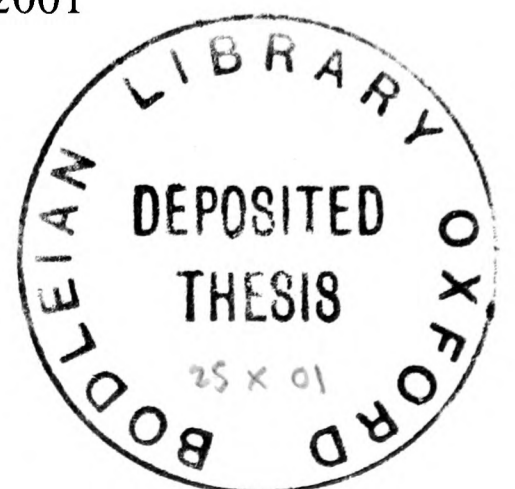


The Cult of St. Edward the Confessor
1066-1399

Thesis submitted for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy confirmed in
the University of Oxford, Hilary Term 2001

by Emily L. O'Brien
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Abstract

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Emily L. O'Brien, St. Hugh's College
Thesis submitted for the degree Doctor of Philosophy,
Hilary Term, 2001

The purpose of this thesis is to determine the popularity of the cult of Edward the Confessor during the period 1066-1399. The first chapter examines the history behind Edward's canonisation. Two elements make it noteworthy: it was the first papal canonisation of an Englishman, and it required two petitions. Because of the monarchy's prominent role in Edward's canonisation, Chapter Two concentrates on royal patronage of the cult. The major obstacle in attaining a clear understanding of the nature of royal devotion to the cult is the monarchy's use of Westminster Abbey, site of Edward's tomb, for royal ceremonies. Chapter Three charts Westminster Abbey's role in the promotion of the saint and his impact in other English ecclesiastical establishments. After discerning the influence of the cult, the focus shifts to secular and hagiographical documents which presented the king. The importance of the documents is that they record any changes in the perception of Edward. Chapter Four looks at the four main *vitae* written about Edward and detects a metamorphosis in the presentation, deviating from traditional hagiographical forms to a more fantastic, almost fictional account of the king. Chapter Five examines two other types of sources: works produced or commissioned by those who promoted Edward's sanctity and the chronicles which include Edward's reign in their texts. Both types of sources confirm Chapter Four's conclusion that as time passed, Edward became a mythological figure. Chapter Six compares the presentation of Edward with those of political and royal saints in the mid-thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, and finds that the king is an unusual picture of both royal and English sanctity. This study of Edward's cult concludes that though it was used

for various political ends and some stories of the saint became popular legends, the cult never attained a popular status.

Abstract

The Cult of St. Edward the Confessor: 1066-1399

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The main purpose of this thesis is to examine the perception of Edward the Confessor during the period 1066-1399 and thereby explain the standing of his cult in England. On first glance, the large number of *vitae* and other documents associated with the cult can lead one to believe that veneration for Edward was widespread in the medieval period. This has led some scholars, among them E. A. Freeman, to assert that the cult was a popular one. More recently, this claim has been questioned, mainly by historians studying Westminster Abbey, the site of Edward's shrine. These two opposing viewpoints have opened up the question: if Edward's cult was not popular, why is it so well-endowed with material evidence?

The cult's connection with England's royal dynasties explains in part the comparatively large number of sources associated with the cult. The most remarkable of these sources are the numerous *vitae* written about the king, four of which are used as primary texts in the following chapters. The monarchy's interest in the cult is reflected in the letters written in support for the saint's papal canonisation, the construction of Edward's shrine and the reconstruction of Westminster Abbey, the Wilton Diptych and donations recorded in the Wardrobe Books. There are other sources not associated with the monarchy which help to reveal how the cult was presented. One of these is the sermons written by Aelred of Rievaulx for the saint's first translation, which have never been studied before in association with Edward's cult. Edward's role as king contributed to his appearance in many chronicles, which shed light not only on his reign, but also how his character and virtues were interpreted by later generations. While the numerous sources might

lead one to believe that the cult was popular, closer examination will show that the perception of the king was infused with problematic elements which did not encourage popular veneration.

Much work has been done by scholars on the topic of the veneration of saints in the Middle Ages. This work can be divided into two groups. The first group consists of those scholars who have examined the phenomenon as a whole, writing studies of saints' cults either in various time periods or about specific elements. Into this group must fall, among others, the influential works of André Vauchez, Benedicta Ward, Ronald Finucane and Susan Ridyard. Robert Folz's companion volumes on male and female royal saints are another example of a comparative study. These works have been useful in shaping an overall picture of devotion by noting trends and patterns. The second group includes works on specific cults, which generally study specific aspects rather than the cult as an entity. The list of English cults which have been the subject of this type of work includes: Christina of Markyate, Dunstan, Edmund of Abingdon, Edward the Martyr, Frideswide, George, Gilbert of Sempringham, Hugh, Oswald, Thomas Becket, Thomas of Hereford, Thomas of Lancaster and Wulfstan. It is in the latter group which this thesis falls. Studies of individual cults are important not only in the field of religious studies, but also in other areas. In the case of Edward the Confessor, there are interesting political connections which stem from the saint's position as a king, and the ways in which his cult was used during the canonisation petition and afterwards. General studies of cults are useful as a litmus test; they assist in exposing anomalies and unique features of a single cult. This thesis aims to contribute to the ongoing examinations of medieval saints' cults.

The cult of Edward the Confessor is in particular need of study. Over the years, it has received attention from scholars, most notably by Frank Barlow in his biography of the king and his edition of the *Life of*

King Edward who Rests at Westminster. This thesis will bring together works of various scholars to create a picture of the development of the perception of Edward the Confessor, in addition to including new arguments and viewpoints about the cult. In order to achieve a better understanding of the cult's appeal, an important element will be comparisons of various aspect of Edward's cult with those of other saints. Though this thesis aims to provide a comprehensive view of the cult, in some cases it may appear that depth has been sacrificed for breadth. For example, with three exceptions, there will be no discussion of artistic representations of Edward the Confessor. If their study is to be undertaken, it ought to be done by an art historian who would be able to place pieces such as stained glass in their proper context. The textual sources provide more than enough information about the cult to justify this omission.

The chronological boundaries of the thesis, 1066-1399, were determined in part because of the significant involvement of the monarchy in Edward's cult and contains the reigns of its two largest supporters: Henry III and Richard II. Of equal importance were the events immediately following Edward's death in 1066, namely the king's reception by the Norman rulers and subsequent canonisation petitions. Rather than adopting a chronological approach for the entire thesis, each chapter will examine a particular theme of the cult, charting its development and noting any inconsistencies. This method was followed because of the diverse interests in the cult and the various types of sources which are used. The chapters are outlined thusly:

Chapter One

This chapter outlines the history and political surroundings of Edward's reception by the Norman monarchs after the conquest and his papal canonisation. While the Norman monarchs claimed Edward as their *antecessor* in their charters, they did not consider him to be a

saint. There was a shift, mostly brought about by the prior of Westminster Abbey, Osbert of Clare, in the 1130's when he wrote a Life of the king and instigated a petition for Edward's papal canonisation. This event was significant because Edward was the first Englishman to receive formal papal canonisation. Osbert, whose motivation for Edward's canonisation was to secure Westminster's rights and privileges, involved King Stephen with the request. While later it would prove wise to involve the king in a canonisation petition, the first petition failed, and another one was not launched until 1161, this time supported by Henry II. The two different political circumstances at the time of the requests were crucial in their outcome. Whereas Stephen was struggling with the Empress Matilda to tighten his grip on the English throne, Henry II was secure in his position. Moreover, Alexander III, the pope who approved the petition, was indebted to Henry II for supporting him during the earlier papal schism, thereby making the canonisation seem like a political favour. The outcome of the petitions for Edward's canonisation was heavily dependent on the political situation in England and its relationship with the papacy.

Chapter Two

The monarchy's crucial role in securing Edward's canonisation necessitates study of its later involvement with the cult, particularly given Westminster Abbey's association with England's kings. This chapter questions if royal veneration of Edward resulted in the connection of Westminster Abbey with the monarchy. Devotion in this case is determined in these ways: through the number of members of the royal family buried there, the presence of the king at Westminster on Edward's two feast days, 13 October and 5 January, and donations to the abbey for works associated with Edward, such as the rebuilding of his shrine. The pattern of burials reveals that Westminster Abbey only became the site of most English royal internments beginning under

Henry III's reign. While the decision of that king to be interred in the abbey reflected his devotion to Edward's cult, later kings were buried there for ancestral reasons. Further neglect of the cult by Edward I, II and III is evidenced by royal attendance of Edward's feasts. This evidence is built upon by an examination of donations recorded in Wardrobe Books made to other shrines. The programme of Westminster Abbey's reconstruction in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries demonstrates the lack of royal interest in Edward's cult. Only two kings, Henry III and Richard II, contributed substantially towards this project. Richard II's devotion to the cult becomes more pronounced through examination of the *Westminster Chronicle* and the Wilton Diptych. Royal devotion to Edward's cult was limited; Henry III and Richard II were the only kings to demonstrate more than a perfunctory recognition of the saint.

Chapter Three

The focus remains on Westminster Abbey, shifting from royal devotion to how and when the saint was promoted by the Westminster monks inside and outside of the abbey. One question addressed in this chapter is: did royal attention influence the abbey's promotion the saint. The evidence considered includes: indulgences, the celebration of Edward's feasts, the treatment of the coronation regalia, fairs and ecclesiastical dedications. The indulgences recorded in the *Westminster Abbey Domesday* show that, proportionally, Edward was the subject of the most indulgences, although indulgences related to the saint were only commissioned twenty years after his canonisation. The Westminster muniments reflect that these indulgences were not successful in encouraging pilgrim traffic. Edward's two feasts were given place of honour in the late fourteenth century *Westminster Missal* and were also the subject of indulgences from the late twelfth century. However, attempts to raise the profile of these feasts outside of the

abbey failed. By the thirteenth century, the coronation regalia were seen as a relic of the confessor, although their actual association with Edward is dubious. The fair of Edward, while successful, reached their zenith with Henry III's patronage. Finally, the relatively low number of ecclesiastical dedication to Edward during 1066-1399 suggests that Westminster Abbey was ultimately unsuccessful in promoting the cult. While Edward the Confessor was an important saint within the abbey, this importance was heavily influenced by Henry III.

Chapter Four

This chapter charts the metamorphosis of Edward the Confessor's perception in four *vitæ* written between 1066-c. 1240: the anonymous text probably written by Gilbert of St. Bretin, Osbert of Clare's 1138 *Life*, Aelred of Rievaulx's 1161 work and Matthew Paris' c. 1240 text written for Queen Eleanor. The presentation of Edward in these texts is compared with those of other characters in the *vitae*, with the result that as time progressed, the reputation of members of the Godwin family declines drastically while others rose. In the meantime, the presentation of Edward was constant. By the writing of Matthew Paris' *Life*, the story of the saint's life had become mythologised, focusing more on fantastic events than on Edward's virtues. The saint's primary virtues, namely his charity and virginity, are also examined in an attempt to determine how he was presented. The reception of the virginity of a saint who was married is examined against the background of the discussion of what constituted a valid marriage in the period. The awkwardness of the topic is highlighted by the emphasis placed on stories of Edward's charity as time progressed. The miracles recorded in the texts show that Edward's reputation as a miraculous intercessor was not widespread in England. This renown is contrasted with the miracles of other saints who were canonised around the same period as Edward. The Lives show that Edward was a confusing picture

of sanctity to the laity, becoming a mythologised character not well known for his intercessory curative powers.

Chapter Five

This chapter is composed of two parts: the first consisting of works produced or commissioned by those who promoted Edward's sanctity and the second consisting of the English chroniclers who included Edward's reign in their texts. The materials are: three sermons on Edward written by Aelred of Rievaulx, the illustrations accompanying Matthew Paris' *vita* and tapestries featuring scenes from Edward's life commissioned by Abbot Barking for Westminster Abbey. Aelred's sermons focus on the king's virtues. The illustrations, like the text, place more emphasis on Edward's virtue of charity rather than his chastity. The tapestries concentrate more on Edward's miraculous visions rather than his virtues. None of the three add anything new to the presentation of Edward. The chronicles are divided into three periods: mid-eleventh century until the 1120's, 1120-1254 and then up until 1399. In the first period, Edward's sanctity was not mentioned and the chroniclers focused on the political events of his reign. The second period marked the inclusion of material illustrating the king's sanctity while the third was remarkable for what the chroniclers chose to incorporate from earlier works. This last period is also of note because the Lives, especially Aelred of Rievaulx's, were used as sources. Though the the chronicles were written for different reasons than the *vitae*, the presentation of Edward in these texts stagnated.

Chapter Six

This chapter compares Edward the Confessor with other royal saints and political saints. The two royal saints chosen for comparison are Louis IX of France and Margaret of Scotland. All three cults were flourishing to some extent in the mid-thirteenth century, making a

comparison between them sensible. The comparison with other royal saints exposes anomalies about the image of Edward the Confessor: unlike Louis IX and Margaret, the English king was pictured as a passive ruler, whose cult was unpopular following his death. Similar conclusions are reached when materials for the cults of Simon de Montfort, Thomas of Lancaster and Thomas Cantilupe are compared with those for Edward's. The failure of Edward's cult to achieve mass appeal is in part explained in this comparison with other, more dynamic, cults.

Through the examination of various elements of the cult and in comparison with other cults, it becomes clear that Edward the Confessor was not a popular saint during the period 1066-1399. Though Edward served some kings in a political context, and others in a devotional one, he was never wholeheartedly embraced as a national saint. The image of a saint detached from this world did not have mass appeal, and his Lives became the sources more of entertaining stories than models of virtue. Edward the Confessor was firmly connected with England's past, a reminder of its Anglo-Saxon heritage, and nothing more.

Acknowledgements

Although this thesis is the work of one author, it would have been impossible to write without the help of many people. The idea to study the cult of Edward the Confessor would never have been conceived without the encouragement of my teachers throughout the years. My most profound debt is to my supervisor, George Garnett, who has never been anything other than supportive, more often than not through his comments and observations, all delivered in his inimitable style. His patience and persistence are equally appreciated; I doubt that I would have crossed the Atlantic quite so readily for any other supervisor. Jay Rubenstein also deserves thanks for kindling my interest in the Middle Ages many years ago, and for reading and commenting upon a late draft of Chapter One. My undergraduate supervisor, Michael Moore, showed me that writing history was not only about putting the facts down, but also about crafting an argument. My only hope is that the following pages reflect his lessons in a small way.

Various libraries and their librarians have been extremely helpful in leading me through the maze of medieval sources. Particular thanks is due to the staff of the Upper Reading Room and Duke Humfrey's Library at the Bodleian Library for finding texts when OLIS could not. The British Library, Bibliothèque Nationale, Public Record Office and the Society of Antiquaries were all generous with their manuscripts. The Muniment Room of Westminster Abbey was especially kind with their time and uncanny ability to produce exactly what I needed, often before it was requested. The St. Hugh's College Library was a haven and treasure trove of books, many of which took up semi-permanent residence in my room with the permission of the college librarian, Debroah Quare, who has become a good friend and supporter.

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Westminster Abbey and an inspirational source of encouragement. Conversations and communications with John Blair, Paul Brand, James Campbell, Rees Davies, Peter Jackson, Martin Kauffmann, John Maddicott, Gervase Rosser and Richard Sharpe have all provided me with useful insights and methods with which to tackle the rather daunting time span of 1066-1399. Further afield, the following people have given invaluable advice and answered my many questions: Robert Bartlett, David Bates, Jerome Bertram, Martin Brett, Giles Brown, Pierre Chaplais, David Crouch, John Clark, Sally Dixon-Smith, Miriam Gill, Jonathan Good, James Holt, Anthony Howe, John Hudson, Graham Jones, William Kilbride, Machael Lapidge, Richard Mortimer, Robert Swanson and Heather Sebire. My largest logistical nightmare, determining how many churches were dedicated to Edward during 1066-1399, was made easier with the flood of letters sent in reply to my queries from vicars, local church historians and county council workers: George Burgon, P. R. Evans, Craig Ferguson, Graham Hames, Gill Izzard, Martin Leigh, Mrs. J. H. Long, Sue Neville, Richard Parker, Carlton Princeton, Robert Payne, David Robinson, Michael Rogers, Richard Spencer and Anthony Watkins.

While intellectual input and exchange were vital to shaping this thesis, financial contributions were equally crucial as they gave me the freedom to study. The Committee of Vice-Chancellors and Principals of the Universities of the United Kingdom relieved many fiscal worries with an Overseas Research Students Award. Wellesley College added to this with a Horton-Hallowell Fellowship. Throughout the course of this degree, St. Hugh's College has been exemplary in its support, which has come from many fronts, including: funding costs of various conferences and trips, appointing me as a Junior Dean and processing forms with lightning-quick efficiency. For the latter, I would like to thank the College Secretaries, Maureen Hamilton and Marie McAllister. It would be remiss not to recognise the administrative assistance also given by Hubert Stradler, Graduate Officer of the Modern History Faculty.

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This thesis is dedicated to my parents
Peter and Sophia O'Brien
and to my maternal grandparents
Jozef and Czeslawa Hedio
and to the memory of my paternal grandparents
William and Elsie O'Brien

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Abbreviations

§	Swayer number
<i>A-NS</i>	<i>Anglo-Norman Studies</i>
<i>AB</i>	<i>Analecta Bollandiana</i>
Aelred	Aelred of Rievaulx, 'Vita S. Edwardi Regis,' <i>Patrologia cursus completus, series latina</i> , ed. J. P. Migne (221 vols., Paris, 1844-64), cxcv, 737-90.
<i>BIHR</i>	<i>Bulletin of the Institute of Historical Research</i>
Byerly	<i>Records of the Wardrobe and Household, 1286-1289</i> , ed. B. F. and C. R. Byerly (London, 1986).
<i>CM</i>	Matthew Paris, <i>Chronica Majora</i> , ed. H. R. Luard (7 vols., Rolls Series, 1872-83).
<i>EHR</i>	<i>English Historical Review</i>
<i>GR</i>	William of Malmesbury, <i>Gesta Regum Anglorum</i> , ed. R. A. B. Mynors <i>et al.</i> (Oxford, 1998).
HBS	Henry Bradshaw Society
<i>The Life of King Edward</i>	<i>The Life of King Edward who Rests at Westminster</i> , 2 nd edn, ed. F. Barlow (Oxford, 1992).
Matthew Paris	<i>La estoire de Seint Aedward le Rei</i> , ed. K. Young Wallace (Anglo-Norman Text Society, 1983).
Osbert	'La vie de S. Édouard le Confesseur par Osbert de Clare,' ed. M. Bloch, <i>Analecta Bollandiana</i> 41 (1923), 5-131.

<i>PBA</i>	<i>Proceedings of the British Academy</i>
<i>PL</i>	<i>Patrologia cursus completus, series latina,</i> ed. J. P. Migne
<i>RC</i>	Richard of Cirencester, <i>Speculum Historiale de Gestis Regum Anglorum</i> , ed. J. E. B. Mayor (2 vols., Rolls Series, 1863-9).
<i>RS</i>	Rolls Series
<i>TRHS</i>	<i>Royal Historical Society Transactions</i>
<i>VCH</i>	<i>The Victoria History of the Counties of England</i>
<i>WAD</i>	<i>Westminster Abbey Domesday</i>

Introduction

‘There is something very remarkable in that gradual development of popular reverence for King Edward, which at last issued in his being acknowledged as the Patron Saint of England.’¹

It is unclear what period E. A. Freeman had in mind. Modern scholars have, however, questioned the saint’s popularity during the Middle Ages. Historians such as Barbara Harvey and Paul Binski have disagreed with Freeman’s assessment of the cult, saying that it did not attract widespread reverence.² Anyone wishing to study the cult of Edward the Confessor is faced with diametrically opposed views. The main objective of this thesis is to examine the perception of the saint, and thereby explain the standing of his cult in England during the period 1066-1399. The choice of time span was determined by the large involvement of the monarchy in the cult during this period. The first three-hundred and thirty-three years of its existence includes the reigns of the cult’s two most well-known supporters: Henry III and Richard II. It starts with the immediate aftermath of Edward’s death, which is generally the crucial period in the development of any cult, and ends with Richard II’s reign.

The cult’s connection with England’s royal dynasties explains in part the comparatively large number of sources associated with the cult. The most remarkable of these sources are the numerous *vitae* written about the king, four of which are used as primary texts in the following chapters. The monarchy’s interest in the cult is reflected in the letters written in support for the saint’s papal canonisation, the construction of Edward’s shrine and the reconstruction of Westminster Abbey, the Wilton Diptych and donations recorded in the Wardrobe Books. There

¹ E. A. Freeman, *The History of the Norman Conquest of England: Its Causes and its Results* (5 vols., Oxford, 1867-76), ii, p. 525.

² B. Harvey, *Westminster Abbey and its Estates in the Middle Ages* (Oxford, 1977), p. 43; P. Binski, *Westminster Abbey and the Plantagenets: Kingship and the Representation of Power 1200-1400* (New Haven and London, 1995), p. 52.

are other sources not associated with the monarchy which help to reveal how the cult was presented. One of these is the sermons written by Aelred of Rievaulx for the saint's first translation, which have never been studied before in association with Edward's cult. Edward's role as king contributed to his appearance in many chronicles, which shed light not only on his reign, but also how his character and virtues were interpreted by later generations. While the numerous sources might lead one to believe that the cult was popular, closer examination will show that the perception of the king was infused with problematic elements which did not encourage popular veneration.

Much work has been done by scholars on the topic of the veneration of saints in the Middle Ages. This work can be divided into two groups. The first group consists of those scholars who have examined the phenomenon as a whole, writing studies of saints' cults either in various time periods or about specific elements. Into this group must fall, among others, the influential works of André Vauchez, Benedicta Ward, Ronald Finucane and Susan Ridyard.³ Robert Folz's companion volumes on male and female royal saints are another example of a comparative study.⁴ These works have been useful in shaping an overall picture of devotion by noting trends and patterns. The second group includes works on specific cults, which generally study specific aspects rather than the cult as an entity. The list of English cults which have been the subject of this type of work includes: Christina of Markyate, Dunstan, Edmund of Abingdon, Edward the Martyr, Frideswide, George, Gilbert of Sempringham, Hugh, Oswald, Thomas Becket, Thomas of Hereford, Thomas of Lancaster and

³ A. Vauchez, *Sainthood in the Later Middle Ages*, trans. J. Birrell (Cambridge, 1997); B. Ward, *Miracles and the Medieval Mind: Theory, Record and Event 1000-1215* (Aldershot, 1982); R. C. Finucane, *Miracles and Pilgrims: Popular Beliefs in Medieval England* (New York, 1977); S. Ridyard, *The Royal Saints of Anglo-Saxon England* (Cambridge, 1988).

⁴ R. Folz, *Les Saintes reines du moyen âge en occident (VI^e-XIII^e siècles)* (Brussels, 1992); *Les Saints rois du moyen âge en occident (VI^e-XIII^e siècles)* (Brussels, 1984).

Wulfstan.⁵ It is in the latter group which this thesis falls. Studies of individual cults are important not only in the field of religious studies, but also in other areas. In the case of Edward the Confessor, there are interesting political connections which stem from the saint's position as a king, and the ways in which his cult was used during the canonisation petition and afterwards. General studies of cults are useful as a litmus test; they assist in exposing anomalies and unique features of a single cult. This thesis aims to contribute to the ongoing examinations of medieval saints' cults.

The cult of Edward the Confessor is in particular need of study. Over the years, it has received attention from scholars, most notably by Frank Barlow in his biography of the king and his edition of the *Life of King Edward who Rests at Westminster*.⁶ This thesis will bring together works of various scholars to create a picture of the development of the perception of Edward the Confessor, in addition to including new arguments and viewpoints about the cult. In order to achieve a better understanding of the cult's appeal, an important element will be comparisons of various aspect of Edward's cult with those of other saints. Though this thesis aims to provide a comprehensive view of the cult, in some cases it may appear that depth has been sacrificed for breadth. For example, with three exceptions, there will be no discussion

⁵ Amongst the many works dealing with the topic of individual saints' cults are: D. Dales, *Dunstan: Saint and Statesman* (Cambridge, 1988); C. H. Lawrence, *St. Edmund of Abingdon: A Study in Hagiography and History* (Oxford, 1960); H. Mayr-Harting, 'Functions of a Twelfth-Century Shrine: The Miracles of St. Frideswide,' in *Studies in Medieval History Presented to R. H. C. Davis* (Oxford, 1985); E. D. Gordon, *Saint George Patron of England* (London, 1907); P. J. Hogarth, 'St. George: The Evolution of a Saint and his Dragon,' *History Today* 30 (1980); B. Golding, *Gilbert of Sempringham and the Gilbertine Order, c. 1130- c. 1300* (Oxford, 1995); H. Farmer, 'The Canonization of St. Hugh of Lincoln,' *Lincolnshire Architectural and Archaeological Society Papers* (1956); H. Mayr-Harting (ed.), *St. Hugh of Lincoln: Lectures Delivered at Oxford and Lincoln* (Oxford, 1987); E. Cambridge and C. Stancliffe (eds.), *Oswald: Northumbrian King to European Saint* (Stamford, 1995); A. Duggan, 'The Cult of St. Thomas Becket in the Thirteenth Century,' in *St. Thomas Bishop of Hereford: Essays in his Honour* (Hereford, 1982); P. A. Brown, *The Development of the Legend of Thomas Becket* (Philadelphia, 1930); E. Walberg, *La Tradition hagiographique de saint Thomas Becket avant la fin du XII^e siècle* (Paris, 1929); E. Mason, *St. Wulfstan of Worcester c. 1008-1095* (Oxford, 1990).

⁶ *The Life of King Edward*; F. Barlow, *Edward the Confessor*, 2nd edn (New Haven and London, 1997).

of artistic images of Edward the Confessor.⁷ If their study is to be undertaken, it ought to be done by an art historian who would be able to place pieces such as stained glass in their proper context. The textual sources provide more than enough information about the cult to justify this omission.

The thesis will approach the cult thematically and then chronologically within each theme. The first chapter examines the history behind Edward's canonisation. Two elements make it particularly noteworthy: that it was the first papal canonisation of an Englishman, and that it required two petitions. The chapter establishes how the cult was viewed at its inception. Because of the monarchy's prominent role in Edward the Confessor's canonisation, Chapter Two concentrates on royal patronage of the cult. The major obstacle in attaining a clear understanding of the nature of royal patronage is the connection of the monarchy with Westminster Abbey, site of the Confessor's tomb. Part of the chapter separates the use of the abbey for royal ceremonies from royal devotion to the cult. Chapter Three charts Westminster Abbey's role in the promotion of Edward's cult and the cult's impact in other English ecclesiastical establishments. After discerning the influence of the cult, the focus will shift to the documents which were created to encourage veneration of the saint. The importance of the documents is that they record any changes in the perception of Edward over the period 1066-1399. Chapter Four looks at the four main *vitae* written about Edward and detects a metamorphosis in the presentation, deviating from traditional hagiographical forms to a more fantastic, almost fictional account of the king. Other sources which present a view of Edward, most notably the chronicles in which he

⁷ These exceptions are: a group of tapestries commissioned for Westminster Abbey, the Wilton Diptych and the illustrations to Matthew Paris' *vita*. The Wilton Diptych has been included because it is a famous example of Richard II's devotion to Edward, much the same as Henry III's reconstruction of Westminster Abbey. The illustrations reveal what the author chose to emphasise about the saint's life and are therefore an important adjunct to the text.

appears, are considered in Chapter Five. Chapter Six looks at the later period of this thesis and compares Edward to the political and royal saints who emerged in the mid-thirteenth and fourteenth centuries. A final assessment of Edward's perception will be made in the conclusion.

Chapter One

The Process of and the Motivations of Canonisation¹

In the years following his death, the perception of Edward the Confessor changed from that of a glorified predecessor to a holy, sainted king. The progress of this transformation was not incremental; instead it underwent a dramatic transformation in the mid-twelfth century. The Norman kings were in part responsible for the transformation. As George Garnett has illustrated, William the Conqueror deliberately chose the day of Edward's death as the basis for all land claims, thereby ignoring the existence of Harold's reign.² However, Edward the Confessor's canonisation in 1161 could not have transpired without the backing of ecclesiastical authorities, especially those in Westminster Abbey, who had their own reasons for supporting the cult. The two canonisation requests, made c. 1138 and 1161, occurred in a period marked by the emergence of the Norman regime in England, which acknowledged and absorbed England's past rather than rejecting it.³ Part of this acceptance included the Norman insistence that William the Conqueror had inherited England from Edward the Confessor and that Harold's reign was null and void in part because Stigand, the archbishop who consecrated him, had usurped his position.⁴ Because the Norman account of events was founded on Edward the Confessor's legacy, the Normans were responsible for maintaining it. Westminster Abbey, which had been rebuilt by the king and houses his tomb, likewise had an interest in maintaining Edward's legacy. This conjunction of interests resulted in Edward's canonisation in 1161.

¹ I should like to thank Jay Rubenstein for reading and commenting on an earlier version of this chapter.

² G. Garnett, 'Coronation and Propaganda: Some Implications of the Norman Claim to the Throne of England in 1066,' *TRHS*, 36 (1986), pp. 100-103.

³ The absorption included the continuation of Anglo-Saxon clerks and royal priests. For a discussion of this issue, see S. Keynes's unpublished 1987 essay, *Regenbald the Chancellor*, an abridged version of which is published in *A-NS* 10 (1987).

⁴ This argument is taken from Garnett, 'Coronation and Propaganda.' The Normans ignored the existence of Harold's reign because it was invalid. Garnett draws on evidence in the Domesday Book, which takes *tempus Edwardi* as its barometer rather than *tempus Haroldi*.

Edward as antecessor

The early perception of Edward the Confessor by the Norman monarchs can most readily be perceived in the documents produced during their reigns. The *acta* of William the Conqueror and subsequent kings provide a starting point with which to chart the perception of their Anglo-Saxon predecessor. The first Norman king stressed that he was Edward's rightful heir, referring to the king as his *antecessor* and *predecessor*.⁵ The Conqueror was insistent on his familial connection with Edward; the charters are replete with references to Edward as his *consanguineus* and *cognatus*.⁶ In his charters relating to England, William the Conqueror established the basis on which he claimed his throne by recalling his kinship with Edward, and acknowledging him as his predecessor. Except in a few charters, Edward was the only king to be acknowledged as William's *antecessor* or *predecessor*.⁷ Later kings did not assert the blood ties in the same manner when the Norman hold on England became more firm. As time passed, previous Norman kings were included in the list of predecessors. Whereas William tended to cite only Edward as his predecessor, William Rufus often included references to *tempus regis Willelmi patris mei* immediately after those to *tempus regis Edwardi*.⁸ Henry I also followed suit, including his father and sometimes his brother with references to Edward.⁹ In these charters, Edward was recognised as the *antecessor* of the Norman

regime in England. This recognition went further than references in

⁵ *Regesta Regum Anglo-Normannorum: The Acta of William I (1066-1087)*, ed. D. Bates (Oxford, 1998), nos. 4, 20, 22, 39, 80, 106, 119, 124, 126, 133, 141, 176, 181, 220, 254, 263, 286. The same words are also found in *acta* nos. 290 and 324, although these are generally assumed to be forgeries.

⁶ *Regesta Regum Anglo-Normannorum*, nos. 2, 80, 104, 133, 139, 150, 181, 220, 293, 298, 301, 308, 312, 327, 328. The same words are also found in the presumably forged *acta* nos. 290, 303, 305, 306, 324.

⁷ Mostly, references which include other kings as William's predecessor are unspecific: *Regesta Regum Anglo-Normannorum*, nos. 80, 81, 134, 183, 196, 305, 345. Three named specific kings: no. 39: Edmund, Cnut, Harthacnut and Edward, no. 150: Edward and Ælfthryth, a member of the royal household, no. 220: Edgar and Edward. In two charters, William offered a grant in exchange for prayers for his predecessors and his successors (nos. 81, 345).

⁸ *Regesta Regum Anglo-Normannorum 1066-1154*, ed. H. W. C. Davis *et al.*, (4 vols., Oxford, 1913-69), i, nos. 294, 439.

⁹ *Regesta Regum Anglo-Normannorum 1066-1154*, ii, nos. 579, 1250, 1251, 1414.

charters. In the so-called Coronation Charter issued by Henry I, the new king promised to uphold the good laws and customs of the Anglo-Saxon king, a promise which was reiterated in Stephen's Coronation Charter.¹⁰ The Norman claim to the English throne, though tenuous at best, was asserted in the documents produced in their reigns which cited Edward as the founder of the dynasty. The *acta* and the Coronation Charters established the Normans as the Anglo-Saxons' heirs by drawing back the lines of legal practice to Edward.

Another document which claimed to hark back to the times of Edward the Confessor, the *Leges Edwardi Confessoris*, also documents the monarchy's understanding of the Anglo-Saxon king. Bruce O'Brien has recently established that the document, far from being an Anglo-Saxon construct, was written after 1096 and before 1175, most likely during Stephen's reign.¹¹ These years coincide with the period during which Edward's sanctity was being promoted for the first time, presenting an opportunity to hail him as a proposed saint instead of merely a predecessor. While O'Brien states that in the twelfth century Edward was remembered as 'another Solomon,' an allusion first made in the anonymous *Life*, there is no language in the tract which refers to his sanctity.¹² The lack of attention given to Edward's sanctity in the *Leges* is mirrored by a near total absence of references to his laws in the *vitae*.¹³ Though the tendency in the *Lives* is to ignore Edward's practice of government, there is one reference to Edward's policies during his

¹⁰ Edward's laws were mentioned in three instances in the charter. The most significant entry is at the end of the document, in article thirteen: 'Lagam regis Eadwardi vobis reddo cum illis emendacionibus quibus pater meus eam emendavit consilio baronum suorum.' Two other articles, two and five, cite compliance with the laws: 'Monetagium commune quod capiebatur per civitates et per comitatus quod non fuit tempore Eadwardi regis hoc ne amodo sit omnino defendo,' and 'Murdra etiam retro ab illa die qua in regem coronatus fui omnia condono, et ea que amodo facta fuerint iuste emendentur secundum lagam regis Eadwardi.' I should like to thank Martin Brett for allowing me to use his unpublished edition of the charter.

¹¹ B. O'Brien, *God's Peace & King's Peace: The Laws of Edward the Confessor* (Philadelphia, 1999), pp. 44-8. O'Brien builds on the earlier work and edition of the laws done by F. Liebermann.

¹² O'Brien, *God's Peace & King's Peace*, p. 47. The first reference of Solomon in a document related to Edward is in *The Life of King Edward*, p. 6.

¹³ For a discussion of the perceptions of Edward in his *vitae*, see Ch. 4.

reign: his remission of the Danegeld in 1051.¹⁴ Paradoxically, Edward is not mentioned in conjunction with this act in the *Leges* when it is referred to in Chapter 11.¹⁵ Similarly, in an earlier code, the *Leges Henrici Primi*, Edward is ignored during a discussion of the Danegeld, perhaps because rather than upholding its abolition, the code demands its payment.¹⁶ There is a complete separation of Edward's actions in the *vitae* and the law codes; two different pictures of the same man were presented. The law code which Edward was supposed to have fathered did not support any arguments for his sanctity at the time when it was being promoted. Instead, his name was attached to the *Leges* in the same manner in which it was used in the charters sponsored by the Norman regime in an attempt to gain legitimacy.¹⁷

The First Petition

It is one thing to follow the laws and good practices of one's predecessor, quite another to canonise him. There are no indications within the documents discussed above which suggest that Edward was considered as a holy figure. Indeed, an act such as a papal canonisation, which was especially rare at the time, could not be taken lightly. The normal procedure in the tenth and eleventh centuries was for a diocesan bishop to recognise the sanctity of proposed saints within his

¹⁴ The Life written by Aelred of Rievaulx contains the first reference: 'Insuper et tributum illud gravissimum quod tempore patris sui primo classi Danicæ pendebatur, postmodum vero fisco regio annis singulis inferebatur, regia liberalitate remisit, et ab onere hoc importabili in perpetuum Angliam absolvit' (col. 753.). Matthew Paris also referred to it in his version of the Life (ll. 954-7.).

¹⁵ O'Brien, *God's Peace & King's Peace*, p. 168.

¹⁶ 'Denagildum quod aliquando pingemannis dabatur, id est xii denarii de unaquaque hyda per annum, si ad terminos non reddatur wita emendetur' (*Leges Henrici Primi*, ed. and trans. L. J. Downer [Oxford, 1972], p. 120.).

¹⁷ During the Stuart times, the laws were to take on a life of their own, replacing the cult of the king with a cult of his laws. See J. Greenberg, 'St. Edward's Ghost: The Radical Face of the Ancient Constitutions in Early Modern English Political Thought' (Cambridge, 2001).

jurisdiction and to preside over the translation of relics.¹⁸ Papal canonisation began to increase after the tenth century, though episcopal canonisation persisted until well into the twelfth and beyond.¹⁹ The recognition of sanctity was a sensitive subject in post-Conquest England. The Normans were skeptical of the claims of some saints long revered by the Anglo-Saxons.²⁰ A famous example of this is the discussion between Archbishop Lanfranc and Anselm to determine the validity of Archbishop Elphege's sanctity. At the beginning of the episode, Eadmer observed that while most of the changes Lanfranc implemented in the English Church were based on sound reason, some of them were

¹⁸ The rise and dominance of the papacy's role in canonisation was gradual and has been the focus of much scholarly work. The classic text, which examines this ascendancy from the time of the early Church until the twentieth century, is E. W. Kemp, *Canonization and Authority in the Western Church* (London, 1948). In an earlier work, S. Kuttner demonstrated that though Alexander III wrote *Audivimus*, which claimed papal prerogative in canonisation, between 1171-80, the precept was not officially recognised until it was inserted into the decretals in 1234 by Gregory IX ('La Réserve papale du droit de canonisation,' *Revue Historique de droit français et étranger* 4th ser., 17 [1938]). R. Foreville has since argued that though not supported in the written record, Alexander III's papacy worked on the premise of the papal reserve ('Alexandre III et la canonisation des saints,' in F. Liotta [ed.], *Miscellanea Rolando Bandinelli Papa Alessandro III* [Siena, 1986], p. 228.). However, her argument does not recognise the persistence of episcopal canonisation, which is evidenced as late as 1634 when Urban VIII issued *Caelestis Hierusalem Cives*, which forbade veneration of a saint not canonised by the pope (E. W. Kemp, 'The Attempted Canonization of Robert Grosseteste,' in D.A. Callus [ed.], *Robert Grosseteste: Bishop and Scholar* [Oxford, 1955], pp. 242-3.). A. Vauchez included a study of the late medieval manifestation of the practice in *Sainthood in the Later Middle Ages*, pp. 61-84. Additionally, P. H. Daly focused his study on the types of evidence used in papal canonisation ('The Process of Canonisation in the Thirteenth and Early Fourteenth Centuries,' in M. Jancey (ed.), *Saint Thomas of Cantilupe, Bishop of Hereford: Essays in His Honour* (Leominster, 1982).

¹⁹ Kemp, *Canonisation and Authority*, p. 53.

²⁰ There were many reasons behind this complex Norman reaction to saints venerated by the Anglo-Saxons. The Normans were not opposed to the veneration of Anglo-Saxon saints; in some cases they were eager to promote legitimate cults because of the dearth of Norman saints. A discussion of Lanfranc's amendments to the feast days in Canterbury, which argues against the systematic purge of Anglo-Saxon saints, appears in R. W. Pfaff, 'Lanfranc's Supposed Purge of the Anglo-Saxon Calendar,' in T. Reuter (ed.), *Warriors and Churchmen in the High Middle Ages: Essays Presented to Karl Leyser* (London, 1992), pp. 95-100. This thesis has recently been modified by J. Rubenstein in 'Liturgy against History: The Competing Visions of Lanfranc and Eadmer of Canterbury,' *Speculum* 74 (1999). For a discussion about these motivations, see S. J. Ridyard, 'Condigna Veneratio: Post-Conquest Attitudes to the Saints of the Anglo-Saxons,' *A-NS* 9 (1986); P. A. Hayward 'Translation-Narratives in Post-Conquest Hagiography and the English Resistance to the Norman Conquest,' *A-NS* 22 (1999). The architectural evidence for Anglo-Saxon liturgy present in three English cathedrals has been examined by A. W. Kulkas, 'The Continuity of Anglo-Saxon Liturgical Traditions as Evident in the Architecture of Winchester, Ely and Canterbury Cathedrals,' *Spicilegium Beccense* 2 (1984). For a case study of how the Normans made use of an Anglo-Saxon cult, see P. A. Hayward, 'The *Miracula Inventionis Beate Mylburge Virginis* attributed to "the Lord Ato, Cardinal Bishop of Ostia",' *EHR* cxiv (1999).

prompted out of a need to assert his authority.²¹ This observation hinted that politics and sanctity to Norman clerics were not far removed from one another. It remains to be seen if the same attitude was adopted by the Norman kings.

There have been several prominent descriptions of the development of Edward the Confessor's cult by Eric Kemp, Bernhard Scholz and Frank Barlow. Though some of their assertions are questionable, they share the basic premise that, for a successful canonisation appeal, the cult of Edward the Confessor needed both political and clerical backing.²² It would have been impossible to mount a petition to Rome without the king's permission, just as it would have been impossible to assert Edward's sanctity without clerical sanction.²³ Canonisation at any time required the backing of an influential group, such as a religious foundation to which the proposed saint belonged or another powerful organisation. Without such endorsement, a petition was doomed to failure both in terms of influence and financial might.²⁴ Edward the Confessor had two such sources of support: the royal house which claimed him as its *antecessor* and Westminster Abbey, the foundation which he had rebuilt and the site of his burial. The ecclesiastical and political supporters had their own agendas which prompted them to further the petition. However, both the royal court and Westminster did not envisage Edward as a saint early on. Instead,

²¹ 'Quapropter cum plures de illis magna fretus ratione, tum quasdam mutavit sola auctoritatis suæ deliberatione' (Eadmer, *Vita Sancti Anselmi*, ed. R. W. Southern [Oxford, 1962], p. 51.).

²² Kemp, *Canonization and Authority*, pp. 77-8; B. Scholz, 'The Canonization of Edward the Confessor,' *Speculum* 36 (1961); *The Life of King Edward*, pp.161-3.

²³ William the Conqueror, Henry I, Stephen and Henry II all actively controlled all correspondence between England and Rome, a control which was formally expressed in the Constitutions of Clarendon (Z. N. Brooke, *The English Church and the Papacy from the Conquest to the Reign of John* [Cambridge, 1952], pp. 136-7, 152-3, 167, 188, 202-6.).

²⁴ Sometimes the support of one influential group was not enough. Gilbert of Sempringham's canonisation was endorsed not only by the Gilbertine order but also by King John (*The Book of St. Gilbert*, ed. R. Foreville and G. Kier [Oxford, 1987], p. 214.). The first attempt to canonise Wulfstan, bishop of Worcester, in 1147 failed because it had limited support (Mason, *St. Wulfstan of Worcester*, p. 276.). In addition, this support originated outside of Worcester. Bernard, bishop of St. David's, wrote to the pope requesting Wulfstan's canonisation after he saw his tomb, which had survived the 1145 fire at Worcester Cathedral (William of Malmesbury, *Vita Wulfstani*, ed. R. R. Darlington [London, 1928], p. 106.).

that realisation came years after his death, when the project was beneficial to the two interests.

Westminster Abbey's support for Edward's canonisation did not materialise until the mid-twelfth century. From the time of Edward's death until the 1130's, there was little interest in promoting the king as a saint. A year after Edward died, his widow Edith commissioned a book which praised her family, the Godwins, and her husband.²⁵ The second part of the work details some of Edward's miracles and visions, leading the author to call him a saint at the end of the work.²⁶ Still the monks at Westminster had not reached a unanimous decision about Edward's sanctity in the decades following his death. During the period 1076-1085, Sulcard, a monk at Westminster, wrote a brief tract on the foundation of the abbey entitled *Prologus de Construccione Westmonasterii*. The monk's description of Edward was complimentary, calling him pious and comparing his peaceful reign to Solomon's, but unlike the earlier biographer, Sulcard did not consider Edward a saint.²⁷ Westminster's disregard of Edward's sanctity reveals much about the perception of him in the years immediately after the Conquest. Even if Edward was not regarded as a saint throughout England, Westminster should have been eager to emphasise his sanctity earlier, since the king had been a major benefactor of the abbey and was buried there. It is surprising Westminster did not attempt to keep a record of Edward's miracles, particularly since he was reported to have performed them during his life. However, this becomes less surprising when one realises that the majority of miraculous cures in the first Life of Edward happened in the court and not within the abbey. It would take some

²⁵ *The Life of King Edward*, p. xix.

²⁶ 'Reuelatum uero, ut supra texuimus, sanctum adhuc uiuentem in mundo, ad eius quoque tumbam propitia deitas his signis reuelat sanctum uiuere secum in celo...' (*The Life of King Edward*, p. 126.).

²⁷ 'Tandem uero pietas diuina Angliam respexit. Quando scilicet tempus miserendi eius aduenit, solo diuino consilio nutuque agente post tot ruinas et pericula rex pie mencionis Edwardus rex factus a paterno regno omnia scandalorum purgauit discrimina. Qui, ut alter Salomon, post paterna bella et cruentum regnum successit in pace omnisque motus conquieuit omni tempore uite sue' (B. W. Scholz, 'Sulcard of Westminster: "Prologus de Construccione Westmonasterii,"' *Traditio* 20 [1964], p. 90.).

sign within the church itself in order to spark off an attempt to have Edward's sanctity formally recognised.

It would seem that such an opportunity presented itself in 1102 when Edward's tomb was opened and his body was inspected for corruption.²⁸ Unfortunately, there are no contemporary sources for the inspection; the earliest one is to be found in Osbert of Clare's 1138 *Vita*. The motivation behind the opening of the tomb is unclear; though the passage opens with the explanation that God revealed Edward's sanctity through his incorruption when his tomb was opened for his translation, the rest of the chapter does not suggest that this occasion was the king's translation.²⁹ Frank Barlow has also suggested that Henry I's wife Matilda, who was related to Edward, might have had a hand in the inspection, as it occurred only two years after her marriage.³⁰ At the beginning of the inspection, Edward was buried in a *sarcophagus* and by the end is in a *sepulcrum*.³¹ While these could both relate to a tomb, the latter term has shrine-like connotations implying an attempt to promote Edward's sanctity.³² Though Osbert presented the events as a translation and used language to suggest that such a ceremony had been performed, it is unlikely to have happened. Within the passage, there is no description of the body's movement from his tomb to a shrine.

²⁸ The topos of incorrupt saints' bodies enjoyed a long tradition. Bede described Oswald's incorrupt hand and the incorruption of the bodies of Æthelburh, Æthelthryth, Cuthbert and Fursa (Bede, *Ecclesiastical History of the English People*, ed. B. Colgrave and R. A. B. Mynors [Oxford, 1991 reprint of Oxford, 1969], pp. 230, 240, 276, 394, 444.), while Felix described Guthlac's in *Life of St. Guthlac*, trans. B. Colgrave (Cambridge, 1940), p. 161. William of Malmesbury considered incorruption to be the sign which indicated that a person was truly considered a saint: 'Quod ideo fieri credo caelitus, ut natio pene extra orbem posita, ex consideratione incorruptelae sanctorum, fidentius ad spem resurrectionis animaretur.' He cited the incorruption of SS Æthelthryth, Wihtburh, Edmund, Ælfheah and Cuthbert (*GR*, p. 386.). St. Gilbert, who was canonised about forty years after Edward, was also found entire in his tomb (*The Book of St. Gilbert*, p. 189.).

²⁹ 'Cum domino Deo nostro placuit oculis multorum corporalibus ostendere quanta sanctus princeps pulcritudine choruscaret in carne, sancte multitudinis illius glorie temporali testimonium sufficit, que in die sue translationis incorruptum regis corpus inuenit' (Osbert, p. 121.).

³⁰ *The Life of King Edward*, p. 156. Later she showed her devotion to her Anglo-Saxon heritage by being buried in Westminster near Edward at a time when the abbey was not a recognised royal burial site.

³¹ Osbert, pp. 121-2.

³² The ceremony in which an individual's sanctity was acknowledged was a translation from a terrestrial tomb to one above ground (Kemp, *Canonization and Authority*, p. 38.).

Indeed, not all of the people gathered for the event were convinced about Edward's sanctity: some expected to see his body decomposed into ashes, while others thought his renowned chastity would have preserved the flesh, and still others merely wanted to gaze upon the face of the monarch they had known in life.³³ When the body was discovered to be whole, Bishop Gunnulf tried to pluck hairs from the beard as a relic.³⁴ It does not appear that the opening of the tomb was meant to be more than a test to see if Edward's body had been touched by time, particularly as Edward's sanctity was still a subject of debate in Westminster Abbey. Frank Barlow believes that the opening was meant to be an inspection for Edward's corruption.³⁵ But, since the consensus about Edward's sanctity among the assembled ecclesiastical figures was not unanimous at the outset of the operation, it is unlikely that they were gathered for a translation. The inspection failed to change Westminster's opinion of Edward: he remained a deceased king, not a nascent saint. However, the inspection ultimately contributed towards Edward's canonisation because Osbert believed Edward's incorruption was proof of his sanctity.³⁶ The letters written for the canonisation petitions supported this belief. Letters from both petitions referred to Edward's incorruption, which supports Barlow's belief that the tomb was opened in 1102.³⁷ Regardless of the evidence brought to light by

³³ 'Sex namque et xxx^{ta} annis rex delituerat Eadwardus in tumulo, eumque iuxta condicionem mortalitatis nostre arbitrati sunt nonnulli humanitus in cineres defluxisse. Quidam uero pio mentis desiderio quoddam diuinum presagiebant in eo cuius membra, quia uirginei pudoris dampna non senserant, in quadam resurrectionis gloria corpus manere non dubitabant. Alii uero sancti et religiosi uiri maximo ducebantur affectu uultum eius cernere, quibus contigit in carne dum uiueret desiderabilem faciem eius uidere' (Osbert, p. 121.).

³⁴ 'Solut ille uir sanctus et iustus antistes Dei Gunnulfus tanti amoris desiderio ignitus efferuuit, ut pallium sub mento scinderet et barbam foris extraheret, et inter manus suas uenusta compositione collocaret' (Osbert, p. 122.). The bishop was prevented from taking the hair by the abbot of Westminster, who insisted that the body remain intact. This incident goes partway in explaining why Edward's body was not broken up for relics, which was a common practice.

³⁵ Barlow, *Edward the Confessor*, pp. 267, 269.

³⁶ 'Sicque caro solida et nitidia erant ac inuiolata omnia uestimenta, ut integritas eorum loqueretur Deum in Eadwardo uere mirabilem, qui in eius carne representabat quandam sanctorum corporum resurrectionem' (Osbert, 122.).

³⁷ These letters can be found in *The Letters of Osbert of Clare*, ed. E. W. Williamson (Oxford, 1929), p. 86; Barlow, *Edward the Confessor*, pp. 314, 315, 316, 320, 322-3. The letter from Abbot Gregory of Malmesbury specifically referred to the pallium taken from the tomb (p. 321.).

this inspection, Westminster's inaction begs an explanation. At this point, Westminster did not possess any saint's relics which encouraged pilgrim traffic, thereby generating income. One would assume that having discovered his body whole and shining, it would have been in their interest to promote the cult. However, Westminster was uninterested in Edward's cult, and the saint would have to wait thirty-six more years until his cause was championed by a member of the house. Just as there was no reference in royal *acta* to Edward's sanctity, there was an equal lack of interest in the matter at Westminster Abbey.

The first petition to canonise Edward was spearheaded by Osbert of Clare, a monk at Westminster and prior of the abbey. Osbert was a difficult and powerful member of the abbey, though this power ultimately led to exile rather than ecclesiastical preferment. J. Armitage Robinson, whose article on the prior presents a detailed account of his career, suspected that Osbert was elected abbot by the monks during the vacancy which followed Gilbert Crispin's death in 1117.³⁸ This election was negated when Henry I returned from abroad in 1121 and appointed Herbert. The king wanted no obstacles in the way of his appointee. Robinson suggested that the king was called in to adjudicate on an internal problem in the abbey, which would have given him the opportunity to assert his will.³⁹ He found it necessary to remove Osbert, who was most likely acting as an elected abbot, from Westminster, and in a letter Osbert wrote to Hugh, then the prior of St. Pancras at Lewes, it transpired that the king suggested the disappointed prior visit Ely.⁴⁰ The visit appeared to be more a command than a suggestion, an exile designed so that the king's choice for abbot could instate his powers without Osbert's troublesome presence. The prior

³⁸ J. A. Robinson, 'A Sketch of Osbert's Career,' in *The Letters of Osbert of Clare*, ed. E. W. Williamson (Oxford, 1929), p. 3.

³⁹ Robinson, 'A Sketch of Osbert's Career,' p. 4.

⁴⁰ 'quod si mea olim coram rege praevaluisset electio, in tribulationibus meis ad te mea fuisset conversio. sed quia rex me blanditiis et precibus delinivit, ut aliquamdiu ecclesiae nostrae cederem et Eliensem ecclesiam ad quam missus sum visitarem, adquievi voluntati eius et satisfeci imperio' (Osbert, *Letters*, p. 47.).

did himself no favours in a letter he wrote to Abbot Herbert, defending his position by saying that he could not stand by while the new abbot let the abbey's buildings fall into disrepair, managed the land poorly and let the servants and members of the house starve.⁴¹ Concern for the preservation of Westminster and its lands would occupy Osbert throughout his career. Osbert's period of exile began c. 1124 and ended in 1134. Four years later, in 1138, Gilbert of Blois, King Stephen's illegitimate son, was appointed abbot following either Herbert's death or retirement. Osbert's hopes of becoming abbot were dashed once more, though this time he was able to protect the abbey from the deeds of this new abbot through his new project: the canonisation of Edward the Confessor.

In 1138, four years after returning to Westminster, Osbert began to write a Life of Edward the Confessor. The monk was not a novice hagiographer as he had previously composed a Life in honour of St. Edburga. His interest in royal saints did not wane; later he wrote a *vita* of St. Æthelbert and a collection of miracles associated with St. Edmund. Though he had written about other saints, he never played a part in their canonisation campaigns. What was it about Edward that prompted Osbert to take the unprecedented step to petition for papal canonisation? The two-fold answer leads back to Westminster and Osbert's tireless efforts to maintain its privileges. Pierre Chaplais has studied the First, Second and Third Charters King Edward presented to Westminster, granting the abbey lands and various privileges. Chaplais concludes that Osbert knew they were forgeries because he had forged them.⁴² The charters and Osbert's *vita* outline the prior's motivation for seeking papal canonisation. Had Osbert followed the traditional

⁴¹ 'verum illa proditio nullo alio probari praevallet argumento, nisi quod sacrarum ruinas aedium, inedias domesticorum, domos conquassatas, tecturas reparandas, retractas seniorum dapes, diminutas thesaurorum opes, muros et moenia confractos et diruta, et fratrum necessaria absque discretione per manus alienas sine te male consumpta, tacere non potui...' (Osbert, *Letters*, p. 51.).

⁴² P. Chaplais, 'The Original Charters of Herbert and Gervase Abbots of Westminster (1121-1157),' in P. M. Barnes and C. F. Slade (eds.), *A Medieval Miscellany for D. M. Stenton* (Pipe Roll Soc. lxxvi, 1962) pp. 91-3.

procedure, the bishop of London would have been responsible for declaring Edward a saint. However, this was impossible at the time, because the see was vacant from Gilbert's death in 1134 until 1141.⁴³ Even if the see had been occupied, it is unlikely that Osbert would have presented his request to the bishop. First, about this time St. Paul's was preparing a new miracle collection for St. Erkenwald, which was probably intended to encourage more donations to the cathedral to fund the construction of a new shrine for the saint.⁴⁴ It is questionable if, at a time when a bishop would have been concerned with raising funds for his sainted predecessor, he would have encouraged a new rival cult in London. More important than the issue of rival cults was Westminster's independence from local episcopal control. The Second Charter cites Dunstan's role in granting the abbey freedom from the bishop of London, which, given the charter's background, could very well have been invented by Osbert.⁴⁵ Osbert stressed the separation again in the Life when he recounted the story of Westminster's original dedication, which first appeared in Sulcard's history. The story relates how St. Peter dedicated the church the night before Mellitus, the bishop of London, was supposed to have performed the ceremony.⁴⁶ This story emphasises the abbey's links to the papacy over those to the bishop of London. Further on in the Life, Osbert cited a letter from Pope Nicholas confirming Westminster Abbey's privileges, including freedom from

⁴³ R. Foreville, 'Canterbury et la canonisation des saints,' in D. Greenway *et al.* (eds.), *Tradition and Change: Essays in Honour of Marjorie Chibnall* (Cambridge, 1985), p. 66.

⁴⁴ *The Saint of London. The Life and Miracles of St. Erkenwald*, ed. and trans. E. G. Whatley (Binghamton, NY, 1989), p. 64.

⁴⁵ 'Et quoniam in ipsis diebus nostris inter Robertum episcopum clerumque Londoniensem et abbatem prefati monasterii monachosque orta quedam contentio fuerat episcopo et clero sibi uolentibus in supradicto monasterio sancti Petri contra leges atque decreta supramemorata quasdam consuetudines et obsonia usurpare et abbatie monachisque contra sese defendentibus regum et apostolicorum et maxime sancti Dunstani qui prius fuerat Lundoniensis episcopus et postea Cantuariensis archiepiscopus prolata priuilegii auctoritate . huius contentionis causa coram episcopis et optimatibus regni nostri et in presentia nostra uentilata et finita nos . demum iusticie fauentes . diffinite cause consensus nostri uigorem prestaremus' (§1011, consult the Website *Anglo-Saxon Charters*: www.trin.cam.ac.uk/users/sdk15/chartwww).

⁴⁶ Osbert, pp. 83-6.

episcopal encroachment.⁴⁷ Had the vacant see been filled, Osbert's *vita* contains passages which would have raised issues with the bishop. In either case, Osbert had no other choice than to take the unprecedented step in England of sending a petition to the pope.

The charters supposedly issued by Edward do more than grant Westminster freedom from the see of London. Frank Barlow takes the evidence further and draws out the importance of Edward's presence in the charters; since important privileges and land claims were being based on these charters, supposedly issued by the king, it resulted in an interest in Edward's reputation.⁴⁸ Looking at the charters, these presumptions can be taken further. Osbert relied on Edward the Confessor to verify Westminster's claims of the abbey's privileges, indeed, it was inevitable that he should do so. In constructing the charters, Osbert used the names of prominent Anglo-Saxon figures to support them. The supposed First Charter, confirming Westminster's lands and rights, states that they were granted by Kings Edgar, Edward the Martyr, Edgar and Æthelred.⁴⁹ All of their relationships with Edward are stressed and the holiness of two is emphasised: Edward is called *martyr gloriosus* and Æthelred is *piissimus rex*. St. Dunstan also appears in the passage concerning those who have granted rights to Westminster Abbey, appearing as the archbishop of Canterbury instead of the bishop of London. This distinction is important because of the abbey's struggle to free itself from the grip of the see of London. The forged charters show that Osbert relied on older, preferably holy, figures to support Westminster's claims. Osbert was also keen to stress the connection between the Anglo-Saxon monarchs, Westminster Abbey

⁴⁷ 'Absoluimus etiam eum locum ab omni seruicio et dominatione episcopali, ut nullus episcopus illuc introeat ordinaturus aut precepturus aliquid nisi ex petitione et consensu abbatis et monachorum, et habeat idem locus liberum procinctum, id est ambitum et cimiterium mortuorum circa se absque episcopali uel cuiuslibet respectu uel exactione' (Osbert, p. 90.).

⁴⁸ *The Life of King Edward*, p. 157.

⁴⁹ 'Eodem die renouaui, confirmaui, et emendaui priuilegia quae famosissimus auus meus Eadgarus, patruusque meus deo amabilis rex et martyr gloriosus Eaduardus eiusdem Eadgari filius, et sanctissimus pater Dunstanus Cantuariensis archiepiscopus, ac piissimus rex Æelredus pater meus, illi loco contulerunt' (§ 1043.).

and the pope; in the First Charter there is a reference to Alfred's consecration by Pope Leo and a reference to the relics given to the king by the pope.⁵⁰ The prior used two types of influence, royal and ecclesiastical, in his effort to support Westminster's rights. The liberties were granted by the most powerful figures in the English Church and court. From Westminster's past which included holy kings and ecclesiastical figures who supported the abbey, it was not unusual that Osbert would construct its greatest royal benefactor as a saint. Given that part of this past included a separation from the bishop of London, it was even more inevitable that Osbert would turn to the pope to confer canonisation.

Having established Osbert's interest in Edward's canonisation, it is now necessary to question whether the petition was generally supported among the monks at Westminster. Bernhard Scholz has soundly defeated Marc Bloch's assertion that Osbert was writing at the request of senior ecclesiastical figures.⁵¹ The Life written by the prior supports Scholz's and Barlow's point that Osbert was the single driving force behind the first petition, a position which would be filled by Westminster's abbot during the second petition.⁵² The few documents connected to the first petition do not indicate that Abbot Gervase was involved in it. In the first instance, the dossier of letters sent with the first petition does not include one from Gervase. The lack of a dedication at the beginning of Osbert's *vita* is another indication of the abbot's attitude toward the project. It was usual for any *vita* to have a dedication at the beginning, generally to the abbot of the house where the shrine was. The omission of a dedication suggests that the abbot did not actively support the petition.⁵³ The lack of a dedication is significant

⁵⁰ '...et Leo qui eam consecrauit...Ælfredo regi' (§ 1043.). These relics included: two parts of the cross, a part of a nail used in the crucifixion, part of Christ's tunic, some of Mary's vestments, unspecified relics of Paul, Andrew, Bartholomew, Barnabas, and other unspecified relics.

⁵¹ Scholz, 'The Canonization of Edward the Confessor,' p. 42.

⁵² *The Life of King Edward*, p. 157.

⁵³ There is a dedication to Abbot Laurence at the beginning of Aelred of Rievaulx's Life of Edward (Aelred, cols. 739-40.).

because Osbert's other hagiographical writings either have dedications or evidence that they were commissioned.⁵⁴ Within the *Life*, there are indications of tension between Westminster's abbot and its prior. In a passage describing Westminster at the time of the king's benefaction, Osbert lamented the state into which Westminster had been allowed to fall since Edward's death.⁵⁵ If Abbot Gervase had commissioned Osbert to write the *Life*, the monk would not have included this passage, which attacked Gervase's practices just as he had attacked Herbert's earlier. The tensions between the two men is evident in the curse delivered at the end of a letter purported to be from Innocent II, forged by the prior, which berated the abbot for Westminster's dilapidated state.⁵⁶ The relationship between these two men was an uneasy one, which resulted in the abbot's absence from the canonisation petition.

The rift between the prior and abbot was exacerbated by Osbert's defence of Westminster's rights, which was connected to his belief in Edward's sanctity. Evidence of the former can be seen both within the *Life* and the letters he wrote supporting the canonisation. Eighteen of the thirty chapters in the *Life* were devoted to Westminster; its dedication, Edward's reconstruction of the abbey and all the papal communications recognising the abbey's rights were included. Moreover, it would seem that the theme of Westminster's demise under the hands of irresponsible abbots struck Innocent II either when he read the *Life*, or while he listened to Osbert.⁵⁷ In his letters to Abbot

⁵⁴ Osbert's *Life of St. Edburga* was written at the request of the Pershore monks (Osbert, *Letters*, p. 179.). *The Miracles of St. Edmund* was written for Abbot Anselm (Osbert, *Letters*, p. 26.). Finally, the impetus for the *vita* of St. Ethelbert has been associated with Gilbert, bishop of Hereford, to whom the work is dedicated. There is no association of Westminster Abbey with the composition of this text, which is unusual because the abbey housed the saint's head (Osbert, *Letters*, p. 24.).

⁵⁵ 'In auro et preciosis lapidibus nescitur modus, et qui in rebus temporalibus modum non excesserat, in regalibus donatiuis mensuram non seruat. Adiecit et his in diuersarum prouinciarum territoriis ditia regalium fiscorum predia, opulentisque dotibus noua Dei sponsa refluuit et sicut intus in moribus, sic extra in facultatibus uberius coruscavit. Quot prata, quot pascua, quot siluas, quot aquas, quot rura, quot sata contulit ecclesie! Adhuc hodie in rebus ablatis uel imminutis testatur tyrannorum uiolentia quanta fuerit eius integritas in possessione primitiua' (Osbert, p. 105.).

⁵⁶ For a discussion of this letter, see below, p. 21.

⁵⁷ The letter from Henry of Blois to Innocent II concerning the canonisation suggests that the prior went to Rome (Osbert, *Letters*, p. 85.).

Gervase⁵⁸ and Henry of Blois, bishop of Winchester and papal legate,⁵⁹ Innocent II committed the care of Westminster's properties to the bishop, his legate. However, the authenticity of the letter has been questioned by Barbara Harvey, who puts forward a case for Osbert's authorship, arguing that the prior amended and amplified an originally shorter document.⁶⁰ There is a second, shorter letter in which the pontiff chastised the abbot thoroughly, threatening him at the end with a curse.⁶¹ Pierre Chaplais has also questioned the authenticity of the longer letter to the abbot. His suspicions hinge upon the penultimate sentence, in which the word *insignis* is used as an adjective.⁶² Doubt about the letter's origins is further raised by the reference to Westminster Abbey's right to house the regalia, which Chaplais says was mentioned for the first time in another one of Osbert's forgeries, the so-called Third Charter. The forgery amplifies what Osbert hoped to gain from the petition; protection of Westminster's lands. Despite Osbert's victory in the battle to protect Westminster's holdings, this letter did not signal the end of his troubles; soon after the failed

⁵⁸ 'inde est quod venerabili fratri nostro Henrico Wintoniensi episcopo, apostolicae sedis legato, per apostolica scripta mandavimus ut de his qui ecclesias, possessiones et bona vestri monasterii iniuste detinent plenam vobis iustitiam faciat' (Osbert, *Letters*, p. 88.).

⁵⁹ 'Ex parte filiorum nostrorum, monachorum beati Petri Westmonasterii, per dilectum filium nostrum Osbertum querelam accepimus, quod videlicet ecclesiae possessiones et bona ipsius monasterii a multis in partibus illis eis auferantur, et violenter detineantur. et quoniam ad hoc vices nostras in terra illa obtines ut iniuriam patientibus, praecipue personis ecclesiasticis, iustitiam facias, per apostolica tibi scripta mandamus quatenus querimonias eorum audias et debitam eis iustitiam facias exhiberi, et nullam eis iniuriam vel molestiam permittas irrogari' (Osbert, *Letters*, p. 88.).

⁶⁰ B. Harvey, 'Abbot Gervase de Blois and the Fee-Farms of Westminster Abbey,' *BIHR* xl (1967), p. 129. Harvey says that Osbert based the style of the letter on its original version. The prior was no stranger to modelling his writings on original works. B. Scholz demonstrated that both the Second Charter and the *Magna Carta Dunstani* were based on charters from St. Denis (B. Scholz, 'Two Forged Charters from the Abbey of Westminster and their Relationship with St. Denis, *EHR* lxxvi [1961].).

⁶¹ F. W. Holtzmann, *Papsturkunden in England*, (3 vols., 1939), i, no. 24. The history of liturgical cursing has been charted by L. K. Little in *Benedictine maledictions: Liturgical Cursing in Romanesque France* (Ithaca and London, 1993). Osbert did not stop with Gervase as he probably also forged a similar letter to King David of Scotland, who was reprimanded for allowing the anniversary grant for his sister, Queen Matilda, who was buried in the abbey, to lapse (Holtzmann, *Papsturkunden in England*, i, no. 25.).

⁶² Pierre Chaplais, private correspondence, 19 September, 1999. The sentence in question is: 'regalia quoque gloriosi regis Edwardi quae apud vos habentur insignia ita in eodem monasterio intacta et integra decernimus conservari, ut nulli fas sit cujuscumque ordinis aut dignitatis ea distrahere vel vendere aut extra eundem sacrum locum absque communi omnium fratrum assensu in aliquos usus prorogare' (Flete, *History of Westminster Abbey*, ed. J. A. Robinson [Cambridge, 1909], p. 91.). I should like to thank Pierre Chaplais for his remarks about the authenticity of the letter.

petition, the prior was banished once more from Westminster and did not return until c. 1157. By this time, he was an old man. Osbert's fighting spirit won him the prize of Westminster's liberty being papally protected, but he suffered personally for his zeal.

Osbert's zeal alone was not enough to send the petition to Rome. The monk realised higher powers and people with greater positions were needed if his goal were ever to be realised. Realising this, Osbert contacted the most powerful people in the English Church and court. Osbert first turned to the papal legate Alberic. His letter to the legate appeals for the canonisation on spiritual grounds because England was afflicted with spiritual suffering.⁶³ Osbert then cited Edward's peaceful reign, miracles and incorruption as evidence of the king's sanctity.⁶⁴ Finally, he presented the *Life* to Alberic, hoping it would persuade the legate to support the canonisation. Though we do not have Alberic's response, we do know that the request was refused, for Osbert was forced to wait for the appointment of a new legate before his plans went further. We cannot know exactly why Alberic refused to bring the petition to the pope's attention, whereas his successor, Henry of Blois, did. As discussed, in the twelfth century the mechanics of papal canonisation were still largely undefined. Perhaps Alberic suspected the claims to Edward's sanctity; Barlow says Osbert's evidence for it was a bit thin; compared to later English papal canonisations, the number of miracles was indeed small.⁶⁵ This evidence comprised three things: Edward's chastity, the 1102 tomb opening and a small collection of miracles.⁶⁶ The question of the number of miracles necessary to reveal

⁶³ 'igitur medicinalis virtus apostoli aggredietur in te avertere desolationem regni, in quo quisquis tantae paternitatis reverentiae detrahit Romani nominis dignitatem minuit et offendit. gladio proinde sancti spiritus omnis est apostata coercendus, induendique sunt manu tua lorica iustitiae quos rigor ecclesiasticae circumdat disciplinae' (Osbert, *Letters*, p. 81.).

⁶⁴ Osbert, *Letters*, p. 82.

⁶⁵ See Ch. 4, pp. 151-61.

⁶⁶ *The Life of King Edward*, p. 160. Osbert had used the earlier anonymous *vita* and Sulcard's history of Westminster for his sources (Osbert, pp. 44-6.). From the earlier work he gathered material attesting to Edward's chastity, peaceful reign and miracles (*The Life of King Edward*, pp. 60, 88-90, 92-101, 126.). While Sulcard's work did not refer to Edward in a saintly manner, Osbert made use of the story of Westminster's consecration by St. Peter.

sanctity was an ongoing debate.⁶⁷ As late as 1202, when the supporters of Gilbert of Sempringham's sanctity were preparing their canonisation petition, they were uncertain about how many miracles were necessary to make his claim incontrovertible.⁶⁸ By comparison, St. Gilbert's miracle dossier is far more impressive than Edward's, making his case stronger. Perhaps Alberic was unimpressed by the number of miracles in Osbert's Life, especially since one of the more famous ones, Edward's cure of a woman with scrofula, might have been attributed to royal power rather than sanctity. William of Malmesbury had defended this incident not much earlier as an example of personal sanctity in *Gesta Regum Anglorum*.⁶⁹ The fact that William was compelled to present this argument indicates that there were indeed people in England who doubted the origins of this power. It is possible that Alberic was one of them. In addition to people questioning Edward's curative powers, the request came from Westminster's prior, not its abbot, which would have sparked Alberic's attention. Alberic's unwillingness to support Osbert's petition must be an indication that he believed some of Edward's claims

⁶⁷ This question has its origins in early Christianity, as Gregory the Great said in his *Dialogues* that miracles were not as important as a good life in determining a saint: 'Vitæ namque vera æstimatio in virtute est operum, non in ostensione signorum. Nam sunt plerique, qui etsi signa non faciunt, signa tamen facientibus dispares non sunt' (Gregory the Great, 'Dialogues,' in *PL*, lxxvii, col. 213.). The dispute continued because the most influential Lives in early twelfth-century England, Sulpicius Severus' Life of St. Martin and Athanasius's Life of Anthony, concentrated heavily on the saints's lives instead of their miracles (D. F. H. Farmer, *English Hagiology 1100-1135* [Oxford Univ. D.Phil. thesis, 1967], pp. 13-14.). For the use of Anthony's *vita* by medieval hagiographers, see B. P. Kurtz, *From St. Anthony to St. Guthlac: A Study in Biography* (Berkeley, 1926).

⁶⁸ 'Tempore illo quo secundum mandatum apostolicum inquirenda erant que per eum facta sunt miracula, sollicitus erat successor suus in personis curatis et eorum testibus perquirendis, quoniam, licet plura haberet certa et manifesta, multa tamen per diuersa loca patrata sunt que seu per incuriam seu per quorundam simplicitatem non fuerunt percognita. Huic ergo per uisum apparuit sanctus dicens: "Vt quid tantum sollicitaris super multis miraculis querendis? Non sit tibi cure, non est enim necesse." Quibus uerbis intellexit uir prudens non tantum debere fidem facere sanctitatis miracula, quantum uite honestas et merita testificata' (*The Book of St. Gilbert*, pp. 178-80.).

⁶⁹ 'Multotiens eum hanc pestem in Normannia sedasse ferunt qui interius eius uitam nouerunt; unde nostro tempore quidam falsam insumunt operam, qui asseuerant istius morbi curationem non ex sanctitate sed ex regalis prosapie hereditate fluxisse' (*GR*, pp. 406-8.). Part of the confusion surrounding the miracle can be attributed to an imprecise definition of what disease was cured by the King's Touch. F. Barlow has shown the disease was classified as anything from leprosy to other skin diseases 'The King's Evil,' *EHR* xcv (1980), p. 10. M. Bloch thought that Henry I used to practise the Royal Touch in an attempt to strengthen his legitimacy in England. In this use the touch loses any holy connotation and becomes a royal benefaction (M. Bloch, *The Royal Touch*, trans. J. E. Anderson [London, 1973], pp. 26-8.).

to sanctity were questionable within England, coupled with the fact that even in the home of his shrine there was no unified support for the endeavour.

Despite the Alberic's reservations, his successor, Henry of Blois, was more receptive to Edward's claim to sanctity. The new legate was presented with all the evidence Alberic had been given, with one important addition.⁷⁰ Osbert drafted a new letter to Henry asking for the legate's assistance with the petition, keeping in mind the fact that the bishop was King Stephen's brother, calling him *frater vester*. Later in the letter Osbert drew Henry's family tree back to Edward.⁷¹ The only difference in the materials presented to the legates is the letter with the reference to Henry, and thereby Stephen's, relation to Edward. Later, in the letter addressed to Innocent II from Stephen, which was probably drafted by Osbert,⁷² the familial connection was mentioned again, this time in reference to the king himself.⁷³ Osbert was able to touch on familial feelings with Henry, a card he was unable to play with Alberic. Bernhard Scholz, however, has discounted the effectiveness of this argument.⁷⁴ First, he says that any claims the canonisation had to legitimise Stephen's position on the throne would have supported his rival Matilda's claims even more, due to her closer blood ties with the Anglo-Saxon king.⁷⁵ It was precisely at this time, in late 1139/early 1140, that Matilda was mounting her attack on Stephen for what she saw as her rightful place on the English throne. Looking at these facts, Scholz would appear to be correct; Matilda, being more closely related to

⁷⁰ In his letter to the pope about the canonisation, Henry of Blois referred to the Life with which he was familiar (Osbert, *Letters*, p. 85.).

⁷¹ 'Praeterea causa in propatulo manifesta subnectitur, cur ei vestro in tempore iusta reverentia debeatur. avus enim vester, rex Willelmus, Angliae triumphator egregius, Rodberti Normannorum ducis, qui in Nicea urbe pro Christo peregrinus obiit, filius extitit, ex amita cuius, illustri regina videlicet Emma, sanctus Eadwardus procreatus exivit. praefatus autem victoriosissimus princeps Adela genuit, quae pretiosa et insignis virago ex Stephano comite Palatino sponso suo liberos suscepit, pontificesque et reges et consules in lucem temporalis ortus effudit' (Osbert, *Letters*, p. 84.).

⁷² Robinson, 'A Sketch of Osbert's Career,' p. 18.

⁷³ 'hic ex amita Rodberti, patris Willelmi regis, triumphatoris Angliae, natus prodiit, qui matri quae me genuit in carnali genitura pater fuit' (Osbert, *Letters*, p. 86.).

⁷⁴ Scholz, *The Canonization of Edward the Confessor*, pp. 42-5.

⁷⁵ Scholz, *The Canonization of Edward the Confessor*, pp. 42-3.

Edward, would have had a stronger claim to legitimisation via Edward's sanctity. However, Stephen had one more thing in common with Edward that Matilda did not; he had gone through the ceremony of consecration in Westminster. The Normans placed a profound importance on the office of consecration.⁷⁶ The ceremony was vitally important in establishing the king's legitimacy and the Normans were loath to depose a consecrated king.⁷⁷ Whereas both Stephen and Matilda could claim Edward as a relative, Stephen gained more by the connection. Stephen's support of Edward's canonisation was a reminder that he, like Edward and unlike Matilda, had been consecrated king. Furthermore, this ceremony had been celebrated in the abbey church where his predecessor had been buried and had been used by all Norman kings before him for their consecration. He thereby had a stronger claim to the throne, regardless of what the barons had sworn.

Scholz also says that, by the time Osbert was petitioning for Edward's canonisation, the relationship between Henry of Blois and his brother had deteriorated to the point where they were no longer communicating. It has been suggested that the rift began when Henry was overlooked by his brother to fill the vacant see of Canterbury.⁷⁸ Other factors could also have contributed. In June 1139, Stephen had imprisoned the bishops of Lincoln and Salisbury, thereby spoiling relations between the Church and the monarch. Earlier, Henry of Blois had played a crucial part in facilitating the recognition of Stephen's kingly status and acted as surety to his brother's oath to maintain the freedom of the Church. William of Malmesbury said the bishop did this in hope that the new king would follow William the Conqueror's policy

⁷⁶ Garnett, 'Coronation and Propaganda,' p. 98.

⁷⁷ Garnett, 'Coronation and Propaganda,' pp. 95-9.

⁷⁸ H. A. Cronne, *The Reign of Stephen 1135-54: Anarchy in England* (London, 1970), p. 37.

of allowing ecclesiastical freedom.⁷⁹ Though there could have been a rift between the brothers when Stephen broke the oath by removing the bishops, it is unlikely that Stephen would have heard about the canonisation attempt from anyone other than Henry of Blois; no letter from Osbert of Clare to the king exists and there is no indication one was ever written. Though Scholz argued that Osbert left after the event, J. Armitage Robinson earlier argued for a more plausible theory: Osbert had left for Rome with the canonisation dossier before the arrests occurred.⁸⁰ This time scale neatly fits in with the evidence, allowing for both the necessity of Henry to put the idea of Edward's canonisation before Stephen and the strained relations between the brothers afterwards, which culminated in Henry's support for Matilda. Henry of Blois was the best representative for Osbert because the bishop recognised the political power of religious artifacts and saints, as demonstrated by the case of the hand of St. James.⁸¹ It would not have required much convincing for the bishop to recognise the potential impact of a royal saint in Stephen's assertion of his power.

In addition to which, it would not have been difficult for the bishop of Winchester to convince Stephen to forward Edward's claim to sanctity. Reminders of Edward's reign, and Stephen's commitment to continue his good practices, had been in place since the beginning of the latter's reign. In his so-called Coronation Charter Stephen confirmed Henry I's Coronation Charter, which included a clause about upholding the good laws and customs of Edward's reign.⁸² Not only did Stephen confirm the terms in Henry I's charter in his own, but he specifically

⁷⁹ 'Ne tamen ueritas celetur posteris, omnes eius conatus irriti fuissent, nisi Henricus frater eius Wintoniensis episcopus... placidum ei commodasset assensum, spe scilicet captus amplissima quod Stephanus aui sui Willelmi in regni moderamine mores seruaret, precipueque in aecclesiastici uigoris disciplina. Quapropter districto sacramento, quod a Stephano Willelmus Cantuariensis archiepiscopus exegit de libertate reddenda aecclesiae et conseruanda, episcopus Wintoniensis se mediatorem et uadem apposuit' (William of Malmesbury, *Historia Novella*, ed. E. King, trans. K. R. Potter [Oxford, 1998], p. 28.).

⁸⁰ Robinson, 'A Sketch of Osbert's Career,' p. 18.

⁸¹ For the battle waged by the bishop for this prize, see K. Leyser, 'Frederick Barbarossa, Henry II and the Hand of St. James,' *EHR* xc (1975).

⁸² See above, p. 8.

stated he was upholding the laws and customs of Edward. The clause concerning Edward's reign came immediately after the clause about Henry's coronation charter.⁸³ Stephen had openly promised not only to uphold Henry I's charter, but reiterated a passage of the previous charter in his own. Moreover, Stephen recognised Edward's law in the preamble, whereas Henry's reference appeared towards the close of the charter. Edward had already played a part in Stephen's perception of his reign and he had made certain it had been recorded in writing. Stephen had already used the Anglo-Saxon king to shape, at least in a charter, an outline of his own reign. It would not have taken much persuasion from his brother to convince him to support the canonisation. At a time when Stephen's position was being threatened by Matilda, he would have been more inclined to use any steps suggested to protect his claim.

Scholz's version of the first canonisation attempt of Edward the Confessor must be examined in a new light. Stephen had a stronger association with Edward than purely through blood; he associated himself with the proposed saint and was in no danger of Matilda looking more favourable in comparison because unlike the two men, she had never been consecrated.⁸⁴ Since Henry had acted as surety for Stephen's oath to maintain the Church's freedoms, it is not unfeasible that he would have tried one last attempt to have Stephen do something to benefit the English Church. What is most difficult to accept about the entirety of Scholz's argument is the proof surviving today; two letters

⁸³ 'Sciatis me concessisse et presenti carta mea confirmasse omnibus baronibus et hominibus meis de Anglia omnes libertates et bonas leges quas Henricus rex Angl[orum] eis dedit et concessit. Et omnes bonas leges et bonas consuetudines eis concedo quas habuerunt tempore Edwardi regis' (*Councils & Synods with other Documents Relating to the English Church*, ed. D. Whitelock et al. (2 parts, Oxford, 1981), ii, p. 763.).

⁸⁴There is no evidence Matilda supported Edward's canonisation during the time she had overthrown Stephen. Her willingness to support a cult endorsed by Innocent II is questionable though, as the pope had confirmed Stephen's right to rule: 'Non tulit ulterius contentiones eorum dominus Innocentius, nec sententiam ferre uoluit aut causam in aliud differre tempus: sed contra consilium quorundam cardinalium et maxime Guidonis presbiteri sancti Marci, receptis muneribus regis Stephani, ei familiaribus litteris regnum Anglie confirmavit et ducatum Normannie' (John of Salisbury, *Historia Pontificalis*, ed. M. Chibnall [Oxford, 1986], p. 85.). I should like to thank Barbara Harvey for referring me to this passage.

sent to Innocent II by Henry of Blois and King Stephen. There were both political and ecclesiastical motivations working behind the scenes in 1138-9: Osbert of Clare wanted to strengthen the abbey's claim to privileges and lands by having the sanctity of the donor of said privileges and lands recognised and King Stephen wanted to build on Edward's perceived Norman legacy.

Both hopes were dashed when Innocent II refused to grant the request for canonisation. The pope cited a lack of widespread English support in explaining his rejection.⁸⁵ There has been a debate among scholars about the denial of the petition and in particular the interpretation of the pope's motives. J. Armitage Robinson, Marc Bloch and Eric Kemp all state that the uncertain political climate in England prompted the pope to deny the request.⁸⁶ Scholz, on the other hand, believed the pope cited the lack of support from England as a sign that not many appropriate people believed in the king's sanctity.⁸⁷ After stating this, Scholz also asserts that Innocent II did not believe the evidence presented. As we saw earlier, this explanation could be plausible, as it is possible Alberic had not accepted the evidence presented to him by Osbert.⁸⁸ These arguments are not necessarily mutually exclusive. It is easy to fathom how Innocent's reservations about the king's sanctity might have been strengthened by England's instability, both in the realms of the Church and court, especially since the pope cited the lack of uniform support for the cult and not any suspicions about Edward's sanctity.

⁸⁵ 'cuius [Osbert] honesta importunitas adeo nos coegit vestro satisfacere desiderio ut, si sufficientia prae manibus habuissemus testimonia episcoporum et abbatum, iam canonizatum in catalogo sanctorum a Romana secum curia reportasset regem vestrum. ea de causa consulentibus fratribus nostris episcopis et cardinalibus petitionem vestram perficere hac vice distulimus, quia, cum tanta festivitas debeat fieri ad honorem et profectum totius regni, ab omni regno pariter debet postulari' (Osbert, *Letters*, pp. 87-8.).

⁸⁶ Osbert, p. 14; Robinson, 'A Sketch of Osbert's Career,' p. 18; Kemp, *Canonization and Authority*, pp. 76-7.

⁸⁷ Scholz, 'The Canonization of Edward the Confessor,' p. 47.

⁸⁸ Above, pp. 22-4. In the letter forged by Osbert, the prior used the term *gloriosus* for the king, which was used throughout the medieval period in England to denote sanctity, beginning with Aldhelm (D. R. Howlett, ed., *Dictionary of Medieval Latin from British Sources* [Oxford, 1989-], p. 1085.).

The political atmosphere in England in 1140 was not the proper one in which to introduce the first papally sanctioned recognition of an English saint. Frank Barlow attributes three factors which led Innocent II to his decision: division within Westminster concerning Edward's cult, London's political ambitions, which involved its citizens clamouring for the laws of Edward the Confessor as opposed to Henry I's,⁸⁹ and the civil war itself.⁹⁰ Since papal canonisation of an Englishman had never occurred before, the pope needed to be certain the act would not be taken lightly and the cult would flourish. The latter seemed unlikely to happen, particularly as there was not full support for the measure within the abbey. The former was also unlikely if Matilda had prevailed in her attempt to take over England, as it is questionable if she would have supported a cult endorsed by her rival, albeit the cult of a king whom the Normans claimed as their predecessor. In order for papal canonisation to carry some weight, the cult had to have favourable conditions in which to flourish. Innocent II did not want the canonisation to become a pawn in a political game.⁹¹ A more stable political situation was needed in many sectors if the cult was to succeed.

This first attempt to canonise Edward the Confessor was a joint effort between ecclesiastics and politicians. The ecclesiastical side provided two relevant factors: the initiative and influence. The initiative came from one monk in Westminster, Osbert of Clare. His effort to promote Edward's cult was connected to his constant campaign to ensure Westminster Abbey's rights and lands. Aside from writing the Life in 1138, he was also responsible for attracting the interest of the papal legates. Osbert showed his shrewdness in this area by appealing to Henry of Blois and King Stephen's relationship to Edward, a

⁸⁹ 'Domina interpellata est a ciuibus, ut leges eis regis Ædwardi obseruare liceret, quia optime erant, non patris sui Henrici, quia graues erant' (John of Worcester, *Chronicle*, ed. and trans. P. McGurk [3 vols., Oxford, 1999-], iii, p. 296.). There is no reference to Edward's sanctity in this passage nor is his sanctity recognised by the Londoners in this passage.

⁹⁰ *The Life of King Edward*, pp. 160-61.

⁹¹ Kemp, *Canonization and Authority*, p. 78.

connection which could not have been exploited with Alberic, the first legate Osbert approached. It was Henry of Blois who was responsible for bringing his brother's attention to the project. Osbert had not written to the king himself, only the bishop of Winchester, so it must have been the bishop who brought his brother into the project. Despite any conflict between the brothers, it is evident from the subsequent evidence that Henry told Stephen about the petition so that Henry could gain his support. The bishop knew that in order for the request to have significant weight, it needed to have royal approval. Fortunately, the proposed saint had already been adopted by the Norman regime, though the leap to calling Edward a saint had not yet been made. However, from the time when Stephen became interested, relations between the Church and the monarch became strained, which, in addition to the political situation within Westminster, contributed to the pope's refusal of the petition. Ecclesiastical and secular support were necessary, but in this case they were not enough.

The Second Petition

The same patterns associated with the first attempt are also present in the second petition, although in a slightly modified form. The differences were to make a great impact in the final outcome. Ironically, as the political situation in England brought down the first attempt, it was political events outside of England which led to Edward the Confessor's canonisation in 1161. This is the one factor on which Barlow and Scholz agree.⁹² Once more, there was support from Westminster and the monarch, but in this case, the king's involvement with the project was beneficial rather than detrimental. Furthermore, this request began with Abbot Laurence and not an argumentative prior. The same two essential elements of Church and king had combined, proving to be a necessary combination for canonisation.

⁹² Scholz, 'The Canonization of Edward the Confessor,' pp. 50-4; *The Life of King Edward*, p. 162.

The crucial difference in the political scene during Henry II's reign was its connection with the papacy. The schism of 1159 opened the door for all rulers in Europe to flex their political muscle outside of their own realms. Henry II's influence in both England and France made him a valuable commodity in the struggle between the two papal claimants. He took his time in rendering a decision on the outcome, eventually allowing the English and French Churches to recognise Alexander III in the summer of 1160. When Henry became involved with the second request, its granting became a political favour granted to the king who had had an important role in backing Alexander III to claim his pontificate. The evidence for the motivation behind Alexander's approval of the cult is inscribed at the beginning of the letter Henry II sent to the pope in support of the canonisation. At the outset, he told the pontiff of his great joy in his attaining the office, and once more voiced his devotion to the Roman Church.⁹³ The implication is striking; Henry II reminded the pope how he attained his position and then requested a favour in return for his faithfulness. Times had indeed changed since Stephen. On this occasion it was the papacy which had been in an unstable position due to the schism and had relied on the English king for support. Stephen had had nothing to promise the pope in return for his generosity; he did not even know if he was going to remain on the throne. It was the stability of England and the instability of the papal see which provided the correct political climate for the acceptance of the request.

Westminster's opinion of Edward had undergone a metamorphosis. A new abbot was appointed around 1158, when Gervase of Blois was deposed and replaced by Laurence. Another change in the monastery occurred after 1157 when Osbert of Clare

⁹³ 'Gratum mihi est et deo gratias refero quod, summi pontificatus honore sullimatus, suscepistis regimen universalis ecclesie, salubriter annuente domino vestra discretione dispensandum. Et mihi quidem cordi est matrem nostram sanctam Romanam ecclesiam sincera semper affectione diligere, officii colere, ac personam vestram pura indesinenter amplecti devotione' (Barlow, *Edward the Confessor*, p. 310.).

returned from his second exile.⁹⁴ The new abbot supported his monastery's claims that it housed a saint. Evidence for Laurence's support can be gleaned from the letter written by Henry of Blois in support of the second petition. In the letter, the bishop said either Laurence or his envoys would soon be in Rome to further the case for canonisation.⁹⁵ There was never any mention of Gervase embarking on or approving a mission to Rome.⁹⁶ Laurence's support of the cult was undeniable and lent further weight to the argument for the papal acceptance of Edward's sanctity. The second element had changed, for not only was England stable enough to support a cult endorsed by the monarchy, but the cult's home was equally stable in its opinion of Edward's sanctity.

We know Laurence supported Edward's canonisation, but it is also important to know the impetus behind it. Barlow has hypothesised that the abbot was in part influenced by Osbert of Clare and then undertook his own examination of the evidence before lending his support.⁹⁷ Perhaps even more persuasive than the prior's pleading must have been the thought of the revenues which could be generated through pilgrimage. It must be remembered that in 1161 Westminster Abbey did not enjoy its position as the royal burial place of choice, and therefore depended on other sources of income. One of the most exploited sources of revenue by churches in the middle ages was the revenue generated by pilgrimage,⁹⁸ and at the time, Westminster was not a major pilgrimage site. Abbot Laurence must have been anxious to

⁹⁴ Robinson, 'A Sketch of Osbert's Career,' p. 19.

⁹⁵ 'Devotus filius vester Laur. ad vos ire sive mittere disposuit. Eapropter humiles preces paternitati vestre porrigimus, quatenus ipsum et suos benigne suscipere et in iustis petitionibus suis exaudire dignemini' (Barlow, *Edward the Confessor*, p. 313.).

⁹⁶ In fact, it was Osbert who approached Innocent II in Rome, as the pope noted in his letter denying the request: 'Quoniam religiosum virum, priorem Osbertum, a vestra fraternitate cum litteris vestris directum gratanter excepimus, eum pro merito probitatis et conversationis egregiae ut dilectum filium nostrum proprie et specialiter vobis commendamus' (Osbert, *Letters*, p. 87.). Given the instability in England at the time of the request and the lack of support from the abbot at Westminster, it is not surprising that a more senior figure did not go.

⁹⁷ *The Life of King Edward*, p. 162.

⁹⁸ For a further discussion of the importance of the pilgrim trade in England, see Finucane, *Miracles and Pilgrims*.

rescue the fortune of his abbey by any means possible; the abbot also might have wanted to encourage royal patronage by supporting the cult, as happened later with Henry III. By passing over the possibility of revenues generated by various sources, Gervase's lack of support of the cult shows how violently he had quarrelled with Osbert of Clare. Therefore, the reason behind Laurence's support is easy to see, the only question remaining is why did he choose Edward.

Certainly, there was Osbert of Clare's lobbying which led Laurence to Edward. Given the traditional pattern of the recognition of sanctity, Edward was an interesting choice. Often, churches closely identified themselves with their founder or saint who inspired the building of the church. A classic example of this is the case of St. Denis, whose site is connected to the martyr's death. Having been decapitated by the Romans, St. Denis picked up his head and walked to the area later occupied by the church, whereupon he died. Westminster Abbey is more problematic because its dedication to St. Peter was not the result of the saint being linked to the site. The questions of Westminster's founder is even more complex. The earliest evidence we have for the foundation of the abbey is from Sulcard of Westminster's *Prologus de Construccione Westmonasterii*. The monk described Westminster's foundation as the work of an unnamed citizen of London and his wife. The couple gained the support of King Æthelbert and the building was begun.⁹⁹ However, the anonymous London couple were not accepted by all as the true founders. William of Malmesbury argued that Bishop

⁹⁹ 'Cumque eidem insigni loco beatum Petrum pariter cuperet patrocinari, et, vbi eius domus exornari poterat, voluerit intencione speciali, ecce quidam ciuium vrbis non infimus cum vxore sua regi astitit, diutinam cordis sui voluntatem super construenda eidem apostolorum principi ecclesia edicit, et super hoc ab ipso inclito rege licenciam deuotus peciit. Quo audito rex nimium est gauisus, annuitque et exhortatur prediutem ad desideratum opus, et vt hoc quam cicius inciperet amonet attentius' (Scholz, 'Sulcard of Westminster,' pp. 82-3.).

Mellitus was the one responsible for Westminster's foundation.¹⁰⁰ Therefore, it was unclear who the actual founder was. The anonymous founder presented a problem because it would be impossible to write a Life about the deeds of the person.¹⁰¹ Additionally, there were no miracles to attribute to the mysterious Londoner and his wife.

King Æthelbert was another problem, as his sanctity was already observed in England. His burial in the chapel of St. Martin in the church of SS Peter and Paul, Canterbury, was an additional obstacle; if his papal canonisation was approved, it would have benefited the home of his tomb, not Westminster. It would have been foolhardy to give such prestige to another house, which would have refused any request to give the body to the abbey. The only recourse Laurence could have taken was the unlikely one of relic theft, an act which was dying out by the twelfth century.¹⁰² Likewise Bishop Mellitus was an unfathomable choice. Like Æthelbert, his sanctity had been recognised earlier and he was buried in the monastery of SS Peter and Paul, Canterbury. If the idea to canonise Mellitus had been prompted by the assertion that he had consecrated Westminster, rather than being its founder, then this would go against the popular belief recorded by Sulcard that St. Peter had performed the duty the night before the bishop arrived.¹⁰³

Canonisation of either King Æthelbert or Bishop Mellitus would have

¹⁰⁰ 'Tunc vero Mellitus Deo cooperante, et Ethelbirhti adjustus amminiculo, Christianitatis fidem egregie in provintia propagavit. Nam et monasterium beato Petro in Occidentali civitatis parte fecit, ipsius apostoli, ut fertur, ammonitus nuntio' (William of Malmesbury, *De Gestis Pontificum Anglorum*, ed. N. E. S. A. Hamilton [RS, 1870], pp. 140-41.). There was also another instance when Mellitus's foundation of the abbey was asserted: 'Hunc Dunstanus archiepiscopus cum esset Lundoniæ episcopus abbatum apud Westmonasterium fecerat, instructo ad .xii. monachos cenobiolo in loco ubi quondam Mellitus ecclesiam Sancto Petro fecerat' (William of Malmesbury, *De Gestis Pontificum*, p. 178.).

¹⁰¹ Although the *vita* had always been important for the promotion of a saint's cult, whether in his home country or in Rome to convince the pope, early on in the solidification of the canonisation process a written account of the saint's life with his miracles was required by the pope and his curia (Kemp, *Canonization and Authority*, p. 80.).

¹⁰² P. Geary, *Furta Sacra: Thefts of Relics in the Central Middle Ages* (Princeton, 1978).

¹⁰³ Scholz, 'Sulcard of Westminster,' pp. 83-5. Though Goscelin disagreed with Sulcard about the identity of the founder, he agreed the consecration of Westminster was performed by St. Peter (Flete, *History of Westminster*, p. 39.). Later, Osbert of Clare used the same story (Osbert, pp. 84-5.) Osbert sided with Goscelin on the question of founder, citing Æthelbert.

been redundant, as their sanctity had previously been recognised under the older form of episcopal canonisation. Finally, their bodies were in other foundations; Westminster could not hope to attract pilgrims to see empty shrines. The obvious choice of canonising the founder was not open to Abbot Laurence.

One other alternative to Edward remained open to Laurence in Westminster: Matilda, wife of Henry I and daughter of Edward's great-niece, Queen Margaret of Scotland. Unlike those holy figures associated with the foundation of Westminster, Matilda chose to be buried in Westminster Abbey, the same church as her kinsman, at a time when royal burial in Westminster was not a common practice. She had been interested in her Anglo-Saxon heritage; she commissioned a Life of her mother from Margaret's confessor, Turgot. In the *vita* Turgot paid tribute to Edward, acknowledging his piety and sanctity.¹⁰⁴ Also, the reported opening of Edward's tomb was supposed to have occurred two years after her marriage to Henry I. Like her holy ancestor, there were reports of miracles associated with her tomb.¹⁰⁵ In addition, her name was included on Westminster's *titulus* on Abbot Vital's mortuary roll after Edward.¹⁰⁶ The addition to the *titulus* indicates support from within Westminster, though as Barlow has shown, her name was written after the body of the *titulus* was complete, thereby opening questions about the uniformity of support for Matilda within the abbey.¹⁰⁷ Even Osbert of Clare defended the queen, writing to Innocent II when David, king of the Scots, stopped Matilda's anniversary grant.¹⁰⁸ She was also closer in living memory than Edward the Confessor, suggesting she

¹⁰⁴ 'Cujus frater ex patre, non autem ex matre, piissimus ille atque mansuetissimus fuerat Edwardus, qui se patrem patriæ exhibuerat; et alter quodammodo Salomon, id est pacificus, magis pace quam armis regnum protexerat' (Turgot, 'Vita S. Margaretæ Scotorum Reginæ,' in J. H. Hinde [ed.], *Symeonis Dunelmensis Opera et Collectanea* [Surtees Society Publications, no. 51], p. 237.).

¹⁰⁵ 'Obiit etiam eodem anno Matildis regina Anglorum, cujus corpus apud Westmonasterium quietem sepulturæ accepit, et anima ejus se cælum possidere evidentibus signis et miraculis crebris ostendit' (Roger of Wendover, *Chronica sive Flores Historiarum*, ed. H. O. Coxe [5 vols., London, 1841-4], ii, pp. 194-5.).

¹⁰⁶ *Rouleau Mortuaire du B. Vital, Abbé de Savigni*, ed. L. Delisle (Paris, 1909), pl. xxvii.

¹⁰⁷ *The Life of King Edward*, p. 156.

¹⁰⁸ Holtzmann, *Papsturkunden*, no., 25.

could have had a popular following at the time of the second petition for Edward's canonisation. Another slight against Edward, according to Barlow, was the dearth of miracles attributed to him in the periods 1066-1134 and 1138-1163. Barlow postulates none were recorded, making his sanctity less immediate than Matilda's.¹⁰⁹ There was a strong case for Matilda's canonisation at the time, but still she was overlooked in favour of Edward.

If Matilda had a stronger claim to the makings of a successful cult, then why did Laurence choose to honour Edward instead? In Edward, Laurence found a figure to satisfy many requirements. If he was not able to canonise the founder of his abbey, then at least he could celebrate the man who had overseen its reconstruction. Looking at Osbert of Clare's *Life of Edward*, this establishes a neat parallel. As mentioned above, Osbert believed King Æthelbert founded the abbey. Not only did Osbert believe two kings, Æthelbert and Edward, were responsible for main building projects in the abbey, but he also believed both were saints. In the opening lines of the passage of Westminster's dedication, the prior referred to the king as *sanctus Ethelbertus*.¹¹⁰ This is a rare acknowledgement; William of Malmesbury only recognised Æthelbert's good laws, not his sanctity.¹¹¹ Osbert made a point of asserting his sanctity, constructing a parallel with Westminster's other royal benefactor, Edward. If Westminster could not honour its holy royal founder, then it could certainly honour the holy royal benefactor who gave the buildings in which the monks were housed.

The Westminster connection to Edward was strong, for not only was it in sole possession of his relics, but its members could also honour their foundation with his canonisation. Moreover, they also had a written account of Edward's life and miracles. However, Abbot Laurence needed to lure Henry II's support. Unfortunately, there are

¹⁰⁹ *The Life of King Edward*, pp. 154, 161.

¹¹⁰ Osbert, p. 83.

¹¹¹ *GR*, p. 28.

no letters between the two men to show how the abbot persuaded the king to lend his support to the petition. However, it is likely that familial ties were once more used as an inducement for royal support; in his letter addressing Alexander II, Henry called Edward his kinsman.¹¹² Such a connection would have been powerful for Henry II. Edward occupied the same throne as Henry, making a comparison between the two men appropriate. Additionally, the idea of a sainted predecessor had its appeal to a king who was formulating the Constitutions of Clarendon, a document in which he attempted to claim the right to exercise control over the Church, as his grandfather had done. Henry II's connection with Edward was both familial and occupational, the lure of having a saint both in the family and the position must have appealed to the king.¹¹³

Although we can never know the conversations between the king and abbot, it is possible Laurence used another lure to attract the king's attention. Though Osbert of Clare's Life was most likely the one sent to Alexander II along with the other documents for canonisation, Laurence commissioned a new Life from his kinsman, Aelred of Rievaulx. In the new *vita*, there is a passage which was never fully explained in the previous two Lives. Just before his death, Edward had a vision of two monks he had known while in exile in Normandy. The monks told Edward that England must suffer for its sins. Edward despaired, and asked them if England would ever receive remission. The answer was in the form of an allegory: redemption for the English would come when a green tree, cut in the middle of its trunk, with the cutting moved three furlongs away, is rejoined without aid and bears fruit. This vision

¹¹² 'Inde est quod apostolatui vestro confidentius preces offero, obnixe deprecans, sicut tota deprecatur Anglorum ecclesia, ut gloriosum regem Eduardum in cathalogo sanctorum iubeatis ascribi et in ecclesia sanctorum canonizari. De cuius sanguine propagatum me, licet indignum, dignatus est dominus sua dispositione in solio regni eiusdem regis sullimare, sicut datum fuerit desuper pro tempore regnaturum' (Barlow, *Edward the Confessor*, p. 310.).

¹¹³ Unlike the charters issued by Henry I and Stephen at the beginning of their reigns, Henry II's General Charter of 19 December 1154 did not promise to uphold the laws and customs of Edward the Confessor, instead he chose to use Henry I's reign as his benchmark. In this way, Henry II ignored Stephen's reign as William the Conqueror had done with Harold's in the Domesday Book.

was included in all previous Lives, though neither the anonymous *vita* nor the one written by Osbert of Clare could solve the riddle, the anonymous expressing despair while Osbert hoped an answer would come along.¹¹⁴ While Aelred cited the Green Tree vision in his new Life, he added an important element: an explanation of the allegory. The tree, he explained, was England which was split when the Normans entered, representing the division of the two royal houses. Henry I was the one who joined the two royal households in his marriage to Matilda, Edward's great-niece. The tree blossomed with the birth of the Empress Matilda and bore fruit when she bore the future Henry II.¹¹⁵ Therefore, not only was Henry II related to Edward, but he was also the king whose reign Edward had predicted before his death. Under his rule England was meant to receive consolation for the horrors of the conquest. It is very tempting to think that Laurence suggested the explanation to Aelred, having already used the argument to persuade Henry it was his duty to support the petition of one who had foretold his rule. For his part, Aelred would have had no compunction in giving the explanation; ten years earlier, in his *Genealogia Regum Anglorum*, he cited Henry II as the hope for England, saying the country praised and clung to him.¹¹⁶ Whether or not the idea was presented to Henry before the petition, it was a strong inducement on Laurence's part for Henry to remain faithful to the cult he had supported.

Unfortunately for Laurence's hopes, despite Henry's commitment to the cult early on, the monarch's devotion to it waned after Edward's

¹¹⁴ *The Life of King Edward*, pp. 117-19; Osbert, pp. 107-9; Aelred, cols. 771-3.

¹¹⁵ 'Accessit ad radicem arbor, quando gloriosus rex Henricus in quem totum regni decus transfusum est, nulla necessitate cogente, nulla spe lucri urgente, sed ex infuso ei amoris affectu abneptem Edwardi Mathildem duxit uxorem, semen regum Normannorum et Anglorum conjungens, et interveniente opere conjugali de duobus unum faciens... At tunc fructum fecit, quando de ipsa noster Henricus velut lucifer matutinus exoriens, quasi lapis angularis utrumque populum copulavit' (Aelred, col. 774.). For the development of the legend and the interpretations of its meaning, see F. Barlow, 'The *Vita Ædwardi* (Book II); The Seven Sleepers: Some Further Evidence and Reflections,' *Speculum* 40 (1965), pp. 391-4.

¹¹⁶ 'De imperatrice Mathildi tu, vir splendissime, quem nunc Normannorum et Aquitanorum ducem Andegavensium comitem, Angliæ vero gaudemus hæredem,' (Aelred of Rievaulx, 'Genealogia Regum Anglorum,' in *PL*, cxcv, col. 737.).

translation to a new tomb. The bull of canonisation was published in 1161. The translation did not occur until 13 October 1163, when Henry II returned from a long sojourn in Normandy. There has been some debate about the exact date and year of the translation, mostly raised by Stubbs and Eyton, but this debate has been authoritatively concluded by Frank Barlow, who endorses the above date first cited by Richard of Cirencester.¹¹⁷ The timing of the translation coincided with the royal council of Westminster, a two-day affair which was probably held on 1 October 1163. It has been suggested the dating of the council might be incorrect, that it actually took place starting on the thirteenth, but most evidence points to the first as the beginning of the meeting.¹¹⁸ The timing was fortuitous. Henry II was beginning to have doubts about Thomas Becket's stance as archbishop of Canterbury, and having the translation closely following the council seemed to be a good way to enforce the idea of the king's connection to sanctity, particularly in a council where he had tried to control the activities of archdeacons in Church courts and felonious clerks. Soon afterwards, the Constitutions of Clarendon would support his stance in a more formal manner.¹¹⁹ However, there are no records that Henry paid much attention to the cult after the translation, indeed, he was not even buried in Westminster. The canonisation and translation had fulfilled his political needs, and he saw no other reason to venerate his predecessor.

The canonisation of Edward the Confessor could not have

¹¹⁷ Barlow, *Edward the Confessor*, pp. 325-7.

¹¹⁸ *Councils & Synods*, ii, p. 850.

¹¹⁹ In a parallel case, Thomas Becket tried to have Anselm of Canterbury canonised which would have had the parallel effect of enforcing the power of his own primacy. The outcome of the petition is questionable, though R. W. Southern believed it might have been successful as Anselm's translation and festival were honoured in a twelfth-century calendar (R. W. Southern, *Saint Anselm and His Biographer*, [Cambridge, 1963], pp. 339-41.). W. G. Urry also believed the petition was successful, presenting evidence for a guild established in Anselm's honour and a charter reference to his sanctity ('St. Anselm and His Cult at Canterbury,' *Spicilegium Beccense* 1 [1959].). R. Foreville believes that the petition was thwarted by Thomas Becket's death, but states that Anselm's memory was also honoured at Bec ('Canterbury et la canonisation des saints.'). For Eadmer's attempts to have the archbishop's sanctity accepted through his *vita* and miracle collection, see R. W. Southern, *Saint Anselm: A Portrait in a Landscape* (Cambridge, 1990), pp. 422-8.

transpired without clerical and royal support. During the second petition, Westminster was eager to support the claim to sanctity of its most prominent and recent benefactor, Edward, to encourage a pilgrim trade. Earlier, the petition for canonisation had received only limited support within Westminster in order to validate Edward's gifts of lands and liberties to the abbey. In order to have sufficient weight to back the claims, royal support was needed if a petition was to be brought to the pope. Stephen and Henry were interested to promote their own royal interests through the celebration of their predecessor, though in Henry's case this promotion ended when the translation had gone through. Perhaps another stumbling block for the king's devotion was the explosion of Thomas Becket's cult only ten years after Edward's canonisation. Thomas' canonisation, which happened at a comparatively breakneck speed, was brought about by the surge of miracles which happened immediately after his death. There was a large base of popular support for the new cult, something on which that of Edward the Confessor could not rely. Edward's canonisation had filled Westminster's and the king's needs, but it did not have popular appeal. It was a product which had a limited market. However, looking at the events surrounding the canonisation alone cannot explain the unpopularity of the cult. Cults have been known to resurge, as happened with those of older Anglo-Saxons saints such as Frideswide after the Conquest. Therefore, it is not enough to base the claim that Edward's cult was unpopular purely on evidence surrounding the canonisation. In order to ascertain this fully, it is necessary to know how the cult of Edward was regarded by subsequent generations, by the royal family, the monks at Westminster and the rest of England.

Chapter Two

Royal Veneration of Edward

For centuries, medieval monarchs were associated with churches and cathedrals in diverse ways, ranging from foundations and patronage to their use as the stages for royal ceremonies. On the continent, churches such as St. Denis, Reims, St. Chapelle, Speyer and Aachen enjoyed a long history with their countries' royal families. The associations of royal family and church often included identification with a particular saint or relic, as happened with St. Denis and St. Chapelle. The relationship of a monarch with certain relics had the potential to attract money for building projects or to include the foundation in royal ceremony, such as anointing, burial, or crown wearings.¹ Like their continental counterparts, rulers in England also developed distinct relationships with particular foundations for a number of reasons. The church which had the most remarkable relationship with the monarchy in England, from the time of Edward the Confessor's reign onward was Westminster Abbey. Throughout the period 1066-1399, the relationship between England's kings and Westminster Abbey evolved, until by the end of the period it was the site of all coronations and most royal burials, a combination of St. Denis and Reims. For the purposes of this thesis, it is important to determine if the use of Westminster Abbey for royal ceremony was related in any way to royal veneration of the cult of Edward the Confessor.

Westminster Abbey's role as the stage for royal ecclesiastical rituals complicates the assessment of England's kings' devotion to the cult of Edward the Confessor. Due to this association, one of the questions which must be answered is: did Westminster Abbey attract royal attention because of the kings' devotion to Edward's cult? In order to answer this question, it is necessary to examine when, why and

¹ As the case of St. Louis proves, the devotion could lead to a dispute about the housing of relics. See Ch. 6, p. 216.

how Westminster was used by the monarchy. The ability to do this comes from evidence linked with the abbey as found in chronicles, various court rolls and physical evidence within the abbey itself. It is important to note that the abbey received royal gifts before Edward's death, thereby establishing kingly interest in the abbey before the creation of the cult.² Therefore, the motivation behind the gift of royal patronage to the abbey must be carefully examined. It is hoped that the sources can provide a clear assessment of the cult's allure to England's monarchs.

Crownings

In order to examine the monarchy's influence on Westminster Abbey, the development of London as England's capital must first be considered. The evolution stretches back at least as far as the Roman occupation of Britain, but a more convenient starting point is the programme of urban renewal which was inaugurated during Alfred's reign in the ninth century.³ London emerged as an active commercial centre, due in no small part to its situation on the Thames River.⁴ The city's wealth attracted the notice of the Vikings, who regularly invaded the city, prompting Aethelred II to move his military headquarters there.⁵ Anglo-Saxon rulers also recognised the importance of the city, and included Westminster on their regular itinerary, a practice which

² As the story develops in the *vitae*, Edward the Confessor built Westminster Abbey as a penance for not making a pilgrimage to Rome (Osbert, pp. 87-91; Aelred, cols. 757-60.).

³ C. N. L. Brooke and G. Keir, *London 800-1216: The Shaping of a City* (London, 1975), p. 21; C. N. L. Brooke, 'The Central Middle Ages: 800-1270,' in M. D. Lobel (ed.), *The City of London: From Prehistoric Times to c. 1520* (Oxford, 1989), p. 30.

⁴ For London's role as an economic centre, see P. Nightingale, 'The Origin of the Court of Husting and Danish Influence on London's Development into a Capital City,' *EHR* cii (1987), p. 566; C. N. L. Brooke, 'The Central Middle Ages,' pp. 31-2; D. Keene, 'London in the Early Middle Ages,' *London Journal* 20 (1995), pp. 7-12.

⁵ For the Danish influence on London, see Nightingale, 'The Origin of the Court of Husting.'

continued into the Norman period, though in a modified fashion.⁶ The royal interest in Westminster developed as a result of defensive necessity and the relationship of the king with the city of London. Cnut's reliance on his navy to secure his conquest of London caused him to move his fleet to Thorney Island.⁷ Later Edward the Confessor experienced similar problems with London's residents. In his dispute with Earl Godwin in 1052, London's citizens sided with the earl, forcing Edward's hand.⁸ Though the centre of royal government remained in Winchester under William the Conqueror, the commercial preeminence of London persisted.⁹ Furthermore, Westminster Abbey played an important role in the Conqueror's claim to be Edward the Confessor's direct heir. Westminster was an attractive vantage point for rulers who wanted to control the rich volatile city, with the Tower of London providing a post-Conquest defensive point.¹⁰

A major part of the Norman attraction to Westminster was its abbey. Prior to his death in 1066, Edward had commissioned the construction of a new abbey church a short distance away from Westminster Hall.¹¹ Archaeological evidence for the plans of this building project are few, due to the building's almost complete destruction when it was rebuilt during the reign of Henry III. The

⁶ Though the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle stated that William the Conqueror always spent Easter at Winchester, Whitsuntide at Westminster and Christmas at Gloucester, M. Biddle modified this statement for other kings, stating that while there was a tendency for kings before and after the Conquest to celebrate those festivals at the aforementioned places, it was not a hard and fast rule ('Seasonal Festivals and Residence: Winchester, Westminster and Gloucester in the Tenth to Twelfth Centuries,' *A-N* 8 [1985], p. 56). For Edward the Confessor's itinerary, see L. M. Larson, *The King's Household in England before the Norman Conquest* (Madison, WI, 1904), pp. 200-201. Biddle examined William the Conqueror's itinerary in 'The Conqueror's Charters,' in C. Hicks (ed.), *England in the Eleventh Century* (Stamford, 1992), pp. 5-10. For the evolution of Gloucester, see M. Hare, 'Kings, Crowns and Festivals: The Origins of Gloucester as a Royal Ceremonial Centre,' *Transactions of the Bristol and Gloucestershire Archaeological Society* 115 (1997).

⁷ Nightingale, 'The Origin of the Court of Husting,' p. 566.

⁸ Stenton, *Anglo-Saxon England*, p. 567; Barlow, *Edward the Confessor*, p. 123; Brooke and Keir, *London 800-1216*, pp. 25-6; Nightingale, 'The Origin of the Court of Husting,' pp. 570-71.

⁹ Nightingale, 'The Origin of the Court of Husting,' p. 572.

¹⁰ D. A. Carpenter argues that by the reign of Henry III, the Tower was used purely for defensive purposes: 'King Henry III and the Tower of London,' *London Journal* 19 (1994).

¹¹ Evidence for Edward's residence in Westminster Hall can be found in *The Life of King Edward*, p. 102.

earliest piece of pictorial evidence of the Romanesque structure is the Bayeux Tapestry. The lack of archaeological evidence has in part been filled by W. T. Ball's reconstruction of the plan in an article by Richard Gem which explores the abbey's Romanesque incarnation. Ball's reconstruction and the Bayeux Tapestry both suggest that the abbey church marked a new beginning in English architecture. Gem has argued that earlier churches in England were an amalgamation of the styles of varying periods. Not only was the new Westminster constructed around one plan, but it was inspired by Mainz and Speyer Cathedrals, which Edward might have heard about while in exile.¹² The imperialistic tendencies in the construction of the building were emphasised by its scale; the only other churches within Europe whose internal dimensions compared with Westminster's were to be found in the imperial Rhineland.¹³ Furthermore, there are records of a master mason called Teinfrith, a name which is Germanic, possibly Lotharingian, in origin. It has been suggested that Teinfrith was in part responsible for the architectural style, and he thereby represents the element of continental imperial grandeur Edward the Confessor wanted to impart on the church.¹⁴ So impressive was the church that the plan of Westminster influenced contemporary Norman architecture. A marked example of this influence can be found at Jumièges Abbey, whose nave was inspired by Robert Champart's time in England as the bishop of London and later as archbishop of Canterbury.¹⁵ Westminster Abbey marked an important transformation of English style. As a monument, the church was an expression of Edward's view of the abbey, giving an expression to the importance he attached to Westminster.

¹² R. D. H. Gem, 'The Romanesque Rebuilding of Westminster Abbey,' *A-NS* 3 (1980), p. 46.

¹³ Gem, 'The Romanesque Rebuilding of Westminster Abbey,' p. 46.

¹⁴ E. Mason has also noted the imperialistic tendencies in the construction of the abbey in "The Site of King-Making and Consecration:" Westminster Abbey and the Crown in the Eleventh and Twelfth Centuries,' in D. Wood (ed.), *The Church and Sovereignty, c. 950-1118. Essays in Honour of Michael Wilks* (Oxford, 1991), p. 59. Not all scholars have accepted that Jumièges' construction was influenced by Westminster; before Gem's articles, C. N. L. Brooke upheld the view that the Norman church influenced the English one (*London 800-1216*, p. 296.).

¹⁵ Gem, 'The Romanesque of Westminster Abbey,' p. 54.

The prominence to which the area rose during the Anglo-Saxon regime continued into the Norman period. During the reign of William Rufus, Westminster Hall was substantially enlarged in stone, replacing the earlier wooden structure. An indication of the magnitude that William Rufus attached to the site can be ascertained from an anecdote in Henry of Huntingdon's *Historia Anglorum*, during the first council meeting in the hall in which the king, upon being told that it was too large, said that it was not nearly large enough.¹⁶ The significance of the building lay in its size not only to the medieval observer but also the modern one. According to Colvin's measurements, Westminster Hall's dimensions rendered it the largest hall in Europe at the time.¹⁷ Even though other royal residences existed, the importance of the Westminster site cannot be underestimated. Like Edward the Confessor's reconstruction of the abbey church, the size of the hall stated the importance of the site; the only one comparable had been built in Paris.¹⁸ When William Rufus stated that the structure needed to be bigger, he revealed his perception of London, Westminster in particular, as the place of the greatest importance in England. With the reconstruction of Westminster Hall, William Rufus raised Westminster's significance, architecturally dwarfing the palace and cathedral complex at Winchester.¹⁹

The two royal buildings at Westminster, one from the political realm and the other from the spiritual realm, were slowly joined in function as the requirements of the government transformed. The

¹⁶ 'Iunior Willelmus, duodecimo anno regni sui, rediens in Angliam, tenuit primum curiam suam in noua aula apud Westmuster. Quam cum inspecturus primum introisset, cum alii satis magnam uel equo maiorem dicerent, dixit rex eam magnitudinis debite dimidia parte carere' (Henry of Huntingdon, *Historia Anglorum*, ed. D. Greenway [Oxford, 1996], pp. 444-6.).

¹⁷ H. M. Colvin, *A History of the King's Works* (3 vols., London, 1963-75), i, p. 45.

¹⁸ Colvin, *The King's Works*, i, p. 45.

¹⁹ For the development of the royal complex at Winchester, see M. Biddle, 'Felix urbs Winthonia: Winchester in the Age of Monastic Reform,' in D. Parsons (ed.), *Tenth Century Studies: Essays in Commemoration of the Millennium of the Council of Winchester and Regula Concordia* (London and Chichester, 1975); *Winchester in the Early Middle Ages* (Oxford, 1976), pp. 289-305. The Norman development of the city is chronicled by M. Biddle in 'Early Norman Winchester,' in J. Holt (ed.), *Domesday Studies* (Woodbridge, 1987), pp. 311-25.

continuous metamorphosis of London as a site for official activities continued during the reign of Henry II, who needed a central administrative site for his government in England while he was in Normandy.²⁰ During the early part of Henry's reign, the exchequer moved from Winchester to Westminster.²¹ Later, the treasury storehouse also began to be transferred into London at an unknown location while part of it remained at Winchester.²² In the late twelfth century, the unknown London location was moved to Westminster; by Richard I's reign the main treasury was the one housed in Westminster.²³ The concentration of the treasury in London was not the only way in which Westminster was employed for political purposes; during the reign of Henry III parliament would often meet within Westminster. It was at this time that the physical union between the hall and the church transpired. The thirteenth-century reconstruction of the church emphasised the relationship between the abbey and hall. Instead of placing the king's entrance at the usual western location, a northern transept entrance was added, with a door at the south-eastern corner of the south transept for less stately entrances. This was done because the hall lay due east of the abbey.²⁴ This departure from traditional ecclesiastical construction is a bow to the importance placed on the Westminster site for government reasons. The repositioning of the entrance indicated that the abbey was a crucial part of the court's Westminster residence.

From the Anglo-Saxon period and earlier, rulers were attracted to London because of its wealth. Westminster's importance in strategic

²⁰ Brooke and Keir, *London 800-1216*, p. 43.

²¹ T. F. Tout, 'The Beginnings of a Modern Capital: London and Westminster in the Fourteenth Century,' *PBA* 10 (1923), p. 492.

²² R. A. Brown, "The Treasury" of the Later Twelfth Century,' in *Studies Presented to Sir Hilary Jenkinson*, ed. J. Conway Davies (London, 1957), p. 38.

²³ Brown, 'The Treasury,' pp. 40-41.

²⁴ Colvin, *The King's Works*, i, p. 137. In the mid 1380's Richard II rebuilt the Hall and added six statues of kings from the time of Edward the Confessor to his own. It is unknown which kings the statues were meant to represent, but it has been suggested that Richard was inspired by the Palais de la Cité in Paris (J. Cherry and N. Stratford, *Westminster Kings and the Medieval Palace of Westminster* [London, 1995], p. 68.).

planning becomes evident in the Danish and Anglo-Saxon periods, and certainly the need to contain London was a priority for Danish and Norman conquerors alike. Though Westminster was a significant site by 1066, it was not just its physical location which elevated its status to that of coronation church. The choice of Westminster as the only post-Conquest coronation church is telling. If Harold and William the Conqueror had wanted to imitate Edward, whom both claimed as their predecessor, they would have used the cathedral at Winchester for the ceremony. However, they chose Westminster, Edward's burial church. Both kings wanted to immediately pick up where the former king had left off.²⁵ For Harold, this choice was a matter of convenience as there was a large gathering at Westminster for its dedication and then Edward's funeral. The reasons behind William's decision to use Westminster Abbey for his coronation are not so clear cut, and should be analysed further.

William's crowning at Westminster was intended to supersede Harold's, especially because, as illustrated by George Garnett, the Norman wished to eradicate all references to Harold's rule and firmly associate himself with Edward. William of Poitiers' description of William's coronation is careful to stress the ruler's rights to the crown, and subtly hints at Harold's unworthiness to wear it.²⁶ The author debunked Harold's coronation by attacking the character of Archbishop Stigand, who performed the ceremony without being in proper receipt of the pallium, thereby rendering the consecration null and void in Norman opinion.²⁷ William had the right to rule not only because of virtue, popular support, and familial ties, but more importantly because his supposed predecessor had been crowned by someone not invested

²⁵ For the Normans' use of Edward as their antecessor, see Ch. 1, pp. 6-8.

²⁶ William of Poitiers, *Gesta Guillelmi*, ed. and trans. R. H. C. Davis and M. Chibnall (Oxford, 1998), pp. 150-51.

²⁷ Garnett, 'Coronation and Propaganda,' p. 107. William of Malmesbury said that William the Conqueror consciously avoided being consecrated by Stigand: 'Tunc ille, haud dubie rex conclamatus, die Natalis Domini coronatus est ab Aldredo archiepiscopo; cauebat enim id munus a Stigando suscipere, quod esset is archiepiscopus non legitime' (*GR*, p. 462.).

with the power to do so.²⁸ Nestled in amongst all of these allegations, there is a reference to Edward's burial site. Though at this point the canonisation process for Edward had not begun, William of Poitiers expressly mentioned the presence of Edward's tomb. In his description of William's coronation it was important for the king to be connected to Edward on the occasion of the ceremony during which he was made king. The connection between Edward and William was reinforced by other authors. William of Malmesbury attributed Westminster Abbey's role as coronation church to the presence of Edward's tomb.²⁹ Later, Osbert of Clare described in his *Life of Edward the Confessor* an offering made by William to Edward's tomb.³⁰ Aelred of Rievaulx would describe the same situation, naming Edward as William's predecessor and relative.³¹ In the century after the Conqueror's death his link to his predecessor was stressed. Westminster Abbey was originally used as the coronation church to connect the new ruler to the one from whom he claimed the crown. All subsequent kings followed William's example and received their crown at Westminster. However, unlike the emphasis given to William's choice of coronation church, little was said about the motivations behind the use of the abbey for subsequent consecrations. The *Gesta Stephani* is the first source which offers one

²⁸ J. Nelson has argued that William further superseded Harold's crowning at Westminster by using the same new Third Coronation Ordo that had been first used by the Anglo-Saxon, reclaiming it as his own ('The Rites of the Conqueror,' *A-NS* 4 [1981] reprinted in her *Politics and Ritual in Early Medieval Europe* [London, 1987].). This view has been refuted by G. Garnett in his forthcoming article 'The Third Recension of the English Coronation Ordo: The Manuscripts,' *Haskins Society Journal* who suggests that a traditional Anglo-Saxon *ordo* was used during the Conqueror's coronation.

²⁹ 'Nec minus sed multo etiam majus, rex Willelmus extulit locum, magnis redivitibus prædiorum, quod ibi regni suscepit insignia. Consuetudo igitur apud posteros evaluit, ut propter Eduardi inibi sepulti memoriam, regiam regnaturi accipiant coronam' (William of Malmesbury, *Gesta Pontificum*, p. 141.).

³⁰ 'Qua de causa triumphator Anglorum Willelmus super sanctum regem Eadwardum ex auro et argento capse fabricam condidit, que utique in odiernum diem in ecclesia beati Petri apostoli gloriosum corpus obumbrat et tegit' (Osbert, p. 120.).

³¹ 'Rex vero in amorem cognati sui et prædecessoris accensus, sanctissimum ejus sepulcrum theca de argento simul et auro fabrefacta, sicut impræsentiarum cernitur, miro studio decoravit' (Aelred of Rievaulx, col. 781.). While this quotation and the earlier one from Osbert of Clare could argue for a new tomb, supporting Osbert's assertion that the king was translated before his papal canonisation, Osbert's plan to contort Westminster's history for his own needs needs to be remembered. William's donation is not verified in any earlier source. What is important about these two instances is the perceived need by the hagiographers to attribute an act of respect to Edward from William.

clue behind the decision to use Westminster Abbey instead of Winchester Cathedral for coronations: London is called the queen of the kingdom and Winchester is merely referred to as the second place in the kingdom.³² London was regarded as the capital, replacing the Anglo-Saxon capital of Winchester. Whereas Winchester had been the site of Edward the Confessor's consecration, by the time the *Gesta Stephani* was written London had overtaken that city's prominence. Therefore, though it was remarkable for William the Conqueror to use the abbey for his consecration, it was not the case for the following consecrations. Westminster capitalised on its monopoly of the consecration, pushing its claim to house the coronation regalia.³³ Whereas one reason behind William the Conqueror's use of Westminster Abbey for his coronation was the tomb of Edward, chronicle evidence suggests that later monarchs used the church as a matter of course. At no time was Westminster Abbey used as the coronation church out of reverence for Edward's sanctity.

Though Edward's sanctity was not the impetus behind the abbey's role as coronation church, references to the saint were found in later versions of the ceremony. Henry III acknowledged Edward during his second crowning as the Anglo-Saxon king's sword was carried before the ruler in the procession to the altar.³⁴ Later, Edward was included into the Fourth Coronation Ordo when the kings promised to uphold St. Edward's laws³⁵ The text appears in both Latin and French on the Coronation Roll. It is believed that Edward II spoke the French text,

³² '...ad ipsam totius regionis reginam metropolim maturato itinere Lundonias deuenit'; 'Iste igitur de prospero germani sui successu eximie lætatus, cum dignioribus Wintoniæ ciuibus obuius ei aduenit, habitoque in communi breui colloquio, in ciuitatem, secundam duntaxat regni sedem, honorifice induxit' (*Gesta Stephani*, ed. K. R. Potter, intro. R. H. C. Davis [Oxford, 1976], pp. 5, 9.).

³³ For a further discussion of the regalia, see Ch. 3, pp. 98-103.

³⁴ *CM*, iii, p. 337.

³⁵ 'Sire volez vous graunter et garder et par vostre serment confermer au poeple d'Engleterre les leys et les custumes a eux grauntees par les auntiens Rois d'Engleterre voz predecessours droitures et devotz a Dieu; et nomement les lois les custumes et les fraunchises grantez au clerge et au poeple par le glorieus Roi Seint Edward vostre predecessour? Jeo les grante et promette' (*Foedera*, ed. T. Rymer [3 vols., London 1816-30], i, p. 112.).

though this cannot be confirmed.³⁶ The only major difference between the two versions is that the Latin calls Edward *glorius* while in the French his sanctity is explicitly referred to with the word *seint*. The ordo has been dated to 1308 and was shaped by the political situation surrounding the coronation.³⁷ This has been the only instance I have encountered when Edward's saintly status and his laws were referred to in the same place. The promise to uphold Edward's laws and customs is an echo of similar promises made in the Coronation Charters of Stephen and Henry I.³⁸ During the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, there was a shift to recognise Edward in the coronation ceremony, though this did not necessarily lead to subsequent royal veneration of the cult.

Burials

Unlike its unbroken use as the coronation church after the Norman Conquest, the same cannot be said for Westminster's role as a royal burial site. Though Edward and his wife Edith were buried there, during the next seven reigns no other king chose to be interred in Westminster. This changed when Henry III died and was buried in Edward the Confessor's original tomb, which was empty since the saint had been translated to a new shrine constructed by the king.³⁹ Though the king was later moved to a tomb he had designed earlier, the decision to place Henry III in the old tomb of his ancestor is significant in the development of Westminster Abbey as the royal burial church. The appendix shows two different phases in the development of the use of the abbey as a royal burial location. Did this sudden change have any connections with the cult of Edward the Confessor?

³⁶ B. Wilkinson, 'The Coronation Oath of Edward II,' in *Historical Essays in Honour of James Tait*, ed. J. G. Edwards *et al.* (Manchester, 1953), p. 405; R. S. Hoyt, 'The Coronation Oath of 1308,' *EHR* lxxi (1956), p. 355.

³⁷ Wilkinson, 'The Coronation Oath of Edward II,' p. 407; J. Brückmann, 'The Medieval Coronation Order,' in *Essays In Medieval History Presented to Bertie Wilkinson*, ed. T. A. Sandquist and M. R. Powicke (Toronto, 1969), p. 102.

³⁸ See Ch. 1, p. 7.

³⁹ Thomas Wykes, 'Chronicon,' in *Annales Monastici*, ed. H. R. Luard (RS, 1869), iv, pp. 252-3; Binski, *Westminster Abbey and the Plantagenets*, p. 94.

Burial in the Middle Ages has been studied by Brian Golding and more recently by Christopher Daniell, who have discerned that the pattern for an aristocratic family was to be buried in a church founded by their ancestors. The importance of this location was not so much to express an undying connection to the ecclesiastical foundation itself, but rather to express familial cohesion.⁴⁰ There was much more interest in remaining with the family rather than being connected to the foundation. In fact, those buried in a certain church in order to lie with their ancestors were rarely great benefactors of the foundation.⁴¹ Generally, new dynasties became attached to new burial sites.⁴² Sometimes this site was in a monastic church founded by the member of the new dynasty, or a place which had some connections to their predecessors. Occasionally people were buried separately from their families in foundations they had patronised during their life or had founded.⁴³ According to Daniell, the overriding factor in the medieval burial practice was the need to be buried with one's ancestors, interest in a particular saint or their foundation often had little or nothing to do with the issue.⁴⁴

The picture alters when one begins to consider the burial practices of the Anglo-Norman and Plantagenet monarchs. The sharp increase in the number of royal burials at Westminster separates the burial

⁴⁰ 'Burial in one place over several generations did represent a solidarity, but it was a solidarity of the family descent that was stressed rather than the solidarity between family and community' (B. Golding, 'Burials and Benefactions: An Aspect of Monastic Patronage in Thirteenth-Century England,' in *England in the Thirteenth Century: Proceedings of the 1984 Harlaxton Symposium*, ed. W. M. Ormrod [Harlaxton College, 1985], p. 73.).

⁴¹ Golding, 'Burials and Benefactions,' p. 72; C. Daniell, *Death and Burial in Medieval England 1066-1550* (London and New York, 1997), p. 92. This tendency continued with Westminster Abbey, since in the period before 1400 only three members of the royal family, Eleanor of Castile, Richard II and Anne of Bohemia, paid for their principal commemorations to be there. The commemorations are cited by B. Harvey as a source of considerable income (*Westminster Abbey and its Estates in the Middle Ages*, pp. 28-9.), which is appropriate as they were established by those who had the greatest association with both Edward's cult and Westminster Abbey. The lands attached to those commemorations established by Henry III for himself never came into Westminster's possession.

⁴² Golding, 'Burials and Benefactions,' p. 68.

⁴³ Daniell, *Death and Burial in Medieval England*, p. 92.

⁴⁴ Golding, 'Burials and Benefactions,' pp. 72-3; Golding, *Death and Burial in Medieval England*, pp. 92, 101.

practices of kings after the Norman Conquest into two phases. In the first phase, that stretched from William the Conqueror's reign to John's, there is more emphasis on personal devotion to a particular site, overlooking the traditional aristocratic tendency towards burial in an ancestral space. The only royal person who was buried in Westminster during the period 1066-1215 was Matilda, the wife of Henry I. The location of this burial is not surprising. Emma Mason believes that she was buried in the abbey because she died near there.⁴⁵ This statement runs counter to all recent work done on the topic. One of the first unsound tenets in this assumption is that it completely overlooks the entire logistics of the burial of the English royal family in the Middle Ages. There was often much ado made about sending a body to be buried at the place designated for burial by the deceased, as was the case with Henry I, which is discussed below. Matilda was a queen, and an important one at that in dynastic terms, making it unlikely that her burial occurred at a random location. Moreover, through her burial in Westminster Abbey, she expressed her connection to the area where she both retired from royal duties⁴⁶ and reinforced her ancestry. She was the daughter of Queen Margaret of Scotland and a great-great-niece of Edward the Confessor, thus making Matilda the last living relative of Edward when Henry I was searching for a wife. He chose Matilda, thereby solidifying the link between the old Anglo-Saxon regime and the new Norman one, much as Henry VII would do later when he married Elizabeth of York. Matilda was interested in her Anglo-Saxon ancestry, which was demonstrated by her commissioning a *vita* about her mother, Queen Margaret, in which Edward the Confessor's relationship with Matilda was stressed.⁴⁷ By her burial in Westminster

⁴⁵ E. Mason, 'Westminster Abbey and the Monarchy between the Reigns of William I and John (1066-1216),' *Journal of Ecclesiastical History* 41 (1990), p. 200.

⁴⁶ 'Haec igitur duobus partibus, altero alterius sexus, contenta in posterum et parere et parturire destitit, aequanimiterque ferebat rege alias intento ipsa curiae ualedicere, Westmonasterio multis annis morata' (*GR*, pp. 754-6.).

⁴⁷ Turgot, 'Vita S. Margaretæ,' p. 237. For the opening of the tomb, see Ch. 1, pp. 12-15.

Abbey, Matilda expressed her connection to the Anglo-Saxon royal house.

Matilda's burial was not a catalyst for other royal burials during the period before Henry III's rule. William the Conqueror, Henry I and Stephen were all buried in monastic churches that they founded.⁴⁸ William Rufus was buried in Winchester Cathedral, a place which was no stranger to royal burials: the most recent burial before his had been that of Emma, wife to Kings Aethelred and Cnut and mother of King Edward.⁴⁹ Instead of displaying familial links by choosing to be buried in traditional Norman locations, with these new places, these men emphasised their new roles. William the Conqueror, in the sense that he had also become the king of England, had begun a new dynasty of a family with interests in both countries. Though William the Conqueror claimed Edward the Confessor as his *antecessor*, his choice to be buried in Caen is in keeping with Daniell's theory of a new dynasty creating a new burial space. While William Rufus, Henry I and Stephen chose to be buried in England, their burials followed individualistic tendencies rather than dynastic ones.

Henry II was buried neither in England nor in a church that he founded. Originally, he had planned to be buried at the monastic church at Grandmont in the Limousin, a foundation he patronised and often turned to for clerical advice during the Becket conflict.⁵⁰ However, the Order of Grandmont was spilt by schism in the 1180's, forcing the monarch to search elsewhere for interment.⁵¹ Henry II was instead buried at Fontevrault in Aquitaine, a choice which expressed his role as

⁴⁸ Henry I's entrails were buried at the church of St. Mary de Pre at Emandrville, though his body as buried in the monastic church he founded at Reading.

⁴⁹ Winchester Cathedral was the site of at least five royal Anglo-Saxon burials: Cnut, William Rufus, Emma, Kineglis and Adulphus (J. Vaughn, *Winchester Cathedral: Its Monuments and Memorials* [London, 1919], pp. 18-19.). While it did not enjoy the continuity of Westminster Abbey as a burial church, rulers over a long period of time were buried there, perhaps in acknowledgement of the city's preeminence.

⁵⁰ W. L. Warren, *Henry II* (London, 1973), p. 212.

⁵¹ E. M. Hallam, 'Henry II as a Founder of Monasteries,' *Journal of Ecclesiastical History* 28 (1977), p. 121.

a ruler of Aquitaine, as Fontevrault had connections with the house of Anjou from the beginning of the twelfth century.⁵² Either way, Henry II would have been buried in France, thereby attributing preeminence to the rulership of his lands on the continent rather than his title as King of the English. Not surprisingly Eleanor of Aquitaine was also buried there, likewise showing preference for her native land rather than to the one that claimed her as its queen. After Henry II's burial, Fontevrault became the site of varying types of burials for three generations. Not only were two of his children, Joan and the later King Richard, buried there, so was his daughter-in-law Isabella, who retired there after John's death.⁵³ John himself chose to be buried in Worcester Cathedral, so as to be under the protection of St. Wulfstan.⁵⁴ Finally, John and Henry III's hearts were buried there with their predecessors.⁵⁵ In all, Anglo-Norman royal burials present a puzzling picture. English kings such as William the Conqueror and Henry II identified themselves as rulers with continental interests, acknowledging part of their holdings while ignoring their kingdom. Any movement towards the

⁵² T. S. R. Boase, 'Fontevrault and the Plantagenets,' *Journal of the British Archaeological Association* 34 (1971), p. 3.

⁵³ Boase, 'Fontevrault and the Plantagenets,' p. 7.

⁵⁴ P. Draper, 'King John and St. Wulfstan,' *Journal of Medieval History* 10 (1984). A notable point is that John's attention was probably drawn to Wulfstan's cult via the circulation of this story regarding Wulfstan: after the Norman conquest, Wulfstan's possession of the see of Worcester was questioned. Wulfstan drove his staff into the pavement, calling on Edward, who had invested him with the office, to let whomever was worthy of the see to be able to remove the staff. Of course, only Wulfstan was able to perform this feat. King John had expressed an interest in old English saints such as SS Alban and Edmund and his devotion to Wulfstan fitted the pattern (E. Mason, 'St. Wulfstan's Staff: A Legend and its Uses,' *Medium Ævum* liii [1984], p. 158.). However, rather than choosing the sainted king, John threw his lot in with the bishop, which is a remarkable outcome of this story (p. 46). John's choice becomes less startling when it is placed into context with the struggles during his reign concerning taxation. Early on in the development of Edward the Confessor's cult, he was renowned for the remission of the Danegeld (See Ch. 1, p. 9.). Holt has suggested that John's bad taxation was contrasted against Edward's good laws and customs (J. C. Holt, *Magna Carta*, 2nd edn [Cambridge, 1992], pp. 113-4.). Such a comparison would explain John's neglect of Edward's cult. E. Mason has suggested that it is possible he favoured Wulfstan's cult because of the bishop's acceptance of lay investiture (Mason, 'St. Wulfstan's Staff,' p. 170.).

⁵⁵ Boase, 'Fontevrault and the Plantagenets,' p. 7. By having their hearts buried at Fontevrault, it does not seem as though John and Henry were trying to slight their burial churches, but to have their bodies spread out so that as many people as possible would pray for their souls, thereby guaranteeing an early release from Purgatory (J. D. Tanner, 'Tombs of Royal Babies in Westminster Abbey,' *Journal of the British Archaeological Association* 3rd ser., 16 [1953], p. 30.). Heart burial was originally frowned upon by the Catholic Church and various popes tried to modify the practice, finally charging for a grant of Indult (C. A. Bradford, *Heart Burial* [London, 1933], p. 47.).

establishment of one ancestral mausoleum generally did not come to fruition; before the late thirteenth century Richard I was the only post-Conquest king whose body was buried in the same place as his father. William Rufus, Henry I and Stephen all tried to assert themselves in England, though there was not any attempt at continuity with their burials, as the French monarch had established by choosing St. Denis as the royal burial church.⁵⁶

In his book examining medieval death and burial, Paul Binski makes the following observation when discussing the beginning of the centralisation of government in London: 'The burial of a king was an act of state, a means by which the continuity of power could be expressed and assured symbolically; burial was thus inextricably linked to coronation as a rite of passage, since it was a guarantee of legitimacy.'⁵⁷ Clearly this was not the case during the period when London was beginning to become established as the centre of government in England. Instead of attempting to legitimatise their rulership, the kings took personal directions, in most places choosing places identified with themselves only. In George Garnett's recent article on the development of the term 'Crown,' he suggests that there are indications that there was a difference between the man and office.⁵⁸ Garnett notes that this concept echoes Ernst Kantorowicz's ideas about the existence of two different kings combined in a single person, one whose identity existed in perpetuity and another who was mortal.⁵⁹ There were two identities in a king; one ceremonial and one individual, and until the time of Edward I, the burial needs of the human king overcame those of the

⁵⁶ Stephen's preference of Faversham is clear in the 1153 'Treaty of Winchester' in which he stated that Henry of Anjou would confirm Stephen's grants to churches. Emphasis is placed on Faversham as it is specifically named and comes before the mention of the 'other churches': 'Ecclesiam de Faversham cum pertinentiis suis dux confirmavit et alia aliis ecclesiis a me data vel reddita, consilio sancte ecclesie et meo confirmabit' (*Regesta Regum Anglo-normannorum*, iii, no. 272.).

⁵⁷ P. Binski, *Medieval Death: Ritual and Representation* (London, 1996), p. 60.

⁵⁸ G. Garnett, 'The Origins of the Crown,' *PBA* 89 (1996).

⁵⁹ 'The kings, at least with a regard to Time, had obviously "two natures"- one which was temporal and by which he conformed with the conditions of other men, and another which was perpetual and by which he outlasted and defeated all other beings' (E. H. Kantorowicz, *The King's Two Bodies: A Study in Medieval Political Theology* [Princeton, 1957], p. 171.).

everlasting king. When the king assumed his office during the ritual crowning, he conformed with Binski's notion of the continuity of ritual space; in this sense the kings proved they were legitimate rulers by having their crownings in the same place as all of their predecessors. However, the need to assert their status by being buried in one site did not extend to their choice of burial sites. Along with expressing a preference to more personalised burial sites, English kings expressed the diversity of their geographical interests with their burials.

The humanity of the king after his death was emphasised by Orderic Vitalis and Henry of Huntingdon describing respectively the deaths of William the Conqueror and Henry I. Of the aftermath of William's death, Orderic noted that once the king was dead, all those whom he had supported immediately abandoned the body of their benefactor and turned their attention to the new ruler.⁶⁰ The chronicler attributed this desertion to the loss of the king's worldly pomp which transpired at his death. His supporters, who had depended on him while he had the royal title, left him now as he was useless in securing their position any further. In their minds, it would have been ridiculous to continue to honour a man who no longer wielded royal power, which had passed to another man. The essence of the sublime, omnipotent ruler had passed out of his body, leaving only a decomposing shell. Henry of Huntingdon gave a more graphic description of the humanity of Henry I's corpse, describing a black fluid that ran out of the body, a most undignified account of the former king's

⁶⁰ 'O secularis pompa quam despicibilis es quia nimis uana et labilis es. Recte pluuiialibus bullis equanda diceris, quæ in momento ualde turgida erigeris, subitoque in nichilum redigeris. Ecce potentissimus heros cui nuper plus quam centum milia militum auide seruiebant, et quem multæ gentes cum tremore metuebant, nunc a suis turpiter in domo non sua spoliatus est et a prima usque ad tertiam supra nudam humum derelictus est... Rex quondam potens et bellicosus, multisque populis per plures prouincias metuendus in area iacuit nudus, et a suis quos genuerat uel aluerat destitutus' (Orderic Vitalis, *The Ecclesiastical History*, ed. and trans. M. Chibnall [6 vols., Oxford, 1969-80], iv, pp. 102, 106-8.).

body.⁶¹ Not even the body of a king was spared the decay that all must endure once life left him and his office had passed to another.⁶² In the first half of the twelfth century the king declined in stature after his death; he joined the rank of mere mortal. There was no need for him to claim to be anything other than a mortal with personal, rather than dynastic, ties after his death. Freed from the bounds of royalty, the king could choose any burial site he wanted, regardless of where his predecessors had chosen to lie.

With the reign of Henry III, there was a movement to make Westminster Abbey the site of all royal burials. Henry III's was not the first royal burial after Matilda's in the twelfth century; his own children who predeceased him were buried in the abbey.⁶³ Henry III started the trend for royal burials within the abbey, though he cannot be said to have done this out of a dynastic custom.⁶⁴ Given Henry III's interest in the Confessor's shrine, like his father King John, Henry wanted to be buried near his favourite saint, which in his case was Edward the Confessor.⁶⁵ The desire to be buried in a particular location due to a personal preference places Henry III in the same category as his predecessors, who did not establish an ancestral burial site. However, the effects of his actions created one; as seen in the Appendix, over half the known burials after the reign of John were in Westminster Abbey. An act of personal devotion on the part of Henry III was transformed;

⁶¹ '...quamuis multo sale repletum esset et multis coriis reconditum, tamen continue ex corpore niger humor et horribilis coria pertransiens decurrebat, et uasis sub feretro susceptus a ministris horrore fatiscientibus abiciebatur. Vide igitur quicumque legis, quomodo regis potentissimi corpus, cuius ceruix diademata auro et gemmis electissimis, quasi Dei splendore, uernauerat, cuius utraque manus sceptris preradiauerat, cuius reliqua superficies auro textili tota rutilauerat, cuius os tam deliciosissimis et exquisitis cibus pasci solebat, cui omnes assurgere, omnes expauescere, omnes congaudere, omnes admirari solebant: uidem inquam, quo corpus illud deuenerit, quam horribiliter delicuerit, quam miserabiliter abiectum fuerit!' (Henry of Huntingdon, *Historia Anglorum*, p. 702-3.).

⁶² One possible exception being, of course, Edward the Confessor, whose body was supposedly incorrupt.

⁶³ The existence of some of Henry III's children has been investigated by M. Howell in 'The Children of King Henry III and Eleanor of Provence,' *Thirteenth Century England* iv (1991).

⁶⁴ Binski, *Westminster Abbey and the Plantagenets*, p. 92.

⁶⁵ In his will, Henry III stated that he wanted to be buried in Westminster, calling it the church of the blessed Edward rather than St. Peter's (*A Collection of all the Wills of the Kings and Queens of England* [London, 1780], p. 15.).

its element of devotion to Edward the Confessor overlooked, and became an ancestral precedent. By 1332, Edward III remarked that Westminster: ‘...was founded by the alms of the Kings of England, and that these are buried and consecrated there.’⁶⁶ An ancestral burial site and not the expression of devotion to Edward the Confessor’s cult had emerged at Westminster Abbey by the mid-fourteenth century.

Once Westminster was established as the royal burial site, it became significant when rulers were not buried there. The two kings who were deposed during the fourteenth century, Edward II and Richard II, were both buried in other locations. While it is not known whether Edward II had planned to join his father and grandfather in their final resting place, it is known that Richard II wished to do so; he had constructed a tomb for himself there. Adam of Usk wrote about Richard’s exclusion from his Westminster tomb when the king was buried at King’s Langley, bemoaning the thousands of marks spent on the tombs for the king and his wives.⁶⁷ It is remarkable that both of the kings were denied burial alongside of the other kings, though Richard II was eventually laid to rest in Westminster during the reign of Henry V. Just as they were cast off their thrones, so were they cast out of the dynastic resting place.

Let us now turn to Edward the Confessor and ask this question: did Westminster’s role as the royal burial site change due to an increased devotion to the saint? The answer is both yes and no. Certainly Henry III was devoted to the cult of the Anglo-Saxon king and did not withhold his characteristic grandiose donations, particularly with respect to Westminster, a point which becomes clear with an

⁶⁶ *Calendar of Patent Rolls of the Reign of Edward III 1330-1334* (London, 1893), p. 386. This recognition of Westminster as the place of kings’ burials falls earlier than the date of 1377 given by P. Binski as the first recognition of the abbey’s role in burials: *Westminster Abbey and the Plantagenets*, p. 195.

⁶⁷ ‘O Deus, quantas millenas marcas circa uaneglorie sepulturas sibi et uxoribus suis inter reges Westm’ faciendas expendidit, contra tamen huiusmodi propositum fortuna disponit contrarium’ (Adam Usk, *Chronicle*, ed. and trans. C. Given-Wilson [Oxford, 1997], p. 94.)!

examination of the reconstruction of the abbey.⁶⁸ Though Henry III patronised the cults of saints such as Thomas Becket and Edmund of Abingdon,⁶⁹ Matthew Paris stressed that Edward was the saint whom Henry loved above all others.⁷⁰ Such references cannot be found in relation with the three Edwards; though Edward III recognised that Westminster was the resting place of kings, he did not mention his great-grandfather's patron saint. The kingly devotion to Edward rose during Richard II's reign with increased attention being paid to the celebration of Edward's feast days.⁷¹ Therefore, after Henry III it is unlikely that the decision to have a royal tomb constructed in Westminster was a display of devotion to Edward. Though the chronicles note Richard II's attachment to the saint, which will be discussed later, Westminster also had the added caché of being an established royal interment area, making it difficult in the context of medieval burial practice to ascertain if the monarch chose to be buried there simply out of love for Edward.

The development of Westminster Abbey's role as a royal burial church was a reflection of devotion to Edward the Confessor only at the outset. The same cannot be said of St. Denis, who had a greater hold over the French monarch than Edward did over the English one.⁷² Unlike Edward's church of Westminster, St. Denis' namesake church housed the tombs of almost all the French monarchs since Pepin. Gabrielle Spiegel states that there was a strong association between the saint and the kings which was expressed through the intercession the hagiographers claimed that St. Denis made on behalf of the kings.⁷³

⁶⁸ See below, pp. 71, 74.

⁶⁹ On 22 August 1255 he ordered that twelve silk panels embroidered with gold and silver be sent to St. Thomas at Canterbury (*The Calendar of Close Rolls of the Reign of Henry III 1254-1256* [London, 1931], p. 128.). When the king fell ill in 1247, he prayed at St. Edmund's tomb for the restoration of his health (*CM*, iv, p. 632.).

⁷⁰ 'Et quamvis cartas autenticas beati Edwardi, quem rex diligit specialiter, et beati Wistani abbas memoratus pro jure suo ostendisset, non est rex veritus eas infirmare' (*CM*, v, p. 297.).

⁷¹ Binski, *Westminster Abbey and the Plantagenets*, p. 87.

⁷² Binski, *Westminster Abbey and the Plantagenets*, p. 52.

⁷³ G. M. Spiegel, 'The Cult of St. Denis and Capetian Kings,' *Journal of Medieval History* 1 (1975), p. 56.

Spiegel further notes the nationalistic overtones of St. Denis were employed in a time when the universality of Christianity threatened to overcome the national identity.⁷⁴ Finally, she surmises that England did not have a saint such as St. Denis who was closely linked to national identity. Though it is true that the Normans did not attempt to build a sensation of unity by throwing their support behind one saint, they did identify Edward as a significant figure. While William the Conqueror claimed from Edward his legitimate right to the crown, neither did he regard his predecessor as a saint nor did he benefit from any of Edward's miracles. France did have a national saint, though Denis was a bishop martyred circa 258 AD and not a king of the old regime. By this comparison it becomes evident that by funereal terms, Edward did not have the same long-standing devotion as St. Denis, nor was there a move among the Plantagenet kings to establish the Anglo-Saxon saint as along the lines of the French saint.

Translations

It has been assumed that there were no political overtones to the cult of Edward the Confessor until the time of Henry III.⁷⁵ While the monks of Westminster were partly responsible for promoting the cult, it is difficult to overlook the crucial role the monarchy played during the two petition processes. As has been shown in Chapter One, the two attempts for Edward's canonisation were associated with times when the crown wished to assert its dominance, that is, during Stephen's struggle for power with Matilda and Henry II's own struggle with the Church. Ultimately, Edward's canonisation was achieved as a result of Henry II's actions during the papal schism, thereby making it a symbol of power already obtained, rather than a desperate measure to obtain such power, as had happened under Stephen. With the successful

⁷⁴ Spiegel, 'The Cult of St. Denis,' p. 43.

⁷⁵ '...for the most part, until Henry III's reign, the promotion of St. Edward remained the onus of the monks of Westminster; and the critical intersection, that of cult and politics, had as yet to occur' (Binski, *Westminster Abbey and the Plantagenets*, p. 3.).

outcome of the petition for Edward's canonisation, an opportunity for further expression of monarchical power presented itself in the ceremony of translation. Henry II timed Edward's translation in 1163 to give authority to his political ambitions. Edward's second translation under Henry III was used in a similar fashion. With these ceremonies, the political and religious realms were fused in Westminster Abbey. The existence of a royal saint in England, particularly one who was regarded as the cornerstone of the Norman-Angevin regime, provided an opportunity for rulers to demonstrate their power in an ecclesiastical context.

On 7 February 1161 Pope Alexander III wrote a letter to Abbot Laurence informing him of the successful outcome of the canonisation petition. In the letter, the pope acknowledged Henry II's crucial role in the petition.⁷⁶ Henry II had been among the backers for Edward's canonisation and had sent a letter to the pope in support of the petition.⁷⁷ The fullest account of this translation did not materialise until the fourteenth century, in the chronicle by Richard of Cirencester; the Life written by Aelred of Rievaulx was completed before the event. Upon receipt of the letter of canonisation, the monks of Westminster did not even question the need to postpone the ceremony until the king could be present;⁷⁸ the wait lasted for two years, because Henry was in Normandy. Henry II was inextricably connected to the canonisation of Edward, and the monastery was interested in retaining his support, most likely to encourage his patronage of the cult to the benefit of the abbey.

Henry finally returned in 1163 and the date for the translation

⁷⁶ 'Inde utique fuit quod super petitione, quam de Eduardo glorioso quondam rege Anglorum canonizando et in sanctorum cathalogo ascribendo tam karissimus in Christo filius noster H. illustris Anglorum rex quam vos ipsi nobis instantius porrexistis...' (Barlow, *Edward the Confessor*, p. 323.).

⁷⁷ For the letter, see Barlow, *Edward the Confessor*, pp. 310-11.

⁷⁸ 'Sed quia causis existentibus rex adhuc in transmarinis partibus agebat, iuxta mandatum ipsius et desiderium dilata est usque in reditum suum et eidem servata sacri corporis relevatio' (RC, ii, p. 323.).

was set for 13 October.⁷⁹ The timing of the translation fell very close to the Council of Westminster, which Henry II used as a preparation for the Council of Clarendon and his introduction of the Constitutions of Clarendon. The council could have started on 1 or 13 October, with preference falling on the latter date.⁸⁰ Frank Barlow is more precise, declaring that the *Summa Causae*'s date of 1 October for the beginning of the council is uncorroborated, and that the event must have begun on 13 October.⁸¹ The implications of holding the translation of the first English royal saint to be canonised by the pope whilst Henry II was trying to institute royal authority over the English Church cannot be ignored. In an attempt to reinstate the power held by his grandfather Henry I, Henry II instituted a policy under which he claimed judicial rights over clerics, later to erupt in his struggle with Thomas Becket.⁸² The instigation of this policy and its aftermath in the Becket crisis have been examined by others and are not of immediate concern here. Though the timing of the translation suggests that Henry II had used Edward to make a political statement, his intentions did not include honouring the saint as later kings did. It is unlikely that the juxtaposition of the translation of Edward the Confessor and the start of the Council of Westminster was a convenient coincidence. As discussed in Chapter One, the canonisation transpired in part as a repayment of Henry II's assistance to Alexander III during the schism. In one of the earliest references to the translation, Matthew Paris acknowledged the

⁷⁹ It is unknown why that particular date was chosen, though it is tempting to remember that it is the day before the anniversary of the Battle of Hastings and place some weight behind that reason. Additionally, 13 October 1163 fell on a Sunday, as has been shown by Barlow (*Edward the Confessor*, p. 325.).

⁸⁰ *Councils & Synods with other Documents Relating to the English Church*, vol. 1, pt. 2, pp. 849-50.

⁸¹ Barlow, *Edward the Confessor*, pp. 325-7.

⁸² Henry II's attempt to reinstate Henry I's policy is fully discussed in Warren, *Henry II*, p. 403. F. W. Maitland has argued that, rather than basing his claims solely on his predecessor's precedent, Henry II was following the tenets of canon law ('Henry II and the Criminous Clerks,' in *Roman Canon Law in the Church of England* [London, 1898].). Thus, Henry II was attempting to follow Gratian's *Decretum*. Kantorowicz has taken this concept and extended it to the two swords theory, whereby the king wielded the power of the swords of worldly and religious authority, finding Henry II an anomaly because he did not seek to restrain his power over ecclesiastical matters (*The King's Two Bodies*, p. 322ff.).

king's prominence in the process, stating that Henry was the one who procured the translation.⁸³ Therefore, it was a symbol of the king's influence within the ecclesiastical realm; Henry used Westminster Abbey and Edward the Confessor at a critical moment in his reign for a one-off event.

Though the translation can be associated with Henry II's attempt to instigate monarchical control over the English Church, the king did not portray an interest in the cult after the event. There was potential for the king to exploit his relationship with Edward. William of Malmesbury argued that Edward had been predisposed towards sanctity because of his lineage which attached him to other Anglo-Saxon royal saints.⁸⁴ Aelred of Rievaulx had drawn the crucial familial connection between the two rulers in his *vita*. Therefore, not only could Henry have claimed Edward as a member of his family, but he could also have suggested that he was predisposed towards the sanctity which ran in the family. Despite this, there is no evidence that Henry II ever asserted his connection to Edward in that manner or that he was an adherent to the cult. The king's itinerary does not show that the monarch made a concerted effort to be at Westminster in subsequent years for either the feast of Edward's translation on 13 October, or those celebrating his deposition on 5 January.⁸⁵ Henry II had more interest in Edward's canonisation and translation than in his cult.

Henry III's involvement with the translation on 13 October 1269 was different for two reasons. Firstly, he was genuinely devoted to the cult. Secondly, the political situation at the time was a different one than Henry II had faced. Rather than trying to force the Church to concede to royal dictates, Henry was facing a financial crisis. His son Edward had taken the cross in June of that year, vowing to set out for

⁸³ 'Eodem anno translatum est corpus sancti regis et confessoris Æwardi apud Westmonasterium a beato Thoma Cantuariensi archiepiscopo, præsentate rege Henrico qui hoc procuraverat' (*CM*, ii, p. 221.).

⁸⁴ *GR*, pp. 386-404.

⁸⁵ R. W. Eynton, *Court, Household and Itinerary of King Henry* (London, 1958).

the Holy Land no later than August of 1270. John Maddicott observes that in a twenty-six month period Parliament met between seven or eight times, a period of frenzied activity equalled perhaps only during the reform movement of 1258-9.⁸⁶ The increase in parliamentary activity was linked to Edward's vow to go to Jerusalem, because Henry III needed to meet the costs through taxation, a move which could only be approved of by Parliament.⁸⁷ By October of 1269 Henry had secured partial payment from the king of France, provided that Edward departed from Aigues Mortes in southern France no later than 15 August 1270. In early October Parliament met in York, whereupon another meeting was planned for London later that month. Parliament was proving unaccommodating for two reasons: Henry wanted to implement a taxation on moveables, which had not been taken since 1237,⁸⁸ and England was only just recovering from the heavy taxes charged to fund costly wars in recent years.⁸⁹ With the deadline quickly approaching, something needed to be done to ensure the success of the crusade.

Like the first translation, the second one coincided with a time when the king was nearing a political impasse. Unlike Henry II, Henry III had a long-standing association with Westminster Abbey and the cult of Edward the Confessor, the most significant manifestation of these relationships was the king's funding of the massive rebuilding programme which began in the 1240's. Additionally, Henry III traditionally shielded his political weakness behind a screen of religious patronage.⁹⁰ Earlier in his reign, he had invited a large gathering of nobles to a celebration of Edward's 5 January feast day.⁹¹ In 1269

⁸⁶ J. R. Maddicott, 'The Crusade Taxation of 1268 and the Development of Parliament,' *Thirteenth Century England 2* (1988), p. 91.

⁸⁷ D. A. Carpenter, 'The Beginnings of Parliament,' in *The Reign of Henry III* (London, 1996), p. 385.

⁸⁸ Maddicott, 'The Crusade Taxation,' p. 94.

⁸⁹ Maddicott, 'The Crusade Taxation,' p. 95.

⁹⁰ Colvin, *The King's Works*, i, pp. 131-59; E. M. Hallam, 'The Burial Places of English Kings,' *History Today* 31 (1981), p. 46.

⁹¹ '...festo beati Ædwardi... magnifice celebrarent in ecclesia sancti Petri apud Westmonasterium' (*CM*, v, pp. 47-8.).

Henry was placed in the position of requesting money to fund his son's crusade. The translation allowed him to construct a facade of power within the impressive building which had been financed by him.⁹² Immediately after the translation, Henry asked Parliament for a twentieth on all of the laity's goods. Henry III's request was only partly successful: Parliament agreed to an assessment of the twentieth, though not a collection.⁹³ The failure of the plan is perhaps suggestive in that Henry III used the translation of a king renowned for remitting the Danegeld while seeking a tax. If Henry III had intended for the translation of Edward the Confessor to enforce his grandeur, he was not successful, just as the earlier translation failed to convince the English clergy of Henry II's right to control the Church. Though both events were timed to display the power of the king, the effect of such a display was negligible.

Feast Days

The material donations were one aspect of Henry III's devotion to the cult. Another one was the importance that the king paid to Edward's two feast days on 13 October and 5 January. Matthew Paris, a writer with strong ties to Henry's court, generally noted in his chronicles that the monarch celebrated Edward's days at Westminster. The feasts' commemoration in 1248, 1249, 1250, 1252, 1253, 1257 and 1258 received notice.⁹⁴ These festivals were not quietly spent; Matthew Paris described large processions of people bearing torches marking the feast day.⁹⁵ The January feast of 1249 was splendidly observed '*...ipsum festum magnifice celebrarent.*'⁹⁶ The chronicles attests that Henry III

⁹² Colvin, *The King's Works*, i, pp. 132-3. Later, under different circumstances, Edward I would also use a display of triumph at a parliament when he conquered the Welsh (Carpenter, 'The Beginnings of Parliament,' in *The Reign of Henry III* [London, 1996], p. 103.).

⁹³ Maddicott, 'The Crusade Taxation,' p. 103.

⁹⁴ *CM*, v, pp. 28, 47, 94, 324, 395, 649, 661.

⁹⁵ 'Et imminente sancti Ædwardi festivitate, scilicet tertio idus Octobris, jussit ut conventus ei obviam sollempniter indutus processionaliter procederet, accensa incredibili cereorum numerositate' (*CM*, iv, p. 255.).

⁹⁶ *CM*, v, p. 48.

was present for Edward's feasts and the Patent Rolls reveal the extent of Henry III's devotion. Of the fifty-six years of Henry's reign that was covered by them, Henry III was in Westminster on 13 October for twenty-six of them.⁹⁷ Comparatively, as Table 1 shows below, none of the three Edwards spent as much time near Westminster on the 13 October feast:

King	Length of reign in years	Number of years at Westminster on 13 October	Percentage
Henry III	56	26	64.2%
Edward I	35	15	42.8%
Edward II	19	5	26.3%
Edward III	50	28	56%
Richard II	22	14	63.6%

Table 1

Edward I and II spent less than half of of the feasts of Edward the Confessor at Westminster. Likewise, they are not linked to the cult in any contemporary chronicles. Table 1, and Table 2 below, indicate the tendency to be at Westminster for Edward's feasts. Westminster had become the site of the royal palace; one needs to consider this fact carefully when determining a monarch's presence at Westminster on a certain day. Therefore, this evidence is best taken in conjunction with the material on the cult from other sources. Henry III had both Matthew Paris and the Patent Rolls to attest to his presence at Westminster, and also his financial involvement with the restoration of the abbey, to stand as evidence to his devotion to the feasts of Edward. When Henry III was forced to be away from Westminster due to political reasons, he still made provisions for the celebration of Edward's feast at Westminster: in 1263 he ordered his chancellor that alms still be provided for the poor travelling to Westminster for the feast of Edward's translation.⁹⁸ Finally, Henry III's relationship with the abbey

⁹⁷ This information was derived by looking at the patents dated 13 October, and where they were written. When there was a patent issued very close to 13 October at Westminster, within a day or so, it was included in the count for the years that Henry III was at Westminster for Edward's feast (*The Calendar of Patent Rolls of the Reign of Henry III 1216-1272* [6 vols., London, 1901-13].).

⁹⁸ *The Calendar of Patent Rolls of the Reign of Henry III 1258-66* (London, 1910), pp. 282-3.

was such that in 1270 when the king was suffering a potentially fatal illness, the monks processed from Westminster to New Temple to say prayers for the monarch's health.⁹⁹

The figures associated with the feast of the deposition in 5 January are even more revealing, showing that the feast's popularity exploded, as Richard II was at Westminster almost twice as much as Henry III:

King	Length of reign in years	Number of years at Westminster on 5 January	Percentage
Henry III	56	29	51.7%
Edward I	35	3	8.5%
Edward II	19	1	5.2%
Edward III	50	30	60%
Richard II	22	21	95.4%

Table 2

Henry III was at Westminster for fewer deposition feasts than he was for translation feasts. This pattern was not repeated by Richard II, who spent all but one of the January feasts at Westminster. As we can see, the next two rulers spent very few of the feasts at Westminster. By contrast, Edward III passed many of the October and January feasts at Westminster. Though Edward III was at Westminster for over half of the 13 October feasts which fell during his reign, there is no sign of devotion to the cult in any other source surveyed. The increasing use of London as the centre of government, particularly after the Scottish wars, explains why the king was spending a greater amount of time in

⁹⁹ 'Et de convalescentia sua desperans, se orationibus ecclesiae commendavit. Monachi Westmonasterienses tantum patronum perdere formidantes, in tempore pluviali nudis pedibus novum Templum Londoniis processionaliter petierunt, ibidem missam pro rege in honore beatæ Mariæ Virginis celebrantes. Eo modo, quo prius, ad propria revertentes, nunciabatur eisdem, quod rex convaluisset de infirmitate' (*Flores Historiarum*, ed. H. R. Luard [3 vols., RS, 1890], iii, pp. 22-3.).

London. This high percentage reflects a trend in the royal itinerary which began around 1250 when the ruler began to spend long stretches of time at Westminster, usually from November to March, sometimes beginning as early as September or October. The long stretch of time does not indicate that he was specially there for either of the two feasts. Solely from this chart, one receives the impression that he was a devotee of the cult. However, the chronicles reveal no such devotion, as they do for Richard II. While Tables 1 and 2 shed some light on the picture of royal devotion to the cult of Edward the Confessor, they must be taken into account with other pieces of evidence in order to discount other trends, such as the emergence of London as the centre of government.

The indifference or otherwise of various kings towards the feasts of Edward the Confessor displayed by the charts is also exemplified by the *elemosina* accounts in the surviving wardrobe books for the reigns of Edward I-Richard II. There were generally two types of donations noted in these books: records of paupers fed on particular saints' feasts¹⁰⁰ and donations to tombs. Unfortunately, the reigns are not fully covered by the accounts. While most of Edward I and Edward II's reigns are covered by the documents, the same cannot be said for those of Edward III and Richard II.¹⁰¹ Therefore, any conclusions drawn from these sources must be carefully considered in light of other evidence. The few books which are available to us provide a comparative glimpse of the donation patterns of monarchs to their chosen saints. Over one hundred and forty saints were honoured by the four kings. The saint who received the most donations, one hundred and twenty-nine, was

¹⁰⁰ For the development of this practice in the thirteenth century, see H. Johnstone, 'Poor-Relief in the Royal Households of Thirteenth-Century England,' *Speculum* 4 (1929). The latter pages of this article are dedicated to Edward I's treatment of the poor, whose piety is more fully explored in M. Prestwich, 'The Piety of Edward I,' *England in the Thirteenth Century* 1 (1984).

¹⁰¹ For the paucity of Richard II's wardrobe books, see Saul, *Richard II*, p. 304.

the Virgin Mary.¹⁰² For the purposes on simplicity, the donations to Edward's cult will be compared with two groups: Anglo-Saxon royal saints and the three other Englishmen who were canonised during the period 1161-1220.

The majority of donations and feedings, twenty out of twenty-three, in honour of Edward the Confessor fell during Edward I's reign.¹⁰³ Typical donations to the tombs were 7s. and about 1 1/2d. was spent per pauper. The tendency was for donations to shrines to outnumber the feeding of paupers as time progressed, depending on the devotional habits of a particular monarch.¹⁰⁴ Donations were made to Edward by Edward I, a monarch who did not otherwise demonstrate support for the cult or Westminster Abbey. A telling entry might explain the motivation of Edward I's donations to the saint: following the donation to the saint was a reference for a mass dedicated to the memory of the king's father, Henry III, the saint's greatest benefactor.¹⁰⁵ By giving donations to St. Edward, Edward I was honouring the memory of his father, an act which he dutifully carried out, regularly making donations to the relics or making donations to the poor on Edward's feast days. Of the other three occasions when a monarch made a donation to Edward, two were during the reign of Edward II and one was made by Edward III.¹⁰⁶ Nigel Saul has commented on this, stating that while donations

¹⁰² Byerly, pp. 272-4, 275-6, 280-83, 286-8, 291-5, 297-300, 302-3; BL Add. MS 7965, fols. 4-4v, 8; *Liber Quotidianus Contrarotulatoris Garderobae... A.D. MCCXCIX & MCCC*, ed. J. Nichols (London, 1787), pp. 16, 18-19, 22, 28-30, 33, 36, 38-9, 41-2; BL Add. MS 7966a, fols. 19-19v, 21, 26; BL Add. MS 8835, fols. 1-3, Bodley MS Tanner 197, fol. 39; PRO E101/375/8, fols. 1v, 3; PRO E101/376/7, fol. 5; PRO E120, fols. 16, 17; PRO E121, fol. 5; BL Add. MS 17362, fols. 3v-4v; BL Add. MS 9951, fols. 2-2v; PRO E36/203, fols. 87-88; PRO E101/396/2, fol. 29v; PRO E101/398/9, fol. 27; PRO E101/401/2, fol. 37v; PRO E101/402/5, fol. 34v; PRO E101/402/10, fol. 33; PRO E101/403/10, fols. 35-35v. The connection of England with Mary was cemented in the Wilton Diptych. Recently, a small map of England was discovered on the staff, which is thought to symbolise England as the dowry of the Virgin (D. Gordon, 'A New Discovery in the Wilton Diptych,' *Burlington Magazine* 134 [1992].).

¹⁰³ Byerly, pp. 275, 299, 301; *Liber Quotidianus*, pp. 17, 19, 22, 24, 30-32, 43-4; BL Add. MS 7966a, fols. 19, 21v, 26; BL Add. MS 8835, fols. 1v, 5.

¹⁰⁴ Edward I was more likely to recognise saints by feeding paupers on their feast days: Prestwich, 'The Piety of Edward I,' pp. 120-22.

¹⁰⁵ Byerly, p. 299.

¹⁰⁶ BL Add. MS 9951, fol. 2; PRO E36/203, fol. 87v.

were made by the king, Edward I was more associated with King Arthur and Edward III with St. George.¹⁰⁷ Most of the donations in honour of Edward the Confessor were given during the reign of Henry III's son, most likely in recognition of his father's devotion given that there are no other indications he was devoted to Edward's cult, a fact which will be discussed later.

Two other cults of Anglo-Saxon royal saints, Edmund the Martyr and Edward the Martyr, also received royal attention. As with Edward the Confessor, the majority of the donations were given during Edward I's reign: Edmund had twenty donations and Edward thirteen.¹⁰⁸ While fewer in number than those given to Edward the Confessor, it must be remembered that of the one hundred and forty-one saints mentioned in these books, only nineteen received more than ten. There is evidence of a stronger personal attachment of Edward I to Edmund. On 10 May, 1300, Edward I made a donation to the saint on account of rumours heard about the Scots.¹⁰⁹ Similar patterns emerge for two of the saints canonised within forty years of Edward the Confessor, Hugh of Lincoln and Wulfstan of Worcester. While all of the fourteen donations made for Wulfstan were given by Edward I, only four of them were given on the saint's feast, indicating a greater interest in the saint rather than a perfunctory adherence.¹¹⁰ Likewise, St. Hugh had fourteen donations given to him, four on his feast, though by two kings, Edward I and Edward II.¹¹¹ However, the most remarkable show of devotion was for Thomas Becket, who is one of the few saints in this collection who was

¹⁰⁷ N. Saul, 'Richard II and Westminster Abbey,' in J. Blair and B. Golding (eds.), *The Cloister and the World: Essays in Medieval History in Honour of Barbara Harvey* (Oxford, 1996), p. 199.

¹⁰⁸ Donations for Edmund the Martyr: Byerly, p. 287; *Liber Quotidianus*, pp. 16, 21, 35, 37, 43; BL Add. MS 7965, fols. 4v-5, 8; BL Add. MS 7966a, fols. 19-20, 22-3; BL Add. MS 8835, fols. 1-1v; PRO E101/376/7, fol. 5; PRO E101/393/11, fol. 61. Donations for Edward the Martyr: Byerly, p. 281; BL Add. MS 7965, fols. 4, 8v-9, 10; *Liber Quotidianus*, pp. 21, 27; BL Add. MS 7966a, fols. 19v-20, 25; BL Add. MS 8835, fols. 1v-2v.

¹⁰⁹ '...propter speciales rumores quos idem Rex audivit de partibus Scotie' (*Liber Quotidianus*, p. 37.).

¹¹⁰ Byerly, pp. 275, 287, 301; BL Add. MS 7965, fols. 4v, 9, 10; *Liber Quotidianus*, pp. 18, 20, 28, 35; BL Add. MS 7966a, fols. 24-24v; BL Add. MS 8835, fol. 1v.

¹¹¹ Byerly, p. 303; *Liber Quotidianus*, pp. 23-4, 37; BL Add. MS 7966a, fols. 21, 22, 23v-24; BL Add. MS 8835, fols. 1v, 3v, 5; PRO E101/376/7, fol. 5; PRO E.121, fol. 3.

honoured by all four kings, making him the most recognised saint after the virgin Mary.¹¹² While the scope of the *elemosina* accounts is by no means a complete one, they do reveal some interesting patterns for royal donations to cults. When the donations associated with Edward the Confessor are compared with those of other saints, it becomes apparent that he did not command the same reverence as some other saints.

Rebuilding Westminster Abbey and Later Royal Interest in the Cult of Edward the Confessor

Henry III's devotion to the shrine was explicitly demonstrated by the money he donated towards Westminster Abbey's rebuilding, which was coupled with his decision to be buried in the abbey, made in 1246.¹¹³ The central focus of the rebuilding project was a new shrine for Edward, which Matthew Paris praised for its magnificence and splendour.¹¹⁴ Indeed, after Henry III's death in 1272 the work at the

¹¹² Byerly, pp. 291-2, BL Add. MS 7965, fol 4v; *Liber Quotidianus*, pp. 16-17, 19, 21, 26, 29, 38, 41, 43; BL Add. MS 7966a, fols. 19, 26; BL Add. MS 8835, fols. 1-1v, 3v; Bodley MS Tanner 197, fol. 39; PRO E101/375/8, fols. 1v, 3; PRO E101/376/7, fol. 30; PRO E120, fol. 19; PRO E121, fol. 6; BL Add. MS 17362, fols. 3v-4v, 6; BL Add. MS 9951, fols. 2-2v; PRO E36/203, fols. 87v-88; PRO E101/396/2, PRO E101/397/5, fol. 34v; fol. 30; E101/401/2, fols. 37-37v. Sometimes, donations made at Canterbury Cathedral were made several at a time; on the same day Thomas Becket, Augustine and Adrian and the image of Mary in the church would receive alms, though not necessarily all at the same time. Thomas and Augustine: *Liber Quotidianus*, p. 19; PRO E121, fol. 6; PRO E101/401/2, fol. 37. Thomas, Augustine and Adrian: Byerly, p. 291; PRO E101/375/8, fol. 3, PRO E101/397/5, fol. 34v. Thomas, Augustine and Marian image: BL Add. MS 9951, fol. 2v, PRO E36/203, fol. 88. Thomas, Augustine, Adrian and Marian image: BL Add. MS 17362, fol. 4v.

¹¹³ Calendar of Charter Rolls, i, p. 306. In a heraldic display of veneration, Henry III had his arms placed next to those of the Confessor in the East end, which contained sixteen shields in all (C. W. Scott-Giles, *Heraldry in the Middle Ages* [London, 1961], p.7.). Edward's arms were a Plantagenet innovation, based on the Sovereign/Martlet penny from the king's reign. There were originally four birds on the penny, which were increased to five. Also, it is believed that the birds were originally meant to be imperial eagles, though this has been modified to a dove in the following centuries (R. H. M. Dolley and F. E. Jones, 'A New Suggestion Concerning the So-Called "Martlets" in the "Arms of Edward the Confessor,"' in *Anglo-Saxon Coins, Studies Presented to F.M. Stenton*, ed. R. H. M. Dolley [London, 1961].). Later, these arms would be confused with those of Alfred the Great, which explains their presence on the facade of University College, Oxford (*University College Oxford Record* [August, 1969], p. 271.).

¹¹⁴ 'Eodem anno [1241], dominus rex Henricus III. unum feretrum ex auro purissimo et gemmis preciosis fecit ab electis aurifabris apud Londoniam, ut in ipso reliquæ beati Ædwardi reponerentur, ex sumptibus propriis artificiose fabricari. In qua fabrica, licet materia fuisset preciosissima, tamen secundum illud poeticum, "Materiam superabat opus.'" (*CM*, iv, pp. 156-7.).

abbey ground to a halt.¹¹⁵ Elaborate plans had been made for the reconstruction: Cosmati craftsmen and stone had been brought over from Italy to make an elaborate tile floor and a tomb for the Confessor. David Carpenter asserts that, contrary to Paul Binski's belief that Edward was translated into a half-finished tomb, the work on the structure was completed by 1269.¹¹⁶ When Henry III needed money in 1267, the Close Rolls reveal that valuable items had been donated towards the construction of the tomb: 'Mandate to the prior and convent of Westminster to deliver to the legate all the king's jewels and precious things in their keeping, as well those assigned for the building of the shrine of St. Edward, as others, except for the regalia.'¹¹⁷ The list of items to be pawned stretches on for four pages.¹¹⁸ Henry III's devotion to the abbey and the cult of Edward coalesced into the money he gave for the church's massive reconstruction. His enthusiasm for Westminster was not inherited by Edward I, II or III. Their energies were mainly focused on the construction of the chapel of St. Stephen in Westminster Hall.¹¹⁹ The reconstruction of Westminster Abbey languished as the monks searched for another financial backer.

Though the infant Edward I was baptised in the abbey in 1239, he was devoted neither to the abbey nor to the cult of Edward the Confessor.¹²⁰ A passage in Hardyng's chronicle reveals Edward I's

¹¹⁵ Colvin, *The King's Works*, i, p. 150.

¹¹⁶ D. A. Carpenter, 'King Henry III and the Cosmati Work at Westminster Abbey,' in *The Reign of Henry III* (London, 1996), p. 412.

¹¹⁷ *The Calendar of Patent Rolls of the Reign of Henry III 1266-1272* (London, 1913), p. 52.

¹¹⁸ *Patent Rolls 1266-1272*, pp. 135-40.

¹¹⁹ T. Cocke, *900 Years: The Restorations of Westminster Abbey* (Dean and Chapter of Westminster, 1995), p. 24. While there was a statue of the Confessor outside of the chapel, the interior was adorned with paintings of thirty-two military saints, a type of saint which was dramatically different in comparison to Edward, see Ch. 6 (Cherry and Stratford, *Westminster Kings*, p. 28.). Edward I was particularly generous with offerings for saints' feasts, in particular that of Thomas Becket, though he made donations to many other cults both inside and outside of England (Prestwich, 'The Piety of Edward I.'). In the king's Alms Roll for 1386-9, there are six instances when St. Edward is mentioned. However, in three of those instances there is no indication if the saint is Edward the Confessor or Edward the Martyr. The three later other references intertwine donations made for the Confessor with those for Henry III, linking the king with his patron saint. The implication from these entries suggests Edward I made these donations in memory of his father.

¹²⁰ *CM*, iii, p. 539.

perception of the abbey. After capturing the Stone of Scone, Edward sent it to Westminster Abbey. The following passage recounts that mythical origins of the stone:

And at hir [Scota's] death she left a precious stone...
And buried there she was by herself alone;
Which stone was holy, as some menne then did teache,
And did miracles, so was ye common speache,
In honour it was had bothe of greate and small,
And holden for a relique moost speciall.
At Westmonestery it offered to Sainct Edward,
Where it is kept and conserved¹²¹

At this point in the poem, it would appear that Edward I offered the stone to Edward in recognition of saintly status. If this interpretation is drawn out, then it would prove the king connected Westminster Abbey to Edward's cult. Beforehand, Edward I had only overseen the completion of his father's plans for the abbey, which were unfinished when he died. The donation of the stone, if it was meant as a devotional gesture to the saint, would prove the king had his own connection to the king-saint. This idea is discredited with these lines:

To tyme that kynges of England afterward,
Should coronel bee, under their fete observed...
In remembrance of kynges of Scottes alway,
Subiectes should bee to kynges of Englade ay.¹²²

The placement of the Stone of Scone had little to do with the cult of Edward, regardless that the chronicler said that it was donated to the saint. Instead, there is more emphasis placed on the assemblage of coronation items; Edward the Confessor's church for the English one and the stone for the Scottish one. Edward I recognised Westminster Abbey in its formal role as the coronation church and this is what his donation of the stone meant. Later, one of Scotland's other precious national relics which had become a Scottish regalia object, Queen Margaret's Holy

¹²¹ John Hardyng, *Chronicle*, ed. H. Ellis (London, 1812), p. 87. The *Flores Historiarum* also refers to the episode, saying that Edward I gave items of the Scottish regalia to Edward at Westminster, his resting place: 'In crastino sancti Botulphi accedens rex apud Westmonasterium obtulit beato regi Edwardo, cujus meritis adquisierat, regalia regni Scotiæ, tribunal scilicet septrumque aurem cum corona' (*Flores Historiarum*, iii, p. 101.).

¹²² Hardyng, *Chronicle*, p. 87.

Rood, would also be placed in Westminster.¹²³ The church was a warehouse for symbols of England's military dominance, which were given added meaning by their assemblage. Particular attention to Edward the Confessor and Westminster Abbey was not demonstrated by Edward I; he was content to amass the symbols of power without giving special attention to any one single item.¹²⁴

Westminster Abbey and the cult of Edward were not the subjects of kingly enthusiasm during the reigns of Edward I, II and III. The chronicles do not place the kings at any great celebrations at Westminster connected with the saint nor do any of the accounts rolls provide any evidence that they venerated the Anglo-Saxon saint. Royal interest in Westminster Abbey reemerged during the latter half of Richard II's reign. Accounts of the monarch's devotion are given in the *Westminster Chronicle* which is the continuation of Ranulph Higden's *Polychronicon* written by a monk at Westminster Abbey, an attribution supported by the increase of details about the church.¹²⁵ This source gives an interesting view of the king's devotional life. Richard II was devoted to various cults, and often celebrated the feasts of SS George and Edmund.¹²⁶ In addition to venerating the cult of preexisting saints, the king also tried to canonise Edward II.¹²⁷ Seen through the account in the Westminster chronicle, Richard II's devotion to the abbey was connected to his veneration of Edward the Confessor.

Richard II had a strong connection to the abbey in its capacity as the premier royal church in London. To that end, he showed an interest in the building and its connections to the monarchy. Though Richard II was not a great benefactor of religious houses, Westminster Abbey was

¹²³ A. J. Wilson, *St. Margaret, Queen of Scotland* (Edinburgh, 1993), p. 110.

¹²⁴ Despite not being a patron of Edward's cult, Edward I was a religious man. Rather than showing his munificence to cults, he preferred to give alms to the poor. See Prestwich, 'The Piety of Edward I.'

¹²⁵ J. A. Robinson, 'Westminster in the Twelfth Century: Osbert of Clare,' *The Church Quarterly Review* lxxviii (1909), p. 62.

¹²⁶ *The Westminster Chronicle: 1381-1394*, ed. and trans. B. F. Harvey and L. C. Hector (Oxford, 1982), pp. 180, 432, 454.

¹²⁷ *Westminster Chronicle*, p. 436.

one of the few foundations which benefited during his reign.¹²⁸ Colvin has noted that significant contributions to the abbey did not recommence after Henry III's death until the beginning of Richard II's reign.¹²⁹ In 1389 and 1390 he gave estates at Folkestone and Stoke-by-Clare to the abbey so that their revenue could fund the building programme.¹³⁰ He also expressed an interest in the royal regalia which was housed within Westminster. William Sudbury wrote a treatise on the origins of the regalia at the king's request, which discussed whether it dated back to Edward the Confessor or Alfred the Great.¹³¹ Aside from his interest in the fabric of Westminster and its possessions as they related to the monarchy, Richard was interested in its relics. During a visit from the king of Armenia to London, Richard II took him on a tour of the abbey. The chronicle notes that the king emphasised the importance of the occasion by donning his finest clothes and, despite the prevailing darkness, made certain that the king of Armenia saw not only the regalia, but also the abbey's relics.¹³² During the course of his reign, Richard emphasised the importance of Westminster Abbey in different facets. Like many of his predecessors, he recognised the importance of the site *vis-à-vis* its connections with coronations. Aside from coronations, the abbey played an important part in ceremonies which reaffirmed the strength of the monarchy. In 1387 there was a procession in London to mark the city's support for their king. The ceremony dramatically ended at Westminster Abbey, making it the central focus.¹³³ His devotion to the abbey transcended that of most

¹²⁸ R. G. Davies, 'Richard II and the Church,' in A. Goodman and J. Gillespie (eds.), *Richard II: The Art of Kingship* (Oxford, 1999), p. 90; Saul, 'Richard II and Westminster Abbey,' p. 200-12.

¹²⁹ Colvin, *The King's Works*, i, p. 151. A summary of Richard's donations to the abbey appears in N. Saul, *Richard II*, (New Haven and London, 1997), pp. 312-6.

¹³⁰ N. Saul, 'Richard II and Westminster Abbey,' p. 203.

¹³¹ For a discussion of the regalia and Sudbury's work, see Ch. 3, p. 102.

¹³² 'Tandem mane facto innotuit regi Anglie predictum regem velle transitum facere per London'; accinxit se apparatu nobiliori et eundem regem usque Westmonasterium commeavit, supervenienteque noctis umbraculo nichilominus accensis cereis adduxit illum ad monasterium, factisque oblacionibus et visis reliquiis ibidem repositis ostendebat ei eciam insignia regalia quibus olim fuerat coronatus' (*Westminster Chronicle*, pp. 154-6.).

¹³³ *Westminster Chronicle*, pp. 206-8.

other rulers, with the exception of Henry III, with his commitment to the recommencement of building plans at the abbey. With the visit of the Armenian king and its emphasis on viewing the abbey's relics, one of the reasons for Richard II's devotion to Westminster becomes clear.

Passages in the *Westminster Chronicle* denote both the king's devotion to the building and the cult of Edward the Confessor. The chronicle, which was begun not before the late 1380's and finished by 1387,¹³⁴ is most likely the work of two Westminster monks, Richard of Cirencester and Richard Exeter.¹³⁵ While the authors scrambled some facts, the work is held in high repute.¹³⁶ In 1392 there was another procession through London, this time to mark the king's pardon of the people of London. This procession was a grander affair than the earlier one in 1387. The description of the richness of the procession includes the following details: all of crafts in the city were represented wearing livery, the king's two horses were wearing silver gilded saddles, London Bridge and the main streets were draped with expensive cloths, and every member of the Westminster monastery was wearing a new white cope.¹³⁷ Another departure from the earlier occasions was the ultimate destination of the procession. Rather than merely ending at the abbey, it culminated at the confessor's shrine, accompanied by a choir singing '*Ave, sancte rex Edwarde.*' The procession marks a difference in the perception of the abbey; not only was the monarchy connected with the abbey, but specifically to the cult of Edward the Confessor. The processions were a public example of the king's bond with the abbey. The second procession demonstrated the major role that cult of Edward the Confessor played in maintaining that bond. Richard II used Westminster Abbey as the stage on which to express his devotion to Edward's cult.

Richard II's devotion to the cult also extended to the more typical

¹³⁴ *Westminster Chronicle*, p. xxx.

¹³⁵ *Westminster Chronicle*, pp. xxxiii, xl-xliii.

¹³⁶ *Westminster Chronicle*, pp. xxix, lviii.

¹³⁷ *Westminster Chronicle*, pp. 502-6.

acts, such as his attendance at masses in Westminster Abbey.¹³⁸ The Westminster chronicler also noted the king donated a ruby ring to the shrine in 1388.¹³⁹ In addition, Richard also took an unusual interest in various aspects of the shrine. In 1388, a clerk, who had been involved in a debate over a vacant benefice, first took refuge in sanctuary at Westminster after his pleas had been ignored by officials at parliament, ultimately moving into a position by the shrine of St. Edward.¹⁴⁰ The commons and lords of parliament tried to have the man forcibly removed from sanctuary and submitted to the judgment of a secular court. At this point, Richard II became involved in the matter and defended the right of sanctuary.¹⁴¹ Though his defence of the right to sanctuary was not specifically addressed to the shrine of Edward the Confessor, the king became involved with the situation only after the clerk had moved towards the shrine. Richard II was not only interested in promoting the cult, but was also concerned with protecting its rights as Osbert of Clare had been more than two centuries earlier.

Richard II was interested in both Westminster Abbey and the cult of Edward the Confessor. There are passages in the *Westminster Chronicle* which flesh out the king's devotion to a greater extent than donations or public celebrations. Following the 1381 massacre of the Flemings, the king turned to the saint for counsel, as he lacked sufficient human assistance.¹⁴² Though the king was not alone in his devotions that day, he was the first one to approach the king's tomb. The

¹³⁸ *Westminster Chronicle*, pp. 450, 510.

¹³⁹ *Westminster Chronicle*, p. 372.

¹⁴⁰ *Westminster Chronicle*, pp. 336-8.

¹⁴¹ 'Rex autem in contrarium sentenciavit, asserens loca privilegiata censuris fore vallata et si quis hiis contravenerit potest de facili illis involvi, et quamdiu eisdem sic fuerit involutus omnia facta sua postmodum ante absolucionem habitam in periculum sue anime indubie vergere dinoscuntur; "et ideo de loco sacro quemquam extrahere vel ibidem punire nobis non est; igitur relinquendum est illius arbitrio puniendum qui habet custodiam dicti loci"' (*Westminster Chronicle*, pp. 338-40.).

¹⁴² 'Nam post horam ejusdem diei nonam rex in tanta rerum turbine concomitantibus dominis et militibus cum multo civium equitatu ad Westmonasterium causa oracionis accessit, divinum ad feretrum predicti regis imploraturus auxilium ubi humanum omnino defuit consilium: unde accedenti propius porte monasterii conventus processionaliter ibat in obviam. Rexque equo continuo descendens flexis genibus crucem que ante conventum ferebatur devote cum lacrimis osculatus est, dein ad feretrum gloriosi regis Edwardi accessit, moram ibidem in oracione protrahendo' (*Westminster Chronicle*, pp. 8-10.).

subsequent scramble to be the first one after the king to offer devotions among the knights smacks more of courtiers trying to gain the king's approval than of an expression of devotion to St. Edward, especially since there is no other instance in the Chronicle where they are battling to venerate Edward. A few years later, the king heard mass at the altar of St. Edward before travelling north to settle a dispute with the archbishop of York.¹⁴³ The king turned to his saint during turbulent periods to assist him in the practice of his royal duties. The *Westminster Chronicle* presented the link between the king and the saint as a uniquely close one: Edward was Richard II's personal advisor. One can almost imagine a dialogue transpiring at the shrine between the two monarchs, which is perhaps what the monks of Westminster wanted to imply. This more intimate devotion differs from the very public ceremonies of Henry III. Though like Henry III, Richard II expressed his devotion to Edward in public processions, the *Westminster Chronicle* records a more intimate side to Richard's devotion to the saint.

The most famous example of Richard II's devotion to Edward the Confessor is the Wilton Diptych. The artifact is much more than a piece of devotional art, as it is representative of Richard II's formalised view of kingship.¹⁴⁴ This view of the monarchy, which expressed itself in diverse ways, from the Christ-like portrait of the king which is now in Westminster Abbey to the introduction of new forms of address for the king,¹⁴⁵ placed the monarch outside the regular orbit of humanity. The diptych is a perfect example of the king's association with the divine.

¹⁴³ *Westminster Chronicle*, p. 178.

¹⁴⁴ The development of the Ricardian style of kingship has been widely studied. Some of the works on the topic include R. H. Jones, *The Royal Policy of Richard II: Absolutism in the Later Middle Ages* (Oxford, 1968); S. Walker, 'Richard II's Views on Kingship,' in R. E. Archer and S. Walker (eds.), *Rulers and the Ruled in Late Medieval England: Essays Presented to Gerald Harriss* (London, 1995); N. Saul, 'The Kingship of Richard II,' in *Richard II: The Art of Kingship*.

¹⁴⁵ Richard's use of distance from his subjects has been studied in two articles by N. Saul: 'Richard II and the Vocabulary of Kingship,' *EHR* cx (1995); 'Richard II's Ideas of Kingship,' in D. Gordon *et al.* (eds.), *The Regal Image of Richard II and the Wilton Diptych* (London, 1997).

The work has been dated to after 1395, a time late in the king's reign.¹⁴⁶ However, in the painting he is portrayed as a young man, presented to the Virgin Mary by three saints: Edward the Confessor, Edmund the Martyr and John the Baptist.¹⁴⁷ The entire diptych is suffused with symbolism, however its most blatant association is Richard II with the three saints. The three saints from left to right are Edmund the Martyr, Edward the Confessor and John the Baptist. Edmund the Martyr and John the Baptist are both pictured as young men, though not as young as Richard II. Richard II's youth is offset by the image of Edward the Confessor: as in almost all depictions of the king, he is an old man with white hair and a beard.¹⁴⁸ Edward's central position in the left panel and venerable appearance makes him stand out. The saint's importance is also shown on the outside of the outside panels of the diptych, which displays the arms of Richard II impaled with the Confessor's.¹⁴⁹ The Wilton Diptych placed Richard II into the hands of three saints, but particular attention was paid to Edward, thereby linking the ruler with the saint.

Before turning our attention to the Church's support of the cult of Edward at Westminster, there remains to be discussed two other types of ceremonies with royal connections celebrated at the abbey. The one

¹⁴⁶ The dating of the diptych has relied on several issues, including the impalement of Richard's arms with those of Edward the Confessor, the badge of the white hart and the collars of broom pods. This evidence was first put forth by M. V. Clarke, 'The Wilton Diptych,' in *Fourteenth Century Studies* (Oxford, 1937) and has been subsequently upheld by F. Wormald, 'The Wilton Diptych,' *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes* 17 (1954) among others, although J. H. Harvey, 'The Wilton Diptych: A Re-examination,' *Archaeologia* 98 (1961), p. 24, argued that the painting happened between the summer of 1394 and the autumn of 1395, while most agree that 1395 is the earliest possible date.

¹⁴⁷ Richard II's connection to the three saints has been studied in D. Gordon, *Making and Meaning: The Wilton Diptych* (London, 1993), pp. 53-5. His connection to Edmund the Martyr is linked to the fact that both men were very young when they become king. The connection to John the Baptist is more solid in that the king was crowned on the vigil of his feast. His devotion to Edward was explained in part by Richard's desire to rule England peacefully, just as his saintly predecessor had done. S. Mitchell, 'Richard II: Kingship and the cult of saints,' in *The Regal Image of Richard II* explores the king's connection to other saints.

¹⁴⁸ There is only one picture of Edward as a youth. It appears at the beginning of the *Encomium Emmae Reginae*.

¹⁴⁹ For the significance of the impalement of Richard II's arms with Edward's, see Mitchell, "Richard II," pp. 116-17.

with the oldest roots is that of knighting. The first post-Conquest knighting at Westminster was that of the future Henry I by his father William the Conqueror at Whitsuntide 1086.¹⁵⁰ There are no records of another knighting until the reign of Henry III. These occasions, one in 1247 and the other in 1260, were knighting ceremonies and were both held on the October feast day of Edward the Confessor.¹⁵¹ Edward II continued the practice of holding mass knighting at Westminster in 1306, though the ceremony was held during Pentecost rather than 13 October.¹⁵² The change of dates maintained the use of Westminster Abbey as a centre of dubbing while changing the emphasis of dates. The transformation was from the recognition of a saint with royal connections to a more conventional ecclesiastical feast. Once more we see that Henry III's recognition of St. Edward's cult was an individualistic expression than a dynastic one.

Westminster Abbey was also used by the royal family for weddings. While they took place in the house of Edward's shrine, there was no connection between the king and the wedding. Henry III's daughter Sanchia was married in the abbey in 1243, although not on Edward's feast day.¹⁵³ Two daughters of Edward I, Joanna of Acre and Margaret, were married in the abbey in 1290.¹⁵⁴ These ceremonies, which took place during the summer, were not on the feast day of the king, nor was the marriage of Richard II to Isabella in 1382.¹⁵⁵ Even the 1382 wedding was not held on or near a feast connected with Edward. While the royal family used Westminster for ceremonies marking rites of passage and union, the building was used more as a royal stage close to the Westminster palace than as an expression of devotion to Edward the Confessor.

¹⁵⁰ Anglo-Saxon Chronicle, E version, 1086; *GR*, p. 710.

¹⁵¹ *CM*, iv, p. 644; *Flores Historiarum*, ii, p. 456.

¹⁵² *Flores Historiarum*, iii, pp. 131-2.

¹⁵³ *CM*, iv, p. 263.

¹⁵⁴ *Flores Historiarum*, iii, p. 70.

¹⁵⁵ *The Westminster Chronicle*, p. 10.

As the evidence relating to Westminster Abbey has shown, while the abbey was used for purposes associated with the monarchy, royal devotion to the cult of Edward was limited. Before the reign of Henry III there was little interest in the cult by itself; Henry II used the 1163 translation as a display of royal sanctity and had little use for Edward beyond that. The next Henry was devoted to the saint both in material ways, such as the rebuilding of the abbey, and in ceremonial ways, such as attending feasts at the abbey. Henry III's devotion to Edward, much like his father's devotion to St. Wulfstan, was not taken up by the following generations. Henry III's reign does signal a change in the perception of the abbey. It became more of a royal church: as discussed above, the abbey came to be the final resting place of monarchs after Henry III, and important royal ceremonies such as dubbings and weddings occurred under its Gothic arches. The cult once more enjoyed royal devotion from Richard II, who also incorporated the abbey into royal processions through London making it the final destination. Though Westminster began to receive major royal patronage chiefly through the cult of Edward the Confessor under Henry III, it was not because of the cult that it became a centre of royal ecclesiastical ceremony.

Chapter Three

Westminster Abbey and the Cult of Edward the Confessor

The attitude of a foundation towards the relics it housed was crucial for the way in which that saint would be presented to the world. As the keeper of Edward's shrine, Westminster Abbey was responsible for the promotion of his cult, therefore making its response to it a critical factor in understanding its perception. Westminster Abbey did not follow the pattern observed by Ronald Finucane of immediate veneration following death; Sulcard's history of Westminster, written fourteen years after Edward's demise, makes no reference to the king's sanctity.¹ The timing of Westminster's promotion of Edward's cult prompts questions, given that royal support of the cult mainly occurred during the reigns of Henry III and Richard II. Was Westminster influenced by the devotion of individual rulers to the cult, or did the abbey promote it at different times? What efforts did Westminster Abbey go through in order to promote the cult inside the abbey and the world at large? The answers to these questions will demonstrate two things: Westminster's willingness to promote Edward's cult and its success or otherwise in so doing.

While there was a spiritual aspect to any saint's veneration, the potential financial advantages for a foundation could not be ignored. It was important for Westminster not only to celebrate the saint but also to entice pilgrims to venerate him, hopefully bringing their money. Therefore, Westminster had to employ means which they thought would be successful. Before proceeding, they had to decide whether or not Edward would be worth promoting. Unfortunately, a reliable

chronicle of Westminster Abbey spanning the entire period 1066-1399

¹ For a full explanation of this theory, see Ch. 6, pp. 218-19. Some cults were successfully revived after a long dormancy, such cults had usually flourished immediately after the saint's death, thus creating two peaks of popularity. An example of such a cult was that of St. Frideswide, an Anglo-Saxon princess who founded a monastery. Her cult began after her death in the eighth century and was rejuvenated when her relics were translated on 12 February 1180. A full discussion of the cult can be found in Ward, *Miracles and the Medieval Mind*, pp. 82-7; F. M. Stenton, 'St. Frideswide and her Times,' in D. M. Stenton (ed.), *Preparatory to Anglo-Saxon England* (Oxford, 1970).

does not exist, leaving no explicit evidence of the perception of Edward in the abbey.² It is therefore necessary to turn to other sources to rate the abbey's willingness to embrace the cult. The purpose of examining these sources is to discern how and when the abbey promoted the cult. For the abbey to exploit fully the potential of Edward's cult, it had to encourage its recognition.

Indulgences

There was one significant way the abbey tried to advertise the cult to those outside of London: indulgences. Over the course of their development, two distinct types of indulgences emerged.³ One type, called general or partial indulgences, functioned in part as a mechanism to attract pilgrims to certain sites in order to raise money for the foundation.⁴ Another type, which was called plenary indulgences, was issued by the pope to encourage participation in the crusades, and functioned as a complete remission of sins, whereas the general indulgences only subtracted a fixed amount of time from penance.⁵ The focus of scholarly work has primarily been on plenary indulgences, while the study of general/partial indulgences has yet to flourish.⁶ The indulgences recorded in the *Westminster Abbey Domesday (WAD)* are general. Despite the relative paucity of work on general indulgences, the sheer volume of them recorded in *WAD* will provide a fitting starting point for an examination about the promotion of Edward the Confessor's cult by Westminster Abbey. *WAD* is a cartulary, and as such the work was not produced in any single period. The latest date in the

² Binski, *Westminster Abbey and the Plantagenets*, p. 52.

³ H. C. Lea, *A History of Auricular Confession and Indulgences* (3 vols., London, 1896), iii, p. 3; B. Poschmann, *Penance and the Anointing of the Sick*, trans. F. Courtney (London, 1964), p. 211.

⁴ N. Orme, 'Indulgences in the Diocese of Exeter, 1100-1536,' *Report and Transactions of the Devonshire Association for the Advancement of Science, Literature and the Arts* 120 (1988), p. 16; Lea, *Auricular Confession and Indulgences*, iii, p. 179.

⁵ W. E. Lunt, *Financial Relations of the Papacy with England, 1327-1534* (Cambridge, 1962), p. 447.

⁶ Robert Swanson, private correspondence, 29 March, 1998. I should like to thank Robert Swanson for providing me with very useful information on indulgences. Lea in *A History of Auricular Confession and Indulgences* discusses the issue of crusading indulgences in full (iii, pp. 152-4.).

original compilation is 1308, but additions were made until the mid-fifteenth century.⁷ The purpose of the document was to record every significant document pertaining to the abbey, however, it is unknown if all of the indulgences issued for the abbey were recorded.⁸ Therefore, while the group recorded in *WAD* will be treated as the only ones, it is possible more existed.

Indulgences began to be issued on a large scale in the late tenth century.⁹ Both the pope and local bishops were able to grant them, though the nature of what they were able to give differed slightly. Legislation would later place controls on the number of days the ecclesiastical officials were able to grant; the pope was limited to a year and forty days and bishops to forty days.¹⁰ Papal and episcopal indulgences also differed in another key detail: the indulgences granted by popes were universally applicable, whilst those given by bishops were applicable only to the members of their particular diocese. Sometimes, in order to increase the scope of an indulgence, groups of bishops banded together to issue one. This practice was frowned upon by the pope because it was prone to exploitation, as the number of forty days lots was multiplied by the number of participating bishops.¹¹ In the Fourth Lateran Council, a limit of one year was placed on collective indulgences.¹² Local bishops also needed the permission of the local ecclesiastical authorities for granting indulgences which pertained to things outside of their own dioceses. The rise of indulgences prompted strict rules to be developed.

⁷ Richard Mortimer, private correspondence, 22 February, 2001; M. R. James and J. A. Robinson, *The Manuscripts of Westminster Abbey* (Cambridge, 1909), p. 93.

⁸ Richard Mortimer, private correspondence.

⁹ Lea, *Auricular Confession*, pp. 136-7; R. W. Southern, *Western Society and the Church in the Middle Ages* (London, 1970), p. 136; A. Boudinhon, 'Sur l'histoire des Indulgences,' *Revue d'histoire et de littérature religieuses* 3 (1898), p. 440; R. W. Shaffern, 'A New Canonistic Text on Indulgences: *De quantitate indulgentiarum* of John of Dambach, O.P. (1288-1372),' *Bulletin of Medieval Canon Law* n.s. 21 (1991), p. 25.

¹⁰ For a full discussion about the development of papal indulgences, see Southern, *Western Society and the Church*, pp. 136-43.

¹¹ There are some in the Westminster collection, *WAD*, ff. 396v, 403-403v.

¹² H. Delehaye, 'Les Letters d'indulgence collectives,' *AB* 45 (1927), p. 102.

What was not so clearly defined is the way in which indulgences were granted. It has been suggested that the Westminster indulgences were probably wheedled out of ecclesiastical figures visiting Westminster by the abbot or some other member of the monastery.¹³ Perhaps these figures were visiting London for a synod or for some other gathering; it is difficult to tell because of the one hundred and four indulgences listed in *WAD*, only six are dated in the body of the indulgence: five at London¹⁴ and one at Westminster.¹⁵ Regardless of where they were issued, their range was particularly large because while most of the indulgences pertained to dioceses within England, Ireland, Wales and Scotland, others came from France, Italy, the Holy Roman Empire, Spain, Jerusalem, Greece and Eastern Europe.¹⁶ The wording of some Westminster indulgences suggest that they were produced in one *scriptorium*. Fourteen indulgences are identical up to the listing of the relics.¹⁷ A further nine use the same opening as the fourteen.¹⁸ The dating of these indulgences, from c. 1230-1305, suggests that they are not the work of one person but rather some type of *scriptorium*. The similar wordings indicates that at least some of the indulgences were the product of the same house, most likely

¹³ Robert Swanson, private correspondence.

¹⁴ *WAD*, ff. 391, 398v, 399, 404, 404v.

¹⁵ *WAD*, f. 404v. The dates of Westminster's indulgences are mostly approximate, generally to the episcopate of a particular bishop.

¹⁶ *WAD*, ff. 386v, 390-390v, 391, 392, 393, 393v-394, 395, 396v, 397, 398, 399-399v, 400-400v, 401v, 404v-407. It has been suggested that bishops from Southern Italy and Ireland generally lived at the papal court, their concentration making it easier to obtain many indulgences: P. N. R. Zutshi, 'Collective Indulgences from Rome and Avignon in English Collections,' in M. J. Franklin and C. Harper-Bill (eds.), *Medieval English Ecclesiastical Studies in Honour of Dorothy M. Owen* (Woodbridge, 1995), pp. 289-90.

¹⁷ *WAD*, ff. 393, 393v, 400-400v, 401-2. The text runs as follows: 'Universis Sanctae Matris Ecclesiae filiis praesens scriptum inspecturis [Bishop, see] salutem in Domino sempiternam. Ut hostis antiqui malignis insultibus occurramus, qui nobis sedet in insidiis incessanter, expedit universis et singulis ut insistamus operibus pietatis per quae facilius aeterna possimus gaudia promereri. Et multa virtutum opera et diversa, inter alia praecipuum esse dinoscitur ipsius ligni cum summa devotione intendere venerationi, cuius sumus commerito ad paradisi delicias ab infirmis evocati. Attendentes igitur ecclesiam Sancti Perti Westmonstarii...' Following this was a list of the relics for which the indulgence was issued.

¹⁸ *WAD*, ff. 390v-391, 395v, 396v, 397v, 398v-399, 404-404v. These indulgences open with the words: 'Universis Sanctae Matris Ecclesiae filiis praesens scriptum...' and are shorter than the ones using the identical wording. Additionally, there are two sets of four indulgences which are identical: *WAD*, ff. 393-393v.

Westminster Abbey, and laid in wait for a visiting bishop.

Once they were received, it was left to the recipient foundation to promote the indulgences. This could be done in either two ways: either hanging the indulgence on the church, or sending someone out to publicise it.¹⁹ There is a patent from Edward III dated 25 May, 1365 granting protection to Nicholas Wyard to promote the indulgences for those visiting Westminster Abbey within the king's realm.²⁰ While this patent illustrates that the abbey was willing to send someone around Britain to promote the indulgences, there is no record of them exerting the same efforts for indulgences for other parts of Europe. If the lack of any records pertaining to the publication of indulgences on the continent is an accurate reflection of the abbey's reluctance or inability to do so, many indulgences were rendered useless because if they were not advertised within the diocese, they could not be acted upon. This meant that at least fifteen indulgences from bishops representing far-flung sees were technically useless, calling into question Westminster's motives for requesting them. It does not appear from Westminster's records that the abbey was inundated with people taking advantage of the indulgences.²¹

The indulgences themselves present an interesting picture of what the monks of Westminster hoped would attract pilgrims. The following table breaks down which items were mentioned in indulgences. For purposes of simplicity, both the relics and feasts of a particular saint will be counted under that saint's name. St. Edward's ring will have its own reference because in some indulgences his remains and his ring are

¹⁹ Orme, 'Indulgences in the Diocese of Exeter,' p. 21.

²⁰ 'Protection during pleasure for Nicholas Wyard whom the abbot and convent of Westminster are sending as their protector to divers parts of the realm to publish and notify in churches and other places bulls and indulgences granted and confirmed by popes and others to the faithful visiting the said monastery and the relics therein, for the saving of souls; and request to prelates and other ecclesiastical persons to admit him to their churches and permit him to publish and notify the same there' (*The Calendar of Patent Rolls of the Reign of Edward III 1364-1367* [London, 1912], p. 125.).

²¹ There is no evidence of pilgrim activity in the Sacrist Rolls, Westminster Abbey Muniments 19618-19837.

mentioned separately.²² It is also important to note that some indulgences are for specific feasts or relics while others have a list of multiple items; the order in which they are listed on indulgences will be discussed later:

Relic/saint/feast	Number granted	Percent of total
Edward the Confessor	39	37.5%
St. Peter	32	30.8%
Holy Blood	26	25%
Cross of the Crucifixion	14	13.5%
Benefactors of Westminster	13	12.5%
Visiting Westminster Abbey	9	8.7%
Virgin Mary	9	8.7%
St. Paul	7	6.7%
Edward the Confessor's Ring	5	4.8%
Praying for various members of the Abbey	5	4.8%
Footprint of Christ	3	2.9%
Christmas	2	1.9%
Easter	2	1.9%
Ascension of Christ	2	1.9%
Pentecost	2	1.9%
Praying at Henry III's Tomb	2	1.9%
Visiting various altars	2	1.9%
Bread blessed by Christ	1	1%
Visiting all Relics	1	1%

Table 1²³

The table clearly shows that Edward the Confessor and his ring were the foci of more indulgences than any other saint, relic or feast. Only the numbers of indulgences for Westminster's patron saint, Peter, come close to matching Edward's. This is not to say that the other listed relics in Table 1 were not highly esteemed in the abbey, in fact, it was a mark or honour for one to be specifically mentioned. A list of Westminster's relics contained no fewer than two hundred and twenty seven items, of which only seven were specifically mentioned in indulgences.²⁴ These relics belonged to at least one hundred and thirty-

²² WAD, ff. 398, 399v.

²³ Not listed are four indulgences requesting prayers for specific members of the community. The references to universal feasts are for visits to the abbey on those days.

²⁴ It is difficult to arrive at an exact number of relics from the list because of the references to unspecific relics, such as this reference to those of apostles: 'Athelstanus rex dedit reliquias apostolorum Petri, Bartholomaei, Andreae, Barnabae' (Flete, *History of Westminster*, p. 70.). More frequently, there are references to individual relics, such as certain body parts of saints.

eight different saints and martyrs.²⁵ Therefore, for a particular item to be in an indulgence meant that it had achieved a very high status in Westminster. It must be noted that the abbey was mindful of all of the relics within their collection, as there are twenty-five indulgences which include references to all the abbey's relics, which come generally at the end of a specific list.²⁶ There is also one which is solely for the relics, without any individual ones named.²⁷ While all relics at Westminster were included in one form or another in indulgences, only a very small fraction of them were singled out for special attention. Of these, the saint most often mentioned was Edward.²⁸

Though references to Edward the Confessor occurred in the greatest number of indulgences, the number of indulgences granted for the relic of the Holy Blood alone is greater than those issued only for the king: eighteen for the former, eleven for the latter. The phenomenon for single Holy Blood indulgences is explained upon closer analysis. All of the indulgences issued for the Holy Blood cover the period from 1247-1291, or forty-four years. In comparison, the indulgences for Edward the Confessor cover the period beginning either in 1184 or 1207 and ending in 1355, a period which is either one hundred and seventy-one years or one hundred and forty-eight.²⁹ Additionally, all but two of the eighteen indulgences issued for the Holy Blood singly appeared between 1247-1250. The relative concentration of the dates for those relics indicates that interest in the relic at Westminster was limited. In fact, eighteen out of the twenty-six indulgences mentioning

²⁵ Among the list of relics, there are references to relics from unnamed saints: 'Adelstanus rex reliquias Batildis, Martinae et aliarum' (Flete, *History of Westminster*, p. 72.).

²⁶ WAD, ff. 391v-93, 395v, 396v, 398-402v.

²⁷ WAD, f. 404. The feast of relics was also celebrated at Westminster in August with 5 copes (*Missale*, p. xi.).

²⁸ It is also significant that of all the relics and saints which received separate mentions in the indulgences, Edward was the only one not associated with Christ, the virgin Mary or the apostles. This is not surprising since during the late twelfth and early thirteenth centuries there was a popularity for objects regarding the passion: M. R. Roberts, 'The Relic of the Holy Blood and the Iconography of the Thirteenth-Century Transept Portal of Westminster Abbey,' in W. M. Ormrod (ed.), *England in the Thirteenth Century: Proceedings of the 1984 Harlaxton Symposium* (Harlaxton, 1985), p. 137.

²⁹ The period is indeterminate because an exact date has not been given to an indulgence given by the Archbishop of Rouen, WAD, f. 390v.

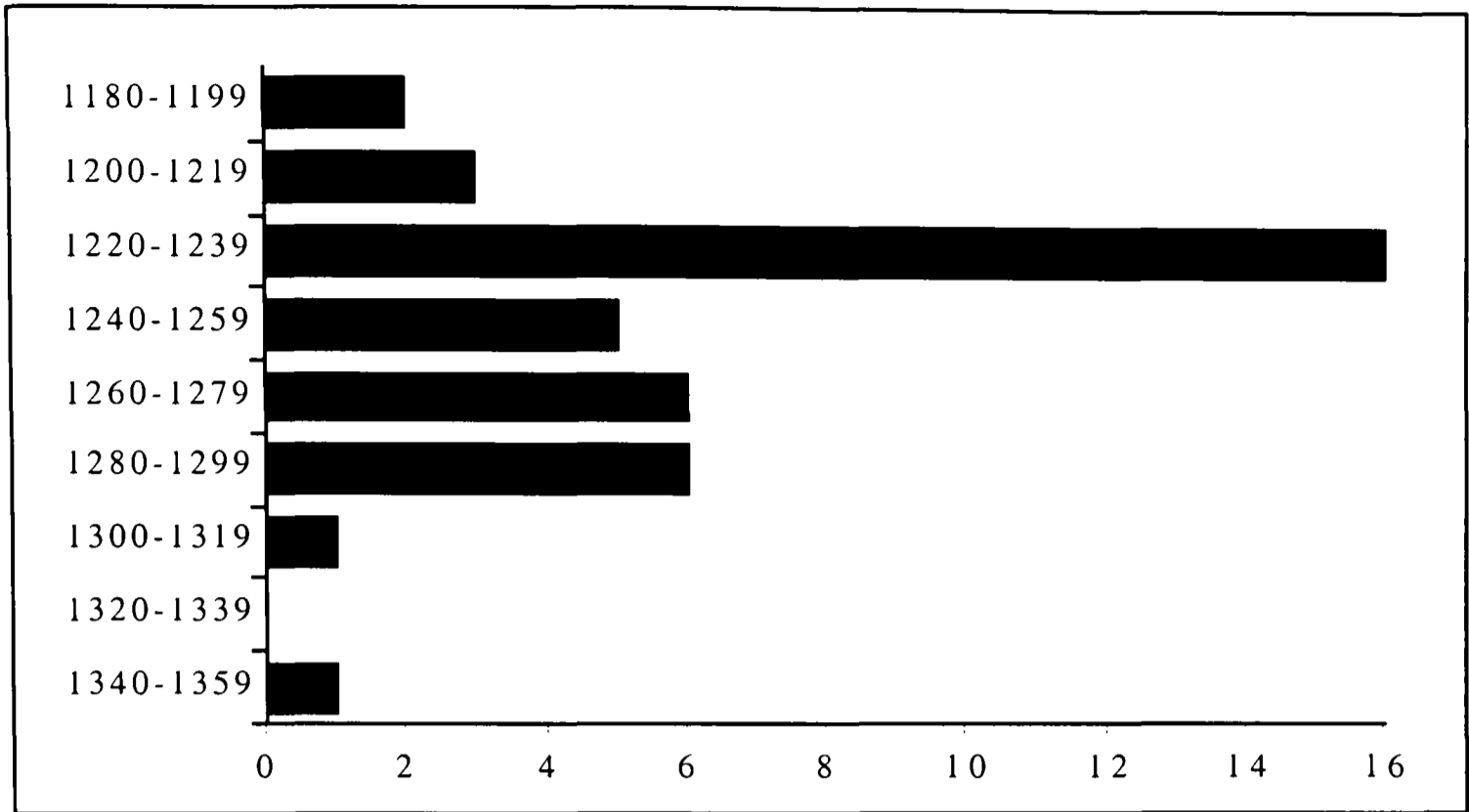


Chart 1- Number of indulgences for Edward the Confessor's relics based on earlier date of indulgence

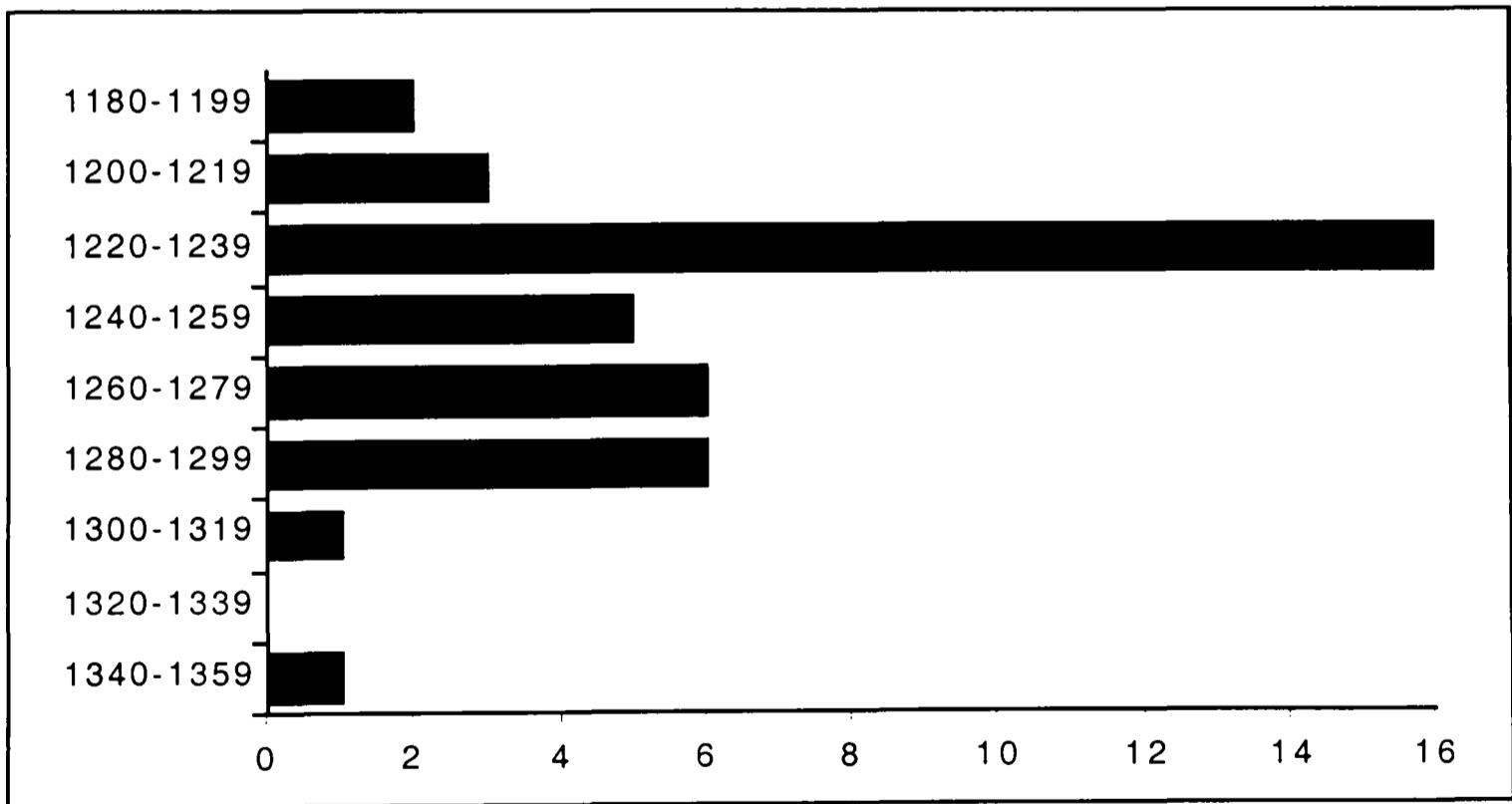


Chart 2- Number of indulgences for Edward the Confessor's relics based on later date for indulgence

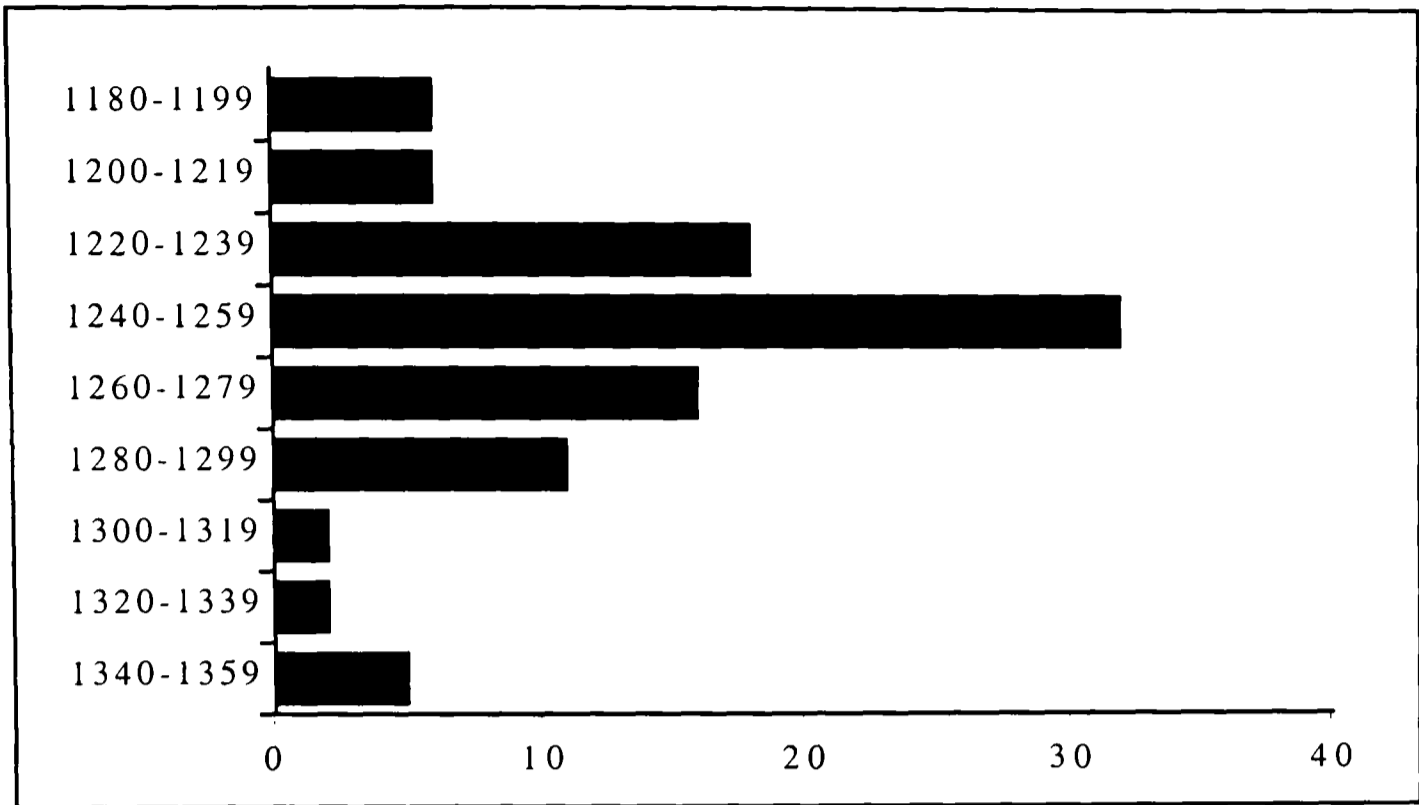


Chart 3- Distribution of Westminster Abbey's indulgences based on earlier date, 99 total*

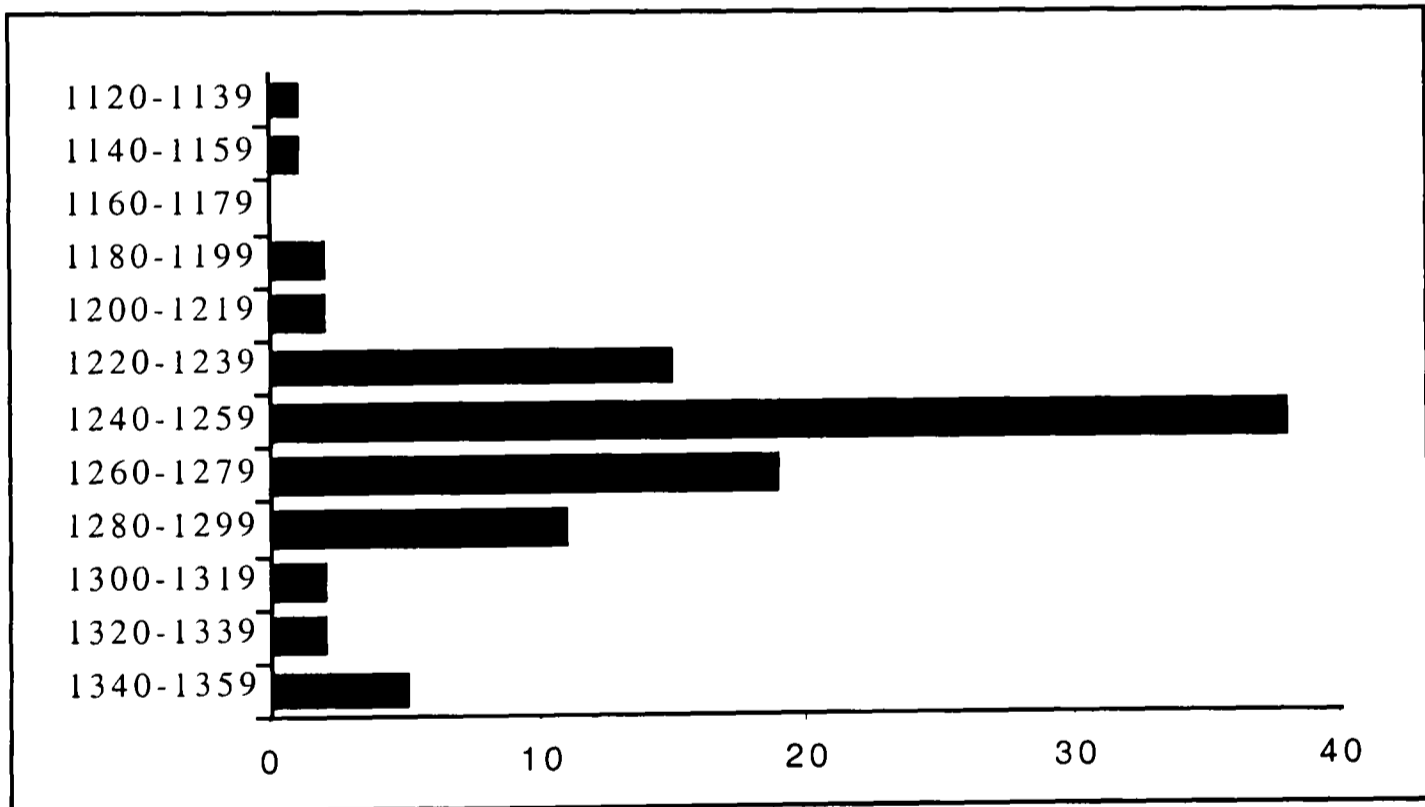


Chart 4- Distribution of Westminster Abbey's indulgences based on later date, 99 total*

*Though there are one hundred and four indulgences listed in *WAD*, five of them are associated with individuals rather than relics and/or feasts and thus have not been included.

the blood were given during the same period.³⁰ The relic received this attention during the period because Henry III donated it to the abbey in 1247, and either the abbey or the king, or both, wanted to encourage pilgrim visits to the object. Far from wanting the relic to outshine the cult of his patron saint, Henry III presided over the instillation of the relic at the abbey on the feast of Edward's translation.³¹ Therefore, the figures for the Holy Blood are misleading because they indicate that there was a great interest in promoting the relic, when in fact such an interest lasted for a period of three years.

The example of the Holy Blood indulgences opens up a wider question concerning the dates of the grants. Were these indulgences evenly distributed over the period, or were there times when the cult received more than usual? Charts 1 and 2 show that there was a definite peak period for indulgences to be granted for Edward. Two charts were made because many of the relics were only dated to a particular episcopate rather than to a year. Chart 1 is based on the first year to which an indulgence is dated, while Chart 2 is based on the terminus year. Both of the charts show a definite increase in the number of indulgences given for Edward during the thirteenth century, with Chart 2 concentrating this period to the years 1220-1300. While Chart 1 has the greatest number of grants made between 1220-1239, in Chart 2 that period falls between 1240-1259. From these charts, the conclusion might be drawn that, because the greatest distribution of indulgences fell roughly during Henry III's reign, either the king himself, or the monarch's interest in the cult, prompted Westminster to seek more indulgences to further Edward's cult. Charts 3 and 4, which were made on the same principles as Charts 1 and 2 respectively, shows a distribution of all the indulgences given to Westminster Abbey. Like

³⁰ In the case of the *festa ferianda*, Henry III acted to secure ecclesiastical privileges leaving open suspicion the monarch's hand in procuring large numbers of indulgences for the relic he donated. Barbara Harvey has noted that in the thirteenth century, the relics at Westminster seem to be less important in attracting pilgrims (Private correspondence, 6 September, 2000.).

³¹ The ceremony is described in Matthew Paris, *CM*, iv, pp. 641-2.

the first two charts, 3 and 4 show that there was a general increase in the number of all Westminster indulgences between 1220-1300. They also show that the greatest period of activity fell between 1240-1259, which is when there was a large number of indulgences granted for the Holy Blood, and this also coincides with Chart 2's illustration of the period in which the most indulgences for Edward were given. Edward the Confessor's indulgences did not follow an unusual pattern in the abbey, as their distribution corresponded with the abbey's other indulgences. Though Edward the Confessor was unusual for the number of indulgences in which he appeared, the dates they were granted followed a predictable pattern.

Did the indulgences achieve their goal of bringing in large numbers of beneficent visitors? It might be argued that so many indulgences were offered because they did not work and therefore had to be expanded. This cannot be the case given the rules governing the grants; episcopal indulgences would only have been efficacious for the members of that bishop's diocese. The numerous grants did not build on each other, but rather spread out the benefit to many people. The same rule did not apply to papal indulgences, which could be used by any Christian. Two papal indulgences, granted in 1245 and 1251, probably in anticipation of the translation of Edward to his new shrine in Westminster, were for the promotion of St. Edward's feast.³² The failure of the feast to be accepted widely in England will be examined below.³³ The muniments of Westminster Abbey similarly reveal a lack of interest in Edward's cult, as there are no indications within the financial records that the shrine of the Confessor attracted large donations.³⁴ Additionally, the abbey resorted to offering thirteen indulgences to benefactors, which indicates that the other indulgences were not successful in drawing in enough pilgrims to fund building

³² WAD, ff. 386v, 406v.

³³ See below, pp. 92-3.

³⁴ Westminster Abbey Muniments 19618-19837; Harvey, *Westminster Abbey and its Estates*, pp. 44-5.

programmes.³⁵ Despite the best efforts of Westminster to promote the cult of Edward the Confessor outside of the royal family, large groups of pilgrims did not materialise.

Feasts

The first recognition of the celebration of Edward's feasts came not in the Westminster Missal, but in the lists of indulgences accumulated in *WAD*. Two feasts of Edward the Confessor were celebrated at Westminster Abbey: 5 January, which honoured his death, and 13 October, which honoured his translation. While indulgences were granted to Westminster for the observation of various feasts, the first evidence for the celebration of Edward's feasts appears in two indulgences dated between 1184-1207 and 1189-1198, over twenty years after Edward was canonised.³⁶ These were not the first recorded Westminster indulgences, as the first three can be dated to 1121, 1121-40 and 1153-95; these earliest indulgences offered remission to those visiting the abbey on the feast of SS Peter and Paul, and were respectively granted by Peter and Frater John, who were cardinal legates, and the bishop of Durham.³⁷ The feast of the two apostles was one of the most solemn in the abbey.³⁸ It is not surprising to discover that Edward's feasts were not mentioned among this early group of indulgences, as he had yet to be canonised.³⁹ The 1184-1207 indulgence, given by the archbishop of Rouen, relieved the pilgrim from twenty days of penance for visiting Westminster at any of these feasts: Christmas, Easter, Christ's Ascension, Pentecost, the feast of the relics, the feasts of the virgin, the feasts of St. Peter and all the apostles and the two feasts of Edward the Confessor.⁴⁰ The indulgence dated between

³⁵ *WAD*, ff. 389-392v, 393v, 399, 404-404v, 405v-406, 407.

³⁶ *WAD* ff. 390v, 393.

³⁷ *WAD* ff. 387, 389v, 390.

³⁸ See below, p. 93n.

³⁹ This is true only if one dates the indulgence issued between 1153-95 prior to 1161.

⁴⁰ *WAD*, f. 390v.

1189-98, given by the bishop of London, only concerned the two feasts of the Confessor.⁴¹ These documents show that the two feasts of Edward the Confessor began to be promoted by the abbey only after his canonisation, which in the later Middle Ages, when papal canonisation was more common, would have been the only sensible course of action. While it was not adverse to promoting the Confessor's cult, the abbey did not immediately seize the opportunity to promote the feast via indulgences. Comparatively, when the abbey came into possession of the Holy Blood in 1247, it began to procure indulgences for visits to the relics in the same year. The lapse of twenty years between Edward's canonisation and the appearance of indulgences including his feast might suggest that Westminster did not consider it important to promote Edward's cult. Though it might be argued that an indulgence was not necessary to encourage pilgrim traffic after Edward's canonisation, there are no records of a flood of the faithful to his shrine.⁴² The abbey's interest in the promotion of Edward's cult was not immediate.

More evidence for the celebration of Edward's feasts appears during the reign of Henry III. In the previous chapter, it has been shown that the king regularly attended celebrations of the feast.⁴³ At Henry III's request, on 26 September 1236, Pope Gregory IX added the feast to those included on the *festas ferianda* lists. The purpose of these lists was to name the feasts which ought to be celebrated as if they were days of holy obligation, i.e. by avoiding work and attending mass.⁴⁴ It is difficult to know whether Henry III acted alone in petitioning the

⁴¹ *WAD*, f. 393. An identical indulgence was later sent by the bishop of Lincoln during the period 1235-83.

⁴² Westminster could also have been hesitant in commissioning indulgences, which at that time were still a novelty.

⁴³ See Ch. 2, pp. 66-7.

⁴⁴ 'Cantuariensi archiepiscopo et ejus suffraganeis, ad petitionem regis Angliæ, mandat quatenus festum sancti regis Eduardi in ipsorum ecclesiis devote celebrent et ab ipsorum subditis faciant celebrari' (*Les Régistres de Grégoire IX*, ed. L. Auvray et al. [4 vols., Paris, 1896-1955], ii, 3330.). Presumably, Henry III petitioned for the translation feast as that was the one he attended more regularly.

pope, or if he acted with the support of Westminster Abbey. However, the indulgences collected by the abbey for Edward's feasts, which continued until 1263 are an indication of Westminster's support for the feasts.⁴⁵ Henry III's petition and the indulgences reveal an ongoing interest to promote Edward's feasts.

The esteem in which Edward's feasts were held is transparent in the Westminster Missal. However, Edward was not the only saint whose feast is in the calendar, which was written between 1362 and 1386.⁴⁶ The abbey celebrated the feasts of no less than one hundred and sixty-three saints.⁴⁷ Therefore, a full examination of feasts is needed to determine what prominence, if any, was given to the celebration of his feast in the church. The only substantial reference to Edward falls in the text during the first lesson of the January feast.⁴⁸ The lesson is a summary of Edward's life and virtues and adds nothing to the story told by the *vitae*.⁴⁹ The calendar of feasts shows that Edward's were extraordinary ones in the abbey. His feasts were marked out from the moment one first glanced at the calendar. Edward's January feast was written in blue and gold script, the colours of ink reserved only for the highest festivals.⁵⁰ Only three other feasts were written in blue and gold ink, all of which are universal feasts. The feast of Edward's translation was written in gold ink, placing it in visual terms on the

⁴⁵ There were a total of eight indulgences granted for visiting Westminster Abbey on Edward's feasts, including seven which were issued solely for them (*WAD*, ff. 386v, 390v, 393-4, 406 v.).

⁴⁶ *Missale ad usum ecclesie Westmonasterensis*, ed. J. Wickham Legg (3 vols., HBS, 1891-97), i, p. v.

⁴⁷ *Missale*, i, pp. v-xiv.

⁴⁸ The lessons came at the beginning of the mass, before the reading of the gospel.

⁴⁹ The text of Edward's feasts can be found in *Missale*, ii, cols. 737-40, 975-6. The January feast features a sequence listing the following virtues and episodes from Edward's life: his virginity, the legend of the Seven Sleepers, his humility, his cure of a paralysed man and the legend of St. John and the ring.

⁵⁰ *Missale*, i, p. 10. The other feasts written in this script were: the feast of Peter and Paul, the birth of Mary and Christmas.

second tier of importance with nineteen other feasts.⁵¹ Though the text of the feasts is unremarkable, it belies the prestige of the feasts in the abbey.

The eminence of Edward's feasts can be found in other distinctions present in the calendar. One indication of his popularity is the number of times he was recognised by the celebration of feasts associated with him; while the majority of saints were honoured by only one feast, ten had two feasts, and, in exceptional cases, one had four and another five.⁵² Furthermore, Edward belonged to an even smaller group of seven saints whose translations were celebrated at Westminster, though not all of those in this group had two feasts.⁵³ The presence of biblical figures such as Mary and some of the apostles, Peter in particular, along with saints from the early Church is unsurprising. The feasts of universal saints on an ecclesiastical calendar are expected, whereas the presence of local saints show the preferences of a particular foundation. The Anglo-Saxon saints in the Westminster missal provide a point of comparison, revealing the importance attributed to Edward. Edward was not the only Anglo-Saxon saint included in these groups, as SS Aldhelm, Edward the Martyr, Wulfstan and Swithin also appear. The prestige attributed to Edward the Confessor's cult from the groups with multiple feasts and those whose translations were celebrated is significant. He was not the only Anglo-Saxon saint to be honoured by both the celebration of multiple feasts and the translation as SS Aldhelm and Swithin were both feted in the same manner.

Edward's feasts were accorded other honours which very few

⁵¹ These feasts included: the purification of the Virgin, the feast of St. Peter in cathedra, the Annunciation of Christ, feast of St. Ambrose, translation of St. Edmund the Martyr, feast of St. John, feast of St. Dunstan, birth of John the Baptist, translation of Thomas the Martyr, feast of Mary Magdalene, feast of St. Peter in chains, the assumption of Mary, the feast of Michael the archangel, feast of All Saints, feast of St. Edmund the Martyr, the feast of St. Katherine, the conception of Mary, feast of John the Evangelist and the feast of St. Thomas Becket.

⁵² The saints with two feasts were: Aldhelm, Augustine, Edward the Confessor, Edward the Martyr, Gregory the Great, John the Baptist, Martin, Matthew, Swithin and Wulfstan. Mary had four and St. Peter, the patron saint of Westminster Abbey, was honoured during five feasts.

⁵³ The translations of Edward the Confessor, Aldhelm, Yvo, Martin, Thomas the Martyr, Benedict and Swithin were celebrated at Westminster.

saints, Anglo-Saxon or not, enjoyed. The octave, or the eighth day after a feast, of only sixteen feasts was celebrated in the Westminster calendar.⁵⁴ The celebration of the octave was reserved for important feasts. The octaves of both of Edward's feasts were celebrated, making him the only Anglo-Saxon saint to be included in the list. More impressive are the liturgical processions that marked the feasts. Next to the entry of each feast, the calendar lists the number of copes used in the liturgical processions of a particular feast, the figure representing the number of monks who were included in the procession in addition to the usual members. SS Dunstan, Edmund the Martyr and Thomas Becket are the only other English or Anglo-Saxon saints who have copes included with their feasts in Westminster; the feasts for SS Dunstan and Thomas Becket both have four copes and the translation of Edmund has five.⁵⁵ The highest honour was to have eight copes, and only six feasts have those: the 5 January feast of Edward the Confessor, Edward's translation, the feast of Peter and Paul, Christmas, the assumption of Mary and the feast of All Saints. Edward's feasts are the only ones to be honoured among the Church's highest holy days. The feast of Peter and Paul, in addition to its place in the universal calendar, was also of importance to Westminster given that its patron saint was Peter. Its status was displayed in the calendar and also in six indulgences, three of which alone are devoted to the feast.⁵⁶ Edward's feasts were placed on par with the universal feast which was also paramount in Westminster Abbey. A further mark of honour was the inclusion of three copes for the octave of Edward's translation, making it the only octave in the calendar to be accompanied by any copes. His feasts outshone those of other English and Anglo-Saxon saints, even that of

⁵⁴ The entire list is as follows: Stephen, John, All Innocents, Edward the Confessor, Epiphany, Agnes, John the Baptist, Peter and Paul, Benedict, Peter in albs, Laurence, Mary, Mary in albs, translation of Edward the Confessor, Martin, Andrew.

⁵⁵ St. Dunstan was thought to be connected to the abbey via charters, thus explaining the feast's prominence on the Westminster calendar. See Ch. 1, p.17.

⁵⁶ WAD ff. 387, 389v-90, 391v-92v, 405v.

Thomas Becket, which is remarkable given the huge proportions of the martyr's cult.⁵⁷ In liturgical terms, Edward's feasts were among the most important within the Westminster calendar.

Accompanying the celebration of Edward's feasts were the ornaments housed within Westminster Abbey which were connected with the saint. In 1388 there was an inventory taken of Westminster's ornaments by Richard of Cirencester, William of Sudbury, John Breynte and Ralf Tonworthe, all monks in the abbey, which provides evidence of vestments and other objects connected to Edward. One of the most impressive objects are three copes made from the cloth which was found on Edward's body.⁵⁸ Other objects include: a cross with the images of SS Peter and Edward, a pair of gloves embroidered with Edward's arms, his ring, and three albs, the first with Edward pictured with St. John, the second of the king pictured with another Anglo-Saxon saint, Edmund, and the last embroidered with the arms of the two kings.⁵⁹ There was also a cope embroidered with scenes from Edward's life and a casula for Edward.⁶⁰ These items are a visual record of how Edward was perceived in the abbey, complementing the evidence found in the calendar. By the end of the fourteenth century, there were many items in Westminster Abbey which, if not directly used for one of Edward's feasts, bore witness to his prominent role in the abbey.

The feasts of Edward the Confessor were a focal point in the Westminster liturgical calendar. Did the feasts carry the same

⁵⁷ There was a reversal of fortune for Edward's feasts in other missals, particularly when comparison is made with the celebration of Thomas Becket's feast. Whereas the Exeter, Hereford and Sarum breviaries show that the churches did not celebrate the octaves of either of Edward's feasts, all three record the celebration of the octave of Thomas Becket's feast: *Ordinale Exon.*, ed. J. N. Dalton (3 vols., HBS, 1909-26), i, pp. xxviii-xxix; *Hereford Breviary*, ed. W. H. Frere and L. E. G. Brown (3 vols., HBS, 1904-15), i, p. xiii; *Breviarium ad usum Sarum*, ed. F. Proctor and C. Wordsworth (3 vols., Cambridge, 1882-6), i, p. i.

⁵⁸ J. Wickham Legg, 'On an Inventory of the Vestry in Westminster Abbey, taken in 1388,' *Archæologia* 52 (1890), pp. 203, 257. There was a later inventory taken at the time of the Dissolution: M. E. C. Walcott, 'The Inventory of Westminster Abbey at the Dissolution,' *The London and Middlesex Archaeological Society Transactions* 4 (1874). I have used the earlier list because it coincides more closely to the period covered by this thesis.

⁵⁹ Wickham Legg, 'Inventory of the Vestry,' pp. 222-3, 244, 249.

⁶⁰ Wickham Legg, 'Inventory of the Vestry,' pp. 258, 266.

importance in the rest of England? As Barbara Harvey has argued, there was no great recognition of the feast outside of Westminster's walls. Texts for the celebration of Edward's translation can be found in the Exeter, Hereford and Sarum missals. Like that found in the Westminster missal, they all contain scenes from the king's *vitae*, focusing on Edward's miracles and visions.⁶¹ It does not appear that the feast had the same importance that it did in Westminster; one would expect the first papally canonised English saint to appear in many calendars. A more salient example of Edward's feasts' lack of popularity is the fact that neither of them appeared in the *festas ferianda* lists compiled in England during the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries.⁶² The feasts' absence in the lists transpired despite one of them being declared a *festum feriandum* by Pope Gregory. Even Westminster's promotion of the feasts outside of the abbey declined: Harvey has shown that in the late fourteenth century, the only Westminster feasts proclaimed by the public crier, at events such as the fair held in honour of Edward the Confessor, were the feasts of the relics and St. Peter.⁶³

The evidence presented in the Westminster Missal shows that by the fourteenth century Edward's feasts were among the most important celebrated in the abbey, while earlier evidence shows that the feasts did have a certain standing. The full extent of their position is difficult to determine. The indulgences suggest that the abbey waited for twenty years after Edward's canonisation to issue one for his feasts. Putting aside the potential issue of missing earlier indulgences, it remains that, after his canonisation, Edward's feasts were among the first to be put forward for penitential remission. The abbey's willingness to promote the cult through indulgences continued into the thirteenth century. The only conclusion to be drawn from the sources is

⁶¹ *Ordinale Exon.*, iii, pp. 375-8; *Hereford Breviary*, ii, pp. 370-71; *Breviarium ad usum Sarum*, iii, col. 910-14.

⁶² Harvey, *Westminster Abbey and its Estates*, p. 43. For the conspectus of the lists, see C. R. Cheney, 'Rules for the Observance of Feast-Days in Medieval England,' *BIHR* 34 (1961)

⁶³ Harvey, *Westminster Abbey and its Estates*, p. 44.

that the feasts were continually prominent in Westminster Abbey from the period beginning twenty years after Edward's canonisation until the late fourteenth century. Unfortunately for the cult's popularity, the feasts' reception in other churches was not as significant.

Regalia

Although Edward the Confessor was crowned in Winchester, Westminster Abbey claimed to be the repository for the regalia after his death. The abbey's right to house the regalia is ill-defined at best, generally posing more questions than offering answers. The questions about the regalia's early history at Westminster Abbey inevitably concern the foundation's attitude to Edward. However, looking for the exact moment when Edward became linked with the regalian ornaments, or even when they came into the abbey's possession, poses certain problems. One problem lies in the abbey's lack of historians during the crucial years immediately following Edward's death, who might have recorded the reasons behind the regalia's continued presence at Westminster. Instead, all that remains are scant documents whose genuineness is either suspect or which were not written until long after the saint's death. Another problem is the obsession of modern historians to associate a single crown with Edward the Confessor. Therefore, in order to grasp the connections between Westminster's treatment of the regalia and Edward's cult, two areas require investigation: the abbey's claim to house the regalia and the phenomenon of Edward the Confessor's crown.

The first document associated with the regalia's history at Westminster is the Third Charter of the Confessor, which has been identified as a forgery created by Osbert of Clare, written in the early twelfth century.⁶⁴ The reference in the Third Charter comes in a letter

⁶⁴ Pierre Chaplais, private correspondence, 19 September, 1999; 'The Original Charters of Herbert and Gervase Abbots of Westminster,' pp. 92-4. I should like to thank Pierre Chaplais for his comments on the Third Charter of the Confessor and the regalia.

supposedly from Pope Nicholas I, which was incorporated into the document and states that the abbey is to be the site of consecration and the repository for the regalia.⁶⁵ No earlier documents refers to the abbey as the permanent repository for the regalia.⁶⁶ It has been established that the prior worked exceptionally hard, not only to secure the canonisation of Edward the Confessor, but more importantly, to preserve the rights and privileges, or what he perceived ought to be the rights and privileges, of Westminster Abbey. Given Osbert's continual struggle in establishing Westminster Abbey's preeminence, it is in keeping with his actions to claim that the abbey had a right to the regalia, whether or not it had been an historic precedent. By maintaining Westminster's position as coronation church and regalian repository, Osbert was associating the abbey with the monarchy, perhaps in an attempt to secure royal patronage. So as to ensure that the clause in the Third Charter was observed, a separate letter was written from Innocent II to Abbot Gervase, which Pierre Chaplais has recognised as most probably an Osbert forgery, in which the pope specifically forbade the abbot from selling any article of the coronation ornaments.⁶⁷ Osbert's fabrication of the rights for Westminster to store the regalia was another way in which the prior fought to raise the status of his abbey.

The effect of Osbert's claims did not serve to clarify the ensuing history of the regalia. The role of Edward's regalia in the late eleventh

⁶⁵ 'Praeterea illi loco quem sub nomine sanctae poenitentiae construendum et meliorandum suscepistis, quoniam ut fertur primam antiquitus consecrationem a beato Petro accepit, cuius licet indigni uicarii simus, et quia regia antiquitus sedes est, ex auctoritate dei et sanctorum apostolorum atque huius Romanae sedis et nostra concedimus, permittimus, et solidissime confirmamus ut amplius imperpetuum regiae constitutionis et consecrationis locus sit, atque repositorium regalium insignium...' (§1041).

⁶⁶ The author of the *Carmen de Hastingae* makes no reference to William the Conqueror wearing the Confessor's crown during his consecration at Westminster. Instead, the bishop said the king had a new crown made for the occasion: 'Auro uel gemmis iubet ut sibi nobile stemma/ Illud quod deceat, fiat ab artifice' (*The Carmen de Hastingae Proelio of Guy, Bishop of Amiens*, ed. F. Barlow [Oxford, 1999], p. 44.).

⁶⁷ For the quotation, see Ch. 1, p. 21n. Chaplais' reasons for presuming that the letter a forgery are outlined on the same page.

and twelfth century is ill-defined at best.⁶⁸ Claude Blair has determined that if the regalia were not deposited by Edward the Confessor in the abbey, then the abbots were successful in persuading William the Conqueror and his successors to keep the ornaments in Westminster.⁶⁹ Blair bases his assumption on the quotation in the *Carmen de Hastingae* that William had a crown made, a passage which exposes more than a few gaps in Osbert's argument that Westminster Abbey was intended to be a repository for the regalia. Additionally, it is peculiar that the pope should be the one to name the regalia's repository. William the Conqueror, for instance, left part of his regalia to St. Etienne, Caen, when he died, without the need for papal intercession.⁷⁰ Further clouding the matter is, as Blair demonstrates, the existence of two sets of regalia: one which was to be kept in the abbey at all times and used for the consecration, and another, which was changed into after the consecration rite before the monarch had left the church. Though the distinction between the two sets of regalia begins to make sense of the issue, Blair claims that it was not made until the coronation of Edward II.⁷¹ However, as James Holt has shown, multiple sets of regalia have existed since at least the time of William the Conqueror.⁷² This calls into doubt the claim that there was a permanent set of regalia at the abbey left by the Confessor.

The existence of multiple regalia questions the existence of one crown belonging to Edward the Confessor. Both Martin Holmes and Claude Blair claim that a crown belonging to the Confessor was in use

⁶⁸ C. Blair, *The Crown Jewels* (2 vols., London, 1998), i, p. 110.

⁶⁹ 'If we do not accept that it [the regalia] was deposited by the Confessor for future coronations, the alternative explanation must be that the Abbots of Westminster were successful in persuading the Conqueror and his successors that a Regalia placed under their care purely for safe-keeping as royal treasure was a Coronation Regalia intended to be preserved under their perpetual custody' (Blair, *The Crown Jewels*, i, p. 109.). Blair ultimately recognises that the regalia was deposited by many people (i, p. 268).

⁷⁰ The description falls in the *De Obitu* section of William of Jumièges, *Gesta Normannorum Ducum*, ed. and trans. E. Van Houts (2 vols., Oxford, 1995), ii, p. 186.

⁷¹ Blair, *The Crown Jewels*, i, p. 135; 'Annales Paulini,' in *Chronicles of the Reigns of Edward I & Edward II*, ed. W. Stubbs (2 vols., RS, 1882), i, p. 261.

⁷² J. Holt, 'Politics and Property in Medieval England,' in *Colonial England: 1066-1215* (London, 1997), p. 158.

during the the thirteenth century. Martin Holmes suggested that the crown of Edward the Confessor was removed from the Confessor's tomb during his translation to the new shrine built for the king.⁷³ More recently, Claude Blair has stated that Edward the Confessor's crown was used in Henry III's second coronation.⁷⁴ Neither provides any sources which attest to the removal of a crown from Edward's tomb. However, Holmes noted that by the reign of Edward I, the concept of the crown of Edward the Confessor had taken on an importance. Walter of Guisborough recorded that when Edward I was having difficulties extracting homage from the Scots, he claimed that he was, among other things, the protector of the crown of Edward the Confessor.⁷⁵ The concept of a king possessing a single crown is erroneous: in *De obitu*, the description of William's treasure includes multiple crowns.⁷⁶ By the thirteenth century, the concept of a single crown which belonged to Edward the Confessor emerged. The question of Edward's ownership of a particular crown becomes irrelevant, overtaken by the fact that the crown of Edward the Confessor had become a symbol of state.

Whatever the reality behind the regalia, and all indications suggest that it was not intentionally left there by Edward the Confessor, the perception of the items at the abbey is more important for the purposes of this thesis. No matter when they arrived in the walls of Westminster, it is crucial to note that they were believed to have been placed there by Edward. This distinction is important to remember when looking at the documents associated with the regalia in the third quarter of the thirteenth century, when they began to acquire an

⁷³ M. R. Holmes, 'The Crowns of England,' *Archæologia* 86 (1936), p. 77; 'New Light of St. Edward's Crown,' *Archæologia* 97 (1959), p. 215.

⁷⁴ Blair, *The Crown Jewels*, i, p. 266.

⁷⁵ 'Cumque in consulendo se difficiles exhiberent, attestavit rex per Sanctum Edwardum quod ius regni sui et corone sancti Edwardi cuius ipse solummodo conservator extiterat vel habere deberet vel illud prosequendo ad mortem ibidem occumberet' (*The Chronicle of Walter of Guisborough*, ed. H. Rothwell [Camden Soc., 1957], p. 235.

⁷⁶ 'Iussit autem eidem venerabili fratri suo Roberto, ut ministros camere sue ante se venire faceret et rem familiarem que consistebat in thesauris regalibus scilicet coronis, armis, uasis, libris uestibusque sacerdotalibus, per singula describi iuberet' (*Gesta Normannorum*, ii, p. 186.).

importance as relics rather than mere coronation objects. According to the Westminster customary, compiled c. 1266 by Abbot Richard de Ware, the regalia was displayed by the high altar on Edward's feast.⁷⁷ The regalia's status as relics was clearly demonstrated in a tract on their origins written by William of Sudbury for Richard II.⁷⁸ Though, according to William of Sudbury, the regalia had originally been used by King Alfred during his coronation at Rome, he stated the reasons for which they were ascribed to the Confessor: first, because he was a saint, second, because of the laws which he wrote and third, because Edward added objects to the regalia.⁷⁹ These reasons incorporate two images of Edward the Confessor: the saint and the law-giver.⁸⁰ It was the regalia's connection to Edward the saint, rather than Edward the law maker, which became established in documents about the regalia. In the *Annales Paulini's* account of Edward II's coronation, the author described with horror the scene where Piers Gaveston carried in the crown, saying that it ought not to be treated in such a manner because it was a relic.⁸¹ This perception was cemented by the inclusion of

regalia in the list of relics drawn up by John Flete in his history of the

⁷⁷ 'Regale siquidem indumentum coronacionis beati regis Edwardi non nisi bis in anno, devocionis et veneracionis gracia, [ex] antiqua institucione dependi solet, in festo scilicet nativitatis et etiam in festo deposicionis eiusdem regis' (*Customary of the Benedictine Monasteries of Saint Augustine, Canterbury, and Saint Peter, Westminster*, ed. E. M. Thompson [2 vols., HBS, 1902-4], ii, p. 62.).

⁷⁸ 'Et tantum de eius secunda coronacione. Sed de eius prima coronacione oritur probabilis opinio et vulgaris, quod postquam iste Alfredus sive Aluredus a papa coronam susceperat et regiam unctionem, illa regalia, quibus coronatus fuerat et insignitus, penes se retinuit, et ea in suo reditu adduxit ad Angliam' (RC, ii, p. 28.).

⁷⁹ 'Tres causae poterunt assignari. Prima, quia rex Edwardus vitam sanctam ducens in terris et iam sanctorum collegio iunctus in caelis, ex eo illa regalia haberent in reputatione plus honoris, quo artus et membra tam sancti regis et virginis context erunt. Secunda causa, quia, sicut sanctus Edwardus primus fuit qui leges universales et utiles Angliae ordinavit per quas debeat populus gubernari, ita ab ipso regalia regis et regni nomen accipiant, qui debet in iustitia solidari. Tertia causa, quia forte regalibus Alfredi sive Aluredi aliqua superaddidit rex Edwardus, et sic ipsa sub perfecto reduxit complemento' (RC, ii, p. 31.).

⁸⁰ These two images were discrete from one another; neither do the *Leges Edwardi* make any reference to the king's sanctity nor does Edward's legal reputation permeate the Lives. The regalia is the sole object to which these two different identities are attached.

⁸¹ 'Interim rex misit illo die post regale Sancti Edwardi extra ecclesiam monachorum. Erant enim ex proceribus qui vendicabant illud deferre de palatio ante regem, ex antiquo servitio per quod tenebant aliqui certas terras. Porro non deberent tangere illud, quia reliquiae sunt; sed regale proprium regis coronandi, in quo post missam est in palatium reversurus et ad prandium est sessurus, hoc de jure portare debebunt; tantum calicem Sancti Edwardi cum patena, cancellarius atque thesaurarius regni, si presbiteri fuerint, ante regem processive poterunt bajulare' ('Annales Paulini,' i, pp. 260-61.).

abbey.⁸² While Edward's reputation as a lawgiver was connected to the regalia, it was his sanctity which impregnated the objects, making them relics in the eyes of those outside of Westminster. This perception of the regalia as a group of relics due to their connection to Edward emerged in the latter half of Henry III's reign at the latest.

By the end of the fourteenth century it was believed that because the regalian ornaments were connected to Edward the Confessor, they were holy relics and were to be treated as such.⁸³ That the regalia transcended their status as mere coronation objects because of their connection to Edward the Confessor is indicative of the status of the saint within the church. The regalia was placed in the same rank as Edward's ring and the shroud which covered the saint in his tomb which was later made into three copes.⁸⁴ Though it is significant that the regalia was considered a relic of Edward the Confessor, like the feast of the Confessor, the regalia did not attain this position until around the reign of Henry III.

Fairs

Westminster Abbey was the focus of the cult of Edward the Confessor, but the area around a church also played a significant role in the popularity of a cult. Ronald Finucane has shown that as cults grew in popularity, so did the geographical distribution of the people who came to visit the shrine.⁸⁵ Therefore, as the impetus for the cult must begin in the area around Westminster Abbey, ideally evidence

⁸² '...sanctus Edwardus rex et confessor ad memoriam futurorum et pro dignitate regiae coronationis omnia regalia ornamenta in ecclesia hac reservari praecepit, cum quibus ipse coronatus fuit...[a list of the items of the regalia follows] ...quae omnia pro reliquiis pretiosis habeantur' (Flete, *History of Westminster*, p. 71.).

⁸³ However, it is important to note that while they were regarded as relics, indulgences specifically mentioning them were not issued, which was the case as some of the relics within the abbey's possession were either granted their own indulgence or referred to in a group.

⁸⁴ These copes were also listed among the relics: 'dominus Laurentius quondam abbas hujus loci de tribus pannis, in quibus idem sanctus [Edward] requievit in sepulcro, tres capas brudatas fieri jussit' (Flete, *History of Westminster*, p. 71.). These were not the only relics at Westminster which were associated with a saint's tomb as they were in possession of oil from the tombs of SS Nicholas and Katherine (Flete, *History of Westminster*, pp. 72-3.).

⁸⁵ R. Finucane, *Miracles and Pilgrims*, pp. 152-72.

concerning local devotion to it would show if the abbey's promotion of the cult outside of its walls was successful. The case of the vill of Westminster presents problems due to its close connection to royalty. Instead of claiming Westminster as its parish church, St. Margaret's filled this role for the vill. This presented a fiscal dilemma to Westminster, as people were more likely to donate to their own parish church. As a result, large donations from the vill to Westminster are nonexistent; smaller donations from around the area came in the form of lights for the Lady Chapel.⁸⁶ Part of the explanation for the lack of benefactions can lie in problems between the abbey and the vill, mostly populated by shopkeepers, caused by the fair of Edward the Confessor.

One of the ways that the cult was celebrated outside of the abbey walls was the creation of the fairs held around Edward's two feasts at the request of the monks of Westminster. In 1247 the monks were granted a charter for the two fairs by Henry III, which were to last three days each; the time was lengthened to two weeks in 1248.⁸⁷ Later, the two fairs were condensed into one fair in October lasting thirty-two days. The event eventually ended in 1487. The fairs caused a large amount of disturbance among the inhabitants of Westminster as all shops were forced to close during the period and local tradesmen saw their business snatched away by the fair.⁸⁸ However, for most of the

⁸⁶ *Westminster Abbey Charters, 1066-c. 1214*, ed. E. Mason (London, 1988), pp. 356, 362, 364, 387, 390, 412, 414, 420, 424, 425-30, 433, 435, 441-5, 450-1, 480. The reason behind the paucity of smaller donations to the abbey has been explored by B. Harvey and G. Rosser, who agree that the larger, more visible donations, such as Henry III's rebuilding of the abbey, discouraged potential smaller donations because their result would not be as visible (Harvey, *Westminster Abbey and its Estates*, p. 42; G. Rosser, *Medieval Westminster: 1200-1540* [Oxford, 1989], pp. 258, 260.).

⁸⁷ Rosser, *Medieval Westminster*, p. 97. St. Edward's Fair was unusual because all of the other major fairs in England were created in the late eleventh century. Henry III went to unusual steps to promote the fair by offering exemptions from prizes, payment for purchases in cash and the aforementioned stoppage of all business in the vill during the fair. During the 1250's and 1260's royal proclamations at all major cloth fairs were made announcing the fair at Westminster (E. W. Moore, *The Fairs of Medieval England: A Introductory Study* [Toronto, 1985], pp. 20, 22.).

⁸⁸ Rosser, *Medieval Westminster*, p. 97. 'Omnes quoque nundinas quæ solent per tantum tempus per Angliam exerceri, utpote nundinas Elyenses et alias, et omnem mercaturam quæ solet Londoniis haberi et extra tectum vel sub tecto exerceri, sub pœna magnæ forisfacturæ et jacturæ præcise interdixit, ut sic nundinæ Westmonasteriales populis et mercibus copiosius abundarent' (Matthew Paris, *CM*, v, p. 29.).

year, the inhabitants of the vill and the abbey lived in close proximity with little friction.⁸⁹ Though the fair caused disruption in the vill, it did not lead to a complete breakdown of relations with the abbey. Despite the normally amenable relations between the abbey and vill, there is still no evidence that the people of the vill patronised the cult of the Confessor in a significant way.⁹⁰

Ecclesiastical Dedications

The feasts of Edward the Confessor show that the saint had a limited appeal outside of Westminster. Another gauge to determine the spread of the saint's appeal is the number of churches dedicated to him in the period 1066-1399. Unfortunately, at the time of writing, there is no central register for ecclesiastical dedications, although this deficit is being addressed by Dr. Graham Jones in his project entitled *Trans-national Database & Atlas of Saint's Cults*. The standard reference book, Frances Arnold-Forster's *Studies in Church Dedications; or England's Patron Saints*, is of limited use because it does not list the exact dates of dedication.⁹¹ Francis Bond's work, *Dedications & Patron Saints of English Churches: Ecclesiastical Symbolism, Saints & Their Emblems*, poses a similar problem. The failure of these sources prompted only one

⁸⁹ I should like to thank Gervase Rosser for the discussion we had concerning relations between the abbey and the vill.

⁹⁰ An excavation about twenty-five years ago at the medieval waterfront by Trig Lane uncovered a host of pilgrim badges dating c. 1340-1400. Most of the badges were of Thomas Becket (B. Spencer, 'Pilgrim Souvenirs from the Medieval Waterfront Excavations at Trig Lane, London 1974-6,' *London and Middlesex Archaeological Society Transactions* 33 [1982], p. 316.). Though it is impossible to know who owned the badges, it has been noted that this was the period in which the cult of Thomas Becket reached its height among Londoners, indicating that they preferred the cult in Canterbury to the one in their own backyard (Spencer, 'Pilgrim Souvenirs,' p. 304.). Pilgrim badges for Edward the Confessor's cult have been identified in collections in Norfolk and Salisbury, mostly dated to the late fourteenth century. However, of the fourteen badges only one, which depicts the story of St. John and the ring, can be firmly connected to Edward's cult: B. Spencer, *Medieval Pilgrim Badges from Norfolk* (Norfolk, 1980), p. 21; *Salisbury Museum Medieval Catalogue, Part 2: Pilgrim Souvenirs and Secular Badges* (Salisbury, 1990), pp. 50-51.

⁹¹ Arnold-Forster also does not make clear which dedications are to Edward the Confessor and which are to Edward the Martyr. For instance, she listed churches in Goathurst and Stow-on-Wold as dedicated to the confessor: *Studies in Church Dedications; or, England's Patron Saints* (3 vols., London, 1899), iii, p. 359. In fact, both of these churches are dedicated to the martyr (Goathurst: Richard Parker, private correspondence, 7 February, 2000; Stow-on-Wold: P. R. Evans, private correspondence, 29 June 2000.).

recourse: asking individual foundations about their dedications.⁹² The enquiries produced the following list of churches dedicated to Edward:

Brotherton, Yorkshire West Riding⁹³
Cheddleton, Staffordshire
Chilton-on-Polden, Somerset
Dringhouses, Yorkshire West Riding
Evenlode, Gloucestershire⁹⁴
Islip, Oxfordshire⁹⁵
Leek, Staffordshire⁹⁶
Shalstone, Buckinghamshire⁹⁷
Winterbourne Dauntsey, Wiltshire⁹⁸

However, this list could be cut by three. It has not been firmly established to which Edward- the Confessor or the Martyr- the churches at Chilton-on-Polden and Dringhouses were dedicated. Additionally, the Cheddleton dedication is questionable because, while its vicar states that it has always been dedicated to Edward the Confessor, the *Victoria Country History* says that it has only been dedicated to the saint since the 1730's.⁹⁹ The dates of the churches are equally frustrating, though it appears that most were constructed in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries.¹⁰⁰ It is tempting to compare the number of churches dedicated to Edward the Confessor with the lists giving the number of dedications to each particular saint by Bond. By doing so, it is revealed that of the three hundred and twenty-five saints to whom churches

⁹² These enquiries were based on a list of likely dedications to Edward the Confessor kindly provided by Graham Jones. The foundations were asked if the original dedication was to Edward, the approximate date of the dedication, and if the church had always been dedicated to the saint.

⁹³ David Robinson, private correspondence, 21 January 2000; Graham D. Hames, private correspondence, 13 February, 2000.

⁹⁴ Craig Ferguson, private correspondence, 24 July 2000; *VCH, Worcestershire*, ed. W. Page, J. W. Willis-Bond (London, 1913), iii, pp. 350-51.

⁹⁵ *VCH, Oxfordshire*, ed. M. D. Lobel (London, 1959), vi, p. 217. Islip was one of Westminster Abbey's demesne manors. It was given to the abbey by Edward the Confessor, but was not possessed by Westminster until 1203 (Harvey, *Westminster Abbey and its Estates*, p. 356.).

⁹⁶ Richard Spencer, private correspondence, 30 January 2000. It is likely that the church was first dedicated to St. Peter and then rededicated to Edward in 1320.

⁹⁷ Carlton Princeton, private correspondence, 4 February, 2000.

⁹⁸ Gill Izzard, private correspondence, 6 July, 2000.

⁹⁹ Martin Leigh, private correspondence, 6 February, 2000; *VCH, Staffordshire*, ed. M. W. Greenslade (Oxford, 1996), vii, p. 132.

¹⁰⁰ The exception is Islip, the site of the saint's baptism.

were dedicated, there were fifty-nine saints with more than nine dedications.¹⁰¹ Unfortunately, this comparison can only be uncertain at best, because none of the dedications are dated. A more appropriate comparison is with St. Oswald, to whom over sixty parish churches were dedicated in the Middle Ages.¹⁰² The result of this enquiry suggests that dedications to Edward in the period 1066-1399 were comparatively uncommon.

Westminster Abbey endeavoured to venerate and promote St. Edward the Confessor through the celebration of his feasts, the preservation of his regalia and the issuing of indulgences. These attempts to bring the cult to an audience outside of the abbey failed. But what of the popularity of the cult within the walls of the abbey itself? The dates of the indulgences show that the abbey was not interested in promoting the cult from the day of its creation with Edward's canonisation; twenty years lapsed before Edward's name was mentioned in an indulgence.¹⁰³ Also, the immense thirteenth-century building programme did not originally include the a new shrine for Edward the Confessor. The monks were first concerned with constructing a new Lady Chapel, and an indulgence for benefactors of the project was issued in 1220.¹⁰⁴ The new shrine was not mentioned until Henry III became the major benefactor. Once again, Henry III's devotion was a catalyst for Edward's cult to a moderate degree; it cannot definitely be said that his interest in the saint prompted the abbey to commission indulgences for him, because this was the time

¹⁰¹ F. Bond, *Dedication & Patron Saints of English Churches: Ecclesiastical Symbolism, Saints & Their Emblems* (London, 1914), pp. 17-25.

¹⁰² D. Rollason, 'St. Oswald in Post-Conquest England,' in C. Stancliffe, E. Cambridge (eds.), *Oswald: Northumbrian King to Anglo-Saxon Saint* (Stamford, 1995), p. 170.

¹⁰³ Three indulgences were issued for Westminster before those associated with Edward began to emerge in 1121, 1121-40, 1153-95 (*WAD*, ff. 387, 389v, 390.). The first and third were for visiting the abbey and the second for visiting on the feast of SS Peter and Paul.

¹⁰⁴ *WAD*, f. 389v. In the late twelfth century, Robert de Molesham was appointed the *custos altaris* for the Marian altar. There was no similar appointment relating to Edward the Confessor (E. H. Pearce, *The Monks of Westminster* [Cambridge, 1916], p. 46.). I should like to thank Barbara Harvey for this reference.

when Westminster commissioned the majority of its indulgences. However, the celebration of Edward's feasts within the abbey show that interest in the cult had been ignited, though its influence was severely limited. The thirteenth-century regeneration of Edward's cult within the abbey did little to spark interest elsewhere. The efforts failed to attract pilgrimage traffic, which is significant for an area like London because it was easily accessible via roads and waterways.¹⁰⁵ No matter how easy it was to travel to the abbey, no matter what inducements were offered, the attempts to promote the cult outside Westminster were unsuccessful.

¹⁰⁵ It was this ease in transport which was a factor responsible for the popularity of St. Edward's Fair (Moore, *The Fairs of Medieval England*, p. 11.).

Chapter Four

The Presentation of Edward in the *vitae*

Indulgences and the celebration of Edward's feasts were some ways in which the saint's reputation was spread throughout England, another means of communication was the *vitae* written between 1066 and 1399. Whereas the Westminster evidence discussed in Chapter Three chiefly covers the latter half of the period 1066-1399, the same is not true of the *vitae*. Edward's first hagiographer wrote immediately after the king's death and the last in the mid thirteenth-century. Therefore, the *vitae* chart the perception of the saint during the first two hundred years of his cult, meaning that changes in the hagiographical sources chronicle any changes in the perception of the saint. The hagiographer's main task was to prove his subject's sanctity both through events in that person's life and the miracles performed. When the papacy asserted control over canonisation, the story of the proposed saint's life and virtues was one of the main pieces of evidence used to sway the pontiff.¹ The account of miracles the saint performed during his life and after his death, usually included in the *vita*, was another important piece of evidence. Edward's miracles, which were recorded in his *vitae*, reveal to what extent knowledge of his intercessory powers had disseminated. There is a twofold purpose to this chapter dictated by the evidence provided in the Lives: the first is to examine the perception of Edward the Confessor as depicted by his hagiographers and the second is to gauge the popularity of the cult using the information provided in the miracles. After these sources are examined, it will show how and if the perception of Edward changed through time.

There are four main Lives associated with Edward the Confessor:

¹ This practice of writing *vitae* to prove sanctity went back to the beginnings of papal involvement in canonisation (Kemp, *Canonization and Authority*, p. 64.). For the effects of papal canonisation on hagiographic literary style, see R. Bartlett, 'The Hagiography of Angevin England,' *Thirteenth Century England* 5 (1995), p. 52.

one written by an anonymous author, and three composed respectively by Osbert of Clare, Aelred of Rievaulx and Matthew Paris. These four *vitae* are not the only textual evidence for the cult; in her edition of Edward's Life attributed to Matthew Paris, Kathryn Young Wallace lists thirteen different texts of the Life.² Three of the nine other texts fall outside the dates of this thesis. Of the rest, five are direct translations of Aelred of Rievaulx's influential Life either into verse and/or French and two are not complete Lives but independent episodes which appeared in the Lives and will be discussed below.³ The four *vitae* listed above will be the main sources examined in this chapter because, while they used other Lives as sources, each one presents its own distinct picture. These changes are important because they are indicative of the change in perception of the cult. Having selected the appropriate texts, it is then necessary to determine the provenances of these four Lives.

The first Life is extant in only one manuscript, British Library Harley MS 526. It was split into two books, the first one written in 1065-6 and the second in 1067.⁴ Frank Barlow, the editor of this Life, has said that its purpose was to praise Edith, who was assumed to be the commissioner of the work, by praising those related to her by blood or marriage.⁵ Though the author remains anonymous, it has been postulated by Richard Southern and Frank Barlow that Goscelin of Saint-

² Matthew Paris, pp. xii-xiv.

³ These episodes are of the appearance of Christ to Edward and Leofric during the eucharist and the legend of St. John and the ring. The list of the texts and fragments appears in Matthew Paris, pp. xii-xiv.

⁴ For the dating of the two books, see *The Life of King Edward*, pp. xxxi-xxxii. Barlow's argument for the dating, which originally appeared in the 1962 edition of the *vita* and rebukes M. Bloch's dating of the Life to the late twelfth century (Osbert, pp. 31-44.), was unconvincingly refuted by E. Heningham. She insisted that the division of the work into two books was artificial, in 'The Literary Unity, the Date, and the Purpose of the Lady Edith's Book: "The Life of King Edward who rests in Westminster,"' *Albion* 7 (1975). The major flaw in Heningham's argument is that she overlooked the dramatic change of subject between the two books.

⁵ *The Life of King Edward*, p. xix. A similar approach was taken by the author of the *Encomium Emmae Reginae* as noted in the introduction by S. Keynes (*Encomium Emmae Reginae*, ed. A. Campbell [Camden Classic Reprints, 1998], p. xiv.).

Bertin is the most likely candidate.⁶ This attribution adds an interesting dimension to the text, because it means that the view of a foreigner was responsible for recording one of the most turbulent times in English history while it was happening. These events were responsible for the radical shift in the subject of the text, as explained by Barlow's rationale for his dating of the *vita*. Book One, whose composition has been dated to 1065-6, primarily focuses on the deeds of Earl Godwin and his sons.⁷ Unfortunately for Edith and the author, it was not politic to refer to the family in a favourable light after the Battle of Hastings.⁸ Pauline Stafford has noted that Edith, needing to secure her position in England after the death of her husband, attempted to do so by commissioning the *vita*.⁹ Frank Barlow earlier suggested that, given the drastic change in the political climate after the Norman Conquest, it is difficult to know exactly what Edith's purpose was other than that she was preparing for the future.¹⁰ These suppositions are convincing, particularly due to the dramatic shift of subject between the two books. The change in subject is explained by Edith's need to protect herself in the Norman regime. Whereas before the Norman Conquest her brother Harold reigned as king, and therefore a work which asserted this familial connection could do no harm, afterwards she could be seen as either the sister of the overthrown king or the wife of the previous one. Her choice was simplified by Harold's defeat at Hastings and William's coronation, when it was politic to associate herself with her husband's memory rather than her brother's. This choice is documented in Book Two, which has

⁶ *The Life of King Edward*, pp. xlv-lix. In addition to these claims, Goscelin was one of only a few writers during the period who wrote texts interweaving poetry and prose as was done in *The Life of King Edward*. Adelard of Bath and Lawrence of Durham are two others (A. G. Rigg, *A History of Anglo-Latin Literature 1066-1422* [Cambridge, 1990], p. 15.). R. Southern noted similarities between the *Vita Edwardi* and Goscelin's Life of Edith ('The First Life of Edward the Confessor,' p. 399.).

⁷ *The Life of King Edward*, pp. xxx-xxi.

⁸ *The Life of King Edward*, pp. xix-xxiv.

⁹ P. Stafford, 'The Portrayal of Royal Women in England, Mid-Tenth to Mid-Twelfth Centuries,' in J. C. Parsons (ed.), *Medieval Queenship* (New York, 1993), pp. 162, 165. Stafford reiterated this point in her book *Queen Emma and Queen Edith* (Oxford, 1997), p. 51.

¹⁰ Barlow, *Edward the Confessor*, p. 300.

been given a date of 1067.¹¹ Such a complete change of topic within one text can only be explained by a dating which makes both subjects viable.

The nature and intent of the second book of the anonymous Life posed some problems for Barlow, who states that it is not a pure work of hagiography. His argument for this is that the author was too close to his subject to achieve the detachment generally associated with the hagiographic form.¹² However, it is debatable whether or not all hagiographers demonstrated such distance from their subjects. It is common throughout the corpus of hagiographic literature for people who knew the saint to write a *vita*.¹³ There is no evidence that the author ever knew Edward, possibly his only sources were people who knew the king. The way in which the anonymous author presented Edward firmly attests to the king's sanctity; in addition to detailing his virtues and the various miracles Edward performed during his life, in the closing lines of the text the author explicitly declared that Edward was a saint.¹⁴ However, Barlow is correct, insofar as he states that what is presented in Book Two is an embryonic form of the legend surrounding Edward the Confessor: the full story of the saint would take decades to develop. Though the anonymous Life only lays the foundation for future *vitae*, without this basis the other hagiographic texts could not have been constructed. This is why Book Two of the anonymous *vita* ought to be studied in conjunction with the more mature Lives and not merely labelled 'quasi-hagiographical.' Even if Edith never intended to establish a cult around her husband, what is

¹¹ *The Life of King Edward*, p. xxxii.

¹² *The Life of King Edward*, p. xxv.

¹³ See, for example, Lives written about Augustine, Willibald, Benedict, Martin of Tours, Wulfstan of Worcester, Thomas Becket and Louis IX. The tradition of people who knew the saint becoming their hagiographers stemmed from the fact that in the early Church, a saint's first devotees would be those who knew him (Kemp, *Canonization and Authority*, p. 7.).

¹⁴ For the quotation, see Ch. 1, p. 12n. It is unlikely that this appellation is meant to indicate that Edward was widely perceived as a saint at the time the *vita* was written. Because canonisation had yet to be taken over by the pope, the recognition of sanctity was comparatively informal in England at this time.

present in Book Two was absorbed by those who were concerned with promoting the cult.

The next two authors who wrote about Edward did so under different motivations and conditions. The second Life was composed by Osbert of Clare in 1138 and is extant in two manuscripts, though is only complete in one. The second manuscript contains a heavily abridged version of Osbert's text and incorporates stories not original to the prior's work;¹⁵ the prior's motivations behind his promotion of Edward's canonisation has already been dealt with in Chapter One. His authorship of a Life concerning one of the major benefactors of his foundation is logical. What takes a bit more understanding is the reason behind Aelred of Rievaulx's writing of his *vita* in 1163. As his name implies, Aelred was not a monk of Westminster, but a Cistercian attached to the northern house of Rievaulx. Some light is shed by the familial relationship Aelred had with Westminster Abbey, as he was related to Abbot Lawrence and received the commission to write the *vita* from him.¹⁶ This commission though must not be viewed purely as an act of nepotism, as Aelred's qualifications and connections extended far beyond his position in Rievaulx. In the opening pages alongside the account of the commission is a dedication to Henry II.¹⁷ Aelred's connection to Henry II consisted of more than a mere dedication in one of his works. It has been suggested that Aelred was a key figure in persuading Henry II to accept the claims of Pope Alexander III during the schism.¹⁸ Aelred had good knowledge of the Scottish court as well,

¹⁵ Osbert, pp. 57-8.

¹⁶ When describing the works Aelred wrote about Edward the Confessor, Walter Daniel says: 'Hec scripsit rogatus a Laurencio abbate Westmonasterii cognato suo et fratribus ibidem Deo studentibus complacere' (*Vita Ailredi Abbatis Rievall*, ed. F. M. Powicke [London, 1950], pp. 41-2.).

¹⁷ 'Hujus vitam miraculis insignem, a mea parvitate, jubente venerabili patre Laurencio Westmonasterii abbate, utcunque litteris traditam, tibi, gloriosissime rex Henrice...' (Aelred, col. 738.).

¹⁸ M. Dutton, 'Aelred, Historian: Two Portraits in Plantagenet Myth,' *Cistercian Studies* 28 (1993), p. 119. Aelred's involvement in the matter is based on this passage: 'Rex Henricus honorifice recepit papam Alexandrum versus Gallias venientem, inductus ad ejus obedientiam per literas Arnulfi episcopi Luxoviensis, et maxime viva voce sancti Alredi abbatis Rievallensis' (*Chronicon Angliae Petriburgense*, ed. J. A. Giles [Caxton Society, 1845], p. 98.).

as he was raised there during the reign of David.¹⁹ It is not unlikely that, since he was at the court of Queen Margaret's son, he could have heard stories about Edward the Confessor, who was the queen's great-uncle.²⁰ Not only was he familiar with royal courts but he also was involved with the composition of *vitae*. Besides writing Edward's *vita*, he also composed an account of St. Ninian, the miracles of the Hexham saints and an account of recluses.²¹ Through his connection with the Scottish and English courts Aelred was exposed to kings and the workings of their courts. The association to King Henry II made him an appropriate candidate to write a *vita* dedicated to that king. Aelred's literary credentials demonstrated that he was also a competent hagiographer. These two factors, combined with a personal relationship with Westminster's abbot, made him an excellent choice to be Edward's hagiographer.

Aelred's work proved to be probably the most popular and influential version of Edward's Life. No fewer than twenty manuscripts of this work written between 1163 and 1400 survive.²² Comparatively, only one copy of the fourth Life exists.²³ M. R. James was the first to attribute authorship of the text to Matthew Paris, and this attribution has become generally accepted.²⁴ The dating of the work has been a topic of some debate, with scholars wavering between soon after 1240

¹⁹ For a summary of Aelred's career, see K. A. J. Squire, 'Aelred of Rievaulx: A Study of his Works and their Place in Cistercian Literature' (Oxford Univ. B.Litt. thesis, 1958); A. Squire, *Aelred of Rievaulx: A Study* (Kalamazoo, MI, 1981); Walter Daniel, *Vita Ailredi*, pp. li-lxxi; M. Dutton's introduction to *The Life of Aelred of Rievaulx & The Letter to Maurice*.

²⁰ Aelred is cited as the source for the first written account of St. John and the ring (see below, p. 148).

²¹ R. Sharpe, *A Handlist of the Latin Writing of Great Britain and Ireland before 1540* (Brepols, 1997), pp. 28-40.

²² The complete listing of Aelred's manuscripts is in A. Hoste's *Bibliotheca Aelrediana: A Survey of the Manuscripts, Old Catalogues, Editions and Studies Concerning St. Aelred of Rievaulx* (Steenbrugis, 1962).

²³ The latest editor of the text, K. Young Wallace, has suggested that Matthew had his own copy of the Life which he lent to noble ladies (Matthew Paris, pp. xviii-xix.).

²⁴ *La Estoire de St. Aedward le roi*, ed. M. R. James (Roxburghe Club, 1920), pp. 17-34. James' argument defeated H. R. Luard's belief that the text was produced by Westminster Abbey in his edition of *Lives of Edward the Confessor* (RS, 1858), p. xi. The attribution of the authorship of the poem to Matthew Paris has been subsequently upheld by R. Vaughn, *Matthew Paris* (Cambridge, 1958), pp. 168-81; K. Wallace in Matthew Paris, pp. xvii-xxi; P. Binski 'Abbot Barking's Tapestries and Matthew Paris' Life of St. Edward the Confessor,' *Archaeologia* 109 (1991), pp. 89-93.

and 1254. The debate on the dating of the work hinges on two sections: the dedicatory passage to Queen Eleanor and a few lines at the end of the Life, which imply that the king is *ex officio* the patron of Westminster Abbey, and therefore has a responsibility in its maintenance.²⁵ The latter passage has been cited by those who support an earlier dating of the Life, claiming it implies that Henry III was being reminded of his royal duty to the abbey at a time when a fund raising campaign for new building projects was underway.²⁶ Others place the date at 1245, basing their argument on the assumption that there were three significant dates for Henry III's relationship with Westminster Abbey: his marriage and second coronation in 1236, the king's restoration of the church in 1245 and the translation of Edward the Confessor's body in 1263. The first date was discounted because the dedication to Queen Eleanor was taken into account. Henry Luard, the text's first editor, contended that this passage suggests that she had been married to Henry III for some time. After discarding the third date because of the prevailing political situations, Luard favoured a dating to c. 1254.²⁷ Kathryn Young Wallace and Paul Binski have challenged this view, arguing instead that there is nothing in the language of the dedication which refers to a long-established union.²⁸ These later commentators have favoured dating the *vita* to c. 1240.²⁹ The two arguments for the c. 1240 date are compelling in their logic; it would have been pointless to remind Henry III of his duty to

²⁵ The dedication can be found in Matthew Paris, ll. 49-88. The reference at the end of the Life to Westminster Abbey is as follows: 'A l'iglise ne deit faillir/ Ki rois est, einz deit meintenir/ E quant k'apent a la meisun,/ Kar il [en] est dreit patrun' (Matthew Paris, ll. 4677-80.).

²⁶ Binski, 'Abbot Barking's Tapestries,' p. 95.

²⁷ *Lives of Edward the Confessor*, p. xi-xii.

²⁸ Matthew Paris, pp.xxii; Binski, 'Abbot Barking's Tapestries,' p. 94.

²⁹ *Estoire de St. Aedward*, p. 17; Vaughn, *Matthew Paris*, p. 178; Matthew Paris, pp. xxi-xxiii; Binski, 'Abbot Barking's Tapestries,' p. 95.

Westminster once he had committed his resources to its rebuilding.³⁰ Equally, there is nothing to imply Henry III and Eleanor had been married for a long time; for instance, there is no reference to the numerous children produced during the union. Therefore, the c. 1240 date ought to be upheld.

Matthew Paris prepared a remarkable book for Eleanor.³¹ Not only does it contain a clearly-written Anglo-French text, but each folio of the text is illustrated.³² It is the work of someone who knew his audience and was able to anticipate the requirements for such a commission.³³ Part of this knowledge was expressed in the author's decision to write the book in Anglo-French.³⁴ Though it was not the first Life of the king to be written in the vernacular, it was the first such Life which contained new episodes.³⁵ By using Anglo-French, Matthew Paris signalled that he intended his work to be read by a lay audience, people who were more accustomed to reading French romances than Latin

³⁰ The reference explicitly states that the king has a duty towards Westminster Abbey, rather than the English Church as a whole, the latter assumption would have placed the text in the debate over Henry III's supposed policy of absolute monarchy which raged in M. Clanchy, 'Did Henry III have a Policy?' *History Today* 37 (1987), pp. 26-32; D. A. Carpenter 'Kings, Magnates and Society: The Personal reign of King Henry III, 1234-1258,' in *The Reign of Henry III* (London, 1996), pp. 75-85. Both cite Matthew Paris' Life as evidence for both of their contentions; Clanchy that Henry III tried to bolster his standing by bolstering his importance through devotion to Edward and Carpenter that the *vita* emphasised Edward's willingness to listen to his counsellors, thereby flouting any suggestion that Henry III was an absolutist.

³¹ Though the book was dedicated to a woman, modern commentators have observed that some of the themes would have appealed to a wide audience: S. Lewis, *The Art of Matthew Paris in the Chronica Majora* (Cambridge, 1987), p. 10; P. Binski, 'Reflections on *La estoire de Seint Aedward le rei*: Hagiography and Kingship in Thirteenth-Century England,' *Journal of Medieval History* 16 (1990), p. 340.

³² For a discussion of the illustrations, see Ch. 5, pp. 170-71.

³³ M. R. Kauffmann believed that the story of Gunnilda, which did not appear in the previous *vitae*, was included as a lesson for Eleanor in marital fidelity in his thesis: 'Hagiography, Pictorial Narrative, and the Politics of Kingship: Studies in the "Matthew Paris" Saints' Lives and Illustrations to the Life of St. Louis' (Univ. of London, Ph.D. thesis, 1992), p. 29.

³⁴ Matthew Paris also wrote his Lives of SS Edmund and Thomas Becket in vernacular.

³⁵ The first vernacular Life was written by a nun at Barking Abbey and was based on Aelred's Life. This Life has been discussed by J. Wogan-Browne in "'Clerc u lai, muine u dame": Women and Anglo-Norman Hagiography in the Twelfth and Thirteenth Centuries,' in C. M. Meale (ed.), *Women and Literature in Britain 1150-1500* (Cambridge, 1993), pp. 62, 68-73.

works.³⁶ In doing so, Matthew Paris' text can be grouped with the French tradition of writing Lives in the vernacular which flourished between the tenth and thirteenth centuries.³⁷ These Lives used the language of the *chanson de geste*, associating saintly behaviour with chivalry.³⁸ Matthew Paris' work is suffused with the *chanson de geste* language, with repeated use of words such as chivalry, courtesy, debonair and honour,³⁹ terms not used by Edward's previous hagiographers. One of the significant developments in vernacular *vitae* was the adoption of a secular tone which was used to entertain a lay audience.⁴⁰ Not only were these Lives written for enjoyment, but Cynthia Hahn has argued that the Matthew Paris' Life of Edward the Confessor was written in part to educate its readers in courtly behaviour.⁴¹ As will be seen in the discussion of Matthew Paris' work, the secularisation of the story had a dramatic impact on the depiction of Edward's life, emphasising fantastic events and placing less stress on the evidence for Edward's sanctity.

Adding to the text's role as a piece of entertainment, there is evidence that the Life was meant to be heard: Matthew Paris wrote that he included pictures in the text so that the eyes could see what the ears

³⁶ For the phenomenon of clerics writing vernacular texts for a lay audience, see J. Wogan-Browne, 'The Apple's Message: Some Post-Conquest Hagiographic Accounts of Textual Transmission,' in A. J. Minns (ed.), *Late Medieval Religious Texts and Their Transmission: Essays in honour of A. I. Doyle* (Bury St. Edmunds, 1994), p. 39-40; J. Frankis, 'The Social Context of Vernacular Writing in Thirteenth Century England: The Evidence of the Manuscripts,' *Thirteenth Century England 1* (1986), p. 184.

³⁷ J. A. MacCulloch, *Medieval Faith and Fable* (London, 1932), p. 133.

³⁸ C. Hahn, 'Proper Behavior for Knights and Kings: The Hagiography of Matthew Paris, Monk of St. Albans,' *Haskins Society Journal 2* (1990), p. 238. C. S. Jaeger first studied the use of episcopal behaviour as a model for courtliness in *The Origins of Courtliness: Civilizing Trends and the Formation of Courtly Ideals 939-1210* (Philadelphia, 1985), pp. 3-36.

³⁹ Chivalry (*chivalerie*): Matthew Paris, ll. 128, 540, 904, 1140, 1211, 4074, 4495, 4510, 4561; Courtesy: Matthew Paris, ll. 895 (*curtaisies*), 897, 902 (*curtois*), 918 (*curtoisement*), 1149, 3361 (*curtois*); Debonair (*debonaire*): Matthew Paris, ll. 238, 344, 911, 1053, 2660, 3271, 4043; Honour: Matthew Paris, ll. 958 (*honur*), 1800 (*honorable*), 2392 (*d'onur*), 2503 (*l'onur*), 3002 (*honourables*).

⁴⁰ E. Faral, *Les Jongleurs en France au Moyen Age* (Paris, 1910), p. 50; MacCulloch, *Medieval Faith and Fable*, p. 133.

⁴¹ C. Hahn, 'Proper Behaviour for Knights and Kings,' pp. 244-5. The three lessons were applicable particularly to kings and were that a peaceful court was run with generosity and mercy, a ruler must control barons and bishops and that law ought to be established to avoid violence.

would hear.⁴² It was common for texts written in the vernacular to be performed.⁴³ The performance element adds a new dimension to Edward's legend; instead of being presented merely as an *exemplum*, the story had to be entertaining. Matthew Paris was uniquely qualified to write such a piece for the court; as the *Chronica Majora* indicates, he was a particular favourite of the king.⁴⁴ Because of this favour, like Aelred he had exposure to the inner workings of the court. Also like Aelred, Matthew Paris had composed other hagiographical works and was familiar with the genre.⁴⁵ The four men who wrote about Edward the Confessor were all familiar with the hagiographical format; it remains to see how each interpreted the story.

Part of the interpretation lies in the sources which each author used. The first Life does not use any recognisable sources other than the Bible for quotations and allusions.⁴⁶ Osbert's sources are slightly easier to identify. While there is nothing as useful as a recognition of his sources from the author, two modern scholars have speculated on Osbert's sources. In his edition of the second Life, Marc Bloch observed Osbert's reliance on six different sources: oral tradition, a book of miracles at Westminster, the first Life, Sulcard of Westminster's history of the abbey, the Life of St. Mellitus and various charters.⁴⁷ The charters are unreliable because they are forged, and it is likely that the book of

⁴² 'E pur lais ki de lettrure/ Ne sevent, en purtraiture/ Figuree apertement/ L'ai en cest livret present,/ Pur ço ke desir e voil/ Ke oraille ot, voient li oil' (Matthew Paris, ll. 3961-3966.); M. Clanchy, *From Memory to Written Record: England 1066-1307*, 2nd edn., (Oxford and Cambridge, MA, 1993), p. 283. Jongleurs often performed these pieces outside of shrines as well as in courts (Faral, *Les Jongleurs en France*, p. 134.).

⁴³ E. B. Vitz, 'From the Oral to the Written in Medieval and Renaissance Saints' Lives,' in R. Blumenfeld-Kosinski and T. Szell (eds.), *Images of Sainthood in Medieval Europe* (Ithaca and London, 1991), p. 79.

⁴⁴ When Henry III gave the Holy Blood to Westminster Abbey in 1242, Matthew Paris was present at the ceremony, and was asked by the king to record the proceedings and invited to dinner with the king (*CM*, iv, pp. 644-5.).

⁴⁵ Matthew Paris has been identified as the author of Lives of SS Alban, Edmund the Martyr, Thomas Becket, Edmund of Abingdon, and Stephen the archbishop.

⁴⁶ F. Barlow suggests that the author might have used the *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle* and possibly the testimony of those who had known the king (*The Life of King Edward*, pp. lx-lxi.).

⁴⁷ Osbert, pp. 45-6.

miracles never existed.⁴⁸ The miracles themselves will be discussed later.⁴⁹ The charters which Osbert put in the *Life* are quotations of papal charters, which are included in the body of Edward's First and Third Westminster Charters, and which Osbert forged for the abbey in order to secure its privileges. Pierre Chaplais has argued that nothing in these charters came from an original source: they were pure fabrications by the prior, including the papal charters quoted in the body of the forged charters, which were also incorporated into Osbert's *Life*.⁵⁰ Therefore, these documents are not of Anglo-Saxon provenance, as Bloch believed. Thus, one of Osbert's sources was created by the prior himself, meaning that the parts of the story which rely on these documents present his own version of Westminster's history. Frank Barlow has proved that Osbert used the anonymous *Life*, and has done so by comparing word borrowings in his edition of the first *Life*.⁵¹ Osbert's use of the *Life of Mellitus* and Sulcard for the first dedication of Westminster Abbey has been verified by J. A. Robinson.⁵² Although Sulcard did not say that Edward was a saint, he did include a passage about the miraculous dedication of Westminster Abbey by St. Peter. Osbert was certainly in debt to several different sources, but as Barlow has shown, his greatest debt was to the first *Life* which gave him material for the entire work.

Aelred of Rievaulx also relied on his predecessor when he wrote his version of Edward's *Life*. In the opening pages the writer said that he only made small additions to the original work and did not alter the story's structure.⁵³ This reliance has been certified by Aelred's modern biographer.⁵⁴ It is difficult to support this case by word borrowings

⁴⁸ These charters are §1041 and §1043, King Edward's Third and First Charters to Westminster Abbey, respectively.

⁴⁹ See below, pp. 150-61.

⁵⁰ Chaplais, 'The Original Charters of Herbert and Gervase,' p. 93. The charters are printed in Osbert, pp. 79-80, 88-90.

⁵¹ *The Life of King Edward*, pp. 128-30.

⁵² Flete, *History of Westminster*, p. 9.

⁵³ 'A sensu sane illius codicis non recedens, pauca quæ vel ex chronicis veracissimis transtuli, vel ex veterum certa et vera relatione didici, non inutiliter ut mihi videtur apposui' (Aelred, col. 740.).

⁵⁴ Squire, *Aelred of Rievaulx*, p. 96.

alone. The core of the problem is the very different writing styles of the two authors: Osbert's writings are notoriously inelegant and his prose is complex and confusing; Aelred's work is dramatically different, his style is clear and easy to read. Consequently, text-by-text comparison yields no long phrases common to both. Despite this lack, it is evident that he was true to his word and did not deviate much from the older text.⁵⁵ He contented himself with a few additions, which will be discussed below. What does emerge from a textual comparison of the two works is the use of the same names and locations in roughly the same order, an indication of Aelred's adherence to Osbert's Life as a model. Though the two authors had very different writing styles, they both retained the same narrative structure.

With the fourth Life there is an even greater problem of comparison, because whereas Aelred wrote in Latin, Matthew Paris used Anglo-French. Nevertheless, a comparison was undertaken at the beginning of the last century by Rudolf Fritz, showing that Matthew Paris did indeed base his text on Aelred's.⁵⁶ Matthew himself acknowledged his debt to Aelred in a prayer addressed to the king at the end of the Life.⁵⁷ Therefore, each of Edward's hagiographers used his immediate predecessor as his chief source. It is not likely that chronicles were used as sources, though some do refer to Edward's sanctity,⁵⁸ the perception of the saint in English chronicles will be studied in the following chapter. Rather than hagiographers relying on chroniclers, it appears for the most part that the opposite is true. None of the *vitae* ever refer to more than one predecessor, meaning that each Life relied solely on its immediate predecessor. It is unlikely, given the few extant manuscripts, that many copies of the first and second Lives

⁵⁵ Barlow notes Aelred's adaption of Osbert's text in *The Life of King Edward*, p. xxxvii.

⁵⁶ R. Fritz, 'Über Verfasser und Quellen der altfranzösischen *Estoire de Seint Aedward le Rei*,' (Heidelberg, 1910); Hahn, 'Proper Behavior for Knights and Kings,' p. 245. K. Wallace also cited Aelred as Matthew Paris' chief source (*La Estoire de Seint Aedward*, p. 14.).

⁵⁷ 'Or vus pri, gentilz rois Aedward,/ K'a moi pecchur eiez regard/ Ki ai translaté du latin/ Sulum mun sen e mun engin/ En franceis la vostre estoire' (Matthew Paris, ll. 3955-9.).

⁵⁸ F. Barlow charted out the sources for the Lives in *The Life of King Edward*, p. xl.

existed. In reading the Lives, one is struck by the repetition of the narratives as the same scenes keep on being replayed on the page. However, despite all of the similarities, there are major differences between the Lives, which show that the presentation of various elements in Edward's life did not remain static. These changes in the story are critical in understanding the reception of the cult of Edward the Confessor.

Characters

In order to understand the shifts in the hagiographical works about Edward the Confessor, three categories will be compared. The first category will be the characters included in the Lives.⁵⁹ People in hagiography are sounding posts for sanctity; they can provide examples of impiety, thereby reinforcing the pious example set by the saint, or they can corroborate the message, presenting another illustration of how the reader might imitate the pious example. Any changes in character are indicators of shifts within the perception of Edward. The second category will include an examination of the king's virtues. While some virtues could be easily applied to a layman's life others were different. This application had an impact on the perception of Edward alongside modifications of characters. The final category is an examination of the popularity the king as evidenced by his miracles.

One of the first characters in the first Life is Earl Godwin, patriarch of the Godwin family. In this version of Edward's life, the earl is a good man and one of Edward's strongest supporters, indeed, in the work's first poem he is praised for his loyalty first of all.⁶⁰ He established a good reputation during the author's account of Cnut's reign, attaining a popularity greater than the monarch's, but was never tempted to take

⁵⁹ P. Binski has briefly examined the changes in character featured in the *vitae* mostly through comparisons between the first *vita* and Matthew Paris' work in 'Reflections on *La estorie de Seint Aedward le rei*.' This section of the chapter attempts to widen the scope of Binski's efforts.

⁶⁰ 'Ipsius inde patrem, fidei pietate cluentem, / scribes Godwinum iura beasse ducum' (*The Life of King Edward*, p. 6.).

advantage of the situation and seize the throne.⁶¹ Godwin's influence over the English was seen during the discussion in the witenagemot about the succession to the throne after Hardecnut's death. The earl pressed Edward's suit and the people were convinced since, as the hagiographer stressed, they looked upon Godwin as a father.⁶² The positive representation of Earl Godwin in this Life is to be expected in a work commissioned by his daughter. The first Life claims that the earl was a popular figure and attests to his humility and loyalty, so that despite his popularity he was not tempted to exploit that adoration and usurp the English throne.

The theme of Godwin's loyalty was put to the test in one episode, which only appears in the first Life, in which he was forced to go against Edward. When the monks of Christ Church turned to Godwin to help enforce their choice for archbishop, who happened to be a member of the Godwin clan, their plans were foiled by the king's evil counsellors, in particular Robert of Jumièges.⁶³ Instead of the Christ Church choice, Robert became archbishop and thus began a long quarrel over land rights, as Godwin held property which ran next to some of the archbishop's holdings. Though he was encouraged by his vassals to fight, Godwin hesitated. The author attributed this hesitation to two things: the family trait of caution and the earl's desire to preserve the

⁶¹ 'Erat quoque morum equalitate tam cunctis quam ipsi regi gratissimus, assiduo laboris accinctu incomparabilis, iocunda et promta affabilitate omnibus affabilis. Vocantibus autem quibusdam regni competentibus negotiis regem in gentem suam... adhesit comes individuus per omnem uiam' (*The Life of King Edward*, p. 8.).

⁶² '...dux Godwinus, ut regem suum recipiant in natiui iuris sui throno. Et quoniam pro patre ab omnibus habebatur, in paterno consultu libenter audiebatur' (*The Life of King Edward*, p. 14.).

⁶³ This episode is detailed in *The Life of King Edward*, pp. 28-30. The anonymous author pointedly referred to Robert of Jumièges as a foreigner, as the incident was prefaced by saying that Edward brought some men over when he returned to England and gave them places within the court: 'Ædwardus rex repatriaret a Francia, ex eadem gente comitati sunt quam plures non ignobiles uiri, quos plurimis honoribus ditatos secum retinuit idem rex, utpote compos totius regni, ordinariosque constituit secretorum consilii sui, et rectores rerum regalis palatii' (*The Life of King Edward*, p. 28). The author is ambivalent about these advisors, saying that Robert gave both good and bad advice. This attitude is remarkably different from Matthew Paris' vilification of evil foreign advisors. The change in attitude can be attributed to many things, among them: the likelihood that the anonymous author was himself a foreigner, and the change in the political situation at the time of writing, for whereas when the first Life was written England had just been taken over by a foreign force, by the time of Matthew Paris the court had for the most part become English.

king's honour.⁶⁴ Robert then played his final card and accused Godwin of Edward's brother Alfred's murder, assuring the king that the earl had the same fate in mind for Edward.⁶⁵ Godwin, forced into exile, though, as the author stated, innocent of the crime, retained his popularity so that when he returned to England he was able to muster a huge military force; Godwin's retainers are likened to children waiting for their father.⁶⁶ Instead of using his military force against the king, he stated that he would never want to do anything unseemly against him.⁶⁷ Godwin's loyalty was unquestioned and knew no equal. The author's description of Edward's behaviour during this episode was less glowing, as he observed that Edward refused to hear Godwin's offer to clear himself.⁶⁸ Worse still came in the final lines of the story, in which Godwin was compared to David, and Edward to Saul.⁶⁹ The comparisons with these Biblical figures hints that Godwin was more worthy to rule England than Edward. In the first *vita*, Godwin always acted loyally to the king out of almost holy virtue.

Godwin's reputation was not to fare as well in the later hagiographical texts written about Edward. The earl's good standing began its descent after the Norman Conquest, when it became politically impossible to praise him. As early as the second book of the anonymous work, the embryonic saint's Life, the earl does not appear. The downfall of the earl's sons, which is discussed below, was bemoaned in the second book. This is to be expected from a text written after the Norman Conquest. So tainted was the Godwin name that the earl, who had died

⁶⁴ 'Ferebat autem idem industrius dux incautius furentem episcopum pacifice, tum pro regis honore, tum pro gentis innato more, quod nichil agant festine uel facile, sed ex consilio plurima uisa precipitatione per se expectant uel diffluere uel perire' (*The Life of King Edward*, p. 32.).

⁶⁵ *The Life of King Edward*, pp. 32-4.

⁶⁶ 'Occurrunt omnes quotquot nauipotant orientales siue australes Angli, occurrunt, inquam, omnes ei, sicut filii suo diu exoptato patri' (*The Life of King Edward*, pp. 40-42.).

⁶⁷ 'Verum fidelis et deo deuotus dux uerbis et nutu admodum abhorruit. "Deum," inquit, "fidelitatis sue in corde meo habeam hodie testem, me scilicet malle mortem, quam aliquid indecens et iniquum egerim, uel agam, uel me uiuo agi permittam, in dominum meum regem"' (*The Life of King Edward*, p. 42.).

⁶⁸ 'Nam adeo super huius sceleris fide animum rex induxerat, ut nec uerbum aliquod oblate purgationis audire posset' (*The Life of King Edward*, p. 34.).

⁶⁹ *The Life of King Edward*, pp. 44-6.

before the invasion, could not be given the same treatment as in Book One. Osbert of Clare only mentioned Godwin once, stating that he was Edith's father, and uses the adjective *clarissimus*.⁷⁰ The adjective can have either a neutral meaning, i.e. 'famous,' or the more positive meaning of 'distinguished.'⁷¹ Given that Osbert was writing in the times of a man whose great-uncle had overthrown Godwin's son, it would not have been politic to present anyone in that family in a good light. Osbert had to be especially sensitive to the political situation because he sought royal support for the canonisation request. However, he did not go to the other extreme and condemn the earl. Part of this explanation can be found in the way Godwin was presented by the chroniclers of the period.⁷² Presented with two different views of the earl, the honourable man of Book One and the patriarch of the notorious Godwin family, Osbert removed himself completely from the controversy by dropping almost all mention of Godwin from his work.

The hagiographers following Osbert ignored the earl. Time had progressed and the Normans had solidified their position in England. Consequently, the old Norman enemy, the Godwin clan, plummeted in estimation. Both Aelred and Matthew Paris treated the earl as an evil lord and exemplified their disdain by inverting the picture presented by the first author. Whereas in the first Life Godwin was the model of loyalty and honour, in the two later Lives he becomes a treacherous, evil individual. Aelred's major departure from Osbert's text is his complete vilification of Earl Godwin's character. Such a departure signals that the assessment of the earl's character had received a major overhaul, resulting in his transformation into the villain of the plot. This change was an astute one to make, because Aelred's Life was dedicated to Henry II, whose family had fought Harold Godwinson to attain the throne. Aelred accounted for Godwin's influence not because

⁷⁰ '...Gowini clarissimi ducis' (Osbert, p. 75.).

⁷¹ D. R. Howlett, ed., *Dictionary of Medieval Latin from British Sources* (Oxford, 1989-), p. 353.

⁷² See Ch. 5, p. 181.

of his popularity, but because of his amazing powers of deception.⁷³ Matthew Paris also called him a traitor with many enemies⁷⁴ and someone who had acquired his lands by fraud rather than chivalry.⁷⁵ Unlike the first author, the latter three did not say that Godwin was responsible for Edward's election as king. Osbert's silence on this matter is in keeping with his avoidance of any reference to the earl. For Aelred and Matthew Paris, the silence indicated the attitude which they followed in their works: Godwin could do no right.

While the first hagiographer mentioned the 1051 rebellion in full detail, the other three did not. All four writers emphasised that Edward's reign was distinguished by its peacefulness.⁷⁶ The first writer used the events of 1051 to emphasise the earl's loyalty. If Aelred and Matthew Paris had included the episode, they would have had to mar their vision of Edward's peaceful reign with a battle, particularly one in which Edward did not come out looking valiant. Instead, in another context they magnified one detail of the story: Godwin's role in Alfred's death. Part of Robert of Jumièges' attack on the earl included his accusation that Godwin was responsible for the death of Alfred. This accusation is repeated in Aelred and Matthew Paris, though by Edward rather than Robert, and its outcome is far less favourable for the earl. Aelred introduced the subject in a chapter which detailed the earl's death. During an Easter dinner, the earl was sitting next to the king. A

⁷³ 'Erat inter potentes Angliæ omnium potentissimus comes Godwinus, vir magnarum opum sed astutiæ singularis, regum regni que proditor, qui doctus fallere et quælibet dissimulare consuetus, facile populum ad cuiuslibet factionis inclinabat assensum' (Aelred, col. 747.).

⁷⁴ 'De cuntredisantz i out meint,/ Ke Godwin fu traitre ateint' (Matthew Paris, ll. 1197-8.).

⁷⁵ 'Godwin, k[i] out mis entente/ Cunque tressor e rente,/ Mut fu garniz e estorez/ D'or e d'argent dunt out asez,/ Ke par plaiz e par achatz/ De grant aver out fait purchaz./ Mut out cunquis par boesdie/ Plus ke par chivalerie' (Matthew Paris, ll. 1133-40.).

⁷⁶ *The Life of King Edward*, pp. 18, 22; Osbert, pp. 72, 73-4; Aelred, col. 743, 745; Matthew Paris, ll. 693, 875, 1385-6. Matthew Paris expanded the historical narrative in his work more than any of the others, including a long description of the misery of the English under Danish rule and the violence of Harald Harefoot's reign which was featured in earlier Lives, thereby making Edward's reign, free of conflict, look even more peaceful by comparison. R. Reader has emphasised the uniqueness of Matthew Paris' view of the Conquest in his version of the *vita* 'Matthew Paris and the Norman Conquest,' in J. Blair and B. Golding (eds.), *The Cloister and the World: Essays in Medieval History in Honour of Barbara Harvey* (Oxford, 1996).

servant bearing a wine jug tripped over a step in view of the diners and stopped himself from tumbling by righting himself with his other foot. Godwin made a witty analogy comparing the feet to brothers and said that one brother helped another, whereupon Edward lamented the death of his brother and then blamed the earl for the tragedy. Godwin denied responsibility for the death, then called upon the judgment of God, saying that if he was allowed to swallow the morsel he was about to eat, then he was innocent. The earl did not survive the test and his body was dragged out of the hall.⁷⁷ Matthew Paris embroidered the situation more fully than Aelred, as he added a scene in the beginning before Edward's reign, relating the story of Godwin's responsibility for Alfred's death.⁷⁸ Godwin's treason and consequent dishonourable death in Aelred and Matthew Paris' Lives is directly opposite to the account of his death by the first hagiographer. According to the first Life, there was much grief at the time of his passing and people bewailed the loss of their protector and father.⁷⁹ Over the course of time, Godwin's reputation in the Lives changed completely from being a rival to Edward in terms of virtue to being a treacherous murderer.⁸⁰

Godwin's sons did not fare much better than their father. Harold and Tostig become prominent in the first *vita* after the death of their father. Harold is described as a friend to the people who had inherited his father's virtues, and was like a lion when distributing justice.⁸¹ Tostig himself was possessed with courage and wisdom, although he was

⁷⁷ For Godwin's death, see Aelred, col. 766-7; Matthew Paris, ll. 3251-340. In both versions, Edward demands that the body of the 'stinking dog' is taken out of the hall. An earlier version may be found in William of Malmesbury, for although he did not include the analogy, he did say that Godwin died choking on food in an attempt to prove his innocence (*GR*, p. 354.).

⁷⁸ Matthew Paris, ll. 414-43.

⁷⁹ '...obiit idem dux felicis memorie, exequisque suis in luctum decidit populus, hunc patrem, hunc nutricium suum regnique memorabant suspiriis et assiduis fletibus. Tumulatur ergo condigno honore in monasterio quod nuncupant ueteri Wintonie...' (*The Life of King Edward*, p. 46.).

⁸⁰ For the change in Godwin's character in the chronicles, see Ch. 5, pp. 180-81.

⁸¹ 'Virtute enim corporis et animi in populo prestat ut alter Iudas Machabeus, amicusque gentis sue et patrie uices celebrat patris intentius, et eiusdem gressibus incedit, patientia scilicet et misericordia, et affabilitate cum beniuolentibus. Porro inquietatis furibus siue predonibus leonino terrore et uultu minabatur gladiator iustus' (*The Life of King Edward*, p. 48).

a little harsh in combating evil.⁸² Both Harold and Tostig made a pilgrimage to Rome, visiting the Roman curia to transact business for England.⁸³ Unfortunately for the anonymous writer, he could not overlook the quarrel between the two brothers which resulted in Tostig's exile. The author said the fight was responsible for causing the brain fever which killed Edward.⁸⁴ The conflict and subsequent battle upset the author's intended narrative outline of the first Life, causing him to lament the loss of a subject pleasing to the queen. The solution comes in the form of Edith's husband, Edward.⁸⁵

This response was not taken up by the other hagiographers. Osbert of Clare never mentioned any of Edith's brothers, avoiding the difficult situation altogether. Aelred and Matthew Paris adopted the same condemnatory position towards the Godwin brothers that they had taken towards their father. Common to both *vitae* was Edward's prediction that the brothers would eventually be the cause of their own destruction.⁸⁶ Harold comes under even greater scrutiny, for while Tostig is disdained by Matthew Paris for turning against England, Harold presumed to take over the kingdom, thereby violating his oath to hold England for Duke William.⁸⁷ It seems as though Harold might make good after seizing the throne after Edward's death; on the night before a battle while lying ill, he prays to Edward for assistance, saying he will

⁸² '...Tostinus, uir scilicet fortis, et magna peditus animi sagacitate et sollertia...sed acrior paulisper in persequenda malitia...' (*The Life of King Edward*, p. 48.).

⁸³ *The Life of King Edward*, p. 52.

⁸⁴ '...cum mox intra ipsos natalicios dies idem deo carus rex Ædwardus ex contracta animi egritudine languescens obiit quidem mundo...' (*The Life of King Edward*, p. 82).

⁸⁵ 'Et cui nunc scribam? Regine quippe sorori/ non placet hec talis pagina plena necis./ Eheu quid dicam cunctis desertus amicis,/ ut uacuo solus domate pellicanus?/ Proscribam tabulas et te quecumque magistra/ a puero nobis sumpsimus auxilio... Si non describes hostilia bella Griphini,/ uel Husam uetitum corporibus fluere,/ scribes Ædwardum forma meriti[sque] decorum,/ que uiuens gessit, que moriens retulit' (*The Life of King Edward*, p. 88).

⁸⁶ Aelred, cols. 765-6; Matthew Paris, ll. 3133-3252.

⁸⁷ It has been suggested that Harold fell the furthest because Matthew Paris observed that Harold had a potential to be chivalrous (Hahn, 'Proper Behavior for Knights and Kings,' p. 247.). Part of this violation of the chivalric code included Harold's breaking of the oath he made to Edward to preserve England for Duke William (Matthew Paris, ll. 3895-912.).

amend his sins if he wins against the invading Norwegians.⁸⁸ Edward then appears in a vision to the Abbot of Ramsey and instructs him to tell Harold to go into battle, adding a warning that if Harold reneges on his promise he will suffer.⁸⁹ Harold, emboldened by the vision, wins the Battle at Stamford Bridge. However, he does not follow his promise and conducts himself in a shameful manner afterwards, among other things seizing lands, despoiling churches and raping women.⁹⁰ Edward appears to him on many occasions, warning him to amend his ways, but to no avail.⁹¹ Matthew Paris concluded this passage with a reflection that Harold's pride and arrogance did much damage to chivalry.⁹²

The inevitable outcome of this behaviour was the Battle of Hastings, in which the evil Harold lost his kingdom.⁹³ It was not universally believed that the Godwins were an infamous clan. Around 1177, a chronicle was written at Waltham Abbey by one of its members who had lived there since 1124. This chronicle later served as a source of a Life written about Harold c. 1216. The *Waltham Chronicle* gives an alternative explanation for Harold's defeat at Hastings: his loss was not a result of breaking his oath to Edward, but simply due to the fact that his army was smaller than William's.⁹⁴ In fact, Harold is presented as a good king, who was chosen by the English,⁹⁵ and was a friend of both the

⁸⁸ 'Lores promet amendement/ De ses trespas plenerement./ Atant la parut seint Aedward,/ K'a sun desir avoit regard,/ Ki ja au bosoin ne faut/ E tut gariz rent roi Haraud./ Ore n'a mais penser n'angoisse/ Mais ces Noreis veintre pusse' (Matthew Paris, ll. 4177-84.).

⁸⁹ 'E ke ne seit si os k'il s'entremette/ D'enfreindre chose k'il promette' (Matthew Paris, ll. 4199-200.).

⁹⁰ Matthew Paris, ll. 4451-60.

⁹¹ Matthew Paris, ll. 4445-510.

⁹² 'K'orgoil e surquiderie/ Soillent mut chivalerie' (Matthew Paris, ll. 4509-10.).

⁹³ Matthew Paris made it clear that the Battle of Hastings was an act of vengeance against Harold: 'A ma matire pas n'apent/ De vus dire mais brefment/ Du grant cunquest d'Engleterre-/ Si pur esclarcir nun e fere/ Entendre cum la vengeance/ Seint Aedward avoit grant poissance,/ Ki tant pria Haraud li rei/ Ke il tenist ses diz e fei./ Mais il lessa a nunchaler./ Pur ço li vint grant encumbrier' (Matthew Paris, ll. 4511-20.).

⁹⁴ 'Non potuit de pari contendere, qui modico stipatus agmine quadruplo congressus exercitui, sorti se dedit ancipiti' (*The Waltham Chronicle*, ed. L. Watkiss and M. Chibnall [Oxford, 1994], p. 48.).

⁹⁵ '...quem indigene pre ceteris postulabant et ardentier sitiabant post sanctum regem Edwardum, ipsius morum et uite heredem' (*Waltham Chronicle*, p. 26.).

Church and the army in addition to being a defender of the weak.⁹⁶ During Edward's reign, it was Harold's military efforts which were responsible for the peace which characterised it,⁹⁷ and Harold's piety is stressed by his donation to the Waltham foundation.⁹⁸ The donations explain why the house was so willing to defend Harold's reputation more than a century after his death. The *Vita Haroldi* exceeds the chronicle by declaring Harold's piety, citing the hermitic life he pursued after the battle of Hastings.⁹⁹ While Harold did not perform miracles, he wore his armour next to his skin which acted as a hairshirt,¹⁰⁰ and was found wearing a corselet, or hairshirt, when he died.¹⁰¹ Both the *Vita Haroldi* and the *Waltham Chronicle*'s attitudes towards Harold are very different from the ones adopted by Aelred and Matthew Paris. These two works demonstrate that there were those, at the same time as Aelred and Matthew Paris, who did not see Harold as a villain.

Tostig's reputation also did not escape unscathed. His downfall over the course of the Lives is connected to the diminished standing of

⁹⁶ 'Cadit rex ab hoste fero, gloria regni, decus cleri, fortitudo militie, inermium clipeus, certantium firmitas, tutamen debilium, consolatio desolatorum, indigentium reparator, procerum gemma' (*Waltham Chronicle*, p. 48.)

⁹⁷ 'In hiis quidem triumphis vivente adhuc sancto rege Edwardo: insignis enituit. Hiis regi et regno pacem et quietem quam fortiter tam et utiliter adquisivit' (*Vita Haroldi*, ed. W. de Gray Birch [London, 1885], p. 17.).

⁹⁸ For his donations, see *Waltham Chronicle*, pp. 24, 26, 30-2, 34-6, 44, 46.

⁹⁹ Both the *Waltham Chronicle* and Matthew Paris state that Harold died during the battle and was buried at Waltham Abbey (*Waltham Chronicle*, p. 54; Matthew Paris, ll. 4637-8.). According to the chronicle, Harold's body was moved twice after his first burial in the abbey. The author gives two possible explanations for the moves: building work in the church or an attempt to discourage a cult of Harold (*Waltham Chronicle*, p. 57.). The *Vita Haroldi* goes to great pains to expose what it considers to be the myth that Harold was buried at Waltham (pp. 80-2.).

¹⁰⁰ *Vita Haroldi*, p. 40.

¹⁰¹ *Vita Haroldi*, pp. 40, 95-7. Adding to Harold's quasi-holy reputation, after the Battle of Hastings he was saved by Christ: 'Prostrato igitur ac superato in primo congressu a Normannis exercitu Anglorum Rex Haroldus plagis confossus innumeris inter mortuos et ipse prosternitur. Nec poterant tamen quamlibet multa, quamlibet letalia vulnera vitam funditus viro adimere: quem pietas salvatoris ad vitam et victoriam feliciter disposuit reparare' (*Vita Haroldi*, p. 34.). After this incident, he ends his military career and changes his goal towards fighting God's battles (*Vita Haroldi*, pp. 38-9.).

foreigners in the texts. One group whose standing fell was the Danes.¹⁰² In the first Life, the Danes were counted among Edward's supporters.¹⁰³ In Osbert's Life the Danes' position reverses, and they are the only group which does not offer the new king friendship. This observation is immediately followed by Edward's vision of the King of Denmark drowning during an attempted invasion of England.¹⁰⁴ Aelred, and later Matthew Paris, were especially critical of foreigners, praising Edward for leaving the kingdom's business in the hands of native lords.¹⁰⁵ Tostig's reputation suffered from his association with foreigners. Sent into exile by Harold, Tostig appealed to Harald Hadrada, who Matthew Paris called a *felun*.¹⁰⁶ With Hadrada's help, Tostig launches his unsuccessful invasion on England. Tostig becomes the ultimate traitor, for he turns against both his country and his brother. Tostig's association with foreigners is something which is despised in Matthew Paris' *vita* and later hagiographers did not remain silent on the subject of the Godwin brother's fall from grace. Instead, Harold and Tostig become villains: Harold for seizing England and Tostig for invading his

¹⁰² The origins of the Godwin family are unclear and are not mentioned in the first Life (F. Stenton, *Anglo-Saxon England*, 3rd edn. [Oxford, 1971], p. 417.). Though Earl Godwin was English by birth, he was married to Cnut's sister-in-law and his rise was associated with a Danish king rather than an English one (Barlow, *Edward the Confessor*, p. 43.). Earl Godwin's association with foreign kings is apparent in Matthew Paris' description of Alfred's death. The account of the earl handing the aetheling over to Harald Harefoot immediately followed a passage stating that Alfred was the rightful heir by birth while others ruled the kingdom because of their superior strength (Matthew Paris, ll. 418-9). This episode exposes the Godwin's tendency to usurp the claims of rightful heirs, in this instance in favour of a foreigner. Later, Harold manifests this tendency when he claimed the throne, overlooking the right of Duke William, for whom he had sworn to keep the kingdom in Aelred, col. 777 and Matthew Paris, ll. 3895-912.

¹⁰³ 'Rex etiam Danorum, licet infinita interfluentis oceani longinquitate dirimatur, legatis tamen suis longo maris terrarumque circuitu defessis pacem et dilectionem eius precatur, patrem eum sibi eligit, seque ut filium illi in omnibus subicit, iussusque ab eodem Anglorum rege hanc sponsionem et sacramentis iurat, et obsidibus confirmat' (*The Life of King Edward*, p. 16.).

¹⁰⁴ 'Sola Dacia effera et superba adhuc spirabat iniquitatis rabiem et in Anglos exercere suum tempore oportuno prestolabatur furorem' (Osbert, p. 73.). Similar passages are to be found in Aelred, col. 746; Matthew Paris, ll. 880-3.

¹⁰⁵ Of all Edward's hagiographers, Matthew Paris unsurprisingly was the most biased against aliens. In Edward's deathbed scene in the earlier *vitae*, he requested those who came with him from Normandy be allowed to stay in England or return to Normandy according to their wish (*The Life of King Edward*, pp. 122-4; Osbert, p. 110; Aelred, col. 774.). Matthew Paris did not include this request. Instead, he included a line at the beginning of Edward's reign stating that he avoided foreigners because he could not trust them: 'Losenjurs e aliens/ De ki leauté n'ert pas certains/ Echivi curtoisement' (ll. 916-8.).

¹⁰⁶ Matthew Paris, l. 3210.

own country with foreign help.

The only member of the Godwin family whose shining reputation remained in the later *vitae* was Edward's wife, Edith. In the first Life, she was a central figure, essential to Edward's power in England at the beginning of the reign.¹⁰⁷ In the opening poem, the muse tells the poet to speak of Edith, to describe her virtues and ends by saying that Edward and Edith are one person living in two bodies.¹⁰⁸ Edith assisted Edward in ruling his country on many different levels. It was due to her efforts that the king was arrayed as befitted a monarch.¹⁰⁹ Aside from clothing him properly, Edith also acted as a counsellor, keeping her husband's best intentions at heart.¹¹⁰ Edith supported Edward's rule not only by the outer trappings of clothing, but also by being a royal counsellor. Her interests also extended to pious endowments, and she had a church built for the nunnery at Wilton, while Edward's Westminster Abbey was being constructed. On his deathbed, Edward compared Edith to a devoted daughter who always stood at his side.¹¹¹ The anonymous writer presented Edith as an essential element in Edward's reign. Pauline Stafford claims that Edith fulfilled another important function in the legend of Edward the Confessor: since Edith and Edward's marriage was childless, Edith's good character was an important factor in constructing Edward's claim to sanctity via his chastity.¹¹² Moreover, since Edith had commissioned the first Life, it

¹⁰⁷ K. Cutler has observed that marriage to one of the great English noble families was one way for Edward to establish himself on the throne ('Edith, Queen of the English, 1045-1066,' *Medieval Studies* 35 [1973], p. 225.). This important link was noted in the first *vita*: 'Nam ad dictum matrimonium contrahendum Edwardus eo cicius consensit quo se sciebat ipsius Godwini consilio et auxilio ius suum hereditarium in Anglia securius possidere' (p. 24.).

¹⁰⁸ 'Ipsius hinc lateri depinges imperiali/ que sociata uiget, hec tua spes et opes,/ altera pars hominis, species eadem probitatis,/ altius ingenium, conciliumque citum./ Conuenit nusquam terrarum par sibi quicquam:/ corpore nam gemino unus habentur homo' (*The Life of King Edward*, p. 6.).

¹⁰⁹ *The Life of King Edward*, p. 24.

¹¹⁰ 'Nec mirum, erat enim in omnibus regalibus consiliis, ut ita dicamus, moderatrix et quoddam principium totius honestatis, et quod regem deceret potissimum preferens []tibus et omnibus diuitiis' (*The Life of King Edward*, pp. 36-8.).

¹¹¹ 'Obsecuta est enim michi deuote, et lateri meo semper propius astitit in loco carissime filie...' (*The Life of King Edward*, p. 122.).

¹¹² Stafford, 'The Portrayal of Royal Women,' p. 165; P. Binski in 'Reflections on *La estoire de Seint Aedward le rei*,' p. 344.

would have been prudent for her to place herself in the best of possible lights.

Edith's preeminence declined in Edward's hagiographic tradition. Unlike the other members of the Godwin family, though, she could not be defamed in the same way because she was Edward's wife, and defaming her would therefore detract from Edward's sanctity. Kenneth Cutler notes this conundrum and adds that since the Normans traced their right to the throne through Edward, any shadows cast on his wife's character would be damaging to Edward's own and by extension the Norman kings.¹¹³ This problem was solved in two ways. The first solution lay in diminishing Edith's importance in the marriage. Osbert, as per usual, remained tacit about the circumstances surrounding the union, whereas the first writer had said it was crucial for Edward to be linked to the powerful Godwin family, as to strengthen his hold on the throne.¹¹⁴ Part of the downplaying of the marriage was to suggest that it was not Edward's choice. Aelred and Matthew Paris stated that while Edith was a virtuous young woman, Earl Godwin had twisted the situation to meet his needs. Both authors stated that Godwin pushed his daughter forward as a potential bride because he wanted to bind his family to Edward, particularly after the strain placed upon it by the earl's murder of the king's brother. The means by which the earl reached his goal differed in the Lives: in Aelred's *vita*, Edward's counsellors feared Godwin.¹¹⁵ Matthew Paris took the insinuations even further, saying that Godwin bribed Edward's counsellors.¹¹⁶ Neither of the two Lives concede that it was in Edward's best interest to marry Edith, as it had been said in the first *vita*. Instead, virtuous as she was, Edith was forced upon the king by Godwin's efforts.

¹¹³ Cutler, 'Edith, Queen of England,' p. 226.

¹¹⁴ Osbert's description of the marriage is on pp. 74-5.

¹¹⁵ 'Sed et illi qui Domino suo arctiori inhærebant affectu, prodicionem comitis quam sæpe fuerant experti plurimum formidantes, hoc ipsum pernecessarium...' (Aelred, col. 748.).

¹¹⁶ 'Par losenger e par promette,/ Par duns, par despendre e mettre,/ Fist tant vers cunseillur lu roi/ De sun desir k'aveit l'ottrei' (Matthew Paris, ll. 1189-92.).

The second solution for downplaying Edith's role in the *vitae* was to limit references to her. In the first Life, she appears constantly by Edward's side in roles relating both to wife and counsellor. The latter three Lives only refer to the queen in scenes relating to her marriage and Edward's death. At the end of the sections describing their marriage, Osbert, Aelred and Matthew Paris all rebuffed any claims that the couple were childless for any other reason than chastity.¹¹⁷ Edith only reappears in Edward's deathbed scene. Once more, Edith's presence is used to reassert Edward's chaste life in the monarch's dying words, where he refers to Edith as his sister and daughter. This reference appears in the three later Lives, building upon the anonymous writer's reference to Edith acting as Edward's sister.¹¹⁸ In the three later Lives Edith was mentioned chiefly in conjunction with Edward's chastity, her reputation remained untarnished only in so far as it could help the hagiographers maintain Edward's sanctity. Any other references, such as those Edward's first hagiographer made to Edith's prominence in her husband's reign, were omitted. Edith's diminished role in the later Lives could perhaps also be explained by the limited roles of women in literature from the twelfth century.¹¹⁹ But a more likely explanation is that, whereas Edith commissioned the first Life and therefore can be expected to have a large role in it, the later Lives were not written under the same conditions, and this resulted in a diminished part for the queen.

The transformation of the minor characters within the *vitae* also echo the trends which appear in the transformation of characters as a

¹¹⁷ Osbert, p. 75; Aelred, col. 748; Matthew Paris, ll. 1261-78.

¹¹⁸ "Noli flere," inquit "filia, noli lugere, soror et amica" (Osbert, pp. 110-1.). Aelred placed his reference in a narrative sections rather than in Edward's mouth: 'Reginam deinde fratri proceribusque commendans, ejus plurimum laudabat obsequium, et pudicitiam prædicabat, quæ se quidem uxorem gerebat in publico, sed sororem vel filiam in occulto' (Aelred, col. 774.). Matthew Paris once more placed the reference in the king's speech when he speaks of the queen: 'Ki m'a esté suer e amie,/ Portez li leau cumpainie./ Fille m'ad esté e espuse' (Matthew Paris, ll. 3881-3.). Matthew Paris was the only one to reinforce this imagery by reiterating the daughter reference in the description of the marriage: 'Ensemble sunt a la manere/ Cum chere sur of sun chere frere' (ll. 1251-2.).

¹¹⁹ Stafford, 'The Portrayal of Royal Women,' p. 156.

result of the interaction of both political and literary forces. One such character is Archbishop Stigand. In the first Life, there are a couple of references to the archbishop. The first is unremarkable, containing no comments on Stigand's character.¹²⁰ However, in the second scene in which he appears the seeds for his later presentation are sown. At Edward's deathbed, he scoffs at the king's vision of the Green Tree. The author notes that instead of being afraid of the vision and offering advice, Stigand discredited the vision, saying that the king's mind had gone.¹²¹ This is followed by a twofold statement: the queen understood the import of what Edward had seen and Christianity was dishonoured by the presence of men such as Stigand in the clergy.¹²² Thus Stigand's remark serves two purposes in the first *vita*: to highlight the queen's piety and to expose his unworthiness to hold a clerical office.¹²³ Though the later three Lives all include Stigand's doubting Edward's sanity at this point, none of them singled out Edith's belief in the prophecy; at best, Aelred noted that, though Stigand did not believe the vision, others who heard it were frightened by its implications.¹²⁴ The later Lives were buoyed by the Norman assertion that Stigand had consecrated Harold, even though the archbishop had not received the pallium and usurped the see.¹²⁵ However, this point was not taken up by Edward's hagiographers, who did not refer to Stigand as the prelate who consecrated Harold.¹²⁶ Despite the omission of this piece of Norman

¹²⁰ *The Life of King Edward*, p. 34.

¹²¹ 'Cunctisque stupentibus et terrore agente tacentibus, ipse archiepiscopus qui debuerat uel primus pauere, uel uerbum consilii dare, infatuato corde submurmurat in aurem ducis senio confectum et morbo, quid diceret nescire' (*The Life of King Edward*, p. 118.).

¹²² 'At ipsa regina et quorum mens deum consueuerat nosse et timere, quique pro se altius audita pensare, et longe aliter ut par erat sentire. Cognoscebant enim per sacri ordinis personas Christiani cultus religionem maxime uiolatam...' (*The Life of King Edward*, pp. 118-20.).

¹²³ Further along in this episode, it claims that Edward and Edith often wrote to the pope to complain about such clerics (*The Life of King Edward*, p. 120.).

¹²⁴ Aelred, col. 773; Matthew Paris, ll. 3783-6.

¹²⁵ The story of Harold's consecration by Stigand was an invention of William of Poitiers: 'Ordinatus est non sancta consecratione Stigandi, iusto zelo apostolici et anathemate ministerio sacerdotum priuati' (*Gesta Guillelmi*, p. 100.). Garnett bases part of his argument for the Norman's insistence for the right to the throne on this point ('Coronation and Propaganda,' pp. 107-11.).

¹²⁶ The only one who spoke of Harold's coronation was Matthew Paris, who did not refer to Stigand even though the archbishop was present in other parts of the text.

propaganda, it was still politically astute to denigrate the Anglo-Saxon archbishop. In Osbert's *Life*, which does not include a reference to William the Conqueror's right to England, Stigand is described as a dishonourable man with a reputation for seizing estates.¹²⁷ Aelred compounded this description by accusing him of usurping the see of Canterbury.¹²⁸ Matthew Paris likewise called him a simoniacal traitor.¹²⁹ These political jabs were supported by his reaction to Edward's vision of the Green Tree. Throughout the course of the four *Lives*, the defamation of Stigand's character changes tack. Whereas in the first *vita* he represents the unworthiness of the entire English clergy, the later *vitae* become more personal in their attacks, questioning the means by which the archbishop claimed his office.

One person whose estimation does increase in the *Lives* is that of Leofric, earl of Mercia. He is only briefly mentioned in the first *vita* as one of those who was responsible for judging the case which resulted in Godwin's exile. In this passage he is described as an excellent person who was devoted to God.¹³⁰ This compliment is interesting to find in a work commissioned by a Godwin, as there was no love lost between the two earls. Leofric's presence in the later *Lives* is expanded to include a scene which first appears in Osbert's version, where he shares with Edward a vision of Christ appearing while they are receiving the eucharist.¹³¹ Though Edward asked him not to tell anyone of the event,

¹²⁷ 'Stigandus presertim quem potius inmeritum quam emeritum Cantuariensis pallii fibula decorabat et plurima sibi monasteria impudenter usurpauerat' (Osbert, p. 108.). Matthew Paris was the only author to state that Harold acknowledged Edward's right to bequeath England to William and promise not to take the kingdom (ll. 3895-912.).

¹²⁸ '...Stigandus etiam qui ascendit cubile patris sui, et maculavit stratum ejus, vivente adhuc archiepiscopo Roberto cathedram Cantuariensem invadens; ob quod a summo pontifice suspensus paulo post crepuit et effusa sunt omnia viscera ejus' (Aelred, col. 773.).

¹²⁹ '...simoniaus culvertz' (Matthew Paris, l. 3706.).

¹³⁰ '...Leofricus quoque dux, uir scilicet eximius, ut plurimum deo deuotus...' (*The Life of King Edward*, p. 34.).

¹³¹ This scene is described in Osbert, pp. 91-2; Aelred, cols. 760-61; Matthew Paris, ll. 2514-97. All of these versions say that the vision occurred by the altar dedicated to the Holy Trinity in Westminster Abbey whereas the Worcester fragment places the event at St. Clement's Church, Sandwich. The fragment has been published in A. S. Napier 'An Old English Vision of Leofric, Earl of Mercia,' *Philological Society Transactions* (1908), pp. 185-7.

the earl went to a monk at Worcester who recorded the vision.¹³² The inclusion of Leofric in this vision, and the reference to his holiness in the first *vita*, are indicative of Leofric's reputation. The origins of this vision are not from the *vitae* of Edward the Confessor, but from a manuscript fragment dated to the late eleventh century and coming from Worcester.¹³³ The story of this vision lived on in Edward's hagiography. Peter Jackson has traced the Worcester manuscript to Westminster, based on a letter in the manuscript following the vision from Herbert, abbot of Westminster from 1121 to the later 1130's to Warin, prior of Worcester c. 1130 to 1140. The letter concerned a monk called Benedict who had visited Westminster Abbey and was returning to Malvern, a cell of Worcester, providing an opportunity for the legend to be spread. Jackson postulates that the legend of the vision, if not the manuscript itself, was transmitted to Westminster and notes that the dates of the two abbots overlap at the time when Osbert was preparing his *vita* of Edward.¹³⁴ The inclusion of the vision raises the standing of Leofric in Edward's hagiographic tradition. Though no cult of Leofric ever developed, he was privileged to see the same vision which blessed Edward, which bears witness to the estimation he was given in the *vitae*.

The one person whose character does not undergo a wild transformation is Edward the Confessor. He is always presented as just, peaceable and honourable. This comes across in his willingness to listen to his counsellors and by certain signs that he is favoured by God. The picture was established in two ways, including instances where Edward

¹³² This command is compared by Matthew Paris to Christ's request in Mark 9:2-9 that no one tell what they had seen on Mount Tabor: 'Ne seit seüz en ma vie,/ Ke ne pere ipocrisie./ Ben puis cest ensample traire,/ Ke nostre Sire ruva taire/ As tres ke vindrent eu munt/ Tabor of li e la veu unt-/ Peres e si dui cumpainnun-/ La Transfiguraciun' (Matthew Paris, ll. 2566-73.).

¹³³ A full discussion of the manuscript and its provenance was presented by Peter Jackson at the International Medieval Congress, Leeds in July 1996 in a paper entitled 'The Sources, Context and Afterlife of the Old English *Vision of Leofric*.' I should like to thank Peter Jackson for the copy of his work and our subsequent discussions on the topic.

¹³⁴ The fragment was originally dated in Napier 'An Old English Version of Leofric,' p. 180. The text of the vision is greatly abbreviated from the one which appears in Osbert, including only the vision of Christ during mass.

listened to his counsellors and those where he was directed by divine forces, some of which did develop over the course of the Lives instead of being completely matured in the first Life. One of the first decisions involved his marriage to Edith. The passage is written to imply that many people were involved in the decision that Edward should marry.¹³⁵ Unfortunately, the original passage concerning the decision is missing, as it appears in one of the many *lacunae* which mar the manuscript. The passage Barlow substituted is from Osbert of Clare. Even if the anonymous writer's passage claimed that Edward chose his own bride, it also shows that not long afterwards in the hagiographic tradition the decision was made by Edward's court. Later, Aelred and Matthew Paris emphasised the king's obedience to his earls by adding a scene where Edward prays to God that he be able to retain his chastity while married, thereby fulfilling his court's wishes and his own personal desires.¹³⁶ Even though Edward's unwillingness to be married is displayed to the reader, he still followed the wishes of his entourage.

The plan for the reconstruction of Westminster Abbey is an example of Edward following both earthly and divine advice. The explanation offered by Osbert, Aelred and Matthew Paris is that Edward had made a vow to St. Peter while still in exile that, if he ever became king of England, he would make a pilgrimage to Rome. Hearing the news, the court forbids him to go and sends an envoy to Rome asking the pope for a dispensation. The pope releases the king from his vow, providing that he either build or rebuild a church in honour of St. Peter. While this answer is in transit, a hermit called Wulsy receives a vision from St. Peter telling him to inform Edward of the same conditions.¹³⁷ In

¹³⁵ '...de secunda que lateri regis adhereat persona decernitur, ut sponsa tanto digna sponso inter filias principum requiratur' (*The Life of King Edward*, p. 22.).

¹³⁶ Aelred, col. 747; Matthew Paris, ll. 804-15.

¹³⁷ In this way, Wulsy was fulfilling the traditional role of the hermit acting as an arbitrator, as was discussed by H. Mayr-Harting in 'Functions of a Twelfth-Century Recluse,' *History* 60 (1975), p. 341. P. Brown made a similar observation about late antique holy men a decade earlier. The vision first appeared in the surviving records in Osbert's Life and has been discussed by Peter Jackson in a paper given at the Medieval Church History Seminar in Oxford on 5 February, 1998 entitled 'Wulsy of Evesham: The Invention of an Eleventh-Century Hermit.'

this way, Edward is advised by the temporal and spiritual world and bows to the demands of both.¹³⁸ This account of the event makes it clear that not only is he released from his vow by the pope, but, more importantly, by the saint to whom the vow was originally made. The restoration of Westminster Abbey was not presented in the first Life in this manner. According to the *vita*, Edward chose the Westminster site for two reasons: he wanted to remedy the foundation's poverty and at the same time express his devotion to St. Peter.¹³⁹ The result of the change is to show that Edward deferred to his advisors, providing that these changes had received divine approval.¹⁴⁰

Edward's tendency to be led by the requests of others, thereby relieving him of decisions, compares favourably with his reign's renown for its peace. Once again, he is not presented as the one who was directly responsible for matters, charging out into battle to ward off invaders. This theme begins at the start of the hagiographic tradition, where he is compared to Solomon after receiving tribute from various foreign rulers.¹⁴¹ Osbert of Clare emphasised the peace of Edward's reign, saying that the kingdom slept while at peace.¹⁴² Similar themes continue throughout the other Lives, implying that peace was visited upon England simply because of Edward's presence. In Matthew Paris' account, Edward's peaceful reign is bracketed by periods marked by conflict and invasion; the Danish and Norman invasions and conquests. In all, very little seems to have been done by Edward himself to assure this peace. All of the Lives imply that the peace visited upon England

¹³⁸ This episode appears in Osbert, pp. 77-82; Aelred, cols. 749-754; Matthew Paris, ll. 1398-876.

¹³⁹ 'Extra muros urbis Lundonie supra predictum amnem Temesin erat monasterium in honore beati Petri, paruo quidem opere et numero, paucioribus ibi congregatis monachis sub abbate in seruitio Christi; res quoque eorum usibus a fidelibus date tenues et ipse erant in amministrazione uictus cotidiani. Intendit ergo deo deuotus rex locum illum...potissimum autem ob amorem principalis apostoli, quem affectu colebat unico et speciali, eligit ibi habere sibi locum sepulchri' (*The Life of King Edward*, pp. 66-8.).

¹⁴⁰ C. Hahn in an article about Matthew Paris' *vita* attributes this to Edward's display of chivalric courtesy ('Proper Behavior for Knights and Kings,' p. 247.). The influence of chivalric texts on the Matthew Paris text will be discussed below.

¹⁴¹ *The Life of King Edward*, p. 18.

¹⁴² 'Uniuerso itaque regni imperio in pace consopito' (Osbert, p. 74.).

was a result of being favoured by God and that he would listen to the counsel of others before his own.

The characters in the various Lives of Edward the Confessor all undergo a profound transformation. Ironically, the only person who does not undergo a profound change is the saint himself.¹⁴³ The stagnation of Edward's character at such an early stage in his cult is unsurprising, and will be addressed below in the discussion of his virtues. The changes, for the most part, reflect changes in political attitudes in the period 1067 to the early 1240's. Anyone, with the exception of Leofric, who had pretensions to power in pre-Conquest England was decried as evil by the Norman regime in an attempt to justify the conquest. As time passed, and the Norman conquerors and their descendants became established on England's throne, there was a secondary shift to include foreigners amongst the condemned. However influenced by politics these Lives were, it is essential to remember that they were primarily written to prove Edward's sanctity. These works are an example of the way politics could be intertwined with religious intent. Therefore, those who are politically unfavoured are also those who exhibit the most unsaintly behaviour. These characters emphasise Edward's sanctity by showing how he did not act. The characters become increasingly polarised; whereas the anonymous author lamented Tostig and Harold's decline from goodness, Aelred and Matthew Paris consistently portrayed them as evil. These elements of the Lives become more evident after the first one, which was written before the Normans had placed their stranglehold on England and claimed Edward as their *antecessor*. Slowly the ideas of the new regime filtered through the later *vitae*, colouring the view of certain characters while providing opportunities to highlight Edward's saintliness.

¹⁴³ He was always described as an old man with a rosy complexion and white hair: *The Life of King Edward*, p. 18; Osbert, p. 74. The description prompted the nineteenth-century belief that Edward was an albino. This was denounced by K. Pearson, 'A Myth about Edward the Confessor,' *EHR* xxv (1910).

Virtues

The characters in the *vitae* were developed both to provide examples of proper and improper behaviour and to make different political statements which were applicable to the period in which the texts were written. Edward's virtues were the manner by which his sanctity was expressed. The chief virtues which were attributed to Edward in the hagiographic tradition concerned his generosity to the poor and his chastity. Chastity overtook the former in its importance, possibly because, as will be discussed below, it was an unusual virtue for a male royal saint to possess, especially because of its implications for England. Though Edward's charity often did not receive the same attention as his chastity, it provided the basis for legends about the saint which became popular tales in their own right.

The virtue which received the earliest attention from the hagiographers was Edward's virginity. The anonymous writer said that the king devoted his life to God and preserved his chastity.¹⁴⁴ Aelred stated that the king's body was found incorrupt after his death because of his virginity.¹⁴⁵ Building on this tradition, Matthew Paris said that because of his ability to conquer the fires of lust, Edward ought to be considered a martyr.¹⁴⁶ Edward's chastity was a well-established virtue, but what were its implications for England and how did it fit in with the Anglo-Saxon model of kings and the medieval perception of marriage? It is necessary to ask these questions because the rumour of Edward's

¹⁴⁴ 'Cuius consecrationis dignitatem sancta conseruans castimonia, omnem uitam agebat deo dicatam in uera innocentia' (*The Life of King Edward*, p. 92). Osbert also included a sentence similar to that found in the first Life: 'Dignitas uero tante consecrationis semper in dies capiebat augmentum, quam iugis castimonia comitabatur ad gloriam, ne per licitam quoque carnis copulam uerteret ad ruinam' (p. 93.).

¹⁴⁵ Aelred, cols. 781-3. Of the thirteen letters written to Alexander III in support of Edward's canonisation, the king's virginity and repression of desires of the flesh was referred to in eight of the letters, making it the virtue most referred to in these documents. See the letters of the Archbishop of York, the Bishops of Hereford, Chichester, Norwich and Ely, the priors of St. Neots and St. Andrew's, Rochester, and the Abbot of Malmesbury, in Barlow, *Edward the Confessor*, pp. 312-23. The other letters only refer generally to Edward's virtuous life with the exception of Henry of Blois' brief letter, which only registers the bishop's support for the petition.

¹⁴⁶ 'Par veintre charnel desir/ Bein deit estre calmez mart[i]r' (Matthew Paris, ll. 1255-6.). For the tendency to present confessors as martyrs, see Ch. 6, p. 226.

virginity, which includes debates on its veracity, is as old as the anonymous *Life*.¹⁴⁷ Therefore, the authors saw it as essential to the legend, but how would it have been perceived by those who were meant to venerate the virgin king?

In considering Edward the Confessor, there are two aspects of his character which need to be considered with respect to his virtue of chastity: the medieval concept of marriage and the saint's position as king. Philippe Delehaye has stated that by the mid-twelfth century, marriage was considered a sacrament.¹⁴⁸ While the list of sacraments was not formalised until the Councils of Florence in 1439, marriage had long been included in the list of rites over which the Church exerted control.¹⁴⁹ There were no doubts about the importance and holiness of marriage, though there was much debate about what elements comprised the institution. The main issue which sparked debate, and which was pertinent to the validity of a chaste marriage, was the need for a union to be consummated. The controversy extended back to the ancient Church, with writers such as Jerome and Augustine voicing their opinions on the matter. In Jerome's forty-eighth letter, he describes

¹⁴⁷ This topic has been treated by Barlow, *Edward the Confessor*, pp. 81-5; E. John 'Edward the Confessor and the Celibate Life,' *AB* 97 (1979). In contrast to the early emergence of the tradition of Edward and Edith's unconsummated marriage, it has been noted that the virginity of the sainted royal couple, the Emperor Henry II and his wife Cunegund, was a later development in their hagiographic tradition: J. T. Schulenburg, 'Saints and Sex, ca. 500-1100: Striding down the Nettled Path of Life,' in J. E. Salisbury (ed.), *Sex in the Middle Ages* (New York and London, 1991), pp. 220-21; J. LeClercq, *Monks on Marriage: A Twelfth-Century View* (New York, 1982), p. 44. D. Elliott has noted the tendency to attribute virginity to monarchs who did not produce heirs: *Spiritual Marriage: Sexual Abstinence in Medieval Wedlock* (Princeton, 1993), p. 116.

¹⁴⁸ This acceptance of marriage as a sacrament was seen as a direct consequence of the Church's increasing control over the rite which began in the eleventh century (P. Delehaye, 'The Development of the Medieval Church's Teaching on Marriage,' *Concilium* 6 [1970], pp. 83, 85.). However, the papacy's policy on what constituted a marriage, in particular the necessity of consummation, was debatable. The arguments have been the topic of several articles, most notably: J. A. Brundage, 'Sex and Canon Law,' in V. C. Bullough and J. A. Brundage (eds.), *Handbook of Medieval Sexuality* (New York and London, 1996); C. N. L. Brooke, *The Medieval Idea of Marriage* (Oxford, 1989), pp. 264-70; P. S. Gold, 'The Marriage of Mary and Joseph in the Twelfth-Century Ideology of Marriage,' in V. C. Bullough and J. Brundage (eds.), *Sexual Practices & the Medieval Church* (Amherst, NY, 1982); C. Donahue, 'The Policy of Alexander III's Consent Theory of Marriage,' in S. Kuttner (ed.), *Proceedings of the Fourth International Congress of Medieval Canon Law* (Vatican City, 1976).

¹⁴⁹ In the early twelfth century, Hugh of St. Victor proposed over thirty sacraments in his *De Sacramentis Christiane Fidei*. Later, Peter Lombard pruned this list to the seven traditional ones in the fourth book of the *Sentences*.

marriage and virginity as gifts from God, but then goes on to differentiate between the two, emphasising the superiority of virginity.¹⁵⁰ Jerome cited 1 Corinthians, saying that marriage was equal to not doing evil; it was better to marry than burn, but retaining one's chastity was actively doing good.¹⁵¹ Augustine of Hippo was likewise lukewarm about the importance of marriage, stating that it was inferior to remaining a virgin, and that the only point of intercourse was to beget children.¹⁵² The ancient writers saw the issue as black or white: to be a good Christian, one could either have sex only within the confines of marriage or, better still, be forever chaste.

Over time, the question became more confused as the exact nature of marriage was debated.¹⁵³ The ancient authorities did not include the possibility of remaining chaste within the confines of marriage. According to Georges Duby's study of courtly behaviour, the ideal couple remained chaste.¹⁵⁴ This notion stemmed back to the ideal of marriage presented in the New Testament, the chaste union of Mary and Joseph. The dilemma which faced those who insisted that a marriage had to be consummated was that by saying this, they implied that the union of

¹⁵⁰ 'Aurum virginitatem, argentum diximus matrimonium' (Jerome, 'Letter 48,' in *PL*, xxii, col. 495.). There was a subsequent debate on whether or not virginity could be restored by God, showing the early Church's concern with the chaste state. For a full discussion of the arguments and their implications, see I. M. Resnick, 'Peter Damian on the Restoration of Virginity: A Problem for Medieval Theology,' *Journal of Theological Studies*, xxxix (1988).

¹⁵¹ 'Letter 48,' cols. 506-7.

¹⁵² Augustine, 'De bono coniugali,' in J. Zycha (ed.), *Corpus Scriptorum Ecclesiasticorum Latinorum* (Vienna, 1900), xli, pp. 188-90.

¹⁵³ In examining twelfth-century English miracle literature, C. L. Symes has observed that whereas female saints resisted marriage, male saints tended to resist all sexual temptation, not even conjugal relations were approved of ('Aspects of Marriage and Sexuality in the Miracle Literature of Twelfth-Century England,' [Oxford Univ. D.Phil. thesis, 1990], p. 91.). One reappearing theme is that of an Anglo-Saxon nun running away from marriage, a phenomenon which has been studied by S. Millinger, 'Anglo-Saxon Nuns in Anglo-Norman Hagiography: Humility and Power,' in J. A. Nichols and L. T. Shank (ed.), *Medieval Religious Women* (Kalamazoo, 1984). This had evolved from the early Church's perception of marriage, in which saints were either virgin martyrs or married women: M. Glasser, 'Marriage in Medieval Hagiography,' *Studies in Medieval and Renaissance History* 4 (1981). A variation on this theme, that of a man running away from marriage, is the story of St. Alexis, whom Osbert of Clare compared with Edward (Osbert, p. 75.). Alexis' virginity is the subject of an article by B. DeGaiffer, 'Intactam sponsam relinquens, A propos de la Vie de S. Alexis,' *AB* 65 (1947).

¹⁵⁴ G. Duby, *The Knight, the Lady, and the Priest: The Making of Modern Marriage in Medieval France*, trans. B. Bray (London, 1983), p. 29.

Christ's mother and step-father was imperfect.¹⁵⁵ At the same time, there were debates about how a marriage could be dissolved, and one of the most obvious means of doing so, outside of the lines on consanguinity, was impotence. The loss of the wife's virginity was an easy, practical way to pronounce a valid marriage. Unfortunately, the association of virginity with the Holy Family was not an easy one to break. The arguments of these debates fell into two camps: those who thought consummation was required and those who did not.¹⁵⁶ Even one of Edward's hagiographers, Aelred of Rievaulx, contributed to the debate by stating a preference for friendship over intercourse in a marriage, stating that the latter drew one's attention away from God.¹⁵⁷ The argument was never satisfactorily resolved, leaving open the question in medieval society of whether or not an unconsummated marriage could be seen as fulfilling the sacrament in the eyes of the Church.

The concept of chastity was more firmly connected, though not without a separate debate of its own, to the clergy, and to monks in particular. Matthew Paris compared Edward's marriage to life in a monastic order.¹⁵⁸ It is at this point that the second facet of Edward's character, his position of king, comes into focus. In Anglo-Saxon England, there was a limited tradition for kings to retire from their kingdom and become monks.¹⁵⁹ Sometimes this was enacted by

¹⁵⁵ This problem has been discussed by Brooke, *The Medieval Idea of Marriage*, p. 131; P. Delehayé 'The Development of the Medieval Church's Teaching on Marriage,' p. 86. However, it is hard to believe that the canonists did not consider the Holy Family an exception or as a humanly unattainable goal. Indeed, Peter Damian believed that it was God's miracle that Mary remained a virgin, thereby placing Mary outside of the normal course of the world by making her the subject of divine grace (Resnick, 'Peter Damian on the Restoration of Virginity,' p. 61.).

¹⁵⁶ These arguments are the subject of two articles which outline the progression of the debate: J. A. Brundage in 'Impotence, Frigidity and Marital Nullity in the Decrees and Early Decretalists,' in P. Linehan (ed.), *Proceedings of the Seventh International Congress of Medieval Canon Law* (Vatican City, 1988); 'Marriage and Sex in the Decretals of Pope Alexander III' in F. Liotta (ed.), *Miscellanea Rolando Bandinelli, Papa Alessandro III* (Siena, 1986). Brundage concludes that even Alexander III's writings on the subject were unsatisfactory.

¹⁵⁷ K. M. TePas, 'Spiritual Friendship in Ælred of Rievaulx and Mutual Sanctification in Marriage,' *Cistercian Studies Quarterly* 27 (1992), p. 73.

¹⁵⁸ 'E vivent en mariage/ Cum en ordre de moniage' (Matthew Paris, ll. 1249-50.).

¹⁵⁹ The monastic aspect to Edward's character as shown in hagiography was studied by J. T. Rosenthal, 'Edward the Confessor and Robert the Pious: 11th Century Kingship and Biography,' *Medieval Studies* 33 (1971), pp. 8-19.

retirement into a cell in England, other times by a pilgrimage to Rome.¹⁶⁰ It would seem though, with his vow of chastity, that Edward could easily slot into this group of kings and be seen as their spiritual heir with the monastic preservation of his virginity.¹⁶¹ However, such a direct correlation was not without its difficulties, as problems beset those who chose this route, because it was questionable whether or not it was proper that a divinely appointed ruler had the right to abandon the appointment. The dilemma was solved by Gregory the Great, who said that inner renunciation of the world was to be the goal, and that those who could not abandon the world because of their position, could still try to remove themselves from the attainment of worldly power and possessions.¹⁶² This solution was adopted by Edward's hagiographers in two ways. First, his friendships with monastic figures was commented on both alone and in conjunction with the vision he had on his deathbed.¹⁶³ More important though was the increasing view that Edward left the day to day running of his kingdom to his court so that he was able to devote himself to God.¹⁶⁴ In this respect Edward was fulfilling Gregory the Great's advice to remain in office though at the

¹⁶⁰ The concept of the monk-king has been examined by S. Ridyard 'Monk-Kings and the Anglo-Saxon Hagiographic Tradition,' *Haskins Society Journal* 6 (1994), pp. 21-7; C. Stancliffe, 'Kings who Opted out,' in P. Wormald, D. Bullough and R. Collins (eds.), *Ideal and Reality in Frankish and Anglo-Saxon Society: Studies Presented to J. M. Wallace-Hadrill* (Oxford, 1985), pp. 158-60.

¹⁶¹ The actual taking of the vow was not described in the *vitae* until Aelred wrote (cols. 747-8.). The first two Lives refer to Edward's chastity as a foregone conclusion.

¹⁶² Gregory the Great, 'Homilia XXXVI,' in *PL*, lxxvi, cols. 1272-4.

¹⁶³ References to Edward's friendships with monks occur in *The Life of King Edward*, p. 116; Osbert, p. 107; Aelred, cols. 742, 772. While these references mostly centre on Edward's time in exile, Matthew Paris amplified this statement, saying that the king counted hermits, priests and canons in addition to monks as his friends: 'Mut li sunt bon ami moine,/ Hermite, prestre e chanoinne./ Ki plus fu seinz, meuz fu de lui./ Ses plus ch[e]rs amis furent dui.../ Moines de grant religiun' (ll. 966-70.).

¹⁶⁴ This perception developed gradually. The anonymous writer said that the king submitted ecclesiastical matters to the Church and secular cases to his justiciars and lawyers, assisting them in the development of laws (*The Life of King Edward*, pp. 18-20.). While Osbert was quiet on the topic of Edward's style of ruling, Aelred stated that the king was removed from his powers, giving them to his court so that he could concentrate on God with the result that he was able to see divine things: '...cuncta regni negotia ducibus proceribusque committens, totum se divinis mancipabat obsequiis... Unde crebro coelestium secretorum revelatione et spiritualium visionum suavitate meruit refoveri, sicut sequentia declarabunt' (Aelred, col. 760.). This statement is directly followed by the account of Edward's vision of Christ during the eucharist. Matthew Paris shared this perception of Edward, commenting that the king left his business to others so that he could devote himself to holy contemplation (ll. 2482-503.)

same time disregarding the powers that office carried. Edward the Confessor did not follow the Anglo-Saxon kings who left office to lead a monastic existence. However, looking closely at his conduct, it can be said that increasingly the *vitae* presented him as living as closely to a monastic rule as possible, and the major way in which he did this was retaining his virginity.¹⁶⁵

Though Edward did not leave the throne of England, his hagiographers portrayed him adopting some monastic habits both in his attitude towards government and his marriage. There was a tangible result of the mode of life which he adopted. In Augustine's tract on virginity, the bishop spoke in favour of maintaining it, saying that in it one was able to remain focused on heaven and not be concerned with worldly things.¹⁶⁶ John Bugge has noted that those who spend their lives in religious contemplation were often rewarded with visions, resulting in a perception of virgins as receptors of visions because they had a higher connection to God.¹⁶⁷ The thought is connected to Augustine's view; by remaining a virgin and thereby keeping one's mind detached from the material world, as Augustine put forth, it would follow that one would be open to the reception of visions. This view and mode of thought found its way into the Lives of Edward the Confessor. An outright example of the connection between a monastic life and the reception of visions is the three visions received by monks or hermits in the *vitae*. Edward was also able to receive visions, which Aelred attributed to Edward's virginity; since he was not concerned with

¹⁶⁵ Part of Edward's removal from the world was created by the hagiographers who neglected to refer to Edward's love of hunting, which was shown in the first Life (*The Life of King Edward*, p. 62.).

¹⁶⁶ Augustine, 'De sancta virginitate,' in *Corpus Scriptorum Ecclesiasticorum Latinorum*, ed. J. Zycha (Vienna, 1900), xli, pp. 246-7.

¹⁶⁷ J. Bugge, *Virginitas: An Essay in the History of a Medieval Idea* (The Hague, 1975), p. 47.

temporal matters, he was able to see otherworldly things.¹⁶⁸ The visions were signs that God favoured Edward and his virtuous life and also suggest a link with his monastic lifestyle.

Robert Bartlett has shown that of the twenty-one saints who were living and commemorated between 1075 and 1225, eighteen were either heads of religious foundations, hermits, or bishops.¹⁶⁹ Edward is alone in this group as a layman, though he is presented as though he adopted a monastic lifestyle. Moreover, the general pattern for Anglo-Saxon royal saints was for the women to be virgins and/or enter the cloister and for the men to be martyrs, once again casting Edward as an exception.¹⁷⁰ Edward's virginity would have raised some awkward questions about the nature of his marriage, particularly in a time when debates on the nature of the union were raging. Because Edward was married, there was a large school of thought which doubted the motivation behind the unconsummated marriage. Therefore, Edward's adherence to the holy state of matrimony was questionable. They confronted the question by saying that Edward was indeed a virgin and that it was because of this state that he received the visions which were a mark of his sanctity.¹⁷¹ The implication of this was that Edward was cleared from needing to have an heir because his was a divinely approved status. However, none of his hagiographers ever explicitly said that. While Edward's virginity was put forth as a virtue, the worth of such a virtue clashed with some of the medieval views of marriage.

¹⁶⁸ 'Præbet certe regiae castitati testimonium puritas mentis, quæ ab omni fæce vitii pulsantis eliquata, et longe posita quasi præsentia contemplari et futura potuit quasi præ oculis sita cognoscere, sicut sequens capitulum declarat' (Aelred, col. 748.). Matthew Paris' Life provides a good counter example, as Harold only received visions of Edward admonishing him for his oath breaking. When he encouraged Harold to fight the battle at Stamfordbridge, he appeared to a monk who then brought news of the vision to the king. Harold was only qualified to receive saintly rebukes, not prophetic visions.

¹⁶⁹ R. Bartlett, *England under the Norman and Angevin Kings: 1075-1225* (Oxford, 2000), pp. 461-3. The two exceptions to this pattern were the so-called martyrs, Robert of Bury and William of Norwich.

¹⁷⁰ Ridyard, *The Royal Saints of Anglo-Saxon England*, p. 235-6. Osbert of Clare was familiar with at least one of the female royal Anglo-Saxon saints because he wrote the a *vita* about Edburga, which Ridyard has edited for her aforementioned book. For the letter which was attached to the work, see Osbert, *Letters*, pp. 179-82.

¹⁷¹ Aelred was familiar with the writings of Jerome (Squire, *Aelred of Rievaulx*, p. 30.).

While Edward's virtue of virginity presented a confusing model for a lay audience, an attempt was made by his hagiographers to remedy this by including stories which illustrated his charity. Three stories illustrating Edward the Confessor's generosity developed during the period in which the *vitae* were written. All of them concern different aspects of this characteristic. The story which first appeared in Aelred's text involved a small boy who stole money from the treasury while Edward was asleep in the room. Upon waking, Edward told the boy to take all he could and hurry, because the chamberlain would soon return. In Aelred's text, Edward explained his actions to his chamberlain by saying that the boy had a greater need for the money.¹⁷² Matthew Paris modified the explanation slightly, and wrote that Edward said that worldly property ought to be distributed according to need.¹⁷³ This sentiment was earlier expressed by Aelred, though not in connection with this story.¹⁷⁴ Edward's disregard for worldly property continues the tradition, established by the first hagiographer, of Edward's disregard for displays of royal pomp.

Edward's generosity extended not only to the poor but to the rest of his kingdom. Aelred was the first hagiographer to note that after he used the money he intended to use on pilgrimage to Rome to renovate Westminster Abbey, he also abolished the Danegeld.¹⁷⁵ The second story, which only appeared in Matthew Paris, attributes Edward's decision to abolish the Danegeld to a vision he saw of a devil sitting on a pile of the money collected for the tax. Edward abolished the tax, earning him not only the love of rich and poor alike, but also approval from God.¹⁷⁶ The scene of the abolition of the Danegeld in Aelred and

¹⁷² Aelred, cols. 746-7.

¹⁷³ Matthew Paris, ll. 1041-3.

¹⁷⁴ 'Thesaurus ejus totius orbis res publica videbatur, pauperum commune ærarium, quoniam rex totum quod habebat non suum æstimans esse, sed omnium, si petebatur præbebat, si accipiebatur tacebat...' (Aelred, col. 745.).

¹⁷⁵ Aelred, col. 753.

¹⁷⁶ 'Mut curt sa fame, e sa honur/ Des riches, e povres amur./ Du pople avoit la benaiçun/ E de Deu haut guer[e] dun' (Matthew Paris, ll. 958-61.).

Matthew Paris' texts has been interpreted as a comment about taxation.¹⁷⁷ By concentrating on the evils of wealth and removing its influence from his court, Edward, as always, pleased both the terrestrial and heavenly worlds.

The fruits of Edward's generosity were displayed in the third story, a famous legend concerning a ruby ring and St. John. One day, while Edward was amongst the crowds, a beggar approached the king and asked him for alms. The king, having discovered that he had given away all of the money he had brought with him, instead gave the man the ring he was wearing on his finger, whereupon the man disappeared. Later, there were two English pilgrims in the Holy Land who were given lodging by an old man. The man, who revealed himself as St. John in disguise, gave the ring to the men, explaining how he had come to possess it and from whom. The saint then instructed them to tell Edward when they returned that he had six months to live.¹⁷⁸ This story became the most popular out of the entire Edward legend. Probably because of its popularity, the legend was appended to Osbert of Clare's work. Bloch did not believe that the prior wrote the story, primarily because it appeared only in the later abridged manuscript of the Osbert's Life, which he dated to the first half of the thirteenth century.¹⁷⁹ A slightly different version was incorporated into the *Waltham Chronicle*.¹⁸⁰ Aelred of Rievaulx is believed to be the first writer to record this story,¹⁸¹ although the variations in the *Waltham Chronicle* suggest that it might have been a popular oral tale.

The popularity of the ring story endured. Besides the literary references, Westminster Abbey also granted four indulgences for

¹⁷⁷ For Matthew Paris' negative views on taxation, see Vaughn, *Matthew Paris*, p. 139; *The Life of St. Edmund*, ed. C. H. Lawrence (Stroud, 1996), pp. 103-4.

¹⁷⁸ Aelred, cols. 769-70; Matthew Paris, ll. 3453-586.

¹⁷⁹ Osbert, p. 59.

¹⁸⁰ *Waltham Chronicle*, pp. 38-44.

¹⁸¹ H. J. Chaytor, 'King Edward's Ring,' in J. Rothschild and M. Williams (eds.), *A Miscellany of Studies in Romance Languages*, (Cambridge, 1932), p. 124.

visiting Edward's ring which were dated to 1287 or 1291.¹⁸²

Additionally, modern visitors are told that one of the crowns at the Tower of London contains a stone which is believed to be the one set in the ring.¹⁸³ Certainly, the story is an imaginative one and can easily be converted into a story which stands by itself. However, what image does it present of Edward? The story shows Edward's generosity at its height, in a theme which stretches back to the ancient world, and advises its audience to offer help to all those who ask for it because they might be a god/saint in disguise. Ironically, in the most famous story concerning his charity, the king only had a small role. What it does show is St. John's approval of the king and it also introduces St. John into the legend of St. Edward.¹⁸⁴ The image the story presents is of a very generous king.

Edward's virtue of charity was more readily seized upon by his later hagiographers. The comparison of the later *vitae* show that Aelred and Matthew Paris further developed the theme. Perhaps one of their reasons for doing so was that charity was an easier virtue to extol in front of a lay audience; it is to be noted that both these Lives were dedicated to laymen. The problematic nature of Edward's virginity in hagiographic and social contexts has been discussed, and it appears as though the hagiographers were unable or unwilling to explore the topic in detail. Instead of developing stories about Edward's virginity, they

¹⁸² WD, ff. 398-399, 399v. There was one indulgence which was issued solely for the ring, WD, f. 391. Three of the indulgences were dated to 1287 and the fourth to 1291.

¹⁸³ There is a temptation to associate the ring involved in this tale with the cramp rings given on Good Friday by monarchs beginning with Edward II, who also commissioned two statues representing Edward the Confessor with his ring and St. John for his coronation. The association between Edward's ring and the later cramp rings has been debunked in E. Waterton, 'On a Remarkable Incident in the Life of St. Edward the Confessor, with Notices of Certain Rings Hallowed on Good Friday by the Sovereigns of England,' *Archaeological Journal* 21 (1864), pp. 103, 107, who noted that contemporary references to the practice did not refer to Edward the Confessor. M. Bloch has added to this debate with the reminder that the ring in the legend did not possess any healing powers and has laid the blame of this attribution on Polydore Virgil (*The Royal Touch*, pp. 93-5.).

¹⁸⁴ Aelred added Edward's devotion to St. John, not only in the story of St. John and the ring (col. 769.), but also in the passage describing the king's entry into heaven, where he was met by both SS John and Peter (col. 775). Matthew Paris included Edward's devotion to St. John (ll. 3475-6, 3933-5.).

concentrated instead on inserting fantastic tales illustrating his charity. This tendency towards the fantastic is especially notable in Matthew Paris' work, which introduced a new story about Edward's charity. The fourth Life was aimed solely at a secular audience, telling more wondrous tales than its predecessors, often at the expense of relating evidence of Edward's sanctity, such as omitting some miracles. The development of the presentation of Edward's miracles shows that the telling of a good story was valued more at that point than extolling the saint's less colourful virtues.

Miracles

The perception of Edward the Confessor in the accounts presented in the *vitae* was replete with difficulty, leaving little for a lay audience to apply to their own lives. Already, it has been demonstrated that few people made gifts to Westminster Abbey as a result of devotion to Edward. Another means by which to determine the popularity of the cult is the miracles enacted through Edward's intercession. However, before embarking upon an examination of the miracles, certain caveats need to be heeded. The primary problem with the miracles is that it is not known if those recorded in the *vitae* represent all of the miracles associated with Edward. Given that no other evidence for Edward's miracles exists, the ones in the Lives will be examined as though they were the only ones.¹⁸⁵ Another concern is the details of the miracles, namely what prompted pilgrims to seek Edward's intercession. The same explanation for the dearth of evidence forces one to accept these details at face value. It also must be stressed that a pilgrim seeking Edward's intercession cannot be counted among those who were devoted to the cult, as the accounts do not give any indication of an

¹⁸⁵ Aelred said that Edward cured many, and that those he listed in his text were only examples: 'Fecit enim mirabilia in vita sua, reddens cæcis visum, et claudis gressum, fugans febres, et paralyticos sanans et diversas hominum valitudines curans. Ex quibus aliqua huic operi dignum ducimus inserenda' (Aelred, col. 754.). Matthew Paris reiterates this in lines 4413-44.

individual's previous attachment to the saint. The purpose of analysing these miracles is to determine the extent to which the renown of Edward's cult had spread.

The miracles present some interesting clues. It might be thought that, since Matthew Paris was the latest writer, he would have catalogued the most cures because there was more time for them to accumulate. This is not the case; in total there are fifteen different miracles in the Lives, only nine of which appear in Matthew Paris' work. The author who listed the most was Aelred of Rievaulx, who chronicled fourteen of the cures. The distribution of miracles gradually increased over time as the anonymous Life listed six and Osbert nine. For the most part, Osbert and Aelred do not omit any cures which appeared in previous texts, the only exception being the description of the cure of a blind man from Lincoln, which was in the first Life and did not appear in any subsequent *vita*. The anonymous Life was the only one to include exclusively the cures which happened during Edward's lifetime. From that time on, there was a mixture of cures which happened both before and after Edward's death. The posthumous cures will be examined separately from the others, because they show the type of person who went to Edward when the speculation of his sanctity developed, and what caused them to turn to the saint.

The people who make up the numbers of those who were cured by the king is a varied group at first glance. There are very few indicators of status within the miracles which would tell us from which background those cured came. Those performed during Edward's lifetime are particularly devoid of evidence. The list of the cures runs thus: the cure of a scrofulous woman, the various cures of three blind men, the cure of a man struck blind for nineteen years, the cure of one partially sighted and three blind men and the cure of a lame man. Of this group, only the occupation of one man, who was blind for nineteen years, is known to have been a labourer who was blinded while building

Brill castle.¹⁸⁶ The backgrounds of the rest, with the exception of the scrofulous woman, are indeterminate. All of them, with the exception of the lame man who was Irish, came from England; two are said to have originated from Lincoln. There is a change when the posthumous miracles are examined. Of the eight, the particular occupation of almost all of the recipients is known. There were four monks or residents of Westminster, a nun, an employee of an embroiderer, a knight and a man who had lived on Edward's alms. Only the cure involving one partially sighted and six blind men does not list their occupation.¹⁸⁷ Like the lifetime cures, almost all the recipients were English, with the exception of the man who had lived on Edward's alms, who was identified as a Norman.¹⁸⁸ What is different about those who benefited from the posthumous cures is revealed in the occupations. Four of the eight recipients of miraculous cures were either monks or nuns. Moreover, the three monks were from Westminster Abbey. While the poor were the majority of those cured by Edward's intercession during his life, after his death the balance swung mostly to those who were within Westminster Abbey. This fact will become more significant when the dates of the posthumous miracles are examined. What initially appears to be a varied group of people becomes more limited when the miracles are divided by Edward's death.

It is one thing to know who the afflicted were in the miracles and another to know why they sought Edward's assistance. After the first posthumous cure of the lame Norman, Aelred said that Edward's fame as a conduit of God's grace spread, encouraging many people to flock to

¹⁸⁶ 'Inter ceteros autem edificii regalis operarios adolescens, Wlwinus uocabulo...' (*The Life of King Edward*, p. 98.).

¹⁸⁷ These seven men are involved in one miracle where one partially sighted men led six blind ones to the king's tomb to be cured.

¹⁸⁸ Osbert, Aelred and Matthew Paris all stated the man was a Norman (Osbert, p. 112; Aelred, col. 775; Matthew Paris, l. 3989.).

Edward's tomb hoping for a miracle.¹⁸⁹ Looking more closely at the accounts of the miracles reveals that few people thought to seek out Edward's intercession. Of the seven cures which happened during the monarch's life, six were told by visions or dreams to seek a cure from Edward. For the remaining cure, there is no explanation from the afflicted's presence. The anonymous writer did not state that any of those cured had decided to turn to Edward independently.¹⁹⁰ Instead, they were told in visions received either by themselves, or, in the case of the man blinded for nineteen years, by someone else to visit the king for their cures.¹⁹¹ The cures during Edward's lifetime show that he did not have a widespread reputation for healing, as only one in seven turned to the king after being told to do so by another.

The motivations of those who benefited from the posthumous cures differ slightly. The first penitent, a lame man who had depended on Edward's generosity, went to Westminster, reasoning that Edward would be able to help in life as he had in death.¹⁹² Others had different connections to the king. The three Westminster monks and the nun from Barking were all visited by Edward in dreams and subsequently recovered. One of the monks had prayed to Edward for a cure.¹⁹³ Another of the monks, who had suffered from quattran fever, was identified by Aelred as Osbert of Clare.¹⁹⁴ Osbert preached about his miracle, attracting the attention of a knight who suffered from a similar

¹⁸⁹ 'Gaudent astantes eamdem in mortuo quam in vivente viderant effulsisse virtutem, et exhinc sacras Edwardi regis reliquias et visitare frequentius et propensius honorare satagebant, scientes eis ad sanandos infirmos morbosque pellendos apostolicam gratiam non deesse' (Aelred, col. 776.). This was repeated by Matthew Paris: 'Acrue est e renuvelee/ Du roi la fame e renumee,/ K'a busoignus fist teu cunfort/ Devant e après sa mort' (ll. 4025-8.).

¹⁹⁰ For a comparison with other saints, see below, pp. 157-61.

¹⁹¹ None of the Lives say who it was that appeared in the visions.

¹⁹² The man says this in Osbert's Life: "Ecce presens coram te assisto, princeps egregie, quem largis ad uictum sustentare soles dapibus, et uillosis in frigore circundare uestimentis. Nunc autem quia totum simul deficit quicquit michi per te suffragari consuevit, oro fiducialiter quod non impetrem difficulter ut eterna bona que possides mecum communices, sentiamque temporaliter corpori salutaria que tibi beneficia gaudes eternaliter a Christo collata' (p. 113.). Aelred and Matthew Paris both repeat similar speeches (Aelred, col. 776; Matthew Paris, ll. 4009-18.).

¹⁹³ Aelred, cols. 385-6.

¹⁹⁴ Aelred, col. 784.

complaint and turned to Edward with similar results. The incident is presented as one of happy coincidence; the knight did not go to Westminster hoping to be cured after Edward's intercession. The same can be said of an assistant embroider, who had a paralytic stroke when she blasphemed by stating that one should work on a feast day.¹⁹⁵ Rather than going to be cured at Westminster as an act of faith, she was taken there to atone for her blasphemy, because she thought she had blasphemed against Edward the Confessor. The only miracle where people appeared at the tomb on their own accord was one where six blind men were led there by a partially sighted one. While Aelred of Rievaulx stressed that people flocked to Edward's tomb driven by the news of his wonderful intercessory powers, the opposite is true. For the most part, people were brought to Edward via dreams imploring them to go to Westminster rather than going there after hearing reports of his cures, hoping for their own. The evidence in the miracles shows that Edward was not the cure-magnet that the hagiographers tried to present.

The distribution of the cures over time supports the idea that Edward was not as popular as he was made out to be. The dating of the posthumous miracles can be roughly established by their appearance in certain Lives. The cure of the Norman paralysed man was dated to within a week of Edward's burial by Osbert, Aelred and Matthew Paris.¹⁹⁶ From that point on, the dating becomes increasingly difficult. The six blind men led by the partially sighted one was dated by Aelred to the third anniversary of Edward's death and a month after Edward's death by Matthew Paris; Osbert is silent on this dating.¹⁹⁷ Finally, the

¹⁹⁵ It is significant to note that the feast day in question was not one of Edward the Confessor's but one of his ancestor's, Edward the Martyr. The afflicted girl apparently confuses the two saints, for when she is asked if one ought to work on the feast, she asks if they meant Edward of Westminster. The girl was then taken to the relics at Westminster, identified as those she had blasphemed. Confusion of the two saints has continued to this day. One of the most common forms of skepticism present in medieval vitae is people working on feast days (S. Reynolds, 'Social Mentalities and the Case of Medieval Skepticism,' *TRHS* 6th ser., 1 [1991], p. 30.).

¹⁹⁶ Osbert, p. 112; Aelred, col. 775; Matthew Paris, ll. 4006-7.

¹⁹⁷ Osbert, pp. 113-4; Aelred, col. 777; Matthew Paris, l. 4033.

last posthumous cure listed in Osbert, of a monk recovering his sight, cannot be dated more exactly than before 1138, since it appeared in Osbert's Life. It would have been out of character for Osbert, who had promoted Edward's cult, not to include this miracle, particularly as it happened to him. Aelred's is the only Life to include the cure of Osbert of Clare from quattran fever.¹⁹⁸ It would have been uncharacteristic for the prior not to include this miracle if it had happened before 1138 since he was trying to build a strong case for Edward's canonisation. The five remaining posthumous cures can be dated between 1138 and 1162, the date for Aelred's composition. As has been mentioned above, Matthew Paris did not include any new miracles in his text, meaning that there were no new recorded miracles between 1162 and c. 1240. This could not have been very enticing for those thirteenth-century readers of the *vita* who were in search of a saint who had a proven track record for working miracles in recent memory. Another fact which might have dissuaded lay readers was that of the five miracles which happened between 1138 and 1162, three, over half of them, were worked upon members of the clergy. The miracles in the *vitae* show that Edward's renown as a successful intercessor did not spread over time.

Frank Barlow offers an alternative dating for the miracles, which is based on the idea that a *scedula* of Edward's miracles existed at Westminster Abbey.¹⁹⁹ Barlow accepted Osbert's claim that one of his sources was a *scedula*.²⁰⁰ Given Osbert's tendency to forge documents, one must be very suspicious of such claims. Of the three posthumous cures which Osbert added, all of them transpired at Westminster Abbey.²⁰¹ In addition to these cures, Barlow also thought that the vision

¹⁹⁸ Aelred, cols. 784-6.

¹⁹⁹ *The Life of King Edward*, pp. xxxv-xxxvi.

²⁰⁰ Barlow cites this as Osbert's account of his sources, which both appeared in a letter to Alberic and the prior's version of the Life: 'Ex diuersis namque hoc opus fratrum imperio collectum est scedulis, quas sancti patres nostri nobis reliquerunt scriptas, qui eas uiderunt et audierunt, sicut referimus perpetratas' (Osbert, *Letters*, p. 83; Osbert, p. 66.).

²⁰¹ These cures are: the crippled Norman, the seven blind men and the vision of the bell-ringer.

involving Earl Leofric was also included in the purposed *scedulae*. Earlier, it was shown that this incident was probably not known in the abbey until the 1130's, rather than being recorded in an older Westminster document. Aelred added another five posthumous miracles, four of which occurred at Westminster.²⁰² Barlow said that those added by Aelred were originally by Osbert because they can be found in an appendix of the prior's text.²⁰³ However, both J. Armitage Robinson and Marc Bloch thought they were simply added to Osbert's text at a later date by someone else.²⁰⁴ Indeed, it is not difficult to imagine how the miracles could have been incorporated into the *vitae* without the existence of *scedulae*. Both Osbert and Aelred, given their connections to Westminster Abbey, could easily have been told about the miracles which they added, especially since most of them happened at the abbey. Because it is not known for certain whether *scedulae* ever existed, it is impossible to know the correct answer of the dating, however, it would be irresponsible to take Osbert's claim at face value.

The miraculous cures performed via Edward the Confessor which were recorded in the Lives do not present a picture of a saint whose tomb was constantly visited by those in need of a cure. If anything, his curative powers were in greater demand before he died than in the following centuries. Within the fifteen miracles of Edward the Confessor, there were only three people who sought out his tomb after hearing about Edward's powers, the rest either were directed in visions or appeared without any explanation for their presence. The miracles do not support the hagiographer's claims that many people appealed to Edward. Additionally, they did not give any inspiration to those who might be seeking a cure given the limited backgrounds of the cured and

²⁰² These are: the punishment of the embroiderer, Osbert's cure, the cure of the knight, the cure of a nun at Barking and the cure of a Westminster monk. It should be noted that Barking was near one of the abbey's landholdings and therefore it is not difficult to imagine communication between the two houses (Harvey, *Westminster Abbey and its Estates*, p. 342n.).

²⁰³ *The Life of King Edward*, pp. xxxviii, 157.

²⁰⁴ Robinson, 'Westminster in the Twelfth Century,' pp. 19, 23; Osbert, p. 58.

their distribution over the period 1066-1162. These two aspects become clearer when Edward's miracles are compared to those of other saints.

In the twelfth and early thirteenth centuries, three other Englishmen received papal canonisation. Two of those men, Gilbert of Sempringham and Wulfstan of Worcester, both had a significant gap between their deaths and canonisations. Thomas Becket, the third, did not, therefore making the miracles of the two former men more comparable to Edward's because during the interval between death and canonisation posthumous miracles were recorded. Among the many accounts of miraculous cures are phrases which reveal how the pilgrims came to appeal to the saint. In the sixty-seven posthumous cures listed in Wulfstan of Worcester's *Life*, only one person was inspired in a dream to visit his tomb.²⁰⁵ The rest of the accounts imply that the penitents went to Worcester because Wulfstan was known as a successful intercessor. In some cases, there is a phrase which states that the person went to Wulfstan for a cure because they had heard about the bishop's reputation for curing the ill.²⁰⁶ Instances such as these show that people were talking about the curative powers of the saint. While not all of the cures give a certain indication of Wulfstan's popularity in explicit phrases, there are other clues to this. One of them is the practice of measuring a person's height with a candle wick, which was then folded several times, made into a candle and offered at the tomb of choice in hopes of a cure.²⁰⁷ The measuring denotes that the visit to the tomb was premeditated; unlike the knight cured by Edward who just happened to be walking by Westminster Abbey when he heard about the saint's powers. There are three instances of people being measured for a candle which was then brought to Worcester, with or

²⁰⁵ *Vita Wulfstani*, p. 152.

²⁰⁶ These phrases include the following about a woman who went to Wulfstan for a cure: 'Fama igitur miraculorum sancti Wlstanti longe lateque diffusa' (*Vita Wulfstani*, p. 131.). Similar phrases are found on pp. 118, 126, 133, 135, 137, 138, 140, 146, 153.

²⁰⁷ Finucane, *Miracles and Pilgrims*, pp. 95-6.

without the person who was seeking the cure.²⁰⁸ Besides people bringing themselves or sending objects to the tomb, they also called out to the saint when far away. In the miracles of Wulfstan, there are a couple of instances when a penny or another coin was bent in an act of requesting a cure away from the tomb; the coin was later donated at the tomb.²⁰⁹ Another method favoured by Wulfstan's devotees was to use the water which was used to wash his body after his death.²¹⁰ Whether or not they went to his tomb, the pilgrims came to call upon St. Wulfstan because they expressed a belief in his ability to cure, a belief brought about by his fame within England. Not only did this belief in Wulfstan's intercessory powers bring people to his tomb, but they also called upon him from far away, bending pennies in his name and using the waters associated with him.

Gilbert of Sempringham's miracles also show that the saint's curative powers were known throughout England. As was the case with Wulfstan, there were phrases which indicated that people came to his tomb because they had heard about the cures which God worked through Gilbert.²¹¹ Only six out of the over fifty miracles were instances when people were compelled to visit the tomb after being told in a dream to go.²¹² The rest of the miracles indicated that those looking for a cure either went there or were taken to the tomb. Though there are no accompanying statements saying that they had heard about the saint's efficacy in healing, these passages show that there was an intent in going to the tomb. This intent was strengthened in cases where people brought a candle with a wick measured to their height.²¹³ Cases

²⁰⁸ *Vita Wulfstani*, pp. 139, 151, 178.

²⁰⁹ *Vita Wulfstani*, pp. 124, 160. For the practice of bending coins, see Finucane, *Miracles and Pilgrims*, pp. 94-5.

²¹⁰ *Vita Wulfstani*, pp. 121, 126. The use of water touched by a saint's body was very popular as it was a quasi-relic, one of the most famous instances being people who used water with a drop of Thomas Becket's blood. During his lifetime, water used by Edward the Confessor to wash his hands was used to cure blind people. No water-related cures were recorded after his death, which does not fit the pattern as we shall see in the following comparisons.

²¹¹ *Book of St. Gilbert*, pp. 270, 288, 298, 320.

²¹² *Book of St. Gilbert*, pp. 264, 282, 300, 314, 326, 330.

²¹³ *Book of St. Gilbert*, pp. 270, 274, 276, 286,

where Gilbert was not the first port of call for a cure were also described in an effort to demonstrate the saint's power. In one case, a doctor tried in vain to cure himself of tertian fever through his medicinal skills and found a piece of Gilbert's episcopal staff more efficacious.²¹⁴ Another pilgrim had been to the shrine of St. James at Compostella to no avail, only to have his friends recommended Gilbert to him.²¹⁵ Other relics associated with Gilbert, such as his girdle and water which had washed over his body, were also used by those who visited the tomb and those who were too ill to make the journey.²¹⁶ Gilbert of Sempringham and Wulfstan of Worcester's miracles reveal their subjects' popularity. Pilgrims deliberately sought their tombs to benefit from the saints' intercession. The people who sought out Edward the Confessor had to be told to do so in a dream; the descriptions of the miracles do not imply that there were tales of his ability to cure flying about England.

The people who benefited from the divine aid of Wulfstan and Gilbert were from diverse backgrounds, whereas those who actively sought Edward's help after his death were mostly monks or clerics. While the official miracles of Gilbert of Sempringham, which had gone through a formal process of inquiry during the canonisation process, generally concerned those who were in the order he established, residing at the house in Sempringham or another sister house, the same is not true of the unofficial miracles, which were those not sent as part of the canonisation petition.²¹⁷ The discrepancy is one of convenience, as the ecclesiastical examiners who were inquiring into the miracles would have had better access to those who lived in Gilbert's foundation and associated houses, bypassing the need to make the pilgrims travel to

²¹⁴ *Book of St. Gilbert*, pp. 306-8.

²¹⁵ *Book of St. Gilbert*, pp. 318-20. These two examples were common motifs for hagiographers to use in their work, showing that their saint worked better than any human doctor and stressed the superior power of their saint in comparison with others.

²¹⁶ *Book of St. Gilbert*, pp. 98, 100, 114, 270, 272, 276, 278, 280, 300, 304-8, 316.

²¹⁷ In her introduction to the *Book of St. Gilbert*, Foreville observed that Gilbert's devotees came from diverse backgrounds (p. ci.).

testify to the veracity of the cure. The monks and nuns were clustered in convenient locations. Wulfstan's group was more mixed, with only two clerics among the group.²¹⁸ Both saints served a large cross-section of society, thereby widening the appeal to those who were looking to a saint to turn to for a miracle. Though there was some diversity among those who were cured by Edward's intercession, the miracles are too few to establish one distinct pattern. Indeed, the paucity of miracles itself would have been a factor for his comparative unpopularity.

With the advent of the thirteenth century, the patterns for the miracles of English saints did not undergo a significant change. Though Edward's cult was promoted by Henry III, there were other saints who attracted the imagination of the English. One of these saints was Simon de Montfort, who was martyred at the Battle of Evesham but never officially canonised.²¹⁹ Despite attempts by the king to suppress his rival's cult, about one hundred and ninety people sought de Montfort's assistance. Because of the nature of the development of the cult and the illness which he was called upon to cure, there were not that many who actually visited the place where he died on the battlefield. Many of those who sought his help were too ill to travel, or perhaps frightened by the royal edicts, and therefore people were most likely to send a measured candle or to bend pennies. The latter form was especially used by people who were trying to revive children who had drowned.²²⁰ Water from the well which sprung up on the site of his death was also used to bring about a cure.²²¹ There were the typical remarks that people came to visit his tomb, brought by the belief that he was able to cure. The most remarkable feature of Simon de Montfort's cult is the fact that people flocked to him for cures when his cult was discouraged by the king. People's belief in his intercessory ability overrode their

²¹⁸ *Vita Wulfstani*, pp. 124, 134.

²¹⁹ Other aspects of Simon de Montfort's cult are compared with Edward's in Ch. 6, pp. 224-7.

²²⁰ 'Miracula Simonis de Montfort,' in *The Chronicle of William de Rishanger of the Barons' Wars*, ed. J. O. Halliwell (Camden Society, 1840), pp. 68-73, 83, 88-91, 96, 98-104.

²²¹ 'Miracula Simonis de Montfort,' pp. 68-9, 102, 106.

fear of the repercussions. Though the pilgrims were mainly from the aristocratic class in addition to a large number of clerics, the sheer number of miracles proves that de Montfort was a popular figure.²²² Though Edward the Confessor's pilgrims came from a limited background as well, his cult never experienced the same popularity.

A comparison of miracle accounts reveals that Edward's cult did not draw pilgrims in the same way that other cults which developed during the time-span of this study did. Whereas most pilgrims were drawn to the shrines of Wulfstan and Gilbert and to the battlefield of Evesham by the saints' fame as intercessors, the opposite is true for Edward. His remains did not enjoy the popularity of being renowned for their curative ability. The evidence surrounding Edward's miracles shows that his cult was not hugely popular, apart from those who were attached to Westminster Abbey, which was common for cults of saints who were connected to a founding house, as happened in the example of Gilbert of Sempringham. The stagnant presentation of Edward's miracles is an indication of the lack of popularity which resulted in a difficult situation; lack of miracle stories meant that few people sought out his protection.

The Lives of Edward the Confessor serve two purposes germane to this study: they show how the saint was presented to potential devotees and what prompted pilgrims who came to seek his intercession. But the way in which the greatest number of people benefited from a saint was from his ability to cure, in which Edward's cult, no matter how much it was asserted by the hagiographers, did not excel. One of the more telling examples is Matthew Paris' omission of several of Edward's miracles from his work.²²³ It is the St. Albans monk's account which presents the crystallised version of Edward as a virtuous king who had

²²² For a discussion of the class of people who were in the miracles, see Ch. 6, p. 219.

²²³ M. Kauffmann believed this was done in order to present Harold as Edward's anti-type ('Hagiography, Pictorial Narrative, and the Politics of Kingship,' p. 178.).

to contend with adverse forces in his kingdom as represented by the men of the Godwin family. The picture of the king as represented in the *vitae* remains constant. What changes is the circumstances in which the Lives were written. The second half of the first Life began to promote Edward as a saint so that his wife could have a stronger footing in Norman England. Edward's sanctity received thorough attention in Osbert's text, and was amplified further in Aelred's work. These works were connected to Edward's canonisation petitions and subsequent translation and thus are standard hagiographic texts. Matthew Paris' version of the Life takes a secular turn, as the story was not written so much to promote Edward's sanctity as it was to entertain the court.²²⁴ The perception presented in the final version of the Life shows that Edward was a matter of legend and did not have the same immediacy of a saint to whom people turned constantly in their quest for cures. The lack of popular attention given to the cult is shown in the king's miracles, none of which are datable past the twelfth century. What remains now is to determine if this same picture is presented in different documents which featured the king.

²²⁴ The title of Matthew Paris' work suggests that it is more a story than an ecclesiastical text because its title uses the work *estoire* rather than *vita* (Kauffmann, 'Hagiography, Pictorial Narrative, and the Politics of Kingship,' p. 49.).

Chapter Five Other Presentations of Edward

The *vitae* about Edward the Confessor were written primarily to promote his sanctity. While there were often other agendas, as has been discussed in the case of Osbert of Clare, the principal purpose for their composition was to celebrate and attest to the king's sanctity. In addition to the Lives, Edward has been portrayed in other media. These materials will be considered in two sections: the first consisting of works produced or commissioned by those who promoted Edward's sanctity and the second consisting of the English chroniclers who included Edward's reign in their texts. The study of these materials will demonstrate two different things. In the case of the materials connected to those associated with the cult, the importance will lie in the scenes from Edward's life or aspects of his character which are emphasised. The intended audiences dictated what was to be included, as examples of saintly conduct had a different impact on different groups of people. The choice of emphasised aspects of Edward's character will show what the promoters of his cult thought would draw people to venerate the saint. The chronicles will reveal how documents whose primary purpose was not to stress Edward's sanctity represented the king. These two groups of documents will elaborate on the perception of Edward outside of the Lives, and how this perception changed during the period 1066-1399.

Sermons, Illustrations and Tapestries

Three sources connected to the cult will be examined. These are: three sermons written by Aelred of Rievaulx, the illustrations accompanying Matthew Paris' Life and tapestries commissioned by Abbot Barking. All three men had an interest in promoting Edward's sanctity, though unlike the *vitae* which all adhered to the same basic

narrative structure, they were able to choose what they wanted to accentuate about Edward's character or the story of his life. There were different audiences who were meant to receive these impressions of Edward's life and therefore exactly what is presented to whom will be an important factor in observing how Aelred, Matthew Paris and Abbot Barking chose to present Edward. Additionally, these three men had different objectives in promoting Edward, for whereas Abbot Barking had a strong financial motivation to promote Edward's cult, particularly during Westminster Abbey's reconstruction, Aelred and Matthew Paris did not have the same allegiance. It will be of interest to see if and how these allegiances influenced the presentation of the saint.

The three sermons Aelred of Rievaulx wrote about Edward the Confessor are in Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, MS nouveau acquisition latin 294 (MS 294). The manuscript was written in the late twelfth century and was brought to France by Hugh, abbot of Reading, when he became the abbot of Cluny in 1199.¹ Collections of sermons, such as this manuscript, were often made. The sermons in MS 294 are for various liturgical celebrations and saints' feasts. The work contains ninety-five sermons by Aelred; none of the sermons on Edward has appeared in the numerous editions of Aelred's work. One of the problems connected with these three sermons is that not all of those found in collections were actually preached, and frequently sermons which were preached in the vernacular were recorded in Latin.² Aelred's authorship of these sermons has been verified by the internal evidence which has been used by the manuscript's modern commentators.³ Outside of the manuscript, Walter Daniel, in his biography of Aelred, and the

¹ A. Coates, *English Medieval Books: The Reading Abbey Collections* (Oxford, 1999), p. 7n; G. Raciti, 'Deux collections de sermons de saint Aelred- une centaine d'inédits- découvertes dans les fonds de Cluny et de Clairvaux,' *Collectanea Cisterciensia* 45 (1983), pp. 168-9. Sometimes sermons were written down for priests, not expected constantly to invent new ones (R. W. Robertson, 'Frequency of Preaching in Thirteenth Century England,' *Speculum* 24 [1949], p. 376.).

² L. J. Bataillon, 'Approaches to the Study of Medieval Sermons,' *Leeds Studies in English* n.s. 11 (1980), pp. 20-23.

³ Raciti, 'Deux collections de sermons de saint Aelred,' p. 168.

Peterborough Chronicle both stated that he preached in Westminster Abbey at the 1163 translation of Edward the Confessor.⁴ The existence of three sermons when it appears that only one was necessary is confusing, and it cannot be said for certain which sermon was given at Westminster Abbey on that occasion, though a hypothesis will be suggested. There are a few explanations for the existence of the multiple sermons about Edward: perhaps two of them were not given and were only written down as an exercise, a practice which was not unknown at the time. Or, Aelred could have preached one or two sermons at Rievaulx or elsewhere on Edward's feast days, because, as will be explained, certain facets of his character were easily adapted to the monk's conception of monastic virtue.⁵ There also remains the possibility that none of these sermons were preached at the translation, though there is some evidence that at least one of them was written with the abbey as the intended venue. For the purposes of this thesis, the importance of the sermons lies in what the abbot chose to emphasise about the saint; the audience is of secondary interest.

If estimates are correct, Aelred was a prolific preacher. As abbot of Rievaulx, he had to preach at least twelve times per year on great feast days. Beside his commitments at Rievaulx, in addition to Westminster Abbey, he was invited to speak at synods and various Augustinian houses. In total, he might have given up to three hundred sermons.⁶ The majority of his sermons would have been given to the monks at Rievaulx, where as abbot his sermons would have taken on a

⁴ 'Deinde evangelicam leccionem exposuit ad honorem eiusdem sancti [Edward] et ad eam legendam in eius solempnitate ad uigilias, que hoc modo incipit, "Nemo accendit lucernam et ponit eam sub modio set super candelabrum"' (Walter Daniel, *The Life of Ailred of Rievaulx*, p. 41.). 'Translatio sancti Edwardi regis et confessoris, procurata per Laurentium, ex priore Dunelmensi, Westmonasterii abbatem, celebrata est per sanctum Thomam archiepiscopum Cantuariensem. Sanctus Alredus abbas huic translationi interfuit, offerens vitam regis et homeliam super *Nemo accendit lucernam*, &c. ad laudem ejusdem sancti mirifice dictatam' (*Chronicon Angliæ Petriburgense*, p. 98.). Though both sources give the theme of the sermon, none of the sermons cites the quotation.

⁵ For a discussion of Edward's monastic attributes, see Ch. 4, p. 144.

⁶ *Sermones inediti B. Aelredi Abbatis Rievallensis*, ed. C. H. Talbot (Rome, 1952), p. 6. On Aelred's popularity as a preacher, see G. R. Owst, *Preaching in Medieval England: An Introduction to Sermon Manuscripts of the Period c. 1350-1450* (Cambridge, 1926), p. 49.

didactic air, expanding different aspects of the Rule of St. Benedict.⁷ Aelred composed a rule for his sister, entitled *De Institutione Inclusarum*.⁸ While the Benedictine Rule was the one on which those in monastic orders based their lives to a varying degree, Aelred's rule shows which aspects of the monastic lifestyle were most significant to him. In his rule, Aelred valued virginity as the basis of all virtues, and stressed its importance because it enabled one to become removed from mundane cares. Virginity, therefore, became the ultimate form of monastic obedience, because if one was able to tame the flesh, then one would be able to receive divine commands.⁹ While Aelred approved of conjugal chastity, he preferred virginity for both partners.¹⁰ Sermons on virtues adopted by those who lived in a monastic order would be most appropriately aimed at a monastic audience. Not all medieval sermons were written to instruct people on the Benedictine Rule; they could also make a political statement, whether to an ecclesiastical gathering or a lay one.¹¹ While the precedent was established for Aelred to preach about Edward with either a holy or secular agenda, what resulted were fairly disparate themes in each of the three sermons written about

⁷ C. Waddell, 'The Liturgical Dimension of Twelfth-Century Preaching,' in C. Musseig (ed.), *Medieval Monastic Preaching* (Leiden, Boston, Köln, 1998), pp. 336-8.

⁸ T. Renna, 'Virginity in the *Life* of Christina of Markyate and Aelred of Rievaulx's *Rule*,' *American Benedictine Review* 36 (1985), pp. 89-92.

⁹ The rule is printed in Aelred of Rievaulx, *Opera* (2 vols., Turnhout, 1971-89), i, pp. 637-82, with Aelred's discussion of the importance of virginity falling on pp. 656-82. He also insisted that solitude was imperative for virginity, so that all temptation would be removed. J. Hamesse has also noted the importance of stressing purity as an essential element for communion with God in 'The Image of Sanctity in Medieval Preaching as a Means of Sanctification' in B. M. Kienzle (ed.), *Models of Holiness in Medieval Sermons* (Louvain-la-Neuve, 1996), p. 135.

¹⁰ TePas, 'Spiritual Friendship in Ælred of Rievaulx and Mutual Sanctification in Marriage,' *Cistercian Studies Quarterly* 27 (1992), p. 74

¹¹ Archbishop Stephen Langton gave two different sermons on Thomas Becket, one at the translation of the saint's body and another at Rome on the fiftieth anniversary of his death, which are the subject of P. B. Roberts, 'Archbishop Stephen Langton and his Preaching on Thomas Becket in 1220,' in T. L. Amos *et al.* (eds.), *De ore domini: Preacher and Word in the Middle Ages* (Kalamazoo, MI, 1989). Both sermons were shaped for the audience, the Canterbury one focusing on the themes of martyrdom and repentance and the Roman one on the freedoms of the Church. A more unorthodox example is that of Robert, king of Naples, who used sermons preached by himself to bolster his standing by asserting his connection to the sanctity which ran in his family as his great-uncle was Louis IX and he oversaw the canonisation of his brother, Louis, bishop of Toulouse (D. Pyrds, 'Monarchs, Lawyers, and Saints: Juridical Preaching on Holiness,' in Kienzle, *Models of Holiness*).

Edward the Confessor.

The first sermon on Edward in MS 294 urged the listener, using Edward's life as an example, to shun guilt, sin and death.¹² Edward's preeminent virtue was his virginity, which, as discussed above, Aelred linked with humility.¹³ In addition to virginity, Aelred also stressed Edward's service to God instead of riches, which the saint demonstrated by hating everything connected to the material world, leading him to distribute his wealth to the poor.¹⁴ The reward for Edward's obedience to God came in two forms: the peace which pervaded the kingdom during Edward's reign and the miracles which were worked through him in life and death.¹⁵ At the end of the first sermon, the audience is called upon to imitate Edward's example by giving to the Church and the poor, being compassionate and devoted to God, and finally to exercise humility by shunning carnal things.¹⁶ Edward's example was used in the first sermon to strengthen Aelred's teachings on virginity. Though there are no indications of where and when the sermon was originally preached, Aelred's emphasis on the monastic virtue of virginity diminishes the likelihood that it was preached in front of a diverse group. As laymen and clerics were present at the 1163 translation, the stress on chastity in the sermon indicated that it would

¹² 'Ut cum beato Eadwardo studeam vitare reatum, vitare peccatum, vitare mortem' (MS 294, f. 162.).

¹³ 'Et ideo mundus custodivit vas suum sanctificans munus suum in holocaustum suavissimus domino, offerens et cotidie sacrificium gratium tinturem et columbam, castimoniam et innocentiam, humilitatem et castitatem humilitatem cordis castitatem corporis' (MS 294, f. 163v.).

¹⁴ 'Contempsio [sic] tamen divitias. Serviens deo et non mamnone diligens dominum et non pecuniam, cuius divine erant quia res publica, iuxta quod in vita sua legimus, quia thesaurus eius pauperorum commune erarium' (MS 294, ff. 162v-3.).

¹⁵ MS 294, ff. 162v-3.

¹⁶ 'Ad hoc invitat nos gloriosus confessor domini Edwardus munificus ecclesiasticus, largus egenis, compatiens miseris, devotus deo, humilis clero gratus populo ab ipsis cunabulis studuit vitare reatum, omnia contempnens que carni dant famulatum' (MS 294, f. 164.).

not have been appropriate for that event.¹⁷ The first sermon accentuated Aelred's foremost monastic virtue and would have been more appropriate in a monastic setting.

The beginning of the second sermon once more presents Edward as a model of virtuous behaviour, though in this sermon there is a different emphasis on the virtues. The abbot expanded the focus and instead of returning to the theme of the first sermon, that of virginity being the foundation of humility, after his opening remarks Aelred explained how Edward was a model for kings. Edward was a regal example because of his mercy and justice, displayed by the gentleness with which he ruled the land, and his piety and humility.¹⁸ Further on, he embarked upon a discourse on virginity, praising an existence which denied carnal desire and called upon his audience to despise bodily temptations.¹⁹ At the end of the sermon, echoing the end of the first one, Aelred once more put forward Edward's example for imitation, particularly his chastity, humility and faith.²⁰ Unlike the first sermon, the second one does appeal in part to a section of the lay audience present at Edward's translation, namely Henry II, because of the discussion of Edward as a royal *exemplum*. In the second sermon Edward is presented as a virtuous king, an example for the monarchy, whereas in the first sermon the saint was presented in a more monastic guise.

There is a shift of tone in the third sermon, which encompasses

¹⁷ The most complete account of Edward's translation appeared in RC, ii, p. 326, where he listed the important ecclesiastical and lay participants, following with this phrase indicating the large and varied nature of the gathering: '...et procerum militum ceterorumque diversi ordinis et officii innumera multitudo...' The course for this comparatively late chronicle is difficult to discern, because while earlier chroniclers recorded the event, often noting that Thomas Becket performed the service and that Henry II was in attendance, nothing else about the proceedings was described: *The Historical Works of Gervase of Canterbury*, ed. W. Stubbs (2 vols., RS, 1880), ii, 285; CM, ii, p. 221.

¹⁸ 'Regibus et principibus terre proponitur rex iste gloriosus, docens misericordiam et iudicium, populum suum regens in mansuetudine et equitate, pium praebens se mansuetis, humilem humilibus' (MS 294, ff. 164v-5.).

¹⁹ 'Imitemur ergo hunc fortem atletam Christi viriliter dimicantes contra vitia carnis, sollicite et caute munientes nos met ipsos contra insidias et nequitas malignorum spirituum' (MS 294, f. 165v.).

²⁰ 'Amemus et imitemur castitatem, humilitatem patientiam et caritatem huius amici dei' (MS 294, f. 165.)

Edward's virtues and his life. The third sermon begins with a description of how Edward subjected his soul to obedience, discipline and holy meditation.²¹ There is another call to reject all carnal desires, followed by a description of Edward maintaining a vigil of virginity for his final meeting with God.²² Emphasis was also given to his generosity to the poor.²³ The rest of the sermon then launches into a brief synopsis of events in England before Edward's reign, focusing on the Danish invasion and concluding with Brithwald's vision of St. Peter and a reference to Edward's miracles. These two themes, that of Edward's monastic virtues and a small description of Edward's election to the throne, are the only instances in the sermons when Aelred concentrated on the events of Edward's life instead of his virtues. The twofold nature of this sermon would have appealed to different audiences, because it contains the monastic virtues of obedience, discipline and meditation, and a short description of the political situation under which Edward became king.²⁴ Despite this, it is impossible to say for certain if the second or third sermon was the one given at Edward's translation, because the second sermon contained the reference to Edward being an exemplar to kings.²⁵ Regardless of which of the sermons was given in Westminster Abbey, Aelred did not use the situation as a political

²¹ 'Dirigit gressus suos declinans a malo et faciens bonum, excellens semet ipsum in his que die sunt excitans animam suam ad obedientiam, ad disciplinam, ad sanctam meditationem' (MS 294, f. 166.). In the *vita*, Aelred explained that Edward handed over the majority of his work to others so that he could spend his time in holy meditation (Aelred, col. 760.).

²² 'In desiderio videndi deum omne ut in claritate [sic] apparent miltui [sic] eius feliciter perseveravit rex gloriosus dilectus deo Edwardus tradens cor suum ad vigiliam dei, ad dominum qui facto illum in conspectu altissimum devotis et assiduis insistens depraecationibus. Qui dominus ab ipsa infantia inspiravit castitatis amorem, odium vitorum, virtutis affectum, desiderium celestium contemptum terrenorum' (MS 294, ff. 167v-8.).

²³ '...largum egenis, cuius thesaurus sicut in vita eius legimus, totius orbis res publica videbatur pauperum commune erarium' (MS 294, f. 168.).

²⁴ MS 295, ff. 168-168v.

²⁵ L. Delisle, in *Inventaire de manuscrits de la Bibliothèque Nationale, Fonds de Cluny* (Paris, 1884), p. 137, believed that the third sermon was written in Westminster Abbey because it contained this sentence: '...in hoc monasterio, ante altare in honore Trinitatis deifice consecratum' (MS 294, f. 168v.). However, the second sermon also contains a reference to Westminster Abbey, also cited by Delisle: 'Ecce iam hodie invitamur ad prandium cuiusdam divitis, ad prandium gloriosi regis Edwardi, pii patroni nostri et devoti fundatoris ecclesie huius' (MS 294, f.165.).

platform. Instead, the one subject common to his sermons is Edward's virtues of generosity and virginity, with emphasis placed on the latter. Aelred's emphasis on Edward's virginity in the sermons, at the expense of a recounting of the events of his life, shows that the monk was interested in illustrating the link between virtue and sanctity. However, as discussed in Chapter Four, Edward's virginity was the most controversial aspect of his marriage. The presentation of Edward's quasi-monastic aspects, while fitting for a monastic sermon, would not have been as suitable for a lay audience.

Whereas Aelred chose to put forth Edward's virtues in his sermons, Matthew Paris found another way to present the king's life. The illustrations which grace the only existing manuscript of his *vita* are not by Matthew Paris, though it has been suggested that they were copied from the autograph and therefore are approximately as they would have appeared in Matthew Paris' original.²⁶ The ninety-six illustrations appear on the top of each page, though sometimes the illustrated scene does not match up with its text.²⁷ Though it has been suggested that the pictures were meant to act as an alternative text,²⁸ Martin Kauffmann has not accepted this hypothesis, because it is not always clear what is happening in the picture without referring to the text.²⁹ Many but not all of the scenes from the Life were illustrated. There are three interesting examples of omissions. Eight or nine kings are mentioned in the opening lines: Arthur, Edmund and Cnut for building the kingdom,³⁰ Oswald, Oswine and Edmund for their peaceful

²⁶ For copiers of Matthew Paris' illustrations accompanying his hagiographical works, see S. Lewis, *The Art of Matthew Paris*, p. 436; Kauffmann, 'Hagiography, Pictorial Narrative, and the Politics of Kingship,' pp. 34-5.

²⁷ Kauffmann, 'Hagiography, Pictorial Narrative and the Politics of Kingship,' p. 97.

²⁸ Clanchy, *From Memory to Written Record*, p. 279; V. B. Jordan, 'The Multiple Narratives of Matthew Paris' *Estoire de seint Aedward le rei*. Cambridge, University Library MS Ee. iii. 59,' *Parergon* n.s. 13 (1996).

²⁹ Martin Kauffmann, private conversation, 12 October, 2000. I should like to thank Martin Kauffmann for his time and suggestions about the illustrations.

³⁰ Matthew Paris, ll. 10-12.

reigns,³¹ and Alfred, Edgar and Ethelred for being Edward's ancestors.³² Only the last group is illustrated, placing an emphasis on Edward's lineage. The second significant omission is Emma's marriage to Cnut. Though it is impossible to know exactly why this scene was neglected, it is tempting to postulate that the illustrator did not think that it was suitable for the mother of the saint to marry her deceased husband's enemy. The most perplexing omission is Edward and Edith's vow of chastity. There is an early-fourteenth-century example of the scene being illustrated: the series of scenes from Edward's life in the stained glass at Fécamp.³³ By comparison, the three stories of Edward's charity and generosity, the legends of the demon sitting on the treasure, the thief in the treasury, and St. John and the ring, are all illustrated, with the last one represented by five images. The pictures in Matthew Paris' *vita*, like the text itself, emphasised his charity over his chastity.

A different approach had been taken earlier by Abbot Barking when he commissioned between 1222 and 1246 for the abbey a set of tapestries which depicted Edward's life. They were hung on the north side of the choir, facing a set of tapestries which he commissioned on the life of the Virgin Mary.³⁴ These tapestries were moved to the chamber of the House of Commons in the Palace in 1644 and later disappeared. However, a set of drawings made in the eighteenth century now in Trinity College, Cambridge MS B 10.2, ff. 39-44v, shows what their content was.³⁵ The tapestries consist of twenty-two scenes, thirteen of which depict Edward's visions, miracles, or examples of virtue. Four episodes of his life cover two scenes: Edward's vision of the

³¹ Matthew Paris, ll. 17-8. The number of kings is uncertain because Matthew Paris did not specify to which Edmund/Edmunds he was referring.

³² Matthew Paris, ll. 97-133.

³³ M. Harrison, 'A Life of St. Edward the Confessor in Early Fourteenth Century Glass at Fécamp, in Normandy,' *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes* 26 (1963), p. 29.

³⁴ Binski, 'Abbot Barking's Tapestries and Matthew Paris' Life of St. Edward the Confessor,' p. 85. In this article, Binski argues that these tapestries did not influence Matthew Paris' illustration cycle in the *vita*.

³⁵ The drawings are reproduced in Binski's article.

king of Denmark, the vision of the Seven Sleepers, the legend of St. John and the ring and St. Wulfstan pulling his crosier out of the floor. These scenes do not represent his cures, of which only two are pictured, but the more fantastic features of the Edward legend. The other scenes deal with historical motifs, such as Ethelred's death, Edward's birth and crowning, Godwin and Edward's deaths. Two of the final scenes, numbers twenty and twenty-two, are related to Westminster Abbey: Peter's consecration of Westminster and the founders of the abbey: Kings Edgar and Edward and Archbishop Dunstan. The scenes link Edward and the church, a natural association for tapestries commissioned by the foundation's abbot. The tapestries were seen by anyone entering the church, therefore it is significant that more of Edward's cures were not represented, whereas all of his visions were included with the exception of the demon sitting on the treasure. Instead of encouraging pilgrims who were seeking Edward's intervention by emphasising his cures, the scenes reflected on the more remarkable signs of Edward's sanctity.

The depictions of Edward the Confessor differed depending on the medium and the person choosing the depiction. Aelred's twelfth-century sermons stressed Edward's virtue of chastity, though the extent to which he did this probably changed depending on his audience. The thirteenth-century illustrations and tapestries were more closely related to the text of the Lives. The former presented a good story intended to entertain people at court.³⁶ The tapestries cemented Edward's connection to the abbey, though like Matthew Paris' *vita*, tended to concentrate on the legends associated with the king. None of these three representations of Edward's legend added anything new about the king or the miracles which transpired in the abbey. Like the later *vitae* they are a testament to the stagnation of the perception of

³⁶ Matthew Paris' Life was intended for royal and aristocratic circles: Binski, 'Reflections on La Estoire de Seint Aedward le Rei,' p. 333.

Edward. To the lay audience, the illustrations and tapestries presented a wondrous tale of a saintly king, with little emphasis placed on the virtues which were a major part of the evidence presented for his canonisation.

Chronicles

The perception of Edward as a pious king promoted in the *vitae* was reinforced by the sermons, illustrations and tapestries, which all ignored the more mundane facets of the king's life. How much of that image of a pious king, with his mind removed from worldly cares, carried through to the chronicles documenting his reign? The chronicles are another legacy of Edward's reign, written primarily to document events for various reasons, and not to promote sanctity. Hagiographers wrote *vitae* with the express purpose of delineating their subject's holiness. These two genres, with different purposes, have the ability to cast light on varying areas of Edward's reign and character. Because chronicles and saints' Lives were written with two different motivations, it is necessary to discover whether or not they present the same picture of Edward, and if different perceptions ever merged into one. Such incidents will show if Edward's saintly reputation merged with his historical image. The primary purpose of this exercise is to determine whether the historical Edward went through the same mythologising process as the saintly one.

The chronicles will be grouped in three different periods: from the mid-eleventh century until the 1120's, 1120-1154, and then up until 1399. These divisions were created because the three most influential chronicle accounts of Edward's reign, John of Worcester, William of Malmesbury and, to a lesser extent, Henry of Huntingdon were active in the period 1120-1154, thus making it necessary to examine both their predecessors and their influence on successive generations of historians.

The emergence of three influential texts during the first half of the twelfth century was not coincidental. These chronicles reflect the larger national trend which saw the production of historical accounts increase exponentially. This explosion in chronicle writing has been attributed to a need to maintain a sense of the past after the Norman Conquest.³⁷ The preservation took place on many levels, from monasteries struggling to retain their lands and privileges to remembering the Anglo-Saxon royal dynasty. Though three major chronicle accounts of Edward's reign were written in this period, they had different views on the king and his sanctity. However, as these men did not write in a vacuum, it is first necessary to examine the chronicles belonging to the first period.

The very first chroniclers who wrote about the king were the authors of the *Encomium Emmae Reginae* and the *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle*. The *Encomium* was composed for Edward's mother shortly before he took the throne in 1042.³⁸ Though it has been conjectured that the work came about in part to present Edward's claim to England, little is said about the aetheling, except that he was unable to assist his mother when she needed military support.³⁹ By the time of his death in the *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle* he is not remembered as a weak exiled prince but as a powerful king, who brought his country together.⁴⁰ While different versions of the chronicle would be used by later writers, the C version was the one more frequently used by them. This version of the

³⁷ The twelfth-century increase of chronicle writing has been addressed by many scholars. The two most influential articles are: R. W. Southern, 'Aspects of the European Tradition of Historical Writing: 4, The Sense of the Past,' *TRHS* 5th ser., 23 (1973), pp. 243-56; J. Campbell, 'Some Twelfth-Century Views of the Anglo-Saxon Past,' *Peritia* 3 (1984).

³⁸ While S. Keynes in his introduction to the chronicle's recent reprint has upheld the traditional dating to Harthacnut's reign (*Encomium Emmae Reginae*, p. xxxix.), F. Lifshitz has argued that the work was composed in 1039 in Flanders to gain Count Baldwin the Pious' support for Harthacnut's claim to the throne. However, the plan was never enacted as Harold Harefoot died before the work was completed: 'The *Encomium Emmae Reginae*: A "Political Pamphlet" of the Eleventh Century?' *Haskins Society Journal* 1 (1989), p. 47. For the purposes of this thesis, what is important about this work is that it was composed before Edward's reign.

³⁹ *Encomium Emmae Reginae*, p. 48.

⁴⁰ 'Syððan forð becom· freolice in geatwum·/ kyninge kystum god· clæne milde·/ Eadward se æðela bewerode·/ land leode' (C version, *Two of the Saxon Chronicles Parallel*, ed. C. Plummer [2 vols., Oxford, 1892], i, p. 194.).

Anglo-Saxon Chronicle was updated until the Norman Conquest at Abingdon and had two descendants, the D and E versions, which are in frequent agreement.⁴¹ Predictably given a place in the different versions is Edward's military involvement, whether leading battles or organising missions. Edward was remembered for the request from Emperor Henry III and Swein, king of Denmark, to provide them with military assistance.⁴² In addition, he oversaw the conquest of Wales and entered the country to take oaths from the leaders he appointed.⁴³ Two other early chronicles, the *Gesta Normannorum Ducum* and *Gesta Guillelmi*, both recount one of Edward's military feats that took place before he ascended the throne: after Cnut's death the aetheling entered England with a small army, won a battle, and then turned back to Normandy when he realised that the time was not right for him to return to England.⁴⁴ These scenes run counter to the assertion in the Lives that the king was not interested in earthly matters. While the chronicles do not state that he was a great warrior, still in this early period Edward's influence and military exploits were important enough to be recorded.⁴⁵ The same cannot be said of his saintly characteristics, which were not touched upon by these early chroniclers. The perception of Edward in the earlier chronicles differs wildly from that given in the first Life.

While the earthly side of Edward's personality is emphasised in the early chronicles, there is evidence that his sanctity was also acknowledged, albeit by a chronicler who lived in Normandy. Orderic

⁴¹ A. Gransden, *Historical Writing in England c. 550 to c. 1307* (London, 1974), pp. 39-40.

⁴² C and E versions, *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle*, pp. 166-9.

⁴³ C and E versions, *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle*, pp. 190-1.

⁴⁴ *Gesta Normannorum*, ii, pp. 104-6; William of Poitiers, *Gesta Guillelmi*, pp. 2-4. The *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle* studiously did not discuss Edward's failed invasion of England, an account of which was included by William of Jumièges. The omission, which has been examined by S. Keynes in 'The Æthelings in Normandy,' *A-NS* 13 (1991), p. 195, was either intentional or reflected the ignorance of the chroniclers about the incident.

⁴⁵ The Lives mention that after Edward's coronation he was approached by rulers wanting to be associated with him, though none of them hint that these rulers wanted military support: *Life of King Edward*, pp. 14-6; Osbert, p. 73; Aelred, col. 745; Matthew Paris, pp. 50-1.

Vitalis wrote a recension of the *Gesta Normannorum*, beginning before 1109, perhaps c. 1095, and finishing his last revisions by 1113.⁴⁶ In the sections added by Orderic, he mentioned Edward's chastity and his prophetic visions.⁴⁷ Orderic's use of the word *uirginitas* is significant, as it is the first occasion when Edward's abstinence from all sexual activity is directly alluded to in a chronicle.⁴⁸ Likewise, the anonymous *Life* said that Edward always preserved *castimonia*,⁴⁹ which can mean marital chastity rather than virginity, but other references within the text clarify the meaning, indicating that the latter meaning was the intended one. A baffling omission occurred in his *Ecclesiastical History*. Although Orderic again wrote about Edward, he did not mention his chastity, and instead only called him great and virtuous.⁵⁰ Orderic is the exception to the standard view of Edward in pre-1120 chronicles, in which the secular side of Edward's reputation was emphasised. An explanation for this exception comes from William of Jumièges, who said that Edward was not associated with many military causes because God wanted the king to rule without bloodshed, suggesting but not blatantly stating that he was meant for more holy things.⁵¹ These two passages from Orderic Vitalis and William of Jumièges are significant because they show to different extents that a holy image of Edward was beginning to emerge. Moreover, the image in the chronicles of a pious king emerged from Normandy rather than England, suggesting that the idea of Edward's

⁴⁶ M. Chibnall, *The World of Orderic Vitalis* (Oxford, 1984), p. 176; *Gesta Normannorum Ducum*, i, pp. xviii-lxix.

⁴⁷ 'Nam reuera, ut dicunt, ambo perpetuam uirginitatem conseruarunt [Edward and Edith]... Multoties diuina mysteria uidit, et uaticinia, que rerum euentu postmodum comprobata sunt...' (*Gesta Normannorum*, ii, p. 108.). E. Van Houts, following M. Chibnall's assertion that one of Orderic's sources was stories he had heard in his youth, suggests that Orderic's story was not from any written source (*Gesta Normannorum*, i, p. xxii.).

⁴⁸ *Gesta Normannorum*, i, p. lxvii. Later on, Aelred of Rievaulx attributed Edward's ability to receive visions from God to the saint's chastity: 'Præbet certe regiæ castitati testimonium puritas mentis, quæ ab omni fæce uitii pulsantis eliquata, et longe posita quasi præsentia contemplari et futura potuit quasi præ oculis sita cognoscere, sicut sequens capitulum declarat' (col. 748.).

⁴⁹ *The Life of King Edward*, p. 92.

⁵⁰ Orderic Vitalis, *Ecclesiastical History*, ii, pp. 182, 190.

⁵¹ 'Quod puto ita factum esse, Deo auctore, pro Edwardo rege quem disponebat in futuro regnare sine sanguinis effusione' (*Gesta Normannorum*, ii, p. 78.).

sanctity was emphasised more by the conquering country than by the one which was ruled by him. These Norman chronicles were the first to make the shift in the perception of the historical Edward.

The perception of Edward began to change even more when three of the most influential twelfth-century chroniclers wrote. The first was William of Malmesbury, whose *Gesta Regum Anglorum* was completed c. 1125.⁵² William was unique among Edward's chroniclers because he was the first one to use hagiographic material, namely the anonymous *vita*.⁵³ Unlike the writer of the first Life, William of Malmesbury questioned aspects of Edward's reign, particularly those pertaining to Edward's activities in his country's government. The hagiographer, who wrote at Queen Edith's request, presented her as an ideal queen, describing her as beautiful, intelligent and a good counsellor.⁵⁴ William of Malmesbury took a rather different view, calling her ugly, arrogant and unworldly, completely unfit to be a counsellor.⁵⁵ William's greatest point of difference with the previous chroniclers was on the issue of Edward's ability to rule. According to William, Edward's simplicity made him unfit to be king, a deficit which was filled with God's assistance, which was granted to the king in recognition of his devotion.⁵⁶ Though he differed on Edward's rulership qualities, he concurred with previous chroniclers' estimation of Edward's military prowess, though he attributed the victories against the Welsh to Harold's valour.⁵⁷ Despite citing Edward's simplicity, Malmesbury did not completely discredit Edward, saying that he made good use of

⁵² *GR*, ii, p. xviii.

⁵³ For William of Malmesbury's use of the first *vita*, see *The Life of King Edward*, pp. 128-30.

⁵⁴ *The Life of King Edward*, p. 23.

⁵⁵ '...feminam in cuius pectore omnium liberalium artium esset gimnasium sed prauum in mundanis rebus ingenium; quam cum uideres, si litteras stuperes, modestiam certe animi et spetiem corporis desiderares' (*GR*, i, p. 352.).

⁵⁶ '...uir propter morum simplicitatem parum imperio idoneus, sed Deo deuotus ideoque ad eo directus' (*GR*, i, p. 348.).

⁵⁷ '...denique uiuente Eduardo quaecumque contra eum bella incesa sunt, uirtute sua [Harold's] compressit, cupiens se prouintialibus ostentare, in regnum scilicet spe prurienti anhelans' (*GR*, i, p. 420.).

ministers.⁵⁸ Nevertheless, William of Malmesbury was not convinced of Edward's ability to rule, saying that he was not a warrior and was too simple to rule without divine intervention.

The attacks by the chronicler on Edward's political competence were blunted by an interesting comparison within the chapter, telling the story of Pope Gregory VI. During the course of the tale, the pope is forced to do battle with the rough elements of Rome in order to assert his supremacy. At the end of his life, he defended his military actions by saying that he needed to fight; even though it was not a bishop's express business to engage in warfare, it was his business to bring aid to a troubled world.⁵⁹ By juxtaposing a warlike pope and peaceful king, Malmesbury justified the actions of this pacific king. Both men, despite their unorthodox behaviour, had divine approval. Edward received God's assistance during his life. Comparatively, after Pope Gregory's death, God showed his approval of the pope by breaking the chains which had been placed on the door of St. Paul's basilica, signalling that he approved the pope's burial there.⁶⁰ William of Malmesbury was able to avoid calling Edward an irresponsible leader by comparing him with another unorthodox leader. This was important because the chronicler supported the claims for Edward's sanctity, and claimed that Edward had abandoned his office would not have supported William of Malmesbury's argument.

In Edward's case, his claim of divine approval becomes more apparent when William turned his attention to Edward's sanctity, in which the influence of the first Life is more expressly seen. The hagiographical slant of the *Gesta* is to be expected because he was

⁵⁸ 'Sed quanuis uel deses uel simplex putaretur, habebat comites qui eum ex humili in altum conantem erigerent...' (GR, i, p. 348.).

⁵⁹ 'Ita in utranuis partem potest causa mea infirmari uel allegari. Non est episcopi offitium ut ipse committat uel committi iubeat prelium; ceterum spectat ad munus episcopi ut, si uideat naufragari innocentiam, et manu et lingua occurrat' (GR, i, p. 372.).

⁶⁰ GR, i, p. 376.

encouraged to write the work by Matilda, Henry I's queen.⁶¹ Additionally, the text was sent to King David of Scotland, who also had an interest in the sainted side of his Anglo-Saxon lineage, particularly since he had blood-ties to Edward.⁶² A larger part of William of Malmesbury's treatment of Edward the Confessor consists of Edward's sacred lineage, visions and miracles. He also mentioned Edward's perpetual virginity, though he questioned its motivation, wondering if Edward remained in that state through hatred of his family-in-law or love of chastity.⁶³ Regardless of Malmesbury's view on Edward's chastity, he is the first chronicler to delineate the monarch's claims to sanctity. First, Malmesbury gave an impressive list of male and female royal Anglo-Saxon saints, and at the end of the list he said that Edward did not lack any of his ancestors' virtues.⁶⁴ By listing these ancestors, William of Malmesbury established a precedent for sanctity within the Anglo-Saxon royal house, making it unsurprising rather than unusual that England could produce a royal saint. Malmesbury asserted God's approval of Edward in a vision received by Bishop Brithwold, in which the bishop was informed about Edward's childless reign. When Brithwold complained about the lack of an heir, he was informed that the king's celibacy and piety made him pleasing to God.⁶⁵ This is accompanied by the first use of the Seven Sleepers and Green Tree visions in a chronicle. These three visions all appear in the first *vita*. Barlow has demonstrated the verbal relationship between the versions

⁶¹ For Queen Matilda's interest in Edward the Confessor, see Ch. 1, p. 13.

⁶² William of Malmesbury's letter to King David is in *GR*, i, pp. 2-4. William also sent a copy to the Empress Matilda, though there is no evidence that she supported Edward's cult (*GR*, pp. 6-8.).

⁶³ 'Nuptam sibi rex hac arte tractabat, ut nec thoro amoueret nec uirili more cognosceret, quod an familiae illius odio, quod prudenter dissimulabat pro tempore, an amore castitatis fecerit, pro certo compertum non habeo. Illud celeberrime fertur, numquam illum cuiusquam mulieris contubernio pudicitiam lesisse' (*GR*, i, pp. 352-4.). Earlier, Orderic Vitalis had said that Edward married Edith to strengthen the bonds of friendship between the two families and does not hint that Edward did not like the Godwins: '...ut inter eos firmus amor iugiter maneret, Æditham filiam eius [Earl Godwin] uxorem nomine tenus duxit' (*Gesta Normannorum*, ii, p. 108.).

⁶⁴ 'Plures e familia regia utriusque sexus cognouisse ad rem referre arbitror, ut sciatur quod a uirtutibus maiorum rex Eduardus, de quo ante digressionem dicebam, minime degenerauerit' (*GR*, i, p. 404.).

⁶⁵ 'Regnum Anglorum est Dei; post te prouidit regem ad placitum sui' (*GR*, i, p. 406.).

of Brithwold's vision and the Green Tree vision in the first Life and the *Gesta*.⁶⁶ The Seven Sleepers vision is more difficult as it is in one of the first *vita*'s lacuna, however, as Barlow thought it appeared in the first Life it is likely that William of Malmesbury used this text as a source for this vision. The author further unfolded the evidence for Edward's sanctity by describing three miraculous cures which Edward performed during his life.⁶⁷ Malmesbury's description of the king was more suffused with stories of the king's sanctity than of his reign.⁶⁸

A distinctly different impression is to be found in John of Worcester's description of Edward's reign written at the request of Bishop Wulfstan to bring Maurianus Scotus' chronicle up to date.⁶⁹ In this version, Edward is presented mostly as he was in previous chronicles, reflecting William's dependence on the C and D versions of the *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle*.⁷⁰ The dependence on the earlier chronicle comes through in the following episodes: before he began his reign, he went to England with his brother Alfred to visit his mother.⁷¹ The story of the rest of the reign follows along the same pattern, mentioning among other events Swein's request for naval assistance, the invasion of Wales on the king's command, and the Godwin family's exile and subsequent reinstatement.⁷² He also described Godwin's death by

⁶⁶ *The Life of King Edward*, pp. 128-30.

⁶⁷ William of Malmesbury listed three of the six miraculous cures in the first Life.

⁶⁸ In William of Malmesbury's version of the *Vita Wulfstani*, Edward is not presented as a saint. Additionally, the scene where Edward is called upon from beyond his grave to certify Wulfstan's appointment as bishop of Worcester is not added, though Edward's confirmation of Wulfstan's election is (*Vita Wulfstani*, p. 18.).

⁶⁹ John of Worcester, *Chronicle*, ed. and trans. P. McGurk (3 vols., Oxford, 1999-), ii, p. xviii. John of Worcester's modern editors state that finding Florence of Worcester's original text within John's chronicle is an elusive exercise and that any of the text's attribution to the earlier chronicler is questionable (John of Worcester, *Chronicle*, ii, pp. xvii-xviii.). Taking these arguments into consideration, it will be assumed in this chapter that John of Worcester was responsible for the entire chronicle. Even if there was an independent Florence text, it will be assumed in that case that John exercised editorial control over what parts of the earlier text he included in his own.

⁷⁰ John of Worcester, *Chronicle*, ii, p. xix. P. Wormald has argued that John of Worcester used a version of the *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle* closely related to the D version: *How do we know so much about Anglo-Saxon Deerhurst?* (Deerhurst, 1993), pp. 11-17.

⁷¹ John of Worcester, *Chronicle*, ii, pp. 522-4.

⁷² John of Worcester, *Chronicle*, ii, pp. 544, 574, 592, 560-70.

choking, though he removed the sinister implication of the death, which was used as a polarising element by the hagiographers.⁷³ William of Malmesbury also included the scene of the earl's death, and was the first to say that Godwin's death by choking was the result of his guilt for Alfred's death.⁷⁴ John of Worcester's account of the death does include its cause, but without giving the sinister reason behind its occurrence.⁷⁵ Earlier chronicles also relate the death but do not mention it in conjunction with Alfred's death.⁷⁶ John of Worcester's chronicle follows the lines of previous chroniclers of Edward's reign, whereas William of Malmesbury's view is profoundly different. Worcester's account is void of any supernatural or miraculous events; his focus is Edward the king rather than Edward the saint. Malmesbury is quite different because he debunked Edward's natural ability to rule and painted all the events in his reign with supernatural colours.

The third chronicler, Henry of Huntingdon, who wrote at the request of Alexander, bishop of Lincoln, did not adopt either of the extreme views of William of Malmesbury or John of Worcester, though like the two other chroniclers he had access to a version of the *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle*.⁷⁷ The archdeacon's chapter on Edward's reign is limited in the number of episodes it outlines. The only major incident connected to contemporary politics is the account of Godwin's rebellion.⁷⁸ The use of this remarkable event is not surprising, as one of the chronicler's sources was chiefly the E recension of the *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle*, which went into great detail about the incidents surrounding the rebellion.⁷⁹ Unlike John of Worcester, he did not launch into more tales about the reign. This is in keeping with the work, which was

⁷³ See Ch. 4, pp. 121-6.

⁷⁴ *GR*, i, p. 354.

⁷⁵ John of Worcester, *Chronicle*, ii, p. 572.

⁷⁶ C, D, and E versions, *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle*, i, pp. 182-4. In the *Gesta Guillelmi* there is an invective against the earl for Alfred's murder (William of Poitiers, pp. 4-6.)

⁷⁷ Henry of Huntingdon, *Historia Anglorum*, p. xciv.

⁷⁸ Henry of Huntingdon, *Historia Anglorum*, pp. 376-8.

⁷⁹ Henry of Huntingdon, *Historia Anglorum*, pp. xci-xcviii.

written with the intention that each of the ten books could be read in a single sitting.⁸⁰ Despite the minimal treatment of the reign, he did include its major political events.

Despite having access to John of Worcester, Henry of Huntingdon departed from that chronicle's strictly political bent when he included two fantastic occurrences. The first was the death of Godwin, in which he gives the Malmesbury version; the earl choked to death protesting his innocence in Alfred's death.⁸¹ The source for this episode is unknown as it does not appear in any version of the *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle*, nor is it likely that Henry of Huntingdon had access to the *Gesta Regum*.⁸² A possible solution is the tale was a popular story; Diana Greenway suggests that one of Huntingdon's major sources, in particular for Godwin's death, was oral tradition.⁸³ This hypothesis becomes more acceptable when one encounters Edward's prophecy about the fate of Earl Godwin's sons.⁸⁴ This prophecy does not feature in any earlier text and, given the date of his birth, c. 1088, and the time during which Huntingdon was writing, 1133-54, it is likely that he would have heard tales circulating about the previous kings. These two episodes bring Huntingdon's narrative closer in style to William of Malmesbury. However, he did not promote Edward's sanctity in the way William of Malmesbury did. For instance, when Edward dies, he is called *bonus* and *pacificus*, not *sanctus*.⁸⁵ It is not surprising the tales of sanctity

⁸⁰ Henry of Huntingdon, *Historia Anglorum*, p. lviii.

⁸¹ 'Edwardus, duodecimo anno regni sui, cum pranderet apud Windlesore, ubi plurimum manere solebat, Godwinus gener suus et proditor, recumbens iuxta eum, dixit, "Sepe tibi rex falso delatum est me prodicioni tue inuigilasse. Sed si Deus celi uerax et iustus est, hoc panis frustrulum concedat ne michi guttur pertranseat, si umquam te prodere uel cogitauerim." Deus autem uerax et iustus audiuit uocem proditoris, et mox eodem pane strangulatus, mortem pregustauit eternam' (Henry of Huntingdon, *Historia Anglorum*, p. 378.).

⁸² For a list of Henry of Huntingdon's sources, see *Historia Anglorum*, pp. lxxxv-cvii.

⁸³ Henry of Huntingdon, *Historia Anglorum*, pp. cv-cvi.

⁸⁴ 'Contigit autem eodem anno [1059-60, the twenty-second year of Edward's reign], quod in aula regia apud Windlesores Tosti Haraldum fratrem suum, regi uina propinantem, capillis coram rege ipso arripuerit. Inuidie namque et odii fomitem ministrauerat, quod cum ipse Tosti primogenitus esset, arcius a rege frater suus diligeretur. Igitur impetu furoris propulsus, non potuit cohibere manus a cesarie fratris. Rex autem pernitiam eorum iam appropinquare predixit, et iram Dei iam non differendam' (Henry of Huntingdon, *Historia Anglorum*, p. 382.).

⁸⁵ Henry of Huntingdon, *Historia Anglorum*, p. 410.

were abounding in England at this time, because while Henry was writing, the first petition for Edward's canonisation was put forward. However widespread these tales might have been, Henry of Huntingdon chose not to include as many saintly tales as William of Malmesbury did. His view of Edward included both his secular and sacred sides.

Following these three men, the accounts of Edward's reign began to follow the balanced approach adopted by Henry of Huntingdon. This trend's duration was short, and as time wore on the image of Edward as saint began to compete with Edward as king. Local chronicles in the period after the mid-twelfth century, such as those written at Abingdon, Ely, Waltham, and Ramsey Abbeys, mention Edward in terms of the business which the king conducted with these houses: three charters and the granting of a market to Abingdon Abbey, charters granted to Ely Abbey, Edward's gift of Waltham to Harold, and his gift of land to Ramsey Abbey.⁸⁶ These four local chronicles all have different views of Edward, though all were favourable. The *Abingdon Chronicle*, which was most likely written in the early 1160s, recognised Edward's sanctity, calling the king *sanctus* though without providing stories to illustrate the claim.⁸⁷ The chronicle written at Ely and completed between 1169-74 did not go quite as far in recognising Edward's sanctity; in the brief description of the king at the time of his death, only the word *pacificus* is used.⁸⁸ The balance of the king's image is tipped more in favour of his sainted side in the two other chronicles through the use of two legends associated with Edward, which can also be found in the *vita* by Aelred. The *Ramsey Chronicle*, begun in 1170, included the vision of Edward received by Abbot Ailsy of Ramsey in

⁸⁶ *Chronicon Monasterii de Abingdon*, ed. J. Stevenson (2 vols., RS, 1868), i, pp. 452-6, ii, p. 278; *Liber Eliensis*, ed. E. O. Blake (Camden Society, 1962), pp. 161-5; *Waltham Chronicle*, p. 26; *Chronicon Abbatiae Rameseiensis*, ed. W. Dunn Macray (RS, 1886), pp. 160, 170. Abingdon was forced to use Edward's charter to defend their market: *Chronicon Monasterii de Abingdon*, ii, p. 163-4.

⁸⁷ *Chronicon Monasterii de Abingdon*, i, p. 451. I should like to thank John Hudson for his assistance in dating this chronicle.

⁸⁸ For the chronicle's dating, see Gransden, *Historical Writing in England*, p. 270. *Liber Eliensis*, p. 51.

which the dead king gave military advice which was to be passed on to Harold.⁸⁹ While the story appeared in the *Life* written by Aelred, the version in the *Ramsey Chronicle* does not appear to have been copied. More likely, especially since it involved a member of the house, the story had been passed down. The *Waltham Chronicle*, which was begun in 1177, contained a long story of the legend of Edward and the ring.⁹⁰ Unlike the vision in the *Ramsey Chronicle*, there are no Waltham connections in the ring legend. All four chronicles emphasise the positive sides of Edward's character, a politic thing to do as they recorded grants made by the king. The extent to which they did this differed; while the Ely chronicle refers to Edward's peaceful reign, the other three chronicles went further, citing the king's sanctity and including legends which appeared for the first time in chronicles, evidence that the sacred image of Edward was beginning to impinge on the historical perception of him.

There is a distinct change in the writing around the end of the twelfth century, when large excerpts were taken from other chroniclers from earlier periods. Three of the most excerpted writers were William of Malmesbury, John of Worcester and Henry of Huntingdon. What is important about the excerpts, given the difference between the views of the three different writers, is what episodes were used. The first chronicle to use excerpted passages was the *Historia Regum*, composed at Durham at the end of the twelfth century.⁹¹ The chronicler used significant parts by John of Worcester: Edward's trip to England before

⁸⁹ 'Cui quum Haraldus, propter imparitatem forsitan copiæ militaris, obviare dissimularet, sanctus Edwardus prædictum abbatem Ailsium, cujus commendationis causa hæc interserimus, per visum admonuit, ut regem Haroldum ad invadendos hostes ab eo missus animaret, triumphum ei victoriæ certissime compromittens. Quod quum Ailsius Haraldo nunciasset, ille visionis fide roboratus, viribus undique collectis, inimicam aciem acerrime aggressus, præfato rege et Tostino ferro cæsis, cæteros omnes palantes vel in mortem compulit vel in fugam' (*Ramsey Chronicle*, p. 179.).

⁹⁰ *Waltham Chronicle*, pp. 38-44.

⁹¹ For the date of the chronicle's composition, see Gransden, *Historical Writing in England*, pp. 148-9. The additions were probably not by Simeon of Durham, but by a later compiler who added the stories at the end of the twelfth century: Simeon of Durham, *Tract on the Origins and Progress of this the Church of Durham*, ed. D. Rollason (Oxford, 2000), pp. xlvi-xxix.

becoming king, Godwin's rebellion, the Welsh campaign, the instalment of Malcolm on the Scottish throne, and, importantly, Godwin's death.⁹² Edward's saintly character was brought out in the the vision of Bishop Brithwald and the Green Tree prophecy, which were taken from William of Malmesbury.⁹³ Considering that the Durham chroniclers had access to the miracle encrusted *Gesta Regum* of William of Malmesbury, they chose to put comparatively few miraculous accounts into the chronicle. In an episode illustrating Durham's loyalty to Edward, the foundation's chroniclers recognised Edward's confirmation of Egelwin's appointment to the see of Durham.⁹⁴ The favourable image of Edward as a fairly competent ruler is presented in association with two incidents which suggest his sanctity. The houses which relied on Edward's patronage or assistance during his reign were keen to stress the monarch's sanctity to bolster their claims, as Osbert of Clare had already done to a greater extent.

The next chronicler who included an account of Edward's reign was Roger of Howden, most likely one of Henry II's clerks, who wrote his chronicle c. 1201, and approached Edward's reign differently from the Durham chronicler. Like the *Historia Regum*, he borrowed similar scenes of Edward's political life from John of Worcester, adding the request from Emperor Henry III for military support while omitting Edward's return to England before he is elected king.⁹⁵ Of greater interest are the parts which he did not borrow. Howden's book contains the first chronicle references to Edward's visions of the king of Denmark's death, of the devil sitting on a pile of treasure and Edward's cure of a leper.⁹⁶ Also included is the ring legend and Edward's vision of

⁹² Simeon of Durham, 'Historia Regum,' in *Symeonis Monachi Opera Omnia*, ed. T. Arnold (2 vols., RS, 1883), ii, pp. 158-9, 166-71.

⁹³ 'Historia Regum,' ii, pp. 97-8.

⁹⁴ 'Historia Regum,' i, p. 92.

⁹⁵ Roger of Howden, *Chronica*, ed. W. Stubbs (5 vols., RS, 1868-71), i, pp. 96-101. For Henry II's request see i, pp. 94-5.

⁹⁶ Roger of Howden, *Chronica*, i, pp. 108-11.

the king of Denmark's drowning.⁹⁷ These incidents are heavily abbreviated from Aelred's *vita*, with the exception of the vision of the devil sitting on treasure, which did not appear in a hagiographic text until Matthew Paris wrote. This tale, in addition to the legend of the ring and St. John, shows that there were legends about Edward in circulation which served to mythologise his character. Roger of Howden was the first chronicler who combined accounts of Edward's political acumen and sanctity, which is what one would expect from one of Henry II's clerks, since the king was instrumental in the saint's canonisation.

The thirteenth- and fourteenth-century chroniclers worked differently, a change characterised by their inclusion of hagiographic texts as direct sources, which had not occurred since William of Malmesbury. Though the *vitae* reemerged as sources, paradoxically little changed in the perception of Edward from the previous chronicles. Three chroniclers especially adopted the Lives. Roger of Wendover, who wrote in the first half of the thirteenth century and whose material was used almost verbatim by his successor, Matthew Paris, began the trend by using Aelred of Rievaulx's Life as a source.⁹⁸ It is difficult to say for whom Roger and Matthew were writing, but it is certain that Matthew Paris' writings had attracted the notice of Henry III, and his amendments to the *Chronica Majora* suggest that he was aware of writing for an audience outside of St. Albans.⁹⁹ The use of a hagiographic source alludes to a chronicler's acceptance and/or promotion of Edward's sanctity. In the second half of the fourteenth century, Richard of Cirencester, a monk at Westminster Abbey, wrote a chronicle which covered Edward's reign. Richard wrote, probably

⁹⁷ Roger of Howden, *Chronica*, i, p. 109-10.

⁹⁸ R. Vaughn showed that Matthew Paris used material from Roger of Wendover's work for all events before 1234. This replication, which was not amended by Matthew Paris in any way, is important because it shows that there was a concrete image of the confessor within St. Albans (*Matthew Paris* [Cambridge, 1958], pp. 29, 30-32.).

⁹⁹ See Ch. 4, p. 116.

during the reign of Richard II, to commemorate the lives of worthy kings so that they could be a model for other rulers.¹⁰⁰ Very little commentary has been written on Richard's *Speculum Historiale*. It is not known to whom Richard intended presenting the so-called mirror, though Richard II is a reasonable candidate. The chronicler's inclusion of the sainted Edward the Confessor would have been appreciated by the devoted monarch. This reflects one of the major sources for this chronicle: Aelred's version of the *vita*. The nineteenth-century editor also cited John of Worcester, Roger of Wendover and William of Malmesbury as sources for the non-hagiographical passages. Richard of Cirencester's connection to Westminster Abbey meant that it would have been paramount for him to acknowledge Edward's sanctity, and that he did this with his use of Aelred's *vitae*.

One early fourteenth-century chronicler, Ranulph Higden, did not use strictly hagiographic sources. He wrote the *Polychronicon* at the request of his home foundation, the Benedictine abbey of St. Werburg, attempting to write a history from creation to his present time.¹⁰¹ Unlike Richard of Cirencester, Ranulph Higden had no ties to Westminster Abbey and thus no incentive to promote Edward's sanctity. Despite the lack of a Westminster connection, Ranulph used William of Malmesbury's accounts of Brithwald's vision in the *Gesta Pontificum* and the Seven Sleepers and Green Tree visions from *Gesta Regum*. Higden further recognised Edward's sanctity in a brief, one sentence account of Edward's 1163 translation.¹⁰² There are two scenes which cannot be easily attributed: Edward's vision of the Danish attack and the story of

¹⁰⁰ RC, i, p. 3. The four books chronicle England's history from the reign of Kings Vortigern to Edward the Confessor, however, the fourth book only concerns Edward's reign.

¹⁰¹ Ranulph Higden, *Polychronicon*, ed. C. Babington (9 vols., RS, 1865-86), i, pp. 8-9.

¹⁰² Ranulph Higden, *Polychronicon*, vii, pp. 112-4, 174-80, 186-8, 218-26, 378-80, viii, p. 254.

Wulfstan and the staff.¹⁰³ The use of these scenes confirms that Higden adopted a saintly slant in his perception of Edward. However, Higden presented only limited evidence for Edward's sanctity. Unlike Richard of Cirencester, who mentioned all of the miracles and visions listed by Aelred and Matthew Paris, Higden only used a fraction of the events.

For the political aspects of Edward's reign, all four thirteenth- and fourteenth-century chronicles include the by now standard scenes from Edward's reign. Roger of Wendover, Matthew Paris and Richard of Cirencester all gave limited accounts of Edward's involvement in politics, focusing primarily on John of Worcester's version of Godwin's rebellion,¹⁰⁴ whereas Ranulph Higden used numerous political incidents from John of Worcester and Henry of Huntingdon, including passages on Edward's trip to England before his reign, providing Emperor Henry III with military assistance, sending Harold to deal with the Welsh, and establishing Malcolm in Scotland.¹⁰⁵ Ranulph Higden was the only one of the four to associate Edward with his laws.¹⁰⁶ With the partial exception of Higden's text, the overriding tendency of chroniclers from the mid- to late thirteenth was to place less emphasis on political events and more on the fantastic visions and miracles.

Roger of Wendover, Matthew Paris, Richard of Cirencester and Ranulph Higden, despite the general tendency to emphasise Edward's sanctity, disagreed on one issue: Edward's chastity. Three, excepting Richard of Cirencester, echoed William of Malmesbury's belief that

¹⁰³ Ranulph Higden, *Polychronicon*, vii, pp. 166, 378-80. Neither of these two stories are in William of Malmesbury, Henry Huntingdon or John of Worcester, nor is it likely that the version of the Danish attack, in which the Danes get drunk and forget their mission, can be found anywhere else. The first sentence of the Danish attack, which was used almost verbatim by Ranulph Higden, is from the Bury St. Edmunds copy of Marianus Scotus: 'Quo anno rex anglorum Eadwardus ad Sandicum portum congregavit classem prevalidam contra magnum norreganorum regem angliam adire disponentem. Sed bellum a Suano rege danorum illi illatum iter impedivit' (MS Bodl. 297, f. 359.). However, Marianus Scotus' account ends there and does not refer to the Danes' level of inebriation.

¹⁰⁴ Roger of Wendover, *Chronica sive Flores Historiarum*, ed. H. O. Coxe (5 vols., London, 1841), i, pp. 350-2; *CM*, ii, pp. 520-2; *RC*, ii, pp. 250-2.

¹⁰⁵ Ranulph Higden, *Polychronicon*, vii, pp. 138-42, 170, 184-6, 214.

¹⁰⁶ 'Ex his tribus legibus Sanctus Edwardus tertius unam legem communem edidit, quæ leges Edwardi usque hodie vocantur' (Ranulph Higden, *Polychronicon*, ii, p. 92).

Edward's chastity was not an aspect of his piety.¹⁰⁷ The inclusion of this argument so long after Edward's canonisation is remarkable because that was one of the virtues which was stressed as evidence of his sanctity, and also by his hagiographers, including Matthew Paris. Its presence in these three texts suggest that there were still lingering doubts about Edward's intentions, particularly since by this time the Godwin family's reputation had been utterly defamed, which would reasonably explain why the saintly Edward did not choose to procreate with a member of the notorious family, regardless of her virtues. The emphasis on Edward's sanctity is apparent in the visions he received, all of which had been included by other chroniclers by the late twelfth century. The last author in this group, Richard of Cirencester, took a leap forward in proving Edward's sanctity. Not only did he include the legends, miracles and visions, some of which were also in the other three chronicles, but he also included the letter from Pope Alexander III confirming Edward's canonisation and an account of the 1163 translation from an unknown source.¹⁰⁸ In addition to promoting Edward's sanctity, he proved that it was papally recognised, thereby promoting his house's benefactor saint using every document available. Edward the saint had overtaken Edward the king.

By the end of the fourteenth century, Edward's sanctity had become a major aspect of the image portrayed by the chronicles. While William of Malmesbury's presentation of Edward as an unorthodox ruler was never reiterated by any other writer, after the mid-twelfth century his political activities began to take second place to tales supporting his sanctity. Though excerpts of John of Worcester's account of the king's reign were used by other chroniclers, the number of episodes utilised by later chroniclers declined, until the main feature was Godwin's

¹⁰⁷ Roger of Wendover, *Flores Historiarum*, i, pp. 365-8; *CM*, i, pp. 536-7; Ranulph Higden, *Polychronicon*, vii, p.162.

¹⁰⁸ *RC*, ii, pp. 320-27. The description of the 1163 translation mainly tells of the delay due to Henry II's absence from England, the preparation of the monks and a list of the attendees.

rebellion. In the end, William of Malmesbury's saintly image prevailed. The supernatural stories included in the chronicles emphasised his sanctity, stories which ultimately overshadowed the descriptions of his reign. The most prominent feature of these chronicles, aside from the increasing presentation of Edward's saintly aspects, is the tendency of later chronicles to borrow passages about his reign from earlier ones. The presence of these borrowings means that nothing new about Edward was written after his canonisation.¹⁰⁹ Instead of vibrant new perceptions of his reign, chroniclers were content to retell the old legends, leading to a stagnation of his character. This stagnation is most telling for the appeal of the cult of Edward. As time passed, the trend became to focus on the saintly aspects of Edward's character, presenting the king as an anomaly in times when English rulers were primarily involved with warfare.

¹⁰⁹ C. Fell has observed the stagnation of the legend of Edward the Confessor in an Icelandic saga written in the fourteenth century, which she says transpired because of the limited picture of the king in the works which entered Iceland, namely the version of William of Malmesbury presented in Vincent of Beauvais' *Speculum Historiale*, and lessons from the Westminster, Exeter, Salisbury and Hereford missals: 'The Icelandic Saga of Edward the Confessor: The Hagiographic Sources,' *Anglo-Saxon England* 1 (1972).

Chapter Six

Sacred Establishment and Sacred Subversives

As examples in earlier chapters have shown, the study of any saint's cult needs to include a comparative element in order to assess the standing of the cult in question. Since the beginnings of Edward's cult have been examined earlier in this thesis, this chapter will address the period between the mid-thirteenth and late fourteenth centuries. For that time period, two groups of saints flourished, and their perceptions will be compared with Edward's. The first group is that of European royal saints, from which SS Louis IX of France and Margaret of Scotland have been chosen because of their countries' close associations with England. Like Edward, they were in the position of being responsible for the well-being of their countries. While it was not rare for a member of the aristocracy to be canonised,¹ royal saints filled a special category as they were symbolically important in their countries. Another group, which was particular to England, consists of men who rebelled against the crown and are commonly referred to by modern scholars as political saints.² The earliest saint so recognised was Earl Waltheof, who was followed by Thomas Becket and then by a relative explosion of other figures from the time of Henry III onwards.³ Though few of these figures were canonised, the reasons for their cults' popularity make them a salient comparison to Edward's, which was also

¹ In the thirteenth century, about eighty percent of the people canonised were from the aristocratic class, a figure which is inversely proportional to their representation in the population. This pattern held for the majority of the Middle Ages, though it is difficult to calculate the precise numbers because there was a tendency among hagiographers to exaggerate a saint's social rank (K. and C. H. George, 'Roman Catholic Sainthood and Social Status: A Statistical and Analytical Study,' *Journal of Religion* 35 [1955].).

² The classic article in the study of political saints is J. C. Russell, 'The Canonization of Opposition to the King in Angevin England,' in C. H. Taylor (ed.), *Haskins Anniversary Essays in Medieval History* (Boston and New York, 1929). More recently, A. R. Echerd has challenged Russell's hypothesis that no political saints were created in the fourteenth century in his thesis 'Canonization and Politics in Late Medieval England: The Cult of Thomas of Lancaster' (Univ. of North Carolina, Chapel Hill Ph.D. thesis, 1983), p. 21.

³ The cult of Waltheof has been examined by F. S. Scott, 'Earl Waltheof of Northumbria,' *Archæologia Aeliana*, 4th ser., 30 (1952). Other studies of the cults of political saints include: E. W. Kemp 'The Attempted Canonization of Robert Grosseteste,' C. H. Lawrence, *St. Edmund of Abingdon*.

fighting for attention during the same period. The purpose of comparing Edward's cult with those of others is to find an explanation for its lack of renown in the Middle Ages. The comparison will be composed of many parts, the first being the reasons for which royal saints were canonised.

Royal Canonisations

Margaret's canonisation in 1249, like that of Edward the Confessor's almost two centuries before, was infused with political manoeuvring. There are many circumstances which confuse the picture of her cult, particularly the decision itself to have her canonised in the first instance. At first glance, one is able to discern something a bit different merely by noting the important dates associated with the queen. She died in 1093, one hundred and fifty-seven years before the first messenger was sent to Rome and one hundred and sixty-six years before Pope Innocent IV gave sanction for Margaret to be included in the catalogue of saints.⁴ Robert Folz's book on female royal saints reveals some interesting facts about this group.⁵ Of the twelve saints he tracked, whose lives spanned the early and high middle ages, only five were papally canonised. This low figure is more an indication of the late date at which the papacy appropriated canonisation, rather than an unwillingness to petition for their canonisation, since of the six women who died after 999, five were canonised. Though it was increasingly common for queens and empresses to be canonised after the turn of the millennium, the period of time between their deaths and canonisations helps to reveal attitudes to the proposed saint. Three of the canonisations came within one hundred years of their death.⁶ Two came

⁴ *Registrum de Dunfermelyn*, ed. C. Innes (Edinburgh, 1842), pp. 185-6. These letters, discussed in detail below, have been accepted as evidence for her canonisation: *Early Sources of Scottish History A.D. 500-1286*, ed. A. O. Anderson (2 vols., Stamford 1990 reprint of Edinburgh, 1922), ii, p. 87n.

⁵ Folz, *Les Saintes reines du moyen âge en occident*.

⁶ St. Elizabeth: 4 years, St. Hedwige: 24 years and St. Adelaide: 98 years. The latter is included in the reckoning since, unlike the other two, Adelaide's canonisation came about long before canonisation became a regular feature of the papal court.

much later: the empress Cunegund and Margaret, who were canonised one hundred and fifty-seven years and one hundred and sixty-seven years respectively after their deaths. Cunegund's cult was connected to her husband's, Emperor Henry II, primarily because the couple were venerated for their chaste lifestyle.⁷ Because of the connection of the cults, Cunegund's canonisation was only a formality since it did not mark the beginning of an entirely new cult. Margaret's cult was remotely connected to Edward's, which calls into question the reason behind the length of time between her death and canonisation. The years are an indication that there was something a bit unusual about the petition for Margaret's sanctity.

The documents for Margaret's canonisation received both royal and ecclesiastical support. Though the majority of the correspondence must have been lost, what little remains shows that Alexander II had a major role in instigating the canonisation petition. There are two letters requesting the investigation of the queen's life and merits written by the pope. The first, written in 1245, instructed the bishops of St. Andrews, Dunkeld and Dunblane to investigate Margaret's life and miracles. The second, written in 1246, instructed the bishops of St. Andrews and Glasgow to do the same. What is of further interest in these letters is that in both instances the pope wrote that he was acting on Alexander II's request, thereby revealing the king's interest in the project.⁸ Alexander II also had ecclesiastical support, because the pope's appointment of these men to the investigation into Margaret's sanctity and the subsequent canonisation implies their compliance with the request and support of the petition. It is impossible to say how many

⁷ Henry II was canonised in 1146, his wife in 1200. There are scenes in Edward's anonymous *vita* which suggest that Edith's piety was in close harmony with her husband's. It must be assumed that Edith followed her husband in his oath of virginity. On his deathbed, Edward referred to Edith as his daughter and sister: "Noli flere" inquit, "noli lugere, soror et amica" (Osbert, pp. 110-11.). However, Edith was never put forward for canonisation.

⁸ '...Regis sco[torum] illustris fuit nob[is] humilit[us] supplicatu[m], ut cu[m] corp[us] clare memorie Margarite Regine Scoc[torum] choruscet mirac[ul]is infinitis' (*Registrum de Dunfermelyn*, p. 181); 'Cum ad instancia[m]... Regis Scoc[torum] Illust[ri]s...' (*Registrum de Dunfermelyn*, p. 183.).

bishops were involved with the initial petition.⁹ The letters provide an example of the structure of papal investigation into sanctity; it was the responsibility of the clergy from within the country rather than papal emissaries to test the claims to sanctity.¹⁰ While the bull of canonisation is lost, Innocent IV sent two letters in 1249: one, addressed to the abbot of Dunfermline, acknowledging satisfactory evidence for Margaret's sanctity, and another, addressed to the Christian people of Scotland, granting an indulgence of forty days to those who visited *Sancta Margareta* on her feast.¹¹ The pope's use of the title *sancta* for Margaret indicates that the claims of sanctity had been accepted and she had been canonised.¹² While the pope did not directly write to the king of Scotland in 1249, earlier the canonisation petition had relied on royal support. It remains to determine why the ruling elite was so involved with the cult.

Part of the answer lies in the practical aspects of canonisation in the thirteenth century. It was an expensive business and it behoved the petitioners to secure the most influential help, and one traditional source for assistance was the king.¹³ Moreover, it would have been especially foolhardy to overlook Alexander II's influence at this time in his reign. Alan Wilson asserts, in his study of Margaret's life and career, that the canonisation was assisted by the Scottish involvement on

⁹ '...nostris dederimus litteris in mandatis ut de vita, meritis et miraculis sancte Margarete Regine Scoctorum inquireretis diligentius veritatem...' (*Registrum de Dunfermelyn*, p. 183.). At the time of the inquiry into Margaret's sanctity, ten sees in Scotland were occupied, meaning that just under half of the country's bishops were involved in the process. Conversely, there were seven letters sent by bishops in support of Edward's 1161 canonisation at a time when twenty sees were occupied.

¹⁰ The responsibility of the local clergy to render the investigation of a saint is clearly delineated in the *Book of St. Gilbert*.

¹¹ *Registrum de Dunfermelyn*, pp. 185-6.

¹² It has been shown that in the thirteenth century there was a distinction between the term *sanctus* and *beatus*: A. Vauchez, *Sainthood in the Later Middle Ages*, J. Birrell (trans.) (Cambridge, 1997), pp. 85-103.

¹³ One of the reasons that the petitions for Thomas of Lancaster began to lose their impetus was the decrease in support given to the cause by the king (Echerd, 'Canonization and Politics in Late Medieval England,' p. 160.).

crusade, an association which carried papal favour.¹⁴ Indeed, even though the pope submitted Margaret's life and miracles to an investigation, the process did not yield copious amounts of evidence. The only miracles presented as evidence in the canonisation request were those from the period 1243-9 where the tomb was said to have glowed.¹⁵ The miracles, which will be discussed to a fuller extent below, show that the pope was willing to give the benefit of the doubt in allowing the canonisation.¹⁶ Alexander II's support of the crusade aided in the recognition of Margaret's sanctity, but why was the king interested in its promotion?

Alexander II's interest in Margaret's canonisation was fostered in a time which highlighted Scotland's dearth of papally canonised saints.¹⁷ By the 1240's Scotland's neighbour, England, had more than its fair share of canonised saints; the canonisation of William of York took place in 1226 and that of Edmund of Canterbury in 1246.¹⁸ Meanwhile, no Scottish saint had been recognised by the pope, though the indications are that none were presented for such notice. In addition to the discrepancy in the number of canonised saints stood Henry III's particular veneration of Edward the Confessor at that time. The king had stepped forward as the sole backer of Westminster Abbey's restoration and of the construction of a new tomb for Edward. God had seen fit to bless England with a sainted ruler, and by doing so he favoured the country and its ruling house. Scotland had not been

¹⁴ Wilson, *St. Margaret*, p. 104. It was not unusual for the king's relationship with the pope to affect the outcome of a canonisation. An example of this is Edward's successful 1161 petition, whose success was almost assured because of Henry II's support of Alexander III (see Ch. 1, p. 31.).

¹⁵ *The Annals of Dunfermline and Vicinity from the Earliest Authentic Period to the Present Time A.D. 1069-1878*, ed. E. Henderson (Glasgow, 1879), p. 81. However, these are not the only miracles associated with the saint, see below, pp. 215-16.

¹⁶ Miracles alone were not sufficient for canonisation. There was an ongoing debate about what was more important in determining sanctity, a virtuous life or miracles. It was decided that both were necessary, though a virtuous life was imperative because miracles could be the work of the devil. For a discussion on the origins, see Ch. 1, p. 23.

¹⁷ For the political motives behind Alexander II's support of Margaret's canonisation, see D. Baker, 'A Nursery of Saints: St. Margaret of Scotland Reconsidered,' *Medieval Women* (Studies in Church History, Subsidia1), p. 121.

¹⁸ Wilson, *St. Margaret*, p. 104.

similarly blessed, thereby creating a deficit of dynastic sanctity.¹⁹

Competition between the two countries also provides a clue to another question: why canonise Margaret instead of another Scottish ruler? In the battle of divine royal propaganda, Scotland had to show that it had a saint who could closely match Edward. One aspect of the English royal veneration of Edward was the saint's familiar relationship to the Norman and Angevin royal houses. This theme was not abandoned in later versions of Edward's *vitae*; Aelred of Rievaulx traced Henry II's family back to Edward and this concept was also taken up by Matthew Paris.²⁰ In Turgot's *vita*, Margaret is presented as a founding mother of Scotland because of the ways in which she brought her new country into line with ecclesiastical and social continental practices.²¹ What was more valuable to the Scots in their struggle with the English was her lineage, as she was the granddaughter of Edward the Confessor's half-brother Edmund Ironside. Both the shorter and longer versions of her Life assert her relationship with Edward.²² Not only did Scotland have a candidate for royal sainthood, but one who was already connected to a pious family which had been recognised by the pope.²³ While the English had Edward, the Scots had the next best thing, his great-niece Margaret who was closer to Edward in terms of relationship than her son David.²⁴ England and Scotland's possession of royal saints

¹⁹ The primary motivation behind being the ability to claim a saint in a dynasty gave the English kings a tie to Christ and the saints (J. M. Theilman, 'Political Canonization and Political Symbolism in Medieval England,' *Journal of British Studies* 29 [1990], p. 245.). The Scots would have wanted to be able to claim the same association, as it was a common belief that the holiness of a ruler reflected on the country (J. Strayer, 'France, the Holy Land, the Chosen People, the Most Christian King,' in T. K. Rabb and J. E. Seigel [eds.], *Action and Conviction in Early Modern Europe* [Princeton, 1969], p. 5.).

²⁰ Aelred, col. 741; Matthew Paris, ll. 97-174.

²¹ See below, pp. 205-6.

²² 'Cujus frater ex patre, non autem ex matre, piissimus ille atque mansuetissimus fuerat Edwardus' (Turgot, 'Vita S. Margaretæ,' p. 237.).

²³ Both P. Stafford and R. Folz have commented on the connection between Edward and Margaret's relationship and the circumstances surrounding Margaret's canonisation. Stafford has noted the political aspect of Margaret's canonisation: 'The Portrayal of Royal Women in England,' p. 154. R. Folz has observed Turgot's links between Edward and Margaret: *Les Saintes reines*, p. 95.

²⁴ There was an unofficial cult for David, which is detailed in his entry in D. H. Farmer, *The Oxford Dictionary of Saints* (Oxford, 1978), pp. 102-3. Aelred of Rievaulx praised David's piety: 'Religiosus et pius rex David migravit e mundo; qui, licet dignum tali animæ locum invenerit, mors tamen ejus planctum nobis indicit' ('Genealogia Regum Anglorum,' in *PL*, cxcv, col. 713.).

from the same family meant that God had granted them the same divine recognition.²⁵ Though there is no written evidence explaining Alexander II's support for the request for Margaret's canonisation, it is not unlikely that the number of papal canonisations of English saints went unnoticed.²⁶

The impetus behind the canonisations of Margaret and Edward was slow to take hold. The formal recognition of their sanctity neatly coincided with periods during which their status as royal saints was particularly beneficial to the current ruler. In contrast, Louis IX's sanctity was immediately seized upon. By the end of Louis's life, there was already popular belief in his sanctity. In the first hagiographical account, written by Geoffrey de Beaulieu, the king's former confessor, the king of Sicily, Louis's brother, perceived the growing popular belief in Louis' sanctity. In order to preserve the body, it was boiled down in Sicily and the country's king requested that the heart and entrails remain in his possession.²⁷ Jacques LeGoff's most recent work on Louis IX indicates that the King of Sicily wanted more than the heart and entrails; he had heard rumours that his brother might be made a saint and therefore wanted the entire body.²⁸ The king of Sicily was not the only one to recognise Louis' sanctity immediately after his death. On the body's journey from Tunisia to France, crowds of people came to

²⁵ The English recognised the power of this royal saint: in 1291 Edward I stole the Holy Rood, donated by Margaret to Dunfermline, and brought it back to England just as later they would take the Stone of Scone (Wilson, *St. Margaret*, p. 110.). Both objects were incorporated into the regalia.

²⁶ The connection of the English to their saints had been asserted in Scotland earlier. In 1303 and 1306 England took banners with the arms of SS Edmund, Edward and George onto the battlefield, the majority of those being for St. George (D. W. Burton, 'Politics, Propaganda and Public Opinion in the Reigns of Henry III and Edward I,' [Oxford Univ. D.Phil. thesis, 1985], pp. 340-41.).

²⁷ 'Tamen carnes corporis ejus excoctas, et ab ossibus separatas, necnon cor et intestina ipsius petiit et impetravit devotus rex Siciliæ à nepote suo Rege Philippo. Qui suscipiens sanctas reliquias, honorifice fecit eas in Siciliam deportari...' (Geoffrey de Beaulieu, 'Vita et sancta conversatio piae memoriae Ludovici quondam regis Francorum' in *Recueil des historiens des Gaules et de la France*, ed. C. F. Daunou and J. Naudet [24 vols., Paris, 1738-1904], xx, p. 24.).

²⁸ J. LeGoff, *Saint Louis* (Paris, 1996), p. 299.

view and touch the relics.²⁹

The crowds continued to flock to Louis' body when it arrived and was entombed in Paris. Miracles began to be worked through the saint on people from varied backgrounds, reflecting his popularity among different groups of people.³⁰ Part of the materials collected for his canonisation was a dossier of sixty-five posthumous miracles, probably collected around the time of the first inquiry into Louis' sanctity in 1282.³¹ Most of the miracles are set in or around Paris, though not all of those cured lived in the vicinity. Indeed, two of the cures took place in Italy when the entrails were moved to Sicily.³² Sometimes the catalogue listed the background of the recipient. Jacques LeGoff broke down the classes of these people as follows: thirty were poor, seven were clergy, three were bourgeois, and five were noble.³³ While it is simple to understand the Capetians' desire to promote a saint from their dynasty, Louis' sudden popularity with all sections of the French population is less easy to explain. Part of the explanation lies in the nature of his death. Of the two categories of saints, confessor and martyr, the latter consisted of saints who evoked a comparison with Christ. One needs only to look at the astonishing rapidity of Thomas Becket's canonisation, and subsequent explosion of his cult, to affirm the popularity of martyrs. While Louis IX was not recognised as a martyr by the Church,

²⁹ 'Denique cum quanto honore, devotione, ac reverentia suscepta sunt ossa ejus, quæ devotissimus ipsius filius illustris Rex Philippus in reditu suo de Tunicio secum ubique deferri devotissime faciebat; cum quanto desiderio ac devotione tam clerus, quàm nobiles, et populorum innumera multitudo cum solemnibus ac devotis processionibus undique concurrerent ad videndum...' (Geoffrey de Beaulieu, p. 24.).

³⁰ R. Folz shared this opinion about the materials surrounding Louis' canonisation (*Les Saints rois*, p. 112.).

³¹ L. Carolus-Barré, *Le Procès de canonisation de S. Louis (1272-1297)*, (Palais Farnese, 1994), p. 59.

³² LeGoff doubts that Philip allowed his uncle to retain Louis' heart, maintaining that it was housed in St. Denis (*S. Louis*, p. 299.). For the significance of heart burials, see Ch. 2, p. 54n.

³³ LeGoff, *S. Louis*, p. 848.

Jean de Joinville insisted that the king ought to be recognised as one.³⁴ Geoffrey de Beaulieu took pains to describe the cruciform bed of ashes upon which the king died and stated that he died at the same hour as Christ, thereby evoking the ultimate martyr.³⁵ The king had suffered for the faith, and this was part of the reason that his subjects embraced the king as a saint and petitioned his intercessory powers for their benefit after his death. Another facet of the explanation for Louis' popularity lies in the popular perception of the king, as has been recorded in various *vitae*. The popular support of Louis IX's cult as demonstrated by the miracles, worked both inside and outside of France, propelled his canonisation. This explosive support is remarkable, especially in comparison with the limited base of support for Margaret's and Edward's canonisations.

The twenty-seven year timetable for Louis' canonisation was mostly due to untimely pontifical deaths, rather than from any doubts about the king's sanctity. While Margaret and Edward's canonisations came at a time when their countries enjoyed pontifical favour, Louis IX's came about in spite of France's relations with the pope. The first *Life*, written to Geoffrey de Beaulieu, was completed in the year following Louis' death. He wrote the *vita* in response to a request from Gregory X, who died before anything else could be done towards recognising Louis as a saint.³⁶ This established a pattern for the next two pontificates; both popes died before an announcement could be made. Martin IV held an inquiry in 1282, though he did not make a pronouncement before his death in 1285. Hope for the king's canonisation surged in the

³⁴ 'Et de ce me semble-il que on ne li fist mie assez, quant on ne le mist ou nombre des martirs, pour les grans peignes que il souffri ou pèlerinaige de la croiz, par l'espace de six anz que je fu en sa compaignie, et pour ce meismement que il ensui Nostre-Signour ou fait de la croiz. Car se Diex morut en la croiz, aussi fist-il; car croisiez estoit-il quant il morut à Thunes' (Jean de Joinville, *Histoire de Saint Louis*, ed. M. N. de Wailly [Paris, 1868], p. 2.).

³⁵ 'Ad extremam igitur horam veniens Christi servus, super stratum cinere respersum in modum crucis recubans, felicem spiritum reddidit Creatori; eâ scilicet horâ, quâ Dei filius pro mundi vita in cruce moriens expiravit' (Geoffrey de Beaulieu, p. 23.).

³⁶ For a more complete account of the history behind the canonisation of Louis IX, see Carolus-Barré, *Le procès de canonisation de S. Louis (1272-1297)* (Palais Farnese, 1994).

mid 1290's when Boniface VIII was consecrated. The new pope had been sent to France on many occasions while he was a cardinal and was also a strong supporter of the Holy Land's liberation.³⁷ Because of his interest in France and promotion of the crusading movement, it would have been natural for the pope to authorise the canonisation. Unfortunately, he was also in conflict with Philip the Fair, who had succeeded his father. There was a lull in hostilities in 1297, the year in which the bull for Louis' canonisation was pronounced. LeGoff considered that the bull was written by a pope who was trying to effect a rapprochement with his enemy.³⁸ The delay in Louis IX's canonisation was only partially due to political circumstances; even given the delay, his sanctity was officially recognised in a fraction of the time needed to secure Edward and Margaret's canonisations.

Another difference between the canonisation of Louis IX and those of Edward and Margaret is the copious amount of evidence showing that the saint's intercessory powers were renowned throughout France. From the moment he died, people scurried around his body, attempting to snatch as many relics as they could; and the bone-grabbing activities did not cease after the first division of the king's body.³⁹ Louis' sanctity was seized upon by those who wrote the *vitae* immediately after his death and popularised by those who approached his tomb for cures.⁴⁰ From the evidence presented in the Lives of Edward and Margaret, the same outcome was less probable. There were many years separating the successful petitions for their canonisation, ninety-five for Edward and over one hundred and fifty for Margaret. Their canonisations were not the result of a surge of support from various levels of society, instead, those who promoted their canonisations had more than the

³⁷ For a brief sketch of Boniface VIII's career, see Carolus-Barré, *Le procès de canonisation de S. Louis*, p. 266.

³⁸ LeGoff, *S. Louis*, p. 305.

³⁹ During the Middle Age his relics were very much sought after, see below, p. 216.

⁴⁰ There were other *vitæ* written for Louis shortly after his death by people who had known him, most notably by Guillaume de Saint-Pathus, Guillaume de Nangis and Jean de Joinville. For a discussion of his cures, see below, pp. 213-14.

formal recognition of royal sanctity on their minds. Even Osbert of Clare, the dynamo behind Edward's first petition, had another agenda when he composed the *vita*: the restoration of Westminster lands.⁴¹ This is not to say that Louis IX's canonisation and subsequent popular cult was devoid of political motivation.⁴² However, there was an added element of popular enthusiasm as shown by the evidence provided by his miracles. Edward and Margaret did not have the same sense of immediacy at the inauguration of their cults. Louis IX's canonisation was unique among the three in that contemporary perception of the king was presented as playing a larger role than the burning need to have a royal saint.⁴³ The perception of these saints played a role in the development, or lack thereof, of their popular devotion. Attention will now shift to how these perceptions developed in the *vitae*.

Perceptions in the vitae

One of the better sources for discovering a saint's perception is in the *vitae* written about them. They present an idealised picture of the person, which was intended to be a catalogue of their virtues. Edward, Margaret and Louis all have at least one Life surviving as a testament to the impression their hagiographers wanted to impart. The composition of these Lives occurred in a period consisting of the beginning of the twelfth century until the 1270's. Queen Margaret's Life was written by her confessor Turgot for her daughter Queen Matilda after the latter married Henry I in 1100. The first biography which asserted Edward the Confessor's sanctity in a conventional manner was written by the

⁴¹ See Ch. 1, pp. 18-19.

⁴² It has been suggested that Philip the Fair used the cult of his grandfather to enhance his own royal status: M. Kauffmann, 'The Image of St. Louis,' in A. J. Duggan (ed.), *Kings and Kingship in Medieval England* (London, 1993), p. 266; E. H. Hallam, 'Philip the Fair and the Cult of Saint Louis,' in S. Mews (ed.), *Religion and National Identity* (Oxford, 1982), p. 203.

⁴³ The French royal family had their own saint, St. Denis, so unlike the Scottish monarchy they did have their own saint. However, St. Denis was not a king, thereby creating a vacuum which was filled by Louis IX.

prior of Westminster Abbey, Osbert of Clare, in 1138.⁴⁴ Louis IX's *vita* was written by his confessor, Geoffrey de Beaulieu in 1272/3. Edward, Margaret and Louis were canonised respectively in 1161, 1249, and 1297. The years in which they were canonised roughly coincide with the period in which the papacy granted sainthood to the majority of royal saints.

Though the three *vitae* were written in various periods, there is some unity among them which appears mostly in three themes. As in the *vita* by Osbert, those for Edward and Margaret also contain lineages,⁴⁵ which are at first glance similar to those in the Old Testament. Unlike the Old Testament, these lineages do not trace all of the saints' predecessors, thereby claiming a right to rule through heredity. Instead, the lineages include pious and sainted members of a ruler's family, arguing not for hereditary right to rulership, but for hereditary right for sanctity.⁴⁶ Osbert of Clare traced Edward's origin to the pious Edgar, praised for his monastic foundations, and to SS Edward the Martyr and Edburga. Edward's maternal Norman heritage was also cited as a source of familial piety in the figure of his uncle Duke Richard.⁴⁷ Margaret's lineage included both holy and mundane elements. Her grandfather Edmund Ironside was praised for his valour, though there is no mention of his piety. This deficiency was filled by the figure of Edmund's half-brother, Edward the Confessor.⁴⁸ There is an unusual turn in subject at this point, for Turgot goes on to praise Edward's grandfathers, King Edgar and Duke Richard, rather than citing only Margaret's blood-relations; there were no blood-ties between Richard

⁴⁴ The anonymous first *vita*'s purpose was to praise the Godwin family rather than to highlight Edward's sanctity (*The Life of King Edward*, pp. lix-lxvii.).

⁴⁵ Edward's lineage was important in garnering royal support for his canonisation, see Ch. 1, p. 24.

⁴⁶ For a discussion on the concepts of inherited sanctity, see the discussion on William of Malmesbury, Ch. 5, p. 179.

⁴⁷ '...Emma uero, Ricardi ducis Normannorum filia, mater fuit' (Osbert, p. 69.).

⁴⁸ Aside from her association with a holy lineage, Margaret's connection to Edward put her daughter Matilda on an equal or higher footing with the English nobility when she married Henry I. She was not a mere princess from the north, but one whose connections to her new kingdom ran deep (Wilson, *St. Margaret*, p. 82.).

and Edmund Ironside.⁴⁹ However, by enhancing Edward's pious background, Turgot enhanced Margaret's piety by association. In promoting Margaret's sanctity Turgot used every available argument. This was not the tactic adopted by Geoffrey de Beaulieu when promoting Louis IX. The French king's lineage only recognises his mother and father, both of whom were models for the young king's faith, particularly his mother Queen Blanche.⁵⁰ Though scholars such as Robert Folz, Andrew Lewis and Elizabeth Brown have noted the trend in Capetian France to claim descent from Charlemagne, Geoffrey de Beaulieu diplomatically avoided mentioning him, since he had been canonised by the anti-pope in 1165.⁵¹ Moreover, Robert Folz has surmised that Charlemagne's association was ambiguous, as his empire included lands in France and Germany.⁵² However, the hagiographer acknowledged that Louis' piety was shared by both his parents. Holiness in royal houses was not a fluke, but was carried through the bloodlines, suggesting a capacity for sanctity in all born of it.

A direct borrowing from the Old Testament was the comparison of royal saints to biblical kings and queens. Though the Old Testament figures were not saints, they were models of virtue and provided the writers a rhetorical device to argue for sanctity by likening the virtues of their subject with those of a biblical royal example. The Old Testament rulers made the concept of a holy monarch easier to accept,

⁴⁹ 'Nec mirum: nam sicut a majoribus gloriam dignitatis, ita vitam quoque honestatis quodam quasi hæreditario jure est assecutus: Rege Anglorum Ædgaro, et Comite Normannorum Ricardo, avis, non solum nobilissimis, sed etiam religioissimis, progenitus' (Turgot, 'Vita S. Margaretæ,' p. 237.).

⁵⁰ 'Sub sancta nutritura atque salutari doctrina tam piæ matris, cœpit Ludovicus noster egregiæ indolis et optimæ spei puer existere, et de die in diem in virum perfectum crescere, et quærere Dominum, et facere quod rectum et placitum erat in conspectu Domini, verè conversus ad Dominum in toto corde, tota anima, totaque virtute, tanquam bonæ arboris bonus fructus' (Geoffrey de Beaulieu, p. 4.).

⁵¹ R. Folz, *Le Souvenir et la légende de Charlemagne dans l'empire germanique médiéval* (Paris, 1950), p. 199; A. W. Lewis, *Royal Succession in Capetian France: Studies on Familial Order and the State* (Cambridge, MA and London, 1981), pp. 108-9; E. A. R. Brown, 'The Chapel and Cult of Saint Louis at Saint-Denis,' *Mediævalia* 10 (1984), p. 304.

⁵² R. Folz, *Le Souvenir et la légende de Charlemagne*. It has also been postulated that by the thirteenth century Charlemagne's perception as a character in the *chanson de geste* had overwhelmed his reputation for piety (C. Beaune, *The Birth of an Ideology: Myths and Symbols of Nation in Late-Medieval France*, S. Ross Hutton [trans.], F. L. Cheyette [ed.] [Berkeley and Oxford, 1991], p. 91.).

particularly in a time which was punctuated by struggles between rulers and the Church. In this way, Edward the Confessor was likened by both Osbert of Clare and Turgot to Solomon.⁵³ This comparison emphasised the peace of Edward's reign by likening it to that of the Old Testament king, conveniently overlooking incidents which marred the reign such as Earl Godwin's rebellion in 1051. Margaret's ability to remain humble, despite being required by her position as queen to wear costly clothes, was compared with Esther's humility.⁵⁴ Finally, Louis IX's comparison to Josiah emphasised the king's unusual ability in establishing justice, as Josiah did after he discovered the Law during the renovation of the Temple.⁵⁵ The three figures highlighted different aspects of each saint's reign: Edward's peace, Margaret's humility and Louis' establishment of religious legislation.

The third theme rests in description of the reigns; the main narrative thread of each text begins with the beginning of each reign. Even though queens were not commonly said to reign, there is a distinct assertion in Turgot's *vita* that Margaret was the brains behind the Scottish brawn.⁵⁶ Beginning the narrative at the commencement of a reign was sensible for Louis IX, since he became king at the age of twelve. However, Margaret was in her early twenties when she married

⁵³ '...Edwardus, qui se patrem patriæ exhibuerat; et alter quodammodo Salomon' (Turgot, 'Vita S. Margaretæ,' p. 237.), 'In cuius regni principio tanta pacis resplenduit gracia ut Salomonis regnum' (Osbert, p. 73.). While references were made to Solomon in the first *vita*, there were no specific comparisons made to Edward.

⁵⁴ 'Nam cum pretioso, ut reginam decebat, cultu induta procederet, omnia ornamenta velut altera Esther mente calcavit; seque sub gemmis et auro nil aliud quam pulverem et cinerem consideravit' (Turgot, 'Vita S. Margaretæ,' p. 242.).

⁵⁵ The connection between Louis IX and Josiah was examined at length in Chs. I and II by Geoffrey de Beaulieu (pp. 3-4.). In addition to his association with Josiah, Louis IX was compared to David by Guillaume de St-Pathus, Solomon by Guillaume de Nangent and Abraham by Geoffrey de Beaulieu (Le Goff, *S. Louis*, pp. 391, 394, 649.). However, Josiah remained the principal analogy (LeGoff, *S. Louis*, p. 399; Carolus-Barré, *Le Procès de canonisation*, p. 17.). Geoffrey de Beaulieu furthered the analogy by comparing Blanche, Louis' mother, to Josiah's mother Jedidah: 'Insuper, nomen matris Josiæ præteriri non debet, quæ Ydida vocabatur: quod interpretatur, Dilecta Domini; vel, Amabilis Domino. Quod rectè competit illustrissimæ nostri regis matri, scilicet dominæ Blanchæ reginæ, quæ verè extitit dilecta Domini, et amabilis Deo, et hominibus utilis et accepta' (Geoffrey de Beaulieu, p. 4.).

⁵⁶ 'Nec in his solummodo suam, sed etiam aliorum quæsivit salutem: primoque omnium ipsum regem, ad justitiæ, misericordiæ, eleemosynarum, aliarumque opera virtutum, ipsa, cooperante sibi Deo, fecerat obtemperantissimum' (Turgot, 'Vita S. Margaretæ,' p. 241.).

Malcolm III and Edward was about thirty-eight when he succeeded. The choice of the starting-point in their biographies implies that these saints proved their sanctity during their times as rulers. The gap is also significant because Edward and Margaret were not resident in their countries until immediately before their reigns: Edward was in Norman exile and Margaret was raised in the Hungarian court. For the purposes of arguing for their sanctity, their hagiographers only recounted that part of the saints lives which occurred in the country in which they ruled. It was through their office that they gained their reputation for holiness.

The significance given to the saints' reigns by the various hagiographers requires an examination of their perception. Though virtues were essential in establishing the sanctity of any saint, these three royal saints were in an unique position to influence their kingdoms in their piety; to provide an example not just for other rulers, but also for their subjects.⁵⁷ The presentation of a ruler forced the hagiographer into a tight corner. On the one hand, the hagiographer had to present the saint as a competent ruler, fulfilling the position into which he had been placed by divine providence. On the other hand, the depiction of this ruler had to present the king as an advocate for the Church's independent power, not its adversary, particularly in texts which were to be presented to the pope during a canonisation petition.⁵⁸ This latter point reveals the inherent problem facing the supporters of royal saints: though it was advantageous to present the monarch as a powerful ruler, that power could not be seen to overwhelm that of the Church, especially when requesting canonisation from the pope. Each of the three *vitae* addresses this problem, though Edward the Confessor's

⁵⁷ This influence had the potential to last for a considerable length of time. In 1660, P. W. Aloisius Leslie wrote a book on St. Margaret, called *The Idea of a Perfect Princess*, which was based on Turgot's *vita*, for the instruction of the Countess of Arundel and Surrey.

⁵⁸ The Church took some time in coming to terms with the concept of a royal saint in the early medieval period. See J. Nelson, 'Royal Saints and Early Medieval Kingship,' in *Politics and Ritual in Early Medieval Europe* (London, 1986).

Life took the solution one step further than those of Margaret and Louis IX.

Turgot outlined the general tone of Margaret's rule in Chapter Three, stating that she amended Scotland's laws, strengthened the Christian faith and encouraged trade.⁵⁹ If anyone had doubts about Turgot's perception of the queen's power, the writer explicitly cited her influence over her husband.⁶⁰ The queen held the king in thrall and because of this situation, according to her biographer, was able to institute change in Scotland. Though Turgot asserted Margaret's domination of law-making in Scotland, there are no scenes of the queen dictating policy to the members of the court, thereby calling into question the exact nature of her influence. The queen proved to be more effective in the treatment of captured English subjects. She sent out inquiries to seek out the oppressed English captives who were being used as slaves in Scotland and restored their liberty.⁶¹ Turgot was keen to stress Margaret's position in Scottish politics and the effect she had on them, though he gave few detail of Margaret's efforts in the political arena.

Turgot was better able to present the queen's political acumen when he discussed her reform of the Scottish Church. For example, while Margaret was shown reintroducing orthodox ecclesiastical traditions into Scotland, at the same time Turgot emphasised Margaret's respect for Scotland's native hermits. These two aspects demonstrated the limit of her work; she only wanted to correct discrepancies, not

⁵⁹ 'Omnia quæ dicebantur prudentis reginæ imperio agebantur. Ejus consilio regni jura disponebantur; illius industria religio Divina augebatur; rerum prosperitate populus lætabatur' (Turgot, 'Vita S. Margaretæ,' p. 238.).

⁶⁰ 'Ipsam tam venerabilis vitæ reginam, quoniam in ejus corde Christum veraciter habitare perspexerat, ille quoquomodo offendere formidabat; sed potius votis ejus et prudentibus consiliis celerius per omnia obedire properabat' (Turgot, 'Vita S. Margaretæ,' p. 241.). Non-hagiographic biographers have questioned the extent of the queen's power over Malcolm (Baker, 'A Nursery of Saints,' p. 136; L. L. Huneycutt, 'The Idea of the Perfect Princess: The *Life of St. Margaret* in the Reign of Matilda II, 1100-1118,' *A-NS* 12 [1989], p. 89.).

⁶¹ Turgot, 'Vita S. Margaretæ,' p. 247.

reinvent the character of the Scottish Church.⁶² Turgot presented Margaret as a powerful force; Chapter Eight of the work described the council she held in which she brought Scotland into accord with Continental practices such as the observance of Lent, not working on Sundays, taking the eucharist on Easter, and making marriage to one's step-mother or brother's wife illegal.⁶³ Turgot claimed that Margaret brought about these changes by herself, neglecting to cite the correspondence between the queen and Archbishop Lanfranc, who counselled the queen during her rule. Margaret was meant to be seen as the sole initiator of these changes, inspired only by God's will.⁶⁴ The divine guidance also stopped any potential critiques of Margaret's work by investing it with divine authority.

On the secular plane, Margaret fostered links to the continent by inviting traders to come and sell their wares. The queen encouraged her subjects to buy the new luxuries, and Turgot noted that she reformed their appearance, just as she reformed their Church.⁶⁵ Malcolm's court was made more magnificent by the queen, who filled the royal palace with silk hangings and vessels of gold and silver. Though the queen's promotion of worldly splendour might seem out of place in a saint's Life, it is a common theme in *vitae* of this period. A show of wealth denoted power, which was just as important as a ruler's ability to govern.⁶⁶ Margaret's rule was influential for Scotland's standing, as she brought its customs and Church into accord with the rest of Europe. The story remains firmly based in Scotland; while others came and went, such as her husband and sons during wars, Margaret remained the one constant in the country.

⁶² Turgot, 'Vita S. Margaretæ,' p. 247. Margaret's relationship with the culdees has been examined in L. Menzies, *St. Margaret, Queen of Scotland* (London and Toronto, 1925), pp. 83-4.

⁶³ Turgot, 'Vita S. Margaretæ,' pp. 243-5.

⁶⁴ L. L. Huneycutt, 'Images of Queenship in the High Middle Ages,' *The Haskins Society Journal* 1 (1989), p. 66. Turgot stated twice that Margaret enjoyed God's assistance: '...cooperante sibi Deo...' and '...Deo se adjuvante...' (Turgot, 'Vita S. Margaretæ,' pp. 241, 245.).

⁶⁵ Turgot, 'Vita S. Margaretæ,' p. 242.

⁶⁶ The necessity for a ruler to wear costly clothes was reiterated in Edward's anonymous *vita* (*The Life of King Edward*, pp. 62-4.).

The same is not true of the crusading saint, Louis IX. Whereas Margaret entered Scotland as a foreigner, Louis IX was a native of his kingdom and went out to tend to the Holy Land. Yet, in Geoffrey de Beaulieu's work, he balanced the needs of the Holy Land and France. The introductory chapters of the *vita* establish Louis' love of justice and his piety. The scene then shifts to the Crusade. While on crusade, Louis was a king on a holy mission, and this is reflected in the description of his actions there. The activities within this section of the Life can be divided into two groups: situations in which the monarch was assisted by divine powers and those devoid of supernatural aid. One of the first remarkable deeds he performed was the capture of Damietta, which Geoffrey ascribed as a gift from God to Louis.⁶⁷ During the king's capture by the Saracens a miracle occurred. The author, who acted as Louis' confessor during the crusade and was captured with the monarch, noted with amazement that the king was released quickly, paying only a small ransom. Geoffrey attributed this wonder to a miracle of divine power.⁶⁸ On a more mundane level was the fortification of walls under St. Louis' supervision around Caesarea, Jaffa, and Sidon and the enlargement of the defences around Acre.⁶⁹ Louis, true to his office, acted as a king even while outside of his own kingdom. Though his rulership was often assisted by divine providence, Geoffrey de Beaulieu demonstrated with the reconstructions of defences that the saint was a capable ruler in his own right.

After Louis returned to France, his style of rulership changed as he exercised his love of justice in a pious manner. During the end of his stay in the Holy Land, he received word that his mother, whom he had

⁶⁷ 'Sane qualiter in prima sau peregrinatione, et post multos labores in primo adventu in Ægyptum, sibi Dominus miraculose reddiderit Damietam...' (Geoffrey de Beaulieu, p. 16.).

⁶⁸ 'Denique advertendum, quòd si captus fuit à Sarracenis, non est multum mirandum; sed est divino miraculo et ipsius potentiæ, necnon sancti Regis meritis adscribendum, quòd ita de facili, et satis pro modico pretio, contra spem fere omnem, ipse et fratres sui, et exercitus christianus, fuerint satis sani et incolumes de impiorum manibus liberati' (Geoffrey de Beaulieu, p. 16.).

⁶⁹ 'Nam in spatio illo, cum magnis sumptibus ædificavit Cæsaream muris fortissimis in circuitu civitatis; eodem modo Joppen et Sidonem. Multa insuper posuit in ampliando et fortificando muros civitatis Achon' (Geoffrey de Beaulieu, p. 16.).

appointed as regent during his absence, had died and that the kingdom had begun to fall into chaos. While Geoffrey stressed Louis' piety, it was not until after the Crusade that the author demonstrated its influence in his rule, saying that after his return the monarch acted with piety, showing justice and commiseration to his subjects while bearing himself with humility.⁷⁰ Louis acted on his innate sense of justice described earlier in the *Life* and applied it to religious matters, in order to restore peace in his country. The union of piety and justice was manifested by an edict against blasphemy and Louis enforced it to such an extent that as a punishment he pierced the lips of an offender.⁷¹ With this legislation, Louis showed an interest in his subjects' welfare not only in this world, but also in the next; as God would punish blasphemers after death, the king punished them on earth. After Geoffrey showed Louis' ability to restore peace in France, he described his return to the Holy Land. The mission failed in part because Louis died in its opening stages. During his life, no matter where he was, Louis was a defender of the faith, waging war against those who scorned Christianity both in France and the Holy Land.

Edward the Confessor did not have the same military image. He had more in common with Margaret, as he too was a stranger when he began to rule England, returning from prolonged exile in Normandy. Unlike Margaret, he did not institute a reform programme and unlike Louis, he did not conduct a war on behalf of Christianity. Instead, Edward was a passive figure, who was influenced by his court and God. In the first instance, Edward petitioned the court for permission to go on pilgrimage to Rome, thus fulfilling a vow he had made to St. Peter in exchange for possession of his crown. His plans were rejected and a

⁷⁰ 'Postquàm in Franciam feliciter est reversus, quàm devote ad Deum, quàm juste ad subditos, quàm misericorditer ad afflictos, quàmque humiliter se gesserit ad seipsum, denique quantum pro viribus in omni virtutum genere proficere studuerit...' (Geoffrey de Beaulieu, p. 18.).

⁷¹ 'Quem Rex justus absque misericordia cauterizari præcepit in labiis ferro candenti, in peccati sui memoriam sempiternam, et ad aliorum exemplum' (Geoffrey de Beaulieu, p. 19.).

papal reprieve was obtained for Edward.⁷² From then on, Edward became a visionary ruler, though not in the sense that one would expect. The only evidence Osbert provided for his rule was in the form of visions both before and after his death. There were three during his life: the first, a vision of the king of Denmark's drowning while mounting an attack on England, concerned an event which happened simultaneously with the vision.⁷³ The other two referred to the future of England and the rest of the world. In the Seven Sleepers vision, he foretold the collapse of the world. The vision of the Green Tree showed the eventual joining of the Norman and Anglo-Saxon lines after the Conquest.⁷⁴

There were two visions of Edward the Confessor after his death in which he exercised influence on his country. In the first, which was received by a monk, he gave instructions to Harold to defend England against invasion, in what would become known as the Battle of Stamfordbridge.⁷⁵ In the second one, Edward was called upon by Bishop Wulfstan to defend his possession of his see.⁷⁶ The bishop had thrust his crosier into a stone floor and proclaimed that the one who truly ought to have the see of Worcester would be the one whom Edward allowed to pull out the staff. Needless to say, Edward complied and Wulfstan retained his see. Edward provided more overt leadership in death than he did in life, giving direct instructions and judgments, whereas in life all he left were forecasts of doom. While there was an element of celestial aid in the Lives of both Margaret and Louis, they used the assistance in association with their own projects, whether it be reforming the Scottish Church or protecting Christianity. By contrast, Edward's *vitae* did not list any specific policies implemented during his reign, instead he acted merely as a conduit of God's will. A consequence

⁷² Osbert, pp. 77-82.

⁷³ Osbert, pp. 75-7.

⁷⁴ Osbert, pp. 106-8.

⁷⁵ Osbert, pp. 114-5.

⁷⁶ Osbert, pp. 116-20.

of this was the lack of change in the visions connected to Edward before and after his death: he influenced events both while he was alive and dead. Margaret and Louis' reigns would have been profoundly different had they died earlier, Edward's would not.

Edward also was the odd one out in terms of virtue. Both Louis IX and Margaret displayed signs of humility despite being monarchs. In both cases, they were shown performing acts of charity, like washing the feet of the poor. There are also numerous examples of their generosity, by donations of food and money to the poor. During Lent and Advent, Margaret invited three hundred destitute to share her evening meal with the king.⁷⁷ The doors were locked after the guests arrived, because the queen's humility would not permit anyone to see her acts of charity. In the mornings during Advent and Lent she fed nine orphans with her own spoon.⁷⁸ Her sense of charity was so great that whenever she ran out of money to present as alms, she would take money from the king in a pious robbery which amused her husband.⁷⁹ Louis fed one hundred and twenty poor daily and the number increased during feasts.⁸⁰ In addition, Margaret was famed for her fasting taking just enough food to sustain herself.⁸¹ After returning from the crusade, Louis adopted a more ascetic mode of life by shunning brightly coloured clothing and abstaining from meat on Mondays, Wednesdays and Fridays.

Edward the Confessor likewise was praised for his chastity, though

⁷⁷ Turgot, 'Vita S. Margaretæ,' p. 248.

⁷⁸ Turgot, 'Vita S. Margaretæ,' p. 248.

⁷⁹ 'Interdum etiam quodcumque illud esset regis proprium, egeno tribuendum tulit, quam ille pietatis rapinam omnino acceptam semper et gratam habuit... Et sæpe quidem cum rex ipse sciret, nescire tamen se simulans, hujusmodi furto plurimum delectabatur; nonnunquam vero manu illius cum nummis comprehensa, adductam, meo iudicio, ream esse jocabatur' (Turgot, 'Vita S. Margaretæ,' p. 246.).

⁸⁰ 'Siquidem quotidie, ubicumque esset, in domo sua reficiebantur pane, vino, et carnibus, sive piscibus, plus quàm centum viginti pauperes' (Geoffrey de Beaulieu, p. 11.).

⁸¹ Turgot, 'Vita S. Margaretæ,' p. 249. Both male and female saints often undertook punishing fasts in order to mortify their flesh (Vauchez, *Sainthood in the later Middle Ages*, pp. 191, 301, 350-1, 508.). The purpose of fasting in the early Church was to suffer in this life in anticipation of a future glorified existence for their body in the next life (P. Brown, *The Body and Society: Men, Women and Sexual Renunciation in Early Christianity* (London and Boston, 1988), p. 222.

unlike Louis who merely abstained on the prescribed days, Osbert of Clare insisted that Edward retained his virginity.⁸² Both Louis and Margaret provided heirs for their kingdom. Moreover, they ensured that they would be good Christian rulers. During the course of her life, Margaret instilled obedience into her children and fervently prayed for them to become pious rulers. Turgot recalled how, during their last meeting, Margaret begged him to advise her children when they became rulers.⁸³ Louis insisted that his children learn the psalms, and shortly before his death he left instructions to his son on Christian rulership.⁸⁴ Margaret and Louis took care to ensure the future of their realms. However, Edward could do no more than prophesy the coming doom of his country.

Thus the picture of royal sanctity was not a uniform one. However this does not mean that all of the *vitae* written to promote royal sanctity were radically different from one another. There are elements in the *vitae*, such as references to lineage and association with figures from the Old Testament, which show that the hagiographers recognised certain themes to depict their subject's holiness. Additionally, they also recognised that the rulers demonstrated their position as saints mostly through their office. It is at this point when things differ greatly. Though one would expect the differences to occur between the *vitae* of Edward and Margaret, both written in the early twelfth century, and the late thirteenth century *vita* of Louis IX, due to the periods in which they were written, this is not the case. Additionally, given the difference in gender, one would also expect differences between the Life of Margaret of those of Louis and Edward. Instead, the difference comes between the Lives of Margaret and Louis and that of Edward. Both Margaret and Louis were shown to be active

⁸² For Edward's chastity, see Ch. 4, pp. 140-46.

⁸³ '...et cum in culmen terrenæ dignitatis quemlibet ex eis exaltari videris, illius maxime pater simul ac magister accedas...' (Turgot, 'Vita S. Margaretæ,' p. 251.).

⁸⁴ Louis' advice to his son can be found in Geoffrey de Beaulieu's Life of the saint in Chapter Fifteen (pp. 8-9.).

rulers, guiding their countries and performing acts of charity. Edward is merely a conduit of God's will, transmitting and appearing in visions. Though there is a large gap between the styles of leadership between Edward and the other two saints, all three showed a deep respect for the Church, allowing God's will to direct their actions. Above all, this image of a ruler acting in deference to the Church was promoted by the papacy.

Miracles

While the *vitae* recorded part of a saint's popular image, the miracles attributed to a saint reveal the extent to which the saint's popularity was well known and to whom the saint appealed. In Chapter Four, it was shown that Edward's cult had a very limited appeal; the largest group of those cured were clerics, most of whom were in the community at Westminster Abbey. Additionally, the most common motivation for visiting the tomb was the receipt of a vision.⁸⁵ These miracles show that news of Edward's curative powers were not widespread, in a sense justifying a lack of popular interest in his cult. It was also noted that Osbert included miracles which happened before and after the king's death. The same was not true for the miracles connected with SS Margaret and Louis, all of which were posthumous. Both saints had separate miracles dossiers; in Louis' case, the creation of a separate miracle dossier was the result of the developments in papal canonisation. Once the initial petition had been made, the pope sent envoys to establish the validity of the request, which involved an investigation into the proposed saint's miracles.⁸⁶ The account of Margaret's miracles is not as straightforward as Louis', and these variations will be discussed later.

Sixty-five miracles were investigated to substantiate the claims of Louis' sanctity. The pilgrims consisted of almost equal numbers of men

⁸⁵ See Ch. 4, pp. 152-3.

⁸⁶ An earlier example of this process is found in *The Book of St. Gilbert*, pp. xciv-xcvi.

and women. Though some of the accounts of the recipients' backgrounds is uncertain, the majority were laymen who were not aristocratic, although noblemen and clerics also are to be found among those cured. Forty-nine of the cures were worked at Louis' tomb in St. Denis, the second most prevalent location was the recipient's home. These people who went to the tomb came from near and far, indicating that word of Louis' curative powers had spread widely. The miracles which are dated show that they began during the journey of the king's corpse to Paris and continued to the year of the investigation, 1282. Though not all are dated, the miracles increase in number as time passed, suggesting that the cult increased in popularity, though this cannot be said for certain, as it was probably easier for investigators to receive information from those more recently cured. A brief examination of those cured by the intercession of the saint shows that Louis' appeal was great, as he attracted people from different classes, from different locations and that this appeal was not confined to a brief period of time.

Another indication of his popularity is how the pilgrims were prompted to turn to Louis. Edward's miracles reveal that most people sought the saint's assistance after receiving a vision. Conversely, fifty-five out of sixty-five of Louis' pilgrims heard from others about the miracles being worked at the king's tomb. Of the ten others, the motivations of nine were explained: three had been with Louis on Crusade and were convinced of his virtue, three had been cured when his bones passed through their towns on their return journey to France, one was an Englishman who had mocked Louis' powers, was afflicted by the saint, and could only find remedy by placing a candle at the tomb, one had previously been cured by the saint's intercession and one received a vision from Mary to visit the tomb.⁸⁷ The majority of people had heard of the cures performed at Louis' tomb, showing that

⁸⁷ 'Les miracles de Saint Louis,' in *Recueil des historiens de Gaules et de la France* (Paris, 1840), xx, nos. 38, 61-2, 3, 64-5, 25, 46, 53.

knowledge of his intercessory powers was widespread.

While their miracles show that Edward and Louis had different popular reactions to their cults, they both are said to have touched for scrofula. However, while they both possessed the same power, the perception of it changed over time. William of Malmesbury asserted that, in Edward's case, the Royal Touch was a sign of sanctity and was not inherited.⁸⁸ By Louis' time that perception had changed. Geoffrey de Beaulieu stated that while Louis touched more than previous kings of France, he added the sign of the cross, thereby increasing the act's holiness. However, it was not seen as a miraculous cure, as the hagiographer said that the ability to touch was inherited and not a sign of sanctity; therefore, it was a trait which went with the throne rather than being an indication of an individual's holiness.⁸⁹ The perception of touching for the King's Evil had changed, so that by the thirteenth century in France it was not a sign of sanctity. In England, there was an increase of instances when kings touched for the disease in the fourteenth century, which were unconnected to claims of sanctity.⁹⁰ Though both monarchs performed the same cures, they were perceived differently.

The treatment of Margaret's miracles is very irregular. In the *vita*, no cures are listed. This omission was not an oversight by Turgot, who stated a preference for virtues over miracles, though not actually

⁸⁸ The definition of scrofula was inconsistent in the Middle Ages. For William of Malmesbury's quotation, see Ch. 1, p. 23n.

⁸⁹ *The Royal Touch*, p. 74. 'In tangendis infirmitatibus, quæ vulgo scroalæ vocantur, super quibus curandis Franciæ regibus Dominus contulit gratiam singularem, pius Rex modum hunc præter reges cæteros voluit observare. Cùm enim alii reges prædecessores sui tangendo solummodo locum morbi, verba ad hoc appropriata et consueta profferrent, quæ quidem verba sancta sunt atque catholica, nec facere consuevissent aliquod signum crucis; ipse super consuetudinem aliorum hoc addidit, quòd dicendo verba super locum morbi, sanctæ crucis signaculum imprimebat, ut sequens curatio virtuti crucis attribueretur potius quàm regiæ majestati' (Geoffrey de Beaulieu, p. 20.).

⁹⁰ For the rise of English monarchs touching for scrofula, see Bloch, *The Royal Touch*, pp. 51-61.

stating whether or not the queen had performed any.⁹¹ The only miraculous evidence produced to assert her sanctity was flashes of light emanating from her tomb.⁹² However, there is a fifteenth-century manuscript from Dunfermline which contains accounts of fifty-eight miracles performed between roughly 1180 and 1263.⁹³ This work is currently being edited by Robert Bartlett. According to Bartlett, most of the cures occurred at places associated with Margaret, such as her shrine, tomb and fountain. The recipients came from both clergy and laity.⁹⁴ Their omission from the canonisation petition is puzzling, however, their number suggests that the queen's popularity far outweighed Edward's.

A comparison of the miracles associated with Edward, Margaret and Louis shows that many more believed in the intercessory powers of the latter two. The burial of the three saints is also an indication of the attention paid to their relics, because most posthumous miracles were linked to the location of the relics' burial. By far the most telling is the distribution of relics. First, Edward the Confessor remained in a tomb in Westminster Abbey, his body left whole, though given the dignity of translation after his canonisation in 1161. By contrast, Louis' body travelled as much in death as it had in life. The first division occurred when his flesh was removed from his bones. When his body reached France, further divisions were made.⁹⁵ It was originally buried in St. Denis, but in 1306 Philip the Fair moved his skull and a rib to St. Chapelle in Paris as a result of a quarrel with the monks at St. Denis.⁹⁶

⁹¹ 'Mirentur in aliis signa miraculorum, ego in Margarita multo magis admiror opera misericordiarum; nam signa bonis et malis sunt communia; opera autem veræ pietatis et caritatis bonorum propria' (Turgot, 'Vita S. Margaretæ,' p. 249.). Later biographers were less comfortable with the lack of miracles. P. W. A. Leslie cited Margaret's ability to be good and great simultaneously as a miracle (*The Idea of a Perfect Princesse*, p. 14.). A. Wilson stated that Margaret's ability to bear eight children was also miraculous (*St. Margaret*, p. 84.).

⁹² *Registrum de Dunfermelyn*, pp. 181, 183; *Annales of Dunfermline*, p. 78.

⁹³ Robert Bartlett, private correspondence, 22 April, 1999, 30 December, 1999. I should like to thank Robert Bartlett for these details.

⁹⁴ Robert Bartlett, private correspondence.

⁹⁵ LeGoff has summarised the distribution of Louis' relics in *S. Louis*, pp. 305-10.

⁹⁶ For the considerable donations given to Louis' tomb in St. Denis, see Brown, 'The Chapel and Cult of Saint Louis at Saint-Denis,' p. 299.

Additionally, when Haakon Magnusson built a church and dedicated it to Louis, some of his fingers were donated. The numerous building and rebuilding of chapels dedicated to St. Louis in St. Denis are a testament to the effort on the monks' part to accommodate the numerous pilgrims without disrupting their monastic schedule.⁹⁷ Whereas Edward had only one new tomb built for him, Louis' body was spread throughout Europe, which is indicative of the belief in his intercessory ability. The fate of Margaret's remains was unremarkable during the Middle Ages but later became more dynamic: her body remained in Dunfermline until the sixteenth century, then it was moved to Spain due to the upheavals caused by the Reformation.⁹⁸

Political Saints

On the European stage Edward the Confessor's passivity did not create as compelling an image as those of the crusading Louis and reforming Margaret did. Closer to home, the Anglo-Saxon king had to compete with different types of holy figures in England from the mid-thirteenth to mid-fourteenth centuries. Saints who stood against the king were not new to England, particularly when one considers the history of St. Edward's cult. The meteoric rise of Thomas Becket's cult began only twelve years after Edward was canonised in 1161. In a recent article, Simon Walker acknowledges that England was the only country in Europe, during the Middle Ages, which embraced saints whose sanctity and involvement in worldly affairs were interconnected.⁹⁹ By turning against royal policy, these holy figures raised questions about the nature of kingship, which in turn prompted questions about one of the monarchy's exemplars, sainted kings, leaving hagiographers to explain the association between sanctity and

⁹⁷ For a discussion of the construction of the chapels in St. Denis, see Brown, 'The Chapel and Cult of Saint Louis at Saint-Denis.'

⁹⁸ Wilson, *St. Margaret*, p. 107.

⁹⁹ S. Walker, 'Political Saints in Later Medieval England,' in R. H. Britnell and A. J. Pollard (eds.), *The McFarlane Legacy: Studies in Late Medieval Politics and Society* (Stroud, 1995), p. 80.

kingship.¹⁰⁰ First, they had to differentiate between the actions of the royal saint and the contemporary ruler to show that the former did not possess the same, sometimes lamentable, habits of the latter. Second, the hagiographer stressed the success of the saint's reign as a contributing factor to his sanctity. What impact did the presence of such cults have in England on the perception of sanctity, especially royal sanctity? There was a quality about these political saints one could term deviant because of their subversion of the divinely appointed rulers. However, the evidence suggests that upon reflection the reverse is true.

Before the thirteenth century, England had some saints whose cults developed a political aspect, such as those of Earl Waltheof and Thomas Becket. However, the late thirteenth and early fourteenth centuries produced an unusual number of political saints. Among this group are Simon de Montfort, Thomas Cantilupe, and Thomas of Lancaster. Though all three were remembered for their efforts to reform the monarchy to a greater or lesser extent, they were treated differently after death. Only one of them, Thomas Cantilupe, was canonised, though there were attempts to canonise Thomas of Lancaster.¹⁰¹ The result of this is that the types of written sources for these cults vary, unlike those for the royal saints who had official Lives available for comparison. Instead, diverse forms of evidence for their cults will be examined in the first instance, enabling a comparison with Edward the Confessor's and in the second instance determining the underlying motivation for their veneration. In this section Matthew Paris' *vita* of Edward will be the primary source for that saint's perception, because it is the closest contemporary text of these cults. Despite the different sources of information available for each of these cults, common themes run through them, making it possible to discuss

¹⁰⁰ Walker, 'Political Saints in Later Medieval England,' p. 81.

¹⁰¹ For details of this petition, see J. Maddicott, *Thomas of Lancaster, 1307-1322* (Oxford, 1970), p. 321.

them in one group. These themes will throw light on the veneration of Edward the Confessor in the Middle Ages.

All three men became the centre of intense cults whose popularity was brief. Simon de Montfort's cult began immediately after his death at the Battle of Evesham in 1265. Very little written evidence from his cult survives. The largest and most important body of work surrounding the cult is the account of miracles performed by the leader of the rebel faction. Ronald Finucane has observed that these one hundred and ninety miracles follow unusual devotional patterns. The normal pattern, established by Finucane using medieval English miracle collections, was for local people- mostly female- to approach the saint for intercession first and, as the reputation of the saint grew and renown spread, there would be an increase in the number of pilgrims- mostly male- travelling from increasing distances.¹⁰² At this time, there would be a concurrent decrease in the number of local pilgrims, though it was at this point when the number of upper class women saw an increase. Finucane explained this phenomena thus: it was most likely men from different classes would travel further from home and that upper class women could leave their homes and afford to travel. Simon de Montfort's miracles do not conform to this norm.¹⁰³ There was no initial period of local veneration, instead at the outset most pilgrims came from at least forty miles away. Additionally, there were more men from the upper class than women, a pattern which was not observed by Finucane for other cults. Finally, de Montfort's cult also gained the attention of clerics. Indeed, clerical interest in the cult is not surprising since there was a Life of Simon de Montfort, now lost, which appears to have been written by Franciscans.¹⁰⁴

The miracles provide information about the people who made up the cult's base of popularity. Compared with other cults, de Montfort's

¹⁰² The pattern is discussed by Finucane in *Miracles and Pilgrims*, pp. 152-72.

¹⁰³ Finucane, *Miracles and Pilgrims*, pp. 169-71.

¹⁰⁴ Burton, 'Politics, Propaganda and Public Opinion,' p. 135. For de Montfort's relationship with the Franciscans during his lifetime, see Maddicott, *Simon de Montfort*, p. 42.

has a disproportionately large base of support from the upper class and this attests to the overtly political nature of the cult. David Burton notes that among the pilgrims were about six knights, the countess of Gloucester and members of the Cantilupe family, one of whom was Thomas.¹⁰⁵ The Cantilupes had long supported de Montfort's cause, and Thomas Cantilupe had been Chancellor of England during de Montfort's dominance. Though they were unnamed, it is not hard to conjecture that the knights might have fought for de Montfort, since his following comprised mostly lower class knights rather than aristocrats. Finally, we have the countess of Gloucester. The Clares' support of de Montfort was inconstant, but not their support for the Provisions of Oxford. In venerating this saint both at the site of his tomb and at the holy well which appeared on the battlefield in the place where he died, they were also paying respect to the ideals for which he fought, namely the Provisions of Oxford. Two bases of support for the cult emerge: de Montfort's supporters and those who held to the beliefs of proper government. The dating of the miracles, which admittedly is faulty at best, supports this idea, as none were recorded after 1279 and Finucane suspects that the pilgrim traffic had completely died out by 1300.¹⁰⁶ Simon de Montfort's cult lost its lustre because the monarchy suppressed the cult, his supporters died out and good government returned under Edward I.¹⁰⁷

Thomas Cantilupe's cult was established under different circumstances, and had a different character than the earl of Leicester's.

¹⁰⁵ Burton, 'Politics, Propaganda and Public Opinion,' p. 139.

¹⁰⁶ Finucane, *Miracles and Pilgrims*, p. 169.

¹⁰⁷ Burton, 'Politics, Propaganda and Public Opinion,' p. 144; Theilman, 'Political Canonization and Political Symbolism in Medieval England,' p. 251; Walker, 'Political Saints in Later Medieval England,' p. 96. Maddicott has also cited the Dictum of Kenilworth with its clause forbidding the veneration of de Montfort as another factor which contributed to the cult's decline (J. Maddicott, 'Follower, Leader, Pilgrim, Saint: Robert de Vere, Earl of Oxford, at the Shrine of Simon de Montfort, 1273,' *EHR* 109 (1994), p. 648.).]. C. Valente differs slightly in her assessment of the factors contributing to the cult's demise. Rather than stating that de Montfort's supporters simply died out, she says that as the Disinherited were reintegrated into English society and politics their support for the cult declined: 'Simon de Montfort, Earl of Leicester, and the Utility of Sanctity in Thirteenth-Century England,' *Journal of Medieval History* 21 (1995), p. 46.

Unlike de Montfort, he did not die in a blaze of glory on the battlefield, though he acted as Chancellor of England during the earl's dominance of English politics. However, his connection to de Montfort's faction was downplayed after his death. Additionally, he was the only one of the three to have been formally canonised by the pope, the bull for which was published in 1320, thirty-eight years after his death.¹⁰⁸ Though the background for the bishop's cult was different, the cult did not enjoy a substantially longer flourishing period. Although at the time of his canonisation a remarkable four hundred and seventy miracles attested to his sanctity, they had already become a thing of the past as the flood of pilgrims had dried up. While the bishop of Hereford died in 1282, and was buried in the cathedral at Hereford in the same year, it was not until the bones were moved in 1287 from the Lady Chapel that the miracles began to occur, with seventy-one recorded on the first day alone.¹⁰⁹ These miracles, which have been exhaustively discussed by Finucane, held to his established pattern and included mostly incidents of curing the lame, blind, sick and mad in addition to resurrecting the dead.¹¹⁰

There were two sides to Thomas Cantilupe's career, and it will be significant to discover which one was promoted by those petitioning for his canonisation. On the one hand, there is his involvement with the barons. On the other hand, there is his reputation for defending the rights of the Church against lay and clerical encroachment. The latter led him into dispute with Earl Gilbert of Gloucester and Archbishop Peckham. Regardless of the origins of the cult's popularity, there is no denying that it rapidly tailed off. The accounts of Hereford Cathedral are the most poignant witness to the cult's decline, because the vast

¹⁰⁸ *Magnum bullarium romanum a B. Leona Magno usque ad S.D.N. Clementem X* (5 vols., Lugduni, 1692-7), i, 234.

¹⁰⁹ R. C. Finucane, 'Cantilupe as Thaumaturge: Pilgrims and their miracles,' in M. Jancey (ed.), *Saint Thomas of Cantilupe, Bishop of Hereford: Essays in his Honour* (Leominster, 1982), p. 138.

¹¹⁰ Finucane, *Miracles and Pilgrims*, pp. 173-88. Finucane also turned his attention to Cantilupe's miracles in *The Rescue of the Innocents: Endangered Children in Medieval Miracles* (London, 1997).

rebuilding projects funded by pilgrim's donations ground to a halt when these funds were no longer as plentiful as they once had been.¹¹¹

Another witness to the decreasing fortunes of Hereford Cathedral is a letter dated 1313 and written by the bishop, explaining that he could not assist with a loan because of the financial obligations incurred by Thomas Cantilupe's canonisation.¹¹² Whatever the reason for Cantilupe's popularity, his cult shared the same fate of Simon de Montfort's.

The materials for the cult of Thomas of Lancaster do not provide as much information as the others. There was a *Life*, written in the late fourteenth century, though the account of miracles at the end is limited to seven. Their description is followed by an assurance from the author that these were only a selection of those performed by the saint, a statement which by itself is suspicious.¹¹³ Apart from the *vita*, there is evidence in Edward II's letters that the cult had a large following. In 1323, a year after Lancaster's death, the king issued four letters ordering the suppression of veneration for Thomas and his followers who were killed after the Battle of Boroughbridge.¹¹⁴ In the same year, Archbishop Melton ordered the Archdeacon of York to prevent pilgrims' visits in Pontefract.¹¹⁵ In an interesting about face which illustrates the changing fortunes of the cult, four years later the archbishop appears to have been enlightened about the earl's sanctity as he petitioned the pope for his canonisation.¹¹⁶ While the *Life* recounted the miracles

connected to the earl's tomb at Pontefract, there is a letter from Edward

¹¹¹ P. E. Morgan, 'The Effect of the Pilgrim Cult of St. Thomas Cantilupe on Hereford Cathedral,' in M. Jancey (ed.), *Saint Thomas of Cantilupe, Bishop of Hereford: Essays in his Honour* (Leominster, 1982), p. 151. It has been suggested that the abbey at Evesham benefited from de Montfort's pilgrims; in 1275-6 a Lady Chapel was built at the church, funds for which mostly likely generated by pilgrims: D. C. Cox, *The Battle of Evesham: A New Account* (Evesham, 1988), p. 25; Valente, 'Simon de Montfort,' p. 33.

¹¹² *Registrum Ricardi de Swinfield*, ed. W. W. Capes (London, 1909), p. 490.

¹¹³ 'Sed ut breviter dicatur, - longum est enim enumerare miracula, quae omnipotens Deus dignatus est ostendere per huius sancti merita...' (John Gieleman, 'Vita beati Thomae, comitis Lancastriae et martyris,' in *Anecdote e Codicibus Hagiographicis Ihoannis Gielemans Canonici Regularis* [Brussels, 1895], p. 99.)

¹¹⁴ *Foedera*, ii, p. 536.

¹¹⁵ For the letter, see *Historical Papers and Letters from the Northern Registers*, ed. J. Raine (RS, 1893), pp. 323-5.

¹¹⁶ *Historical Papers and Letters from the Northern Registers*, pp. 340-42.

II to the bishop of London which referred to miracles occurring at an image of the earl in St. Paul's Cathedral in London.¹¹⁷ The tomb and hill where Lancaster was killed at Pontefract had been placed under the guard of Hugh Despenser. Edward II was keen to suppress the veneration of his cousin and rival. Suppression of the cult ended with Edward II's reign. During the later 1320's and early 1330's, there was a move to canonise him sponsored by Henry, earl of Lancaster, which received royal and clerical support.¹¹⁸ The documents surrounding the cult's suppression present the picture of a cult which was blossoming from the moment of Lancaster's death and in terms of popular veneration subsequently went into decline. Unlike Simon de Montfort's cult, Lancaster's had a new lease on life due to its promotion by the Lancastrian regime, wanting its own dynastic saint to strengthen its claims in England.¹¹⁹

The similarities between these men are not restricted to their dynamic cults. All three were intimately connected with the court: Simon de Montfort was Henry III's brother-in-law, Thomas of Lancaster was Edward II's cousin and Thomas Cantilupe was an advisor to Edward I. Rather than being outside of the world which they were trying to reform, they were deeply connected to it. Simon Walker has noted that while political saints challenged the king, the purposes of these challenges ultimately was to strengthen the monarchy.¹²⁰ These figures realised their power would only be valid so long as the system which gave it to them survived. These canny men did not want to spoil their position, but rather to better their position within the system. Their positions were very close to the king's; they were not men coming up from the dust to take over the kingdom. Rather, they already held

¹¹⁷ *Foedera*, pp. 525-6.

¹¹⁸ The letters calling for the earl's canonisation are found in: *Historical Papers and Letters from the Northern Registers*, pp. 339-40.

¹¹⁹ For the cult's promotion by the Lancastrians, see Echerd, 'Canonization and Politics in Late Medieval England,' p. 114-75.

¹²⁰ Walker, 'Political Saints in Late Medieval England,' pp. 86-7.

positions within the court that they strove to change.

While the political saints' cults were propelled by an initial intensity, nothing comparable can be said about that of Edward the Confessor. During de Montfort's rebellion, Henry III venerated his predecessor's memory in diverse ways, the most notable being the reconstruction of Westminster Abbey with the addition of a new tomb for the saint. However, there is no information hinting that anyone outside of the royal house had any interest in Edward. The *Life of Edward* written by Matthew Paris c. 1240 sheds no new light on Edward's veneration. The miracles which appeared in this *vita* had been recorded in Aelred of Rievaulx's almost ninety years before. In the 1140's, Osbert of Clare claimed that there was a large volume of Edward's miracles, but this has never been found.¹²¹ In fact, Aelred only added a couple of new miracles to Osbert's *Life*, and these were connected to Osbert himself. The impression is that Edward's miraculous intercessory powers were ignored after the mid-twelfth century and the cult lay dormant, only to be woken by Henry III.¹²² Furthermore, within the *Life* by Matthew Paris, one senses that the monk was fighting against the contemporary complaint of monarchs being ruled by evil foreign advisors.¹²³ The author included a passage which stressed Edward's reliance on native aristocracy and conscious neglect of foreigners.¹²⁴ Perhaps Matthew Paris hoped to send a warning call to King Henry. The passage shows that there was suspicion about any king's dealing with foreigners. The lacklustre activity of Edward's cult in the later thirteenth century can in part be ascribed to his royal connection; while the three political saints had high connections and two

¹²¹ Osbert, p. 66.

¹²² For a further discussion about the metamorphosis in the *vitæ*, see Ch. 4.

¹²³ Complaints against evil advisors were made in literature to establish the existence of the opposite group one which supported law and virtue. This trend has been noted by: J. Rosenthal in 'The King's "Wicked Advisors" and Medieval Baronial Rebellions,' *Political Science Quarterly* 82 (1967), p. 608; H. W. Ridgeway, 'The Politics of the English Royal Court 1247-63 with Special Reference to the Role of Aliens,' (Oxford Univ. D.Phil. thesis, 1983), p. i.

¹²⁴ 'As ducs, as cuntes e baruns / Baut ses chasteus e ses dunguns,/ De ki leautez est tut certains,/ Nun pas estranges aliens' (Matthew Paris, ll. 2496-99.).

had governed, none of them were ever king. Also, the time when royal authority was being questioned was not a fortuitous one for a royal saint, especially one whose main benefactor was the target of the barons' displeasure.

What caused these saints to have such active cults, and can this in part account for the abysmal popularity of Edward the Confessor's cult? Besides sharing a royal connection, two, Lancaster and de Montfort, were termed martyrs and all three were likened to the eminent English martyr, Thomas Becket.¹²⁵ Simon de Montfort's martyrdom was asserted in his miracle collection. A song written a couple of years after his death likened him to Becket.¹²⁶ The chronicles sympathetic to Lancaster emphasised the seeming unjustness of his trial at Pontefract, in which he was not allowed to speak in his own defence.¹²⁷ Lancaster's unjust death was an important aspect of his martyrdom, a fact displayed on a lead pilgrim's panel held in the British Museum depicting his trial and execution.¹²⁸ His martyrdom connected him with the archbishop, as an office written for the saint claimed that his death imitated Thomas of Canterbury's.¹²⁹ Asserting Cantilupe's martyr-status was seemingly impossible because he died peacefully, though writers were able to

¹²⁵ The comparison of a saint to Thomas Becket was a common theme in English hagiography. For the use of Thomas Becket in hagiography, see Echerd, 'Canonization and Politics in Late Medieval England,' p. 6.

¹²⁶ 'Mès par sa mort, le cuens Mountfort conquist la victoire,/ Come ly martyr de Caunterbyr, finist sa vie;/ Ne voleit pas li bon Thomas qe perist seinte Eglise,/ Ly cuens auxi se combati, e morust sauntz feyntise' ('The Lament of Simon de Montfort,' in *Political Songs of England*, ed. T. Wright [Cambridge, 1996 reprint of Camden Society, 1839], pp. 125-6.).

¹²⁷ The unjustness of Thomas of Lancaster's trial was one of the foci of the cult, as evidenced by the panel discussed below. The argument put forward by the cult's supports was that the Law of Arms had been broken. As the laws were amended, this aspect of Lancaster's martyrdom lost its original appeal (M. H. Keen, 'Treason Trials under the Law of Arms,' *TRHS*, 5th series, 12 [1962].).

¹²⁸ The panel has been discussed in H. Tait, 'Pilgrim-Signs and Thomas, Earl of Lancaster,' *The British Museum Quarterly* 20 (1956).

¹²⁹ 'Gaude Thoma, ducum decus, lucerna Lancastræ,/ Qui per necem imitaris Thomam Cantuariæ;/ Cujus caput conculcatur pacem ob ecclesiae,/ Atque tuum detruncatur causa pacis Angliæ;/ Esto nobis pius tutor in omni discrimine' ('The Office of St. Thomas of Lancaster,' in *Political Songs of England*, p. 268.). The office was placed into context with other writings for Lancaster by C. Page in 'The Rhymed Office for St. Thomas of Lancaster: Poetry, Politics and Liturgy in Fourteenth-Century England,' *Leeds Studies in English* n.s.14 (1983). Lancaster was also compared with Christ because of his betrayal by the barons. This association is fully examined in Echerd, 'Canonization and Politics in Late Medieval England,' p. 83.

make the obvious connections with Becket given that both had experienced a period of exile during their lives and supported the Church's rights. An early episode in his Life connected the future bishop with Becket: when his uncle asked the young Thomas what he wanted to be when he grew up, the boy responded that he wanted to be a soldier. His uncle was pleased, and said that the boy would be a soldier for the Church just like St. Thomas Becket.¹³⁰ It was the soldier image that was seized upon by the supporters of his sanctity. Despite the fact that Cantilupe did not die a traditional martyr's death, the barons who wrote in support of his canonisation argued that through his merits, especially when fighting for the Church, he had earned the palm of martyrdom.¹³¹

Even in the most extreme circumstances where no obvious martyrdom had occurred, it was asserted that these men had gained the crown of martyrdom. It is obvious why the title was given to Simon de Montfort and Thomas of Lancaster, but why was Thomas Cantilupe's right to the title stressed? Martyrdom is recognised as the most extreme way to demonstrate one's devotion to God and the Christian faith. In the early days of Christianity, martyrs were the primary type of saint. A shift occurred as Christianity became more established and consequently the opportunities for martyrdom decreased. Despite the development of the another category of saint, that of the confessor, the popularity of martyrs persisted.¹³² The veneration of martyrs highlights the human side of devotion as a violent, unjust death provoked stronger reaction than a quiet, simple one. As a case in point, compare the explosion of Thomas Becket's cult with that of Edward the Confessor. The two men were both canonised in the late twelfth century, though

¹³⁰ 'Vitae S. Thomas de Cantilupe Episcopo,' in *Acta Sanctorum- Octobris I*, Ch. 23.

¹³¹ '...unius Thome rubricata martirio et secundi Thome prioris mores atque iusticiam imitantis confessione candidata, cuius vt credimus felix anima, quam etsi gladius percussoris non abstulit, tamen per vite meritum palmam martirii non amisit' (*The Liber Epistolaris de Richard de Bury*, ed. N. Denholm-Young [Oxford, 1950], pp. 19-20.).

¹³² For the development of the terms martyr and confessor, see H. Delehaye, 'Martyr et confesseur,' *AB* 1921.

their veneration could hardly be more different. St. Edward's death did not provoke the same emotion; indeed while Becket only had to wait two years for his canonisation, Edward did for ninety-five years. Martyrs were a special type of saint, whose appeal was more immediate than that of a confessor, such as Edward, and whose cults tended to be more spectacular.

While Edward the Confessor could never be considered a martyr, he did share a trait with these three political saints. They were considered to be martyrs because of their fight for justice. The *Song of Lewes* justified de Montfort's rebellion by stating that if the ruler made a mistake, it was the responsibility of the wronged to put him in his place.¹³³ Rather than being a deviant rebel, it was de Montfort's duty to correct the king. The earl was also described as the embodiment of the people's protector in a song which bemoaned de Montfort's death, because if he had been alive then England would not have plummeted into chaos.¹³⁴ In an office dedicated to him, his passion for preserving English justice is proved through his death for it.¹³⁵ Lancaster and de Montfort's battles were justified by the rightness of their cause.¹³⁶ In the *Life of Thomas Cantilupe*, paragraph thirty of the second half concerns the saint's love of justice, which was evident during his episcopate and his two tenures as chancellor of the University of Oxford.

¹³³ 'Si princeps errauerit, debet reuocari,/ Ab hijs, quos grauauerit iniuste, negari,/ Nisi uelit corrigi...'
(*The Song of Lewes*, ed. C. L. Kingsford, [Oxford, 1890], p. 24.).

¹³⁴ 'Symon, Symon si vixisses/ Currere non permisisses/ Raptores in patria./ Quis nos potest defensare?' ('A Song on the Death of Simon de Montfort,' F. W. Maitland [ed.], *EHR* xi [1896], p. 318.).

¹³⁵ 'Non pro iure mori spernit,/ lætali commercio'; 'Thoma pugil strenue,/ Qui pro lege libertatis/ decertasti Angliæ' ('The Office of St. Thomas of Lancaster,' pp. 270, 272.).

¹³⁶ The stress on Lancaster's love of justice and his martyrdom in his cult reveals the mixed attitude to his character, which has been described by Maddicott as 'unscrupulous, violent and avaricious' (*Thomas of Lancaster*, p. 319.). When letters were written for his canonisation, his political life was emphasised over his virtues, which were conventional at best (Echard, p. 120.). This doubt of Lancaster's character was voiced in the *Vita Edwardi Secundi* when Thomas' violent end was seen as just given his role in Gaveston's beheading: 'Forte latens causa, non presens sed preterita, comitem puniuit. Comes Lancastrie caput Perti de Gauestone olim abstulit, et nunc iussu regis comes Lancastrie caput perdidit. Sic uicem pro uice, forsitan non iniuste, comes reportauit' (*Vita Edwardi Secundi*, ed. N. Denholm-Young [London, 1957], p. 126.). In contrast, the notion of de Montfort's piety and chastity was accepted and reference was made to it in the *Chronicle of Melrose* (intro. A. O. and M. O. Anderson [London, 1936], pp. 136, 139.).

Furthermore, his role as chancellor to the king was also described, though his involvement with Simon de Montfort was brushed over in the grouping of 'other causes' and not fully explained.¹³⁷ Cantilupe achieved a reputation for loving justice outside of the de Montfort conflict, and it was that love which made him worthy to be a martyr.

Edward the Confessor's reputation for justice was established early on; his first hagiographer described him as the champion of justice and lover of peace comparing him with Solomon. This theme was carried through his Lives by Osbert of Clare, Aelred of Rievaulx, and Matthew Paris.¹³⁸ All of these writers emphasised the peace of his reign to the point where, as in the song about Simon de Montfort, he was seen as the embodiment of peace. This was made manifest in one episode, which first appeared in Osbert of Clare's Life, where Edward attempted to fulfil the vow he had made to go to Rome. When he announced his intention to his barons, they were horrified with the thought of Edward's absence. Their fear was triggered by the belief that if Edward left England, the kingdom would descend into chaos. The king was seen as the embodiment of peace. Earlier, we saw Louis IX exhibit a similar love of justice. However, unlike Edward, he was allowed to leave France on a holy mission; there were no fears voiced that the country would descend into chaos without his presence, although ultimately that is what happened after his mother's death.

Though Edward was renowned for justice and loving peace like the political saints, the way in which he upheld them was completely different. All three political saints fought for justice, which was perceived as a means of preserving peace within England. Simon de Montfort and Thomas of Lancaster died in battle for it and Thomas Cantilupe both supported de Montfort's cause and fought his own battles in court to preserve his episcopal rights. Osbert of Clare presented Edward as a passive ruler, letting God work through him. Matthew

¹³⁷ *Acta Sanctorum*, Ch. 30.

¹³⁸ See above, p. 203.

Paris echoed this perception in the mid-thirteenth century. There are many references to Edward's resemblance to Solomon, however there are no scenes of him exercising justice or preserving the peace. It would seem that peace immediately fell into his lap, as in the opening descriptions of his reign, kings and emperors come to pay their respect to England's new ruler.¹³⁹ This is a strange occurrence, especially since Edward had not been long established in England by the time he assumed his throne. The conclusion reached by Edward's *vita* is that various rulers recognised Edward's right to rule.

In a similar manner we only see Edward exercising justice within his *vita* in one place where, ironically, he bends the law of the land in deference to his charitable instincts. While taking a nap in his treasury, he was woken by a thief stealing treasure. He tells the intruder to take as much as he can and hurry out, as the chamberlain, a miserly soul, was soon to return and he would not look kindly on the intruder. Later, Edward told his chamberlain that he did not need the money as much as the thief.¹⁴⁰ This is not like the passage in Louis' Life which praised his judicial abilities.¹⁴¹ In Edward's case, there is no sense that he operated justice in a formal way. A passage which details his method of government states that Edward appointed judges and bailiffs to allow him to remove himself from the world and devote himself to God.¹⁴² Edward may have loved justice, but this passages illustrates clearly who was concerned with it on a daily basis. He consciously removed himself from the machination of justice in his kingdom and let others do the actual work while he retained a reputation as a peace-lover. Like the political saints, he had a reputation for peace and justice though, unlike

¹³⁹ Matthew Paris, ll. 872-99.

¹⁴⁰ Matthew Paris, ll. 1025-43.

¹⁴¹ 'In arduis negotiis, et gravibus consiliis et causis, pauci, vel nulli, perspicaciùs ipso, et veriùs judicabant: et quod intellectu capiebat, valdè prudenter et gratiosè proferre sciebat. Siquidem diffusa erat gratia in labiis ejus, et sicut vèrè sapiens, in verbis seipsum amabilem faciebat. Utpote cujus sermo in gratia sale semper erat conditus' (Geoffrey de Beaulieu, p. 5.).

¹⁴² 'Ke noise du mund ne l'estune,/ Ne du regne la grant cure/ Le desturbe par aventure,/ Ke pleintes ne plaitz de curt/ De Deu amer ne le destrut./ Justices fait e bailliz/ De ses plus sages esliz...Li rois ad paes, tens e leisir/ De Deu amer e lui servir' (Matthew Paris, ll. 2489-2495, 2504-5.).

them, he did not have to put up a fight. His passive attitude to ruling may have provided him more time to show his devotion to God, but it did not serve to make him a compelling figure like the political saints, who fought adversity and endured death for their causes.

While these four saints all exhibited a desire to maintain justice, they were on different sides. The three political saints can easily be separated off into their own group, as those who fought for justice within the realms of the Church and the government. Edward the Confessor was the embodiment of the crown, thereby a different category of saint. While there is a case for saying that the example of a just king who did not rely on foreign advisors could have been held up in times of debate about the power of the monarch, the evidence shows this did not happen. Edward's cult remained popular only within the royal family and Westminster Abbey and did not achieve any widespread support during de Montfort and Lancaster's uprisings. The responsibility for upholding justice had passed from the king to his barons. De Montfort, Lancaster and Cantilupe had all fought for the cause of justice, resulting in the death of the first two and the exile of the third. Edward's role as protector of justice was more passive, in accordance to the perception of his reign. He did not need to fight, but merely to remain in England. Though all four had an interest in maintaining justice, Edward was a confessor while the other three were seen as martyrs and this made all the difference in their popularity.

By the mid-thirteenth century, Edward the Confessor was a confusing picture of royal and English sanctity. Compared to the rulers canonised in the period, he was an inactive ruler, far removed from the concerns of his people and his country while acting as the conduit of the Lord's will. There was nothing compelling about the stories connected to Edward's life, other than a handful of amusing legends. But in order for a cult to be popular, something more was needed than stories,

especially for one whose focal point was a monarch who, by de Montfort's time, had been dead for two hundred years. While other cults had massive selling points such as charismatic saints or numerous miracles, Edward's had neither, thus limiting its appeal to English monarchs, who could strengthen their causes with the assertion of a royal saint on their side. Sadly for Edward, even that angle proved to have limited appeal, as only Henry III and Richard II showed anything other than nodding devotion to their Anglo-Saxon predecessor.

Conclusion

Edward the Confessor was promoted as the link between the Anglo-Saxon and Norman royal dynasties. Supposedly, he had bequeathed the kingdom to the newcomers, thereby making their claim the more solid than that of the monarch's brother-in-law. Perhaps the king also appealed because he claimed to be the *rex totius Britanniae*, a title which held allure for the invading Normans.¹ The promotion of the saint, as we have seen, fell during periods of unrest for the monarchy: the civil war of Stephen's reign, Henry II's struggle with the Church, Henry III's disputes with his barons and Richard II's unstable reign. While the king/saint served as a symbol of the monarchy's close relationship to God, he was not popular in all quarters. Recent studies examining the emergence of English national identity have addressed the question of national mythologies and symbols. Michael Clanchy attributes the development of national identity in thirteenth-century England to four things: royal government, the effects of war, xenophobia and hostility to the pope.² Keith Stringer, building on Clanchy's work, stated that each nation needed to construct its own national history.³ This national history was then used against the country's foes, as examined by Rees Davies in his recent Ford Lectures.⁴

One of the significant components of a national history was the individuals who were held up as exemplars. Early in the twelfth century, Geoffrey of Monmouth wrote *The History of the Kings of Britain*, focusing on the deeds of kings in an attempt to produce a national history. As time passed, English kings inevitably continued to

¹ Barlow, *Edward the Confessor*, pp. 135-7; R. R. Davies, *The First English Empire: Power and Identities in the British Isles 1093-1343* (Oxford, 2000), pp. 9, 37.

² M. Clanchy, *England and its Rulers 1066-1272: Foreign Lordship and National Identity* (Glasgow, 1983), pp. 241-62.

³ K. J. Stringer, 'Social and Political Communities in European History: Some Reflections on Recent Studies,' in C. Bjorn et al. (eds.), *Nations, Nationalism and Patriotism in the European Past* (Copenhagen, 1994), p. 27.

⁴ Davies, *The First English Empire*, pp. 142-71.

be intertwined with the country's history. Two major figures representing the Anglo-Saxon past emerged: Alfred and Edward the Confessor. The shadow cast by these two kings extended over centuries in the evolution of English national identity, especially that part pertaining to its ancient laws. From the eighteenth century until well into the nineteenth, Alfred was seen as the font of English jurisprudence.⁵ Edward had a different history. Despite his canonisation, as time passed, he was remembered more for his laws than his sanctity, though even this reached its zenith during Stewart times and was ultimately superseded by Alfred as England's law-giver.⁶ Though the legends of Edward's sanctity made for good stories, they were not indicative of the cult's profile. Popular as stories of Edward's sanctity might have been, they were not enough to propel him into the role of national saint, which was filled in England by the fourteenth century by St. George.⁷ While kings were frequently used in the construction of a national history, in England models of national sanctity had to be found elsewhere. Though Edward was a symbol of the monarchy, employed for various ends from 1066 on, his influence never surpassed that, particularly during the period 1066-1399.

In Chapters One, Two and Three the inconsistent nature of Edward's veneration was examined. One of the more remarkable elements of this was the almost *laissez-faire* attitude of Westminster Abbey towards one of its major benefactors in the years immediately following his death. Even as a symbol for the monarchy, Edward's appeal was limited. Chapter One showed that it was only possible to attain Edward's canonisation during the reign of a strong king, particularly one to whom the pope was indebted. If Stephen had hoped

⁵ S. Keynes has studied the full transformation of Alfred in 'The Cult of King Alfred,' *Anglo-Saxon England* 28 (1999).

⁶ The reception of Edward the Confessor's laws after the medieval period is the subject of Greenberg, *St. Edward's Ghost*.

⁷ N. Saul, 'Medieval England: Identity, Politics, and Society,' in *The Oxford Illustrated History of Medieval England* (Oxford, 1997), p. 16.

to use Edward's canonisation to assert his own royal authority, his hopes were dashed. Edward's canonisation transpired only under a strong monarch; it was not the means by which to enforce the position of a weak one. Likewise, the perception of Edward did little to endear him to the monarchy. Henry III and Richard II were both attracted to the saint because of his reputation for peace.⁸ Though he supported the petition, Henry II was not a devotee of the cult, perhaps for this very reason. Edward I and III, while showing perfunctory recognition of their namesake, were not attached to Edward the Confessor in any particularly meaningful way. It is not surprising that these kings, who adopted aggressive policies, were not drawn to a saint who was the personification of peace. As Chapters Four, Five and Six revealed, not only was Edward renowned for the peace during his reign, but he was a fairly inactive saint, particularly when compared with other saints. When one looks at the first four papally canonised Englishmen, one finds: Thomas Becket, the ultimate martyr renowned for his defence of ecclesiastical rights, Wulfstan, the dynamic Anglo-Saxon bishop, and Gilbert, who founded a monastic order. Whereas Edward, the fourth saint, was king of England, his *vitae* were keen to stress that he absented himself from ruling his kingdom. Most of the popular stories about Edward show him in a passive role, receiving visions. In the most well-known, the legend of St. John and the Ring, he has a small role. Combined with this inactivity was the problem of his chastity, a virtue which was not as well-promoted as his charity, as was examined in Chapter Four. Edward the Confessor was not a compelling figure, offering a model of behaviour incompatible to both the warrior-kings of the period and laymen.

The quotation from Freeman cited in the Introduction points to one of the many problems with examining the cult of Edward the Confessor. The number of texts and artifacts, many of them quite well-

⁸ Saul, *Richard II*, p. 312.

known, associated with the saint might lead one to believe that his cult was very popular in 1066-1399. On closer inspection, it should come as no surprise that a saint who enjoyed the veneration of kings has many material objects related to his cult; kings had the wealth to commission shrines, paintings and texts. The evidence for the king's popularity with the rest of England's people is slim. It is true that he was viewed as one of the country's significant monarchs, deeply entwined with England's history. However, in terms of popular devotion, he never approached the heights attained by other saints, remaining more closely connected to the country's past.

Appendix
Locations of Royal Burials

Unless otherwise stated, all information was obtained from the CD-ROM version of the *Dictionary of National Biography*. The name(s) of the rulers' wife (or wives) if he was married immediately follow(s) his name.

William I	St. Stephen's, Caen
Matilda	Holy Trinity, Caen
Robert	Abbey Church, Gloucester
Richard	
Cecilia	Holy Trinity ¹
Constance	
Adelaide	
Adela	
Matilda	
William Rufus	Winchester Cathedral
Henry I	Church of St. Mary de Pre at Emandrville, near Rouen (bowels), monastic church at Reading (body)
Matilda	Westminster Abbey
William	At sea
Matilda	Abbey Church, Bec ²
Adela	
Stephen	Faversham Abbey
Matilda	Faversham Abbey
Baldwin	Trinity Church, Aldgate
Matilda	Trinity Church, Aldgate
Eustace	Faversham Abbey
William	
Mary	
Henry II	Fontevrault
Eleanor	Fontevrault

¹ Not verified. However, she was abbess of the foundation.

² Later moved to Cathedral Church of Rouen.

Henry	Cathedral Church of Rouen ³
Matilda	Church of St. Blasius, Brunswick
Geoffrey	Notre-Dame, Paris
Eleanor	
Joan	Fontevrault
William	
Richard I	Fontevrault (body), Rouen (heart)
Berengaria	Cistercian monastery 'Pietas Dei'
John	Worcester Cathedral (body), Fontevrault (heart)
Isabella of Gloucester	
Isabella	Fontevrault
Richard	Hayles (body), Church of Franciscans, Oxford (heart)
Joan	Nunnery of Tarent, Dorset
Isabella	Andria
Eleanor	Montargis, France
Henry III	Westminster Abbey (body), Fontevrault (heart) ⁴
Eleanor of Provence	Church of Franciscans in London (heart), Amesbury (body)
Edmund	Westminster Abbey
Margaret	Dunfermline
Beatrice	
Katherine	Westminster Abbey
Henry	Westminster Abbey
John	Westminster Abbey
Richard	Westminster Abbey
Edward I	Westminster Abbey
Eleanor of Castile	Westminster Abbey
Margaret (wife)	Church of Franciscans, London
John	Westminster Abbey ⁵
Henry	Westminster Abbey (body), Church of Dominicans, Guildford (heart) ⁶
Alfonso	Westminster Abbey (body), Church of

³ Later moved to cathedral at Le Mans.

⁴ Tanner, 'Tombs of Royal Babies,' p. 30.

⁵ Harvey, *Westminster Abbey and its Estates in the Middle Ages*, p.375.

⁶ Tanner, 'Tombs of Royal Babies,' p. 30.

	Dominicans, London (heart) ⁷
Berengeria	Westminster Abbey ⁸
Alice	Westminster Abbey ⁹
2 daughters	
Eleanor	Westminster Abbey ¹⁰
Joanna	The Augustine Priory of Stoke Clare, Suffolk
Margaret	
Mary	Amesbury ¹¹
Elizabeth	
Thomas of Norfolk	Bury St. Edmunds
Edmund of Kent ¹²	
Eleanor	Beaulieu Abbey ¹³
Edward II	Abbey of St. Peter, Gloucester
Isabella	Church of Franciscans, Newgate in London
John	Westminster Abbey
Isabella	
Joan	Church of Franciscans, London
Edward III	Westminster Abbey ¹⁴
Phillipa of Hainault	Westminster Abbey
Edward, Black Prince	Canterbury Cathedral
Lionel of Clarence	Pavia ¹⁵
John of Gaunt	St. Paul's
Edmund of Langley	Church of Dominicans, Langley ¹⁶
Thomas of Woodstock	Westminster Abbey ¹⁷
William of Windsor	Westminster Abbey ¹⁸

⁷ Tanner, 'Tombs of Royal Babies,' p. 30.

⁸ Tanner, 'Tombs of Royal Babies,' p. 31.

⁹ Tanner, 'Tombs of Royal Babies,' p. 31.

¹⁰ Harvey, *Westminster Abbey and its Estates*, p. 375.

¹¹ Probably as she was a member of the nunnery there.

¹² As he was beheaded, his place of burial is unknown.

¹³ Tanner, 'Tombs of Royal Babies,' p. 31.

¹⁴ Harvey, *Westminster Abbey and its Estates*, p. 378.

¹⁵ This was his intended place of burial, as stated in his will. He was later moved to the convent of Austin Friars of Clare in Suffolk.

¹⁶ About 1274 he was moved to King's Langley Church.

¹⁷ Some sources say he was buried in Pleshey. However, Adam of Usk places the burial at the abbey. He was moved from the first site in 1399 by Henry IV, who honoured Thomas' wish to be buried near the shrine of St. Edward.

¹⁸ Tanner, 'Tombs of Royal Babies,' p. 34.

William of Hatfield	York Minster ¹⁹
Isabella	Church of Franciscans, London
Joan	
Mary	
Margaret	
Blanche	Westminster Abbey ²⁰
Richard II	Westminster Abbey ²¹
Anne of Bohemia	Westminster Abbey
Isabella	Chapel of Nôtre Dame des Bonnes Nouvelles, abbey of St. Laumre, Blois ²²

¹⁹ Tanner, 'Tombs of Royal Babies,' p. 34.

²⁰ Tanner, 'Tombs of Royal Babies,' p. 34.

²¹ Richard constructed a tomb for himself at Westminster but was buried with little ceremony at the church of the Dominicans in the manor of King's Langley. Henry V moved him to Westminster.

²² In 1624 she was translated to the Church of Celestines in Paris.

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