafð honum lagt, þvílík er hans  
 “ ömbun<sup>2</sup> til þess orlofs, er þær<sup>3</sup> gáfut honum aftr<sup>4</sup>  
 “ at úsynju í sitt fóstrland. Því at nú skulu allir  
 “ yðar<sup>5</sup> gjalda, ungi konungr ok vær, ok margir út<sup>6</sup>  
 “ ífrá, þat er vart bann, er vær krúnuðum hann. Enn  
 “ vitit efalaust, at hvat er Thómas erkibyskup ferr<sup>6</sup>  
 “ nú framm,<sup>7</sup> hugsar hann nú at vera eigi uppnæmr,  
 “ því at sú riddarlig<sup>8</sup> herneska, er honum fylgir ok  
 “ verndar á bak ok fyrir, skal nú halda hann örugg- 10  
 “ an<sup>9</sup> fyrir hverjum manni.” Sem hér<sup>10</sup> er komit rógi,  
 svarar konungrinn : “ Ef þeir eru allir í stórmælum, er  
 “ vígðu son minn eðr nær váru,<sup>11</sup> munum vær eigi  
 “ einir undan fara.” Rodgeirr svarar : “ Þola megi þær,<sup>12</sup>  
 “ herra, ef þær<sup>12</sup> vilit, enn brátt mun birtast,<sup>13</sup> ef 15  
 “ Thómas skal lengi leika örugg,<sup>14</sup> hvat rangindum  
 “ þær ok aðrir þolit af honum.” Meðr þvílíkum for-  
 tölum<sup>15</sup> hitnar konungrinn dagliga mót erkibyskup-  
 inum, sem brátt birtist<sup>16</sup> enn meir, því at Rodgeirr ferr<sup>17</sup>  
 með þeiri sýslu inn í jólaboð konungsins að<sup>18</sup> rægja 20  
 Thómam erkibyskup. Ok þat er hann sagði fyrr, at  
 erkibyskup hefði nálíga fylgd ok hernesku umbergis  
 sik, mun lýsast í næsta capitulo, hversu satt er, ef erki-  
 byskupinn skal eigi sjálfráði ferða sinna um sýsluna.

The king's  
answer.

<sup>1</sup> þær, T.  
<sup>2</sup> aumbun, T.  
<sup>3</sup> þær, T.  
<sup>4</sup> aftr, T.  
<sup>5</sup> yduar, T.  
<sup>6</sup> fer, T.  
<sup>7</sup> fram, T.  
<sup>8</sup> riddarlig, T.  
<sup>9</sup> auruggan, T.

<sup>10</sup> hér, T.  
<sup>11</sup> vær uarum, T.  
<sup>12</sup> þær, T.  
<sup>13</sup> birtast, T.  
<sup>14</sup> aurugg, T.  
<sup>15</sup> fortaulum, T.  
<sup>16</sup> birtiz, T.  
<sup>17</sup> fer, T.  
<sup>18</sup> að, T.

“ even so with thy friends as you may now hear. In  
“ such manner he beareth in mind the honour which  
“ you have bestowed upon him ; such is the reward he  
“ returneth for the leave you gave him to return freely  
“ back to his country. For now must all folk suffer for  
“ your sake, the young king as well as we, and many  
“ others beside, it being our curse that we crowned him.  
“ But know for certain that in whatever way archbishop  
“ Thomas findeth good to proceed, he meaneth now  
“ not to be easily tripped up ; for the host of armed  
“ knights which accompanieth him and defendeth him  
“ before and behind, is now to keep him fearless of any  
“ man.” Now that the slander had gone thus far the  
king answereth : “ If they are all to be excommunicated  
“ who crowned my son, or were present at his corona-  
“ tion, we alone are not likely to escape.” Answereth  
“ Roger : “ This you may endure, lord, if you like ; but  
“ it shall be shown soon, if Thomas is to play long about  
“ in his security, what wrongs you, as well as others, will  
“ have to bear from him.” Through these persuasions  
the king groweth hotter against the archbishop every  
day, as was soon still more clearly seen, whenas Roger  
was bid to the king’s Yule feast for the purpose of slan-  
dering archbishop Thomas there. But as to what he said  
before about the archbishop having almost a following  
of armed folk about him, it will appear from the next  
chapter, what truth there must have been therein, while  
the archbishop is not to have freedom even to go about  
his own diocese as he pleaseth.

1170.

## KAP. LXXV.

ER THÓMAS ERKIBYSKUP ÆTLAR TIL UNGA<sup>1</sup> KONUNGS.

Becket sends prior Richard to the young king to explain that the excommunication of the bishop involves no ill-will toward him.

Sem heilagr Thómas hefir heima dvalizt í Kantuaría fá daga, gjörir hann sæmiligan mann, priór Rikard af kirkju sæls Martini,<sup>2</sup> til fóstra síns, unga konungs. 5 Ok er hann framm<sup>3</sup> kemr, berr<sup>4</sup> hann konunginum blíða kveðju erkibyskups, þar með flytr hann, sem honum var boðit, at afsaka erkibyskupinn af öllu<sup>5</sup> meingerðarkyni til konungsins, þó at byskuparnir taki lögliga<sup>6</sup> þínu fyrir sína ofdirfð í hans vígslu. Hér<sup>10</sup> með tíár hann, at þetta var gert með orlofi ok samþykkt föður<sup>7</sup> hans. Enn hans erendi ferr<sup>8</sup> þvílíkt, sem þat hafi öngvan<sup>9</sup> skilning. Konungr er barn at aldri ok haldinn með tygtan af ráðuneyti föður<sup>10</sup> síns, ok því þorir hann enga vegsemd at veita erkibyskups eyrendi. 15 Ok síðan priórrenn skilr þat, at enginn veitir honum þar blíða ásjónu, vendir hann brott á fund erkibyskups. Enn er Guðs maðr heyrir af hans ferð, sýnir hann sína staðfesti með ástinni ok býr nú sjálfan sik til ferðar at finna fóstra sinn. Ok svá býst hann heiman 20 í öðru<sup>11</sup> lagi at byrja visíteran, síðan hann leysist af konungs garði, því at þat liggr með hans hjarta, at vitja sinn lýð ok víkja til Guðs boðorða, leysa þá, sem flekkast höfðu<sup>12</sup> af samneyti úmildra, ok hvat annat með þeim endrbæta, er hann sér<sup>13</sup> þörf<sup>14</sup> á vera. 25 Má þaðan styrkt marka, hverja góðfýst hann bar til sinna sauða, at nýkominn af löngum<sup>15</sup> veg,<sup>16</sup> vildi

After a cold reception the prior returns. Now Becket sets off himself on a visit to the young king.

<sup>1</sup> unga, T.<sup>2</sup> Prior of St. Martin's at Dover, Becket's successor in the archbishoprick of Canterbury.<sup>3</sup> fram, T.<sup>4</sup> ber, T.<sup>5</sup> aullu, T.<sup>6</sup> laugliga, T.<sup>7</sup> faudr, T.<sup>8</sup> fer, T.<sup>9</sup> aunguann, T.<sup>10</sup> faudr, T.<sup>11</sup> audru, T.<sup>12</sup> haufdu, T.<sup>13</sup> sier, T.<sup>14</sup> þaurf, T.<sup>15</sup> laungum, T.<sup>16</sup> uegh, T.

## CHAP. LXXV.

HOW ARCHBISHOP THOMAS WAS MINDED TO GO TO THE  
YOUNG KING.

When the holy Thomas had dwelt for some days at Canterbury, he sendeth to his foster son the young king a worthy man, prior Richard of the church of the blessed Martin. And when he cometh to the end of his journey, he bringeth the king a sweet greeting from the archbishop, therewithal setting forth to the king, even as he had been ordained, how the archbishop is utterly guiltless of harbouring any kind of hurtful purpose towards the king, although the bishops receive a lawful punishment for their over-boldness in crowning him. At the same time he (prior Richard) giveth him (the king) to understand that this was done with the leave and consent of his father. But his errand sped as if there was no understanding it. The king is a child of age, and is kept under the correction of his father's counsellors, and therefore he dareth not show any honour to the archbishop's message. And when the prior perceiveth that none there turneth a blithe countenance upon him, he wendeth away betaking himself back to the archbishop. But when the man of God heareth of his journey, he showeth his steadfastness in love, in himself making ready for a journey to meet his foster son. But, on the other hand, he prepareth his journey from home so that he may set out on a visitation tour, when he should have taken leave of the king's court; for it lieth much on his heart to visit his people, and to bring them back to the commandments of God, by absolving those who had been contaminated by communion with the wicked, as also to correct them in whatsoever else he found needful. Hence it may be clearly seen, what good-will he bore towards his flock, that having only lately arrived from a long journey, he would not even then spare



1170.  
Arrives in  
London,

hann eigi sér<sup>1</sup> sjálfum þyrma. Sem hann er búinn, ríðr hann út af Kantuaría ok stefndi til Lundúna. Enn er hann nálægist borgina, renna margir flokkar út<sup>2</sup> í mót honum, bæði burgeisar ok lægra fólk, fagnandi honum með allri kunnastu. Dvelst hann þar 5 um nóttina, ok býst þaðan um morguninn framm<sup>3</sup> í veg;<sup>4</sup> því at ungi konungr sitr þar eigi í þenna þúkt.

Enn nú er þar til at<sup>5</sup> víkja, at ráðuneyti konungsins fregnar þat, at erkibyskup ætlar at finna fóstura. Taka þeir sik saman, at sú ferð skal eyðast fyrir 10 honum, ok þat leggja þeir til, at ríki konungsins, borgir ok bæir, skulu fyrirkveðast honum til allrar yfirreiðar. Svo fallit konungs boð kemr erkibyskupi

and receives  
there a man-  
date from  
the king  
forbidding  
him to tra-  
vel through  
the king-  
dom.

um<sup>6</sup> morguninn, sem hann er ferðbúinn í Lundúnum, at honum fyrirbýzt at fara víðara um ríkit. Guðs 15 maðr svarar svá hær til: "þetta forboð er ekki svá þungt, at vèr vendim várri ferð svá mjök þar fyrir, " enn sakir þess, at burðartíð várs herra Jesú Krists " stendr nálæg, má vera, at betr sè<sup>7</sup> skipað,<sup>8</sup> at vèr " sèm heima ok sæmum þá sömu<sup>9</sup> hátíð með várri 20 " þjónustu." Ok svá snýr hann heim aftr.<sup>10</sup> Enn er hans úvinir heyra, at hann snýr heim aftr,<sup>10</sup> yppa þeir þegar sínum ofmetnaði með illgirndarhótum eðr ógnum, segja at hans háls ok höfuð<sup>11</sup> mun um síðir gjalda síns framhleyppis,<sup>12</sup> einkanliga<sup>13</sup> sú bólvaða<sup>14</sup> kynkvísl Bro- 25 cheis, er fyrr var nefnd, er sælum Thómasi var lengi þung ok hans vinum framar enn flestir aðrir. Ok þar má segja til eitt mark, hversu þat fólk hafði hóflausa öfund<sup>15</sup> til erkibyskupsins ok hans varnaðar, at sá Rodbert klerkr, er hêlt<sup>16</sup> erkistólinn í Kancia í hans 30

He returns  
to Canter-  
bury amid  
the exulta-  
tions of his  
enemies,  
especially  
the Brocks.

<sup>1</sup> *sier*, T.

<sup>2</sup> *uth*, T.

<sup>3</sup> *fram*, T.

<sup>4</sup> *vegh*, T.

<sup>5</sup> *at* added by the Editor.

<sup>6</sup> *um*, T.

<sup>7</sup> *sie*, T.

<sup>8</sup> *skipath*, T.

<sup>9</sup> *saumu*, T.

<sup>10</sup> *aftr*, T.

<sup>11</sup> *hafud*, T.

<sup>12</sup> *framhleyppis*, T.

<sup>13</sup> So U.; *entannliga*, T.

<sup>14</sup> *bauluada*, T.

<sup>15</sup> *öfund*, T.

<sup>16</sup> *hielt*, T.

himself. Now when he is fully equipped, he rideth away from Canterbury, shaping his course towards London. But when he approacheth the city, great throngs of people run out of it to meet him, both burgesses and lower folk, greeting him as best they could. Here he dwelleth during the night, and maketh ready the next morning to proceed on his way, for the young king resideth there not as at this time.

But now must we turn to the counsellors of the king, who on hearing that the archbishop is minded to come and visit his foster son, plot together to cause this journey of the archbishop to come to nought, counselling that he be forbidden to ride through the king's realm, its cities and towns. And the very morning the archbishop was in London ready to proceed on his journey, there cometh to him an order of the king, wherein he is forbidden to journey further through the kingdom. To this the man of God answereth:—"This order is not so weighty as that we should turn our journey so much on that account; but since the nativity of our Lord Jesus Christ is drawing near, it may be that things are better ruled so that I abide at home during that same festival, and honour it with my service." And so he turneth him home again. But when his enemies hear, that he wendeth back home, they raise forthwith their insolence with ill-willed threats or menaces, saying that his neck and head will at last have to pay for his foolhardiness; chief wherein was the accursed family of the Brocs, which has been mentioned already before, and which for a long time had given heavy troubles to the blessed Thomas and his friends, far beyond that which most other people had done. One thing may be related to mark, what a measureless envy those people harboured towards the archbishop and his property, this, to wit, that Robert, the clerk who had charge of the arch-see during the archbishop's exile,

1170. útleigðartíma, sýndi svá mikit hatr, at um daginn,<sup>1</sup> sem hann mætti þeiri lest, er staðnum í Kancia til heyrði, setti hann öxi<sup>2</sup> á einn skjótinn ok hjó af brott rófunu. Má þat skilja, at þetta hans verk leiddi af því syndagjaldi, at erkistólinum hafði hann fleira<sup>5</sup> misboðit í sinni þarvero, höggit skóginn ok smíðat sér þar af herbergi, ok hvat annat er hann lysti dró hann meir í sinn sjóð enn kirkjunnar. Nú má auðsýnt vera, hversu heilögum Thómasi mundi þat afla til verðleiks, at þola jafnan meingerðir enn gjalda öngvar<sup>10</sup> í móti, enn þótt hann stríddi nokkurum með Guðs lögum<sup>3</sup> ok heilagra feðra setningum, var honum þat rétt<sup>4</sup> fyrir Guði, ok því tapaði hann hvergi sinni þolinmæði.

Sitr hann nú heima framm<sup>5</sup> til jólanna með mikilli<sup>15</sup> nytsemd, leysir margan<sup>6</sup> mann af sínum misfellum, ok huggar þá með mjúkri líknarhönd,<sup>7</sup> er áðr váro haldnir fyrir hörmulig<sup>8</sup> syndabönd.<sup>9</sup> Enn af ölmosugæði,<sup>10</sup> er fyrr hêlt<sup>11</sup> hann ok greint var fyrr í öndverðri<sup>12</sup> sögunni,<sup>13</sup> þarf eigi langt gera, því at kraftauðigr<sup>14</sup><sup>20</sup> maðr lét<sup>15</sup> sér<sup>16</sup> hugkvæmt vera, hvat Sannleikrinn talar, at sá einn mun krúnast, er lögliga<sup>17</sup> þreytir ok lyktar með því sína rás.

## KAP. LXXVI.

AF IIIJ. RIDDORUM GUÐS ÓVINUM.

25

On Christmas day the archbishop preaches the sermon

Burðartíð<sup>18</sup> Drottins várs Jesú Krists bar þá á setta dag<sup>19</sup> viku. Syngt herra erkibyskup sjálftr hámessu ok

<sup>1</sup> So T.; Prof. Unger proposes *dag einn*.

<sup>2</sup> *auri*, T.

<sup>3</sup> *laugum*, T.

<sup>4</sup> *riett*, T.

<sup>5</sup> *fram*, T.

<sup>6</sup> *margann*, T.

<sup>7</sup> *líknarhaund*, T.

<sup>8</sup> *haurmulig*, T.

<sup>9</sup> *syndabaund*, T.

<sup>10</sup> *aulmosugædi*, T.

<sup>11</sup> *hiellt*, T.

<sup>12</sup> *aunderdri*, T.

<sup>13</sup> *saugunni*, T.

<sup>14</sup> *kraptandigr*, T.

<sup>15</sup> *liet*, T.

<sup>16</sup> *sier*, T.

<sup>17</sup> *lauglega*, T.

<sup>18</sup> *Burdartid*, T.

<sup>19</sup> *dagh*, T., i.e. Friday, Dec. 25th,

1170.

showed forth his great hatred in such a manner, as, one day, on meeting a certain caravan, which belonged to the see of Canterbury, to heave an axe at one of the sumpter horses and chop off the tail of it. It may well be understood that the wages of his sin brought this deed about, inasmuch as he had in many other ways dealt ill with the see in his sojourn there: cut the wood and reared thereof a house for himself, and whereinsoever else he chose he had enriched his own purse at the cost of the church. Now it must be clearly seen how much it must needs redound to the merit of the holy Thomas, that he is thus ceaselessly suffering ill dealings, without ever returning them with evil; for though he struggled against some folk according to the law of God, and the sentences of the holy fathers, he was doing therein a rightwise deed before God, and therefore he never lost his patience.

Now he abideth at home up to Yuletide in great usefulness, absolving many a man from his trespasses, and comforting with the soft hand of mercy those who had formerly been held in the dread bonds of sin. But as to his good-will in almsgiving, to which he held formerly, and of which the tale has been told before in the beginning of the story, there is no long tale now to be told; for the man now rich in power alone was ever mindful of what Truth saith: that he alone shall be crowned who striveth to fulfil the law, and therein endeth his course.

#### CHAP. LXXVI.

##### CONCERNING FOUR KNIGHTS, THE ENEMIES OF GOD.

This year the feast of the birth of our Lord Jesus Christ fell on the sixth day of the week. The archbishop chanteth the high mass himself, and after the

1170. prædikar lengi eftir<sup>1</sup> evangelium<sup>2</sup> yfir kór kirkjunnar, talandi einkar<sup>3</sup> sætliga af dýrðarfullum hingaðburð várs Herra, ok hvat kristinn maðr skyldast honum fyrir þat lítilæti, er konungr allra konunga lá reifum vafðr í etunni. Heðan<sup>4</sup> ferr<sup>5</sup> hann til siðbótar fólks<sup>5</sup> inu tjándi með sætum áminningum, at þeir forðist misverka, enn uni mannkostum, sæmi heilaga kirkju ok kennimenn, ok óttist Guð yfir alla hluti. Hær<sup>6</sup> eftir<sup>7</sup> víkr hann til sjálfs síns persónu, vottar ljósliga fyrir fólkinu, at eigi mun langt líða, áðr hann lúki 10 sína lífdaga. Fellr þá svá mikit til með honum, at fyrir tárin<sup>8</sup> verðr hann at hvflast um stund. Má þat linhjartaðr maðr greina, hversu þat fólk, er þar var nær, mundi sik þá bæta, því at sárt var mörgu<sup>9</sup> hjarta at missa þvílíks föður.<sup>10</sup> Ok svo harmar lýðrinn, at 15 milli gráts ok andvarpa tala þeir svo lágliga: “Hvar “ fyrir lætr þú oss svo skjótt, góði faðir, eðr hverjum “ gefr þú oss í vald, ef vèr skulum þín missa?”

admonish-  
ing the  
people;

propheying  
of his near  
approaching  
end;

passing cen-  
sures upon  
his enemies;

and excom-  
municating  
Eanulf and  
Robert of  
Brock.

Enn er þvílíkar skúrir táranna hafa gengit um hríð, er þvílíkt sem á blási fagr sunnanvindr ok hreinsi 20 loftið<sup>11</sup> af allri dimmunni, því at þessu næst snýr erkibyskup ræðu sinni, varpar öllum<sup>12</sup> grát, enn ríss<sup>13</sup> upp til röksemdar<sup>14</sup> með frjálsa rödd<sup>15</sup> móti Guðs óvinum, er kirkjuna fyrirmsá, ok svívirða klerkana. Ok svá sem hann birtist áðr heitr í tárlegri viðkomn- 25 ing, svá virðist hann nú harðr með heilagri hirting; nefnir hann sérhvern eiginligu nafni, er mest hafa niðrat kirkjunni, eigi síðr af konungsins höll<sup>16</sup> ok hirðsveitum enn aðra. Ok einkanliga tekr hann frændabálk af Brocheis með hörðum<sup>17</sup> orðum, lýsandi bann 30

<sup>1</sup> *eftir*, T.

<sup>2</sup> *ewangelium*, T.

<sup>3</sup> So U.; *enhar*, T.

<sup>4</sup> *Hiedan*, T.

<sup>5</sup> *fer*, T.

<sup>6</sup> *Hær*, T.

<sup>7</sup> *eftir*, T.

<sup>8</sup> *tárin*, T.

<sup>9</sup> *mörgu*, T.

<sup>10</sup> *faedr*, T.

<sup>11</sup> *loftid*, T.

<sup>12</sup> *aullum*, T.

<sup>13</sup> *ris*, T.

<sup>14</sup> *rauksendar*, T.

<sup>15</sup> *raudd*, T.

<sup>16</sup> *hauull*, T.

<sup>17</sup> *haurdum*, T.

gospel, preacheth a long sermon from the choir of the church, speaking in right sweet fashion of the glorious birth of our Lord, and setting forth what a Christian oweth him for such humility, that He, the King of all kings, should suffer Himself to be wrapped in swaddling clothes in a manger. Then he turneth to the morals of the people, urging in sweet admonitions, that they shun trespasses, but cherish virtue, that they honour the holy church and the ministers thereof, and fear God above all things. Then he turneth to his own person, witnessing before the people that it may come to pass that no long time shall wear away before he come to the close of his life-day. And so greatly was he then moved inwardly that by reason of his tears he had to rest a while. And any one soft of heart may well perceive, how fain the people who were present there would mend their life, for to many a heart it was a matter sore indeed to have to forego such a father. And in such manner did the people grieve there, that amidst weeping and sobbing they spoke thus, in a low voice: "Wherefore leavest thou us so soon, " oh, good father, or into whose power dost thou deliver " us, since we are to lose you?"

But when these showers of tears had been going on for some time, it was as if there arose a sweet south wind ridding the air of all the darkness therein, for now the archbishop turneth his sermon, casting from him all weeping, and trising up in mighty authority and with free voice against the foes of God, who despise the church and bring shame upon the clerks. And hot as he appeared before in his tearful contrition, even as hard seemed he now in his holy chastisement, naming each one by his own name, who had done the most in dishonouring the church, those of the king's court and council no less than others. But the hardest words he layeth chiefly on the family of the Brocs, now pronouncing again excommuni-

1170. at nýju yfir Ranúlf ok þá aðra, sem váro bannfærðir,<sup>1</sup> enn bannsetr nú í stað Rodbert klerk frænda hans fyrir margar sakir stórar ok opinberar. Má þat eigi<sup>2</sup> hær um líða, hversu hann klerkinn beit bannit, því at á þeim sama degi vildi rakkinn eigi þiggja brauð af hans hendi. Sem hinn sæli Thómas erkibyskup hefir fagrliga fyllt várs Drottins embætti á þann signaða dag, gengr hann til borðs með sinni fylgd,<sup>3</sup> svá glaðr uppsitjandi, sem áðr góðfús<sup>4</sup> í kirkjunni. Etr hann kjöt, ok allir aðrir í höllinni,<sup>5</sup> segir því fylgja meiri<sup>10</sup> siðsemd til dýrðar hátíðinni, á hvern dag sem hana berr, at þarnast öngra<sup>6</sup> lofligra Guðs gjafa. Gleðist nú líkamliga hinn sæli Thómas erkibyskup svá langt fram<sup>7</sup> um jólin sem Guð vill með sínum vinum fátækum ok ríkum. 15

He celebrates the feast with a banquet.

The excommunicated bishops spend Christmas with king Henry II, and excite him against Becket.

Enn nú er at greina, hverir þat drekka á garði gamla konungs, er byskuparnir brugga, því at eigi þyrma þeir drottinligri hátíð, heldr efla þeir sama róg upp á sinn andligan föður<sup>8</sup> Thómam erkibyskup, er stund líðr, ok því var drykkur þeira sárliga milskaðr í 20 jólaboðinu, at blóð erkibyskupsins flaut um þeira hjörtu, því at svá magnaðist þeira illgirnd með lygd ok afflutning, sem þeir skilja konungsins hug hrærast þar fyrir meir ok meir, þar til at<sup>9</sup> eigi þarf getum leiða, hver æði inn er gengin með honum, því at 25 áeggjanarorð til hefnda hefjast af hans munni opinberliga. Hvar af svá stendr skrifað millum annara greina: "Einn sá maðr, er þá mitt borð ok át mitt brauð, hóf sinn drambsemisfót mēr í mót."<sup>10</sup> Ok enn í annan tíma segir hann svá: "Af því gózi, er 30 ek gerði,<sup>11</sup> sneri einn maðr upp í háð með vanvirðu

<sup>1</sup> *bannferðir*, T.

<sup>2</sup> *eigi* added by the Editor.

<sup>3</sup> So U.; *fulgd*, T.

<sup>4</sup> *godfus*, T.

<sup>5</sup> *hauðlinni*, T.

<sup>6</sup> *aungra*, T.

<sup>7</sup> *fram*, T.

<sup>8</sup> *faudur*, T.

<sup>9</sup> So U.; *et*, T.

<sup>10</sup> *moth*, T.

<sup>11</sup> In the words, *Af því gózi, er ek gerði*, sticks a corruption which I cannot remove. The corresponding Latin words are, "Unus homo, beneficiis meis exultans, deho- nestat," &c.

cation on Ranulf and the rest who were already excommunicated; then and there he excommunicateth also Robert the kinsman of Ranulf, for many trespasses great and open. And it may not be passed over here, how the excommunication was brought home to him, for on that same day his very cur would not even take bread from his hand. When the blessed archbishop Thomas hath in a right fair manner fulfilled the Lord's command on that blessed day, he goeth to table with his following, being as cheerful now in his seat, as he had been full of devotion before in the church. He, together with all the others within the hall, eateth meat, saying that the reverence for the glory of that feast, on whatsoever day it might happen to fall, was the better shown forth, by not abstaining from any allowable gifts of God. Now let the blessed archbishop Thomas abide in bodily joyance past Yuletide as long as God permitteth, in fellowship with his friends rich and poor.

But now must be told, who they are who drink, in the court of the old king, of the brewing of the bishops; for nowise daunted by the Lord's feast, they spend the time in heaping up the same slander as before against their spiritual father, archbishop Thomas, and therefore the drink of those who were bidden to the Yule feast was right hurtfully mixed, inasmuch as the blood of the archbishop was flowing over their hearts; for their malice gained growth, both through lies and slander, the more so the more they perceived how the very king's mind was changed thereby, until it was no longer a matter of doubt, what mad rage had taken harbour within him, inasmuch as, at last, words of revenge proceeded openly from his mouth; whereof this, amongst other things, is written: "A certain man there was, who received my bread, and lifted the heel of his pride up against me." And again, another time, he speaketh thus: "The good I did him a certain person turned into mockery, dishonouring us



1170. " til vár, fótum troðandi konunga kyn ok alt vart  
 " ráð." Ok enn talar hann : " Illa er sá kostr kominn,  
 " er þeir eta ok drekka, sem kallast vinir' várir, enn sjá  
 " ok heyra svívirðu vára, ok láta þó hefndalaust."  
 Enn þeir illir menn, sem áðr váro fullir með dauð- 5  
 ligri öfund<sup>1</sup> til Thómas erkibyskups, þikkjast nú hafa  
 fengið nóga framnhvöt,<sup>2</sup> at fremja þá Guðs reiði, sem  
 þeim bjó í brjósti. Veljast hær til, sakir sinnar úgiftu,<sup>3</sup>  
 einkanliga<sup>4</sup> fjórir riddarar heimelligir af herbergi kon-  
 ungsins, er svá heita : Reinaldr Bjarnar<sup>5</sup> son, er sik 10  
 til öngrar<sup>6</sup> ílsku sparir, dýrum líkr í sínum grim-  
 leik;<sup>7</sup> annarr<sup>8</sup> Hugi af Morevil,<sup>9</sup> þat þýðist : af dauðra  
 manna þorpi, ok sannliga er hann nú maðr dauðans ;  
 þriði heitir Vilhjálmr af Traz,<sup>10</sup> er oftliga<sup>11</sup> hefir sik í  
 riddaraskap framit frækiliga, ok þó í öðru<sup>12</sup> lagi hefir 15  
 hans lifnaðr svá ljótr verit, at fornar illgerðir hrinda  
 honum fram<sup>13</sup> í glæpiligsta verk ; fjórði heitir Rikarðr  
 Brito,<sup>14</sup> harðr maðr ok vándskaparfullr, nú vorðinn

The king rebukes his knights for not avenging on Becket the slight he had offered him.

And four knights conspire together to murder the archbishop.

<sup>1</sup> *aufund*, T.

<sup>2</sup> *framhuaut*, T.

<sup>3</sup> *ugiptu*, T.

<sup>4</sup> *einkannlega*, T.

<sup>5</sup> Here Ursi is straightway translated into the corresponding case of the Icelandic personal name Björn = Bear; hence Bjarnarson = Fitz-Urse. He was of a Norman family, his ancestor Urso or Ourse had come over with the Conqueror, and his father had become possessed of the manor of Willetton, in Somersetshire, in the reign of Stephen, to which Reginald had now succeeded. Collinson's Somersetshire, III., 487.

<sup>6</sup> *aungrar*, T.

<sup>7</sup> *grimleik*, T.

<sup>8</sup> *annar*, T.

<sup>9</sup> Hugh of Moreville was at this time justice itinerant of the counties of Northumberland and Cumberland, and a knight of extensive

landed property in both counties. Foss's Judges of England, I., 279.

<sup>10</sup> Tracy was a younger son of John de Sudley, and Grace de Tracy, a daughter of William de Tracy, a natural son of Henry I. He had large estates in Gloucestershire, and Somersetshire. Rudder's Gloucestershire, 770; "Liber Nigri" Scaccarii, 115-221.

<sup>11</sup> *optliga*, T.

<sup>12</sup> *audru*, T.

<sup>13</sup> *fram*, T.

<sup>14</sup> So altered by the Editor; *Brido*, T., which, unless a blunder of a later scribe, is a form given to the name by none of the contemporary writers. He was of a Norman family which had come over with the Conqueror, and now had estates in Somersetshire. Collinson's Somersetshire, III., 514.

“ and treading the whole royal family and all our council under foot.” And again he speaketh:—“ Ill bestowed is the food eaten and the drink drunk by those who are called cur friends, but seeing and hearing our shame leave it unavenged none the less.” But the wicked men who were full of deadly envy to archbishop Thomas already, deem that now they have been urged hard enough to commit that deed of God’s anger which abode in their mind. In this undertaking embark, by reason of their dire lucklessness, chiefly four knights from among the household of the royal palace, hight Reginald the son of Björn (= Fitz-Urse) who spareth himself in no wickedness, and is like unto beasts in his cruelty; another, Hugh of Moreuil, that is, being interpreted, of the thorp of the dead, and, in sooth, he is now a death’s man; the third is hight William of Traz, who hath often shown himself dauntless in knightly prowess, yet is one whose manner of life hath been so lewd, that past misdoings push him onward into the wickedest of all deeds; the fourth is called Richard Brito, a rough fellow and full of wickedness, having now become from a rational

1170. verr enn skynlauss<sup>1</sup> af skynsamri skepnu. Þessir nú nefndir herða sína hugi, at ráða svá til metorða ok meiri sæmda af konunginum, at fara sem fljótast til Englands at taka af lífi hinn mesta úvin<sup>2</sup> konungsins, Thómam erkibyskup. Ok at þessi forhugaðr glæpr<sup>3</sup> öflugist<sup>3</sup> því framar yfir þeira höfuð, leggja þeir til sambands eiða stóra, at engi bleyðist nè bregðist or þessi fyrirætlan. Hèr með láta þeir alla þá menn eiða vinna, er í samvitand eru þessara úráða,<sup>4</sup> at hvárki nærr nè firr skulu þeir þeira trúnað opinbera, ok ein- 10 kanliga<sup>5</sup> geyma, at erkibyskupinn megi eigi víss verða; því at þeir ætla honum flóttann, enn eigi staðfesti sem prófaðist.

## KAP. LXXVII.

AF HINUM HEILAGA THÓMASI ERKIBYSKUPI, ER HANN 15  
SAGÐI FYRIR SÍNA ÞÍSL.

The knights  
set off from  
Flanders for  
England,

Nú<sup>6</sup> sem þessir fjórir riddarar, frægir af illgerðum, eru samsvarnir í dauða erkibyskupsins, sem formenn ok leiðtogar glæpsins, hafa þeir sik til sjófar með svá mikið herfólk, sem í því lýsist, at sitt skip tekr<sup>7</sup> 20 hvern<sup>7</sup> þeira sèr til farar ok af sinni höfn.<sup>8</sup> Varð hèr einkannlig nýlunda ok þeim sjálfum til mikillar blekkingar, at á hávetrar tíma fá þeir svá æskiligt leiði, hvern<sup>9</sup> fyrir sik, út af Flæmingjalandi, at þeir taka allir sömo<sup>10</sup> höfn<sup>11</sup> á Englandi, ok sækja svá 25 frá<sup>12</sup> skipum í þann stað, sem þeir höfðu á kveðit til ráðagerðar. Enn þat er einn kastali, er Salltundr<sup>13</sup> heitir,

<sup>1</sup> *skynlaus*, T.

<sup>2</sup> *vvin*, T.

<sup>3</sup> *aufgiz*, T.

<sup>4</sup> *vrada*, T.

<sup>5</sup> *einkannliga*.

<sup>6</sup> *Nv*, T.

<sup>7</sup> *huer*, T.

<sup>8</sup> *haufa*, T.

*huer*, T.

<sup>10</sup> *saumo*, T.

<sup>11</sup> *haufn*, T.

<sup>12</sup> Editor's conjecture; *fram*, T. U.

<sup>13</sup> The name is here evidently corrupted from Saltwude or Saltaude, the *u* before the *d* having been read as *π*.

being worse than the beast. These persons just named take now courage, meaning thereby to earn more honours and dignities from the king, proposing to go at their speediest to England in order to take the life of the king's greatest foeman, the archbishop Thomas. And in order that this preconcerted wickedness may the surer fall on their heads, they bind fellowship between them by mighty oaths, that no one shall fail in, or slink away from, the proposed deed. Besides this, they take oaths from all persons who happen to know of this scheme, that neither anigh nor afar shall they make the secret public, but shall keep it heedfully, in order that the archbishop may not have any sure news thereof; for they thought that he would take to flight, but would nowise show that steadfastness that came to be proven afterwards.

#### CHAP. LXXVII.

##### CONCERNING THE HOLY THOMAS HOW HE PROPHESED ABOUT HIS MARTYRDOM.

Now when these four knights, famed for evil deeds, have sworn to bring about the death of the archbishop, being heads and leaders in that deed of wickedness, they betake themselves unto the sea with a host of armed men, the multitude of whom appeareth therein that each of them hireth a vessel for himself, wherein severally to make the journey each from his harbour. Now here came to pass a thing of strange novelty, and one that greatly blinded them, inasmuch as in the very heart of mid winter each one gat such wind at will, on putting out from Flanders, that they took all together one and the same harbour in England, and then proceeded from their vessels unto a certain place wherein they had settled to concert their counsels, that place being the castle called Saltwood, six miles distant from Canterbury.

1170.  
and hold a  
meeting at  
the castle of  
Saltwood.

Ranulf and  
Robert of  
Broc join  
the knights.

One of the  
knights re-  
veals the  
conspiracy  
to the arch-  
bishop's  
cellarer, who  
again tells  
the news to  
Becket.

sex mílur fra Kantuaria. Skildu þessir aumo menn svá sína farsæld lands ok lagar, at þat mundi gott fyrir Guði, er þeir sætlast fyrir, ok því sýni<sup>1</sup> loftið<sup>2</sup> sína blíðu. þat kemr ok þeim í hug, at vel muni fyrir mælast verkit, ok til frægðar ok fremdar metast 5 af mörgum manne. Enn sú skýring er sannari hær yfir, at nú var kominn sá tími, er Guð vildi frjálsa sinn kæra<sup>3</sup> vin, heilagan Thóman, frá þessa heims vesöld ok nauðum, ok veita honum eilífa ömbun<sup>4</sup> fyrir sín störf<sup>5</sup> ok staðfesti. Enn er Ranúlf af Brok 10 ok Robert frændi hans spyrja til riddaranna, ríða þeir þegar til móts<sup>6</sup> við þá með mörgu<sup>7</sup> fólki í fyrr<sup>8</sup> nefndan kastala, ok setja þar málstefnu til ráðagerða, hversu þeim mætti minst fyrir verða at fanga erki-byskupinn. Enn at dikta dauðaráð í háleitum tíma 15 var enn til mikils auka þeira glæps ok vesalda, því at þessi var hinn þriði dagr jólanna. Munu þeir nú þar sitja.

Enn þessu næst<sup>9</sup> er til víkjanda, hver vissa kemr sselum<sup>10</sup> Thómasi af þeira fyrirætlan.<sup>11</sup> Sá var einn 20 riddari, er fór sunnan um sjó með þeim, samsvarinn í þann trúnað, at segja öngum<sup>12</sup> frá, hvat þeir berast fyrir, enn ekki var hann þeim framar samliðe til manndrápsins. Hann á sèr góðan félaga<sup>13</sup> í Kantuaria, er heitr Rikarðr, kjallaramaðr á garðinum. Riddarinn 25 flýtir sinni ferð með þeiri ástundan framm<sup>14</sup> til Kanciam at rjúfa heldr úsæran<sup>15</sup> eið, enn samlagast með leynd svá ljótu manndrápi, því segir hann Rikarði fé-laga<sup>16</sup> sínum allan<sup>17</sup> þeira trúnað. Enn Rikarðr gerir

<sup>1</sup> So altered by the Editor, *sýnir*,  
T.

<sup>2</sup> *loptid*, T.

<sup>3</sup> *kiara*, T.

<sup>4</sup> *ambun*, T.

<sup>5</sup> *staurf*, T.

<sup>6</sup> *móz*, T.

<sup>7</sup> *maurgu*, T.

<sup>8</sup> *fyr*, T.

<sup>9</sup> *nest*, T.

<sup>10</sup> *selum*, T.

<sup>11</sup> *fyrirætlan*, T.

<sup>12</sup> *augum*, T.

<sup>13</sup> *feelaga*, T.

<sup>14</sup> *fram*, T.

<sup>15</sup> *usæran*, T.

<sup>16</sup> *feelaga*, T.

<sup>17</sup> *allann*, T.

Their happy journey by land and water these men so interpret as that what they had in their mind must be good before God, wherefore the air must needs hold forth to them its favours. It also entereth their mind that the work will be well spoken of and will be deemed one of fame and glory by many folk. But a truer interpretation thereof is this, that now had come the time, when it was the will of God to free His dear friend, the holy Thomas, from the misery and wretchedness of this world, and to bestow on him an eternal reward for his labours and his steadfastness. But when Ranulf de Broc, and Robert, his kinsman, hear the news of the arrival of the knights, they ride straightway with many people to meet them at the castle aforesaid, where they hold a parliament with them, taking counsel as to how they might take the archbishop prisoner with the least trouble to themselves. But to concert a deadly scheme even on a high-day was but to eke still further out their wickedness and misery, for this was the third day in Yule-tide. Now leave we them sitting there.

But next to these things we have to turn our story about to tell, how the blessed Thomas got certain news of the scheme of the knights. A certain knight had come with them from south over the sea, and had sworn in fellowship with them, on his faith, not to tell any one what they were busy about, but was no further a bounden fellow helper of theirs towards bringing about the manslaughter. He happeneth to have a good friend in Canterbury called Richard, a cellarer at the bishop's court. The knight hieth on his journey towards Canterbury with the purpose to break rather an oath which was unlawfully sworn, than to join in a secret fellowship for such a wicked manslaughter, and therefore he letteth out to his friend Richard the whole secret; and Richard doeth

1170. sína skyldu, at hann birtir erkibyskupinum sjálfum öll<sup>1</sup> þessi orð. Enn Guðs maðr gjörir sér ekki meira um enn svarar: “Ógnarhót eru slíkt,” segir hann.
- Another of the archbishop's household confirms the news.
- Litlu síðar kemr sá maðr fyrir hann, er Reinaldr heitir, þar heimamaðr, hann hefir riðit at eyrendum<sup>5</sup> sínum brott í þýinn, ok flytr svá erkibyskupinum, upp á sína sál, at fjórir riddarar eru komnir sunnan um sjó, ok sitja nú á ráðagerð í kastala Saltundr. Hér<sup>2</sup> með flytr hann, at Ranulf með sínum félögum<sup>3</sup> er ok þar kominn, ok reið með svá miklum dyn ok dáligum<sup>4</sup> 10 orðflaugum, at hann hrærði<sup>4</sup> víða sjóbygðina, segir, at því er ekki at leyna, at þeir ætla<sup>5</sup> blóði eftir<sup>6</sup> leita. Enn er Guðs maðr heyrir svá vísan hátt ok forsögn<sup>7</sup> sinnar þínu, kemst hann við mjök, ok má þat skilja í tvenna grein, at hann harmaði Guðs skepnubörn<sup>8</sup> 15 ok þar með sína andliga undirmenn, at þá skyldi lysta svo ljótrar hörmungar.<sup>9</sup> Þýða má ok þessi tár, at hann líktist Guðs syni í því, er tárfealdist<sup>10</sup> fyrir sína þíning, því at veikleikr<sup>11</sup> manns<sup>12</sup> náttúru hefir þat eiginligt, at líkamr berr ótta sinna kvala, þótt innri maðr sè<sup>13</sup> 20 sterkr ok óttalauss<sup>14</sup> fyrir eilífðar ömbun.<sup>15</sup> Ok sem aflettir<sup>16</sup> nokkut tárunum, svarar erkibyskup Reinaldi: “Son minn,” segir hann, “vèr þikkjumst þat með “sönnu<sup>17</sup> vita, at vèr mununi með vopnum veginn “verða. Enn búinn skulu þeir oss finna at þola fyrir<sup>25</sup> “Guðs nafni þísl ok dauða.” Sè<sup>18</sup> hér nú dýrðligan mann, er fyrir tvö<sup>19</sup> vætti<sup>20</sup> svá nálægrar<sup>21</sup> þínu hefst
- Becket is deeply affected by the information.
- but resolves to abide his fate.

<sup>1</sup> *aull*, T.

<sup>2</sup> *Hier*, T.

<sup>3</sup> *feelogum*, T.

<sup>4</sup> *hrærdi*, T.

<sup>5</sup> *ætla*, T.

<sup>6</sup> *eftir*, T.

<sup>7</sup> *forsögn*, T.

<sup>8</sup> *skepnubörn*, T.

<sup>9</sup> *hormungar*, T.

<sup>10</sup> *tarfældiz*, T.

<sup>11</sup> *veikleikr*, T.

<sup>12</sup> *manz*, T.

<sup>13</sup> *sè*, T.

<sup>14</sup> *ottalaus*, T.

<sup>15</sup> *ömbun*, T.

<sup>16</sup> *aflettir*, T.

<sup>17</sup> *sönnu*, T.

<sup>18</sup> *sè*, T.

<sup>19</sup> *tuau*, T.

<sup>20</sup> *vætti*, T.

<sup>21</sup> *nálægrar*, T.

his duty in revealing all those words to the archbishop. But the man of God maketh no more thereof than answering: "These are dreadful threats," says he. Shortly afterwards there appeareth before the archbishop one of his household, called Reginald, who had ridden away to a certain town on his own errands, and he bringeth the archbishop the news, upon his soul, that four knights have come from south over sea and are sitting in consultation at the castle of Saltwood. He bringeth the news besides that Ranulf with his following has also arrived there, having ridden with such din and foul brawling that he shook the dwellings of the folk living by the sea; saying too, that there is no concealment about their mind being bent on blood. But when the man of God heareth his martyrdom foretold in so certain a manner, he is sorely moved inwardly, which may be interpreted in a twofold manner: firstly, because he grieved over the children of God's creation, and thereby, too, the spiritual folk below him, that they should lust for so dread a calamity. These tears may also be taken to signify that he resembled herein the Son of God, who shed tears before his passion; for it is the nature of the weakness in man, that the body beareth about fear of its pain, although the inner man may be strong and fearless for the sake of the eternal reward. Now when his tears abate somewhat, the archbishop answereth to Reginald:—"My son," says he, "we think we know for certain that we shall be slain by weapons. But they shall find us ready to suffer pain and death for God's name." Behold now a glorious man, who in despite of having two witnesses testifying to his near approach-



1170. eigi til flóttar eða<sup>1</sup> verndar með mannfjölda, heldr stendr úhræddr<sup>2</sup> í landtjaldi Drottins með óbeygðum hjálmi himneskrar miskunnar.<sup>3</sup>

The knights leave Saltwood for Canterbury.

Er nú hëðan<sup>4</sup> aftr<sup>5</sup> at víkja til riddaranna, at á fjórða dag jólanna ríða þeir brott af kastalanum<sup>5</sup> framm<sup>6</sup> til Kantuariam, ok koma þar síð um kveldit, hafa lítið um sik, sem eyrendamenn eru vaner. Vopnaburð hafa þeir lítinn, enn sveinar þeira fara síðar með þeira fólkvopn ok herskrúða, ok þó svá, at þat er alt undir nokkurri huldu. Þá dveljast þeir um<sup>10</sup> nóttina, ok má þat með skynsemd svá taka, sem þeir hëldi<sup>7</sup> nokkurn vörð,<sup>8</sup> at erkibyskupinn mætti<sup>9</sup> hvergi brutt leita.

### KAP. LXXVIII.

#### HVERSÚ GUDS ÓVINIR MEINMÆLTU HINN HEILAGA 15 THOMAM ERKIBYSKUP.

Entry of the knights into the archbishop's palace, and interview and altercation with the archbishop.

Á fimta dag jólanna, sem hinn seli Thómas erkibyskup sitr í sinni höll<sup>10</sup> með virktarfólki sínu, bæði<sup>11</sup> lærdum<sup>12</sup> ok úlærdum,<sup>13</sup> klerkum ok klaustramönnum,<sup>14</sup> koma inn fyrir hann vopnlausir fjórir riddarar fyrr<sup>20</sup> nefndir, ok fara svá snúðigt, at þeir gefa eigi gaum, þótt þeim verði heilsat af nokkurum. Eigi kveðja þeir ok erkibyskupinn, utan<sup>15</sup> Reinaldr Bjarnar son byrjar svá: "Vër<sup>16</sup> erum sendir af Heinreki konungi " gamla at bera þer<sup>17</sup> hans boðskap. því kjós, hvárt<sup>25</sup> " þat gerist í fæð<sup>18</sup> eðr fjölda." Erkibyskup svarar:

<sup>1</sup> eða, T.

<sup>2</sup> úhræddr, T.

<sup>3</sup> miskunnar, T.

<sup>4</sup> hiedan, T.

<sup>5</sup> aftr, T.

<sup>6</sup> fram, T.

<sup>7</sup> hielldi, T.

<sup>8</sup> vaurd, T.

<sup>9</sup> mætti, T.

<sup>10</sup> haull, T.

<sup>11</sup> bæði, T.

<sup>12</sup> lærdum, T.

<sup>13</sup> ulærdum, T.

<sup>14</sup> klaustramaunnum, T.

<sup>15</sup> utan, T.

<sup>16</sup> Vër, T.

<sup>17</sup> þier, T.

<sup>18</sup> fæð, T.

ing passion, betaketh himself not to flight, nor setteth up a defence for himself with multitudes of people, but standeth in the tabernacles of the land of the Lord with an unbent helmet of heavenly grace.

Now hence we return to the knights, who on the fourth day of Yule ride away from the castle towards Canterbury, where they arrive late in the evening, and make but little of themselves, even as is the wont of errand-bound travellers. They bear about but few weapons, but their swains come behind, bringing their weapons and armour, yet in such manner, that it is all more or less hidden away. Here they tarry over night, which may reasonably be taken to mean, that they kept watch about in order that the archbishop might nowhere get away.

#### CHAP. LXXVIII.

##### HOW THE ENEMIES OF GOD SPOKE EVIL AGAINST THE HOLY ARCHBISHOP THOMAS.

On the fifth day of Yule, as the archbishop sitteth within his palace in the fellowship of his honourable men, both learned and unlearned, clerks and cloister-folk, the aforesaid four knights appear before him un-weaponed, and proceed in such a swift and reckless fashion, that they give no heed to the greetings that some people give them. Nor give they any greeting to the archbishop, but Reginald Fitz-Urse beginneth straightway thus: "We are sent here from king Henry the old to bring you his message. Choose therefore, whether it shall be done where men are few or many." The archbishop answereth: "Choose your-

1170. "Ráðit sjálfir," sagði hann. "Talim þá heldr einsliga," sagði hann Reinaldr, "enn þessir gangi út."<sup>1</sup> Erki- byskup lætr<sup>2</sup> svá vera, biðr sína menn rýma um stund. Enn lokusveinn lætr<sup>2</sup> þó opnar dyrnar, at þeir megi sjá sinn herra í hásetinu.<sup>3</sup> Enn eftir<sup>4</sup> litla<sup>5</sup> hríð, sem erkibyskupinn skilr, at orðræða<sup>5</sup> Reinalds hefir ekki leynt eða<sup>6</sup> merkiligt, kallar hann lokusvein- inn, biðr hann inn láta bræðr<sup>7</sup> ok lærða<sup>8</sup> menn, enn aðrir bíði úti. Ok sem þeir inn koma, talar erki- byskup: "Nú megi þer, herrar, fram<sup>9</sup> hafa þat, er yðr 10 "líkar." Reinaldr svarar: "Fyrir þitt kjör heyri "sem flestir, hvat vèr segjum þer.<sup>10</sup> Þat er boðskapr "gamla konungs, at þú farir án dvöl á fund unga "konungs, veitandi honum þá virðing, sem þú skyld- "ast herra þínum ok krúnoðum konungi." Erkibyskup 15 svarar: "Hvat skyldumst vèr<sup>11</sup> honum?" Reinaldr segir: "Þat ert þú skyldari at vita enn vèr." Erki- byskup talar: "Fyrir fám nóttum kvomu þau boð af "unga konungi til vár, at vèr skyldim eigi koma í "hans augu, ok öngva<sup>12</sup> yfirferð hafa um borgir ok 20 "bæi,<sup>13</sup> er honum til heyra. Nú vitum vèr eigi sök<sup>14</sup> "til þess; því at ekki þikkjumst vèr honum hafa í mót "gert." Reinaldr svarar: "Ekki er svá. Margt er "öðruvís<sup>15</sup> geranda enn hær til hefir þú gert, ok því "þarf yfirbótar." Herra erkibyskup svarar: "Eigi 25 "vitum vèr, hvat á stendr at bæta<sup>16</sup> við konunginn, "því at vèr ætlum<sup>17</sup> oss gert hafa þá virðing, sem "vèr erum honum skyldbundinn." Riddarinn segir: "Þú hefir heldr margt brotið móti konungligum sóma,

<sup>1</sup> gangi út added in U.; om. in T.

<sup>2</sup> lætr, T.

<sup>3</sup> hásetinu, T.

<sup>4</sup> eftir, T.

<sup>5</sup> orðræða, T.

<sup>6</sup> eða, T.

<sup>7</sup> bræðr, T.

<sup>8</sup> lærða, T.

<sup>9</sup> fram, T.

<sup>10</sup> þer, T.

<sup>11</sup> vèr, T.

<sup>12</sup> öngva, T.

<sup>13</sup> bæi, T.

<sup>14</sup> sök, T.

<sup>15</sup> öðruvís, T.

<sup>16</sup> bæta, T.

<sup>17</sup> ætlum, T.

“ self,” said he. “ Talk we then rather alone together,” said Reginald, “ but let these go away.” The archbishop agreeth to this, and bids his men go away for a while. But the doorkeeper leaveth the door open in order that they may see their lord in the high seat. But in a little while, when the archbishop understandeth that Reginald has nothing secret or weighty to say, he calleth the doorkeeper and biddeth him let in the brethren and the learned men, leaving the others outside. And when they come in, the archbishop speaketh : “ Now, my lords, you “ may bring about whatever you choose.” Answereth Reginald : “ By thy choice then let as many as may be “ hear, what we have to tell thee. It is the command “ of the old king that you go without delay to meet the “ young king, and yield him the honour you are bound “ to show to your lord and crowned king.”

Answers the archbishop : “ What is the duty I owe “ him ? ”

Says Reginald : “ That you ought to know rather than “ we.”

Speaketh the archbishop : “ A few days ago there “ came a message from the young king to us, saying “ that we were not to come into his eye-sight, nor to “ pass through towns or cities belonging to him. Now “ we know no cause therefor, for we do not find that “ we have done aught against him at all.”

Reginald answers : “ Not so. You will have to do “ many things otherwise than heretofore you have done “ them, and therefore it behoves thee to do boot now.”

The lord archbishop answereth : “ We know not what “ thing remaineth still to be done boot for to the king, “ for we deem we have done him all the honour, which “ we are in duty bound to yield him.”

The knight answereth : “ Thou hast trespassed in “ right many things against royal honour, and therefore

1170. “ ok því býðr þér gamli konungr, at vinna trúnaðar-  
 “ eið syni hans, at gera betr hēðan<sup>1</sup> frá.” Erki-  
 byskup svarar : “ Hvar fyrir skulum vēr skyldugr at  
 “ vinna eið veraldligum<sup>2</sup> konungi? Utan<sup>3</sup> ef skulu  
 “ þér vita, at eigi vēr ok engi vorra klerka skal honum<sup>5</sup>  
 “ hēðan<sup>4</sup> ífrá eiða vinna, því at als of margir eru  
 “ áðr eiðar útþröngdir<sup>5</sup> af mörgum manni með rang-  
 “ indum, sem í því lýsist, at margir eru þar fyrir  
 “ bæði<sup>6</sup> meinsæramenn<sup>7</sup> ok bannsettir. Enn þar sè<sup>8</sup>  
 “ Guði lof fyrir, at vēr höfum margan frjálsat af 10  
 “ meinsærum<sup>9</sup> ok af banni leyst, ok svá skulum vēr  
 “ framleiðis,<sup>10</sup> ef Guð lofar.” “ Nú at því,” segir ridd-  
 arinn, “ leys byskupana af banni eftir<sup>11</sup> konungsins  
 “ boði, því at honum úvitanda hefir þú þá rangliga  
 “ pínat með banns áfelli. Ok því skaltu þar standa 15  
 “ skyn fyrir ok alt annat, er konungrinn vill á þik  
 “ kæra.”<sup>12</sup> Erkiþyskupinn svarar: “ Byskupa þá höfum  
 “ vēr eigi bannsett, heldr páfinn sjálfr, ok ef þér vilit  
 “ þat kæra,<sup>12</sup> sækir<sup>13</sup> hann þar um, því at þat mál  
 “ kemr ekki til vor.” Riddari talar: “ Ok þó at þú 20  
 “ afsakir þik svá, hefir þat gerzt fyrir þína áeggjan.”  
 Heilagr Thómas svarar: “ Með því at herra páfinn  
 “ vildi þeim refsá sín rangindi, er mēr ok minni  
 “ kirkju unnu<sup>14</sup> svá mikla meingerð, játum vēr þat  
 “ oss með öngum<sup>15</sup> hætti<sup>16</sup> mislíka.” Riddarinn talar: 25  
 “ Sú var mikil meingerð at vígja várn unga konung,  
 “ konungs ok drottningar son, hverjum er öll<sup>17</sup>  
 “ konunglig erfð til heyrir með rēttu.<sup>18</sup> Enn því

<sup>1</sup> hepan, T.<sup>2</sup> veralligum, T.<sup>3</sup> Utan, T.<sup>4</sup> hepan, T.<sup>5</sup> útþröngdir, T.<sup>6</sup> bæði, T.<sup>7</sup> meinsæramenn, T.<sup>8</sup> sè, T.<sup>9</sup> meingerum, T.<sup>10</sup> framleiðis, T.<sup>11</sup> eftir, T.<sup>12</sup> kæra, T.<sup>13</sup> sækir, T.<sup>14</sup> unnu, T.<sup>15</sup> öngum, T.<sup>16</sup> hætti, T.<sup>17</sup> öll, T.<sup>18</sup> rēttu, T.

“ the old king ordereth thee, on an oath of fidelity to his son, to do better henceforward.”

The archbishop answereth : “ Wherefore should we be bound to give an oath to a king of this world ? Without doubt shall you know, that neither I, nor any of my clerks, shall henceforth yield him any oath, for far too many oaths have been forced out of many a man already by injustice, as may be seen from the many who, by reason thereof, have become either perjurers or excommunicates. But praised be God, that many an one we have freed from perjury and absolved from excommunication, and to the same we shall steadfastly hold henceforth, God permitting.”

“ Now, after this,” says the knight, “ absolve thou the bishops from the excommunication, according to the command of the king, for without his knowledge hast thou wrongfully chastened them by visiting them with an excommunication, and thou wilt have to render an account therefor, and for all other things which the king may bring forth in accusation against thee.”

Answereth the archbishop : “ Those bishops we have not excommunicated, but the pope himself ; and if you have a mind to bring that matter up in accusation, you must sue him therefor, for that matter cometh not to us.”

The knight answers : “ Yet, although thou excusest thyself in this manner, this has been done by thy persuasion.”

The holy Thomas answereth : “ Inasmuch as the lord pope would punish for their iniquities those who would do so great hurt to me and my church, we confess that we mislike it in no wise.”

Speaketh the knight : “ A great hurt, indeed, to consecrate our young king, the son of the king and the queen, to whom all the royal patrimony belongeth by

1170. “ munt þú svá reikna, at þú vilir þessu næst<sup>1</sup> krún-  
 “ unni af honum kippa, ok vera síðan bæði<sup>2</sup> kon-  
 “ ungr ok erkibyskup; enn svá vel mun Guð gera,  
 “ at eigi um aldr munt þú konungr verða.” Sæll<sup>3</sup>  
 Thómas minnst þá orða Salómonis: Reiðr maðr vekr<sup>4</sup>  
 þrætur,<sup>4</sup> enn vitr maðr lægir<sup>5</sup> uppvaktar. Svá gerir  
 hann ok blezaðr, leggjandi lint andsvar við beiskan  
 hug, þá er hann segir svá: “ Á<sup>6</sup> öngvan<sup>7</sup> hátt, herra  
 “ Reinaldr, skal þat prófast, at ek haldi mik til kon-  
 “ ungs. Því síðr viljum vèr nú ok minka heiðr unga<sup>10</sup>  
 “ konungs, at vèr hyggjum þann öngvan<sup>8</sup> mann í  
 “ veröld, mínum herra konunginum, feðr hans, fráschild-  
 “ um, at hann elski meir ok vili betr enn ek. Enn  
 “ hvat er byskupum er gert, skulu þeir vel vita, at  
 “ þar um var engu framm<sup>9</sup> farit nema með blíðri<sup>15</sup>  
 “ samþykt herra konungsins, rétt<sup>10</sup> svá, sem vár flutn-  
 “ ingr fengi<sup>11</sup> fyrir herra páfanum fremst aflat.”

Enn er riddarinn heyrir þessi orð, at með konungs  
 samþykt sè<sup>12</sup> byskuparnir bannsettir, talar hann með  
 forzi miklu: “ Heyr, heyr,” segir hann, “ údæmilig<sup>13</sup> 20  
 “ údygð, er þú segir upp á konunginn, at hann hafi  
 “ orlofað bannsetning sinna kærustu<sup>14</sup> vina, gerandi  
 “ hann svo at falsara. Má þèr þetta með engu móti  
 “ þolast, ok eigi viljum vèr lengi þola, hans heimo-  
 “ ligir menn ok traustir vinir.” Enn er Reinaldr 25  
 hefir svá sagt, mæla<sup>15</sup> þeir við erkibyskup margfalda  
 fólsku, hlaðandi brigzli á brigzli, ok ógnarhóti yfir  
 heitan. Enn Guðs maðr hefir sik þolinmóðliga móti  
 þeira vanstíltri ákefð,<sup>16</sup> svarandi með linum orðum:

<sup>1</sup> næst, T.

<sup>2</sup> bæði, T.

<sup>3</sup> Sæll, T.

<sup>4</sup> þrætr, T.

<sup>5</sup> lægir, T.

<sup>6</sup> Áa, T.

<sup>7</sup> öngvan, T.

<sup>8</sup> öngvan, T.

<sup>9</sup> fram, T.

<sup>10</sup> rielt, T.

<sup>11</sup> fiengi, T.

<sup>12</sup> sei, T.

<sup>13</sup> udæmilig, T.

<sup>14</sup> kærustu, T.

<sup>15</sup> mæla, T.

<sup>16</sup> aakiefð, T.

“ rights. But thy manner of reckoning is this, that thou wilt next wrench from him the crown, and thereupon set up yourself as king and archbishop together ; but God in his mercy will avert that thou be ever a king.”

Then the blessed Thomas remembereth the words of Solomon : An angry man stirreth up strife, but a wise man allayeth strife when stirred up already. The same he doeth, the blessed archbishop, by laying a soft answer on a bitter heart, in that he speaketh thus : “ In no wise, sir Reginald, shall it ever come to be said, that I hold myself forward to be a king. . And all the less have we now a will to minish the honour of the young king, that we deem there is not one man in the wide world, outtaken my lord the king, his father, who loveth him more or wisheth him better than I do. But as to what has been done to the bishops, you must know and be sure, that in that matter no proceedings have been set afoot except such as the king sweetly consented to being undertaken according as at my utmost I might prevail with the pope.”

When the knight heareth these words, that the bishops are excommunicated by the consent of the king, he speaketh in great ire : “ Listen, listen to the unexampled treachery, in saying of the king that he hath permitted the excommunication of his dearest friends, thereby making him a false traitor. This must be endured in no manner whatever, nor will we, his familiar men and trusty friends, bear long with such a thing.”

But when Reginald hath spoken in this manner, they talk manifold folly to archbishop Thomas, heaping reproaches on reproaches, and menaces on threats. But God's man beareth up with longsuffering against their wanton recklessness, answering them in soft words :



1270. “ Síðan vèr kvomum heim í land með<sup>1</sup> miskunn<sup>2</sup>  
 “ Guðs, þoldum vèr margháttar meingerðir, hót ok  
 “ brigzli, forz ok fjár upptehtir; svá mjök njótum vèr  
 “ þess sáttarbréfs, er konungrinn sendi heim í land,  
 “ at vèr ok várir menn skyldim hvervetna frið hafa. 5  
 “ Ok sjálfir þú, Reinaldr, vart þar nær<sup>3</sup> á sættarfund-  
 “ inum,<sup>4</sup> er þat gerðist.” Úvin<sup>5</sup> sannleiksins Rein-  
 aldr svarar: “ þar kom ek aldri nær,<sup>6</sup> því veit ek  
 “ þar ekki af” Erkibyskup svarar þá hógliga: “ Guð  
 “ þat veit, þar sáum vèr þik, ok þú heyrðir, hversu 10  
 “ þat bréf var gert til verndar oss ok váro gózi nær<sup>6</sup>  
 “ ok firr.” Riddarinn talar: “ Hví kærðir<sup>7</sup> þú eigi, ef  
 “ þú þóttist mishaldinn?”<sup>8</sup> Guðs maðr svarar: “ Þótt  
 “ vèr kærðim,<sup>9</sup> fást eigi því heldr réttendin, því at  
 “ ungi konungr ok hans ráð skipar engin mál úspurð- 15  
 “ um gamla konungi. Því munu vèr svá framm<sup>10</sup>  
 “ fara hêðan<sup>11</sup> frá sem byrjar einn erkibyskup, gefa  
 “ upp fyrir öngum<sup>12</sup> dauðligum manni oss ok vár  
 “ kirkjunnar réttendi<sup>13</sup> nè<sup>14</sup> fyrir nokkurum af réttum<sup>15</sup>  
 “ veg víkjandi.” Þessu orði svarar einn riddari: 20  
 “ Heitan, heitan,” segir hann, “ eða<sup>16</sup> hvárt<sup>17</sup> munt þú  
 “ eigi bannsetja oss alla?” Annarr<sup>18</sup> svarar: “ Guð sè<sup>19</sup>  
 “ mèr hollr, at þat skal eigi verða, nógu marga hefir  
 “ hann nú áðr bannsett.” Í þessu hlaupa þeir upp  
 sverjandi við Guðs Sonar nafn, at þeir hafa honum 25  
 als of lengi þolt svá mikit forz ok rangindi, ok  
 hann skal sjálfan sik fyrir hitta. Ok sem herra  
 byskup sèr æði<sup>20</sup> þeira svá ákafandi, at þeir mega

<sup>1</sup> med added in U.

<sup>2</sup> miskunn, T.

<sup>3</sup> nær, T.

<sup>4</sup> sættarfundinum, T.

<sup>5</sup> So U.; Us only in T.

<sup>6</sup> nær, T.

<sup>7</sup> kærdir, T.

<sup>8</sup> mishaldinn, T.

<sup>9</sup> kærðim, T.

<sup>10</sup> fram, T.

<sup>11</sup> hieðan, T.

<sup>12</sup> öngum, T.

<sup>13</sup> réttendi, T.

<sup>14</sup> nè, T.

<sup>15</sup> réttum, T.

<sup>16</sup> eða, T.

<sup>17</sup> Editor's alteration; hvat, T.

<sup>18</sup> Annarr, T.

<sup>19</sup> sè, T.

<sup>20</sup> æði, T.

“ Since we by the mercy of God, arrived in this country, we have suffered manifold wrongs, threats and reproaches, insolence and robbing of property; such is the great fruit we reap from that letter of peace which the king sent to the country, ordering that we ourself and our men should have peace everywhere. And you, Reginald, yourself were present at the peace meeting when this happened.”

That foe of truth, Reginald, answereth: “ I never was near it; therefore know nothing about it.”

Answers the archbishop lowly: “ God knows, I saw you there; and you saw the letter which was framed there for the protection of our goods far and near.”

The knight speaketh: “ Why didst thou not complain, if thou deemedst thyself wronged?”

God’s man answereth: “ For all our complaints right is to be had none the more, for the young king and his counsel settle no case without asking the old king. Henceforth therefore we must proceed as it behoveth an archbishop to do, and we shall give up to no mortal man either ourself or the rights of the church, nor shall we depart for any one out of the right path.”

To this word answereth a certain knight: “ Threat, threat!” says he, “ or shalt thou not excommunicate all of us?”

Another says, “ So help me God, that shall never be; he has excommunicated plenty enough already.”

Thereat they jump up, swearing by the name of God’s Son, that they have endured far too long from him all his great insolence and wrongs, and that he shall pay for it himself. And when the archbishop sees their fury so raging as that they may not keep themselves

1170. sik eigi kyrra hafa, svarar hann því hógligar með háleitri staðfesti, ok segir svá: “Finnit þann mann, “ er yðr flýi, því at við skal ek taka, ok horfa í “ Guðs bardaga. Leitið þann, er hót yður<sup>1</sup> flýi, því at “ sverð yður<sup>1</sup> eru ei búnari at bíta, enn ek er at láta 5 “ lífit.” Reinaldr segir þá: “þær lærðir<sup>2</sup> menn, geym- “ it þenna konungsins fanga, erkibyskupinn, at þær “ selit hann framm<sup>3</sup> þá er<sup>4</sup> hann verðr krafðr af “ konungs boði.” Erkibyskup tekur máli fyrir klerk- ana ok segir svá: “Ætli<sup>5</sup> þær mæri flótta? Nei,” 10 segir hann, “hyggit af því. Því sótti ek heim til “ kirkju minnar, at ek skilst eigi við hana fyrir ógnir “ yðrar.” Eftir<sup>6</sup> þetta ganga riddarar út af höllinni<sup>7</sup> með miklu<sup>8</sup> harki ok háreysti ok svá framm<sup>9</sup> í garð- inn til félaga sinna. Enn þat má góðr maðr hug- 15 leiða, hverja hörmung<sup>10</sup> þeira manna hjörtu mundu nú þegar hafa, er elskuðu erkibyskupinn sem sjálfa sik, þar sem þeim má réttlíga<sup>11</sup> virðast, at dauða sverð sè<sup>12</sup> skekin<sup>13</sup> yfir hans höfði.<sup>14</sup>

The knights leave the palace to join their following.

## KAP. LXXIX.

20

ER RIDDARAR KOMA<sup>15</sup> TIL SINNAR FYLGÐAR.

The knights declare to their fellows that they are minded to take the archbishop's life; and arm as if for a battle. Sem riddarar koma til sinnar fylgðar, herklæðast<sup>16</sup> þeir sem í sterkasta stríð, birtandi ljósum orðum fyrir öllum sambandsmönnum, at þeir skulu ganga at erki- byskupinum, “því at vèr hyggjum, at hann sè<sup>17</sup> feigr, 25 “ sakir þess ráðleysis er með honum lýsist.” Svá greinist vopnaburðr fjöggra riddara, at þeir bera bæði<sup>18</sup>

<sup>1</sup> yðr, T.<sup>2</sup> lærðir, T.<sup>3</sup> fram, T.<sup>4</sup> er added in U.; om. in T.<sup>5</sup> Etlit, T.<sup>6</sup> Eptir, T.<sup>7</sup> haullinni, T.<sup>8</sup> myklu, T.<sup>9</sup> fram, T.<sup>10</sup> haurmung, T.<sup>11</sup> ríettlíga, T.<sup>12</sup> see, T.<sup>13</sup> skekinn, T.<sup>14</sup> hausði, T.<sup>15</sup> So U.; kom only in T.<sup>16</sup> herklæðaz, T.<sup>17</sup> see, T.<sup>18</sup> bæði, T.

quiet longer, he answereth still more lowly in exalted steadfastness, and speaketh thus: "Seek the man who fleeth from you; for as to me, I mean to take whatsoever befalleth me, and to meet the fight of God with my countenance turned towards it. Seek him who fleeth from your menaces, for your swords are not readier to cut than I am to give up my life."

Then says Reginald: "Ye learned men, guard this king's prisoner, the archbishop, that he be given up by you when he shall be claimed by royal mandate."

The archbishop, intercepting the clerks, speaketh thus: "Do you mean that I shall take to flight? No," says he, "think it not. For this reason did I return home to my church, that I will not depart from it for your threats."

After this the knights go out of the palace with great noise and loud brawling into the court to their fellows. But a good man may well consider what sore grief must be harboured in the hearts of those, who loved the archbishop even as themselves, inasmuch as they must now rightly think that the sword of death is being shaken over his head.

#### CHAP. LXXIX.

##### HOW THE KNIGHTS CAME BACK TO THEIR FOLLOWERS.

When the knights come to their followers, they put on armour as if they were about to enter the brunt of a battle, declaring in clear words to all their accomplices that they are minded to set on the archbishop; "for we deem he is a doomed man, by reason of that folly which is manifestly in him." Of the armour of the four knights it is told that they bore both bole-axes and swords,

1170. bolóxar<sup>1</sup> ok sverð, enn einn þeira bryntröll<sup>2</sup> ok sverð,—  
bolóxar<sup>1</sup> til brots eða<sup>3</sup> upphöggs,<sup>4</sup> hvar þeir kæmi<sup>5</sup>  
at herbergjum,—ok þar með önnur<sup>6</sup> hernaðartól hörð<sup>7</sup>  
ok tvíeggjuð, hvort sem brjóta þyrfti múr eða<sup>8</sup> trè-  
virki, at þeira glæpr<sup>9</sup> þarfist<sup>10</sup> því frammar alla tálman. 5  
Ok svá búnir sækja<sup>11</sup> þeir upp á garð erkibyskups.  
Enn er þat sáu þjónustumenn hins heilaga Thóme,  
strengja<sup>12</sup> þeir aftr<sup>13</sup> garðinn sterkliga, enn hinir sækja<sup>14</sup>  
at grimmelega,<sup>15</sup> berja ok bölfu,<sup>16</sup> höggva<sup>17</sup> hurðir ok  
brjóta, hvat er fyrir verðr, svá at af þeira harki ok 10  
háreysti, eggjan ok ópi verða flestir felmsfullir, utan  
einn erkibyskupinn. Hann huggar harmþrungna, ok  
gerist svá blíðr, sem þeir menn væri<sup>18</sup> komnir, er  
honum byði til brullaups. Nú sem riddarar komast  
eigi með harðfengi framm<sup>19</sup> til hallarinnar, fá þeir sér 15  
leiðtoga, Rodbert klerk af Broc, er sakir langvistar  
kunni öll<sup>20</sup> göng<sup>21</sup> á garðinum. Enn af því ópi ok  
ofrafi, brestum ok bardaga, er þeir gera, heyrir um  
öll<sup>20</sup> herbergi á garðinum. Ok jafnvel þeir sem nú  
syngja í kirkjunni á fyrra aftansöngs<sup>22</sup> tíma, sam- 20  
blanda sín hljóð með ugg ok ótta. Því nefndum vèr  
fyrra aftansöngs<sup>22</sup> tíma, at Kantuariensis kirkja hefir  
tvennar tíðir sungnar á hvern dag, þat er at skilja,  
klaustramanna ok klerka.  
Nú sem mjök líðr aftansöng<sup>23</sup> bræðra,<sup>24</sup> er jafnan 25

The ser-  
vants of the  
archbishop  
bolt the  
palace.

Becket re-  
mains calm,  
and refuses  
to stir away.

He yields to  
the prayer

<sup>1</sup> *bolaxar*, T.  
<sup>2</sup> *bryntraull*, T.  
<sup>3</sup> *eþa*, T.  
<sup>4</sup> *upphaugs*, T.  
<sup>5</sup> *kæmi*, T.  
<sup>6</sup> *önnur*, T.  
<sup>7</sup> *haurð*, T.  
<sup>8</sup> *eþa*, T.  
<sup>9</sup> *glæpr*, T.  
<sup>10</sup> *þarfuisz*, T.  
<sup>11</sup> *sækja*, T.  
<sup>12</sup> *streingia*, T.

<sup>13</sup> *aptr*, T.  
<sup>14</sup> *sækja*, T.  
<sup>15</sup> *grimliga*, T.  
<sup>16</sup> *baulfa*, T.  
<sup>17</sup> *hauggva*, T.  
<sup>18</sup> *veri*, T.  
<sup>19</sup> *fram*, T.  
<sup>20</sup> *auull*, T.  
<sup>21</sup> *gaung*, T.  
<sup>22</sup> *aptansöungs*, T.  
<sup>23</sup> *aptansöung*, T.  
<sup>24</sup> *brædra*, T.

but one of them carried a halberd and a sword,—bole-axes for the purpose of breaking or cutting open chambers, wheresoever they should come upon them,—and besides these other instruments of war, hard and two-edged, for breaking down walls or timber-work, in order that their wickedness should meet with all the less delay. And thus equipped they proceed up to the archbishop's court. But when the servants of the holy Thomas see this, they put strong bolts on the court gate, but the others set on it in fury, beating and bellowing, cutting doors open and smashing whatever cometh across their path, so that from their tumult and noise, their egging and whooping, most people were filled with fright, outtaken the archbishop alone. He comforteth the sorrowing, and becometh as blithe as if the visitors had come to ask him to a bridal feast. Now when the hardihood of the knights may not prevail in bringing them into the palace, they get them for guide the clerk Robert of Brock, who by reason of his long sojourn there knew all passages within the court. But the yelling and tumult, crashing and knocking with which they go on, is heard throughout all the chambers within the court. And even those who are now singing in the church at the first vespers blend their voices therewith in fear and awe. For this reason we mentioned first vespers, that the church of Canterbury has two services sung every day, that is to say, that of the monks and that of the clerks.

Now when the vespers of the brethren wear on,

1170.  
of the clerks  
to go to the  
cathedral.

syngja fyrri, ganga lærðir<sup>1</sup> menn at erkibyskupi, þar sem hann sitr í sama stað, ok þar með hans heimolligir menn, allir samt biðjandi, at hann forði sèr í munkaklaustrið. Enn hann blezaðr vill forðast alla flóttagrein ok sitr sem áðr. Sem þetta vinnr eigi,<sup>5</sup> segja þeir, at bræðr<sup>2</sup> hafi lokit sínum aftansöng,<sup>3</sup> ok þeim byrjar at ganga til kirkju ok gjalda Guði sína skyldu á svá mikilli hátíð. Fyrir þessa sök<sup>4</sup> rías hann upp um síðir, ok býðr bera krossinn fyrir sèr. Var nú skipan á göngunni<sup>5</sup> mót vana, því at svá sem<sup>10</sup> erkibyskupinn hafði jafnan fyrstr farit, svá ferr<sup>6</sup> hann nú síðastr. Aðrir fara með flýti af mannligum ótta, enn hann með hófsemd ok seinna enn eftir<sup>7</sup> vana. Enn er þeir vilja meir flýta ferðinni, at hann forði sèr í kirkjuna, talar hann: "Hvar fyrir láti þer svá, eða<sup>8</sup> 15 " hvat hræðist<sup>9</sup> þer?" Þeir segja væpnta<sup>10</sup> menn komna í klaustrið. Hann svarar: "Því<sup>11</sup> skal þat " briggða yðvarri siðsemi? þeir mega ekki framar, enn " Guð lofar." Sem hann kemr í kirkjuna at loknum aftansöng<sup>12</sup> bræðra,<sup>13</sup> renna þeir mót honum með 20 fagnaðargráti, þakkandi sjálfum Guði, er þeir sjá hann með lífi, því at þeir hugðu hann eyrendan, enn aðrir renna þegar til at strengja<sup>14</sup> aftr<sup>15</sup> kirkjudyrnar. Enn er Guðs maðr sèr þat, snýr hann aftr<sup>15</sup> ok slær<sup>16</sup> upp kirkjunni svá mælandi:<sup>17</sup> "Þat sómir ei kristnum mönn- 25 " um,"<sup>18</sup> segir hann, "at gera heilaga kirkju at her-

The monks  
shut the  
church  
when Becket  
is inside,  
but he opens  
it again,  
himself.

<sup>1</sup> lærdir, T.

<sup>2</sup> bræðr, T.

<sup>3</sup> aftansaung, T.

<sup>4</sup> sök, T.

<sup>5</sup> gangunni, T.

<sup>6</sup> fer, T.

<sup>7</sup> eftir, T.

<sup>8</sup> eða, T.

<sup>9</sup> hræðiz, T.

<sup>10</sup> væpnta, T.

<sup>11</sup> So T. Prof. Unger proposes the interrogative *hvi*; it is the classical figure, no doubt, but there

is no reason to alter the MS., which in the demonstrative *þvi*, used as an interrogative, supplies an early instance of the frequent modern interchange of the latter for the former correlative.

<sup>12</sup> aftansaung, T.

<sup>13</sup> bræðra, T.

<sup>14</sup> strengja, T.

<sup>15</sup> aftr, T.

<sup>16</sup> slær, T.

<sup>17</sup> mælandi, T.

<sup>18</sup> maunnum, T.

they having their service always first, the learned men go to the archbishop, whereas he sitteth in the same place still, and with them his familiar friends, all praying together, that he save himself into the monastery. But the blessed archbishop abhorreth all flight, and sitteth still as before. So when this availeth nought, they tell him that the brethren have now finished their vespers, and that it behoveth themselves to go to church, and to do their duty to God on so great a high-day. For this reason he, at last, standeth up and ordereth the cross to be borne before him. Now, against custom, the mode of procession was changed, inasmuch as the archbishop, who had always been wont to go first, now goeth last. Others, from fear natural to man, walked with haste, whilst he walked quietly and slower than was his wont. But when they wanted to quicken more the pace, in order that he might save himself into the church, he spoke : " Why behave ye so, or what fear ye ? " They say, that armed men have entered the cloister already. He answereth : " Why should that change your reverence ? " " They may do nought more than God permitteth." Now when he cometh into the church, even as the vespers of the brethren had come to an end, they came running to meet him, weeping from joy, and thanking God, that they saw him alive, for they thought he was already reft of life by then ; but others run straightway to bolt the church. But when God's man seeth this, he turneth back, and throweth open the church, saying : " It " beseemeth Christians in no wise to turn the church into



1170. "kastala." Vilja nú lærðir<sup>1</sup> menn þröngva<sup>2</sup> hann inn eftir<sup>3</sup> kirkjunni ok svá í sanctuarium, enn hann fylgir þeim nauðigr frá dyrunum.

As the knights enter the church, Becket goes down the church to meet them.

Er nú alt í senn, at hann kemr upp á gráður<sup>4</sup> fyrir kórin, ok þeir Guðs úvinir koma í kirkjuna með<sup>5</sup> sæðisamligri<sup>5</sup> rödd<sup>6</sup> svá segiandi: "Hvar er drottins svikarinn ok falsari ríkisins."<sup>7</sup> Enn er sæll<sup>8</sup> Thómas heyrir riddarana, snýr hann sèr þegar á gráðunum, ok rennr it beinasta framm<sup>9</sup> í móti þeim, með úskelfdu hjarta ok blíðu andliti svá mælandi:<sup>10</sup> "Hèr em ek,"<sup>10</sup> sagði hann, "eigi drottins svikari, heldr erkibyskup, "hvær leiti þèr, eða<sup>11</sup> hvar vili þèr?" Enn sá riddarinn er fyrst gengr, er riddarinn Vilhjálmr af Traz. Hann veðr framm<sup>12</sup> at erkibyskupinum ok mælir<sup>13</sup> svá: "Flý," sagði hann, "þú ert dauðamaðr." Erkibyskup<sup>15</sup> svarar: "Ek flý hvergi í nokkurn stað." Riddarinn gripr þá annari hendi möttulinn,<sup>14</sup> enn annari stingr hann með sverðinu kveifna brott af honum svá segiandi: "Gakk hêðan,"<sup>15</sup> segir hann, "þú ert fanginn, þat er úpolligt, at þú lifir lengr."<sup>16</sup> Erkibyskup kippir<sup>20</sup> möttulsskautinu<sup>17</sup> at sèr ok talar svá: "Hêðan<sup>18</sup> geng<sup>19</sup> ek hvergi, því at hær skulu þèr gera mær, hvar yðr líkar. Ek er nú búinn at láta lífit til frelsis heilagri kirkju, í þess nafni er hana keypti til friðar með sínu blóði. Hyggit af því, at ek gefi upp Guðs rétt<sup>20</sup> 25 "fyrir sverðum yðrum." Herra erkibyskup sèr, at næst<sup>21</sup> Vilhjálmr snarast framm<sup>22</sup> Reinaldr með brugðnu

William de Tracy seizes the archbishop by the mantle, and smites the mitre from his head with the sword.

<sup>1</sup> lærdir, T.

<sup>2</sup> þröngva, T.

<sup>3</sup> eftir, T.

<sup>4</sup> gráðr, T.

<sup>5</sup> sæðisamligri, T.

<sup>6</sup> raudd, T.

<sup>7</sup> ríkisins, T.

<sup>8</sup> sæll, T.

<sup>9</sup> fram, T.

<sup>10</sup> mælandi, T.

<sup>11</sup> eða, T.

<sup>12</sup> fram, T.

<sup>13</sup> mælir, T.

<sup>14</sup> möttulinn, T.

<sup>15</sup> hêðan, T.

<sup>16</sup> lengr, T.

<sup>17</sup> möttulsskautinu, T.

<sup>18</sup> Hieðan, T.

<sup>19</sup> geng, T.

<sup>20</sup> rétt, T.

<sup>21</sup> næst, T.

<sup>22</sup> fram, T.

" a stronghold of war." So the learned men endeavour to push him on up the church and into the sanctuary, but he goeth with them unwilling away from the door.

Now all these things befall at once : that he steppeth unto the grades before the choir, while the foes of God enter the church with mad crying, saying : " Where is " the traitor and betrayer of the realm ?" But when the blessed Thomas heareth the knights, he turneth on the steps, and goeth straightway down the church to meet them with a fearless heart and a blithe countenance, speaking thus : " Here am I," said he, " no traitor, " but an archbishop ; whom seek ye, or what will ye ?" But the knight that goeth first is the knight William de Traci. He strideth forward to the archbishop, saying : " Flee !" he said, " thou art death's man." The archbishop answereth, " I flee nowhither." Then the knight seizeth the mantle with one hand, and with the other smiteth the mitre from off the archbishop's head, saying : " Go hence, thou art a prisoner, it is not to be " endured that thou shouldst live any longer." The archbishop pulleth to him the skirt of the mantle, speaking thus : " Hence I go nowhither, and here you shall " do to me whatever you please. I am now ready to " give my life for the freedom of holy church, in the " name of Him, who purchased her peace in His blood. " Think never that I shall yield God's right to your " swords." The lord archbishop seeing that next to William Reginald sweepeth forward towards him with

1170. sverði til hans, hann talar svá: “þèr, Reinaldr, hefir  
 “ ek marga góða hluti gert, enn þó sækir<sup>1</sup> þú nú  
 “ herklæddr<sup>2</sup> at í kirkju til mín.” Samlíkjast þessi  
 orð vorum Herra, Guðs syni, þá er Gyðingar höndlöðu<sup>3</sup>  
 hann. Enn Reinaldr svarar erkibyskupinum: “þat 5  
 “ skal þú nú vita, at ek er kominn, því at þú ert úlífis-  
 “ maðr.” Enn sæli<sup>4</sup> Thómas svarar: “Ef þèr vilit  
 “ hafa mitt líf, þá fyrirbýð ek yðr, af Guðs hálfu,  
 “ undir bannu þínu, at þèr grandit eigi nokkurum  
 “ mínum manni meira eðr minna. Sè<sup>5</sup> þeir svá sak- 10  
 “ lausir af þínunni, sem þeir eru frjálsir af sökinni.”<sup>6</sup>

The knights  
 now endeav-  
 our to drag  
 the arch-  
 bishop out  
 of the  
 church, but  
 unavail-  
 ingly.

Ok sem heilagr Thómas hefir sýnt svá byskupliga  
 staðfestu, grípa Guðs úvinir til hans ok hugsa at  
 færa<sup>7</sup> hann með affi út af musterinu, at þeir fremi  
 sinn niðingskap heldr utan kirkju enn innan. Enn 15  
 þat vinst eigi, því at Guðs riddari, erkibyskupinn, er<sup>8</sup>  
 studdr af Helgum Anda svá fast, at hann hrærist<sup>9</sup>  
 hvergi úr sporum. Ok hefir til þess áhalds<sup>10</sup> eigi meira  
 fullting af mönnum<sup>11</sup> enn einn múnk ok klerk þann,  
 er krossinn bar, er Etvarðr hèt.<sup>12</sup> Enn hvat Guð 20  
 Drottinn Heilagr Andi vann í þessu máli, vottar æ<sup>13</sup>  
 síðan<sup>14</sup> kirkjan í Kancia, sem skrifað stendr, at mar-  
 marinn gaf sik mjúkan erkibyskupsins fótsporum, sem  
 hann hefði í snjó staðit eða<sup>15</sup> einhverri víkjanligri  
 skepnu. Mega þau spor til vitnis æ<sup>16</sup> sfnast, ok fá 25  
 nú margan koss með krjúpandi góðfýst af pílagrimum.

<sup>1</sup> *sækir*, T.

<sup>2</sup> *herklæddr*, T.

<sup>3</sup> *haunlaudu*, T.

<sup>4</sup> *sæli*, T.

<sup>5</sup> *See*, T.

<sup>6</sup> *saukinni*, T.

<sup>7</sup> *færa*, T.

<sup>8</sup> *er* added in U.; om. in T.

<sup>9</sup> *hrærist*, T.

<sup>10</sup> *á hald*, T.

<sup>11</sup> *mannum*, T.

<sup>12</sup> *hiet*, T.

<sup>13</sup> *æ*, T.

<sup>14</sup> *síðan*, T.

<sup>15</sup> *eða*, T.

<sup>16</sup> *æ*, T.

a drawn sword, speaketh thus: "To thee, Reginald, I have done many good things, and yet thou comest armed to my church;"—words resembling those of our Lord the Son of God, when the Jews laid hands on him. But Reginald answereth the archbishop: "Thou shalt surely know now that I am come, for thou art a man of doomed life." The blessed Thomas answereth: "If you are minded to have my life, I forbid you on behalf of God, under penalty of excommunication, that you do no hurt to any of my men, higher or lower. Let them be as exempt from pain, as they are free from guilt." And when the holy archbishop Thomas had thus shown this episcopal steadfastness, God's enemies seize him for the purpose of dragging him out of the temple, in order that they may do their deed of shame rather without the church than within. But this is not to be done, for that knight of God, the archbishop, is so firmly planted by the Holy Ghost, that he moveth nowhere from his steps, and yet in that tug he hath no more aid of man than one monk and a clerk hight Edward, who bore the cross. But the church of Canterbury beareth witness ever since to what Lord God the Holy Ghost did in this case, according to what is written, inasmuch as the very marble rendered itself soft to the footsteps of the archbishop, as if he had stood in snow or some other yielding matter. As an everlasting testimony of this these footprints may still be seen, and now receive many a kiss amid the devotion of kneeling pilgrims.

1170.

## KAP. LXXX.

## LÍFLÁT THÓME ERKIBYSKUPS.

Nú<sup>1</sup> sem Guðs maðr, Thómas erkibyskup, sèr, at hans lífdögum<sup>2</sup> líðr, því at hans fjandmenn skaka sín sverð yfir hans höfði,<sup>3</sup> víkr hann sèr til austrs móti<sup>5</sup> því altari várrar frú Guðs móður,<sup>4</sup> sem honum var næst,<sup>5</sup> ok hafði áðr staðit í þeim Heilags Anda sporum, sem fyrr var tjáð. Hann hneigir sik fyrir altarinu á bæði<sup>6</sup> knè með þessum síðastum orðum, svá at menn heyrði fyrir háreysti Guðs úvina, ok segir svá: "Almáttigum 10 " Guði ok hans sæluztu<sup>7</sup> móður, sancte Marie, ok " þessarrar kirkju patronis, heilögum Dionisio ok öllum " helgum, fel ek mik á hendi ok kirkjunnar sök."<sup>8</sup> Þessu næst<sup>9</sup> hlaupa framm<sup>10</sup> skæðir<sup>11</sup> vargar á mildan hirði, afkynjaðir synir á föður<sup>12</sup> eiginligan, ok grimm- 15 ustu<sup>13</sup> manndráparar á meinlausa fórn Jesu Krista. Fyrstr af þeim Vilhjálmr af Traz höggr<sup>14</sup> til erkibyskups ok stefnir í höfuðit.<sup>15</sup> Enn sakir þess at Etvarðr klerkr stóð með röskligri<sup>16</sup> dygd næst<sup>17</sup> sínum herra í þessum úfriðarstormi, kemr höggit<sup>18</sup> fyrst á hans 20 handlegg, ok tekr af nálíga, enn síðan<sup>19</sup> í höfuðit<sup>20</sup> erkibyskupsins, ok fékk<sup>21</sup> hann því minna, sem klerkrinn tók af meira þunga högginu. Enn þó varð þat svá mikít sár, at blóðit<sup>22</sup> rann yfir augu ok ásjónu erkibyskupsins. Eftir<sup>23</sup> þetta kallar Vilhjálmr grimmri<sup>23</sup> 25

Becket commits himself to God and the Virgin and the patron saints of Canterbury.

William de Tracy deals Becket a blow which wounds him slightly on the head.

<sup>1</sup> *Nv*, T.  
<sup>2</sup> *lifdaugum*, T.  
<sup>3</sup> *haufdi*, T.  
<sup>4</sup> *modr*, T.  
<sup>5</sup> *næst*, T.  
<sup>6</sup> *bædi*, T.  
<sup>7</sup> *sæluztu*, T.  
<sup>8</sup> *sauk*, T.  
<sup>9</sup> *næst*, T.  
<sup>10</sup> *fram*, T.  
<sup>11</sup> *skæðir*, T.  
<sup>12</sup> *fauður*, T.

<sup>13</sup> *grimuztu*, T.  
<sup>14</sup> *hauggr*, T.  
<sup>15</sup> *haufuðit*, T.  
<sup>16</sup> *rauskligri*, T.  
<sup>17</sup> *næst*, T.  
<sup>18</sup> *hauggit*, T.  
<sup>19</sup> *síðan*, T.  
<sup>20</sup> *haufuðit*, T.  
<sup>21</sup> *fiekk*, T.  
<sup>22</sup> *Eptir*, T.  
<sup>23</sup> *grimmri*, T.

## CHAP. LXXX.

## THE DEATH OF ARCHBISHOP THOMAS.

Now that God's man, archbishop Thomas, seeth that his life-day is waning, for his enemies shake their swords over his head, he turneth to the east, towards that altar of our lady, God's mother, which was nearest to him, and whereat he had stood in those steps of the Holy Ghost which we mentioned before. He bendeth down on both knees before the altar with these the last words that could be heard through the loud noise of God's enemies, saying: "Into the hands of Almighty God and of His most blessed Mother, the holy Mary, and of the Patrons of this church, the holy Dionysius, and all Saints, I commit myself and the cause of the church."

Next to this spring forward the wild wolves on the gentle herd, the degenerate sons on their own father, the cruellest murderers upon the innocent victim of Jesus Christ. First among them William of Traci dealeth a blow to the archbishop aiming at the head; but inasmuch as the clerk Edward standeth in dauntless faith nearest to his lord in this war-storm, the blow falleth on the arm of him, cutting it nearly through, and then on the head of the archbishop, who received the less of it that the clerk had taken off the greater weight of the blow. Yet the wound was so great, that the blood flowed over the eyes and face of the archbishop. After this William called, in a grim voice, on his fellows, say-

1170. rödd<sup>1</sup> á sína félaga:<sup>2</sup> "Höggit,<sup>3</sup> höggit,"<sup>3</sup> segir hann. Enn við þetta ákall kom sú hræzla<sup>4</sup> yfir erkibyskups menn, at hverr flýði síns vegar. Enn við þenna fyrsta áverka hefir þat meinlausa fórnarlamb lifanda Guðs hinn heilagi Thómas sínar hendr ok augu til himins 5 bíðandi svá annars höggs<sup>5</sup> með hneigðu höfði.<sup>6</sup> Ok því næst<sup>7</sup> höggr<sup>8</sup> enn annar riddari ofan í höfuðit,<sup>9</sup> ok við þat sár fellr erkibyskup fram<sup>10</sup> á gólfrit með réttum<sup>11</sup> líkama, svá fagrliga sem til bænar<sup>12</sup> offrandi sik lifandi fórn, sem þeim er sæfðist<sup>13</sup> at leysa mann- 10 kynit. Svá sem nú var greint fellir limr úvinarins ok at jörðu leggr eigin<sup>14</sup> föður<sup>15</sup> í kviði móður<sup>16</sup> sinnar. Her eftir<sup>17</sup> ræðr<sup>18</sup> þriði riddari á liggjanda erkibyskupinn, á þann hátt, at hann sveiflar til sverðinu ok sníðr nálíga burt af höfðinu<sup>19</sup> alla krúnuna, svá at lítið eina 15 hêlt<sup>20</sup> í framanvert, þröngvandi<sup>21</sup> svá hveitikornit brutt af hálminum. Svo fellr réttvís<sup>22</sup> drepinn af ranglátum, geymari víngarðsins í sjálfum víngarðinum, hertekinn í herbúðunum, skiftandi<sup>23</sup> leirbúð heimsins í höll<sup>24</sup> himinríkis. Sem hinn fjórði riddari er framngeystr<sup>25</sup> 20 af sínum kumpánum at eignast nokkurn hlut í þessu stórvirki, höggr<sup>26</sup> hann í höfuðsárit<sup>27</sup> á eyrendum feðr sínum með svá miklu<sup>28</sup> forzi, at blóðrefillinn brestr í marmaranum ok sverðit brotnar í tvo hluti. Skilst hann svá vit, at sverðsbrotin liggja þar bæði<sup>29</sup> eftir<sup>30</sup> 25

After that Becket kneels down as in prayer,

and one of the knights now cuts away, in one blow, the crown of his head.

Becket dies.

<sup>1</sup> *raudd*, T.  
<sup>2</sup> *feelaga*, T.  
<sup>3</sup> *Hauggit*, T.  
<sup>4</sup> *hræzla*, T.  
<sup>5</sup> *hauggs*, T.  
<sup>6</sup> *haufði*, T.  
<sup>7</sup> *næst*, T.  
<sup>8</sup> *hauggr*, T.  
<sup>9</sup> *haufuðit*, T.  
<sup>10</sup> *fram*, T.  
<sup>11</sup> *riettum*, T.  
<sup>12</sup> *bænar*, T.  
<sup>13</sup> *sæfðiz*, T.  
<sup>14</sup> So U.; *egin*, T.  
<sup>15</sup> *fauder*, T.

<sup>16</sup> *modr*, T.  
<sup>17</sup> *eptir*, T.  
<sup>18</sup> *rædr*, T.  
<sup>19</sup> *haufðinu*, T.  
<sup>20</sup> *hiellt*, T.  
<sup>21</sup> *þraunguandi*, T.  
<sup>22</sup> *rettvis*, T.  
<sup>23</sup> *skiplandi*, T.  
<sup>24</sup> *hauk*, T.  
<sup>25</sup> *framngeystr*, T.  
<sup>26</sup> *hauggr*, T.  
<sup>27</sup> *haufuðsarit*, T.  
<sup>28</sup> *myklu*, T.  
<sup>29</sup> *bædi*, T.  
<sup>30</sup> *eptir*, T.

ing, "Cut ye, cut ye!" says he. But at this call there came such fear upon the archbishop's men, that each fled his own way. But at this first wound the holy offer-lamb of the living God, lord archbishop Thomas, lifteth his hands and eyes up to heaven, and thus awaiteth the second blow with a bowed head. And next another knight dealeth a blow down upon the head, and at that blow the archbishop falleth forward his body being stretched on the floor so sweetly, as if he were offering himself in prayer a living sacrifice, as one who died in order to redeem the human race. As was said even now, the limb of the foe felleth and layeth low on earth his own father in the womb of his mother. After this the third knight setteth upon the archbishop lying on the floor, in such manner, that he brandisheth the sword and cutteth away nearly the whole of the crown, so that only a little held it to the forehead, thus smiting away the ear of the wheat from the stalk. Thus falleth the rightwise one killed by the wicked, the keeper of the vineyard within the very vineyard, taken captive in the very tabernacle, exchanging thus the world's abode of clay for the palace of the heavenly kingdom. But as the fourth knight is egged on by his comrades to get him a share in this mighty deed, he dealeth a blow into the wound on the head of his lifeless father with such force that the point of the sword dasheth against the marble, and the sword itself breaketh into two parts. And so he departeth therefrom that both fragments of the sword



1170. kirkjunni til minnis. Þat þýða svá vitrir menn, at þau sverðsbrot merki veraldligt<sup>1</sup> vald, er frá sinni drottnan var lægt<sup>2</sup> ok niðrbrotið í táknsamligum dauða þessa dýrðarmanns.<sup>3</sup>

Nú sem Vilhjálmr, Reinaldr, Hugi ok Ríkarðr hafa 5 lyktað þá grimd ok glæpsku,<sup>4</sup> er þeim hlotnaðist af ljótu lífi ok illu<sup>5</sup> kynferði, má líta þessu næst,<sup>6</sup> hverir til veljast at vinna þau údáðaverk á dauðum erkibyskupinum, sem engin<sup>7</sup> mega við jafnast, ok hvorki mun finnast með Gyðingum nè heiðnum mönnum.<sup>8</sup> 10 Enn hverir mega nær<sup>9</sup> standa þeiri bölván<sup>10</sup> enn þat nöðrukynit<sup>11</sup> af Brocheis, er allan<sup>12</sup> veg höfðu<sup>13</sup> hatað erkibyskupinn umframm<sup>14</sup> annat fólk í landinu. Nú svá sem þeir frændr,<sup>15</sup> Ranúlf ok Robert, váro fjótastir í herhlaupið með fjórum riddorum, svá vilja þeir 15 eignast hlut í glæpsamligum<sup>16</sup> verkum. Því snarast Ranúlf framm<sup>17</sup> at eyrendum erkibyskupinum ok líkamanum með svo greypiligum níðingskap, at sá djöfulslímr steytir sverðsoddinum niðr í hausinn boraðan ok hrærir<sup>18</sup> blóðit með heilanum, enn hreytir 20 síðan<sup>19</sup> með djöfulligri<sup>20</sup> æði<sup>21</sup> ok hatrsamligri hermd þessa níðingsverks. Kallar hann hátt ok herfliga: “Dauðr er hann, dauðr er hann.” Enn er Robert frændi<sup>22</sup> hans sèr þetta stórvirki, vill hann eigi hlutlaus<sup>23</sup> vera af þessu illvirki, heldr líkast frændum<sup>24</sup> 25 sínum hvatandi<sup>25</sup> sverðinu ofan í tóman hausinn erki-

Foul dealings with the dead body of the archbishop.

<sup>1</sup> veralligt, T.

<sup>2</sup> lægt, T.

<sup>3</sup> dýrðarmanz, T.

<sup>4</sup> glæpsku, T.

<sup>5</sup> So U.; illi, T.

<sup>6</sup> næst, T.

<sup>7</sup> enginn, T.

<sup>8</sup> mannum, T.

<sup>9</sup> nær, T.

<sup>10</sup> baulfan, T.

<sup>11</sup> nauðrukynit, T.

<sup>12</sup> allann, T.

<sup>13</sup> hafdu, T.

<sup>14</sup> umfram, T.

<sup>15</sup> frændr, T.

<sup>16</sup> glæpsamligum, T.

<sup>17</sup> fram, T.

<sup>18</sup> hrærir, T.

<sup>19</sup> síðan, T.

<sup>20</sup> djöfuligri, T.

<sup>21</sup> æði, T.

<sup>22</sup> frændi, T.

<sup>23</sup> hlutlaus, T.

<sup>24</sup> frændum, T.

<sup>25</sup> So U.; hvatandi, T.

lie behind as memorials for the church. So wise men interpret this, that these sword fragments betoken worldly power, which from its dominion was lowered and broken down in the miraculous death of this man of glory.

Now, when William, Reginald, Hugh, and Richard have fulfilled that cruelty and folly which was their portion, owing to their lewd life and wicked kin, it behoveth, next to these things, to consider who the men are who bring themselves to wreaking on the dead archbishop such deeds of shame as none may equal, nor yet may be found even among Jews or Gentiles. But who may stand nearer to those accursed deeds than the vipers of Broc, who had all along hated the archbishop beyond all folk in the land. Now as the two kinsmen, Ranulf and Robert, were the first to join the warfare of the four knights, so they desire to get their share in the wicked deeds. Ranulf therefore springeth forward upon the archbishop lying a lifeless body, in such fell cowardice, that this devil's limb thrusteth the point of the sword into the opened scull, and stirreth the blood together with the brain, scattering it afterwards about in the devilish madness and furious hatred in which he committed this deed of heinous shame. Thereupon he calleth out loudly, "He is dead, he is dead!" But when his kinsman Robert seeth this mighty deed, he will not remain without a share in the crime, but behaving in a like manner to his kinsman, driveth the sword into the empty scull of the archbishop, crying at the same

1170. byskupsins. Hèr með æpir<sup>1</sup> hann á sína kumpána bölvaða:<sup>2</sup> “Brutt hëðan<sup>3</sup> brutt hëðan.”<sup>3</sup> Sem hër er komit, setja þeir upp allir saman heróp, á þann hátt sem sigrvegarar gera eftir<sup>4</sup> sterkustu stríð, svá mælandi<sup>5</sup> “Konungligir riddarar, konungligir riddarar!”<sup>5</sup> Aðrir segja svá: “Hann vildi vera konungr, ok meiri “ enn konungr, sè<sup>6</sup> hann nú konungr.” Svo ganga þessir glæpamenn<sup>7</sup> út af mustarinu, at þeir hafa margar greinir verri ok úmannligri enn þeir, er krossfestu Jesúm Kristum. Vorr<sup>8</sup> Herra píndist utan borgar, enn heilagr<sup>10</sup> Thómas innan kirkju, Júðar hlífðu várur Herra frammlíðnum<sup>9</sup> áu beinbrot, enn þeir unnu á erkibyskupi andlausum, dreifandi hans blóð ok bein með heila innan um kirkjuna. Hèr með leggja þeir þá Guðs reiði enn frammléiðis,<sup>10</sup> at þeir snúa allir upp á erkibyskups hallir<sup>15</sup> ok önnur herbergi. Sumir hlaupa til hestanna, berjandi ok særandi<sup>11</sup> erkibyskupsins sveina, ef þeir standa fyrir. Aðrir hlaupa í garðinn, rænandi<sup>12</sup> gulli ok silfri, klæðum<sup>13</sup> ok húsbúningi. Bréf ok privilegia staðarins láta þeir fara með öðru<sup>14</sup> ráni staðarins, at<sup>20</sup> þau flytist gamla konungi, ok eigi er<sup>15</sup> nú minni þeira ágirndarþorsti til fjárins, enn áðr í meinlausan<sup>16</sup> dreyra erkibyskupsins. Bera þeir nú guðrækir<sup>17</sup> glæpamenn<sup>18</sup> bæði<sup>19</sup> samt á baki sèr rán ok ið ljótasta maundráp. Enn vèr víkjum aftur<sup>20</sup> til þess blezaða líkama, er nú<sup>25</sup> liggir á gólfi í roðnum faðmi sinnar móður ok brúðar.

The murderers leave the church.

and set about pillaging the palace.

<sup>1</sup> *æpir*, T.

<sup>2</sup> *bölvada*, T.

<sup>3</sup> *hiepan*, T.

<sup>4</sup> *eptir*, T.

<sup>5</sup> *mælandi*, T.

<sup>6</sup> *sie*, T.

<sup>7</sup> *glæpamenn*, T.

<sup>8</sup> *Vorr*, T.

<sup>9</sup> *framliðnum*, T.

<sup>10</sup> *framleiðis*, T.

<sup>11</sup> *særandi*, T.

<sup>12</sup> *rænandi*, T.

<sup>13</sup> *klæðum*, T.

<sup>14</sup> *öðru*, T.

<sup>15</sup> *er* added in U.; om in T.

<sup>16</sup> *meinlausann*, T.

<sup>17</sup> *guðrækir*, T.

<sup>18</sup> *glæpamenn*, T.

<sup>19</sup> *bæði*, T.

<sup>20</sup> *aftur*, T.

time to his accursed followers, "Away hence, away hence!" And when things had come to this pass, they all strike up a war cry after the manner of victors after the fiercest battles won, saying, "King's knights, king's knights!" Others cry: "He wished to be a king, yea more than a king, let him now be a king." In such a manner these villains go out of the temple, that many of their doings were worse and more unmanly than the deeds of those who crucified Jesus Christ. Our Lord suffered his passion without the city, but the holy Thomas within the church; the Jews spared our Lord dead from breaking his bones, but these wrought their foul deeds upon the archbishop when dead already, scattering his blood and bones together with the brains about the church. Unto this they add still that deed worthy of God's anger, that they turn all together into the palace of the archbishop and his other chambers. Some run unto their horses, beating and wounding the servants of the archbishop who happen to stand in the way. Others again run into the court, robbing gold and silver and clothes and household furniture. The documents and privileges of the see they let go with other spoils of it, in order that they be brought to the old king; nor is their covetous thirst for money now less than their thirst was formerly for the blood of the sackless archbishop. Thus these abandoned ruffians bear on their back both the crime of robbery together with that of the foulest murder. But now we turn back to the blessed body, whereas it lieth on the floor in the reddened bosom of its mother and bride.

HVERSU GÓÐIR MENN HÖRMUDU EFTIR<sup>1</sup> FRÁFALL HINS  
HEILAGA THÓMAS ERKIBYSKUPS.

Consternation among the people of Canterbury after the murder.

Sem þetta údæmiliga<sup>2</sup> verk spyrst um staðinn, syrgja sárliga góðir menn, rennandi framm<sup>3</sup> til kirkjunnar, einkanliga fátækir<sup>4</sup> ok föðurlausir,<sup>5</sup> ok allir þeir, sem voru nálægir<sup>6</sup> ok stuðzt<sup>7</sup> höfðu við göfugligar<sup>8</sup> ölmusugerðir þess mildasta föður.<sup>9</sup> Enn í aðra grein má þat tala til ríkra manna, at þeir þorðu eigi fyrir konungligu valdi at harma svá mjök, sem þeim<sup>10</sup> var í hug. Enn fátækir<sup>10</sup> krjúpa ok kyssa þann hinn helgasta líkama með tárurum ok trega. Hverr<sup>11</sup> megi með orðum skýra, hvílíkr varð grátr ok harmr klerka ok klaustramanna, heimafólks ok réttvísra kristinna manna, er sá þann signaða líkam svá liggjandi. Svo<sup>15</sup> grætu góðir synir yfir sínum göfugligum<sup>12</sup> föður,<sup>13</sup> at þeira grátr ok harmr kom sannliga til guðliga eyrna. Blóð hans féll eigi um kirkjugólfid,<sup>14</sup> sem líkligt var ok sýnast mátti, heldr var þat samanrunnit á marmaranum hér ok þar sem í smá koppa, svá at hægliga<sup>15</sup> mátti upp taka. Sér<sup>16</sup> þat æ<sup>17</sup> síðan<sup>18</sup> á gólfinu, hversu marmarinn veikst úr sinni náttúru, þá er hann mýktist ok lægði<sup>19</sup> sik undan at taka með blóðinu. Enn þar sem hvortveggja var samt, blóð ok heilinn, stóð úhneigt í sinni náttúru á slöttum<sup>20</sup> steininum. Svá prýðist björt ásjóna mæðr<sup>21</sup> heilagrar kirkju í

Miraculous revelations immediately after the death of Becket.

<sup>1</sup> *eptir*, T.

<sup>2</sup> *udæmiliga*, T.

<sup>3</sup> *fram*, T.

<sup>4</sup> *fátækir*, T.

<sup>5</sup> *föðurlausir*, T.

<sup>6</sup> *nálægir*, T.

<sup>7</sup> *stuðz*, T.

<sup>8</sup> *göfugligar*, T.

<sup>9</sup> *föður*, T.

<sup>10</sup> *fátækir*, T.

<sup>11</sup> *Hver*, T.

<sup>12</sup> *göfugligum*, T.

<sup>13</sup> *föður*, T.

<sup>14</sup> So U.; *kirkjugölfid*, T.

<sup>15</sup> *hægliga*, T.

<sup>16</sup> *Sér*, T.

<sup>17</sup> *æ*, T.

<sup>18</sup> *síðan*, T.

<sup>19</sup> *lægi*, T.

<sup>20</sup> *slöttum*, T.

<sup>21</sup> *mæðr*, T.

## CHAP. LXXXI.

HOW GOOD MEN GRIEVED AFTER THE DEATH OF THE  
HOLY ARCHBISHOP THOMAS.

When the news of this unheard-of deed goeth abroad into the city, good people grieve sorely, running forth unto the church, most chiefly poor folk and fatherless, and all those who were near and had depended upon the large-hearted alms of this most bounteous father. But of the rich people, it may be said, on the other hand, that they dared not, on account of the king's power, show all the grief their hearts harboured. But the poor kneel down, kissing that most holy body in weeping and wailing. But who may set forth in words, how great was the crying and the grief of the clerks and the monks, of the household, and of all rightwise Christian people, who saw that blessed body thus lying. The good sons wept over their venerable father in such manner indeed, that their weeping and grief surely went to God's ear. His blood did not flow over the floor of the church, as might seem likely it would, but had run together on the marble into small cups, so that it might be easily taken up. And it is seen ever since, how the marble departed from its nature, whenas it grew soft and sunk in for to receive the blood. But where blood and brain mingled together it stood on the flat stone which remained unchanged in its nature. In such manner is beautified the bright countenance of this martyr and confessor through the glorious death for the holy church, that the blood

1170. dýrðiligum dauða þessa píslarvotts<sup>1</sup> ok játara, at dreyrinn birtist fyrir heilann, ok heilinn roðnaði fyrir dreyrann, sem fagrliga tempruð rósa með liljo. Þenna heilagan dóm birtir nú þegar himnakonungurinn til upphafs, hversu háleitr var í hans augliti, því at þann 5 tíma sem lærðir<sup>2</sup> menn hafa saman lesit í einn stóran<sup>3</sup> kalek heilann með blóðinu, ok bera til altaris, kemr yfir Heilagr Andi í dúfu líki. Veitti þetta lifandi Guð sínum þíningarvott til upphafningar ok dásamligrar dýrðar ok hans harmþrungum sonum 10 til háleitrar hugganar. Hér<sup>4</sup> með ferr<sup>5</sup> þat annat, at sár þat stóra, er Etvarðr klerkr fèkk,<sup>6</sup> var fyrr<sup>7</sup> gróit ok alheilt, enn líkamr erkibyskups væri<sup>8</sup> kaldr á gólfinu. Ok ef harmr hefði lofat, mætti<sup>9</sup> kirkjunnar synir fagna nú þegar meir af lofligum sigri þessa 15 dýrðarmanns, enn sýta af hans þínu stundligri.

On the arch-bishop's body being lifted up, a hammer and a halberd are found under it.

Nú ganga lærðir<sup>10</sup> menn þar til, sem hann liggr. Ok þegar sem þeir hræra<sup>11</sup> líkamann úr stað, sjá þeir einkanligan<sup>12</sup> hlut, at á gólfinu undir honum liggja tvö<sup>13</sup> járnvirki, hamarr<sup>14</sup> ok bryntröll.<sup>15</sup> Ok hví þessi 20 vígtól svá harðfellig váru samankomin þar, drógu spakir menn undir glósu, at öllum skilist rættkristnum<sup>16</sup> mönnum,<sup>17</sup> at svá sem vor Drottinn Jesús Kristr leysti heilaga kirkju af djöfulligu<sup>18</sup> valdi ok hernaði, er marka<sup>19</sup> má fyrir þessi tól, svá skilst hún vera frjálsut 25 af þrælkan<sup>20</sup> veraldliga<sup>21</sup> höfðingja<sup>22</sup> fyrir fall<sup>23</sup> ok dreyra þessa píslarvotts. Síðan<sup>24</sup> leggja þeir líkamann

<sup>1</sup> píslarvottz, T.

<sup>2</sup> lærdir, T.

<sup>3</sup> storann, T.

<sup>4</sup> Hér, T.

<sup>5</sup> ferr, T.

<sup>6</sup> fækk, T.

<sup>7</sup> fyr, T.

<sup>8</sup> væri, T.

<sup>9</sup> mætti, T.

<sup>10</sup> lærdir, T.

<sup>11</sup> hræra, T.

<sup>12</sup> einkanligann, T.

<sup>13</sup> tuau, T.

<sup>14</sup> hamar, T.

<sup>15</sup> bryntraull, T.

<sup>16</sup> rættkristnum, T.

<sup>17</sup> maunnum, T.

<sup>18</sup> djöfuligu, T.

<sup>19</sup> marka added in U.; om. in T.

<sup>20</sup> þrælkan, T.

<sup>21</sup> veraldliga, T.

<sup>22</sup> höfðingja, T.

<sup>23</sup> fall, T.

<sup>24</sup> Síðan, T.

brightened from the brain, and the brain reddened from the blood, as if rose and lily were beautifully blended together. Now the heavenly King revealeth at once this miracle for a beginning, showing how exalted (the archbishop) was before his face, that at the time when the learned men had gathered together into one large chalice the brains with the blood, and were carrying it unto the altar, the Holy Ghost descendeth down upon it in the likeness of a dove. This the living God granted his martyr for his upraising and miraculous glory, and for an exalted comfort of his sorrow-stricken sons. Hereby also goeth another wonder, inasmuch as the great wound which the clerk Edward received was whole and healed before the body of the archbishop was cold on the floor. And if their grief had but permitted, the sons of the church might have had cause to rejoice even now at the laudable victory of the saint, rather than to be wailing at his earthly passion.

Now the learned men repair to the spot, where he lieth. And as soon as they move the body out of its place, a strange thing is revealed to them, inasmuch as on the floor under him are found lying two instruments of iron, a hammer and a halberd. Now the reason why these hard instruments were found lying there together, is by the learned interpreted in this manner, that even as our Lord Jesus Christ ransomed the holy church from the power and the warring of the devil, whereof these tools may be taken as emblems, in the same manner she is to be understood now to have been redeemed from the thralldom of worldly lords in the fall and the blood of this martyr. Then they lay the body on a hand-bier,



1170.  
The clerks  
saw the  
crown to  
the head.

á barir ok sauma við höfuðit<sup>1</sup> afsnið krúnunnar, sem þeir mega fagrlegast, þvo síðan<sup>2</sup> ásjónuna. Hafði hann þá blóðrás merkiligsta, at ein draka gekk af hægra<sup>3</sup> veg hans ennis í skakk um þvert andlitið á vinstri kinnina.<sup>4</sup> Ok með því sama marki vitraðist<sup>5</sup> hann síðan<sup>5</sup> mörgum<sup>6</sup> mönnum<sup>7</sup> ok auðkenndist svá þeim, er áðr kunnu hann eigi. Hér með ferr<sup>8</sup> þat várum Herra Drottni<sup>9</sup> Jesú Kristó til lofs ok dýrðar, at svá fögur<sup>10</sup> ok líflig var hans ásjóna blezut, sem þá er vænn<sup>11</sup> maðr ok litprúðr sofnar sætliga.<sup>12</sup> 10 Ok þó at dreyrinn drægi<sup>13</sup> burt af höfuðsárinu<sup>14</sup> um alla nóttina, fölnaði<sup>15</sup> eigi því heldr sú hin skæra<sup>16</sup> andlitsins<sup>17</sup> fegrð, ok í fljótu máli bar engi hans limr þat mark, at hann þyrri eðr þornaði, með því sýnandi, at hans dýrðligr dauði er honum í Guðs augliti meir<sup>18</sup> til völdugrar hæðar<sup>18</sup> enn nokkurrar minkanar. Eftir<sup>19</sup> þat hefja upp lærdir<sup>20</sup> menn ok múnkar barirnar lágliga, ok bera niðr í kraupt kirkjunnar, þar sem stendr virðuligt altari hins heilaga Jóhannis baptiste ok sæls<sup>21</sup> Augustini postola Englimanna. Hér nátt- 20 setja þeir líkamann, ok því svá, at þeim er eigi grunnlaust, at þeir Guðs úvinir, sem áðr höfðu rænt<sup>22</sup> kirkju gulli ok silfri, bókum ok bræfum, hestum ok söðlum,<sup>23</sup> kerrum ok klæðum<sup>24</sup> ok als kyns<sup>25</sup> góðgripum, muni vilja draga af henni þat, er öllu þessu var æðra<sup>26</sup> 25

The body is  
removed on  
a bier to  
the crypt.

<sup>1</sup> *hafuðit*, T.

<sup>2</sup> *síðan*, T.

<sup>3</sup> *hægra*, T.

<sup>4</sup> So U.; *kinnini*, T.

<sup>5</sup> *síðan*, T.

<sup>6</sup> *maurgum*, T.

<sup>7</sup> *maunnum*, T.

<sup>8</sup> *fer*, T.

<sup>9</sup> *drottni*, T.

<sup>10</sup> *faugr*, T.

<sup>11</sup> *vænn*, T.

<sup>12</sup> *sætliga*, T.

<sup>13</sup> *drægi*, T.

<sup>14</sup> *hafuðsárinu*, T.

<sup>15</sup> *fölnaði*, T.

<sup>16</sup> *skæra*, T.

<sup>17</sup> *andlitsins*, T.

<sup>18</sup> *hædar*, T.

<sup>19</sup> *Eftir*, T.

<sup>20</sup> *lærdir*, T.

<sup>21</sup> *sæls*, T.

<sup>22</sup> *rænt*, T.

<sup>23</sup> *sauðlum*, T.

<sup>24</sup> *klæðum*, T.

<sup>25</sup> *allkyns*, T.

<sup>26</sup> *æðra*, T.

and sew to the head, as well as might be, what was cut off of the crown, and then wash the face. The most remarkable bloodstream to be found on him was this, that a certain streak went from the right side of his forehead, crossing his face aslant over unto the left cheek. And with that same mark he was afterwards revealed to many people, and was thereby known the more surely to those who knew him not before. Hereby it came to pass, for the glory and the praise of our Lord Jesus Christ, that his blessed visage was as fair and lifelike as is the face of a goodly person of fair complexion sweetly fallen asleep. And although the blood oozed out from the wound on the head all night through, yet that beaming beauty of his face faded none the more and, in few words, none of his limbs showed a mark of wasting or falling, which proveth, that his glorious death is in the face of God rather a mighty exaltation for him than any dishonour. After this the monks and the learned men lift up the bier gently, and carry him into the crypt of the church, whereas standeth the venerable altar of the holy John the Baptist, and of Saint Augustine, the apostle of the English people. Here they lay the body out for the night, being not without misgivings that the enemies of God, who had already robbed the church of its gold, its silver, books and briefs, horses and harness, cars and clothes, and every kind of costly things, should also list to drag from it that which was nobler and more precious than

1170. ok dýrmætara,<sup>1</sup> þat er at skilja, erkibyskupsins líkam, er als höfðu<sup>2</sup> þeir níðingliga at jörðu slegit.

and is watched over during the night by the monks and the clerks.

Svo halda klerkar ok múnkar þessa hörmuliga<sup>3</sup> nátt með sorg, gráti ok miklum trega, sem einn Guð má vita. Enn jamnframm<sup>4</sup> þeira andvörpum<sup>5</sup> veitte<sup>5</sup> vorr<sup>6</sup> Herra Himnakonungr mikla gleði öllum<sup>7</sup> þeim, er elskuðu þenna píslarvott, því at á þeiri sömo<sup>8</sup> nótt spratt upp or steininum fagr brunnr ok fýsiligr, þar í krauptinum, er síðan<sup>9</sup> kallast Thómas brunnr, ok með því sama vatni þvo þeir líkamann um morgun-10 inn eftir.<sup>10</sup> Var því með guðligri forsjó göfugliga<sup>11</sup> skipað, at þeir þyrfti öngra<sup>12</sup> nauðsynja<sup>13</sup> út at leita, því at nú sannast sá kvittr með orðflaug fram<sup>14</sup> til kirkjunnar, at manndráparar erkibyskups muni taka hans líkama með forzi, ok draga um staðinn, eða festa<sup>15</sup> á gálga. Enn þetta fór eigi fram, því at vald almáttigs Guðs stóð í mót. Enn þó fyrir þessa hræzlu<sup>15</sup> flýta bræðr<sup>16</sup> því fram at veita erkibyskupinum graftar<sup>17</sup> embætti.<sup>18</sup> Enn er þeir afklæða<sup>19</sup> hann, finna þeir hans líkama vafðan<sup>20</sup> hörðu<sup>21</sup> hárlæði.<sup>22</sup> Var þá 20 ljóst, at hans píslarvætti<sup>23</sup> hafði lengra verit með þrisand ok meinlæti<sup>24</sup> enn lúta undir óvina sverð á síðasta<sup>25</sup> degi. því at þetta hárlæði<sup>26</sup> var eigi minnr af öðru<sup>27</sup> meinsamt enn af snarpri náttúro, því at hann hefir hvartveggja þolt, úværð<sup>28</sup> kláðans ok 25

On the body being washed and laid out, the hair shirt and hair breeches are discovered.

<sup>1</sup> *dýrmætara*, T.  
<sup>2</sup> *hafðu*, T.  
<sup>3</sup> *hörmuliga*, T.  
<sup>4</sup> *jamnfram*, T.  
<sup>5</sup> *andvörpum*, T.  
<sup>6</sup> *vorr*, T.  
<sup>7</sup> *öllum*, T.  
<sup>8</sup> *sámo*, T.  
<sup>9</sup> *síðan*, T.  
<sup>10</sup> *eftir*, T.  
<sup>11</sup> *göfugliga*, T.  
<sup>12</sup> *öngra*, T.  
<sup>13</sup> *nauðsynja*, T.  
<sup>14</sup> *fram*, T.

<sup>15</sup> *hræzlu*, T.  
<sup>16</sup> *bræðr*, T.  
<sup>17</sup> *graptar*, T.  
<sup>18</sup> *embætti*, T.  
<sup>19</sup> *afklæða*, T.  
<sup>20</sup> *vafðan*, T.  
<sup>21</sup> *hörðu*, T.  
<sup>22</sup> *hárlæði*, T.  
<sup>23</sup> *píslarvætti*, T.  
<sup>24</sup> *meinlæti*, T.  
<sup>25</sup> *síðasta*, T.  
<sup>26</sup> *hárlæði*, T.  
<sup>27</sup> *öðru*, T.  
<sup>28</sup> *úværð*, T.

all these things, the archbishop's body, to wit, whom like mean cowards they had smitten down to earth already.

Thus the monks and the clerks spend this dread night in sorrow and weeping and much wailing, as God alone knoweth. But with all their sighing our Lord the King of heaven granted them all great joy who loved this martyr, for that same night there sprang up through a stone in the crypt a fair and desirable spring which sithence is called Thomas's well ; and in that same water they washed the body the morning next following. By divine providence things were so ordained this night too, that they had no need to go out on any errands, for now cometh a true news by rumor flying unto the church, that the murderers of the archbishop are minded to take his body with force away, and to drag it through the town or to hang it to the gallows. This, however, came not to pass, for the power of almighty God stood against it. But by reason of this rumor the brethren made greater haste than they would have done otherwise in giving the archbishop his funeral rite. But when they strip from off him his clothes, they find his body wrapped in a hard hair-cloth. And then it became manifest, that his martyrdom, in scourging and penances, had endured for a longer time than it took him to succumb to the sword of his enemies in his last day. For this hair-cloth was no less hurtful in other things than its natural roughness, inasmuch as he had had to endure the worry of the

1170. sviða klæðisins.<sup>1</sup> Hér fylgir þat, sem fágætt<sup>2</sup> er, at hans brækr<sup>3</sup> ofan at knjám váru ei síðr af hári. Þessu næst<sup>4</sup> skryða þeir hann til graftar<sup>5</sup> með svá miklum flýti, at þeir smyrja eigi líkamann með balsamo eftir<sup>6</sup> vana Kantuariensis kirkju, ok má 5 þat trúast með guðligri forsjó svá vorðit, því at ei var þeim nauðsun<sup>7</sup> at þiggja smurning þessarar veraldar, sem áðr var roðinn í blóði svá göfugar<sup>8</sup> þíningar. Þat var ok til flýtis þjónustunnar sem várs Herra skipan, at þar í krauptinum, fyrir altari heilags Johannis, 10 var ný steinþró áðr tilbúin, ok í þessari leiða þeir hinn signaða Thómam erkibyskup með sutfeingnum söng,<sup>9</sup> eigi hásettum hljóðum heldr hörmungarfullum<sup>10</sup> andvörpum.<sup>11</sup> Enn þó at yfirstöðumenn<sup>12</sup> svá dýrðligs höfðingja<sup>13</sup> bæri<sup>14</sup> sik lágt í öllum<sup>15</sup> hlutum sakir<sup>15</sup> hræzlu,<sup>16</sup> þikkjumst vèr mega þat heyriliga gera, at tala sem yfir grefti sæls<sup>17</sup> Thóme þat sama lof sem at honum lýtr ok skrifað stendr í bókunum.

The arch-bishop is buried in a new-made vault before the altar of St. John.

<sup>1</sup> *klæðisins*, T.

<sup>2</sup> *fagett*, T.

<sup>3</sup> *brækr*, T.

<sup>4</sup> *næst*, T.

<sup>5</sup> *graptar*, T.

<sup>6</sup> *eftir*, T.

<sup>7</sup> *nauðsun*, T.

<sup>8</sup> *göfugar*, T.

<sup>9</sup> *söng*, T.

<sup>10</sup> *hörmungarfullum*, T.

<sup>11</sup> *andvörpum*, T.

<sup>12</sup> *yfirstaðumenn*, T.

<sup>13</sup> *höfðingja*, T.

<sup>14</sup> *bæri*, T.

<sup>15</sup> *öllum*, T.

<sup>16</sup> *hræzlu*, T.

<sup>17</sup> *sæls*, T.

itching and the smarting of the cloth. Hereby goeth also a rare thing, inasmuch as his breeches down to the knee were of hair-cloth as well. Next to this they robe him for burial in so great a haste, that they do not embalm the body according to the wont of the church of Canterbury, which we may believe hath come to pass by the ordinance of divine providence; for he had no need to receive the anointment of this world who was already reddened in the blood of so glorious a passion. This also, beside the ordinance of our Lord, helped to hasten on the burial rite, that in the very crypt, before the altar of the holy John, was a stone grave ready, newly made, and in that they entombed the blessed archbishop Thomas amid sorrowful singing, not with high-pitched voices, but with sighs full of grief. Yet, although those who stood at the grave of this glorious lord bore themselves lowly in all things for the sake of their fear, we think we may fitly speak out, as if standing over the burial of St. Thomas, the praise that is due to him, and is found written in the books.

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