

**THE FORTUNES OF A KING: IMAGES OF EDWARD THE CONFESSOR IN
12TH TO 14TH CENTURY ENGLAND**

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ABSTRACT

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This thesis is an iconographic study of Saint-King Edward the Confessor. It focuses on the political and devotional functions of his images in twelfth to fourteenth century England. The images are not concerned with the historical Anglo-Saxon King, but rather depict an idealized and simplified version of Edward. The discrepancies between Edward, the Anglo-Saxon monarch, and his representation in the twelfth to fourteenth centuries provide insight into how he was perceived at the time.

Spanning the reigns of King Henry I to King Richard II, this unique study assembles both royal and ecclesiastical images of Edward to compare and contrast their intended purposes and messages. The study explores the role that Westminster Abbey had in the emergence, adoption, and transformation of Edward's cult images, and it examines how the English crown subsequently adopted Edward as a saint-king figure under King Henry III and King Richard II. Furthermore, the study reveals elements of cooperation between Westminster Abbey and King Henry III in the presentation and interpretation of Edward's image. In particular, the first images of Edward as a saint-king were part of a wider hagiographic image cycle developed in Westminster Abbey. The images incorporated Edward's status as both a king and saint to promote cooperation between the Abbey and the monarchy. Similarly, coronation portraits of King Edward promoted Edward as an ideal king; these images embraced peaceful, Solomonic, and clergy-supported kingship. King Henry III's images of Edward, found

throughout his castles and palaces, built upon Westminster's format and his messages maintained cooperation with the clergy.

The images evolved under King Richard II as Edward was removed from his hagiographic context. Richard's images of Edward were personal and self-serving, and Edward became a justification of Richard's independent and sacral style of kingship. The images evolved from promoting Edward's style of sainthood and kingship to providing overt divine support for Richard's reign. This image study illuminates the symbolic purpose of Edward in Medieval English society and how his image was constructed and embraced by Westminster Abbey and the monarchy.

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INTRODUCTION

Henry VI's coronation banquet in 1429 served three courses of rich and lavish food alongside two subtleties of historical figures made out of confectionary. The first course included a subtlety of the English Saint-King Edward the Confessor and his French counterpart St. Louis IX. As the poet John Lydgate writes of the event:

Loo here twoo kynges righte perfit and right good,
Holy Seint Edward and Seint Lowes:
And see the braunch borne of here blessid blode;
Live, among Cristen, moost sovereigne of price,
Enheretour of the floure de lice!
God graunte he may thurgh help of Crist Jhesu
This sixt Henry to reigne and be as wise
And hem resemble in knyghthod and vertue.¹

This poem emphasizes the connections between Henry and these two saints, and it presents them as ancestral models of ideal kingship. By placing these figures within the context of coronation, they visually manifested Henry's claims to both the English and French thrones. In other words, connections with St. Edward and St. Louis legitimized and affirmed Henry's kingship. This event prompts historians with an interesting question: centuries after Edward the Confessor's death, why did this figure of Edward, as an Anglo-Saxon monarch and saint, carry such important, legitimizing connotations for the English monarch?

Using primarily iconographic sources and analyzing them from an historical perspective, this thesis explores the construction and representation of Edward the Confessor from the twelfth to the fourteenth century. More specifically, this work takes

¹ John Lydgate, "Soteltes at the Coronation Banquet of Henry VI," ed. Claire Sponsler, Middle English Text Series, University of Rochester, <http://d.lib.rochester.edu/teams/text/sponsler-lydgate-mummings-and-entertainments-soteltes-at-the-coronation-banquet-of-henry-vi>.

a cultural approach to royal and ecclesiastical Medieval English history. Images offer a unique insight into the beliefs and mentalities of the medieval people. This thesis looks at an image's purpose and meaning within its historical context in order to gain a new perspective on the history surrounding the cult of Edward the Confessor as well as the history of Westminster Abbey and the English monarchy. It examines a wide historical period in order to understand Edward's representation during the reigns of multiple monarchs; however, it will primarily focus on King Henry III and King Richard II. Both of these kings were devoted to Edward's cult and were prolific art patrons.

On January 4, 1066, King Edward the Confessor died childless, leading to the Norman Conquest. He was evoked to legitimize the Norman claims to the English throne, making him an important symbol for the monarchy almost immediately after his death. This connection with the Norman Conquest is a popular academic focus; however, the majority of studies end there. Chapter 1 will provide a survey of the state of academic work on Edward while emphasizing the research opportunities in the historiography.

Edward's symbolic status was enhanced upon his canonization in 1161. Edward's canonization linked him, as a saint and king, with Westminster Abbey. He played a significant role in elevating the Abbey's status and establishing a cooperative relationship between Westminster monks and the English monarchy. Initially, the message and purpose of Edward's cult was heavily influenced by ecclesiastical and Westminster concerns. Chapter 2 explores this relationship between Edward and Westminster, focusing on Edward's canonization and the initial development of the cult. Westminster's development of a hagiographic image cycle based on Aelred of Rievaulx's official hagiography, *Life of St. Edward, king and confessor*, was of major

importance. These images and their locations indicated Westminster's control over the creation, message, and distribution of the cult. The intended audience was primarily royal and noble, and King Henry III, upon devotion to the cult, adhered to Westminster's representations and interpretations.

Edward, as an Anglo-Saxon monarch, was also a symbol of medieval kingship. Chapter 3 explores the medieval interpretation of Edward's reign by studying Edward's hagiography and the legal treatise titled *Leges Edwardi Confessoris*. Edward was associated with peaceful, Solomonic, and clergy-supportive kingship. In the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, Edward became a symbol for royal opponents, who embraced Edward as a symbol of rebellion against legitimately crowned monarchs. Edward's kingship was given a more prominent place in England when his relics and laws were incorporated in the medieval coronation ceremony. Westminster and royal images of Edward helped promote Edward's kingship and his association with the coronation ceremony.

By Richard II's reign, Westminster's interpretation of Edward diminished in favour of royal control. In this period, a new message emerged under Richard II, and Edward became a justification for a sacral, strong, and independent style of kingship. In turn, this association granted the monarchy power and authority. Chapter 4 will discuss this evolution by comparing Richard's images to both Westminster Abbey's and Henry III's images of Edward. The Wilton Diptych is a rich source that reveals Richard's personal interpretations of both Edward's kingship and his own.

Overall, this thesis will examine and consider twenty existing images, alongside a number of descriptions of destroyed works, in order to understand the evolution of Edward's image and message throughout the twelfth to fourteenth centuries.

Furthermore, this work will allow us to reevaluate our understanding of Edward's importance to Westminster Abbey and to the English monarchy during this period.

CHAPTER 1

EDWARD THE CONFESSOR

1. Historical and medieval reception

Edward the Confessor was an Anglo-Saxon king and saint who reigned from 1042 to 1066 and was canonized in 1161. He was born around 1003 to 1005 at Islip near Oxford to parents King Æthelred II and Emma whose brother was Richard II, Duke of Normandy. Edward descended from saintly ancestry; his grandfather King Edgar, his aunt St. Edith, his uncle St. Edward the Martyr, and his brother Alfred all had small, local English cults devoted to them. Edward spent a large portion of his youth in Normandy with his mother and siblings seeking safety from the Viking invasions in England. The English throne changed hands multiple times over the course of his youth, and with each new king, Edward's place in the line of succession changed. After his father's death in 1016, the Danish King Cnut invaded and took over the English throne. In a controversial move, Edward's mother Emma married Cnut and secured herself a continued position of power in the kingdom.¹ After Cnut's death, Emma's son Harthacnut was bypassed for the throne in favour of Harold Harefoot, and she encouraged Edward and his brother Alfred to attempt to secure the throne. Both brothers sailed to England where Edward won a battle at Southhampton, but ultimately returned to Normandy. Upon Alfred's arrival at Wissant, he was captured by Earl Godwin and executed by Harold, becoming a local martyr.² After both Harold's and Harthacnut's

¹ Frank Barlow, *Edward the Confessor* (London: Eyre and Spottiswoode, 1970), 35-37.

² *Ibid.*, 44-46.

reigns and deaths, Edward returned to England and became king in 1042 at the age of 38.

Edward was not a particularly independent or powerful king. He relied heavily on advisors such as Earl Godwin to help solve the problems facing the kingdom. His relationship with the Godwin family was secured in 1045 when Edward married Edith, the daughter of Earl Godwin. In 1051, the Godwin family fell out of favour after a land dispute with the Archbishop of Canterbury, Robert of Jumièges. The Godwins were accused of plotting to kill the king so they went into exile. During this period of exile, William of Normandy, later William the Conqueror, reportedly visited England and King Edward promised him the throne after his death. The Godwins returned from exile in 1051 to launch an attack on London.³ Edward did not have the support from his earls that was required to resist and was forced to surrender. He reconciled with the Godwin family and restored to them their previous power and possessions.

Throughout his reign, Edward dealt with both external aggression and internal unrest. Edward opted for peaceful and defensive actions when dealing with conflict. He avoided foreign wars by maintaining good relationships with Normandy, France, and Germany, while attempting to appease the Scandinavian rulers.⁴ Scandinavian threats, especially from the Danish, persisted throughout his reign. Svein of Denmark was a major threat to Edward's vision of peace because he too had a strong claim to the English throne. Edward calmed Svein's numerous threats of invasion by placing him next in succession for the throne, even over Edward's potential future sons.⁵ Even

³ Peter Rex, *King and Saint: the life of Edward the Confessor* (Stroud: The History Press, 2008), 119-127.

⁴ Barlow, *Edward the Confessor*, 97-98.

⁵ Frank Barlow, "Edward the Confessor's Early Life, Character Attitudes," *The English Historical Review* 80, no. 315 (1965): 240.

though Edward never had children and Svein died early, this gesture was still politically important. Edward ruled over Welsh and Scottish territories with similar success. He sent royal officials to intervene in internal disputes in an effort to maintain submission to English rule. For example, the newly appointed Archbishop of Canterbury, Siward, was sent to Scotland to help defeat King Macbeth and support Malcolm for the throne.

Edward was particularly interested in ecclesiastical affairs, and he carefully appointed officials to vacant positions. He was most attentive to his religious duties and often took part in theological debates with monks.⁶ Most importantly, in 1044-1050, he began to rebuild Westminster Abbey. The Abbey was an expensive and ambitious building project that was completed in the Norman architectural style. Upon completion, the Abbey served functions similar to those of other major European abbeys such as St. Denis in France. The close proximity of the royal centers of power and large abbeys provided monarchs with significant political and ecclesiastical support.⁷ According to Westminster Abbey sources, Edward also financially supported the Abbey. The sources indicate that he granted important gifts and privileges to the Abbey that elevated its monks to among the richest in the kingdom. He also donated large sums of money and land, giving the monks manors at Islip, Pershore, Deerhurst, West Midlands, Hampshire, Oxfordshire, and Rutland.⁸

While the majority of Edward's reign was relatively peaceful and prosperous, problems with succession emerged as he aged since he had no children. According to the hagiography, his childlessness was the result of a vow of chastity; however, this is

⁶ Rex, *King and Saint*, 201.

⁷ Robert Shepherd, *Westminster: A Biography From Earliest Times to the Present* (London: Bloomsbury, 2012), 14.

⁸ Barbara Harvey, *Westminster Abbey and its Estates in the Middle Ages* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1977), 27.

impossible to know for certain. Rumours of his chastity emerged at Edward's death in the *Vita Ædwardi*; however, Edward's chastity was fully developed in a later hagiographic work by Osbert of Clare's *Vita beati Eadwardi regis Anglorum* in 1138.⁹ In any case, when Edward died on January 5, 1066, most likely by a series of strokes, there was no clear successor. His last words were disputed, but most historians believe that he entrusted the kingdom to his wife Edith and her brother Harold.¹⁰ He was buried in Westminster Abbey on January 6 and Harold was crowned on the same day and at the same place.

The Norman rhetoric claimed that, in gratitude for his treatment while in exile in Normandy during his youth, Edward made his cousin William the heir to the English throne. English nobles and the archbishop of Canterbury confirmed William's claim and Harold was sent to Normandy to pledge his support for William. Thus, to the Normans, when Harold was crowned after Edward's death, he violated promises sworn before God to William. After Harold's coronation, William of Normandy invaded England and on October 14, 1066 took the throne after defeating and killing Harold in the Battle of Hastings. This event had a significant impact on Edward's reception in post-Conquest England. The Normans justified killing Harold by labeling him as a usurper and by delegitimizing his coronation since it was performed by Stigand, the excommunicated Archbishop of Canterbury, and took place without the support of the people.¹¹

Immediately after the Conquest, the Norman charters labeled Harold II as a usurper while at the same time citing Edward as the Norman immediate predecessor.

⁹ The section of the *Vita Ædwardi* discussing Edward's marriage to Edith is missing, complicating our understanding of the contemporary view of their marriage; Rex, *King and Saint*, 205.

¹⁰ Barlow, *Edward the Confessor*, 249.

¹¹ Frank Barlow, *Edward the Confessor and the Norman Conquest*, The Hastings and Bexhill Historical Association 1066 Commemoration Series (Sussex: Budd and Gillatt St. Leonards-on-sea, 1966), 6.

Typically, the Anglo-Saxon term *ætheling*, which referred to first and second-generation male descendants of a king, supported eligibility for the throne and helped legitimize an *ætheling*'s rise to power.¹² Since William was related to Edward the Confessor through his Norman maternal line, he was unable to use the term to emphasize his place in the line of succession. Instead, William's charters referred to Edward as *antecessor* or *predecessor*. The Norman definition of *antecessor*, as exemplified in the *Domesday Book*, signified the state of affairs at the death of the previous office holder.¹³ As a result, with this one term, William was legitimizing his role as Edward's true successor and delegitimizing Harold's brief rule. These references continue in the charters of King William II and King Henry I whose ancestry begins with Edward as their predecessor.¹⁴ In these references, the kings emphasized their royal connections with Edward thereby stressing continuation with Anglo-Saxon England.

The Norman connection with Edward was furthered through William's coronation at Westminster Abbey. As a result of Edward's rebuilding and burial in the Abbey, Edward was connected with the history of Westminster. Both Harold II and William I were crowned at Westminster Abbey in an effort to legitimize their rule with this symbolic connection to Edward. William affirmed this connection in a letter to the Abbot of Fecamp, stating that in Westminster Abbey "lies a man of the blessed memory,

¹² David N. Dumville, "The *Ætheling*: a study in Anglo-Saxon constitutional history," *Anglo-Saxon England* 8 (1979): 10.

¹³ George Garnett, "Coronation and Propaganda: Some Implications of the Norman Claim to the Throne of England in 1066: The Alexander Prize Essay," *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society* 36, no. 5 (1986): 105.

¹⁴ Emily L. O'Brien, "The Cult of St. Edward the Confessor 1066-1399," (DPhil diss., University of Oxford, 2001), 7.

my lord and relative King Edward.”¹⁵ While Anglo-Saxon monarchs’ coronations were not associated with a specific location, William’s coronation established a tradition at Westminster Abbey that has remained until modern day.

Since many feared the imposition of Norman laws, William I insisted that the laws were a continuation from Edward’s reign. This association helped to facilitate the Norman transition. In particular, William I confirmed the laws of Edward the Confessor, stating that the citizens of London were “worthy of the laws [they] were worthy of in the time of King Edward.”¹⁶ Whether these laws were truly representative of Edward’s reign is unknown since no contemporary written laws existed; however, Edward’s name became associated with Anglo-Saxon law throughout post-Conquest England. Posthumously, he also gained a reputation as a just lawgiver, despite having never added or changed laws during his reign. This lawful reputation persisted through the twelfth century with both King Henry I and King Stephen referencing Edward’s laws in their coronations. Under Henry III, the laws attributed to Edward were also incorporated into the coronation oath.¹⁷ The legal treatises containing Edward’s laws were also popular with opponents of the crown and were referenced by Thomas Becket’s supporters in the conflict between the Archbishop and Henry II. The laws were similarly referenced in the seventeenth century to justify potential resistance to, and rebellion against, legitimately crowned monarchs.¹⁸

¹⁵ Richard Mortimer, introduction to *Edward the Confessor: the man and legend* (Woodbridge: Boydell Press, 2009), 34.

¹⁶ *Ibid.*, 38.

¹⁷ Bruce O’Brien, *God’s Peace and King’s Peace: The Laws of Edward the Confessor*, (Philadelphia: University of Philadelphia, 1999), 120.

¹⁸ Janelle Greenberg, “The Confessor’s Laws and the Radical Face of the Ancient Constitution,” *The English Historical Review* 104, no. 412 (1989): 611.

Edward's canonization in 1161 had the greatest impact on his reception. At his death, Edward was said to have performed approximately four to five miracles throughout his life. He performed two types of miracles: seeing visions that helped warn of danger for England and healing miracles performed through the water in which he washed his hands. Despite the formation of a small royal cult at his death, Edward's possible sanctity largely went unnoticed. The first canonization petition was launched in 1138, seventy-two years after Edward's death. At this point, Edward's character and attributes were changed and more miracles were attributed to him. To make him fit within the hagiographic tradition, Edward's reign was remolded to create similarities between his life and those of other saints. Edward's life was simplified, and he became more of a symbol than a man, erasing his faults and creating a perfect persona. Edward, who, according to his biographers, was quick to anger and at times ruthless, became a pious and monk-like figure. Overall, his complicated and precarious path to the throne was simplified by granting him divine and popular approval before he was born.

After a second petition, Edward was canonized in 1161, and the term Confessor was added to his name in order to distinguish him from another Anglo-Saxon saint-king, his uncle Edward the Martyr.¹⁹ As the term signifies, Edward was considered a confessor saint, meaning that he had lived as an ideal Christian. Confessor saints emerged in the fourth century when Christianity was no longer persecuted and martyrs who suffered and died for their faith were no longer common. Thus, this new category of saint developed to venerate those who lived an ideal life worthy of imitation.²⁰ While

¹⁹ Frank Barlow, introduction to *The life of King Edward who rests at Westminster*, ed. Frank Barlow (London: Thomas Nelson and Sons, 1962), xiv.

²⁰ Robert Bartlett, *Why Can the Dead Do Such Great Things? Saint and Worshippers from the Martyrs to the Reformation* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2013), 16.

Edward's popularity was mostly centered in England, his hagiography spread as far as Iceland.²¹ There was limited audience for Edward's cult in Normandy with early fourteenth century stained glass windows depicting Edward's life found in Fécamp Abbey.²² Overall, Edward's medieval reception differed greatly from his historical reign. His canonization had a large impact on the posthumous mythic development of his character and the message of his cult.

2. Historiography

Considering the prevalence of literature on the Norman Conquest, a large portion of the historical works focus on Edward's role in causing the invasion of 1066. Historians question Edward's intentions for the English succession, debating whether he had promised the throne to Duke William of Normandy or if it was simply invented to justify the Conquest. This question has been a major historical focus, with discussions dating back to the 1120s with William of Malmesbury's *Gesta Regum Anglorum*. As Stephen Baxter explains, this debate is "one of the great controversies of English history."²³ Many historians wholeheartedly accept the Norman claims, arguing that Edward always intended William I to be his successor.²⁴ These historians base their arguments on the writings of Norman sympathizers, William of Jumièges and William

²¹ The work is found in a 14th century manuscript; Christine Fell, "The Icelandic Saga of Edward the Confessor: The Hagiographic Sources," *Anglo-Saxon England* 1 (1972): 247-258.

²² Madeline Harrison, "A Life of Edward the Confessor in Early Fourteenth-Century Stained Glass at Fecamp in Normandy," *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes* 26, no. ½ (1963): 22-37.

²³ Stephen Baxter, "Edward the Confessor and the Succession Question," in *Edward the Confessor: the man and legend*, ed. Richard Mortimer (Woodbridge: Boydell Press, 2009), 77.

²⁴ Edward A. Freeman, *The History of the Norman Conquest: its causes and its results* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1873-1879); Eric John, "Edward the Confessor and the Norman Succession," *The English Historical Review* 94, no. 371 (1979): 241-267; Sten Körner, *Battle of Hastings, England, and Europe, 1035-1066* (Lund: C.W.K. Gleerup, 1964); T.J. Oleson, "Edward the Confessor's Promise of the Throne to Duke William of Normandy," *Ibid* 72 (1957): 221-228.

of Poitiers, who affirmed the Norman rights to the English throne. They stated that William's sole motivation behind the invasion was to claim what was rightly his.²⁵

Other historians, including Frank Barlow, Stephen Baxter, and D.C. Douglas, oppose the complete acceptance of the Norman sources since there are no Anglo-Saxon sources available to support their claims. There are few sources remaining from Edward the Confessor's reign and none of the Anglo-Saxon sources discuss the succession question. As a result of the silence in the Anglo-Saxon sources, many historians conclude that there is not enough historical evidence to determine Edward's intentions.²⁶ Despite this lack of information, historians have attempted to disprove the claims in Norman sources by placing them within the historical context of the contemporary people and their actions. For example, Frank Barlow asserts that the claims are probably false since they do not fit in with Edward the Confessor's character. Edward was unhappy during his time spent in exile in Normandy, and, according to Barlow, would not have given the throne to William based on Norman kinship alone.²⁷ Overall, since most of the information about Edward the Confessor relies on conjecture, these sources mainly contribute to understanding the impact and importance of the Norman Conquest rather than enriching our understanding of Edward.

Outside of Edward's role in causing the Norman Conquest, two major biographies of Edward the Confessor by Frank Barlow and Peter Rex have attempted to

²⁵ See: William of Jumièges, Orderic Vitalis, and Robert of Torigni, *Gesta Normannorum Ducum*, ed. and trans. Elisabeth M.C. van Houts (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1992); William of Poitiers, *The Gesta Guillelmi of William of Poitiers*, ed. and trans. R.H.C. Davis and Marjorie Chibnall (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1998).

²⁶ See: Barlow, "Edward the Confessor's Early Life, Character Attitudes," 225-251; Baxter, "Edward the Confessor and the Succession Question," 77-118; Miles. W. Campbell, "Earl Godwin of Wessex and Edward the Confessor's Promise of the Throne to William of Normandy," *Traditio* 28 (1972): 141-158; D.C. Douglas, "Edward the Confessor, Duke William of Normandy, and the English Succession," *The English Historical Review* 68 (1953): 526-545.

²⁷ Barlow, *Edward the Confessor and the Norman Conquest*, 14.

shed light on the historical King Edward and, in doing so, rehabilitate his reputation. Believing that the majority of historians give the Norman and hagiographic perspectives of Edward too much credit, these biographers made an effort to place Edward within his contemporary period.²⁸ Their studies rely primarily on the *Vita Ædwardi Regis*, which is believed to be finished just after the Norman Conquest, since the semi-hagiographical work provides the closest contemporary biographical portrait of Edward.²⁹ Both biographers conclude that, despite Norman and hagiographic claims, Edward was an effective and involved ruler who was able to bring peace to England in a turbulent time.

Barlow's and Rex's biographies devote their concluding chapters to discussing the early development of the cult and Edward's canonization. To these authors, Edward's sainthood and hagiographic sources have led to misunderstandings and misinterpretations of Edward's reign and character. Barlow and Rex briefly discuss the origins of Edward's cult within Westminster Abbey in 1102, with the inspection of Edward's tomb and discovery of his uncorrupted body; however, they maintain that Edward's cult was weak since it only existed within Westminster Abbey and relied on a small and unimpressive list of miracles.³⁰ Since they focus on understanding the Anglo-Saxon king, their works necessarily overlook the importance of Edward's sainthood to the medieval people.

Academic work on Edward's sanctity focuses on Edward's canonization and his early cult. Two petitions were launched in an attempt to canonize Edward: the first was launched in 1138, and the second achieved canonization in 1161. Osbert of Clare, a

²⁸ See: Barlow, *Edward the Confessor*; Richard Mortimer, *Edward the Confessor: the man and the legend* (Woodbridge: Boydell Press, 2009); Rex, *King and Saint: The Life of Edward the Confessor*.

²⁹ Barlow, introduction to *Edward the Confessor*, xx-xxi.

³⁰ Barlow, *Edward the Confessor*, 269.

Westminster monk and prior, spearheaded the first petition. In preparation for the petition, Osbert composed the *Vita Beati Eadwardi Regis Anglorum*, which substantially added to the miracles attributed to Edward and formulated arguments in favour of sanctity. While his petition was ultimately rejected by Pope Innocent II, historians debate the motivations behind the first canonization petition. Beginning with Marc Bloch, some historians believe that the petition was mainly motivated by royal interests. Bloch states that King Stephen and his brother Henry of Winchester were firmly in support of Westminster's petition for canonization, and they intended to increase the king's power and prestige as a ruler. But when King Stephen arrested the bishops of Lincoln and Salisbury under suspicion of mobilizing to support Matilda, he began to lose ecclesiastical support and gave his cousin Matilda's claims to the throne more legitimacy.³¹ According to this line of reasoning, Pope Innocent II refused to grant Edward's canonization until the political situation in England stabilized.³²

Other historians, including Bernhard Scholz, debate this interpretation, arguing that there is little evidence of royal support when analyzing Osbert hagiography and canonization petition. Scholz concludes that Osbert was the main driving force behind the petition and that his focus was on Edward's connection with Westminster Abbey. Thus, the petition ultimately failed because Pope Innocent believed that only the monks of Westminster Abbey supported the petition. He postponed canonization until

³¹ Kenji Yoshitake has since argued that this interpretation of the arrest of the bishops and the political consequences is overstated. Looking at charters, he has concluded that King Stephen still maintained some ecclesiastical support and the administration still continued to function. However, since Bloch uses this interpretation, his reasoning requires explanation despite the new doubts surrounding this conclusion. Kenji Yoshitake, "The arrest of the bishops in 1139 and its consequences," *Journal of Medieval History* 14, no. 2. (1988): 97-114.

³² Marc Bloch, introduction to *La vie de S. Edouard le Confesseur* (Bruxelles: Société des Bollandistes, 1923); Edina Bozoky, "The Sanctity and Canonization of Edward the Confessor," in *Edward the Confessor: The Man and the Legend*, 173-186.

Westminster monks could prove that other ecclesiastical and royal officials across England also supported the petition.³³ These discussions contribute to understanding the initial development of Edward's cult; however, they end with his canonization and do not study Edward's role as a saint-king after canonization.

Edward's role after canonization and the place of his cult in medieval England have been largely unstudied. Currently, the only work available is an Oxford DPhil thesis by Emily O'Brien. O'Brien studies Edward's cult from 1066-1399, concluding that despite the amount of *vitae*, there was no popular devotion to Edward. Similarly, royal patrons of the cult were few, with only Henry III and Richard II devoted to Edward.³⁴ As she admits in her introduction, her study does not include the image representations of Edward. Since hagiographic image cycles and devotional art were an important aspect of the medieval cult experience, Edward's cult cannot be properly studied without this dimension.

Paul Binski contributes to understanding Edward's cult within the context of Westminster Abbey's art and architecture. Binski provides excellent background on the initial development of Edward's cult and hagiography. Through his work, Binski discusses the influence of Edward's cult on the art and architecture within Westminster Abbey under the reign of the Plantagenet kings. He believes Westminster Abbey promoted the cult of Edward the Confessor, and he also acknowledges the existence of an image cycle of Edward's life within manuscripts made in Westminster in the

³³ Bernhard W. Scholz, "The Canonization of Edward the Confessor," *Speculum* 36, no.1 (1961): 41-47; O'Brien, "The Cult of St. Edward the Confessor 1066-1399."

³⁴ O'Brien, "The Cult of St. Edward the Confessor 1066-1399," viii.

thirteenth century.³⁵ This thesis will develop Binski's work further by focusing on the role of these Westminster images within the creation of the cult of Edward while also finding further examples of this cycle in order to argue for their role as a hagiographic image cycle. Moreover, these images will also be studied in connection with the royal images of Edward in the same period in order to further understand the promotion and reception of his cult.

Overall, this thesis studies the twelfth to fourteenth century receptions of Edward the Confessor, as both a king and saint. Both of these elements were an important aspect of his later medieval reception and thus the interplay between his kingship and sainthood needs to be considered. Images of Edward reveal his symbolic importance as both saint and king while also helping to understand the reception of his cult. The similarities and differences between the royal and ecclesiastical image representations of Edward reveal what Edward represented to each group and how his image was promoted.

2.1 Edward and Westminster Abbey

From the tenth century, Edward the Confessor has been connected with Westminster Abbey. Through the rebuilding of the Abbey during his reign, Edward gained a reputation as one of the founders and great patrons of the Abbey. The historiography maintains this reputation by emphasizing Edward's role in elevating the Abbey's position. This elevation was achieved through rebuilding Westminster and bestowing privileges upon the monastery. Edward's abbey was the largest church in

³⁵ Paul Binski, "Abbot Berkyng's Tapestries and Matthew Paris's Life of St Edward the Confessor," *Journal of the British Archaeological Association* 109 (1991): 85–100 and "Reflections on la estoire de Seint Aedward le rei: hagiography and kingship in thirteenth-century England," *Journal of Medieval History* 16, no. 4 (1990): 333–350 and Chapter 2 in *Westminster Abbey and the Plantagenets: Kingship and Representation of Power 1200–1400* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1995), 52–89.

England at the time and required the majority of Edward's royal income to complete the construction. Archeological work has been undertaken in order to understand the layout, architectural style, and construction of the medieval Abbey under Edward's reign. Using this archeological evidence, the remaining stonework, and written records, historians have successfully mapped out the Norman inspired, Romanesque structure. The building measured 98.2 meters long and it was the first cross-shaped church in England. Historians also have a vague idea about the internal decoration of the Abbey, containing stone sculptures and ironwork.³⁶ Overall, the Abbey was an immense and impressive building, rivaling other European churches of the period.

Edward also secured income for the Abbey by donating £270 of his own income annually to the Abbey and granting the monks access to estates across England. Edward intended to donate more land to the Abbey after Queen Edith's death; however, after the Conquest, William I disseized the majority of this land and other properties.³⁷ While Edward probably rebuilt the Abbey in order to make the site suitable for his burial, he created an important political and ecclesiastical centre by both rebuilding the Abbey and making Westminster Palace his permanent location. This connection was similar to the royal French relationship with St. Denis and the Norman duchy's connection with the Abbey of the Trinity at Fécamp.³⁸ Edward took the first step towards centralizing the political and religious authorities together in London.

³⁶ Eric Fernie, "Reconstructing Edward's abbey at Westminster," in *Romanesque and Gothic: Essays for George Zarnecki*, ed. Neil Stratford (Woodbridge: Boydell Press, 1987), 63-67 and "Edward the Confessor's Westminster Abbey," in *Edward the Confessor: the man and legend*, 139-150; Joseph Armitage Robinson, "The Church of Edward the Confessor at Westminster," *Archaeologia* 62, no. 1 (1910): 81-100; Warwick J. Rodwell, "New Glimpses of Edward the Confessor's Abbey at Westminster," in *Edward the Confessor: the man and legend*, 151-167.

³⁷ Emma Mason, *Westminster Abbey and its people c. 1050-c.1216* (Woodbridge: Boydell Press, 1996), 16.

³⁸ *Ibid.*, 14-15.

In the medieval and modern histories of Westminster Abbey, Edward is known as the founder of the Abbey. The historical works begin with a discussion of the state of the Abbey under Edward's reign and his intentions for the future of his newly built Abbey; however, outside of his influence as one of the founders, Edward's symbolic role in the wider history of the Abbey has not been explored. In many of the histories of Westminster Abbey, Edward transitions from king to patron saint with little discussion of his impact on the state of the Abbey.³⁹ This connection needs to be explored further since Edward's role as king and saint allowed for a unique connection with the monarchy. The promotion of Edward's cult helped secure and maintain the Abbey's privileged position in English society.

2.2 Edward and English Kings

Within the history of the English monarchy, Edward holds a symbolic importance as the source of royal medieval traditions. As discussed above, both Harold II and William I were crowned in Westminster Abbey in an effort to legitimize their claims as Edward's true successor. Westminster Abbey subsequently became the traditional site of English coronation ceremonies. The Abbey also possessed papal bulls and charters, from Pope Nicholas II, Pope Pascal II and King William I, claiming that the Abbey had the sole right to house the coronation regalia; however, this privilege was

³⁹ Edward Carpenter, *A House of Kings: The History of Westminster Abbey* (London: John Baker, 1966); Harvey, *Westminster Abbey and its Estates in the Middle Ages*; William Chester Jordan, *A Tale of Two Monasteries: Westminster and Saint-Denis in the Thirteenth Century* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2009); *Westminster Abbey and its people c. 1050-c.1216* (Woodbridge: Boydell Press, 1996); Shepherd, *Westminster: A Biography From Earliest Times to the Present*.

often violated in the twelfth century.⁴⁰ Edward's symbolic connection with the coronation ceremony was strengthened under Henry III's reign when the monks started to claim that the regalia belonged to Edward. The monks circulated the idea that Edward's crown and scepter, which were discovered upon opening his tomb in 1102 and removed at his translation in 1163, were used in the coronation ceremony. As a result of this claim, the coronation regalia were also Edward's saintly relics, adding weight to Westminster's claim to house them.

Edward was also associated with the practice of royal touch for healing of *morbus regius*, commonly known as scrofula, with English monarchs citing Edward the Confessor as the source of this power. During his reign, Edward was believed to have cured a woman suffering from throat tumors. The woman sought Edward after being informed in a dream of Edward's healing abilities. After Edward anointed her with water and made the sign of the cross, the woman was cured of the disease. As a result of Edward's role as both king and saint, debates emerged over whether this power was granted by his kingship or sainthood. William of Malmesbury, in his *Gesta Regum*, affirmed that Edward's power was a result of his sainthood, stating, "some men set out to deceive by asserting that the power to cure that sort of disease is not the product of holiness, but an hereditary royal prerogative."⁴¹ The English royalty claimed that the power of royal touch was granted through the coronation rite. Thus, any legitimately crowned English monarch was able to cure scrofula. There are limited records available in order to properly date the revival of this practice. Historians typically date the practice

⁴⁰ Emma Mason claims that these bulls and charters were forged: Emma Mason, "'The Site of King-Making and Consecration': Westminster Abbey and the Crown in the Eleventh and Twelfth Centuries," in *The Church and Sovereignty, c. 950-1118*, ed. D. Wood (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1991), 68.

⁴¹ Frank Barlow, "The King's Evil," *English Historical Review* 95, no. 374 (1980): 17.

anywhere from Henry I's to Henry III's reigns.⁴² Edward's association with the foundation of royal healing was general knowledge throughout the medieval and renaissance periods. Shakespeare even references Edward the Confessor's healing powers in *Macbeth* when Malcolm visits his court:

'Tis call'd the evil:
A most miraculous work in this good king;
Which often, since my here-remain in England,
I have seen him do. How he solicits heaven,
Himself best knows; but strangely-visited people,
All swoll'n and ulcerous, pitiful to the eye,
The mere despair of surgery, he cures,
Hanging a golden stamp about their necks,
Put on with holy prayers, and 'tis spoken,
To the succeeding royalty he leaves
The healing benediction. With this strange virtue,
He hath a heavenly gift of prophecy,
And sundry blessings hang about his throne,
That speak him full of grace (IV, iii, 146-159).

Edward was also clearly connected with the English monarchy during the reigns of King Henry III and King Richard II. Both of these kings were devoted to Edward's cult and had a personal and public connection to the saint that led to a strong connection with Westminster Abbey. In the historiography, the kings' devotion to Edward motivated the privileges, money and relics granted to the Abbey.

Many historians have studied the kings' devotion to Edward's cult and aim to understand the reasons for their strong connection to Edward. D.A. Carpenter has made important contributions to understanding Henry III's relationship with the cult of Edward the Confessor. In analyzing Henry's itinerary and charters, Carpenter revealed

⁴² Barlow, "The King's Evil," 3-26 and "Morbus Regius: The Royal Disease," in *Medieval Studies in Honour of Avrom Saltman*, ed. Bat-Sheva Albert, Yvonne Friedman, and Simon Schwarzfuchs (Ramat-Gan: Bar Ilan University Press, 1995), 53-66; Marc Bloc, *The Royal Touch: sacred monarchy and scrofula in England and France*, trans. J.E. Anderson (London: Routledge, 1973); Joanna Huntington, "Saintly Power as a Model of Royal Authority: The 'Royal Touch' and other miracles in the Early Vitae of Edward the Confessor," in *Aspects of Power and Authority in the Middle Ages*, ed. Brenda Bolton and Christine Meek (Turnhout: Brepols, 2007), 326-344.

that, between 1233 and 1238, Henry became devoted to Edward's cult. During these years, Henry began to return to Westminster Abbey to celebrate Edward's feast day and to refer to Edward as his "special patron."⁴³ The main reasons for Henry's devotion to Edward lie in the similarities between their personalities and the events that occurred during their reigns. In the hagiography, Edward was a peaceful king with baronial problems who ruled alone at a young age, and this is similar to Henry's situation at the time of his devotion. Carpenter believes that Westminster monks were responsible for Henry's devotion in order to secure royal funding for the rebuilding of the Abbey.⁴⁴

After Henry III, with the exception of Richard II, the successive kings showed their respect to Edward in a different, subtler manner. While on crusade, Edward I founded a confraternity devoted to St. Edward, made donations to Westminster in his name, and donated a gold statue to the shrine of St. Thomas Becket. Edward the Confessor's banner was also displayed on military campaigns during the reigns of Edward I and Edward III.⁴⁵ Many historians focus on Richard II's devotion since it was similar to Henry III's, taking on both a private and a public character.⁴⁶ Richard visited Edward's shrine seeking guidance in dire times like, for example, during the Peasant's revolt of 1381.⁴⁷ Publically, Richard's devotion, similar to Henry III's devotion, led him to help improve Westminster Abbey. Richard donated £100 and marble in order to help

⁴³ D.A. Carpenter, "King Henry III and Saint Edward the Confessor: The Origins of the Cult," *English Historical Review* 122, no. 498 (2007): 866-870.

⁴⁴ *Ibid.*, 873-874.

⁴⁵ Jonathan Good, "Richard II and the Cults of Saints George and Edward the Confessor," in *Translatio or the transmission of culture in the Middle Ages and the Renaissance: modes and messages*, ed. Laura Holden Hollengreen (Turnhout: Brepols, 2008), 171.

⁴⁶ Nigel Saul, *Richard II* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1997) and "Richard II and Westminster Abbey," in *The Cloister and the World. Essays in Medieval History in honour of Barbara Harvey*, ed. John Blair (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1996), 196-218.

⁴⁷ Shelagh Mitchell, "Richard II: Kingship and the Cult of Saints," in *The Regal Image of Richard II and the Wilton Diptych*, ed. Dillon Gordon, Lisa Monnas, and Caroline M. Barron (Coventry: Harvey Miller, 1997), 116.

finish construction of the Abbey, citing his devotion to Edward the Confessor as his motivation.⁴⁸

Analysis of iconography is prominent in the studies of Richard II, focusing particularly on the Wilton Diptych. The diptych gives historians insight into Richard's personal devotion as it was used for private prayer. Many historians study elements of the diptych, including its depictions of St. Edward, St. Edmund, and St. John, in order to understand how these saints influenced Richard's character and reign. Historians place the diptych within the political context of his reign, believing that there is an "absolutist" character that is similar to his style of kingship.⁴⁹

Richard's devotion is also commonly studied in connection with medieval virginity. While historians debate whether Edward truly lived a celibate life as depicted in his hagiography, it was widely understood in the medieval period that Edward was a virgin. Historians have interpreted Richard's devotion to Edward as a method of gaining power and authority as king. Richard and Anne of Bohemia never had children, and their marriage was publically presented as celibate marriage. This failure to reproduce was seen as a weakness, and thus by connecting himself to Edward, historians believe that Richard was presenting his lack of heirs as a choice rather than a personal failing.⁵⁰

Overall, these studies help understand Edward's medieval reputation while also providing concrete examples of the function and character of Edward's cult.

⁴⁸ Good, "Richard II and the Cults of Saints George and Edward the Confessor," 172.

⁴⁹ Sumner Ferris, "The Wilton Diptych and the Absolutism of Richard II," *Journal of the Rocky Mountain Medieval and Renaissance Association* 8 (1987): 33-66; Good, "Richard II and the Cults of Saints George and Edward the Confessor," 161-179; Mitchell, "Richard II: Kingship and the Cult of Saints," 115-124.

⁵⁰ D. Elliot, Chapter 3 in *Spiritual Marriage: Sexual Abstinence in Medieval Wedlock* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1993); Joanna Huntington, "Edward the Celibate, Edward the Saint," in *Medieval Virginites*, ed. Ruth Evans, Sarah Salih, Anke Bernau (Toronto: University of Toronto, 2003), 119-139; Katherine J. Lewis, "Becoming a virgin king: Richard II and Edward the Confessor," in *Gender and Holiness: Men, women and saints in late Medieval Europe*, ed. Samantha Riches and Sarah Salih (London: Routledge, 2002), 86-100.

2.3 Westminster and English Kings

The foundation legends of Westminster firmly connect the Abbey with monarchical history. According to John Flete, the fifteenth century author of *The history of Westminster Abbey*, British King Lucius founded a monastery in the second century on the same site as Westminster Abbey. The Abbey was later restored by King Aethelbert of Kent in the sixth century, King Offa of the East Saxons in the late seventh century, and King Edward the Confessor in the eleventh century.⁵¹ After Edward's reconstruction, the Abbey was initially intended for celebrating Mass for both the lay and monastic communities in London; however, after complaints from the monks, a separate church, St. Margaret, was quickly built for the local Londoners, making Westminster a separate and exclusive spot for monks and royalty alone.⁵² As a result, Westminster Abbey was isolated from the public and focused on maintaining a connection with the English monarchy.

Until the middle of the twelfth century, the royal family attended Mass at the Abbey and often spent major religious holidays including Christmas, Easter, and Pentecost at the Abbey.⁵³ The Abbey was the site of the medieval coronation ceremony, and thus the Abbey was seen to confer legitimacy on medieval English monarchs. Furthermore, beginning with Henry III, monarchs were buried in the Abbey thereby turning it into a royal mausoleum.⁵⁴ Proximity between the Abbey and Westminster Palace gave the monarchy legitimacy by having the royal practices firmly connected

⁵¹ Carpenter, *A House of Kings: The History of Westminster Abbey*, 5.

⁵² Shepherd, *Westminster: A Biography*, 16.

⁵³ Mason, *Westminster Abbey and its people*, 147, 152.

⁵⁴ D.A. Carpenter, "The Burial of King Henry III, the Regalia and Royal Ideology," in *The Reign of Henry III* (London: Hambledon Press, 1996), 427-457; ; Elizabeth M. Hallam, "Royal Burial and Cult of Kingship in France and England," *Journal of Medieval History* 8, no. 4 (1982): 359-380; Mason, "The Site of King-Making and Consecration, 57-76.

with ecclesiastical authorities. Thus, by gaining Westminster support for the monarchy, English kings seemingly gained divine approval.

Currently, our understanding of the relationship between Westminster Abbey and the medieval English royalty is based on information provided in charters.⁵⁵ The relationship is defined based on the privileges granted to the Abbey through royal charters, royal donations, and visitations to the Abbey during holidays.⁵⁶ This thesis will add a new dimension to the historiography by studying the relationship between Westminster Abbey and the monarchy within the context of the cult of Edward the Confessor. The medieval understanding of Edward's character and his association with Westminster helped the Abbey become an important part of medieval royal tradition. Moreover, by studying both royal and ecclesiastical images of Edward, we can better understand this relationship through the similarities in their depictions.

3. Primary Sources

3.1 Images

This thesis is primarily an iconographic study, focusing on the visual history of Edward the Confessor from the twelfth to fourteenth centuries. For historians, images are an important and often overlooked source. In her article "Beyond Words," Leora Auslander argues for a wider source base for historians, urging the inclusion of material and visual culture within historical analysis. She explains, "objects not only are the

⁵⁵ Mason, "The Site of King-Making and Consecration," 69

⁵⁶ Carpenter, *A House of Kings: The History of Westminster Abbey*; Emma Mason, "Westminster Abbey and the Monarchy between the Reigns of William I and John (1066-1216)," *Journal of Ecclesiastical History* 41, no. 2 (1990): 199-216; Shepherd, *Westminster: A Biography*.

product of history, they are also active agents in history.”⁵⁷ The importance of studying images lies not only in understanding technical elements such as the age and materials used, but also in deciphering the cultural importance of the image through understanding its purpose and meaning within its historical context.

Images are particularly pertinent when studying the medieval period as they were important aspects of medieval devotion and culture. For example, when studying medieval manuscripts, images and text are inseparable in order to fully understand the meaning of the work. Most medieval manuscripts and documents include visual embellishments that existed for practical reasons such as rubrication or large initials allowing a reader to recall their place in between readings or more decorative and thematic reasons such as illustrating the events discussed in text of the manuscript.⁵⁸ These visual elements and images are essential in order to fully grasp the intentions and purposes of medieval documents. Images added new meaning to the text since they were a way of showing “the invisible by means of the visible.”⁵⁹ Miniatures, frames, and initials in manuscripts would display interpretations of the text, adding additional significance to the text. These elements were part of the medieval understanding and interpretation of the spiritual.⁶⁰ Thus, as Baschet explains, one cannot fully understand medieval society as a whole without considering the role of images in medieval practices and beliefs.⁶¹

⁵⁷ Leora Auslander, “Beyond Words,” *American Historical Review* 110, no. 4 (2005): 1017.

⁵⁸ M.T. Clanchy, *From Memory to Written Record: England 1066-1307*, (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1979), 283.

⁵⁹ Herbert L. Kessler, *Seeing Medieval Art* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2004), 14.

⁶⁰ *Ibid.*, 100-105.

⁶¹ Jérôme Baschet, “Inventivité et sérialité des images médiévales: Pour une approche iconographique élargie,” *Annales. Histoire, Sciences Sociales* 51, no.1 (1996): 94.

Similarly, within the context of medieval saint cults, images played an important role in properly venerating the saint. Hagiographic image cycles were developed, depicting carefully selected and important scenes from the saint's life. These images were displayed in manuscripts, shrines, and churches associated with the saint's cult. The images helped to promote the cult and served devotional purposes. For example, the images were powerful, allowing for the presence of the depicted saint and granting protective qualities to the devout viewer.⁶² Overall, when studying the medieval period, image sources are vital in order to properly understand medieval culture and devotion.

The image sources are divided into two categories: Westminster Abbey images and royal images. This division reveals the similarities and differences in their representations and their functions. The secular and sacred locations of the images, the context of their creation, and their functions reveal the intentions and purposes of the images.

Westminster Images

The Westminster images include works that were either created in the Abbey or commissioned by Westminster monks and produced in larger, more capable scriptoriums like St. Albans. This thesis focuses on both the images within Westminster Abbey and those intended for an external audience since these images help understand the public presentation of the cult to royal and noble people. The most telling example of this presentation is the hagiographic image cycle created within Westminster Abbey in the thirteenth century. This cycle, which was derived from Aelred of Rievaulx's *Vita sancti*

⁶² Samantha Riches, "Hagiography in Context: Images, Miracles, Shrines and Festivals," in *A Companion to Middle English Hagiography*, ed. Sarah Salih (Woodbridge: D.S. Brewer, 2006), 28.

Edwardi, contains representations of select scenes from Edward's life. The cycle begins with Edward's birth and includes some representations of Edward's miracles and visions, his death, and posthumous miracles. Four versions of this image cycle have survived.

The earliest record of the image cycle was found within Abbot Berkyng's tapestry, which was donated around 1222 and hung in the choir stalls of Westminster Abbey. There were two tapestries displayed on opposite walls: one displaying scenes from Edward's life and another depicting biblical scenes from Jesus' life. While the tapestries no longer exist, sixteenth century transcriptions and translation of the captions by Robert Hare help to understand the sequence of images.

A shortened version of the hagiographic image cycle is found in the *Abbreviatio of Domesday Book* (National Archives E 35/284). The manuscript was likely compiled in Westminster Abbey in 1241; however, the three full-page images of Edward the Confessor at the front of the manuscript were added later, around 1250-1260. The manuscript is an abbreviated, more portable version of the Domesday Book, which was used in travel and in consulting with the original volumes. The manuscript contains a survey of the land, landholders, and resources of English villages, and it was used by the officials of the king's Exchequer for royal administrative and financial purposes. In particular, the Exchequer used the *Abbreviatio* to aid in collecting taxes and crown income, as well as providing evidence in legal land disputes.⁶³

The next example of the image cycle was found within Westminster Abbey, and it has never been studied in relation to the rest of the cycles. Sculptures depicting the

⁶³ Elizabeth M. Hallam, *Domesday Book Through Nine Centuries*, (London: Thames and Hudson, 1986), 42.

hagiographic image cycle were placed in compartments behind the altar at the Chapel of Edward the Confessor. These sculptures were added during Henry III's reconstruction of the Abbey and were unveiled in 1269.⁶⁴ The remaining information and drawings for these sculptures exist in John Carter's eighteenth century survey of ancient sculptures and paintings.

Another full version of the cycle of images is also present in *Cambridge Apocalypse B.10.2*. The manuscript was compiled in the early fourteenth century (1300-1325), most likely at Westminster Abbey. Apocalypse manuscripts, which contained the biblical Book of Revelation with commentary and illustrations accompanying the text, were typically framed by hagiographical illustrations of St. John. The Cambridge manuscript is a unique version of an Apocalypse manuscript since it ends with images of Edward the Confessor's life. An online version of the manuscript is available in the James Catalogue of Western Manuscripts on the Trinity College Cambridge website.⁶⁵

Secular Westminster images of King Edward the Confessor also exist from this period. The Chetham *Flores Historiarum* (MS. Chetham 6712) contains a chronicle from Creation until 1327 divided over two books. The text is accompanied by coronation portraits of Kings Arthur and Edward the Confessor in the first book, and the English kings from William I to Edward I in the second book. The manuscript also contains a liturgical calendar. While the majority of the coronation portraits are small images fitting within one column of the two-column layout, the image of Edward the

⁶⁴ John Carter, *Specimens of the ancient sculpture and painting*, (1780), 5.

⁶⁵ Trinity College Cambridge, James Catalogue of Western Manuscripts, last modified 2014, <http://sites.trin.cam.ac.uk/james/viewpage.php?index=58>.

Confessor occupies the entire top half of the folio. The manuscript belonged to Westminster Abbey and was most likely commissioned by the monks.⁶⁶

Royal images

Henry III, as an avid art patron, decorated his palaces and castles with numerous paintings and sculptures. While these images have since been painted over or destroyed, many writs survive detailing Henry III's plans thanks to his great involvement in developing the decorations of his palace. Excavations at the sites of these castles and palaces, in combination these writs, help build a more complete understanding of the subjects decorating his rooms. Both Tancred Borenius and Howard Colvin have compiled lists of the subjects decorating each room of Henry's palaces and castles.⁶⁷ Both of these sources have allowed for a greater understanding of the frequency, typical representation, and locations of the images of Edward the Confessor in Henry III's palaces and castles.

More detailed studies of the Painted Chamber (King's Chamber) at Westminster Palace provide an example of how Edward was depicted by Henry III. The Painted Chamber developed over the course of the reigns of Henry III and Edward I. Henry's images were morally motivated, containing scenes from St. Edward's life alongside images of the Triumphant Virtues. Edward I's contributions included multiple scenes from the Old Testament mainly dealing with heroic kingship. While the images were eventually painted over, Henry's chamber decorations were rediscovered and partially

⁶⁶ Judith Collard, "'Flores Historiarum' Manuscripts the Illumination of a Late Thirteenth-Century Chronicle Series," *Zeitschrift für Kunstgeschichte* 71, no. 4 (2008): 443.

⁶⁷ See: Tancred Borenius, "The cycle of images in the palaces and castles of Henry III," *Journal of the Warburg Courtauld Institute* 6 (1943): 40-50; Howard Colvin, *The History of the King's Works*, vols. 1 & 2 (London: H.M. Stationery Office, 1963).

recorded in the nineteenth century. In 1819, Charles Stothard, the historical draughtsman to the Society of Antiquaries, began recording the paintings in the chamber. As Binski explains, Stothard's work aimed to factually reproduce the paintings. Unfortunately, Stothard died in 1821 before finishing his work. Thus, we are left with an incomplete understanding of Henry's chamber.⁶⁸

For Richard II's reign, the Wilton Diptych is the main source for understanding his representation of Edward the Confessor. The diptych depicts Richard II kneeling while surrounded by St. Edmund the Martyr, St. Edward the Confessor, and St. John the Baptist on the left panel, with the Virgin Mary and baby Jesus surrounded by eleven angels on the right. The outside of the diptych depicts Richard's coat of arms on the left and his White Hart emblem on the right. The historiography surrounding the Wilton Diptych is rich with many debates discussing the composition date, artist, style, and purpose.⁶⁹ The diptych was most likely intended for Richard's personal use as an altarpiece for devotion and prayer. While the composition date has been widely debated, modern scholars currently date the diptych between 1395 and 1399.⁷⁰ The outside of the diptych, which depicts Richard II's coat of arms, is also an important element in order to

⁶⁸ Paul Binski, *Painted Chamber at Westminster* (London: Thames and Hudson, 1986), 24.

⁶⁹ M.V. Clarke, "The Wilton Diptych," in *Fourteenth Century Studies*, ed. L.S. Sutherland and M. McKisack (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1999), 272-292; Martin Conway, "The Wilton Diptych," *The Burlington Magazine for Connoisseurs* 55, no. 320 (1929): 208-212; Joan Evans, "The Wilton Diptych Reconsidered," *Archeological Journal* 105, no. 1 (1948): 1-5; Ferris, "The Wilton Diptych and the Absolutism of Richard II," 33-66; Dillon Gordon, "A New Discovery in the Wilton Diptych," *The Burlington Magazine* 134, no. 1075 (1992): 662-667; J.H. Harvey, "The Wilton Diptych: A Re-Examination," *Archeologia* 98 (1961): 1-28; Maurice Keen, "The Wilton Diptych: The Case for a Crusading Context," in *The Regal Image of Richard II and the Wilton Diptych*, ed. Dillon Gordon, Lisa Monnas, and Caroline M. Barron (Coventry: Harvey Miller, 1997), 189-196; Nigel Morgan, "The Signification of the Banner in the Wilton Diptych," in *ibid.*, 179-188; Pamela Tudor-Craig, "The Wilton Diptych in the Context of Contemporary English Panel and Wall Painting," in *ibid.*, 207-222; Francis Wormald, "The Wilton Diptych," *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes* 17 (1954): 191-203.

⁷⁰ Since Richard II did not begin to use the impaled arms of Edward the Confessor until 1395, many scholars believe that it is impossible for the diptych to have been created before this date. The broomcod collar also supports this date since Richard began to wear this French style around his marriage negotiations with France after his wife Anne of Bohemia's death in 1394.

understand the context of the diptych and Richard's devotion to Edward. Richard II had his coat of arms impaled with Edward the Confessor's around 1395 to permanently signify his devotion to Edward's cult. He also allowed his close followers to impale their coat of arms with Edward's as well, visually signifying and separating his followers from his enemies.

3.2 Texts

While image sources are the main focus of this thesis, written texts will also complement the images. These written sources help to understand the hagiographic context of the scenes depicted while also revealing the historical and political situations that affected the creation of the images.

Hagiography

Hagiography plays a central role in understanding Edward the Confessor's reception throughout the twelfth to fourteenth centuries and the development of the cult. The first life of Edward the Confessor, *Vita Ædwardi regis qui apud Westmonasterium requiescat*, was anonymously written by a monk of St. Bertin monastery for Queen Edith, Edward's wife. Our understanding of the work is based on a single, damaged manuscript that dates to around 1100. We have an incomplete picture of the work since there are passages missing in this version. The precise date of composition is unknown; however, the work was likely started during the final years of Edward's reign and completed just after the Conquest.⁷¹ The aim of the work, as outlined in the prologue, is

⁷¹ There are debates about the composition date with Marc Bloch arguing that the work was composed between 1103-1120 to encourage a cult at Wilton for Edith. Frank Barlow argues that the two books were

to record and glorify the actions of Edith, her husband Edward, and the rest of her family.⁷²

The work is divided into two books, with Book I focusing on detailing the rise to power and major events of both Edward and the Godwin family. As a result of this focus, this book is not a work of hagiography, as it contains no arguments for sainthood and its purpose is most likely to elevate Edith's post-Conquest position. Book II, as Frank Barlow describes, is "quasi-hagiographical" as it is devoted to discussing Edward alone and it outlines the various miracles performed throughout his life, his death, and his burial. This work contains few mentions of posthumous miracles, which are an integral part of the hagiographic genre. Despite not being a true work of hagiography, this work is important since it was used as a source for the later hagiographic works, and it provides an initial portrait of Edward at his death.

In 1102, Westminster Abbot Gilbert Crispin opened Edward's tomb and claimed his body had not decomposed. As a result, a movement recognizing Edward's sanctity emerged amongst Westminster monks. Westminster monk, Osbert of Clare, who was also briefly a prior of Westminster, was one of the most outspoken supporters of Edward's sanctity. He compiled the first hagiographic work on Edward's life in 1138, titled *Vita beati Eadwardi regis Anglorum*, in an attempt to have Edward canonized. Using Book II of the *Vita Ædwardi regis* as a source, Osbert detailed Edward's life and reign while omitting all references to the Godwin family. Osbert substantially added to the miracles attributed to Edward and included posthumous miracles, giving the claim to

composed at different times, with Book I written during Edward's life since the prologue gives the impression that Edward is still alive. Book II, due to the change in tone and purpose was composed after the Norman Conquest, probably 1078. For more information see: Frank Barlow, introduction to *The life of King Edward who rests at Westminster*.

⁷² *Ibid.*, xiv-xv.

Edward's sanctity more authenticity. Osbert also makes use of Westminster documents by adding papal bulls and letters between the king and the Pope into the text.⁷³

While Osbert's petition failed, a second canonization petition, spearheaded by Abbot Laurence of Westminster and supported by King Henry II and various English ecclesiastical officials, succeeded in 1161. After achieving canonization, Abbot Laurence commissioned Aelred of Rievaulx to write the *Vita sancti Edwardi* to commemorate Edward's translation in 1163. This work, which is dedicated to Henry II, eventually became the "official" version of Edward's life. Aelred reworked Osbert's *vita*, improving the writing style and giving the work a more coherent purpose. To Aelred, Edward's canonization, which was the result of royal and papal cooperation, was a celebration of unity and reconciliation, especially since Edward's background represented a combination of both Anglo-Saxon and Norman identities.⁷⁴ Aelred praises Edward's cooperation with ecclesiastical and papal officials while depicting the Godwin family as villains who created chaos and crisis through their evil schemes. Aelred also adds new miracles and elaborated on miracles only briefly mentioned in Osbert's work. The most important embellishment is the legend of Edward and the Ring, which later became the most important of Edward's miracles and the most common iconographic representation of Edward. This legend will be discussed in depth in Chapter 2.

After Edward's canonization, hagiographic works in French began to emerge. The first is the *Vie d'Edouard le Confesseur*, which is dedicated to Henry II and was written around 1163-1170 by a nun of Barking Abbey. The most important French work is the *Estoire de seint Aedward le rei*, which is dedicated to King Henry III's wife,

⁷³ Jerome Betram, introduction to *The life of Saint Edward, king and confessor* (Southampton: Saint Austin Press, 1997), 12.

⁷⁴ *Ibid.*, 11.

Queen Eleanor of Provence, and was presented to her between 1236 and 1245.⁷⁵ The work is attributed to Matthew Paris of St. Albans monastery since notes written in his hand are found in his other works, *Vie de seint Auban* and *Chronica majora*, referring to his translation and illustration of the *Estoire*.⁷⁶ The style of the work is different from the other *vitae* since it focuses on history and incorporates elements of romantic medieval literature. This difference is emphasized by the title *Estoire*, which indicates an inclusion of more historical information.⁷⁷ *Estoire* can also mean “illustration,” which signifies the format of the manuscript since the text is accompanied by large images of scenes from Edward’s life at the top of each page. The work survives in one manuscript, the Cambridge University Library MS E.e.3.59, which is a later copy made in 1255.

Laws of Edward the Confessor

Beginning in the twelfth century, legal treatises began to record the laws of Edward the Confessor. Four versions of a legal treatise on the laws of Edward the Confessor circulated through the twelfth and thirteenth centuries. The most popular

⁷⁵ The precise date is disputed. Many proposed dates throughout the 1240s that are heavily connected with Westminster, for example when Henry III began rebuilding Edward’s shrine in 1241 and the wider rebuilding of the Abbey in 1245. However, Paul Binski and D.A. Carpenter argue for earlier dates before the 1240s. Binski states that the manuscript would have been composed before Henry III’s rebuilding of Westminster Abbey since the conclusion of the *Estoire* urges Henry to support the Abbey. Carpenter argues that Henry and Eleanor’s marriage in 1236 is the best date since the manuscript is dedicated to Eleanor in order to inspire her devotion to Edward. For further information see: Suzanne Lewis, *The Art of Matthew Paris in the Chronica Majora* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1987); Binski, “Abbot Berkyng’s Tapestries and Matthew Paris’ Life of St. Edward the Confessor,” 85-100; Carpenter, “King Henry III and Saint Edward the Confessor: The Origins of the Cult,” 865-891.

⁷⁶ Thelma S. Fenster and Jocelyn Wogan-Browne, introduction to *The history of Saint Edward the King by Matthew Paris* (Tempe, Arizona: Arizona Center for Medieval and Renaissance Studies, 2008), 25. There is debate over Matthew Paris’ authorship of the *Estoire* with historian Nigel Morgan believing that author was not connected with St. Albans, and Paul Binski, Richard Vaughan, and D.A. Carpenter believing that the evidence supports Paris’ authorship. For further information of the debate see: Nigel Morgan, “Matthew Paris, St. Albans, London, and the Leaves of the ‘Life of St. Thomas Becket’,” *The Burlington Magazine* 130, no. 1019 (1988): 85-96; Binski, “Abbot Berkyng’s Tapestries and Matthew Paris’ Life of St. Edward the Confessor,” 85-100; Richard Vaughan, *Matthew Paris* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1958); Carpenter, “King Henry III and Saint Edward the Confessor: The Origins of the Cult,” 865-891.

⁷⁷ Binski, *Westminster Abbey and the Plantagenets*, 57.

version, the *Leges Edwardi Confessoris*, was written in the 1130s and survives in six manuscripts. According to the anonymous author of the treatise, King William I gathered English nobles four years after the Conquest with the aim of recording the Anglo-Saxon laws under Edward's reign. Since the English population feared that the Normans would replace the Anglo-Saxon law system, William publically confirmed the laws of Edward the Confessor in order to ease the post-Conquest transition. The *Leges Edwardi Confessoris* claims to record William's gathering and the Anglo-Saxon laws under Edward's reign.

In reality, the treatise more accurately records twelfth century English laws. Divided into three sections: Peace of God and the Holy Church, Peace of the King, and Enforcing the Peace. The treatise outlines the duties of a good king, focusing specifically on the importance of peaceful attributes and ecclesiastical cooperation with the king.⁷⁸ The treatise adheres to the dual power doctrine of the medieval period, detailing the separate royal and ecclesiastical spheres of influence. This division helped promote cooperation between these two powers.

The legal treatise was copied into various manuscripts and was frequently cited throughout the medieval period by both opponents and supporters of the English crown. For example, Thomas Becket and Henry de Bracton both cited the treatise to justify rebellion against English kings. Furthermore, post-Conquest kings, from William I to Henry II, cited Edward's laws in their coronation charters to assure their subjects that they intended to follow the laws and bring peace and prosperity to the realm.⁷⁹ The *Leges Edwardi Confessoris* was one of the most popular legal treatises in the medieval

⁷⁸ O'Brien, *God's Peace and King's Peace*, 3-4.

⁷⁹ *Ibid.*, 6-7.

period, and was comparable in popularity to the *Magna Carta*. This legal treatise will be developed further in Chapter 3.

This legal treatise is important since it helps in the understanding of Edward's reputation as a lawmaker and king. While there is no evidence to suggest that Edward issued any laws during his reign, Edward's association with this twelfth century treatise bolstered his reputation. Edward was said to have followed the laws in the treatise, and, in doing so, brought peace and prosperity to England. As a result, Edward represented a specific type of kingship as presented in the treatise.

CHAPTER 2

THE CONSTRUCTION OF SAINT EDWARD: HAGIOGRAPHIC IMAGE CYCLE AND THE LEGEND OF EDWARD AND THE RING

Westminster Abbey played a major role in Edward's canonization and controlled the public presentation of his cult. Edward's canonization helped elevate the Abbey's status by creating a symbolic and physical connection with the English monarchy. As a result, Westminster Abbey and Westminster Palace became a centralized location of ecclesiastical and political importance. Once Henry III became a royal patron of Edward's cult in the thirteenth century, a hagiographic image cycle developed within Westminster. The cycle had a clear connection with Westminster, and it helped further associate the Abbey with Edward and the history of the monarchy. By looking specifically at the representations of the legend of Edward and the Ring, this chapter analyzes similarities between royal and Westminster iconography thereby demonstrating Henry's acceptance of Edward's cult.

1. Edward's canonization and the development of the cult

Edward the Confessor was never popular amongst the general English population. While a small cult emerged amongst royal courtiers at the death of King Edward, this devotion had largely dispersed by the twelfth century.¹ Before his canonization, Edward was only known as a king, and there was no popular cult associated with him. As Barlow explains, only fifteen years after Edward's death, the

¹ "Appendix D: The Development of the Cult of King Edward" in Barlow, ed., *The life of King Edward who rests at Westminster: attributed to a monk of St Bertin*, 112.

monks of Westminster did not know where Edward's tomb was situated. This ignorance suggested that no one was visiting the tomb, and, therefore, no posthumous miracles could have taken place.² Even after canonization, there was never a widespread, public cult of Edward the Confessor; only Westminster monks and select English kings including Henry III and Richard II worshipped his cult.³

Before canonization, Westminster Abbey promoted its connection with King Edward. Under Abbot Gilbert Crispin (1085-1117/8), King Edward was used to guarantee sanctuary to fugitives. For example, Abbot Gilbert wrote to the sheriff of Surrey to inform him that the monks granted Deorman de Clareton sanctuary at the Abbey by the power of "Criste and Sancte Petre and Eadwardes Kynges."⁴ This writ is the oldest surviving record of Westminster granting sanctuary, and it clearly demonstrates that the Abbey proclaimed to have a connection to King Edward. Thus, since the Abbey was the site of King Edward's tomb, the monks claimed this connection granted special rights, even before Edward was canonized.

The push for Edward's canonization took years to materialize, originating within Westminster Abbey in 1138. Osbert of Clare, its prior, was credited with organizing the first petition and substantially adding to the miracles performed by Edward.⁵ Osbert of Clare was a controversial monk at Westminster Abbey. There is not a lot of information available about his early life or education; the records about him begin after Abbot Gilbert's death in 1117/8. Osbert first appears when Westminster monks elected him as prior and then abbot of Westminster. Problems arose in 1121 when King Henry I

² Barlow, *Edward the Confessor*, 264.

³ Binski, *Westminster Abbey and the Plantagenets*, 53.

⁴ Emma Mason, Jennifer Bray, Desmond Murphey, eds. *Westminster Abbey Charters, 1066-c.1214* (London: London Record Society, 1988), no. 238.

⁵ Binski, *Westminster Abbey and the Plantagenets*, 262.

appointed another abbot, removing Osbert from power.⁶ At this point, Osbert was exiled to a smaller church in Ely, but he eventually returned to Westminster and became prior again in 1134. Osbert was passed over again as abbot in 1138 when King Stephen appointed Abbot Gervaise. As a result of his experience with two separate instances of royal interference in Westminster affairs, Osbert was a strong supporter of ecclesiastical rights and autonomy. He fought against the royally appointed abbots and their alleged mismanagement of the Abbey.⁷

Upon Osbert's election as Prior in 1117, the Abbey was in a dire financial situation and many of the buildings were in a poor state. Embroiled in leadership disputes for years, the Abbey was poorly managed and had lost much of its land and power in the region. The royal appointment of a prior caused divisions within the Abbey. The monks were preoccupied displaying support or resistance to the leadership rather than maintaining and expanding their influence in the area.⁸ Further, the Abbey lacked a stable source of income and did not have any noteworthy relics to attract pilgrims. The Abbey was dedicated to St. Peter; however, there were no physical or geographic connections to the saint and there were no relics to inspire devotion to the Abbey.⁹ Edward's canonization would provide an opportunity for the monks to have a local connection by gaining exclusive control over an Anglo-Saxon saint-king's relics. His relics would also help secure a source of income as a pilgrimage site. In the medieval period, relics were essential to the development and maintenance of a

⁶ Osbert of Clare, *The letters of Osbert of Clare, prior of Westminster*, ed. E.W. Williamson and J. Armitage Robinson (London: Humphrey Milford, 1929), 3.

⁷ Frank Barlow, "Osbert of Clare," *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography, online edition* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004).

⁸ Shepherd, *Westminster: A Biography*, 32.

⁹ O'Brien, "The Cult of St. Edward the Confessor", 33.

monastery, and their “only means of acquisition were purchase, gift, invention, or theft.”¹⁰ Westminster Abbey opted for invention by pushing for Edward’s canonization, because, through canonization, his tomb would become a pilgrimage site and his regalia would become relics. In the medieval consciousness, Edward was already associated with Westminster Abbey. Westminster was known as Edward’s “favourite Abbey”, as he spent large amounts of money rebuilding the Abbey and granting it both privileges and land.¹¹ Similarly, out of devotion to St. Peter, Edward was buried in the Abbey. His canonization allowed for profit, since the Abbey had sole possession of Edward’s relics and Westminster could become a place of pilgrimage.¹²

Osbert’s canonization petition promoted Westminster Abbey without unified support within Westminster or royal backing. His hagiographic work, *Vita beati Aedwardi regis Anglorum* (1138), does not contain a dedication, meaning that he undertook this work on his own accord without commission or support from the abbot of Westminster.¹³ Throughout his work, Osbert focused on Edward’s connection with Westminster and, as a result, intertwined Edward’s narrative with the history of Westminster. As Bernhard Scholz explains, eighteen of the thirty paragraphs described Edward and his connection with Westminster, while large sections focused solely on the history of the Abbey itself.¹⁴ Osbert even included detailed descriptions of the papal rights granted to the Abbey under Edward in an effort to permanently enshrine these

¹⁰ Patrick J. Geary, *Furta Sacra: Thefts of Relics in the Central Middle Ages*, revised edition, (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1990), 57.

¹¹ Barlow, *Edward the Confessor*, 142.

¹² Shepherd, *Westminster: A Biography*, 33.

¹³ O’Brien, “The Cult of St. Edward the Confessor”, 20.

¹⁴ Scholz, “The Canonization of Edward the Confessor”, 42.

rights within the history and mythology of the Abbey.¹⁵ Osbert included the history of the Abbey as evidence of Edward's sainthood thereby helping elevate Westminster Abbey's position.

Further, Osbert's petition to Pope Innocent II was not solely aimed at achieving Edward's canonization, but also focused on gaining and reinstating the Abbey's privileges. Osbert used a team of Westminster scribes to translate pre-Conquest documents into Latin so they would be recognized by Norman officials. Some historians believe that Osbert also forged charters during this process. These documents discussed privileges and land that were supposedly previously granted to Westminster Abbey. Westminster claimed these documents were drafted and guaranteed by important Anglo-Saxon figures including Edward the Confessor.¹⁶ According to the documents, Edward placed the Abbey under direct control of the papacy, granting it independence from the Bishop of London and wider English ecclesiastical control.¹⁷ The documents laid claim to surrounding land and relics, while also moulding the history of the Abbey. These claims put the Abbey in direct conflict with surrounding monasteries in the region and, likely for this reason, they did not support the petition for canonization.

Osbert's documents described how poor leadership and the "violence of tyrants", led to the deterioration of the Abbey.¹⁸ He contrasted Edward's vision for Westminster with the Abbey's state of disrepair at the time of the petition. In the petition for canonization, he included documents presumably drafted under Edward the Confessor that emphasised the wealth of the Abbey. Through this inclusion, Osbert provided the

¹⁵ O'Brien, "The Cult of St. Edward the Confessor", 20.

¹⁶ Shepherd, *Westminster: A Biography*, 32.

¹⁷ O'Brien, "The Cult of St. Edward the Confessor", 17-18

¹⁸ These documents were possibly forged. Shepherd, *Westminster: A Biography*, 33.

pope with evidence that rights guaranteed to the Abbey had been unjustly removed and that poor leadership was to blame for these problems.¹⁹ This criticism stemmed from a personal rivalry between Osbert and Abbot Gervaise. After being removed by King Henry I in 1117, Osbert questioned the qualifications and motives of royally appointed abbots such as Gervaise. Believing Gervaise was leading the Abbey into ruin, Osbert clashed with the abbot on how to run and improve Westminster.²⁰ Consequently, the petition lost credibility since even the monks of Westminster were not fully united in supporting canonization.

Furthermore, Osbert was unable to inspire royal support for the petition. His only piece of royal evidence was a letter, written by Osbert and signed by King Stephen.²¹ King Stephen was preoccupied with succession problems as he attempted to secure his position on the throne, which he claimed after King Henry I's death, and delegitimize his cousin Matilda's claims. He was unwilling to support the petition for canonization since Matilda's lineage was closer to Edward the Confessor. The risk was that the canonization would only serve to support Matilda's case for the English throne.²² Overall, Osbert was unable to present a unified petition, severely weakening the weight of his arguments.

When Osbert travelled to Rome in 1138 to present his canonization petition to Pope Innocent II, his request was denied. The pope recognized that Westminster Abbey would benefit greatly from Edward's canonization, but he was unwilling to support this request without widespread English support. The pope did not want to upset the political

¹⁹ *Ibid.*

²⁰ *Ibid.*, 15.

²¹ Barlow, *Edward the Confessor*, 275.

²² Scholz, "The Canonization of Edward the Confessor", 43.

and religious balance in England so he requested proof that the push for canonization was supported and “presented by the whole realm.”²³ He encouraged Osbert to return later in order to prove that the cult “was not alone the affair of the house which happened to harbour his relics.”²⁴

Despite rejecting the canonization petition, the pope still made rulings based on the other documents included in the petition. The pope wrote to Henry of Blois, the bishop of Winchester, urging him to return the land and goods that had been seized from the monks and to “render them justice and not permit anyone to do them further injury or harm.”²⁵ Similarly, Pope Innocent III wrote to the Scottish King David I. David had pledged land and income to the Abbey but instead granted it to his son. The pope requested that David return this land that was promised to the Abbey.²⁶ Clearly, the pope supported the Abbey’s rights and sent his support to help the monks retain these rights.

In addition to supporting Westminster’s rights, Pope Innocent also intervened in the internal affairs of the Abbey. Seemingly convinced by Osbert’s arguments that the royally appointed abbots led to the deterioration of the Abbey, the pope wrote to Abbot Gervaise and ordered him to retrieve lands sold without the consent of the monks. Most importantly, at this point, the monks were considering selling Edward’s regalia, and the pope intervened and ordered the abbot to protect and safely house them.²⁷ This is an important addition since Edward’s regalia later became an essential relic and connection with the English monarchy for the Abbey. The regalia were major focal points for Osbert and the pope expressed his support for Osbert’s struggles by preventing their

²³ Mason, ed., *Westminster Abbey Charters, 1066-c. 1214*, no. 158.

²⁴ Scholz, “The Canonization of Edward the Confessor”, 47.

²⁵ Mason, ed., *Westminster Abbey Charters, 1066-c. 1214*, nos. 158 and 159.

²⁶ *Ibid.*, no. 160.

²⁷ *Ibid.*, no. 161.

sale. As indicated by the documents included in the canonization petition and Pope Innocent's responses, Edward's canonization petition not only hoped to achieve his canonization, but also to help elevated the Abbey's status to protect its rights and possessions, and to help quell internal and personal rivalries with Abbot Gilbert.

The next petition for Edward's canonization was presented in 1161 under the leadership of Abbot Laurence of Westminster. Laurence's petition gained wider ecclesiastical support and, most importantly, royal support. After a discussion, Laurence and the monks collectively decided to petition for canonization. In addition to achieving unity within Westminster, Laurence also gained support from bishops across England. Archbishops Theobald and Roger supported the petition and aided Laurence in convincing other bishops to lend their support.²⁸

After gaining ecclesiastical unity, Laurence turned to King Henry II to seek royal support. As no letters or records remain between Abbot Laurence and Henry II, the understanding of how Henry II was convinced to support the petition remains a matter of conjecture.²⁹ In Henry II's letter to Pope Alexander III, Henry II offered his support for Edward, who he described as "his kinsman and predecessor on the throne."³⁰ Similar to other European rulers during the twelfth century, it was possible that Henry II intended to use Edward's sainthood as powerful propaganda to aid in his struggles with religious leaders. During this century of "holy rulers", many kings were canonized throughout Europe to the benefit of their living relatives. These holy relations had an effect on conflicts between sacred and secular authorities, and they allowed the rulers to limit

²⁸ Barlow, *Edward the Confessor*, 279.

²⁹ O'Brien, "The Cult of St. Edward the Confessor", 37.

³⁰ "Appendix A: Letter from King Henry II to Pope Alexander", in Barlow, *Edward the Confessor*, 311.

religious power in their respective kingdoms.³¹ Considering the political climate that developed later in Henry II's reign, control over ecclesiastical officials was a desirable power. Henry II, after issuing the Constitutions of Clarendon in 1164, was involved in a feud with Thomas Becket, Archbishop of Canterbury. The Constitutions of Clarendon attempted to limit the powers of the Church through legal reforms and Edward's canonization helped Henry II in this struggle. Henry emphasised his familial and royal relationship with Edward, making Henry part of a "holy monarchy" that was "specially fitted to rule the English Church."³² While this struggle ultimately ended with the martyrdom and later canonization of Thomas Becket, the canonization of Edward the Confessor earlier in 1161, would still offer the opportunity for Henry II to assert his political and religious authority over ecclesiastical officials later in 1164.³³

The petition's success was heavily linked to the political and religious situation in Rome. In 1159, disagreements among the Cardinals resulted in the election of two popes. The election of Pope Alexander III was not unanimous and a smaller group of Cardinals supported Victor IV. Henry II, along with the majority of the other European monarchs, supported Alexander III's right to the papacy.³⁴ The political climate was ideal and Abbot Laurence launched the petition for Edward's canonization shortly after Henry II endorsed Alexander III. The petition, due to its widespread support and convenient political timing, succeeded and Edward the Confessor was declared a saint in 1161.³⁵

³¹ Scholz, "The Canonization of Edward the Confessor", 55-56.

³² Barlow, *Edward the Confessor*, 284.

³³ Scholz, "The Canonization of Edward the Confessor", 60.

³⁴ Barlow, *Edward the Confessor*, 279.

³⁵ *Ibid.*, 280.

Edward's canonization marked a turning point in Westminster's history. Abbot Laurence removed Edward's body from his original tomb to a new shrine. Edward's ring was also used as a relic, and the monks made the clothes found in Edward's tomb into liturgical garments for the abbot.³⁶ The medieval English population were now required to attend mass on Edward's feast day (October 13), marking the cult's entrance into the English medieval consciousness.³⁷ Further, Abbot Laurence commissioned a comprehensive hagiographic work, the *Vita S. Eduardi, regis et confessoris* by Aelred of Rievaulx. This work was completed in 1163, and it eventually became the "official" and widely read version of Edward the Confessor's life.

Edward's life as a king was easily applied to the lives of other reigning monarchs, and, consequently, his hagiography later served as a royal model of imitation. For example, Aelred dedicated the *Vita S. Eduardi* to Henry II as both a method of rewarding Henry II for his role in achieving Edward's canonization and as a method of inspiring imitation of the royal behaviour presented in the hagiography. In particular, the end of the prologue of Aelred's work revealed this purpose: he addressed King Henry directly, praising his noble lineage that allowed him to be connected to the saint. He addressed him as the "consoler of all England," referring to Edward's deathbed prophecy where Edward predicted a stump of a tree would be severed, and when it eventually returned to its roots, it would bear fruit and there would be a newfound period of prosperity.³⁸ Aelred proceeded to explain this riddle in terms of contemporary English politics: the prophecy predicted King Henry I's marriage to Matilda, the great-niece of Edward the Confessor. Henry II was related to Edward through his mother Empress

³⁶ Shepherd, *Westminster: A Biography*, 38.

³⁷ Carpenter, *A House of Kings*, 23.

³⁸ Aelred of Rievaulx, *Life of St. Edward, King and Confessor*, 16.

Matilda, and his reign marked a return to Edward's lineage.³⁹ According to the legend, Henry's reign was destined to be prosperous.⁴⁰ Aelred attempted to inspire Henry's attention by connecting Edward to contemporary politics; he praised Henry's family and affirmed his right to rule. His lineage and connection to Edward was particularly stressed, as it made Edward the perfect model for imitation.

Through this promotion, Westminster Abbey gained a special connection to the English monarchy. As the burial place of Edward, the Abbey had explicit control over these important royal relics. Having this power gave them an elevated status compared to other abbeys in England and made the Abbey worthy of royal support; however, Henry's favour of the Abbey was not permanent and shifted with the political climate of the region. Henry II's main focus was centralizing the kingdom at Westminster. He completed important building projects at Westminster Palace and spent the majority of his time there. As expected, the court and royal officials followed the king, marking the centralization of the realm in Westminster. As Binski explains, having Westminster Palace and Westminster Abbey in close proximity created "a small residential district with an economy distinct from that of the city of London, in effect a service economy, part commercial, part administrative, but emphatically royal."⁴¹ In addition, Henry II also permanently situated the legal system within Westminster with legal disputes heard there even when the king was not present. The establishment of a permanent legal centre promoted the centralization of the royal affairs within Westminster.

Edward's canonization helped Henry II in this process of centralization. By supporting Westminster Abbey's canonization of a locally relevant saint, Henry II

³⁹ See: Genealogy in Appendix A.

⁴⁰ Aelred of Rievaulx, *Life of St. Edward, King and Confessor*, 91.

⁴¹ Binski, *Westminster Abbey and the Plantagenets*, 5.

helped turn the abbey into a powerful ally in the region. Edward was an important choice since during his reign he began the process of centralization in Westminster by rebuilding Westminster Abbey and Westminster Palace, and spending the majority of his time in the region.⁴² The centralization gave Westminster monks unprecedented proximity to royal power and they began to be involved more heavily in the administration of the realm. For example, Westminster monks would later become officials of the Exchequer and would be involved in foreign policy decisions to a greater extent by negotiating treaties and marriages.⁴³ Westminster Abbey's elevated position helped establish royal traditions, such as Westminster coronations and later burials, which both legitimized the Plantagenet's claims to the throne and helped enshrine the Abbey's participation in royal affairs. Edward's canonization provided Westminster Abbey with a powerful and advantageous relationship with the monarchy. The establishment of this relationship presented the opportunity to grow further, and eventually inspired royal devotion to Edward's cult.

Overall, Edward's canonization had political and financial consequences. With Edward's promotion, Westminster monks gained autonomy from English ecclesiastical control, while also positioning themselves close to the English monarchy. This close relationship between Westminster Abbey and the monarchy was mutually beneficial, as Westminster became the political and ecclesiastical centre of England. Edward the Confessor, who was a symbol of both kingship and sanctity, helped promote the Abbey's relationship with the monarchy, and, as a result, the Abbey gained a prominent position of power in English society and a greater economic position.

⁴² *Ibid.*, 4.

⁴³ *Ibid.*, 7.

2. Henry III's devotion to the cult

King Henry III was the first royal patron of Edward's cult. As D.A. Carpenter discovered through analyzing Henry III's itinerary, chancery rolls, and royal charters, the king first exhibited his devotion to Edward the Confessor between 1233 and 1238.⁴⁴ During this period, Henry made an effort to return to Westminster for Edward's feast days, began to describe Edward as a "special patron" in his charters to Westminster as opposed to "predecessor," and, most importantly, named his first son after the saint in 1239.⁴⁵ Henry's devotion to Edward the Confessor provided Westminster monks with the opportunity to further develop aspects of the cult in order to reach a noble audience and intertwine the Abbey's destiny with royal life.

There were many factors that contributed to Henry's devotion to Edward. As expected, Westminster monks played a central role in this process. Two Westminster monks, Abbot Richard de Berking of Westminster and Prior Richard le Gras of Westminster's daughter house at Hurley in Berkshire, were credited with exposing Henry to the cult. With the centralization of the realm in Westminster, the Abbey was physically closer to the English monarchy and the royal day-to-day activities. This proximity gave the monks a unique audience with the king. Henry spent more time at Westminster Palace than any of his predecessors, averaging between thirty to one hundred days a year at the palace. Especially after the loss of Normandy in 1204 under King John, Henry spent more time in England, and Westminster was where he spent the majority of that time.⁴⁶ Both Richard de Berking and Richard le Gras benefited from this proximity and eventually gained the king's favour and trust. Both monks eventually

⁴⁴ Carpenter, "King Henry III and the Cult of Edward the Confessor," 866.

⁴⁵ *Ibid.*, 869-871.

⁴⁶ *Ibid.*, 873.

played a role in Henry's foreign policy. Richard de Berking was sent as a royal envoy to discuss a truce with France and Richard le Gras negotiated Henry's marriage to Eleanor of Provence.⁴⁷

The prevalence of rebel, anti-royal saints in the thirteenth century also contributed to Henry III's promotion of Edward the Confessor. Beginning with the canonization of Thomas Becket in 1173, popular canonizations in the thirteenth century championed various men who symbolized opposition to royal power. As J.C. Russel explains, with Thomas Becket "resistance to the king had been canonized."⁴⁸ The canonizations legitimized rebellious pro-papal struggles and posed major problems to royal authority. By exposing the weaknesses of kings and drawing attention to fallible royal power and authority, these "rebel" saints contributed to breaking down the perfect, just, and overall, supernatural image of kings.⁴⁹ Edward the Confessor's canonization can be seen as a response to this affront of monarchical power since he embodied the image of an ideal king. By embracing Edward's cult, Henry III was able to combat the anti-royal messages of the rebel saints and elevate the English monarchy.

Edward the Confessor was a fitting patron for Henry since their personal and political situations were similar. Both were peaceful kings who took the throne at the end of long periods of war. Both ruled alone with little familial support, turning to advisors who ultimately created problems for the kings.⁵⁰ After emerging from his minority in 1227, Henry had two advisors: Hubert de Burgh and later Peter des Roches.

⁴⁷ *Ibid.*, 875.

⁴⁸ Josiah C. Russel, "The Canonization of Opposition to the King in Angevin England," in *Anniversary Essays in Mediaeval History by students of Charles Homer Haskins presented on his completion of forty years of teaching*, (New York: Books for Libraries Press, 1929), 281.

⁴⁹ *Ibid.*, 288.

⁵⁰ *Ibid.*, 878.

The decisions of these advisors created tensions within the nobility, and eventually led to a civil war. Under threat of excommunication from several ecclesiastical leaders in England including the Archbishop-elect of Canterbury, Henry removed his advisors from power.⁵¹

In Aelred's hagiography, any poor decisions or negative aspects of Edward's reign were attributed to his advisor Earl Godwin, who assumed the role of a villain. Edward eventually broke free from Earl Godwin's control and managed to improve his reign and England. Edward was reinvented as a "wise, peaceable, and moderate" king who had God's favour.⁵² Consequently, the analogy of Edward's reign represented the positive potential outcome of the problems that Henry faced.

Gaining a royal patron was the first step towards spreading the cult outside of Westminster Abbey. With Henry III's devotion, the monks were given the opportunity to develop and promote the cult amongst a royal and noble audience. From Edward's canonization in 1161 until Henry III's devotion in the 1230s, there was little development of the cult besides Aelred's hagiographic work; however, saint cults were not solely focused on hagiography, but also aimed to achieve widespread devotion through shrines, relics, architecture, and art.⁵³ In addition to funding major building projects at Edward's shrine at Westminster Abbey, the Abbey also created a pictorial hagiographic cycle, selecting a series of events from Edward's life to translate into image form.

⁵¹ H. W. Ridgeway, "Henry III (1207–1272)," *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, online edition, (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004).

⁵² Matthew Paris, *The history of Saint Edward the King*, 53.

⁵³ Sarah Salih, introduction to *A Companion to Middle English Hagiography*, ed. Sarah Salih (Woodbridge: D.S. Brewer, 2006), 5.

3. Hagiographic image cycle

Within the context of medieval saint cults, images of saint's lives were used to spread the cult and communicate its core values. These images were particularly useful in achieving participation and devotion. Hagiographic image cycles were also displayed in major cult locations and manuscripts, giving the impression of a rich and expansive cult. The images added authority to the cult by exhibiting images of the saint in relevant and significant locations. The Westminster cycle of Edward the Confessor, which was displayed in Westminster Abbey and in illuminated manuscripts, reached a primarily royal and noble audience. As a result, these images served to impress the royal audience and promote the cult. Further, by 1231, Henry III began to exhibit his love of devotional, religious art by ordering images of religious scenes and saints.⁵⁴ Henry was receptive to these images since elements of the hagiographic image cycle were later included in his palaces and castles.

The image cycle also promoted Westminster Abbey's political and economic interests. The image cycle establishes Westminster Abbey as the centre of cultic activities, which helped to legitimize its claims and made it the recipient of the economic benefits of a centre of pilgrimage, markets, feasts, etc.⁵⁵ Overall, these images are not simply illustrations of events as recorded in hagiography; the selection, construction, and reception of these images create a version of events that was separate from written hagiography.⁵⁶ This process is important as it reveals which aspects of Edward's life

⁵⁴ Carpenter, "King Henry III and the Cult of Edward the Confessor," 872.

⁵⁵ Barbara Abou-el-Haj, *The medieval cult of saints: formation and transformations* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997), 28.

⁵⁶ Cynthia Hahn, *Portrayed on the Heart: Narrative Effect in Pictorial Lives of Saints from the Tenth through the Thirteenth Century* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2001), 45.

were prioritized and thus helps to decipher the intended audience and message of the cult in this period.

Edward's image cycle was developed within Westminster Abbey around 1230-1240 and is based on Aelred's *Vita sancti Edwardi*. Both Aelred's hagiography and the image cycle promote unity and cooperation. For Aelred, his work aims to promote reconciliation, both between Anglo-Saxon and Norman history and between the king and pope. This spirit of reconciliation stemmed from personal experience as, just two years prior to the composition of the work, Aelred successfully persuaded Henry II to support Pope Alexander III in the conflict over the papacy.⁵⁷ Drawing from Aelred's example, Westminster's image cycle promotes royal and ecclesiastical cooperation while also specifically prioritizing Westminster Abbey's association with Edward and the English monarchy.

There are four examples of this image cycle: Abbot Berkyng's Tapestry, the *Abbreviatio of the Domesday Book*, a sculpture cycle in Edward's Chapel at Westminster Abbey, and the Cambridge Apocalypse Manuscript B.10.2.⁵⁸ In his "Abbot Berkyng's Tapestries and Matthew Paris's Life of St. Edward the Confessor," Paul Binski discusses the similarities between the tapestry, the Cambridge Apocalypse, and the *Abbreviatio*.⁵⁹ This section will build off of Binski's work by discussing another example of the image cycle, firmly demonstrating the existence of this cycle and its connection with Westminster Abbey. Furthermore, we will look at the image cycle as a whole in order to demonstrate Westminster's influence over the presentation of Edward.

⁵⁷ Betram, introduction to *The life of Saint Edward, King and Confessor*, 11.

⁵⁸ A chart illustrating the similarities between Aelred's *Vita* and the four examples of the image cycle can be found in Appendix B.

⁵⁹ Binski, "Abbot Berkyng's Tapestries and Matthew Paris's Life of St Edward the Confessor," 85–100.

Since the current academic work on these images does not consider the cycle as a whole, this section will study connections between the images within the wider context of Edward's cult. Individual images and legends will be discussed in-depth later in this chapter, and in subsequent chapters.

The first materialization of this image cycle was in the tapestries donated in approximately 1222 by Abbot Richard de Berkyng of Westminster to adorn the choir stalls of Westminster Abbey. The tapestry depicted a selection of nineteen scenes from Edward the Confessor's life and ended with three additional scenes: St. Peter's consecration of the Abbey, Abbot Berkyng speaking to Edward the Confessor about the images in the tapestry, and a final scene depicting the three founders (King Edgar, King Edward, Archbishop Dunstan) of the Abbey. A similar tapestry hung on the opposite wall depicting twenty-three scenes of Jesus's life from the Gospels. As the tapestry no longer exists, Robert Hare's sixteenth century captions for the tapestry, transcribed in Latin and translated in English, are the only remaining sources of information for this tapestry.⁶⁰

A shortened version of the Domesday Book, commonly known as the *Abbreviatio of the Domesday Book*, contains parts of the image cycle of Edward the Confessor. The manuscript was most likely compiled in the Westminster scriptorium in 1241. The *Abbreviatio* manuscript was used as a working document for the officials of the king's Exchequer and Chancery, which controlled royal medieval finances and administration. The Exchequer used the *Abbreviatio* to aid in collecting taxes and crown

⁶⁰ Descriptions can be found in M.R. James, *A descriptive catalogue of the manuscripts in the library of Gonville and Caius College*, vol. II (Cambridge: University of Cambridge Press, 1908), 453-7.

income as well as providing evidence in legal land disputes.⁶¹ Including the cycle in an important illuminated manuscript used in royal administration helped expand the cult's audience to include royal officials. The three images of the cycle at the front of the manuscript were added later around 1250-1260. The ordering of the legends is very similar to the sequence in Aelred's *vita*; however, only five legends are depicted. They reveal the most important legends that the Abbey wished to promote to the audience of royal officials in the Exchequer. There are five legends depicted: what most historians label as Earl Godwin choking (I will argue in Chapter 3 that it more accurately reflects confirming justice and law), vision of King Svein drowning, vision of the Seven Sleepers, vision of Christ in the Eucharist, and the legend of Edward and the Ring. These images and legends will be discussed in detail in later chapters.

Sculptures of the image cycle were also included during Henry III's reconstruction of the Abbey. They were placed in compartments on a screen behind the altar at the Chapel of Edward the Confessor. The exact composition date of the sculptures is unknown; however, they were present when the new chapel was unveiled in 1269.⁶² These sculptures firmly root the origins of the cycle within Westminster Abbey. Since they were prominently displayed in the Abbey, they helped promote the cult to the royal and noble audiences that attended Masses at the Abbey. These sculptures, along with the tapestry and the Cambridge Apocalypse manuscript, include explicit references to Westminster Abbey.

The Cambridge Apocalypse manuscript was compiled in Westminster around 1300-1325 and contains a series of images from the life of Edward at the end of the

⁶¹ Hallam, *Domesday Book Through Nine Centuries*, 42.

⁶² Carter, *Specimens of the ancient sculpture and painting*, 5.

manuscript. Apocalypse manuscripts, which contain the biblical Book of Revelation along with commentary and illustrations, are typically framed by hagiographical illustrations of St. John; uniquely, this manuscript depicts Edward instead.⁶³ The choice and ordering of the images in both the tapestry and the Apocalypse manuscript are identical, which suggests the existence of an established image cycle within Westminster in this period. The Cambridge Apocalypse includes seventeen different scenes from Edward the Confessor's life.⁶⁴

The image cycle centrally features legends that associated Westminster Abbey with Edward and ends with a glorified image of the Abbey's consecration by St. Peter. A detailed description of the consecration and dedication of Westminster Abbey is included in Aelred's hagiography. The story provides a detailed account of St. Peter consecrating the Abbey upon its completion in the seventh century. St. Peter crossed the Thames River with a common fisherman when travelling to the Abbey. Upon arrival, a bright, heavenly light and choir of angels surrounded the Abbey. St. Peter told the fisherman his identity and sent a message to Bishop Mellitus, who was performing the dedication of the Abbey the next day. St. Peter revealed that he favoured Westminster, and that he would visit the Abbey frequently and listen attentively to the prayers of the monks. He stated that "just and holy lives in this place and I shall keep open the gates of heaven."⁶⁵ Out of reverence to St. Peter, the fisherman and his descendants continued to give a tithe to the Abbey.⁶⁶

⁶³ Trinity College Cambridge, "James Catalogue of Western Manuscripts," last modified 2014, <http://sites.trin.cam.ac.uk/james/viewpage.php?index=58>.

⁶⁴ See: Hagiographic table in Appendix B.

⁶⁵ Aelred of Rievaulx, *The life of Saint Edward*, 52.

⁶⁶ *Ibid.*, 51-53.

The inclusion of this legend in Edward's hagiography is unusual since the events took place centuries before Edward was born. As a result, the legend does not help the reader understand Edward's character or sainthood. Even Aelred acknowledges this problem, stating that the legend "may seem irrelevant," but he reasons that the legend is useful to help understand the devotional motivations behind Edward's decision to reconstruct Westminster Abbey.⁶⁷ This legend is also included in the image cycles in Abbot Berkyng's tapestry, the sculptures in Westminster Abbey, and the Cambridge Apocalypse manuscript (see figs. 1 and 2). This legend does more to promote Westminster Abbey status than it does to emphasize Edward's sanctity. It promotes the history of the Abbey and demonstrates that St. Peter favoured the monks. The image in the Cambridge Apocalypse features the Abbey prominently surrounded by angels and St. Peter. Edward is not even included in the image (see fig. 1). The Cambridge Apocalypse spends three images to communicate this story thereby symbolizing its importance. In addition, the order of the cycle is changed slightly when compared to Aelred's hagiography. Aelred discusses the consecration of the Abbey in the middle of the *vita* while the image cycle closes with these images. As a result of the prominent position of this legend in the cycle, Westminster became part of Edward's cult and, by extension, the history of the English royalty. This incorporation helped to elevate the Abbey's status and firmly connect Westminster Abbey with the royalty.

Through the choice and location of the images within the cycle, Westminster Abbey was firmly connected with Edward's cult. This image cycle existed from the thirteenth to the fourteenth centuries, both within Westminster Abbey and in royal

⁶⁷ *Ibid.*, 50.

manuscripts, in an effort to secure and stabilize Westminster's relationship with the monarchy.

4. The legend of Edward and the Ring

The most popular image from the hagiographic image cycle depicts the legend of Edward and the Ring. This legend, which was added to the hagiography by Aelred, describes Edward's encounter with St. John the Evangelist disguised as a beggar. Edward, after realizing he had no money with him, gives his own ring to the beggar. Edward later had the ring returned to him by a group of Englishmen returning from pilgrimage in the Holy Land. They had met St. John while on pilgrimage and were given the ring to return to the king with a warning that Edward would die soon and that St. John would ensure his passage to heaven.⁶⁸

Throughout his reign, Henry III adorned his castles and palaces with artwork. He primarily depicted religious scenes, and the legend of Edward and the Ring was found throughout his castles and palaces. His representations were influenced by Westminster Abbey's image cycle, and they both promoted the same message of peace and cooperation. Throughout his reign, Henry III's attention was mainly focused on art and architecture as he commissioned numerous building projects and added to the decoration of his existing castles. Henry III was personally invested in these projects, even making sure to review their progress while on military campaign.⁶⁹ Unfortunately, none of the embellishments in his castles and houses remain. The information and descriptions of

⁶⁸ *Ibid.*, 81-84.

⁶⁹ Colvin, *The History of the King's Works*, vol. 1, 94.

the artwork within his residences come from writs, building plans of the period, and modern excavations at the sites.⁷⁰

Henry III's embellishments included both sacred and secular subjects, and the frequency with which he ordered representations of certain figures and episodes suggests his personal interest and devotion to these particular subjects. Of the sacred subjects, Edward the Confessor was the third most frequent, falling behind representations of the Virgin Mary and the Crucifixion. All of the images of Edward in Henry III's castles depicted the legend of Edward and the Ring, either showing Edward and St. John exchanging the ring or Edward alone holding the ring.⁷¹ These depictions and the message behind this legend were beneficial to both Westminster Abbey and Henry III. The legend of Edward and the Ring was the main miracle promoted by Westminster monks. It held a central place in the hagiographic image cycle, and it was even included in shortened versions such as the *Abbreviatio*. Moreover, in looking at the representations of Edward within Westminster Abbey during this period, the legend of Edward and the Ring was the main choice when depicting a single image of Edward.⁷²

From an ecclesiastical perspective, this legend associated Edward with an established saint, St. John, who essentially endorses Edward's sainthood. This association helped put to rest debates surrounding the nature of Edward's sainthood and his place in English society. Most importantly, the legend directly associated Edward with Westminster Abbey. As the burial place of Edward, the Abbey possessed all of his

⁷⁰ *Ibid.*, 120.

⁷¹ The only exception was an image of Edward the Confessor's coronation in the Painted Chamber at Westminster Abbey that will be discussed in depth in the next chapter.

⁷² Binski, *Westminster Abbey and the Plantagenets*, 49.

relics including the ring mentioned in this legend while also owning relics of St. John.⁷³ Through promoting this legend, Westminster was, in a sense, creating advertisements for their relic collection. In the *Abbreviatio*, the image of Edward and the Ring reveals this intention (see fig. 3). The ring is the main focus of this image; it is at the centre and very large. Barely fitting within his grasp, St. John uses both hands to accept the ring, already treating the ring with the respect of a precious relic. This image gives the impression that the ring is important and deserving respect. Overall, these images of the legend help bolster the prestige of Westminster's collections and communicate the importance of rebuilding the Abbey to honour these relics and their patron saints.

For Henry III, this legend was indicative of the type of kingship he promoted. Edward was presented as a charitable and generous king with these qualities benefiting England as a whole as well as Edward's personal passage into heaven. Henry imitated Edward's character by engaging in numerous charitable activities for the poor. He supported various religious orders by providing building materials, food, and clothing for the members of the "voluntary poor."⁷⁴ Henry also actively fed the poor from within his own castles and palaces. Wherever and whenever he ate, Henry also provided a similar amount of food to give to the poor of the surrounding area. In a letter from June 1242, Henry claimed that he typically fed five hundred poor each day.⁷⁵ On days of religious feasts, especially on the feast day of Edward the Confessor, Henry invited the poor into the great halls of his palaces for banquets. For example, in the years 1242-3,

⁷³ *Ibid.*, 66.

⁷⁴ Sally Dixon-Smith, "The Image and Reality of Alms-Giving in the Great Halls of Henry III," *Journal of the British Archeological Association* 152 (1999): 86.

⁷⁵ *Ibid.*

Henry fed four thousand poor at Westminster Palace on each of Edward's feasts.⁷⁶ This information comes from royal sources, and thus may not be wholly accurate; however, even if these numbers were not accurate, it still represents an effort to associate Henry with a virtuous and charitable attitude.

The images of Edward and the Ring were strategically placed throughout Henry III's palaces. The images of Edward the Confessor were not limited to the portions of the castle with religious significance such as the chapel, but rather could be found throughout.⁷⁷ In two castles, Guildford and Winchester, images of Edward the Confessor could be found in the King's Hall, the most public part of the castle where the majority of the events were held including Edward's special feasts for the poor. In Winchester, Edward's image was placed at the entrance of the hall, and it was the first image guests would encounter. At Guildford, a painting of both St. Edward and St. John exchanging the ring was given a prominent place at the head of the table, making sure that all in the hall would see the painting.⁷⁸ Since the King's Hall was also used for Henry's various charitable meals, Edward's iconography and its prominent position helped support this virtuous persona of Henry.

Similarly, in the Painted Chamber at Westminster Palace, there was a depiction of the legend of Edward and the Ring. Thanks to a nineteenth century antiquarian copy of the image, we are able to see how the legend was represented (see figs. 4 and 5). The drawing was not completed and does not even show the ring so the meaning of the image is not clearly understood; however, its placement and the moral of the legend

⁷⁶ *Ibid.*, 87.

⁷⁷ For a full list of the known locations of the images of Edward the Confessor in Henry III's castles and palaces see: Appendix C.

⁷⁸ Borenus, "The Cycle of Images in the Palaces and Castles of Henry III," 84.

itself can help decipher the intended message behind the image. While there is no definitive understanding of how the Painted Chamber at Westminster was used in the thirteenth century, court records suggest that its visitors extended beyond the king's usual court circle. For example, in 1243, the palace entertained over six thousand people and many rooms including the Great Hall, Painted Chamber and Queen's apartments were used to house these people.⁷⁹

In 1236, Henry had his personal motto "*Ke ne dune ke ne tine ne prent ke desire*" (He who does not give what he has will not get what he wants), painted next to the entrance of the chamber. This phrase was a perfect summary of the message of the legend of Edward and the Ring, and was the first thing seen by all those who entered the room, setting the tone for the rest of the images in the chamber. Henry had paintings surrounding his bed, with images of St. Edward and St. John exchanging the ring opposite a coronation portrait of St. Edward behind his bed.⁸⁰ These paintings were surrounded by figures of Triumphant Virtues on the window splays around the room.⁸¹ Most importantly, the legend of Edward and the Ring shows both St. Edward and St. John ready to give and receive the ring. This reciprocal relationship of giving and receiving was important as it embodied Henry's motto at the entrance. Henry believed that through his charitable acts of giving, he would receive divine favour for his actions. Consequently, demonstrating his virtuousness was essential to receiving the divine benefits. Thus, the images of St. Edward helped relate his actions to Edward's saintly deeds. Since these images were placed in his chamber, a simultaneously public and private space, it helped remind all those who entered the chamber of his virtuousness

⁷⁹ Binski, *The Painted Chamber at Westminster*, 35.

⁸⁰ This coronation portrait will be discussed in depth in the following chapter.

⁸¹ Binski, *The Painted Chamber at Westminster*, 35-36.

and charity. Overall, this placement meant that Henry was making a public statement out of his personal religious devotion.

Through depicting Edward and the Ring, Henry III associated himself with Edward through the similarities of their actions. Considering the public placement of these depictions, Edward the Confessor's image helped Henry promote himself as a charitable and generous monarch to his peers and to the poor he entertained in his castles. Images of Edward in Henry's palaces were placed alongside images of the parable of Dives and Lazarus. This parable tells the story of Dives, a wealthy man, who refuses the beggar Lazarus' requests for food and water. Dives ends up going to Hell, as a result of his inaction, while Lazarus is rewarded in heaven. For example, these images were presented together on a dais in Guildford Palace Hall, forming an important balancing message for the king and the public. Henry used images of Edward and the Ring as his public image visible by those who feasted with the king while he was personally faced with an image of Dives and Lazarus while he ate.⁸²

Through his charitable nature and embracing of St. Edward's virtuous iconography, Henry demonstrated his understanding of the message Westminster Abbey was conveying through St. Edward's image. Through choosing to depict Edward and the Ring, both Westminster Abbey and Henry III promoted a mutually beneficial figure. The legend helped promote Henry's charitable nature while also providing advertising and exposure for the Abbey and its relics. Henry III's choice was particularly revealing of his cooperation with Westminster Abbey as there are many other stories of Edward, such as his power of royal touch that would have been more beneficial to Henry's power as a

⁸²Dixon-Smith, "The Image and Reality of Alms-Giving in the Great Halls of Henry III," 84.

monarch; however, he chose to use a Westminster creation, which promoted both the Abbey and the king.

This close cooperation yielded practical benefits for both the Abbey and the king. By the mid 1230s, Westminster was under considerable financial strain that greatly threatened the state of the Abbey. The construction of the Lady Chapel, a new and costly addition to the Abbey, had placed the Abbey into debt.⁸³ Through Henry III's devotion to Edward, Westminster achieved financial stability, with the king not only sponsoring the work on the Lady Chapel, but also financing the reconstruction on the entire Abbey. The most telling example of the cooperation between Westminster Abbey and the king was Henry's decision to move and combine the treasury with the Exchequer at Westminster.⁸⁴ As a result of the move, Westminster Abbey's responsibilities increased, as abbots and monks were granted royal administrative powers. For example, Abbot Richard de Berking was named the Baron of the Exchequer, assuming supreme financial control.⁸⁵ Religious men becoming treasurers or diplomats was particularly symbolic of Westminster Abbey's special cooperative relationship with the monarchy.

Overall, Edward the Confessor's canonization and image representation promoted both Westminster Abbey and the English monarchy's interests. The images were display in Westminster Abbey manuscripts and Henry III's castles. With a primarily noble audience, the images were important elements of royal and ecclesiastical propaganda.

⁸³ Carpenter, "King Henry III and Saint Edward the Confessor", 873.

⁸⁴ T.F. Tout, *Chapters in the Administrative History of Mediaeval England: The Wardrobe, the Chamber and the Small Seals* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1920), 98.

⁸⁵ Binski, *Westminster Abbey and the Plantagenets*, 7.

CHAPTER 3

PEACEFUL KINGSHIP, THE *LEGES EDWARDI CONFESSORIS*, AND CORONATION PORTRAITS

Edward the Confessor represented a specific type of kingship to the medieval audience. Edward's presentation in his hagiography and laws helps demonstrate how he became associated with peaceful, Solomonic, and clergy supportive kingship. In the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, this type of kingship was officially promoted in the coronation ceremony. With Henry III's second coronation in 1220, the coronation ceremony began to include references to Edward's relics and laws. With this connection to the coronation, Edward became an important symbol of the English monarchy and ideal kingship. Edward's status as a saint-king provided an opportunity for ecclesiastical officials to emphasize certain elements of his character to influence the development of medieval kingship through the coronation ceremony. This chapter will focus on royal and Westminster coronation images in order to understand Edward's kingship and its promotion, paying particular attention to Westminster's influence over Edward's style of kingship. Similarities between Westminster's and Henry III's images also indicated royal acceptance of Edward's peaceful kingship.

1. Edward's kingship

Edward's hagiography and laws heavily influenced the type of kingship he portrayed. Edward's hagiography, in particular, associated Edward with Solomonic kingship. In the medieval period, the biblical King Solomon was a popular model of ideal Christian kingship. According to the Old Testament, Solomon reigned as king of

Israel from 970 to 931 BCE, following the death of King David. Ruling over a state unified through his own military conquest, Solomon brought peace to the people of Israel. His relationship with God maintained this divine peace, and, in return, Solomon constructed the First Temple of Jerusalem. Negative elements of Solomon's character were often overlooked in medieval writings, and Solomon became a symbol of wisdom, peacefulness, and justice. Consequently, beginning in 356 with Athanasius' *Apologia* to Constantius II, Solomon was continuously evoked to remind rulers of their duties.¹ References to Solomon were particularly common amongst the Franks and Anglo-Saxons, and, as Kershaw explains, Anglo-Saxon kings were typically presented as wise, just, and peaceful Solomonic rulers. King Alfred the Great of Wessex, who reigned from 871 to 899, invoked Solomonic qualities in his political inscriptions and descriptions.² Images of Solomon also invoked a particular type of kingship. For example, Solomon represented wisdom and justice in legal manuscripts.³

Edward's life and character, as presented in the hagiography, is similar to Solomon's life. According to hagiographic conventions, sanctity was achieved in part by demonstrating that the prospective saint shared in the "collective personality" of sainthood.⁴ Hagiography resembles genealogy and emphasizes similarities between the subject's life and the lives of already established saints. Edward's hagiography also draws material from the reigns of past kings. King Solomon's reign provides inspiration

¹ P.J.E. Kershaw, *Peaceful Kings: peace, power, and the early medieval political imagination* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2011), 59.

² *Ibid.*, 2.

³ Anthony Musson, "Ruling 'Virtually'? Royal Images in Medieval English Law Books," in *Every inch a king : comparative studies on kings and kingship in the ancient and medieval worlds*, eds. Lynette Mitchell and Charles Melville (Boston: Brill, 2013), 159.

⁴ Thomas J. Heffernan, *Sacred Biography: Saints and their Biographers in the Middle Ages* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1988), 14.

for much of the hagiography on Edward. As a biblical king, Solomon was the perfect archetype for Edward to imitate. As a result, Edward's temporal life is presented as a holy endeavor. In the *Life of Saint Edward*, Aelred begins his work by comparing Edward to other kings to help justify elements of Edward's character that might disqualify him for sainthood. For example, Aelred justifies Edward's wealth by comparing him to Job and King David. Both of these kings were "richer and more holy than anyone," and, even though they were surrounded by lavish possessions, they were morally just and worthy of sainthood. Aelred then explains that, similar to these kings, Edward was "frugal in the midst of riches, temperate when surrounded by luxury, unassuming while robed in splendour and indifferent to worldly things while wearing a crown."⁵ More specifically, Aelred also discusses the similarities between Edward and Solomon. For example, when describing Edward's peacefulness, Aelred states that Edward "acquired the name of peacemaker, which he shared with Solomon."⁶ Edward's wisdom is similarly compared to Solomon: "it was thus said of the blessed Edward as Scripture said of Solomon: 'All the kings of the earth desired to see his face and his wisdom!'"⁷ As a result of this parallel, Edward serves as a local English equivalent for Solomon. Just as Solomon brought peace to Israel, Edward's reign was remembered as a period of peace and prosperity amongst the medieval English people. According to Aelred, this peace was achieved through his good relationship with God and the clergy. Edward did not rule independently, but rather was open to advice and ecclesiastical cooperation.⁸ Similar to Solomon's, Edward's religious devotion resulted in the

⁵ Aelred of Rievaulx, *The life of Saint Edward, king and confessor*, 19-20.

⁶ *Ibid.*, 20.

⁷ *Ibid.*, 29.

⁸ Binski, "Reflections on la estoire de Seint Aedward le rei," 346.

construction of a major religious site. Edward rebuilt Westminster Abbey, a visible part of medieval English royal life, making his story locally or “nationally” relevant.

Similarly, helped in part by King William I and the creation of a popular twelfth century legal treatise titled *Leges Edwardi Confessoris*, Edward was known as a just lawgiver. The *Leges* were important in post-Conquest England during the transition from English to Norman rule, and the references to Edward’s laws helped calm legal debates. The English feared that the Normans would impose Norman law, and, in order to facilitate the legal transition in the short term, William I publically confirmed the laws of Edward the Confessor. William I gathered men from each English county who were to declare “the rules of their [English] laws and customs, treading the righteous path, omitting nothing, nor altering anything deceitfully.”⁹ The only remaining record of these laws is contained in the twelfth century legal treatise, *Leges Edwardi Confessoris*. As outlined in the prologue, the anonymous author claims to record this gathering.

While the treatise claims to record the Anglo-Saxon laws under Edward, it more likely reflects the state of English law at the time of its creation in the twelfth century. There is no evidence to suggest that Edward issued any laws during his reign; however, Edward’s lawful reputation persisted in the medieval period. The laws are ecclesiastically motivated, and, as O’Brien states in his translation of the treatise, the laws adhere to twelfth century ecclesiastical opinions on peace and cooperation with the monarchy.¹⁰ More specifically, Edward’s laws discuss maintaining peace, and the treatise is separated into sections discussing the Peace of the Church and the Peace of the King. The section on the Peace of the Church deal with ecclesiastical rights including

⁹ “*Leges Edwardi Confessoris*,” in O’Brien, *God’s Peace and King’s Peace*, 159

¹⁰ O’Brien, *God’s Peace and King’s Peace*, 4.

sanctuary and tithes while the section on the King's Peace discusses kings' rights concerning violent crimes, traitors, fines, and the function of the courts.¹¹ This division promotes cooperation between these two powers and specifies their respective spheres of influence.

The Peace of God and the Church was originally established in 597 with the arrival of missionaries in Kent. The concept of the peace was to protect members of the clergy from violence. These concerns were still relevant in the twelfth century. The Peace of God and the Church was a method of stopping this clerical violence and punishing the perpetrators.¹² The peace also extended to the clergy's possessions and reaffirmed the Church's sanctuary rights, which were previously unclear.¹³ King Stephen's reign and civil war with Matilda in 1139 brought a rise in the amount of political and treasonous prisoners. Royal officials argued that sanctuary rights did not apply in a time of war and they commonly violated sanctuary. For example, the Earl of Hereford captured enemy knights after they claimed refuge in a church, and the Bishop of Hereford, Gilbert Foliot, condemned the Earl's actions.¹⁴ Consequently, the treatise reaffirmed the church's rights at a time when they were being violated by lay aristocrats. Using judicial power, kings were required to protect the rights of the Church and the clergy.¹⁵ This practice laid out a practical method of cooperation between the king and the clergy.

In addition to the contents promoting ecclesiastical matters, the use of the laws also revealed this purpose. The legal treatise was copied into numerous manuscripts

¹¹ *Ibid.*, 41.

¹² *Ibid.*, 63.

¹³ "Leges Edwardi Confessoris," in *ibid.*, 159.

¹⁴ *Ibid.*, 68-69.

¹⁵ *Ibid.*, 70.

throughout the medieval and early modern periods. As O'Brien states, the laws of Edward were frequently referenced throughout the medieval period by both royal and ecclesiastical powers and were comparable in popularity to the Magna Carta.¹⁶ The laws have a reformist message that was embraced by opponents of the king throughout the twelfth century. For example, Thomas Becket and his supporters cited the laws when arguing against Henry II's Constitutions of Clarendon in 1165. In addition, according to Holt, the laws of Edward the Confessor were used in the twelfth century in order to support the critics of King John. The laws were used to justify the removal of kings who acted unjustly and without the support of the clergy and the public.¹⁷

Similarly, legal writer Henry de Bracton (1210-1268) also references the laws of Edward the Confessor while discussing kingship and the duties of a monarch.¹⁸ He theorizes that Edward's laws could be used to delegitimize the reigns of kings who were unjust. These messages behind Edward's law were particularly relevant considering the discussions surrounding the Magna Carta and the numerous threats of deposition in this period. In the hagiography and the laws, a mythological persona is created and Edward is depicted as the embodiment of the ideal king that the Magna Carta hoped to achieve. In such an interpretation, Edward ruled with the help of his peers, free of personal and selfish motivation, and, as a result, his reign created a period of prosperity in England.¹⁹

The laws were not solely beneficial to opponents of the crown. Post-Conquest kings continued to affirm Edward's laws in their coronation charters in order to give the

¹⁶ *Ibid.*, 105.

¹⁷ J.C. Holt, *Magna Carta* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1965), 17.

¹⁸ H.G. Richardson, "The English Coronation Oath," *Speculum* 24, no. 1 (1949): 61.

¹⁹ Binski, *Westminster Abbey and the Plantagenets*, 63.

impression that their reigns would be peaceful and just.²⁰ As the *Vita Ædwardi Regis* states “this goodly king [Edward] abrogated bad laws, with his council of the wise established good ones, and filled with joy all that Britain over which...he ruled.”²¹

Aelred’s work contains a similar passage, explaining

in Edward [the English] found what they had lost: peace for the people, honour for the nobles, freedom for the Church... For when a peacemaking king reigns long enough, all nature converges in a bond of peace: no infection remains in the air, no turbulence in the sea, no barrenness in the earth, no disorder among the clergy, no unrest among the people.²²

The hagiography insists that following Edward’s legal example achieved peace and prosperity throughout the kingdom.

Both royal and ecclesiastical officials embraced Edward’s laws for different reasons. Monarchs affirmed the laws in charters to give assurance to the public they intended to rule justly and bring peace to the realm. The clergy referenced the laws to limit the royal authority of legitimately crowned monarchs. As a result of these legal discussions, maintaining a lawful reputation and respect for English law became part of the ideal qualities of a medieval monarch. According to medieval writers, an “active judicial role” was just as important as military expertise when discussing kingship.²³

2. Edward’s symbolic and legal role in the coronation ceremony

Edward’s kingship was officially endorsed in the coronation ceremony. Beginning with Henry III’s reign, the coronation began to include references to Edward’s relics and laws. Symbolically, the crown was now called “St. Edward’s

²⁰ O’Brien, *God’s Peace and King’s Peace*, 6-7.

²¹ Barlow, ed. and trans., *Life of King Edward the Confessor*, 13.

²² Aelred of Rievaulx, *The Life of Edward the Confessor*, 28-29.

²³ Patrick Wormald, *The Making of English Law: King Alfred to the Twelfth Century* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1999), 128.

crown,” and this title was retroactively applied to all coronations. This name gave the impression that Edward’s crown was used in every post-Conquest coronation. Similarly, in the coronation oath, kings swore to uphold Edward’s laws. In the thirteenth century, the laws in the coronation oath ensured that cooperative kingship was legally and historically supported. This section investigates how these developments helped associate the Abbey with the coronation ceremony and ensured that the monks established and asserted their rights as the official coronation church and as the repository of the regalia. Similarly, these developments supported ecclesiastical authority over the monarchy and promoted Solomonic, peaceful, and clergy-supportive kingship.

2.1 Westminster Abbey and the coronation ceremony

Knowledge about the coronation ceremony prior to the eleventh century is minimal. It is difficult to pinpoint the first Anglo-Saxon coronation; the first record of a royal anointing was from 787 while the first records for a ceremony emerged in the 960s.²⁴ The anointing of Anglo-Saxon kings was directly adapted from the Old Testament and oil was poured onto the king’s head while invoking King Solomon in a chant.²⁵ Twenty manuscripts from 1000 to 1308 make up the majority of the available information on the coronation ceremony. From these manuscripts, historians have divided the evolution of the ceremony into four recensions: the first recension around 1000, the second recension in the late eleventh century, the third recension in the twelfth

²⁴ Janet Nelson, “The Earliest Surviving Ordo,” in *Politics and Ritual in Early Medieval Europe*, ed. Janet Nelson (London: Hambledon Press, 1986), 342.

²⁵ *Ibid.*, 355.

century, and the fourth recension in 1308.²⁶ This section primarily focuses on the third and fourth recensions. The main features of these ceremonies included the election of the prince, the oath, the consecration and anointing, and the investiture.²⁷

Westminster Abbey's connection with the coronation ceremony began during the Norman Conquest. Anglo-Saxon monarchs seemingly chose where they would be crowned with records indicating that monarchs were crowned at various locations throughout the period.²⁸ Kings Harold I and William I were the first monarchs to chose to be crowned at the Abbey. These coronations, occurring in the turbulent period of the Conquest, aimed to establish a connection with Edward. As William I stated in a letter to Abbot John of Fécamp, Westminster was the Abbey "in which are buried King Edward of blessed memory, and Queen Edith of famous memory; in which, too, [King William] himself received the scepter and crown of England."²⁹ At Edward's death in 1066, Westminster was associated with the late king as a result of his major building projects at the Abbey and, more importantly, since it was the site of his tomb. Kings Harold and William gained political benefits through connecting their reigns to Edward as their predecessor. Harold and William cemented their claims to the throne through proximity to Edward the Confessor and implied that they were the true successors to Edward's throne. Successive monarchs continued to be crowned in the Abbey, establishing a new royal tradition.

²⁶ Andrew Huges, "The Origins and Descent of the Fourth Recension of the English Coronation Ceremony," in *Coronations: Medieval and Early Modern Monarchic Ritual*, ed. János M. Bak (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1990), 198.

²⁷ Binski, *Westminster Abbey and the Plantagenets*, 129.

²⁸ Percy Ernst Schramm and L.G. Wickham Legg, *A History of the English Coronation* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1937), 38.

²⁹ Mason, "The Site of King-Making and Consecration," 62.

After the Conquest, Westminster claimed that they possessed the sole right to perform and house royal coronation ceremonies. These claims were constantly reaffirmed throughout the medieval period as each post-Conquest king issued royal charters to confirm Westminster as the official coronation location. The monks claimed that the Anglo-Saxon King Edgar (943-975) was the first to name them as the official coronation church in a royal charter even though no Anglo-Saxon king was crowned at the Abbey until Harold Godwinson in 1066.³⁰ Similarly, the Abbey also possessed royal charters from Kings William I, Henry I, and Stephen guaranteeing the Abbey the sole right to the ceremony.³¹ The monks repeatedly sought confirmation of these rights with successive monarchs, illustrating how important they were to the clergy. For example, in Henry I's coronation charter issued on August 5, 1100, Henry confirms Westminster Abbey as the coronation church and grants privileges to the Abbey.³² Each new king confirmed these rights even though many of their predecessors had already guaranteed that the Abbey was named as the coronation church. In addition, when looking more generally at Westminster's royally granted charters from this period, one gets the impression that establishing the Abbey as the coronation church was the most important concern of the monks. Whenever Westminster Abbey is mentioned in any charter, it is followed by a specification that the Abbey is the coronation church. For example, in 1154, Henry II's charter of liberties was issued for the benefit of the souls of Henry, his parents, and King Edward the Confessor souls. In this same charter, Henry details his protection of Westminster Abbey, which he specifically names as the coronation church,

³⁰ This charter was most likely a forgery. *Ibid.*, 39.

³¹ The authenticity of these documents is disputed since the majority of these charters originated within Westminster in 1140, *Ibid.*, 39.

³² Mason, *Westminster Abbey charters, 1066-c. 1214*, no. 57.

and confirms the Abbey's privileges.³³ These coronation rights exist in numerous charters, which guaranteed that these rights remained with the Abbey.

While these documents clearly grant Westminster the sole right to perform the coronation ceremony, some coronations still took place in other churches. For example, as a result of the First Baron's War, Henry III's coronation took place in Gloucester in 1216 without the presence of the Archbishops of Canterbury or York.³⁴ Henry was then crowned for a second time in 1220 at Westminster Abbey upon his return to London since according to the monks the Abbey's coronation rights had been violated. Consequently, in the thirteenth century, there were efforts to justify and solidify Westminster's coronation rights. Emphasizing Westminster's central location near London was one method of rooting the ceremony at the Abbey. Medieval coronations included public processions to the coronation church and thus locating of the ceremony in Westminster ensured that these processions took place throughout the highly populated streets of London.³⁵

Images of coronations also helped to further associate Westminster Abbey and the coronation ceremony. Images of royal coronations supported this connection and the spirit of ecclesiastical and royal cooperation behind the medieval coronation ceremony. Similar to the hagiographic image cycles of Edward discussed in the previous chapter, coronation portraits of Edward and other English kings were included in manuscripts created within or at the request of Westminster Abbey. For example, these portraits are present in the thirteenth century *Flores Historiarum* manuscripts. These manuscripts, which were compiled in St. Albans at the request of Westminster monks, consist of a

³³ *Ibid.*, no. 123.

³⁴ Carpenter, "The Burial of King Henry III, the Regalia and Royal Ideology," 450.

³⁵ Binski, *Westminster Abbey and the Plantagenets*, 133.

series of illuminated manuscripts containing a chronicle of England organized by reigns of kings.³⁶ According to Binski, the *Flores* originated in St. Albans under Matthew Paris in the 1250s and was eventually transferred to Westminster Abbey in 1265 and completed in the late 1320s.³⁷

Ten manuscripts currently survive, and they all derive their format from the Chetham MS. 6712. The Chetham chronicle begins with the Creation legend and finishes with the end of Edward II's reign in 1327. As indicated by the inscription at the beginning of the manuscript, elements of the text were edited around 1265 when the manuscript was transferred to Westminster Abbey. Many passages were erased in order to add further references to Westminster Abbey.³⁸ These textual references include discussions of Westminster's privileges granted by Edward the Confessor in 1060, Henry III naming his son after Edward the Confessor, and Edward's shrine in Westminster.³⁹ A passage about the Laws of Edward the Confessor was also added around 1308.⁴⁰ The images in the manuscripts also reflect Westminster's importance, as the *Chronicon Roffense*, a later version of the *Flores*, contains an image of Edward rebuilding the abbey.⁴¹ As a result, the text and images of the manuscript clearly intertwine the history of Westminster Abbey with the history of the monarchy.

The *Flores* manuscripts are divided into sections discussing each king's reign and the coronation portraits were placed at the beginning of each section. All of the

³⁶ This outsourcing was not uncommon as Westminster monks, with their small scriptorium, often turned to larger abbeys such as St. Albans to compile works on their behalf.

³⁷ Binski, *Westminster Abbey and the Plantagenets*, 121.

³⁸ Albert Hollaender, *The Pictorial Work in the 'Flores Historiarum' of the so-called Matthew of Westminster (MS. Chetham 6712)*, (Manchester, Manchester University Press, 1944), 363.

³⁹ Collard, "'The Flores Historiarum' Manuscripts," 443.

⁴⁰ Richardson, "The English Coronation Oath," 60-61.

⁴¹ Collard, "'The Flores Historiarum' manuscripts," 458.

images, except for the portrait of Edward II, were completed in St. Albans; however, all of the images are executed in a style similar to coronation portraits depicted on the tiles in the Chapter house at Westminster Abbey.⁴² The similarities suggest that Westminster monks had influence over the creation of the manuscript. The coronation portraits depict King Arthur, Edward the Confessor, and all post-Conquest monarchs from William I to Edward II marking the beginning of each section.⁴³ As a result, the beginning of each king's reign is marked by his coronation ceremony rather than with the death of his predecessor.⁴⁴ By defining the reigns in this way and in depicting all the kings at their coronations, the manuscript focuses on the importance of the coronation ceremony in creating and defining the monarch. Each image emphasizes the importance of ecclesiastical involvement in the coronation ceremony by including the Archbishops of Canterbury and York crowning and anointing the king. The images focus on the coronation ceremony as the defining moment in the monarchs' reigns while also depicting the role of ecclesiastical officials in legitimizing their reign. The image of Edward's coronation, in particular, promotes the ecclesiastical role in the ceremony (see fig. 6). The Archbishops of Canterbury and York, both holding important roles in the ceremony, are shown anointing Edward and handing him a dove-topped scepter in the image. Edward's image builds on this traditional representation by also including lay and ecclesiastical supporters surrounding the king. The figures on the left depict various ecclesiastical officials and the figures on the right depict important lay people signaling

⁴² Hollaender, "The Pictorial Work in the 'Flores Historiarum'," 378.

⁴³ Henry III's image in the Chetham manuscript is missing. According to Judith Collard, these coronation images were likely added later since traces of instructions for an illuminator remain where the layout and the locations of the images was planned. Collard, "'Flores Historiarum' Manuscripts," 452.

⁴⁴ *Ibid.*, 449.

their support for Edward through presenting their swords with the hilts facing upwards.⁴⁵ As a result, through depicting a king with both ecclesiastical and lay support, the image emphasizes the need for having support from both parties in order to be legitimately crowned.

More specifically, Edward's coronation portrait also connects Westminster Abbey with the coronation ceremony and the monarchy. Edward's image is twice the size of the other images, consisting of the full width of the folio at the top, while the other images are limited to the width of a single column of text. This sizing gives the image visual prominence over the others and signifies Edward's importance over the other subjects. The image also visually and historically connects the Abbey and the royalty, and it confirms Westminster's right to perform the ceremony. In the image of Edward's coronation, Westminster is explicitly mentioned in the title: *Coronatio gloriosi regis Edwardi qui jacet apud Westmonasterium* (see fig. 6). While the image specifies that Edward's tomb is in Westminster, by specifying the location, this image implies that the coronation ceremony, and all of the subsequent images, take place within Westminster Abbey. Thus, when looking at all of the images together, the manuscript provides a visual history of the coronation tradition in Westminster Abbey over time. This point is emphasized further through the symbolic nature of the images. The coronation portraits, despite spanning from 1042 to 1274, all depict the same coronation practice rather than accurately representing the evolution of the ceremony.⁴⁶ This simplification stresses the continuity of the ceremony and the importance of tradition, helping to ensure that Westminster retained the right to perform the coronation

⁴⁵ Hollaender, "The Pictorial Work in the 'Flores Historiarum'," 368.

⁴⁶ Binski, *Westminster Abbey and the Plantagenets*, 126.

ceremony. Overall, Westminster coronation images in the *Flores Historiarum* help to firmly root the coronation ceremony within Westminster Abbey and depict the importance of having ecclesiastical support for coronations.

2.2 Edward's regalia

In addition to having charters guaranteeing that the ceremony took place in the Abbey, Westminster monks also possessed charters and papal bulls that claimed to give the Abbey the right to house and protect the coronation regalia. According to Westminster monks, upon building Westminster Abbey, Edward intended the location to be the site of the English coronation, and he donated his personal regalia for use in the ceremony.⁴⁷ The Abbey possessed a letter from Pope Nicholas II to Edward the Confessor written in 1061 that specifically confirmed the Abbey as the repository of the royal coronation regalia.⁴⁸ Further, since many charters confirmed the privileges granted to Westminster by Edward the Confessor during his reign, these charters also guaranteed the coronation privileges.⁴⁹ These charters originated immediately after the Norman Conquest, with William I's charter on June 27, 1070, confirming the Abbey's privileges under Edward.⁵⁰ The Abbey also held a more recent and specific letter from Pope Innocent II to Abbot Gervaise of Westminster where the pope orders the Abbey to safely house Edward's regalia, while also forbidding the removal or sale of the regalia without

⁴⁷ W.R. Lethaby, *Westminster Abbey and the antiquities of the coronation* (London: Duckworth, 1911), 25.

⁴⁸ Mason, *Westminster Abbey charters, 1066-c. 1214*, no. 153.

⁴⁹ See: Mason, *Westminster Abbey charters, 1066-c. 1214*, nos. 14, 15, 77, 78, 136, 156.

⁵⁰ *Regesta Willelmi Conquestoris et Willelmi Rufi, 1066-1100*, vol. 1 of *Regesta Regum anglo-normannorum 1066-1154*, ed. D. Bates (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1988), no. 34.

the monks' consent. This letter was supposedly brought back to the Abbey around 1139 as a part of Osbert's failed petition for canonization.⁵¹

Despite these numerous charters, the coronation regalia were often housed elsewhere, violating Westminster's claims. For example, after Henry's second coronation, the crown was sent to the Treasurer of the Exchequer.⁵² As a result, upon Henry III's second coronation at Westminster, the crown was called "St. Edward's crown." This association was quickly incorporated into Westminster and monarchical history with a fourteenth century memorandum describing the regalia as the "ornamentz reaux de Saint Edward."⁵³ Similarly, by 1242, the rod of virtue, chalice, paten, and scepter of the coronation ceremony were all ascribed to Edward.⁵⁴ This connection made the coronation regalia Edward's relics. Westminster Abbey, as the location of Edward's cult and tomb, had the right to house and control the relics of their patron saint and founder. Similar to St. Denis' right to retain the insignia, which was guaranteed by St. Louis IX in the thirteenth century, English kings typically allowed their favourite abbeys to protect the regalia and other treasures.⁵⁵ Edward's association with the regalia helped ensure Westminster monks received this privilege. As Binski explains, with this new connection with the regalia, Edward evolved symbolically to represent "English royal statehood."⁵⁶

⁵¹ *Ibid.*, no. 161; While many historians believe that the Abbey's claims were fabricated and their charters forgeries, it is important to note that by the 13th and 14th centuries these claims were clearly being put forth by Westminster Abbey monks.

⁵² Carpenter, "The Burial of King Henry III, the Regalia and Royal Ideology," 450.

⁵³ Binski, *Westminster Abbey and the Plantagenets*, 134.

⁵⁴ *Ibid.*

⁵⁵ *Ibid.*

⁵⁶ *Ibid.*

Beginning in the fourteenth century, Westminster's right to house the regalia was specifically incorporated into the coronation ceremony. According to a fourteenth century memorandum on coronation procedure, instructions were provided at the end of the coronation ceremony that gave the king two options for returning Edward's belongings to the Abbey.⁵⁷ The first option was to process to the shrine of Edward the Confessor with the abbot of Westminster to replace the "royal ornaments of St. Edward" at the end of the ceremony.⁵⁸ The other option was to wear the items while processing back to Westminster Palace provided that the king returned the items to the monks of Westminster since it was "their right."⁵⁹ These instructions make clear both that the regalia belonged to Edward and that Westminster Abbey possessed the right to house the regalia. Westminster Abbey, the location of Edward's shrine, was able to protect and control the relics of their patron saint.

As the coronation location, the Abbey gained prestige and further proximity to the monarchy. Compared to the Archbishops of Canterbury and York who crowned and anointed the king, the Abbot of Westminster had a more personal role in the coronation ceremony. He acted as the king's guide, remaining beside the monarch through the entirety of the ceremony.⁶⁰ From the beginning of the king's reign, the Abbey was therefore afforded a close and personal connection to the monarchy. Further, through housing the regalia, an important symbol of royal power and authority, the Abbey kept this special connection during the royal reign.

⁵⁷ Martin Holmes, "New Light on St. Edward's Crown," *Archaeologia* 97 (1959): 215-216.

⁵⁸ Binski, *Westminster Abbey and the Plantagenets*, 129.

⁵⁹ Holmes, "New Light on St. Edward's Crown," 216.

⁶⁰ L.G. Wickham Legg, ed., *English Coronation Records* (Westminster: Archibald Constable, 1901), xxxvi.

Edward's association with the coronation ceremony persisted throughout the rest of the medieval period. After Edward I's coronation, he vowed to restore English land lost to France, swearing to preserve the "right of the kingdom and crown of Saint Edward."⁶¹ Edward's association with the coronation ceremony evolved; Edward's regalia were considered part of English monarchical tradition and religious devotion to his cult was no longer the motivating factor behind his references. Edward's role in the coronation images affirmed the medieval political theory of cooperation between royal and ecclesiastical powers. This association helped both Westminster and the wider ecclesiastical community achieve a mutually beneficial relationship with the English monarchy. Through the coronation images, Westminster Abbey was associated with the coronation ceremony in order to legitimize its right as the coronation church and the repository of the coronation regalia.

2.3 Edward's laws in the coronation oath

While Henry III and Edward I swore to uphold the laws of the realm and ensure that justice was served in their coronations oaths, the oath was modified in 1308 to include references to Edward the Confessor's laws. In the oath, kings swore to uphold the "laws, customs and privileges granted to the clergy and people by the glorious King St. Edward your predecessor."⁶² As Richardson explains, the coronation oath also used exact phrases from Edward's laws, indicating that the laws were not solely mentioned, but also served as the inspiration for the oath.⁶³ Similar to Edward's law, the king swore

⁶¹ Carpenter, *The Burial of King Henry III, the Regalia and Royal Ideology*, 454.

⁶² Frederic William Maitland, *The constitutional history of England: a course of lectures* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1908), 99.

⁶³ Richardson, "The English Coronation Oath," 62.

to “observe the peace, to reverence the church and clergy, to administer right justice to the people, to abolish evil laws and customs, and to maintain the good.”⁶⁴ These references to Edward’s laws continued throughout the Medieval and Renaissance periods until the coronation of King James II in 1685.⁶⁵

The legal, political, and Solomonic contexts of Edward’s laws were incorporated into the oath. References to Edward’s laws were included alongside existing references to Solomon. Solomon was referenced in the coronation ceremony through a vigil the night before where the king reflected on Solomon’s wisdom and aimed to follow his example. In addition, an anthem titled *Unxerunt Salomonem* was also sung immediately before the king was anointed.⁶⁶ By adding Edward’s laws alongside this collection of Solomonic references, Edward became the local English equivalent of Solomon. In the coronation ceremony, Edward was presented as the model of ideal Christian kingship.

In taking the oath, the king acknowledged that despite his position of power, he was not above the law.⁶⁷ As medieval lawyer Bracton explains, once a king breaks his oath to maintain justice, he becomes a tyrant and no longer has the rights of a king.⁶⁸ Similarly, as discussed above, Edward’s laws were used to justify rebellion against a legally crowned monarch. References to Edward and his laws in the ceremony gave the oath historical authority. Breaking the oath meant that the king was deviating from the traditions of his predecessors and Solomon. Thus, the King could be deposed for violating the oath and English laws. These implications were important considering the

⁶⁴ Maitland, *The constitutional history of England*, 99.

⁶⁵ *An account of the ceremonies observed in the coronation of the kings and queens of England* (London: T. Bailey, 1760), 18.

⁶⁶ Binski, *Westminster Abbey and the Plantagenets*, 130.

⁶⁷ Maitland, *The constitutional history of England*, 100.

⁶⁸ Fritz Schulz, “Bracton on Kingship,” *The English Historical Review* 60, no. 237 (1945): 153.

Plantagenet reigns were dominated by threats of deposition under John and Henry III, and Kings Edward II and Richard II were removed from power. Having an authoritative historically supported oath, gave the English people legitimacy when trying to remove a king who had broken this oath.

Similarly, the Westminster image cycle also includes images with legal connotations. For example, Abbot Berkyng's tapestry included an image of Edward commanding justice in the realm. This image directly followed an image of Edward's coronation, implying that a good king follows and confirms Edward's laws after coronation. Most importantly, this tapestry was hung in the choir stall of Westminster Abbey and was highly visible during the coronation ceremony.

In addition, the first image in the *Abbreviatio* cycle contains legal references. The image is commonly cited as a depiction of Earl Godwin choking; however, upon closer inspection, this conclusion becomes problematic. The story, according to Aelred, details a dinner at Westminster palace where Edward accused Godwin of killing his brother Alfred. Godwin attempted to prove his innocence by successfully swallowing a piece of bread. Godwin then choked on the piece of bread and died. For Aelred, Godwin is the villain of the hagiography. Godwin is considered a treacherous, vengeful, and greedy man who was destroyed by divine punishment. The main elements of this story are not depicted in the image in the *Abbreviatio*. It is difficult to know who Edward is condemning in the image, and there is no indication of anyone choking or dying (see fig. 7). There is also no consistency between the two sections of the image with differing amounts of people, changes in clothing, and different food in each scene. Most tellingly, the borders of the image show that the top and bottom of the image take place in

different locations. The top takes place in a castle or palace, and the bottom takes place in a house.

The format of the *Abbreviatio* image is different compared to other clearly labeled images of Earl Godwin choking in the hagiographic image cycle. In the Cambridge Apocalypse image, Earl Godwin is choking and falling to the immediate right of Edward (see fig. 8). In the *Abbreviatio*, the person to the immediate right of Edward in both sections of the image is looking out to the right, presumably to whoever/whatever Edward is pointing to out of frame. Similarly, this format is also present in medieval images of kingly justice. Illuminated legal manuscripts typically include an image of a king at the front of the manuscript.⁶⁹ There are a few common depictions of kings in legal manuscripts including enthroned monarchs, kings holding books, and most importantly, kings pointing with their index finger. This position portrays the king in the midst of dispensing justice and giving a judgment on a situation.⁷⁰ This format is what is included in the *Abbreviatio* image. Edward is shown in two separate locations, dispensing justice and maintaining peace throughout the realm.

In addition, the ordering of the image cycle supports this conclusion. If this image depicts Earl Godwin's death, its position at the beginning of the image cycle would greatly change the order of the legends since these events take place near the end of the cycle. In the tapestry, the image of Edward proclaiming justice was located at the beginning. In the context of the images in *the Abbreviatio*, labeling this image as the proclamation of justice places the image in the correct order in the image cycle.

⁶⁹ Musson, "Ruling 'Virtually'? Royal Images in Medieval English Law Books," 151.

⁷⁰ *Ibid.*, 165.

Consequently, this image more accurately portrays Edward confirming justice throughout the realm.

Overall, associating Edward the Confessor with the medieval coronation ceremony promoted Solomonic kingship and provided justification for removing unsuitable kings. Kings were no longer guaranteed legitimacy and protection through the coronation ceremony; kings needed to adhere to the legal expectations of a monarch. Edward was presented as the ideal model for kings to follow in order to secure their power and maintain peace and prosperity in the kingdom.

3. Coronation in the Painted Chamber

Henry III's images of King Edward demonstrated acceptance of the legal expectations for monarchs. His images promoted peace and Solomonic kingship while also representing cooperation between royal and ecclesiastical officials and embodying the spirit of Edward's laws. The best examples of Henry's interpretation of kingship were his decorations and wall paintings within the Painted Chamber at Westminster Palace. These images and their locations in the chamber revealed Henry's interpretation of kingship and are similar to Westminster's interpretation of Edward's kingship

For this study, the main points of interest in the Painted Chamber are a coronation portrait of Edward the Confessor, Solomon's guards painted around his bed, and a scene depicting the legend of Edward and the Ring. Henry's additions to the chamber were finished throughout the 1220s and 1230s; these images were also repaired in the 1260s after a fire in the chamber in 1263. Many of the images were repainted alongside new additions to the chamber, leaving no evidence of which images existed in

the chamber prior to the fire and which ones were added later.⁷¹ As discussed in the previous chapter, our knowledge of these images rests on unfinished nineteenth century copies. While incomplete, these versions help understand how the figures were depicted and the general layout of the images.⁷²

The most extravagant image in the room was the coronation portrait of Edward by the king's bed. The location of the coronation portrait on the wall behind the king's bed signified its importance (see fig. 10 and 11) since the king's bed held social significance.⁷³ Henry III's bed specifically had curtains, creating an inner and outer bed with both public and private functions.⁷⁴ According to Joinville, the king's bed played an important role in delivering justice. For example, the French saint-king Louis gathered with his closest advisors at his bed when discussing justice.⁷⁵ Images of enthroned kings are also included in legal manuscripts as these images served as an "icon of royal government."⁷⁶ They serve to either have the pictured king endorse the laws or give the king a reputation as a lawgiver.⁷⁷ The coronation portrait of Edward in the Painted Chamber surrounding the King's bed promoted a similar message. The king's bed was where justice was dispensed, and the displaying of Edward, the English symbol of ideal kingship and justice, in this location endorsed Henry's decisions and reign. By displaying Edward's coronation image in such a legally and politically significant location, Henry promoted Edward's style of kingship.

⁷¹ Binski, *The Painted Chamber at Westminster*, 39.

⁷² Both C.A. Stothard and Edward Crocker copied the images in the Painted Chamber. See: Borenius, "The cycle of images in the palaces and castles of Henry III," 42.

⁷³ See fig. 10 for a layout of the Painted Chamber.

⁷⁴ Binski, *Painted Chamber at Westminster*, 14.

⁷⁵ *Ibid.*, 36.

⁷⁶ Musson, "Ruling 'Virtually'? Royal Images in Medieval English Law Books," 153.

⁷⁷ *Ibid.*, 161.

The image ensured that the viewer understood that Edward was the subject through adding the title “C’EST LE CORONEMENT SEINT EDEWARD.” The image depicted Edward seated and being crowned by the Archbishops of York and Canterbury. The unction ceremony was missing from the image, depicting both archbishops holding each end of the crown instead of having one anoint the king.⁷⁸ Compared to Edward’s coronation portrait in the *Flores Historiarum*, which depicted both ecclesiastical and lay supporters surrounding the king, Henry’s image of Edward had a clear ecclesiastical focus. Edward was surrounded by seventeen ecclesiastical figures and no lay figures were included (see fig. 9).

While the portrait was not a wholly accurate depiction of the elements of the medieval coronation ceremony, the changes in the image reveal the symbolism behind the images. Coronation images typically show the king holding a sword in his right hand; however, in this portrait, a dove-topped scepter was depicted instead. The dove-topped scepter was included both in the coronation portrait of Edward and the legend of Edward and the Ring across from this portrait. This type of scepter first appears as a royal symbol in Edward the Confessor’s royal seal. Edward’s seal depicts him enthroned, facing forward, and holding a sword in his left hand and a dove-topped scepter in his right (see fig. 12). As Catherine Karkov states, Edward was the first Anglo-Saxon king to devote significant amounts of time and effort to his public image and his artistic portrayals.⁷⁹ The symbols were carefully chosen and emphasized his royal legitimacy and legacy. The sword is a common symbol of military power while the dove-topped scepter, symbolizing peaceful Christian kingship, is a unique element of

⁷⁸ Binski, *Westminster Abbey and the Plantagenets*, 128.

⁷⁹ Catherine Karkov, *Ruler Portraits of Anglo-Saxon England* (Suffolk: Boydell Press, 2004), 159.

Edward's royal seal. Since seals conferred royal authority and legitimacy to documents and were important symbols of kingship in the medieval period, the inclusion of a symbol of Christian peace alongside a military symbol on a royal seal associates Edward with Solomonic kingship. These symbols communicate that a good, Christian king protects and defends the realm in order to maintain its peace and prosperity.

Henry III, in his second Great Seal, adopted this dove-topped scepter and added further Solomonic symbols. While Kings Henry I, Stephen, and Henry II all included a dove-topped orb in their great seals, Henry III was the first post-Conquest king to hold a dove-topped scepter. His seal was clearly modeled after Edward's, as they both depicted enthroned kings with the dove-topped scepter (see fig. 13). Henry built upon this format and includes two lions at his feet that refer to Solomon's throne.⁸⁰ The steps leading to Solomon's throne are adorned with lions, and the lions at Henry's feet create a similar image. Both of these elements, the scepter and the lions, clearly demonstrate Solomonic kingship; however, the scepter is particularly important since it connects Henry with both Solomon and Edward the Confessor. The scepter was a personal and exclusive symbol for the king. Originally, Edith also held a dove scepter in her seal; however, in 1259 this symbol was removed leaving nothing in her left hand.⁸¹ Henry was also buried with a dove-topped scepter, signifying that this symbol was a personal and defining aspect of his reign.⁸² The scepter's prevalence, in both the Painted Chamber and in Henry's seals, denotes its importance. This depiction symbolizes a unique manifestation of Henry's personal devotion to Edward's cult and a declaration of accepting Edward's model of peaceful kingship.

⁸⁰ Binski, *Westminster Abbey and the Plantagenets*, 84.

⁸¹ Carpenter, "The Burial of King Henry III, the Regalia and Royal Ideology," 441.

⁸² *Ibid.*, 440.

To support the theme of justice, the coronation portrait was surrounded by guards of Solomon on either side of the king's bed (see fig. 14). The guards were part of medieval representations of King Solomon in bed. These depictions were relatively rare in medieval iconography. The guards, protecting King Solomon as he slept, symbolized vassals and supporters of the king.⁸³ This format was also in the king's chamber in other palaces. For example, Edward and the guards of Solomon were also surrounding the king's bed at Winchester.⁸⁴ These depictions were based on a passage from the Song of Songs: "Behold threescore valiant ones of the most valiant of Israel surrounded the bed of Solomon!/ All holding swords, and most expert in war: everyman's sword upon his thigh because of fears in the night."⁸⁵ This imagery was firmly connected with the coronation ceremony as a stained glass window of King Solomon in bed is present in Reims Cathedral, the site of the French coronation ceremony. The window is also from the thirteenth century, created around the same time as Henry's images in the Painted Chamber.⁸⁶ By surrounding Edward's coronation image with the guards of Solomon, Henry implied that Edward, in the centre of the image, was the new Solomon and that his actions were worthy of imitation. By placing his bed in between these guards, Henry also extended the protection to himself. Thus, through imitating Edward's action, a king gained the support of both ecclesiastical officials and vassals.

The Triumphant Virtues, which adorned the windows of the chamber, also helped contribute to the wider Solomonic symbolism. There were eight personified virtues depicted in total, each with crowns and shields. The virtues included *Vérité*,

⁸³ Binski, *Painted Chamber at Westminster*, 787.

⁸⁴ See: Image Sequences in Henry III's Palaces and Castles in Appendix C

⁸⁵ *Song of Songs*. 3: 7-8.

⁸⁶ Meredith Parsons Lillich, "King Solomon in Bed, Archbishop Hincmar, the 'Ordo' of 1250, and the Stained Glass Program of the Nave of Reims Cathedral," *Speculum* 80, no. 3 (2005): 767.

Fortitude, Debonereté, and Largesce. The virtue *Debonereté* was singled out amongst the virtues by having the arms of England, St. Edward and St. Edmund on her shield.⁸⁷ According to Binski, the images of Edward in combination with the Triumphant Virtues symbolized the peaceful and prosperous state of England after Edward's coronation.⁸⁸ The Triumphant Virtues represented the ideals of a good king, which were communicated in Edward's laws. The virtues, in combination with the coronation imagery, kept in line with the message promoted in the coronation oath. By following Edward's laws and cooperating with the clergy, a king would bring peace and prosperity to England and ensure that his reign was legitimized.

Thus, when depicting Edward's coronation, Henry supported the connection between Westminster Abbey and the coronation ceremony. He also demonstrated his acceptance of peaceful, Solomonic kingship as promoted through Edward's reign and laws. When looking at all of the images in the chamber in combination, the wider symbolism is revealed. Edward symbolized a new, English Solomon, which was emphasized by the Solomonic guards. With the Triumphant Virtues by the windows, the chamber implied that by following the example of Edward's reign, the ideal symbol of English kingship, peace and prosperity would be granted to the realm. The chamber presented Edward as a model king and made him a symbol of English kingship.

During the thirteenth century, Edward took on a more symbolically important role in English politics. His persona and reign were referenced in the coronation ceremony both through using his regalia and referencing his laws in the coronation oath. Edward's association with the regalia helped promote Westminster's rights, both as the

⁸⁷ Binski, *Painted Chamber at Westminster*, 41.

⁸⁸ *Ibid.*, 42.

location of the coronation ceremony and the repository of the coronation regalia. The references to Edward as a king in the coronation ceremony and Westminster images helped ensure that Westminster was part of royal tradition. Looking at Henry III's images and common symbols demonstrates that Henry accepted this type of kingship to the benefit of royal and ecclesiastical officials.

CHAPTER 4

EVOLUTION OF EDWARD'S IMAGE UNDER RICHARD II

After taking the throne in 1377, Richard II quickly became devoted to Edward the Confessor's cult. By 1381, records in the wardrobe books and accounts of the Sacrist of Westminster Abbey reflected Richard's devotion. Richard had a special and personal relationship with Edward, visiting his shrine for guidance and support throughout his reign, especially in times of crisis.¹ His devotion was also a public affair; in 1392, Richard held three days of religious celebrations in honour of Edward's feast day. As a part of these celebrations, Richard processed barefoot from St. James' Hospital to Westminster Abbey publically demonstrating the extent of his devotion.²

With Richard II's devotion to Edward the Confessor, the royal images of Edward evolved and took on a new meaning. Westminster's control over Edward's cult diminished in favour of royal control. Under Richard, Edward no longer represented cooperative kingship, but rather became a strong royal symbol. Edward was seen as a justification for sacral and independent kingship. By studying Richard's images of Edward and paying particular attention to where and when they were displayed, one is able to understand how Edward became an important royal symbol and justification for Richard during his turbulent reign. This study is particularly important since comparisons between King Henry III's and Richard II's images reveal each king's differing interpretation of Edward's message and kingship. This chapter focuses on

¹ Only exception was when Richard visited the shrine of Our Lady in Westminster in 1381. Mitchell, "Richard II: Kingship and the Cult of Saints," 116.

² *Ibid.*

Richard II's Wilton Diptych in order to understand Richard's kingship and Edward's role in justifying his reign.

Richard's devotion to Edward was unique in comparison to his immediate predecessors. Immediately following Henry III's reign, successive monarchs were devoted to St. George over Edward the Confessor. Edward I's reign (1239-1307) marks the beginning of St. George's association with the English monarchy. Crusaders embraced St. George, a fourth century Roman soldier from Palestine, and he gained a connection with royal battle when Edward I used St. George's banner in his military campaigns in Wales throughout the 1290s. This connection was furthered when Edward III, in 1348, established the Order of the Garter, a chivalric honour, under the patronage of St. George. By the late thirteenth century, St. George was considered the patron saint of crusading and chivalry and was embraced by militarily strong monarchs.³ Richard's devotion to Edward marked a change in royal piety as he returned to an older and more peaceful saint-king who was venerated a century earlier under Henry III.

1. Richard II's definition of sacral kingship

With Richard's reign, there is an effort to strengthen royal power that was similar to royal developments across continental Europe in the fourteenth century. Royal courts became an important public manifestation of royal power, and the size of these courts grew larger and stronger as a result. For example, during Richard's reign, the concept of Chamber Knights came into existence, and they played an important political role in the

³ Good, "Richard II and the Cults of Saints George and Edward the Confessor," 166-169.

kingdom.⁴ Similarly, a change in the coronation ceremony marked this strengthening of royal power. While the oath in the ceremony previously required widespread public support, this approval was removed from the oath. In the fourteenth century, having the support of the people was not as important for a king. There was a widening gap between the king and his subjects, and the king focused on having obedient subjects instead.⁵

This separation was achieved in part by new terms for royalty. In this period, subjects began to refer to the king as “majesty” and “highness.”⁶ As Saul explains, “Richard’s general aim was to enhance the prestige and authority of his office – to raise himself above, and to distance himself from, his subjects. In that way, he believed, he could strengthen his claims to his subjects’ obedience.”⁷ This change is visually exhibited when comparing the imagery used in Henry III’s and Richard II’s coronation portraits. Henry III’s coronation portrait in the Painted Chamber at Westminster Palace depicted Edward as the subject (see fig. 9). The portrait shows Edward surrounded by ecclesiastical officials and lay people, granting their support for the king, as a necessity for a good and legitimate king; however, the imagery evolved with Richard II’s coronation portrait (see fig. 15). Richard is depicted alone in the image; no one is granting him the power to rule. This omission of support separated the legitimacy of a king from public and ecclesiastical support by placing emphasis on himself and his ancestry. In the portrait, Richard is holding an orb and scepter, symbols of sovereignty.

⁴ Nigel Saul, “The Kingship of Richard II,” in *Richard II: The Art of Kingship*, eds. Anthony Goodman and James Gillespie (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1999), 39.

⁵ *Ibid.*, 40.

⁶ *Ibid.*, 50.

⁷ *Ibid.*, 49.

He is also facing forward and looking directly at the viewer, which is similar to depictions of Christ.⁸

Richard's support for sacral kingship was also part of this distancing. He emphasized the sacral qualities of his kingship, which in turn justified his powerful, independent reign. An explanation of the terminology is required to distinguish between sacral and sacred. Sacral is a status that was a status given as a result of ancestry or after coronation. It did not need to be earned but rather was bestowed upon coronation. On the other hand, sacred status was earned through the actions and the individual must achieve sainthood. Thus, as Janet L. Nelson explains, to be considered a saint-king one must have lived as an ideal Christian and achieve sainthood through one's actions. In comparison, sacral kings did not have this requirement. Sacral kingship bestows supernatural powers on the King by nature of his status and position alone. Since saints were granted their status after death, it needed to be granted by others; however, sacral status was granted upon becoming king at the coronation and unction.⁹ As discussed in the previous chapters, in the early to mid medieval period, saint-kings were presented as ideal models of kingship that monarch were required to imitate. Saint-kings were used to restrict royal power and justify criticizing a legitimately crowned monarch who did not follow the saintly example. Essentially, saint-kings helped lead to the creation of the constitutional monarchy.¹⁰

⁸ *Ibid.*

⁹ Janet Nelson, "Royal Saints and Early Medieval Kingship," in *Politics and Ritual in Early Medieval Europe*, ed. Janet Nelson (London: Hambledon Press, 1986), 71-72.

¹⁰ *Ibid.*, 74.

Richard believed his reign had divine approval and that “rebellion against a king was equivalent to rebellion against God.”¹¹ Rebellion was not only treason, but also heresy. Edward, as Richard’s saint-king ancestor, factored heavily in Richard’s promotion of sacral kingship. In particular, Richard aligned with Edward’s peaceful message. Richard reigned during the Hundred Years war and sought peace with France. His peaceful stance was not popular in England and a rebellion arose in 1393 in Cheshire as a result of the negotiations with France.¹² Parallels between his actions and those of St. Edward helped to justify his actions; however, the peace Richard exhibited was no longer the Solomonic peace that promoted royal and ecclesiastical cooperation. Imitating Edward’s reign was not part of Richard’s devotion, but rather Richard had his own interpretation of peace that helped support his power and authority as king. For Richard, bringing peace to England meant that he would receive divine approval for his reign and “unquestioned obedience from his subjects.”¹³ Richard communicated this belief in a letter to the Byzantine Emperor Manuel Paleologus and to Albert Duke of Bavaria.¹⁴ While describing his actions leading to the arrest of the Appellant rebels in 1397, Richard stated that in suppressing the rebellion he was “bringing a lasting peace to the realm.”¹⁵

2. Westminster Abbey’s interpretations of sacral kingship

To provide a comparison with Richard’s interpretation of Edward and his kingship, this section considers the ecclesiastical stance on Edward’s sacral kingship. As

¹¹ Saul, *Richard II*, 325.

¹² Good, “Richard II and the Cults of Saints George and Edward the Confessor,” 176.

¹³ *Ibid.*

¹⁴ Saul, “The Kingship of Richard II,” 52.

¹⁵ Saul, *Richard II*, 312.

a saint-king, Edward embodied some aspects of sacral kingship. Aelred's *Vita sancti Edwardi* contains elements that support Edward's sacral status. For example, in Aelred's work, Edward is divinely elected before his birth.¹⁶ Edward's father Ætheldred already had two older sons; however, Aelred states that the king, the nobles, and the clergy all nominated the unborn Edward as successor to the throne. In the hagiography, Jesus influences this decision by sending divine signs to ensure they elect Edward. Since England was threatened by Scandinavian invasion, this decision was politically dangerous and uncertain. Aelred states that this uncertainty strongly indicated that Edward was "chosen by God himself."¹⁷ This status is also extended to other English kings as Aelred states, "above all states and kingdoms on earth, England can indeed be proud of her saintly kings."¹⁸

While sacral elements were part of Edward's hagiography and cult, in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, ecclesiastical officials did not promote this connection. Since sacral kingship was connected to the unction in the coronation ceremony, discussions surrounding the unction ceremony and what powers this process bestowed were important during this period. The debates focused on whether anointing a king granted powers similar to episcopal anointing. This debate widely translated into a discussion of whether the King was able to exercise authority over ecclesiastical officials. Early medieval political theories included a dual power doctrine; this meant that royal and ecclesiastical powers had separate spheres of influence. This doctrine ensured that both

¹⁶ Matthew Clifton Brown, "Radical History and Sacral Kingship in Late Medieval England," (PhD diss., University of Notre Dame, 2010): 45.

¹⁷ Aelred of Rievaulx, *The life of Saint Edward*, 22-23.

¹⁸ *Ibid.*, 15.

spheres worked together to achieve the best outcome.¹⁹ Despite the prevalence of this doctrine, some interpretations of unction violated this view. For example, an anonymous twelfth century writer in York draws parallels between royal and episcopal anointing. He concludes that kings were able to perform priestly duties after the coronation ceremony. As a result, this anonymous author believes that through the anointing in the coronation ceremony, the status of kings was raised above ecclesiastical officials.²⁰ The ecclesiastical response was understandably different and placed the monarch in an in-between position. The king was not a layman, but received no ecclesiastical authority.

For the clergy, determining the status of a king was an important question in the medieval period. Uction ensured that kings were no longer lay people, but rather “mediator[s] between clergy and people.”²¹ However, a distinction developed between ecclesiastical and royal coronations. Under Henry I, royal coronations began to use catechumens oils rather than the more holy chrism oil used in episcopal coronations.²² Similarly, Archbishop Hincmar of Reims affirms the political doctrine of separation, believing that priesthood and kingship, as the two major powers of the world, had distinct powers and duties. These groups were dependent on one another with priests guiding kings to spiritual matters while kings had authority over temporal life. According to Hincmar, “only Christ could truly be king and priest.”²³ In his writings, there is an effort to inspire cooperation between both ecclesiastical and royal powers. He emphasizes the role of ecclesiastical officials in the coronation ceremony, stating that

¹⁹ Schramm, *A History of the English Coronation*, 117.

²⁰ *Ibid.*, 121.

²¹ Fritz Kern, *Kingship and law in the middle ages: I. The divine right of kings and the right of resistance in the early middle ages. II. Law and constitution in the middle ages* (Oxford: Blackwell, 1968), 38.

²² Schramm, *A History of the English Coronation*, 37.

²³ Hincmar, “Acts of the Synod of Sainte-Macre de Fismes (881),” quoted in Lillich, “King Solomon in Bed,” 770.

since “priests anoint kings to rule, crown them, and give them the law, that they may know how to govern their subjects, kings should honor the priests of God.”²⁴

This debate reached the English royalty since both Henry III and Richard II were involved in discussions about the exact nature of the unction ceremony. Henry wrote to Robert Grosseteste, the bishop of Lincoln, with questions about unction. He was particularly interested in the benefits he received through the ceremony and how he differed from kings who had not been anointed. While Grosseteste’s reply maintains that the powers of the monarch were distinct, he was also unwilling to raise the king above the level of ecclesiastical officials. For Grosseteste, unction was a sacrament, meaning the king received the gift of the Holy Spirit. As a result of unction, the king gained “insight into the ordering of things temporal and spiritual,” which helped in the administration of the realm.²⁵ He warns of the dangers of monarchs believing they were above the authority of ecclesiastical officials, citing the Old Testament example of King Uzziah getting leprosy in punishment for these crimes. Unfortunately, Henry’s and Richard’s response were lost, so we do not know their exact beliefs about unction; however, many historians believe that they thought they had ecclesiastical powers.²⁶

Westminster images of Edward are part of this discussion and communicated the ecclesiastical stance on royal power. By depicting kings and priests in a distinct manner, as Binski explains, the images in Matthew Paris’ *Estoire de Seint Aedward le rei* are directly responding to Henry’s questions about unction. In the *Estoire*, when depicting Edward at Mass during his visions, the image shows an “intimate and quasi-clerical

²⁴ *Ibid.*, 777.

²⁵ Schramm, *A History of the English Coronation*, 129

²⁶ Binski, *Westminster Abbey and the Plantagenets*, 145.

relationship.”²⁷ Edward is depicted in close proximity to and sometimes even on the same level as the priest. For example, this format is present in the representations of the legend of Edward’s vision of Christ in the Eucharist. According to Aelred’s hagiography, when Edward and Earl Leofric attended Mass at Westminster Abbey, they both saw a vision of Jesus in the Eucharist. Edward was singled out and received a special blessing from Christ. Out of humility, Edward wished this vision to remain a secret. Earl Leofric agreed, but also later had a monk from Worcester record the story for posterity.²⁸

In the depiction of Edward’s vision of Christ in the *Estoire*, the artist places Edward standing in close proximity to the priest (see fig. 16). The others accompanying Edward are farther back and removed from the vision of Christ, signaling that they were not receiving the same privileges as Edward. In choosing to depict Earl Leofric kneeling behind Edward, the artist creates a visual division by having two groups: the priest and Edward, and the other lay people present in the church. To further distinguish Edward from the lay crowd, Jesus is directly blessing Edward. Edward is taller than the priest and Jesus is looking directly at Edward, over the priest’s head, to bless the king. Despite Edward’s privileged position in the Mass, he is still not allowed to perform or participate in the ceremony. He is close to the priest and received a blessing from Christ; however, he is still a passive witness to the miracle.

This format is also included in the Westminster hagiographic image cycle. In the Cambridge Apocalypse B.10.2, the image depicting vision of Christ in the Eucharist also has Edward in a separate status (see fig. 17). There is a lot of space left between the

²⁷ *Ibid.*, 144.

²⁸ Aelred of Rievaulx, *The life of Saint Edward*, 60-61.

priest, who is holding Baby Jesus, and Edward. Edward is closer to the lay people in the image, and Earl Leofric is touching his arm from behind. This format is consistent with the descriptions in Aelred's *vita*, the source material for the image cycle. Aelred specifies that Earl Leofric "stood a little removed from the king's side," but was still worthy of the vision.²⁹ In this image, the priest has distinct powers since he is worthy of holding Jesus in the vision. King Edward maintains temporal powers but with a divine blessing from Jesus. The consistent placement of Edward as an intermediary between the ecclesiastical and lay people supports the ecclesiastical side of the unction debate. As exemplified in the discussions surrounding unction, the king was afforded a special relationship with the divine and the ecclesiastical, but was not an active participant in the Mass.

One element that is missing from the academic discussion of these images is the importance of having Edward communicate the ecclesiastical stance on unction. Edward, as the saint-king ancestor to the English monarchy, gave the monarchy divine legitimacy through saintly connections. Saint-kings, in the early medieval period, were originally canonized in an effort to strengthen the Catholic Church against pagan threats. Having saint-kings in royal ancestry gave subsequent monarchs authority while also unifying the people of the realm under a legitimate and divinely approved leader.³⁰ Conferring sanctity on nobility was common since the medieval people believed in the hereditary transmission of traits. The royal family, and nobles in general, were believed to inherit good qualities and virtues from their ancestors, making them more likely to

²⁹ *Ibid.*

³⁰ André Vauchez, *Sainthood in the Later Middle Ages* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997), 165.

achieve sainthood.³¹ While saints needed to achieve their sacred status through their own actions, kings were given a sacral status just through familial connections with a saint and through unction in the coronation ceremony. By the late twelfth century, Pope Gregory VII began a campaign to limit royal power and remove the sacred connotations. Despite these efforts, medieval lay people still viewed the monarchy as a sacral institution with supernatural qualities.³² Thus, since depicting Edward helped confer the sacral status on the English monarchy, depicting him as inferior to the clergy was an important statement.

Another royal power, the practice of royal healing of scrofula, also supported the belief in sacral kingship. From the twelfth century, English and French kings were thought to be able to heal those who suffered from “the King’s Evil,” more commonly known as scrofula. In England, Edward was cited as the source of this tradition since one of the miracles he performed during his reign was healing a woman of scrofula. According to Aelred’s account of the miracle, a young woman suffering from tumours on her face visited Edward’s court after being told in a dream of Edward’s healing qualities. Edward then washed her and made the sign of the cross over her tumours. These actions healed the woman’s sickness.³³ Whether this power came from Edward’s kingship or sainthood was a major point of contention between ecclesiastical and royal officials. Royal supporters believed that the practice was associated with kingship. The practice of royal healing was connected to unction, and, as a result, any crowned and

³¹ *Ibid.*, 179.

³² Vauchez, *Sainthood in the Later Middle Ages*, 165-166.

³³ Aelred of Rievaulx, *The life of Saint Edward*, 62-63.

anointed king was supposed to be able to possess the power to heal scrofula.³⁴ As Peter of Blois (1130-1211), a French cleric, states in his letters:

the king himself is holy; he is the Anointed of the Lord, it is not in vain that he has received the sacrament of royal unction, whose efficacy – if someone should chance be ignorant of it or doubt it – would be amply improved by the disappearance of that plague affecting the groin and by the healing of scrofula.³⁵

Thus, the practice bestowed royal legitimacy and was not hereditary but rather applied to all English and French crowned kings. Since this quasi-sacral and miraculous power was achieved through unction, the practice of royal healing helped support royal authority over the clergy.

The clerical arguments limited the power of the practice by citing Edward's sainthood as the source of royal healing. According to William of Malmesbury (1190-1143), an English monk and historian, Edward performed a divine miracle when healing the scrofulous woman; his royalty had nothing to do with the power.³⁶ In the *Gesta Regum Anglorum*, William contests the royal narrative by stating that "some men set out to deceive by asserting that the power to cure that sort of disease is not the product of holiness, but an hereditary royal prerogative."³⁷ Similarly, Guibert de Nogent (1055-1124), writing in France, also limits the practice of royal healing by tying it to morality and behaviour. Guibert theorizes that King Philip I of France (1052-1108) lost royal legitimacy and the ability to heal because of his sins.³⁸ This argument places restrictions on the ability to touch for scrofula and required kings to rule according to ecclesiastical

³⁴ James F. Turrell, "Royal Healing in Early Modern England: Scrofula, Liturgy, and Politics," *Anglican and Episcopal History* 68, no. 1 (1999): 6.

³⁵ Bloch, *The Royal Touch: sacred monarchy and scrofula in England and France*, 22.

³⁶ *Ibid.*, 24.

³⁷ Barlow, "The King's Evil," 17.

³⁸ Barlow, "Morbus Regius; The Royal Disease," 55.

standards in order to receive this power and its political benefits. Both familial connections with a saint-king and the practice of royal healing bestowed a sacral status on the English royalty. Edward, as the source of healing and sacral powers, supported arguments in favour of monarchical authority over ecclesiastical officials. Thus, having Edward as the subject of the images representing the ecclesiastical interpretation of unction was an important part of the message. The images communicate that even Edward, the ideal king and saint, was separate from both ecclesiastical and lay people during his reign. Thus, his successors needed ecclesiastical and lay cooperation in order to achieve legitimacy.

The Westminster images of healing miracles deemphasize Edward's role in the miracles and images. Edward either is a passive participant in the miracle or works in cooperation with the clergy to heal. For example, Edward was particularly known for healing the blind.³⁹ However, in these healing miracles, Edward did very little and was unaware that the healing was taking place. In these miracles, the blind men were typically healed by water in which Edward had washed his hands. In the first miracle, Edward washed his hands before a vigil of All Saints. Then, one of the king's attendants took this water to a blind man. After washing his face and eyes with the water, the man was healed (see fig. 18).⁴⁰ Edward was not consciously promoting his healing powers, and this was elevated as the ideal behaviour for kings and saints.

Similarly, when healing a crippled man, Edward worked in collaboration with a priest to help heal the man. According to Aelred, a crippled man named Gillie Michael prayed to St. Peter to heal his legs after six unsuccessful healing visits to Rome. St. Peter

³⁹ In Aelred of Rievaulx's *The life of Saint Edward*, Edward cures at least seven blind men.

⁴⁰ Aelred of Rievaulx, *The life of Saint Edward*, , 64-65.

told him to seek out Edward to “be his ally in this miracle.”⁴¹ Edward obeyed St. Peter and carried Gillie to a church. Upon entering the church, a priest washed Gillie’s legs. After this event, Gillie was fully healed and was able to walk without his crutches.⁴² In the image of the legend in the Cambridge Apocalypse manuscript, Edward is depicted carrying Gillie into the church (see fig. 8). Upon arrival at the church, Gillie’s legs are not yet healed; they are shown curving at an odd angle. Thus, Edward is not able to heal the man alone. He must work with the priest to fully heal the man. Edward stops in front of the priest, who has his arms open ready to help. In this legend and the accompanying images, Edward and the clergy work together to heal the man. This legend prioritizes the cooperative narrative put forth by Westminster Abbey. Overall, by deemphasizing Edward’s role in his healing miracles, the legends and images downplay the healing powers of Edward and his successors.

Through the unction debate and Westminster’s images, a cooperative and limited form of kingship was promoted. As we have seen in previous chapters, both Westminster and Henry III’s images are similar and promote cooperation rather than royal power; however, with Richard II’s reign, the sacral part of Edward’s character is emphasized, changing Edward from a symbol of peaceful cooperation to a symbol of royal power and authority. Thus, while elements of sacral kingship were part of the initial development of Edward’s cult, Richard II took Edward out of the Westminster context and used Edward’s sacred status for royal and personal justifications. Earlier kings incorporated some sacral aspects including the practice of touching to heal scrofula; however, these interpretations of Edward and sacral kingship still embodied the

⁴¹ *Ibid.*, 48.

⁴² *Ibid.*, 49-50.

spirit of cooperation with the clergy. With Richard's interpretation and images, there is a divergence from the Westminster and cooperative kingship, towards an independent, powerful, and sacral kingship.

3. Richard II, Edward the Confessor, and the Wilton Diptych

The Wilton Diptych perfectly embodies Richard's definitions and justifications for his sacral style of kingship. The Wilton Diptych is a popular historical focus, particularly when studying Richard's reign and kingship. Many historians study the iconography of the diptych and place it within the context of Richard's reign and deposition. This thesis adds a new dimension to the historiography by studying Richard's kingship and the Wilton Diptych within the context of his devotion to the cult of Edward the Confessor. English saint-kings, including Edward the Confessor, are depicted in the diptych and contribute to Richard's definition of kingship. The diptych serves as a visual depiction of Richard's relationship with Edward and shows how Edward and the divine play a major role in Richard's kingship. In this section, the depictions in Wilton Diptych are compared with the Westminster's images discussed above in order to reveal the evolution of Edward's character and presentation.

The Wilton Diptych is commonly dated to 1395-1399. The presence of the impaled coat of arms, White Hart badges, and broom collars all suggest a date after 1395 since this is when these items were first used.⁴³ The diptych, with each panel lavishly decorated, was likely intended for personal prayer and devotion. While these images on the diptych were not publically displayed, they reveal Richard's personal definition of

⁴³ Dillian Gordon, "The Wilton Diptych: An Introduction," in *Regal Image of Richard II and the Wilton Diptych*, 20.

kingship and his interpretation of Edward. In the medieval period, piety and devotion were both personal and public manifestations, and these two contexts must be understood in order to fully understand medieval devotion.⁴⁴ Thus, Richard's personal devotion and definition of kingship illuminates his public persona.

The Wilton Diptych, like sacral kingship, is a fusion of religious and secular imagery.⁴⁵ The front of the diptych depicts a young King Richard kneeling with the three saints King Edmund the Martyr, King Edward the Confessor, and St. John the Baptist behind Richard. The right panel depicts the Virgin Mary and Baby Jesus giving a blessing, surrounded by eleven angels (see fig. 19). There are many interpretations of the symbolism of the diptych; however, the most common and convincing is that Richard is gaining divine support and blessing for his reign and for the realm. As Nigel Morgan explains, the diptych depicts Christ and Virgin Mary blessing the banner of St. George and then returning it to Richard. This action granted divine authority and military power to Richard's reign.⁴⁶ An island inside the orb on the top the flagpole supports this conclusion. This small drawing was discovered in 1992 when the diptych was cleaned and restored (see fig. 20).⁴⁷ With the newfound presence of the island, comparisons with an altarpiece in Rome helped decipher the meaning of the diptych. The altarpiece was titled *Dos Mariae* and was created between 1382 and 1394. The altarpiece is now lost; engravings of sections of the altarpiece remain in the seventeenth century manuscript, *Tesserae Gentilitiae* (see fig. 21 and 22). The altarpiece depicted Richard II and his first wife, Anne of Bohemia, kneeling in front of Christ and the Virgin Mary. These figures

⁴⁴ Saul, *Richard II*, 325.

⁴⁵ Nigel Saul, "Richard II's Ideas of Kingship," in *The Regal Image of Richard II and the Wilton Diptych*, 27.

⁴⁶ Nigel Morgan, "The Signification of the Banner in the Wilton Diptych," in *ibid.*, 185.

⁴⁷ Gordon, "A New Discovery in the Wilton Diptych," 664-665.

were surrounded by St. George, St. John the Baptist, St. Edward the Confessor, and St. Edmund.⁴⁸ Richard was presenting a globe of England to the Virgin Mary and according to *MS. Harley 360* said “*Dos tua Virgo pia haec est; quare rege Maria.*”⁴⁹ Thus, the similarities between the Wilton Diptych and the *Dos Mariae* firmly establish the symbolism of the diptych. Richard is presenting the kingdom of England to Christ and the Virgin Mary through the banner of St. George and the orb. In return, Christ blesses Richard, who receives a divine blessing and authority for his reign.⁵⁰

In both the Wilton Diptych and the *Dos Mariae*, local English saint-kings play an important role in confirming and supporting Richard’s kingship. This phenomenon is not uniquely English, and the same association is achieved in France by connecting St. Louis IX with the monarchy and in Bohemia with St. Wenceslas.⁵¹ The choice of these saints reveals a personal, national, and royal preference. The Wilton Diptych depicts St. Edmund, St. Edward the Confessor, and St. John the Baptist. St. Edmund, on the far left of the diptych, was an East-Anglian king who was martyred by the Danish in 870. He is shown holding the arrow that killed him. Next, Edward is depicted holding the ring that was given to St. John the Evangelist. Lastly, St. John the Baptist is shown holding a baby lamb. Richard was devoted to St. John since he was born on the feast of the Baptism of Christ.⁵² These saints, particularly English saint-kings Edward and Edmund, add local English support for Richard’s royal authority and style of kingship.

⁴⁸ Descriptions of this altarpiece come from British Library manuscript MS Harley 360, fol. 98v from 1606; Silvestro Petrasancta, *Tesserae Gentilitiae* (Rome: 1683), 667-78; Charles Coupe “An Old Picture,” *The Month* 84 (1895): 229-242.

⁴⁹ Gordon, “A New Discovery in the Wilton Diptych,” 666.

⁵⁰ *Ibid.*, 667.

⁵¹ Saul, “Kingship of Richard II,” 41.

⁵² Saul, *Richard II*, 309.

The three saints in the diptych are also all virgins. Katherine Lewis argues that choosing these particular virgin saints helped bolster his status as a king and man. Despite his twelve-year marriage to Anne of Bohemia, Richard remained childless, placing England in a precarious situation without an heir.⁵³ Richard presented their marriage as chaste, and many scholars believe that this change was a revision to explain why their marriage failed to provide children.⁵⁴ Lewis believes that this revision was intentional since failing to provide an heir, combined with his peaceful nature, weakened his masculinity. While a loss of masculinity might have contributed to his choice, the change more likely supported Richard's status as a sacral king. Parallels between himself and Edward provided authority for his reign and actions and left room for his reign to be rehabilitated in the future. Similarly, since virginity was associated with a saint's ability to reject temptation and the temporal world, this trait represented the strength of their sainthood. Since virginity was a holy trait, projecting virginity was part of Richard's sacral kingship. Thus, virginity provided a religious solution to a political problem.

Richard was increasingly interested in his ancestry and he was particularly interested in emphasizing saintly connections and the powers these connections bestowed. As a part of the Plantagenet dynasty, Richard benefited from a familial relationship with Edward as promised through Edward's deathbed tree stump prophecy. He was part of the lineage that promised prosperity through returning Edward's lineage to the throne.⁵⁵ These local and royal justifications were also a preoccupation for Richard when he began a campaign to have his great-grandfather, King Edward II,

⁵³ Lewis, "Becoming a virgin king: Richard II and Edward the Confessor," 89.

⁵⁴ *Ibid.*

⁵⁵ Aelred of Rievaulx, *Life of Saint. Edward*, 16.

canonized. Richard attempted numerous times to have Edward II canonized, sending four petitions from 1385 to 1397 to the pope and commissioning a book of miracles performed at his tomb in Gloucester.⁵⁶ While these petitions ultimately failed, Richard's attempts were significant in the context of his reign. Since Edward II's reign ended with him being deposed after an invasion by Queen Isabella and Roger Mortimer, attempting to have him canonized had strong political connotations. Having a deposed king canonized would strongly support Richard's belief that rebellion against a king was considered heresy.

While many saints were part of Richard's kingship, Edward was the most prevalent and important saint. In comparing the presentation of Edward in the Wilton Diptych with Westminster's images, one is able to see the evolution of Edward's character and interpretation. As discussed above, Westminster images depict kingship in a distinct manner. Even considering his status as a saint-king, Edward is placed in an in-between position: not a layperson, but also not ecclesiastical. The Westminster images maintain ecclesiastical power as separate from royal power; however, the Wilton Diptych changes this representation.

The diptych is clearly a non-traditional representation of devotional art. Richard is depicted in an important position, worthy of divine support. Typically there is a clear form of separation between the worshipper and the sacred, but, in the diptych, Richard is closely supported by three saints.⁵⁷ The only separation between Richard as a temporal king and the saints surrounding him is that fact that Richard is kneeling. This positioning

⁵⁶ "An attempt to have Edward II canonized," in *The Reign of Richard II: From minority to tyranny 1377-97*, trans. and ed. A.K. McHardy, no. 159; Saul, *Richard II*, 323.

⁵⁷ Lucy Freeman Sandler, "The Wilton Diptych and Images of Devotion in Illuminated Manuscripts," in *The Regal Image of Richard II and the Wilton Diptych*, 140-144.

implies that Richard was worthy of this proximity to the saints and had similar status and powers as the saint-kings depicted. In devotional art, the worshipper usually is further separated from the divine by looking out to the viewer; however, Richard is looking directly at the Virgin Mary and Baby Jesus.⁵⁸ Thus, the position of Richard in the diptych demonstrates his power and worthiness of being surrounded by and supported by the divine.

This positioning and use of Edward is an evolution from the previous royal iconography. Henry III's representations of royal power were similar to Westminster interpretations. For Henry, royal power came from ecclesiastical and lay support, and he did not include himself in these depictions. His images of royal power were subtle and depicted Edward or non-specific monarchs gaining power from ecclesiastical and lay support (see fig. 9). He also kept his depictions within Edward's hagiographic and Solomonic contexts, surrounding the coronation portrait of Edward with the legend of Edward and the Ring, Solomonic guards, and Triumphant Virtues. As a result of their prominent locations in the King's Hall and Chambers, these depictions were symbolically extended to grant royal power to Henry. Richard II, on the other hand, was overt in his divine support. He moved away from temporal powers and depicts divine support directly from Jesus, Mary, angels, St. John the Baptist, and English saint-kings Edward and Edmund. Richard took Edward out of his hagiographical context and focuses directly on depicting Edward's support for his reign. Emulation was no longer a focus; Richard used Edward as a justification for his actions. There is also no ecclesiastical representation in Richard's images, bypassing the English clergy to draw

⁵⁸ *Ibid.*, 145.

support directly from English saint-kings. This gave Richard more power and authority, and he was no longer supporting cooperation between the two spheres.

Another important element of royal power in the diptych is the livery White Hart badges on Richard and the angels. The image of the White Hart is also included on the outside panel of the diptych (see figure 23). Richard II was obsessed with the imagery of royal power throughout his reign, and these elements are clearly present in the diptych. The lavish clothing, livery badges, and banner standards were a major part of Richard's representation of royal power.⁵⁹ The most important manifestation of royal power in the diptych is the inclusion of White Hart badges on the eleven angels. These badges, worn by Richard and the angels, symbolize divine support for his reign and were part of the wider context of heraldic badges and livery in this period. Lords granted specific symbols such as badges, clothes, and hoods to men in their service in exchange for their support.⁶⁰ Most popular of these symbols was the badge, and, as exemplified in the diptych, these badges visually denoted allegiance to a specific person or political cause. Richard used the symbol of the White Hart for his supporters.

The White Hart symbol first appeared in 1390 at the Smithfield tournament. Richard hosted this important tournament and social event in England that many competitors from across Northern Europe attended.⁶¹ This livery symbol was included on the surcoats, armour, and shields of the royal English team. The symbol was publically displayed during the procession in London before the jousting tournament

⁵⁹ Saul, "Kingship of Richard II," 55.

⁶⁰ Adrian Ailes, "Heraldry in Medieval England: Symbols of politics and propaganda," in *Heraldry, pageantry and social display in medieval England*, ed. Peter Coss and Maurice Keen (Woodbridge: Boydell Press, 2002), 94.

⁶¹ "The Smithfield Tournament," in *The Reign of Richard II*, no. 132.

with at least twenty knights and twenty ladies wearing the White Hart on their gowns.⁶² The appearance of the gowns with the White Harts was similar to the gown Richard is wearing in the Wilton Diptych.⁶³ After its appearance at the tournament, the symbol was included in artwork throughout castles, palaces and royal buildings, most notably in Westminster Hall, Eltham Palace, and the Old Manor at Windsor Park.⁶⁴ It was also used in the procession before Queen Isabella's coronation in 1397.⁶⁵ In 1392, Richard gave the White Hart badge to a Venetian when knighting him and also gave the badge to a group of four hundred archers. As a result of the public function of badges, the White Hart marked Richard's supporters thereby visually creating authority. This connection was so strong that after Richard's deposition and death, his supporters who believed he was still alive wore these badges to mark their support for the deposed king.⁶⁶

Richard did not invent the symbol of the White Hart, but rather it held earlier political significance. Since their antlers regrew each year, stags symbolized longevity and renewal for the medieval people.⁶⁷ They also were thought to live very long lives. According to Pliny, stags that were given gold necklaces by Alexander the Great were found alive at least one hundred years later.⁶⁸ The chained White Hart image in the Wilton Diptych refers to the legend of Caesar's deer. In a fifteenth century heraldry treatise, Nicholas Upton explains that a white stag with a golden collar was found in the

⁶² Eleanor Scheifele, "Richard II and the Visual Arts," in *Richard II and the Art of Kingship*, 259.

⁶³ Michael Bath, *The Image of the Stag: Iconographic Themes in Western Art* (Baden-Baden: Verlag Valentin Koerner, 1992), 184.

⁶⁴ *Ibid.* and Morgan, "The Signification of the Banner in the Wilton Diptych," 185.

⁶⁵ Scheifele, "Richard II and the Visual Arts," 258.

⁶⁶ Bath, *The Image of the Stag*, 184-185.

⁶⁷ Michael Bath, "The White Hart, the *Cerf Volant*, and the Wilton Diptych," in *Third International Beast Epic, Fable and Fabliau Colloquium, Münster 1979 Proceedings*, ed. Jan Goossens and Timothy Sodman (Böhlau: Kommission für Mundart, 1981), 27.

⁶⁸ Bath, *The Image of the Stag*, 29.

Windsor forest. The collar read, “When I was a little deer/Caesar put this collar here.”⁶⁹ Recapturing Caesar’s deer, which was thought to roam Windsor forest, symbolized a “pledge of dynastic continuity, legitimacy, and renewal.”⁷⁰ Scheifele speculates that Richard adopted the symbol from his mother, Joan of Kent, since the hart is also depicted on Edward III’s bed alongside the arms of Kent.⁷¹ Overall, the White Hart symbolizes “dynastic continuity and legitimacy to the Crown.”⁷² By placing the livery badge of the White Hart on the angels, Richard was visually marking them as his supporters and legitimizing his reign.

The diptych is not unique in depicting a gathering of the divine in support of Richard and his reign. On his tomb, Richard chose to depict saints surrounding him and his wife. Richard began working on his tomb in 1394, meaning the symbolism reflected Richard’s style and opinion in the later years of his reign rather than posthumous style.⁷³ His tomb is a double tomb, for his first wife, Queen Anne, and himself. This was the first time this type of tomb was used for the English monarchy (see fig. 24).⁷⁴ The saints on the tomb are substitutes for the usual depictions of weeping relatives and children.⁷⁵ This inclusion is similar to descriptions of Queen Edith in Edward’s hagiography that describe her as the mother of angels.⁷⁶ While other epitaphs typically focus on military power, Richard’s tomb epitaph emphasizes his right to rule by stating, he “overthrew the

⁶⁹ *Ibid.*, 35.

⁷⁰ Bath, “The White Hart, the *Cerf Volant*, and the Wilton Diptych,” 40.

⁷¹ Scheifele, “Richard II and the Visual Arts,” 258.

⁷² *Ibid.*, 259.

⁷³ Binski, *Westminster Abbey and the Plantagenets*, 200.

⁷⁴ Phillip Lindley, “Absolutism and Regal Image in Ricardian Sculpture,” in *The Regal Image of Richard II and the Wilton Diptych*, 62.

⁷⁵ *Ibid.*, 64.

⁷⁶ Lewis, “Becoming a virgin king,” 90.

proud and threw down whoever violated the royal prerogative... He crushed heretics and laid low their friends.”⁷⁷

The Wilton Diptych is a strong symbol of Richard’s reign. His proximity to the divine and livery badges on the surrounding angels demonstrate that Richard’s reign had divine support. Edward the Confessor played an important role in confirming these sacral powers, especially in looking at the public presentation of his kingship.

4. Public presentation of kingship

In the previous sections, we have seen how Richard’s images of Edward differed from the traditional Westminster creations. Now, we will look at how Edward was publically invoked and used by Richard. Through Richard’s references to Edward, Edward’s character and the traditional message of his reign were manipulated. Edward was evoked to benefit Richard and justify his actions, rather than adhering to the message of cooperation and anti-tyranny promoted in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries. For example, during the Peasant’s Revolt of 1381, Edward was referenced to support Richard’s actions. Richard visited Edward’s shrine at Westminster Abbey prior to meeting with the peasants at Smithfield. Praying at the shrine implied that Richard was seeking Edward’s guidance and support for his cause.⁷⁸ Later, the royal rhetoric made it clear that Edward supported Richard’s actions. When a mob removed and killed a man claiming sanctuary in Edward’s shrine, this transgression was used to justify killing the mob’s leader, Wat Tyler. As a result, through this justification, the royal

⁷⁷ Lindley, “Absolutism and Regal Image in Ricardian Sculpture,” 72.

⁷⁸ Saul, “Richard II and Westminster Abbey,” 205.

actions appeared to be sanctioned and supported by the saint.⁷⁹ Thus, through these types of references to Edward, Richard clearly was manipulating Edward to support his own actions, rather than molding his reign to Edward's model.

Similarly, Richard's relationship with Westminster differed from previous kings. Despite Richard II's devotion to Edward, a close relationship with Westminster Abbey took longer to develop. Early in Richard's reign there was tension in their relationship. There was dispute over the results of the abbatial election in 1386 when the monks ignored Richard's choice and elected another abbot. In addition, after Richard refused to support the Abbey in a dispute with St. Stephen's chapel, Westminster monks appealed to the pope despite Richard's opposition. In retaliation, Richard confiscated some of the Abbey's possessions.⁸⁰ These disputes clearly denoted tension between the Abbey and the royalty. Furthermore, Westminster monk Prior Richard Exeter, writing during Richard's reign provides insight into the relationship between these two powers. This source is particularly useful since, as Saul describes, the monk was writing from a "unique and exceptionally well-informed vantage point."⁸¹ Initially, Richard was presented in an unfavourable light, as a selfish, angry, and uncontrollable man. Outbursts of anger and injustice were described in the monk's work, paying particular attention to Richard threatening the Archbishop of Canterbury with violence.⁸²

This relationship changed after the Appellant coup in 1387, when some of Richard's lords rebelled against him and expelled Richard's favourites from the kingdom. Richard then lost a lot of power, and even after regaining it in 1397 the

⁷⁹ Binski, *Westminster Abbey and the Plantagenets*, 199.

⁸⁰ Saul, "Richard II and Westminster Abbey," 206.

⁸¹ *Ibid.*, 205.

⁸² Saul, *Richard II*, 314.

memory of the event caused harm to his image. At this point, Richard began to support the Abbey, donating money and riches, and finishing Henry III's construction of the Abbey.⁸³ Since Richard strongly believed in divine kingship, he might have wanted to become closer with Westminster monks to gain support for his reign. Unfortunately, Prior Richard Exeter's chronicle ends in 1394, making it difficult to understand Westminster's opinions or participation in the later events and eventual deposition of Richard.⁸⁴

In their actions, Henry III's and Richard II's devotion to Edward and the Abbey were similar but, as their images reveal, their interpretations differed. Richard, like Henry III, undertook extensive building projects at Westminster Abbey while also bestowing lavish gifts. Despite all of the money and time Henry III spent on the Abbey's reconstruction, the work was left unfinished at his death. The Abbey remained unfinished throughout his successors' reigns until Richard completed Henry III's renovations.⁸⁵ While these actions focused on enriching the Abbey, they were not necessarily indicative of cooperation with the Abbey. Building projects at the Abbey implied that Richard would gain Edward's favour and easier passage to heaven.⁸⁶ Richard was devoted to Edward, but, unlike Henry III, he did not adhere to Westminster's messages.

Richard's coat of arms is particularly indicative of Richard's public and political relationship with Edward. This interpretation deviated from the traditional Westminster messages. Beginning in 1397, Richard publically began to impale the English royal coat

⁸³ Saul, "Richard II and Westminster Abbey," 206.

⁸⁴ *Ibid.*, 207.

⁸⁵ *Ibid.*, 202.

⁸⁶ Saul, *Richard II*, 316-317.

of arms with Edward's coat of arms.⁸⁷ Richard's coat of arms includes Edward's on the left, depicting a cross surrounded by five birds, and the royal coat of arms on the right, containing quartered sections of the French *fleurs-de-lis* and three English leopards (see the left panel of the Wilton Diptych in fig. 23). This action was politically important considering the military origins of medieval heraldry. Heraldry developed out of a need to identify various warriors in battle and tournaments. Heraldry and coat of arms served this purpose. By the late twelfth century, the symbols developed and heraldry also began to symbolize ancestry and noble lineage.⁸⁸ With this new hereditary purpose, heraldry was used to assert claims and possessions, to emphasize lineage and status, and to authorize documents.⁸⁹ Royal heraldry became an important symbol of royal power and authority. As Adrian Ailes explains, heraldry represented "not only the person and power of the king, but also his wider governance and jurisdiction, especially with regard to the machinery of government."⁹⁰ Displaying the royal coat of arms on seals, buildings, and documents denoted royal possessions and control. For example, under Henry III, a shield with the royal coat of arms was included on the Exchequer seal, Privy seal, and seal of Gascony, symbolizing royal authority in these areas.⁹¹ In some cases, the arms replaced a portrait of the king meaning that the arms became a replacement for the king as a person and as the symbol of the office. In the fourteenth century, the royal coat of arms also symbolized a national English identity. During the Hundred Years war,

⁸⁷ This coat of arms was attributed to Edward; however, it was not used by Edward during his reign. The coat of arms was created later and the design was most likely based off a coin of unknown origins. For more information see: E. Delmar, "Observations on the Origin of the Arms of Edward the Confessor," *The Burlington Magazine* 95, no. 608 (1953): 359-360.

⁸⁸ Maurice Keen, introduction to *Heraldry, Pageantry and Social Display in Medieval England*, 8.

⁸⁹ *Ibid.*, 9.

⁹⁰ Ailes, "Heraldry in Medieval England: Symbols of Politics and Propaganda," in *ibid.*, 85.

⁹¹ *Ibid.*

the royal coat of arms of England and France were placed in opposition, representing the war between the two kings.⁹² Heraldry was an important tool since coats of arms were inherently public symbols that people of all literacy levels could understand and interpret. As Clanchy explains, in the medieval period, heraldry was an “alternative language of signs.”⁹³

By impaling his coat of arms with Edward’s, Richard invoked symbolic connotations. This action was significant since impaling coat of arms was typically reserved for marking close personal connections like marriage and episcopal offices.⁹⁴ As Binski explains, Richard’s new coat of arms constituted a “heraldic marriage,” publically declaring his union with St. Edward.⁹⁵ In this action, Richard was making his personal devotion into a public and political affair. Richard changing the royal arms to include a personal reference was seen as an affront to royal ancestral traditions. For example, the anonymous St. Albans author of the *Annales Ricardi Secundi*, states that in changing the arms that “his father and grandfather and uncles bore,” Richard exhibited “pride” and “vain thoughts.”⁹⁶ As Good explains, Richard’s actions were considered “an affront to the dignity of the kingdom.”⁹⁷

Changing the royal coat of arms was also politically significant since it began to symbolize national concerns. When King Edward III claimed the title of King of France, he also changed the English royal arms to include elements of the French royal arms.

⁹² *Ibid.*, 87.

⁹³ Clanchy, *From Memory to Written Record*, 284.

⁹⁴ Good, “Richard II and the Cults of St. George and Edward the Confessor,” 175.

⁹⁵ Binski, *Westminster Abbey and the Plantagenets*, 200.

⁹⁶ John Trokelowe and Henry Blandeford, *Chronica et Annales, Regnatibus Henrico Tertio, Edwardo Primo, Edwardo Secundo, Ricardo Secundo, et Henrico Quarto*, Rolls Series 28 (London: Longmadn, 1866), 223 quoted in Good, “Richard II and the Cults of St. George and Edward the Confessor,” 175.

⁹⁷ Good, “Richard II and the Cults of St. George and Edward the Confessor,” 177.

The arms were quartered with two sections containing the three leopards of the English arms, and two containing the French *fleurs de lis*. This change represented a strong, visual claim to the French throne and territory. Even after Edward relinquished the claims to the French throne, the new coat of arms remained.⁹⁸ While Edward was also criticized for changing the coat of arms, it was not for the same reasons as Richard. Many people, including the pope, criticized Edward for visually proclaiming ownership of land that had not been militarily conquered.⁹⁹ Unlike Richard, who was criticized for his selfish and disrespectful actions, Edward was presented with political and military reasons against his actions. To Richard's opponents, making a political statement out of his personal devotion was a problem.

The instances where Richard displayed Edward's coat of arms and the impaled arms also revealed political purposes. The arms were displayed in politically and militarily significant situations to symbolize royal power. As a part of the reconciliation ceremony of 1386 after the Peasant's Revolt, the arms of St. Edward and statues of Richard and Queen Anne were displayed on the London Bridge.¹⁰⁰ The arms of St. Edward were also displayed during the Irish expedition of 1394-95 since Richard believed that the Irish had sworn allegiance to Edward in the eleventh century. According to Froissart, by displaying the arms, Richard presented himself as Edward's heir with the aim of gaining Irish support.¹⁰¹ Barlow believes that Froissart's account is false; however, this belief was still circulated in the medieval period.¹⁰²

⁹⁸ Ailes, "Heraldry in Medieval England: Symbols of Politics and Propaganda," 91.

⁹⁹ *Ibid.*, 91.

¹⁰⁰ Good, "Richard II and the Cults of St. George and Edward the Confessor," 173.

¹⁰¹ *Ibid.*

¹⁰² Barlow, *Edward the Confessor*, 137-138.

Similar to livery, the arms were carefully distributed to identify Richard's supporters. In 1389, in gratitude for carrying "our banner of St. Edward" during the Scottish Campaign of 1386, Richard allowed Nicholas Adams to adopt Edward's coat of arms and impale it with his own.¹⁰³ In 1394, Richard also granted five dukes the right to impale their arms with Edward's.¹⁰⁴ As a result, Edward's arms were used similarly to livery badges, visually marking Richard's supporters and alienating others.

Richard also allowed his supporters, curial adherents, and knights to be buried in the Abbey. Beginning with Henry III, Plantagenet kings were buried in Westminster Abbey. Initially, kings were not buried in Westminster. While coronations at Westminster were established right after Edward's death, royal burials at the Abbey developed later. Henry III was the first post-Conquest king to be buried in the Abbey, establishing the Plantagenet tradition. Many monarchs were buried in Westminster Abbey with the tradition continuing sporadically until George II's burial in 1760. While royal burials were relatively informal in the early medieval period, by the thirteenth century, burials became more important and ceremonial as a result of the developments in English kingship. Saint-kings, with their remains as relics, increased the focus on the bodies of monarchs and questions about how to properly pay respects. The creation of a ceremony to bury kings eased the transitions between monarchs and conferred legitimacy on the successors.¹⁰⁵

Henry III, from the 1230s onwards, buried his children who died in infancy in the Abbey and specified in 1253 that he wished to be buried at Westminster near the

¹⁰³ Good, "Richard II and the Cults of St. George and Edward the Confessor," 173.

¹⁰⁴ *Ibid.*, 177.

¹⁰⁵ Hallam, "Royal burial and the cult of kinship in France and England, 1060-1330," 361-366

shrine of Edward the Confessor.¹⁰⁶ Henry wished to be buried with Edward in order to gain his protection and advocacy in the afterlife: according to the consecration legend of Westminster, St. Peter would frequently visit the Abbey to open the gates of heaven.¹⁰⁷ The Abbey's close connections with Edward and St. Peter made Westminster a coveted burial place. Edward established these important connections, giving the Abbey and those buried there a privileged position in the afterlife by gaining the support of two important saints. Henry III took advantage of this connection and was buried in the Abbey. After Henry, English monarchs continued to be buried in Westminster Abbey. They were not motivated by devotion to Edward the Confessor or loyalty to Westminster monks, but rather chose to adhere to tradition and respect their predecessors. For example, in his will of 1377, Edward III explains that he chose to be buried in Westminster in order to be surrounded by "his illustrious royal ancestors."¹⁰⁸ Similar sentiments of tradition were expressed in Richard II's will. Even though Richard was both personally and publically devoted to Edward, he still does not mention Edward in his motivations for burial in Westminster. While the royal practice of burial in Westminster Abbey was established in imitation and out of devotion to Edward the Confessor, this motivation was eventually lost.

Traditionally, the Abbey was reserved for the royal family, but Richard ignored this tradition. When he first broke the tradition in 1388 by allowing his knights to be buried in the Abbey, the monks were especially upset.¹⁰⁹ The knights had been murdered by the Appellants opposing the king and were buried in the chapel of St. John the Baptist

¹⁰⁶ *Ibid.*, 372.

¹⁰⁷ Binski, *Westminster Abbey and the Plantagenets*, 91.

¹⁰⁸ "*In ecclesia Sancti Petri Westmonasterii inter clare memoriae progenitors nostros reges Anglie regale eligimus sepulturam*" quoted in *ibid.*, 92.

¹⁰⁹ *Ibid.*, 200.

in Westminster Abbey.¹¹⁰ This action sent strong political messages, both showing dominance over the wishes of the monks and that a good relationship with the king could elevate one's status. Throughout the rest of Richard's reign, a number of his close lay and ecclesiastical friends were buried in the Abbey. Sometimes these burials even violated the wishes of the people in question. For example, the Bishop of Salisbury, John of Waltham, wished to be buried at his own church; however, Richard insisted that he was moved to Westminster. This action upset both the monks at Salisbury and at Westminster, which did not prevent Richard from proceeding. Some of his supporters were buried in Edward's chapel, and these burials particularly upset the monks at Westminster.¹¹¹ With these burials, Richard exercised power over the clergy and gave the impression of a strong and powerful king. These burials helped distinguish Richard's supporters, even in their deaths. They were given distinct and important burials solely as a result of their close relationships with the king.

Overall, with Richard II, Edward symbolically found a new association with sacral kingship. Westminster images place the saint-king in between lay people and the clergy. Edward was commonly cited as the origin of sacral kingship for the English monarchy, and having Edward as the subject of these images sends a firm message about the nature of kingship. Kings were not granted clerical power and needed ecclesiastical support to rule effectively and legitimately. Richard's images of Edward present another view. Edward was no longer a model of imitation; his depiction provides justification for Richard's actions. Edward was taken out the hagiographic and legal contexts, and Richard instead focused on defending sacral kingship. Edward's image in the Wilton

¹¹⁰ Saul, "Richard II and Westminster Abbey," 210.

¹¹¹ *Ibid.*, 212.

Diptych and incorporation into the royal coat of arms directly connects Edward with Richard's kingship. By invoking Edward in times of crisis, including the Peasants Revolt of 1381 and military campaigns in Ireland and Scotland, Richard presented Edward as his ancestral saint-king as a justification and legitimization of his actions.

CONCLUSION

The confectionary figures of St. Edward and St. Louis at Henry VI's coronation banquet in 1429 is demonstrative of the royal interpretation and function of Edward the Confessor. The use of these figures within Henry VI's coronation banquet served as a method of legitimizing his claims to the thrones of England and France. This type of legitimization is consistent with the post-Conquest connections with Edward. Beginning with King William I, kings presented Edward as their official predecessor to gain support for their reigns. In addition, the incorporation of Edward in coronation had its precedence in Henry III's images in the Painted Chamber at Westminster Palace. A coronation portrait of Edward the Confessor was displayed by the king's bed, a location of royal and legal significance, to create parallels between Edward and the king. As the figures in the banquet allowed Henry VI to "resemble [Edward] in knyghthod and vertue," Henry III's coronation portraits also allowed Henry to resemble Edward's peaceful, just, and wise kingship.¹

Henry VI's figures, on the other hand, had the added purpose of emphasizing sacral connections. In the banquet, Henry VI is specifically described as the "braunch borne of blessid blode," emphasizing his ancestral connections with Edward as a saint-king.² This interpretation was very similar to King Richard II's use of Edward. Richard focused on his ancestral and royal connections with Edward to provide justifications for his peculiar style of kingship. Similar to Henry VI's "blessid blode," this connection

¹ John Lydgate, "Soteltes at the Coronation Banquet of Henry VI," ed. Claire Sponsler, Middle English Text Series, University of Rochester, <http://d.lib.rochester.edu/teams/text/sponsler-lydgate-mummings-and-entertainments-soteltes-at-the-coronation-banquet-of-henry-vi>.

² *Ibid.*

with a saint-king gave weight to Richard's sacral kingship and desire for total obedience from his subjects.

With Richard's deposition, references and images of Edward declined significantly as St. George's popularity grew when he was declared the patron saint of England in the fourteenth century. By the seventeenth century, there was a return to Westminster's original interpretation of Edward. The laws of Edward the Confessor were rediscovered, and Edward was symbolically revived amongst lawyers and politicians to support a radical stance on kingship and revolution. Since each king swore to uphold the laws of Edward the Confessor in the coronation oath, the interpretation of these laws was essential in determining whether the public was given the right to remove a legitimately crowned monarch. These lawyers and politicians returned to the twelfth and thirteenth century interpretations of the laws to maintain this power of revolution. Medieval scholars theorized that Edward's laws justified the removal of any king who no longer performed his proper duties. This theory was put into practice as supporters of the Magna Carta and opponents of the Constitutions of Clarendon referenced Edward's laws in their arguments.

For seventeenth century people, Edward's laws guaranteed that if the king did not follow the law, he lost his title and position. The laws gave the English public a legitimate reason to remove a treasonous king from power. The Anglo-Saxon saint-king Edward and his laws bestowed historical and divine legitimacy on the seventeenth century rebel cause. As Greenberg explains, "the sturdy fabric of legitimacy, woven of medieval strands, converted radical innovations into the innocent restoration of pristine

practices and institutions.”³ In this interpretation, the lawyers and politicians were building on the original Westminster interpretations of Edward.

In all of the interpretations of Edward, his sainthood and kingship are essential in order to fully understand his symbolic function. Edward was an important symbol for both Westminster Abbey and the English monarchy. He emerges as a symbol at critical moments in both royal history and Westminster Abbey history. For the royalty, Edward was the source of monarchical royal healing powers, was invoked as an ideal model of kingship in the Coronation Ceremony, was the first monarch to be buried in Westminster Abbey, and was the origin of sacral kingship in England. For the Abbey, he was their founder and patron saint, guaranteeing their privileged position in England and connection with the monarchy. Its connection with Edward stabilized Westminster’s status as the official coronation church, as the repository of the coronation regalia, and as the place of royal burial.

Symbolically, Edward’s fortunes changed throughout the twelfth to fourteenth centuries. He evolved from a symbol that legitimized Norman claims to the English throne into a canonized saint with strong connections with Westminster Abbey. Westminster’s hagiographic image cycle demonstrated the Abbey’s influence over the development and message of the cult. In particular, Edward’s most popular legend and image representation, the legend of Edward and the Ring, demonstrates Westminster’s interest in promoting the Abbey and the cult to noble and royal audiences.

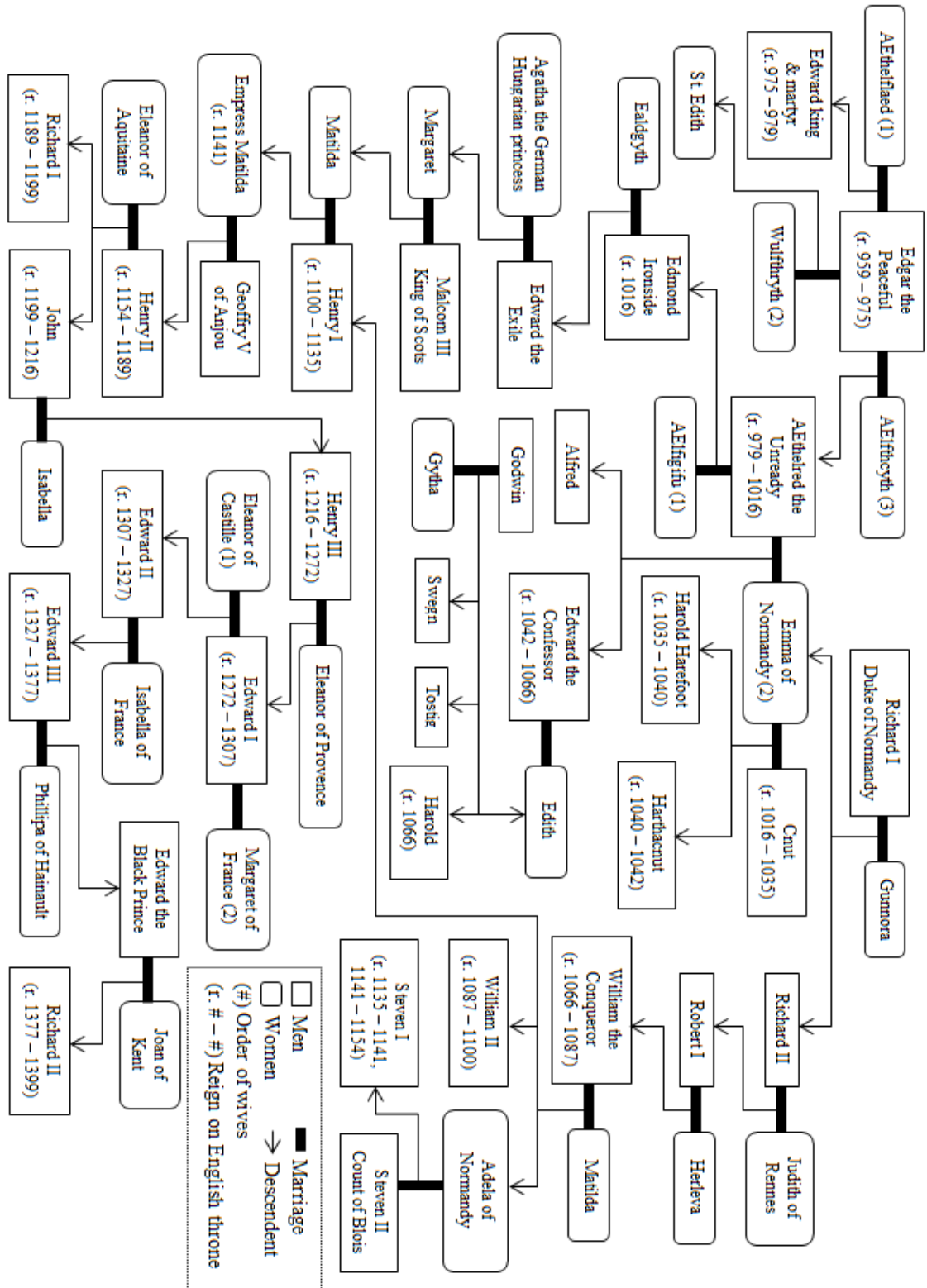
After canonization, Edward symbolized ideal, cooperative, clergy-supportive, and Solomonic kingship. This type of kingship, which was described in Edward’s hagiography and laws, was officially endorsed in the Coronation Ceremony through

³ Greenberg, “The Confessor’s Laws and the Radical Face of the Ancient Constitution,” 612.

references to Edward's relics and laws. Ecclesiastical interpretations of kingship were enshrined in royal history thereby ensuring the clergy's continued role in affirming a king's right to rule. King Henry III accepted this type of kingship as exemplified in his coronation portraits, depictions of Edward and the Ring, and Solomonic references in the Painted Chamber in Westminster Palace.

Finally, with King Richard II's reign, Edward's image evolved. Edward was firmly associated with sacral kingship and was used to justify Richard II's independent style of kingship. Edward's persona, image, and coat of arms were invoked throughout Richard's reign during times of crisis as a display of royal power. By creating parallels with an Anglo-Saxon saint-king and the origin of sacral kingship, Richard legitimized his "authoritative" actions and royal power.

Genealogy



APPENDIX B

Chart of Hagiographic Image Cycles¹

Aelred of Rievaulx's <i>Vita sancti Edwardi</i> (1163)	Abbot Berkyng's Tapestry (c. 1222)	<i>Abbreviatio of the Domesday Book</i> (c. 1250-1260)	Westminster Sculptures (c. 1269)	<i>Cambridge Apocalypse B.10.2</i> (c. 1300-1326)
	1. King Æthered dying			1. Death of King Æthelred
1. Edward elected before birth			1. Edward Elected before birth	2. Edward elected before birth
	2. Queen Emma in childbed			
	3. Queen Emma gives birth to Edward		2. Birth of Edward	3. Birth of Edward
2. Edward's coronation	4. Edward's coronation		3. Edward's coronation	4. Edward's coronation
	5. Edward commands justice	1. Edward commanding justice (formerly labeled as Earl Godwin choking)		
			4. Vision on the Danegeld	5. Vision on the Danegeld
3. Edward spares a thief	6. Edward spares a thief		5. Edward spares a thief	6. Edward spares a thief
	7. Edward's vision at Mass		6. Vision at mass	7. Edward's vision at Mass
4. Vision of King Svein of Denmark drowning	8. Vision of the drowning of King Svein of Denmark	2. Vision of King Svein drowning	7. Vision of King Svein drowning	8. Drowning of King Svein
5. Edward cures a crippled man	9. Edward cures a crippled man			9. Edward cures a crippled man
			8. Fights	

¹ The number in front of each image reflects its order of appearance in the manuscript.

			between Harold and Tostig	
7. Healing Blind men	15. Edward cures blind men		11. Edward cures blind men	15. Edward cures blind men
8. Death of Earl Godwin	10. Death of Earl Godwin			10. Death of Earl Godwin
6. Vision of Christ in the Eucharist	11. Vision of Christ in the Eucharist	4. Vision of Christ in the Eucharist		11. Vision of Christ in the Eucharist
	12. Edward's vision at dinner			12. Edward's vision at dinner
9. Vision of Seven Sleepers	13. Vision of Seven Sleepers	3. Vision of Seven Sleepers	9. Vision of Seven Sleepers	13. Vision of Seven Sleepers
10. Edward gives ring to beggar	14. Edward gives ring to beggar	5. Edward gives ring to beggar	10. Edward gives ring to beggar	14. Edward gives ring to beggar
			12. Pilgrims receive ring from St. John	
	16. Pilgrims return Edward's ring		13. Pilgrims return ring to Edward	16. Pilgrims return ring to Edward
11. Death of Edward	17. Edward's death			17. Edward's death
12. St. Wulfstan's staff	18. St. Wulfstan's staff gets stuck to Edward's tomb			18. St. Wulfstan's staff sticks to Edward's tomb
	19. St. Wulfstan's staff is removed			19. St. Wulfstan's staff is removed
				20. St. Peter enters a fisherman's boat
				21. Fisherman rows across Thames
	20. St. Peter consecrates		14. Dedication of Westminster	22. St. Peter consecrates

	Westminster Abbey		Abbey	Westminster Abbey
				23. St. Peter goes fishing
				24. Fisherman presents salmon to Bishop Mellitus
	21. Edward speaks to Abbot Richard			
	22. The founders of Westminster: King Edgar, King Edward, and Archbishop Dunstan			

APPENDIX C

Image Sequences in Henry III's Palaces

Clarendon

King's Chapel

- Sculpture of St. Edward and Cherubim (1251)
- alongside images of Mary

Chapel of All Saints

- History of St. Edward the Confessor painted in the chancel (1235-6)
- alongside crucifix, Mary and child

Clavering

Chapel

- St. Edward and St. John and the ring at the location of where this legend was supposed to have taken place

Dover Castles

Chapel

- 3 altars made in honour of St. Edmund, John the Evangelist and Edward with images

Evereswell

All Chapels

- St. Edward and the stranger panel pictures (1248)

Gillingham

Queen's Chapel

- stained glass of Edward the Confessor and Edmund King and Martyr (1252)

Guildford

Hall

- St. Edward and St. John holding a ring (1261)
- alongside Dives and Lazarus (1256), figures with beasts on king's seat (1256), stained glass of king and queen (1246)

Chapel

- St Edward and St. John holding a ring (1261)

Nottingham

White Chapel

- St. Edward and St. John and the ring

Tower of London

Chapel of St. John

- sculpture of St. Edward the Confessor giving a ring to St. John the Evangelist (1240)

- alongside stained glass of the Virgin and Child, the Trinity, and St. John the Evangelist (1240)

Winchester

King's Hall

- St. Edward (1269)
- alongside map of the world (1239), Wheel of fortune (1235-6), Stories of the Old and New Testament (1237&1241), tablet beside the king's bed of the Guardians of Solomon's bed (1250), St. George (1256), Head on dais (1246), king's arms on doors and windows (1266), stained glass of nativity of blessed Mary (1256)

Queen's Chapel

- St. Edward and the stranger (1248)
- alongside Virgin and the Child (1238), sculpture cross with Mary and John (1247), St. Christopher (1248)

Chapel of St. Thomas the martyr

- Image of St. Edward (1246)
- stained glass of St. Edward with the ring (1252)
- stained glass the majesty and under it a figure of St. Edward offering a ring (1256)
- alongside sculptures of crosses with Mary, John and two angels (1237), panel pictures of probably Thomas Becket (1241), Mary with Child, Angel and Prophets (1252)

Westminster Palace

King's Round Chapel

- The majesty of the lord and the four evangelists and the figure of St. Edmund and St. Edward on the sides (1233)

Painted Chamber

- Legend of the St. Edward and the ring on the splay of the window
- Coronation of St. Edward inscribed "CEST LE CORNEMENT SEINT EDEWARD" opposite the king's bed

Eastern Façade

- statues of St. Edward and the ring

Woodstock, Oxfordshire

Chapel

- St. Edward and Edmund painted on the walls

APPENDIX D

Figures



Fig. 1. “St. Peter talks to the fisherman (top), Consecration of Westminster Abbey (bottom),” (ca. 1300-1326). Pen on Vellum, 27 x 38 cm. In Cambridge Apocalypse MS B.10.2. Made in Westminster Abbey. Cambridge, Trinity College, James Catalogue of Western Manuscripts, James 213, fol. 44r.



Ancient Brass Reliefs, in Edward the Confessor's Chapel Westminster Abbey.

Fig. 2. "Dedication of Westminster Abbey," (ca. 1269). Sculpture in Edward the Confessor's Chapel in Westminster Abbey. Image from John Carter, *Specimens of the ancient sculpture and painting*, (London: 1780), 28.

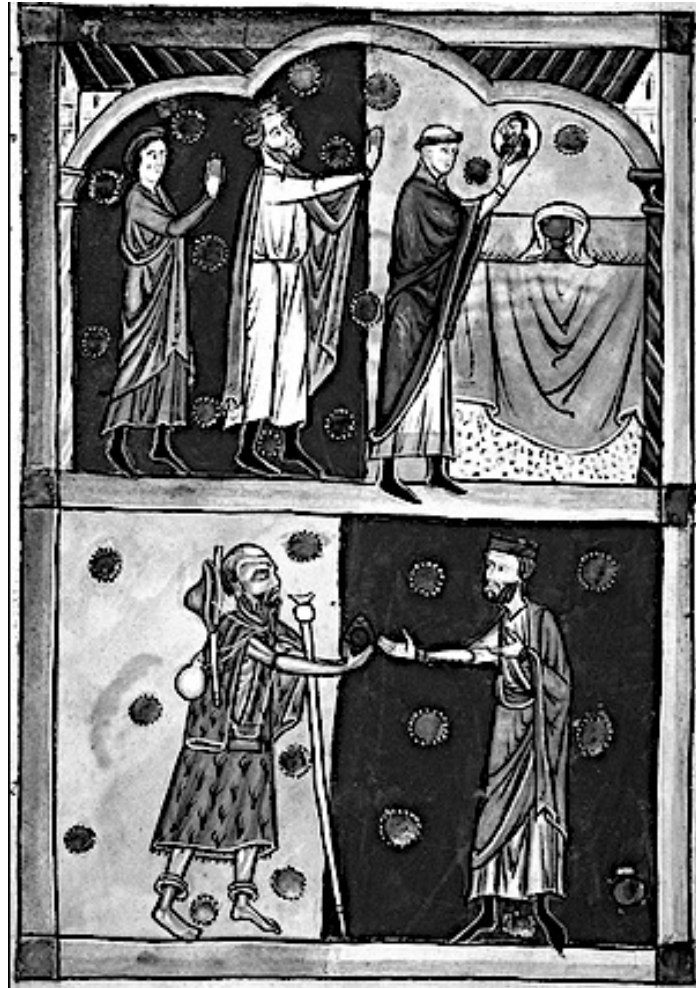


Fig. 3. "Edward the Confessor and Earl Leofric of Mercia see Christ in a Eucharist wafer (top), Edward the Confessor encounters a beggar (St. John) and gives his ring to the beggar (bottom)," (ca. 1241-1260). In *Abbreviatio of the Domesday Book*. Made in Westminster Abbey. London, The National Archives, E 36/284, fol. 3v. Image from Flicker Account of the National Archives, licensed under Creative Commons.



Fig. 4. “St. John as Pilgrim asking for alms,” (ca. 1260s). Copy of painting in the Painted Chamber at Westminster Palace, Photography by the Society of Antiquaries. Image from Paul Binski, *Westminster Abbey and the Plantagenets: Kingship and Representation of Power 1200-1400* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1995), 49.



Fig. 5. “St. Edward offering his ring to the Pilgrim,” (ca. 1260s). Copy of painting in the Painted Chamber at Westminster Palace, Photography by the Society of Antiquaries. Image from Paul Binski, *Westminster Abbey and the Plantagenets: Kingship and Representation of Power 1200-1400* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1995), 49.



Fig. 6. Matthew Paris. “Coronation of Edward the Confessor,” (ca. 1250-1252). Miniature on Vellum. In *Flores Historiarum* by Matthew Paris. Made in St. Albans. Manchester, Chetham’s Library, MS 6712, fol. 115v. Image courtesy of Bridgeman Education.



Fig. 7. "Edward dispenses justice," (ca. 1241-1260). In *Abbreviatio of the Domesday Book*. Made in Westminster Abbey. London, The National Archives, E 36/284, fol. 2v. Image from The National Archives Focus on Domesday Learning Curve Resources.



Fig. 8. “Edward heals the cripple Gillie Michael (top), Edward accuses Earl Godwin of murder (bottom),” (ca. 1300-1326). Pen on Vellum, 27 x 38 cm. In Cambridge Apocalypse MS B.10.2. Made in Westminster Abbey. Cambridge, Trinity College, James Catalogue of Western Manuscripts, James 213, fol 41r.



Fig. 9. “Coronation of St. Edward,” (ca. 1260s). Copy of painting in the Painted Chamber at Westminster Palace by Crocker. Photograph from Ashmolean Museum, Oxford. Image from Paul Binski, *Painted Chamber at Westminster* (London: Thames and Hudson, 1986), Plate II.

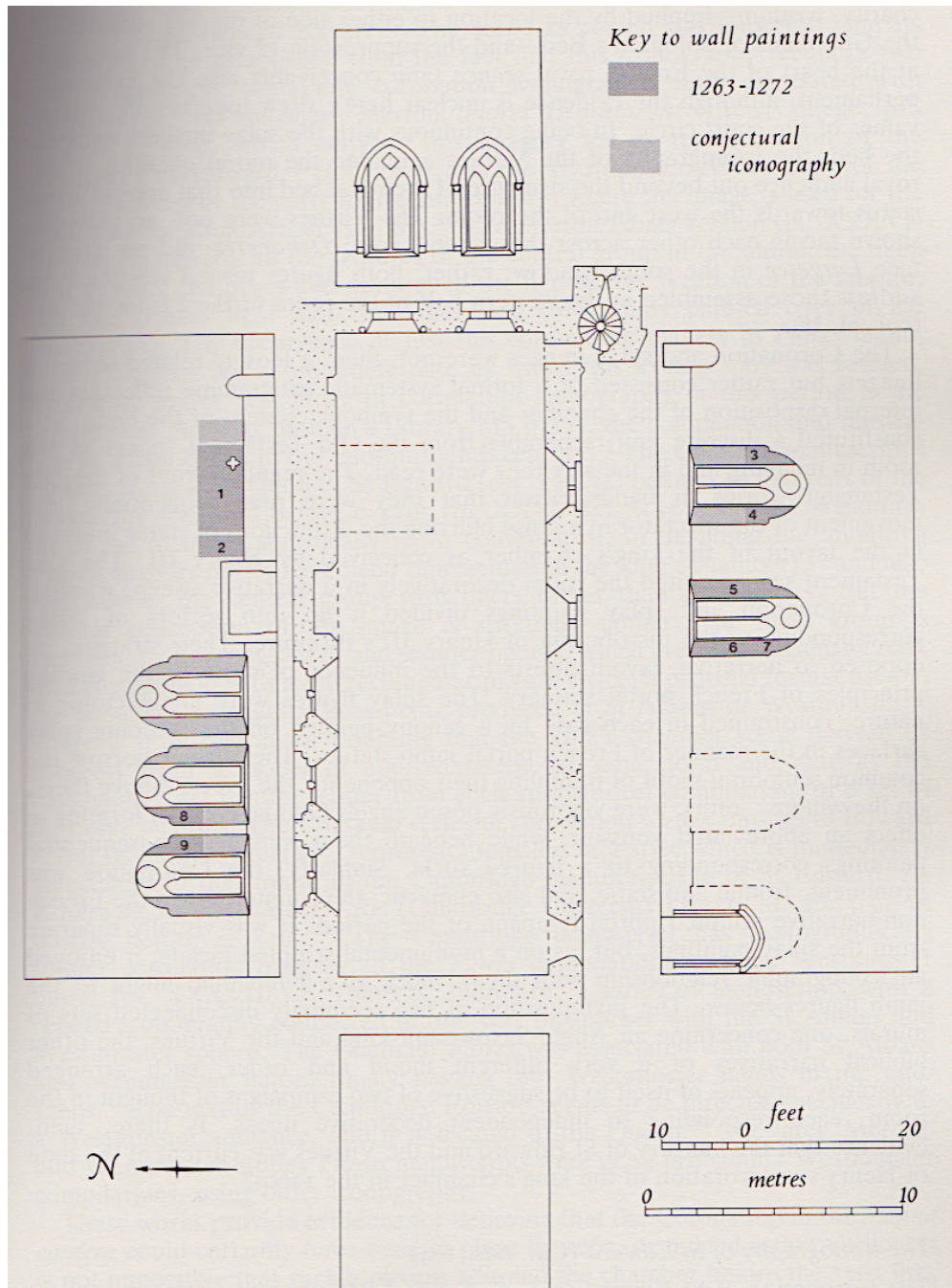


Fig.10. “Layout of Henry III’s images in the Painted Chamber,” Dotted lines indicate the king’s bed. Legend: 1. Coronation of King Edward, 2. Guardians of Solomon’s bed, 3. St. John the Pilgrim, 4. St. Edward with the Ring, 5. Largesce-Covoitise, 6. Debonereté-Ira, 7. Angel bearing a crown over Debonereté, 8. Vérité, 9. Fortitude. Image from Paul Binski, *Painted Chamber at Westminster* (London: Thames and Hudson, 1986), 37.

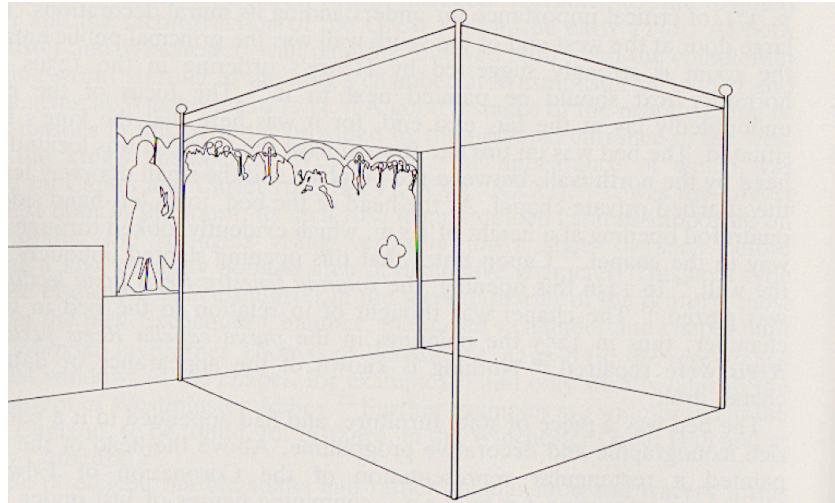


Fig. 11. “Bed in the King’s Chamber,” Image from Paul Binski, *Painted Chamber at Westminster* (London: Thames and Hudson, 1986), 14.

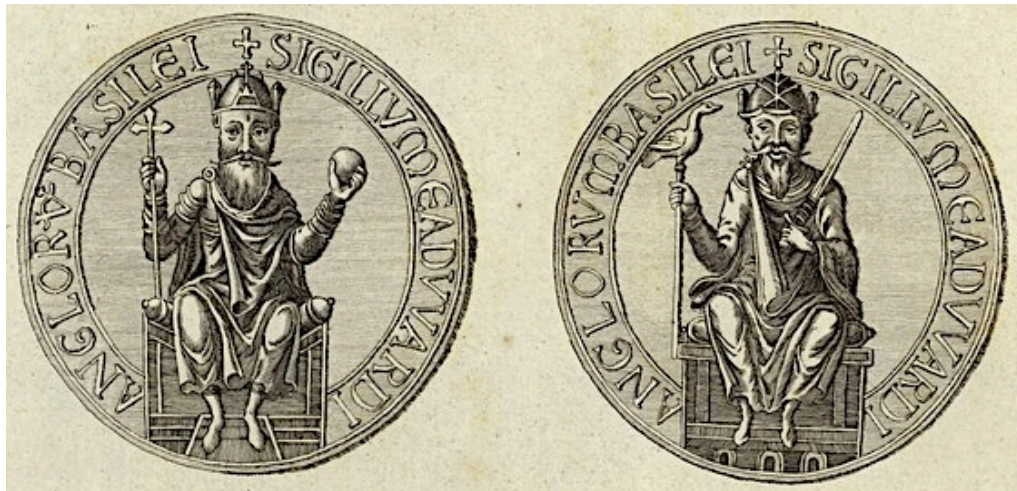


Fig. 12. “Edward the Confessor” (ca. 1800). Engraving of Edward the Confessor’s Great Seal. In *The Chronicle of England* by Joseph Strutt. Made in England. Image courtesy of Bridgeman Education.



Fig. 13. “Second Great Seal of Henry III,” (ca. 1259). Durham Cathedral, MS 1.2. Dean and Chapter of Durham. Image from Paul Binski, *Westminster Abbey and the Plantagenets: Kingship and Representation of Power* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1995), 85.



Fig. 14. “Guardian of Solomon’s Bed,” (ca. 1260s). Copy of painting in the Painted Chamber at Westminster Palace by Crocker. Photograph from Ashmolean Museum, Oxford. Image from Paul Binski, *Painted Chamber at Westminster* (London: Thames and Hudson, 1986), Plate III.



Fig. 15. “The Westminster Portrait of Richard II,” (ca. 1390s). Oil on panel. Made in England. Westminster Abbey, London. Image courtesy of Bridgeman Education.



Fig. 16. “King Edward’s vision of Christ during the elevation of the Host,” (ca. 1250-1260). Miniature on Parchment, 279 x 193 mm. In *Estoire de seint Aedward le rei*, by Matthew Paris. Made in London/Westminster. Cambridge, University Library, MS Ee.3.59, fol. 21r. Image available from the Cambridge University Digital Library.



Fig. 17. “Edward’s vision of Christ in the Eucharist (top), Edward’s vision at dinner,” (ca. 1300-1326). Pen on Vellum, 27 x 38 cm. In Cambridge Apocalypse MS B.10.2. Made in Westminster Abbey. Cambridge, Trinity College, James Catalogue of Western Manuscripts, James 213, fol 41v.



Fig. 18. “Edward heals a blind man (top), Pilgrims return the ring to Edward (bottom),” (ca. 1300-1326). Pen on Vellum, 27 x 38 cm. In Cambridge Apocalypse MS B.10.2. Made in Westminster Abbey. Cambridge, Trinity College, James Catalogue of Western Manuscripts, James 213, fol 42v.



Fig. 19. “Richard II presented to the Virgin and Child by his Patron Saint John the Baptist and Saints Edward and Edmund (‘The Wilton Diptych’),” (ca. 1395-1399). Egg tempera on oak wood, 53 x 37 cm. National Gallery, London. Image courtesy of ARTstor.

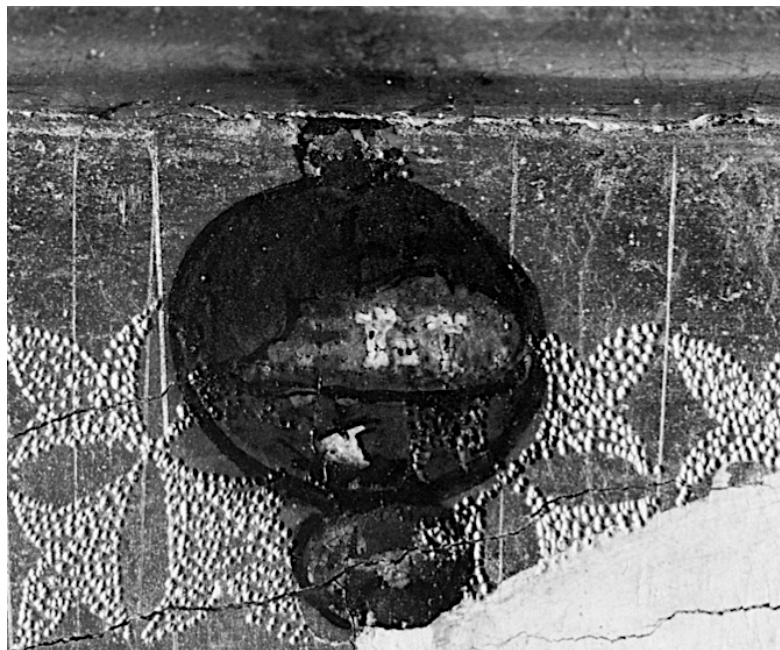


Fig. 20. “Orb of the banner in the Wilton Diptych.” Image from Dillan Gordon, “A New Discovery in the Wilton Diptych,” *The Burlington Magazine* 134, no. 1075 (1992): 664.

icone Regis ac Regine Britannorum
hoc vestium ornatu.



Amiciuntur ambo, tum liliato pa
no, tum veste leopardis picta.



Fig. 21. "King Richard II and Queen Anne of Bohemia." Engraving from S. Petrasancta, *Tesserae Gentilitiae* (ca. 1638). Image from Dillan Gordon, "A New Discovery in the Wilton Diptych," *The Burlington Magazine* 134, no. 1075 (1992): 666.

678 TESSERAE C

& Regina insuper cyclade inornatur
aquilis & auro intexta:



utrique verò consentanei indumentis



Fig. 22. "Coat of Arms of King Richard II and Queen Anne of Bohemia." Engraving from S. Petrasancta, *Tesserae Gentilitiae* (ca. 1638). Image from Dillan Gordon, "A New Discovery in the Wilton Diptych," *The Burlington Magazine* 134, no. 1075 (1992): 666.



Fig. 23. “Coat of Arms and White Hart ('The Wilton Diptych'),” (ca. 1395-1399). Egg tempera on oak wood, 53 x 37 cm. National Gallery, London. Image courtesy of Bridgeman Education.



Fig.24. “Tomb of Richard II and Anne of Bohemia,” (ca. 1395). By Nicholas Broker and Godfrey Priest. Westminster Abbey, London. Image courtesy of Bridgeman Education.

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