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The King's Three Images

The representation of St. Edward the Confessor in historiography, hagiography and liturgy

Master's thesis in history

Trondheim, fall 2012

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Cover image shows St. Edward the Confessor, illumination from MS. Royal 14 B V, a genealogical chronicle of the English kings from the last quarter of the 13th century. Courtesy of British Library

Abbreviations

A	Antiphon
Ab	Antiphona ad Benedictus
Am	Antiphona ad Magnificat
Bi	Biblical
Bn	Benediction
Cap	Capitulum
Cm	Common
Dis	Distich
H	Hymn
Hex	Hexameter
L	Lauds
Lc	Lesson
M	Matins
m	Magnificat
N	None
Or	Oration
P	Prime
Pi	Invitatory psalm
Pr	Proper
Prs	Prose
Ps	Psalm
R	Responsory
R.	Responsum
r	Repetenda
S	Sext
Sap	Sapphic stanza
T	Terce
V	Vespers
v.	responsory verse
Vs	Versicle
Vsc	Verse, syllable count, rhymed

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Preface

This is a study about the representation of St. Edward the Confessor in historiography, hagiography – and especially: *liturgy*. Both the historiographical and the hagiographical characterisation of St. Edward are, not the least due to the importance of the king in English history, already comparatively well known. Our knowledge about the liturgical side of this representation is however much more limited. This has also to do with the scarceness of the preserved liturgical material in honour of the Confessor. At the centre of this study ranges therefore the only larger collection of liturgical material in honour of St. Edward still extant. It is today housed at Westminster, Cathedral Library MS. 34, and was to be performed during the celebration of a Divine Office in honour of the Confessor.

The following study is an analysis of this material, which will be compared with the historiographical and hagiographical images of St. Edward. It is the intention of this study to complete and to improve our understanding of the representation of the Confessor with the help of this comparison.

In order to give the reader a quick orientation about sometimes rather implicate matters this study has to deal with it seems convenient to start with a summary about the contents and date of the central source (MS. Rawlinson liturg. g. 10). The material for the celebration of the Divine Office it contains, superscribed with the rubric "*in commemoratione Sancti Edwardi*", is not a full festal office, but an abbreviated one, as its structure correlates to that of an ordinary monastic ferial office. A short office of this kind could be celebrated at various occasions throughout the church year. The "moveable" character of the liturgical celebration transmitted here is further underlined through the way the office material is presented in this manuscript. We find all in all three sets of chants, lessons and prayer texts. I will call these sets henceforth *tabula 1*, *2* and *3*.

The first tabula gives the main structure of a ferial office (1ˢᵗ Vespers, two Nocturns, Lauds, minor hours). The two Nocturns include, in addition to the usual two antiphons, two alternative antiphons which could be chosen "*ad libitum*". The two other *tabulae* give lessons and responsories which could – again "*ad libitum*" – be chosen as replacements of the lessons and responsories of the first *tabula*.

The forms of the chants and the other texts of the tabulae indicate that they were probably not taken from one coherent stylistic background. In *tabula 1* the predominant verse forms for the chants are hexameter and distich (pointing to a 12th-century origin as these forms faded from fashion later).

As for *tabula 2* and *3* we find that the predominant form is the more modern "Victorine" syllable counting, rhyming verse, which became popular in the 12th century. Due to an hexameter in item M-R2 [63] of *tabula 3*, however, one might hypothesize that also the items of *tabula* 3 were com- posed during the 12th century. We cannot know whether the same applies to *tabula 2*. It seems, however, likely that the items of MS. Rawlinson were taken from at least two different chant cycles which must have been in existance in the course of the Angevin Surge (1161-89). MS. Rawlinson has been dated to the turn of the 14th century by its editor John Wickham Legg.

As for the texts of the *tabulae* no attempts have so far been made to determine when they were composed. But we are not completely without evidence. Most important in this context is the fact that the text of the hexameter responsory *Edwardus domino* in *tabula 1* (item 22 in the office edition, see Appendix II) recurs as a starting point (and theme) of the sermon *Sanctum est* of the Cistercian abbot Aelred of Rievaulx, edited by Raciti in *Aelredi Rievallensis Sermones LXXXV- CLXXXII*, volume 4 of *Aelredi Rievallensis Opera Omnia*, printed in Corpus Christianorum Continuatio Medievalis. Raciti clearly identifies the hexameters "Edwardus domino se vidit esse ditatum / A primis annis studuit vitare reatum." as a text from an *office*. He gives no reference to another *literary* text, neither by Aelred nor any other author. However, as Raciti gives no reference, we can not know whether this text was in fact sung as a responsory in the context of Aelred's sermon, or whether it was performed as a different item. What we do know is that the text of the item was composed prior to Aelred's sermon.

Aelred must have held the sermon *Sanctum est* before 1167 and – as indicated in Raciti's edition – on January 5 (which was the Confessor's most important day before the liturgical shifts of the First Plantagenet Surge, see ch. 2.4.2). Aelred's clerical listeners probably had sung the text (responsory or not) during Matins on the same day, and Aelred could therefore easily link his sermon to this chant since it was known by heart by everybody.

Aelred died on 12 January 1167 and received his last oil on January 5. He must have been too fee- ble to perform a sermon in his last month, and it is therefore likely that 5 January 1166 is the *terminus ante quem* for the composition of the responsory *Edwardus domino* [22], and – maybe – also the other hexameter-texts transmitted in MS. Rawlinson which might represent traces of the office as it was celebrated on 5 January since Edward's canonisation in 1161.[1] Raciti claims that the item was performed on October 13, but gives no evidence to support this.[2]

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[1] Bell 2004.
[2] Raciti 2012 vol. 4: 546.

Acknowledgements

For whoever lacks light knows not the direction of his journey, nor whether he progresses usefully or deviates wretchedly.
- Civitas Nusquam, motet in honour of Edward the Confessor (translated by Peter Lefferts)

My thanks go first of all to my tutor Roman Hankeln, who gave me the topic of this study, and let me develop it in the context of the EU-project "Chants that bind and break: reflections of ideology and identity in offices for the saints, from the Carolingian era to the Reformation" (http://cultsymbols.net/), housed at NTNU. (This participation included also access to literature, microfilms and a database of texts and melodies of ca. 100 saints' offices which was developed during the project. The database, "Omnium sanctorum melodiae", was developed by Roman Hankeln and based on transcriptions carried out between 1995-1999 at Institut für Musikwissenschaft, University of Regensburg. These transcriptions were undertaken in the course of the project "Die Gesänge der Heiligenoffizien des Mittelalters", led by David Hiley.) I also thank him for correcting my Latin translations when that has been necessary. I have taken a basic course in Latin at NTNU in the autumn of 2010 and I'm currently taking courses in Latin grammar and poetry, so at times I have required some assistance in this matter. Aside from my tutor, there are also many other individuals who deserve thanks for their help, assistance, support, suggestions and company during my MA studies. Without them, my thesis would have been significantly poorer in substance.

I would like to thank Margaret Hiley for proofreading my text, and Emily O'Brien for giving me access to her PhD dissertation on Edward the Confessor. I am truly grateful for their time and generosity.

At NTNU I have benefitted from a thriving academic milieu, wherein I've been able to discuss my work with fellow medievalists and thereby strenghtening my work. I am particularly indebted to post doc Sebastian Salvado for his experience and generosity, and to PhD candidates David Bregaint and Ian Grohse for their invaluable support. Likewise I owe much thanks to my fellow MA students, especially Terje Breigutu Moseng for his assistance and suggestions, Ingrid Lunnan for feedback and discussions and Susann Anett Pedersen for support and reading tips.

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Steffen Hope, Nidrosia, *dies natalis Sancti Alberti magni*, 2012

Contents

Chapter 1 - introduction

Beyond all the civilizations (...) of the earth, England is renowned for the sanctity of her kings.
- Aelred of Rievaulx, The Life of Saint Edward, King and Confessor*: 126 (transl. Jane P. Freeland)*

1.1 - The task at hand

The medieval kingdom of England could boast of more saintly kings than any other realm in Christendom, at least if we trust the words of the hagiographer Aelred of Rievaulx (1110-67). One of the most prominent of these royal saints was Edward the Confessor (r.1042-66), considered by some the last Anglo-Saxon king, hailed throughout the Middle Ages as a just law-giver, the focal point for numerous medieval narratives and subject to a devotion of deceptive longevity. This study will revolve around the characterisation of Edward as constructed in the various surviving texts, and its emphasis will be twofold: my primary concern is to explore how St. Edward the Confessor's images were constructed, i.e. how he is represented in the various texts written about him. The secondary concern is how these textual categories interact and how they affect each other, i.e. the relationship between historiography, hagiography and liturgy. To explore how liturgy ties into historiography and hagiography is comparatively new, and the figure of Edward has not previously been pursued in this manner. A somewhat similar study for the construction of the cult of St. Louis has been undertaken by Marianne Cecilia Gaposchkin and her work has been an important methodological starting point.

To arrive at a satisfactory conclusion to these questions, several aspects need to be taken into account. First of all: how did the cult of Edward evolve throughout the High Middle Ages and in what way can its longevity be called deceptive? What are the historiographical and hagiographical sources for the Confessor's characterisation and how do these sources relate? In what way can we use liturgy as a source for the cult and characterisation of Edward the Confessor? All these questions must be grappled with before we can say anything about the king's liturgical image, and for that matter his historiographical and hagiographical images.

The first set of questions will be dealt with in chapter two, where I trace the development of Edward's standing from his death in 1066 to 1399, the year marking the end of the cult's last devotional pinnacle.[3] These questions are only important in order to provide a background for the

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[3] The cult of Edward the Confessor did not end in 1399. Throughout the 15th century new renditions of Edward's life were composed (see Pezzini 2009: 30ff). Two of these, a short prose life and a poetic life both written in Middle English were published by Grace Edna Moore (see Moore 1942). Edward featured also, naturally, in John Capgrave's chronicle (See Hingeston 1858: 127, 174-75). An anonymous 15th-century verse *vita* found in MSS Selden, 55 and Digby, 186 was printed by Luard (Luard 1858: 361-377.) And the chronicler Adam Usk (c.1350-1430) may have used a miracle of ringing bells at St. Edward's shrine in 1400 to point a critical finger at the new king Henry IV (Given-Wilson 1997:

subsequent discussion. The second set of questions will be tackled in chapter three, where I explore these images by looking at the sources and how the representation develops or stagnates throughout this period. The third set of questions will be addressed in the fourth chapter where I explore the representation of Edward the Confessor in the liturgical material in detail, although liturgy as a source for the development of the cult will already be an important aspect in chapter 2. It is important to note that this paper is concerned solely with the Confessor constructed after King Edward's death, a figure of half-legend embellished by medieval historians to suit their various purposes. The historical Edward - or the Edward constructed by modern historians[4] - is consequently of no importance to my study and will not be taken into account. Rather, I will look at how the "legendary" Edward shaped the historical representation.

1.2. - Methodology

At the heart of this study lies the conceit of the king's three images. Like all conceits, this corresponds imperfectly to reality and is predominantly a ploy for making sense of a complex web of historical matter. The purpose of this conceit is first of all to illustrate the three key aspects of representations of royal saints: historiography, hagiography and liturgy. In these three categories - or genres, to indulge in a slight anachronism - royal saints, and men and women of royal stock who became saints, were celebrated or memorialised in similar yet different ways. To better understand the depth and breadth of this celebration, we must explore these three categories as distinct but interdependent aspects of a saint's cult. Through an exploration of textual evidence we may arrive at a better understanding of how a saint's devotees viewed him or her, and how they sought to express that view.

These three categories are interdependent, they are tied into the methodology of literary studies and they all express, as Coué (1996) says, the same understanding of reality.[5] It is, however, methodologically necessary to investigate each of the branches individually in order to engage with the various texts on their own terms, which differ somewhat. This is particularly pertinent when grappling with liturgy, which is the most distinct of the genres because its texts were not composed for mere reading but to be performed with music in a set ritual. This ritual was - and is - communally celebrated. It is a celebration of a saint within the confines of the church space, and the authors are

lxvi-lxvii and 117). In addition kings such as Henry V (see 4.1, n. 385) and Henry VI (see 3.5.2, n. 314) both left behind evidence of devotion, while Henry VII invoked Edward (among other saints) in his will (see Mortimer 2009b: 40. It must be added that Henry VI, according to the anonymous lyric "Speed Our King on his Journey", invoked the Confessor before commencing his journey to France in 1430, but the Confessor is only one among many, many saints listed and is of no importance in this matter (Riches 2000: 113). For the purpose of this study, however, these elements are of little concern as the liturgy I investigate was composed before 1400 and therefore needs only to be compared with what came before the deposition of Richard II. What came after 1400 must be acknowledged and I have included references where I have deemed it pertinent, but this is merely for the sake of a fuller picture, not because the references have any bearing on my conclusion.

[4] Grace Edna Moore correctly points out that "[t]here are two Edwards, the Edward of history and the Edward of legend, the two figures at once different and alike, distinct and inseparable." See Moore 1942: vii.

[5] Coué 1996: 8 (for literary methodology) and 19 (for the understanding of reality).

rarely known but rather subsumed into the liturgical repertoire of its house. Liturgy is specifically linked to the other two categories, in that extracts from the *vitae* were recited in the Divine Office, and thus hagiography - and in some cases historiography by extension - was tied to a set ritual for recitation, albeit for recitation specifically within the liturgical space.

Furthermore, historiography and hagiography must be approached differently when it comes to methodology, even if it is true that recent scholarship has emphasised the similarities between these two categories. Felice Lifshitz expressed this very poignantly when stating that the dissimilarities, between the genres are "trivial and anachronistic and we might do well to avoid attempting to essentialize these as different genres."[6] This is an important point. Since both categories grapple with historical matter - as indeed does liturgy[7] - they share some important features[8]. One of the most significant of these is their didactic purpose. By holding forth examples of good and bad behaviour from ages past, the historian and hagiographer sought to educate their audience in proper a Christian way of life[9] by using examples from "a common stock of cultural knowledge".[10] The authors of these narratives were predominantly clergymen (secular or regular), although laymen could at times take a swing at it (like Thomas Gray's *Scalachronica*), and there was no set ritual for the reading, with the exception of recitation from the *vitae* in the Divine Office. Historiography and hagiography are both categories of history, which in turn was considered a discipline "under the general aegis of grammar",[11] and required careful attention to rhetoric.[12] There was, in other words, a certain fluidity of genres, and this is exemplified clearly by *Vita Ædwardi Regis*, which contains several hagiographic features, but does not employ these strictly enough to be considered a hagiography.

However, the similarities between these genres have not always been addressed by scholars. At the turn of the 20th century, hagiography was considered different from historiography because very little could be gleaned from it in terms of facts. Even Hippolyte Delehaye, one of the first scholars to give hagiography serious attention,[13] stated clearly that there was a distinciton between the two.[14] Even today we are well advised to keep in mind what separates these two categories. The major differences are as follows: historiography deals primarily with the secular and its protagonist is the

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[6] Lifshitz 1994: 915-113. Paraphrased by Paul Geary in Geary 2006: 325.
[7] See Hannick 1994: 179.
[8] Henri de Lubac speaks of a theology of history which puts the society and the individual, the temporal and the eternal, the historical and the spiritual reality in connection with Scripture (Coué 1996: 11). This illustrates the medival understanding of history very well.
[9] "Should history tell of good men and their good estate, the thoughtful listener is spurred on to imitate the good" - McClure and Collins 2008: 3. As the editors point out this was a "commonplace of the classical form" of historical writing (Ibid: 358).
[10] Given-Wilson 2004: 167.
[11] Heffernan 1992: 66. Heffernan also states that this division was not one perceived in the Middle Ages and he points to Hincmar of Rheims as evidence for this (Ibid: 68).
[12] Waugh 2004: 202.
[13] Coué 1996: 2-3 and 19.
[14] Delehaye 1955: 3-4.

hero,[15] while hagiography is concerned with the spiritual and has the saint as its focal point.[16] Both figures, hero and saint, can be seen as representatives of opposing world views in principle.[17]

These thematic and stylistic peculiarities have persuaded me to commit an indiscretion of anachronism for the sake of clarity, and treat hagiography and historiography as separate genres. I also use the term "hagiography" despite Thomas Heffernan's statement that this is now a dated and imprecise term, and should be abandoned in favour of "sacred biography".[18] As much as I agree with Heffernan on this point, I favour the term "hagiography" here because it allows me to arrange the material in a more orderly way, and it allows me to group together texts that were unequivocally intended as hagiographies. In the sections below, the categories will be addressed as distinct genres, and I hope the reader will bear with me on these accounts.

1.2.1 - Historiography as a genre

Modern historical research differentiates (among others) between two approaches to history in the Middle Ages which were both modelled on the Bible. These approaches are known in German scholarship as *Heilsgeschichte* and *Weltreichslehre*.[19] The former was that of Augustine, for example, who sought to express the overarching narrative of history, moving from Creation to Judgment Day, and was concerned with God's work and the deeds of the holy. The second approach was that of Augustine's disciple Orosius, who was concerned with the passing of empires - *translatio imperii* - chiefly modelled on the Old Testament, particularly the Books of Kings and the Chronicles.20 This "theory of succeeding reigns" was often placed within the eschatological framework of *Heilsgeschichte*.21 In addition to the Jewish origin of Christian historiography, there was also another line of influence, pertaining to form and rhetoric, which had its roots in the classical Roman literature - particularly Virgil and Lucan - and in the later work of Eusebius.22

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[15] See for instance Heizmann 2010: 111-13. Although the literature on Olav Tryggvasson eventually turned him into a messianic precursor, his youthful escapades were consistently presented in terms of the Viking, the pagan hero. Other protagonists of historiography were also hailed for their military prowess, such as Geoffrey of Monmouth's Arthur.

[16] Early scholarship argued that the saint was only a Christianised version of the pagan hero, but Delehaye claimed that although there were similarities, the cult of saints was not simply a pagan reversal (Delehaye 1955: 126-31).

[17] «Aufgrund ihrer genealogischen Herkunft und privilegierten Erwählung können antike Helden praktisch gar nicht anders, als im Diesseits Außerordentliches zu leisten. Sie siegen, unterwerfen, herrschen und werden so zu mitunter als Heroen selbst zum Gott (see Speyer 1990: 52). Die Heiligen, vor allem die der ersten christlichen Jahrhunderte, sind im Vergleich dazu wahre Antihelden und –Heldinnen. Aus ihrer Christusnachfolge heraus stellen sie dem weltlichen Ruhm und Recht des Stärkeren die sittlichen Perspektiven der Demut, des Gewaltverzichts, der Nächstenliebe entgegen. Dafür nehmen sie das Scheitern in der Welt in Kauf: Sie werden verfolgt, gefoltert, getötet – um Christi willen. Immer bleiben sie Geschöpf, niemals werden sie selbst zum Gott (see Speyer 1990: 63)." Hankeln forthcoming (a).

[18] Heffernan 1992: 15. It should, however, be noted that hagiographies were rarely very biographical in a strict sense, and in his review of Osbert's *Vita II* Gordon Hall Gerould points out that it is not "of much value as biography." (See Gerould 1924: 442). Hippolyte Delehaye also made the distinction that for a work to be hagiographical it "must be confined to writings inspired by religious devotion to the saints and intended to increase that devotion" (Delehaye 1955: 3). Cecilia Gaposchkin correctly points out that this also entails liturgical material (Gaposchkin 2010: 12-13).

[19] Kretschmer 2007: 232.

[20] Harris 2011: 85-88).

[21] Kretschmer 2007: 232.

[22] Haskins 1968: 224-29.

The prime purpose of the medieval historiographer was, as mentioned, to educate his audience through examples from history. The historiographer committed to truth, and it was a common topos of historical prologues to assure the reader that the author had done his best to conform to this expectation.[23] This was not, however, the objective truth prompted by blind facts as is the case in the modern paradigm, but a truth "in which the overall effect of history superseded the accuracy of historical details."[24] Medieval historical truth was allegorical and served to trace God's fingerprint in history - of which the saint was an example - making history subject to "the same rules of interpretations as scripture."[25] Consequently historical figures were interpreted and understood against a biblical backdrop; they were compared to men and women from Scripture and in this way were placed in a truth that was God's. It was to this truth medieval writers were committed, and sometimes achieving this required the reorganisation or doctoring of facts to achieve. This was the historical method of that day and age.[26] This also entails that while teaching about virtues and vices *per exemplum*, the historian was making sense of historical affairs within the Christian exegetical super-narrative in which God actively participated, and that would find its conclusion on Judgment Day.[27] The medieval historian's task was, in other words, to arrange known material in a way that made sense under an overarching religious perspective.[28]

Historical narratives could also have an additional purpose, namely to glorify a text's patron and provide him or her with textual evidence for greatness. The 11th-century *Encomium Emmae Reginae* is a good example of a work created to enhance a patron's standing: in this work the author portrays Emma, Harthacnut and Edward in a harmonious and loving trinity of rulership, but this "image does not simply describe reality; it was designed to conjure it."[29] The same can be said of the *Vita Ædwardi*, which will be dealt with in greater detail in chapter 3.3.2. History could also provide a patron with legitimacy, which was why William de Jumièges invented the historical fiction that Edward had appointed the Conqueror as his heir,[30] and it was for a similar purpose Henry II encouraged Wace to compose a Norman counterpart to the *Roman de Brut* in the 1160s.[31]

This also illustrates that the audience of historical texts could be as varied as the stylistic

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[23] Gransden 1992: 126. See also "*Proprium est historici veritati intendere, (…) actus, mores vitamque ipsius quam describit veraciter edocere*," Stubbs 1879, vol. I: 87.

[24] Waugh 2004: 200.

[25] Geary 2006: 326. Geary is here paraphrasing Hans-Werner Goetz. See also Given-Wilson 2004: 1.

[26] Cf. Southern 1970: 187.

[27] Given-Wilson 2004: 22. For our subject, this is very pertinent when considering the Confessor's deathbed prophecy, which was interpreted differently throughout the Middle Ages. For a good summary see Barlow 1962: 88.

[28] Coué 1996: 9.

[29] Stafford 1997: 29. The *Encomium* can be called, to use a phrase of Richard Southern's, a secular biography, a work not intended to propagate a saint's cult (for Southern's use see Southern 1970: 183).

[30] Van Houts 2003, vol. II: 159. For more on Edward's role in the Norman Conquest see Barlow 1971.

[31] "Even in the 1160s, when Wace began his work, some English lords were still refusing to accept the right of William the Conqueror and his successors to the throne of England" (Burgess 2004: xi).

features they incorporated. Histories could be written for the court and for the cloister,[32] for men and women, for people who mastered Latin or people who only used the vernacular. But historians "did not write for a 'public' audience", but for one particular group of either clerics, courtiers, kings, queens or noblemen.[33]

Having assessed some of the various conventions of historiography we must turn to the question of how to deal with these texts as source material. Given the biases inherent in historical writing and the slight tendency to reduce historical characters to allegorical figures, medieval historiographies are first and foremost interesting for what they say about the tastes and tendencies of the times in which they were written. Consequently, in my study I have used historical chronicles, *gestae* and the like to map Edward's standing throughout the High Middle Ages by focusing on how and to what extent he is represented. For instance, I have used William of Malmesbury's *Gesta Regum Anglorum* to explore how Edward was considered in the 1120s, not to determine the Confessor's actual historical character. Since medieval historians were often very derivative, copying sections from older works into their own verbatim, one must be cautious in using books heavily reliant on older sources. I have tried my best to distinguish between original and derivative material.

1.2.2 - Hagiography as genre

While the *exempla* of historiography can be found within the common history of mankind and God, the *exempla* of hagiography is centred around the common history of the saint and God. This further enhances the christomimesis of hagiography, for the scope of hagiography is similar to that of the New Testament, while the scope of historiography is similar to that of the Old Testament. The effect is that idealism and realism are unevenly distributed between the two categories, historiography having a more realistic focus, hagiography a more idealistic or normative.[34] While historiography to a great extent was modelled on the historical works of the Old Testament, hagiography was more aligned with the New Testament - particularly the Gospels - in that the work focused on the pious life of an individual and his or her Christian way of life. In this sense we may say that the genre of hagiography was more aware of its origins, since the life of the saint was carefully modelled on the life of Christ through the saint's *imitatio Christi*. The deeds of the saints were, consequently, actions sanctioned by the example of Christ, by Scripture, and since saints' lives were stories of emulation, hagiography became a genre of leitmotifs and stock characters where the individual was dressed up as an archetype.[35] In medieval parameters this increased the attractiveness of the saint, because he or she was then likened to virtuous forebears from whom he or she drew strength and fame, indicating that

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[32] Chris Given-Wilson points to Matthew Paris as a man who wrote for different audiences. His *Chronica Majora* was inteded for St. Albans only, while *Flores Historiarum* had a wider dissemination (Given-Wilson 2004: 77)
[33] Given-Wilson 2004: xx-xxi.
[34] By "realistic" I mean of course according to medieval reality, not that of our own times.
[35] Heffernan 1992: 18.

the saint was particularly aligned with the virtues of God and deserving of a place in Heaven. This is alien to modern individualism, but it makes perfect sense in the medieval mindscape.

Of course, this does not mean that hagiography did not allow for particularities: after all, the saints did inhabit their own contemporaneity and interacted with individuals of their own times. Nor does it mean that every hagiography is the same or that the genre remained static. Indeed, precisely one of the most interesting aspects of the Edward hagiographies is to see how Osbert and Aelred went about their different ways to represent Edward, and how this was affected by the various audiences they sought. It is also interesting to note that these hagiographies were both written at a time when several saints attracted renewed interest from hagiographers and patrons.[36]

When it comes to aim the hagiographer had, roughly speaking, two prime motives for writing his work. On the one hand there was the desire to educate his audience in Christian virtues. The didacticism of the hagiographer, however, was a particular christomimetic didacticism, meaning that Christ "was the single authenticating norm for all action" in the story.[37] There is also the question of who comprised the hagiographer's audience. According to André Vauchez, the moral message of hagiographies was primarily intended for, or at least meditated upon, by the clergy, who saw in the virtues of saints a contrast to their own inadequacies.[38] The miracles of hagiography - the proof that the virtuous life had indeed paid off - were probably more directed at the laity.

The second purpose of the hagiographer was to establish or propagate a cult. By furnishing a king with a biography of virtues and miracles and a memorable exit, the hagiographer provided evidence for sanctity. This could be done out of personal devotion, which was probably the case with Osbert of Clare who wrote his *vita* of Edward after being cured from a quartan fever. At other times, however, there may have been economic or political incentives, and in Aelred of Rievaulx's *vita* we see how the hagiographer, by dedicating the book to King Henry II, cautiously instructed him in how a proper Christian king should behave towards the church.

Another difference between hagiography and historiography can be found in the respective style and structure. Both genres encompassed a wide range of styles, such as verse, prose or prosimetrum,[39] but the structure of hagiography revolved around a particular repetitive mimetic structure, and it drew from a "thesaurus of established approved actions" to incorporate into the stories.[40] In other words, the hagiographer was more concerned with thaumaturgy, visions, prophecies

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[36] "(...) especially in the eleventh and twelfth centuries (...) saints were furnished with new copies of their lives and miracles, new liturgies, and stunning shrines of gold". Abou-el-Haj 1994: 1.
[37] Heffernan 1992: 5.
[38] Vauchez 2005: 530-32.
[39] Rigg 1992: 14-15.
[40] Heffernan 1992: 6. Heffernan ascribes this structure to the idea that hagiography was originally intended for the illiterate. This may have been true of the infancy of hagiography, but it is likely that the genre quickly shifted its focus to educating the clergy rather than the laity, as expressed by Vauchez (Vauchez 2005: 530-32).

and virtues, than the martial deeds of kings and knights. The saint was a hero of faith, a hero of spiritual battles rather than secular battles.

Due to the difference in aim and structure I have found it appropriate to distinguish between historiography and hagiography. There is, however, one additional reason why I have chosen this modus operandi. In my study, the most important aspect of hagiographic texts is the following: while historiography tells us how Edward was viewed by historians as a historical character, the hagiographic texs become tools for gauging how Edward was venerated and how he was represented by those who were committed to his cult. Hagiography thus becomes a tool of mapping devotion and the development of a cult, while historiography can only give us - often very small - glimpses of his general standing, not his veneration.

1.2.3 - Liturgy as genre

Another reason for differentiating between hagiography and historiography is that the former genre was closely related to liturgy. Both liturgy and hagiography were devotional, and liturgical texts drew their material from the Bible and - in the case of saints' offices - from the hagiographical repertoire, although texts were reformulated to fit the poetic requirements of liturgy. In this way hagiography affected the liturgy by providing a textual stock which liturgists could gather from, but because of this relationship hagiographers could frame their texts to ease the transition from one genre to the next.[41]

Liturgy was and is a performance of veneration and commemoration, and in liturgical texts we find that "the essence of the liturgical celebration is crystallized, and often, it seems, the most distinctive characteristics of the saint are emphasized."[42] It is, in other words, here that we find the core of a saint's cult, and it is here we may suppose to find the most condensed and poignant representation of a saint, distilled from the hagiographic material and poetically rendered to suit the medium of music. The musical accompaniment is also critical to the understanding of how a cult was performed. Cecilia Gaposchkin states that "all liturgy was explicitly commemorative" and a saint's office "formed the canonical and communal memory of a religious community or institution" of a particular saint.[43] The liturgical image, therefore, was a condensed version of the other two images that, through the mnemonic qualities of musical performance, latched on to the thesaurus of scripture by way of textual imitation, whereby a subtext could be invoked by a select choice of words.[44] As a result, liturgy differs from hagiography in that its evocation of biblical forebears is more subtle and goes deeper than the mere similarities of characterisation.

Due to their combination of text and music, liturgical sources can provide important evidence of how saints were interpreted and how this interpretation evolved and varied throughout the medieval

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[41] Heffernan 2001: 74.
[42] Hughes 1993a: 375.
[43] Gaposchkin 2010: 15.
[44] Gaposchkin 2010: 16.

period.[45] Unfortunately the surviving office material for Edward the Confessor does not allow such an exploration, since it is very fragmentary and most of it can only be found in a manuscript from c.1400 wherein texts of different provenance seem to have been put together. Almost no notated music proper to the liturgy of St. Edward survives.

When investigating these various texts, the matter of audiences has been important. As we have seen above, historical narratives were written for patrons who would read the text or have it read to them, and this added what we may call a potential political dimension, meaning that through the historical narratives the authors - or even the patrons - could seek to exact political influence, either by way of educating the reader (persuading him or her to emulate the protagonist of the narrative), or by way of constructing a narrative that would portray the patron in a favourable light. Liturgical texts, however, were not directed at a worldly patron, although - as we shall see in chapter four - worldly patrons did engage in the liturgical celebration and were not impervious to the liturgical messages. The texts themselves, however, were performed with music, either through singing in the proper sense, or through the recitation of lessons, psalms or prayers, and the messages of the texts were directed to God, the saint - the heavenly patron and intercessor whom God favoured and listened to - and the celebrating community of choristers This is not to say that liturgy did not have a political aspect, it did.[46] However, since the texts in question have been handed down to us in a fragmentary state without any firm proof of date, we can not make any statements pertaining to the concrete political agenda which may have existed at the time of their composition, and consequently this will not be a crucial part of my thesis. Instead I will be examining the texts to see how they represent Edward and how this representation relates to the images of historiography and hagiography.

1.2.4 - What the images can tell

The ultimate purpose of this comparative study of the king's three images is to explore how the figure of Edward the Confessor was treated in three medieval textual arenas. Prior scholarship has already dealt with the areas of historiography and hagiography to some extent, but through a focus on the office material - the ritual core of St. Edward's cult - I hope to unveil a third area in the veneration of Edward and in this way enhance our current understanding of how Edward was viewed, received and represented in the Middle Ages. The king's three images, in other words, will collectively serve as a looking-glass in which we can see a fuller picture of St. Edward's cult.

1.3 - Points of comparison

The cult of Edward did not come about or evolve in a vacuum, but was subject to historical

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[45] Gaposchkin 2010: 14.

[46] "Liturgy transported the ideology and theology of rulership as seen by the episcopate but also as they were taken up by medieval rulers when they involved themselves in liturgy, thereby instrumentalizing it in a political sense and on their own terms." - Hankeln 2009a: 4.

vicissitudes in which other saints' cults also played a part. To better understand Edward's place in the grand scheme of things, it will sometimes be necessary to refer to saints who either share certain features with Edward or who affected his cult. To embark on a comprehensive comparative analysis of these saints and their cults would require a thesis of its own and I am therefore prevented from going into greater depth on this matter. Instead I will list the most important saints and address a few reasons why they are important.

The canonisation of Edward the Confessor - as we shall see - came about in an age marked by complex ecclesio-political struggles and a time of transition from a Gregorian to a post-Gregorian church that saw the gradual sacralisation of lordship, resulting in a wave of new royal saints.[47] This was heralded by Eugene III's canonisation of the German emperor Heinrich II in 1146, but gained momentum first in the schism of the 1160s, and in this decade the following saints were added to the *sanctorale*: Edward the Confessor (1161), Charlemagne (1165, by antipope Paschal III)[48] and Knut Lavard (1169).[49] Both Charlemagne and Knut Lavard offer interesting comparisons with the cult of Edward the Confessor due to the positions of their royal supporters and their treatment by the papacy,[50] while Heinrich is of interest because he belongs to the same category: the royal confessor, a saint-type that became more prevalent throughout the 12th century and which also includes Kunigunde (c. 1200) and Louis of France (d. 1270, c. 1297).[51] As a royal saint of Anglo-Saxon origin Edward shares also some similarities with Edmund[52] and Oswald of Northumbria, in particular the former who remained one of the most popular saints in England throughout our period, and who frequently was depicted in tandem with the Confessor.[53] Olaf of Norway is similarly of interest since he was a royal saint who became important to the Norwegian royalty.[54] Three final saints of

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[47] This led Otto Meyer to call the 12th century the century of holy kings. See Johanek 1987: 77. For the transition in the church see Morris 1989: 177. See also Johanek 1987.

[48] According to Jürgen Petersohn the translation of Edward served as a model for Barbarossa's translation of Charlemagne in 1165 (Johanek 1987: 86).

[49] In addition Alexander III canonised Helena of Skövde c.1164 came from an aristocratic background. See Schimmelpfennig 1994: 94.

[50] This is especially the case with Knut Lavard. The trajectories of the two canonisations - including the texts of the canonisation bulls and the fact that the decisions were made by a pope in council, not by a synod - were remarkably similar (Bergsagel 2009: 54 and Bergsagel 2010: xviii-xix). For Charlemagne see Petersohn 1994: 108ff.

[51] Folz 1984: 69. As Cecilia Gaposchkin points out the royal confessor remained popular in the image of royal sanctity favoured by Cistercians well into the 13th century and this had ramifications for the Cistercian liturgical office of St. Louis from the turn of the 1200s, an office emphasising the piety and devotion of Louis rather than his regal capacities. Gaposchkin 2008: 129-31.

[52] Edmund's cult grew significantly in the 11th and 12th centuries. Bozoky 2009: 178.

[53] It must be emphasised, however, that Edward was an Anglo-Saxon king, but not an Anglo-Saxon saint as he was venerated under the aegis of Angevin and Plantagenet kings. His place in the line of Anglo-Saxon kings, however, was of great importance in the hagiographical discourse. See Bozoky 2009: 178.

[54] Oswald, Edmund and Olav are of course exceptional members of this collegium since they had already enjoyed a significant cult before the 12th century as martyrs of Christ. Nonetheless Edmund's importance on what we may call a "national" level in England was of significant longevity and makes a good point of comparison with the Confessor's cult. As for Olav Haraldsson, he was listed in the *sanctorale* as early as in 1031, but it was in the 12th century his cult first gained a level of sophistication similar to - and inspired by - the processes that caused so many new royal saints to come about. For this process see Iversen 2000: 401-29.

importance are Canute IV of Denmark (martyred in 1086, canonised already in 1099),[55] George, who became patron saint of England in 1350,[56] and Thomas Becket whose cult had severe ramifications for that of Edward.[57]

1.4 - Literature: an overview

Since Edward was positioned at a watershed in English history, and since he is the subject of a significant body of medieval literature,[58] he has been the focal point for a vast corpus of excellent scholarship in the past century and a half, and to which I am vastly indebted. A number of historians have researched various aspects of the Confessor, either with a focus on the Anglo-Saxon king[59] or the high medieval saint,[60] approaching the task via a range of subdisciplines under the collective umbrella known as medieval history. Before diving into the subject, therefore, I find it necessary to give an overview of existing scholarship.

1.4.1 - The *vitae* of Edward the Confessor

The key texts to Edward's cult are the three Latin *vitae* written in the period 1066-1163. These will be discussed in detail in chapter 3, but must nonetheless be introduced here as much of the scholarship on Edward has revolved around them.[61]

Vita 1 - The oldest text is a "formal Latin encomium"[62] finished shortly after the Conquest, known as *Vita Ædwardi qui apud Westmonasterium requiescit* (BHL 2421, c.1065-70, henceforth referred to as *Vita I*). It has survived in one single, mutilated manuscript, the MS. 526 in the Harleian collecton in the British Museum, and was first published by Henry Richards Luard in the series "The Chronicles and Memorials of Great Britain and Ireland during the Middle Ages".[63] In 1962 it was issued in a facing page translation by Frank Barlow, with an emended edition published by Clarendon Press in 1992.[64] *Vita I* has engendered a number of studies, in part because the issues of authorship and date

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[55] Farmer 2004: 90.

[56] Samantha Riches claims that George did not supplant Edward as patron of England but the English king (Riches 2000: 102-03.)

[57] See Ch. 2.3.3.

[58] The most comprehensive list of Edwards' lives can be found in Pezzini 2009. This list, however, does not deal with Edward's position in historiography.

[59] Most of the scholarship on Edward has grappled with his literary heritage, but there are also a number of important studies attempting to explore Edward the King. The most important of these are: Freeman 1867-78 (6 vols.); Barlow, Frank, *Edward the Confessor*, University of California Press, 1984 (who points out Freeman's unreliability on page xxiii); Barlow, Frank, *The Feudal Kingdom of England 1042-1216*, Longman, 1999; Rex 2008; Mortimer, 2009a.

[60] For Edward's canonisation see Scholz 1961. For the cult under Henry III see Carpenter 2007. For the cult under Richard II see Lewis 2002.

[61] One of the publications broadest in range is Jordan 1995. This study explores all the Latin *vitae* and two vernacular lives, and looks at how they promote kingship and ideas of government. Another important study is O'Brien 2001, which maps Edward's popularity in our period.

[62] Binski 1995: 54.

[63] Luard 1858.

[64] Barlow 1992. The textual references to *Vita I* will be from this edition, but when it comes to paratext I have used both

are unknown to us and therefore contested.[65]

Vita II - The second text is *Vita Beati Eadwardi Regis* (BHL 2422 - henceforth *Vita II*) written by Osbert of Clare (d. c.1158), prior at Westminster Abbey, c.1138. The only modern edition of this work was published by Marc Bloch in 1923,[66] but parts of it have been translated by Barlow and included in his edition of *Vita I* for the purpose of filling in the blanks. The most comprehensive explorations of this text have been carried out by Victoria Jordan, Emily O'Brien and Joanna Huntingdon.[67]

Vita III - *Vita Sancti Edwardi* (BHL 2423, henceforth *Vita III*) was written by Aelred of Rievaulx for the translation of Edward in 1163. This text was very popular in the Middle Ages and was first translated into English by Jerome Bertram and then later by Jane Patricia Freeland.[68] *Vita III* was also a seminal text, and its effect on later literature has been summed up by Domenico Pezzini.[69] The Latin text can be found in Patrologia Latina, edited by Migne. Aelred's sermons, three of which have been of importance to my study, are edited by Raciti in the Corpus Christianorum series.

Vernacular texts - For our period there are two vernacular hagiographies of particular interest. The oldest is *La Vie d'Edouard le Confesseur* written during the reign of Henry II and issued in a modern edition by Östen Södergård in 1948.[70] This text has never been translated, but has recently attracted some minor interest.[71]

The second text, *Le Estoire de Seint Aedward le Rei*, was written in the mid-13th century and has been the subject of much scholarly attention. Its first modern edition was printed with a translation in Luard's *Lives of Edward the Confessor*, while the first critical edition came in 1983 and the first critical translation was issued in 2008.[72] The authorship is not known, but it was attributed to Matthew Paris (c.1200-59) by Richard Vaughan in 1958 and this claim was strengthened by Binski in 1991.[73] This now appears to be generally accepted. Furthermore, the *Estoire* and its effects on 13th-century art have been examined by Paul Binski, a focus that has widened the understanding of the cult during Henry III's reign.[74]

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editions.

[65] For a good summary see Tyler 2009: 138. Of particular importance is Southern 1943; Heningham 1975; Otter 1999.
[66] Bloch 1923.
[67] Huntingdon 2003.
[68] Bertram 2005.
[69] Pezzini 2009.
[70] Södergård 1948.
[71] See Brown 2007 for a good summary.
[72] Respectively: Wallace 1983; Fenster 2008.
[73] Vaughan 1958: 175; Binski 1991: 89ff.
[74] Binski 1990; Binski 1991; Binski 1995. For Matthew Paris' possible influence on a stained glass sequence at Fécamp see Harrison 1963: 26.

Chapter 2 - The Historical Framework: the Cult of Edward the Confessor

This is a cult of authority, not a popular cult.
- *Paul Binski,* Westminster Abbey and the Plantagenets*: 66*

2.1 - Introduction

In the period from his canonisation in 1161 to the end of Richard II's reign in 1399 the popularity of Edward's cult ebbed and flowed and depended largely on the zeal of individuals who were in a position to affect its standing in the realm at large. In this period the cult of St. Edward enjoyed three devotional surges. For the sake of clarity I have named them The Angevin Surge (1161-89), The First Plantagenet Surge (1233-c.1300) and The Second Plantagenet Surge (c.1381-99).[75]

In this chapter I aim to chart the development of the cult and at the same time to discuss the various texts that may shed light on the cult's development and in some cases even contributed to it. The purpose of this chapter is chiefly to present a frame of reference and to provide talking points for subsequent discussions. My concern here is how various circumstances illustrate - or even affect - the development of this cult.

2.2 - Pre-canonisation

2.2.1 - Prior to 1161: the reign of William

It is difficult to assess to what extent we can speak of a cult of King Edward prior to his canonisation in 1161. Frank Barlow has claimed that immediately after Edward's death there was a small cult of clerics and monks who believed in and cultivated the late king's sanctity at the new Norman court.[76] Although Barlow's evidence for this claim is somewhat tenuous,[77] it is true that the anonymous *Vita I* presents Edward more as a saint than as a king. The matter of contention is, however, whether the image of Edward as presented in *Vita I* points to a seminal cult or whether it was arranged in order to secure his widow's position in the new Norman age.[78]

Seminal cult or not, the late king was duly remembered during the reign of William the Conqueror. For instance, we read in the D manuscript of the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle "written

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[75] This division will be important to the question of when St. Edward's office might have been composed.

[76] Barlow 1962: 112.

[77] Barlow writes: "At the time of Edward's death, as we learn from the anonymous work, a cult of King Edward existed at court among some courtiers - mainly foreign monks or clerks - who believed that Edward had lived a celibate life and was a saint who had worked miracles." To support this Barlow refers to the poetic complaint of the author found at the very beginning of "book 2" and the most precise statement about Edward's sanctity is the following passage: "Hic quibus hunc signis / pietas manifesta tonantis / prodiderit uiuum / carne sibi placitum, / e[t] quibus in tumulo / pausantem uiuere celo / declarat fidei continuis precibus" (Barlow 1992: 90). Whether this points to a cult is however not explicitly stated.

[78] Marc Bloch claimed at one point that *Vita Ædwardi* was an early 12th century forgery composed to support a cult of Edith (Bloch 1923: 33), but this has been thoroughly refuted by Heningham and Southern (Barlow 1962: xiv).

throughout in scripts of mid-eleventh-century date" that when Edward's widow Edith died, William "had her brought to Westminster with great honour and had her laid near King Edward her husband."[79] Furthermore we find in William of Poitiers's *Gesta Guillelmi* a brief sidenote claiming that at the time of William the Conqueror's accession, Westminster Abbey "boasted of possessing the tomb of King Edward".[80] The veneration of Edward suggested by these two sources was, however, due to Edward's significance as king and because he, according to a Norman claim, had appointed William I as his successor.[81] This claim was first put forth by William of Jumièges in his *Gesta Normannorum Ducum* and it was an important aspect of the legitimation of the new Norman rule.[82]

In this period we also find respectful remembrance outside the court. Godfrey of Winchester (d.1107) wrote an epigram, *De Eaduardo rege*, praising the late king for his probity, piety, generosity, his beautiful features, his tall stature and his peaceful reign.[83] Clerical opinion of Edward appears appears at this time not to have moved beyond a respectful remembrance of a king of beloved memory. This is especially suggested by the fact that Sulcard of Westminster in his historical work from c.1085 - to be discussed later - only portrayed Edward as the restorer of Westminster Abbey, nothing more.

2.2.2 - 1100-1135: The reign of Henry I

Aside from Edward being treated as a saintly figure in *Vita I*, there is no conclusive evidence that the veneration of Edward before the reign of Henry I amounted to anything more than a respectful recognition of a model king who had conferred the throne of England on William I. This is supported by Sulcard's treatment of Edward, as seen above. In the reign of Henry I, however, there was, in the words of Peter Rex, "a change in attitude towards all things English".[84] This new appreciation of the English manifested itself in the religious sphere: in 1112 miracles were reported to have occurred at the tombs of English saints.[85] These miracles, however, were still said to have been performed by men and women already established and venerated as saints and there seems to have been no burgeoning in the English *sanctorale*.[86]

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[79] Whitelock et. al. 1962: 107 and 158.
[80] Davis and Chibnall 1998: 151.
[81] Van Houts 2003, vol. II: 158-59. In the poem *Carmen de Hasingae Proelio* attributed to Bishop Guy of Amiens this claim is further fleshed out: King Edward, with the assent of the people, not only claims William as his heir but gives him the ring and sword in an investiture. See Barlow, Frank (ed. and transl.) 1999: 18.
[82] For William of Jumièges' claim see Van Houts 2003 vol II: 159. For legitimation of Norman rule see Saul 2000: 61ff. See also Harvey 1977: 25 for the importance of Westminster as a coronation site. William I also claimed to be a relative of Edward in a letter to the abbot of Fécamp, and consanguinity was also claimed by William of Poitiers (Mortimer 2009b: 34).
[83] Wright 1872: 149.
[84] Rex 2008: 214.
[85] Rex 2008: 214.
[86] Edward was not forgotten: Henry's coronation charters, for example, refer to the laws of King Edward, evoking the peaceful reign of a just king as a model for the present and future reigns (Barlow 1962: 121). Henry also allegedly pointed to the kinship with the Confessor as a reason for why his daughter Matilda would be a capable monarch., but this was claimed by William Malmesbury in his *Historia Novella*. This work was concluded in 1142 and the veracity of

In 1102, Edward's tomb was allegedly opened and his body reported incorrupt, but "our ultimate authority" for this story is the *vita* from 1138 by Osbert of Clare (d. in or after 1158)[87] which I will discuss in greater detail later. Although Frank Barlow allows for the possibility that Osbert may have been an eyewitness to this event,[88] we can not know for certain whether it actually occurred. No contemporary historian recorded such an *inventio*, but if it took place it seems to have had little impact on any cult there may have been. Edward did, however, receive some attention which points to an ecclesiastical direction: According to Abbot Gilbert Crispin his tomb became a sanctuary for accused criminals and when Henry I's queen - Edith-Mathilda - died in 1118, she was buried close to her relative King Edward.[89] Edward's death was liturgically commemorated on January 5 in the reign of Henry I.[90] His name was included in the necrology of Abbot Vitalis of Savigny, a document that demanded "reciprocal services for the souls of King Edward (written in majuscules), Abbots Vitalis and Gilbert Crispin, and six monks".[91] Although a testament to Edward's prominence, this entry also shows that he was not yet considered a saint.

Edward the Confessor was held in high regard by medieval historians, as can be seen in William of Malmesbury's (b. c.1090, d. in or after 1142) *Gesta Regum Anglorum* (to be discussed in greater detail, in the following chapter), which commends Edward for his Christian virtues and his thaumaturgical powers. It is, with an eye on the later cult maybe important to note that William thought highly of him for his virtues, not for his abilities to govern.

2.2.3 - C. 1138: Osbert's campaign

Osbert's *Vita II* was written c.1138 as a part of his campaign for papal acknowledgement of Edward's cult. Osbert of Clare was a prior of Westminster Abbey who became a champion for the cause of Edward's sanctity after he had been cured from a quartan fever.[92] To propagate Edward's sanctity - and intrinsically to strengthen Westminster's autonomy from secular encroachment - Osbert transformed *Vita I* into "a conventional saint's life".[93] The case was brought before the papal legate Alberic who visited Westminster in December of that year, and later Osbert himself "went to Rome to petition for the canonization".[94] This was, despite Edward's high standing in the eyes of royals and historians alike, the first claim to the late king's sanctity. This can also be seen from the fact that between 1127 and 1134 a house of caNoneses was founded at Kilburn in Middlesex, whose duty it was to pray for

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the statement is dubious at best (see King and Potter 1998: 6.

[87] Robinson 1909b: 24.

[88] Barlow 2004.

[89] For Abbot Gilbert's claim see Rex 2008: 215. For Edith-Mathilda see Huneycutt 2004.

[90] Rex 2008: 215.

[91] Barlow 1962: 122.

[92] Barlow 2004. Osbert was also a prolific forger of charters. See in particular Crick 2003: 67-71.

[93] Barlow 2004. As a part of this remodelling Osbert emphasised the ties between Edward and Westminster Abbey by referring to the Abbey in 16 of 30 chapters (Pezzini 2009: 17), using material from Sulcard's history to tell of the mythical founding by St. Peter (Bloch 1923: 83).

[94] Barlow 2004.

the soul of King Edward, meaning that in this timeframe Edward was still considered a mere king.[95] Osbert's actions, however, stirred things up and, as we shall see, he managed to provide much support for his claim.

2.2.4 - Aftermath

Although commended by Henry, Bishop of Winchester, and King Stephen,[96] Osbert failed to achieve papal support, a result probably owing in part to King Stephen's meddling in ecclesiastical affairs, but also to Osbert's insufficient evidence.[97] No further action was taken in this matter until the turn of the 1150s, resulting eventually in Edward's canonisation by Alexander III in 1161.[98] Prior to this year, however, there is little to suggest that Edward's sanctity was widely regarded. Indeed Henry Huntingdon, completing his *Historia Anglorum* in the 1150s, does not include Edward in his catalogue of saints, but rather states "miracles in our times are very rare".[99]

2.3 - 1161-89: The Angevin Surge

2.3.1 - The Canonisation of Edward

The canonisation of Edward the Confessor "was proclaimed on 7 February 1161"[100] in a letter from Pope Alexander III, and it is here Edward is listed among the confessors for the first time.[101] This was most likely the result of an ongoing ecclesiastico-political struggle in which the pope found his position challenged by antipope Victor IV who was favoured by Frederick Barbarossa.[102] Henry II of England supported Alexander in the schism, and the historians E. W. Kemp and J. A. Robinson "suspected political motives"[103] for the subsequent canonisation of the royal saint. Henry II indubitably benefitted from a royal cult - especially since the disruptive civil war was still a vivid memory - but it is notable that the greatest pressure for the canonisation of Edward came from the English clergy. Of thirteen preserved petitions for the cause of Edward's canonisation, twelve were issued by English clergymen, ranging from the archbishop of York to a brother of Malmesbury Abbey.

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[95] Barlow 2004.

[96] For the commendation by Henry see Williamson 1998: 85. For the commendation by King Stephen see Williamson 1998: 85ff.

[97] For King Stephen see Williamson 1998: 18. For the insufficient evidence see Williamson 1998: 18-19. Although it is tempting to explain Osbert's failure solely on political grounds, Bernhard Scholz has pointed out that also ecclesiastical considerations must have played an important part, considering that the "precedent of a king canonized by papal authority was only created seven years later when Emperor Henry II was canonized in 1146", and also the fact that the English church was divided due to King Stephen's appointment of Gervaise. See Scholz 1963: 47ff. Additionally, Bernhard Schimmelpfennig warns that political motives must be applied with caution in these matters (Schimmelpfennig1994: 79-80).

[98] The Papacy was sympathetic to Osbert's cause and allowed for veneration of Edward, although not as a saint (see Rex 2008: 219). There is no evidence to suggest that such a veneration became widespread.

[99] Greenway 2007: 695.

[100] Scholz 1961: 50. This was the "first papal recognition of an Anglo-Saxon saint" (Bozoky 2009: 173).

[101] Barlow 1970: 324.

[102] Kelley and Walsh 2006: 176-77.

[103] Scholz 1961: 50.

There may have been many more which now are lost to us.[104] When Innocent II declined Osbert of Clare's application in 1139, this was partly justified by the lack of ecclesiastical unity and support. The wide range of petitioners in the early 1160s provided the ecclesiastical unity that only decades earlier had been wanting. The thirteenth petition came from Henry II who "gave close personal attention" to the matter.[105] Henry's support of Alexander was a recurring argument in most petitions, but this may have provided the final push rather than the prime incentive for the canonisation.[106]

2.3.2 - 1163: The Translation of Edward

Although the wide range of clerical petitioners in 1160 suggested a united English church, this unity soon proved deceptive. During the Council of Tours in May 1163, Thomas Becket, Archbishop of Canterbury, presented an unsuccessful proposal for the canonisation of his predecessor Anselm (c.1033-1109), presumably to rival the celestial support bequeathed to the English monarch by the cult of Edward.[107] Becket's petition is suggestive of the growing hostility between the archbishop and the king which later that year was to reach new heights at the Council of Westminster on October 1.[108] There was also friction between the archbishops of the realm: at the translation of Edward on October 13 1163 only the Archdiocese of Canterbury was represented.[109]

Despite the fact that Henry II had engaged himself in the canonisation and also the translation of Edward, there is no evidence to suggest that the king had much personal interest in or affection for his newly-sainted predecessor, and he may have been more preoccupied with his continental lineage.[110] If he did, he certainly disregarded the didactic words of Aelred of Rievaulx's prologue to the new *vita* (to be discussed in the next chapter), as can be seen clearly in his church politics.[111] In addition to the king's apparent disinterest, Edward never was the subject of any great popularity in the kingdom at large, neither among clerics[112] nor the common people, at least not outside London. The latter can be seen from liturgical evidence: Francis Wormald printed eighteen Benedictine calendars post 1100, only seven of which celebrate Edward's *dies natalis*. Two calendars are dated before 1170;

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[104] Scholz 1961: 49.

[105] For ecclesiastical unity see Rex 2008: 219. For Henry II's attention to the matter see Warren 1972: 223.

[106] Scholz 1961: 50. A similar discussion of motives and incentives can be found concerning the canonisation of Knud Lavard of Denmark. King Valdemar of Denmark also supported Alexander III, albeit after the antipope's death (Bergsagel 2009: 54.) Since the same procedure can be found in cases both during and after the schism, we cannot assert that Alexander caved to political circumstance, but rather grasped opportunities that presented themselves to him and maintained some professional sobriety. See Bergsagel 2009: 55-57.

[107] Somerville 1977: 59

[108] Rex 2008: 222 and Warren 1973: 465ff.

[109] Rex 2008: 222.

[110] For Henry's lukewarm engagement in Edward's cult see Scholz 1961: 55. That his priorities were more directed at legitimising his Angevin legacy can be seen from his engagement in the *Roman de Rou* (Burgess 2004: xi).

[111] Warren 1972: 448ff.

[112] Thomas Becket appears, however, to have secured a souvenir from the translation. Barlow claims this to have been St. Edward's arm (Barlow 1962: 132-33), while Emma Mason claims it was the tombstone in which Wulfstan's staff had stood - thus suggesting veneration for Wulfstan as well as Edward (Mason 1990: 284.)

neither of these celebrates the Confessor.[113] In the case of the 13th-century Ely Cathedral Priory kalendar this celebration was moved to January 8 and recorded as "Commemoracio sancti Eduuardi. Regis".[114]

2.3.3 - The Cult of Thomas Becket

Whatever zeal Westminster bestowed upon its patron following the translation of 1163, Edward's cult was soon "quite overshadowed" by that of Thomas Becket after his martyrdom of 1170.[115] The outrageous sacrilege performed at Canterbury did not result in Henry II's defeat in his struggle with the church - his public penance of 1174 notwithstanding[116] - but it turned the country's devotional attention towards the martyred archbishop with a rapidity that may have drained several other cults of supporters,[117] perhaps also that of Edward the Confessor. This is not to say that Edward's importance at Westminster diminished significantly, or that his cult was completely eclipsed. At Barking Abbey, one of the most important nunneries of London and one closely connected to Westminster, an anonymous *vita* was composed, written in Anglo-Norman octosyllabic couplets and dedicated to King Henry II. The date of this work is a contested issue, but it appears to have been composed c.1182.[118] This text, *La Vie d'Edouard le Confesseur*, was an adaptation of *Vita III* and probably made the life of the saint more accessible to the courtly circle, which of course the Abbey had strong ties to.

2.3.4 - The later years

Another source for the liturgical importance of St. Edward during Henry II's reign - the cult of Becket notwithstanding - can be found in the calendar of the Royal MS. 2. A. xxii, a Psalter "derived most likely from Westminster."[119] The manuscript has been dated "to the later years" of Henry's reign by Sir E. Maunde Thompson, and since the calendar contains the feast of Thomas Becket, it can safely be dated somewhere between 1173 and 1189.[120] Edward's importance can be seen in the fact that his *dies natalis* and *translatio* are both marked as feasts of the highest rank, written in gold letters and requiring two to eight monks *in cappis*.[121] The major feasts of St. Edward were among this document's

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[113] Wormald 1939, vol. I: 168 and 177. Wormald 1939, vol. II: 44 and 53.

[114] See Wormald 1939, vol. 1: 1. Most of these kalendars include the octave of St. Thomas Becket's *dies natalis*. See also Barlow 1962: 133. When it comes to flexibility in liturgical celebrations it is also interesting to note that in the Roskilde calendar Edward is celebrated January 7, the date of the murder of St. Knud Lavard. This may point to liturgical influence from England on the office for Knud (Bergsagel 2009: 54).

[115] Rex 2008: 224. It should be noted that Thomas Becket's catalogue of miracles exceeded the Confessor's and this may have contributed to Thomas' success. According to the liturgical sources Thomas in a striking display of christomimesis could heal the blind and plagued, exorcise demons and calm storms. Slocum 2004: 166, 290-93.

[116] Slocum 2004: 82.

[117] Warren 1972: 518ff.

[118] Brown 2007: 47ff.

[119] Legg 1897: xiv. See also http://www.bl.uk/catalogues/illuminatedmanuscripts/record.asp MSID=6542&CollID=16&NStart=20122 - accessed 09.10.12.

[120] Legg 1897: xiv.

[121] Legg 1897: cols. 1385 and 1394 respectively. The colours of the letters is one way of determining the importance of a feast, the other being its number of lessons or the use of copes or albes. Colours indicate a hierarchy of importance that goes accordingly: gold, blue, red and black (see Legg 1897: xiv-xv).

most salient items and a prominent part of the liturgical year at Westminster. Furthermore, we see that the octave of Edward's *dies natalis* written in black is celebrated *in albis*, while the octave of the *translatio* written in blue is celebrated *in cappis*. (The octave of his *dies natalis* comes perhaps too close the octave of the Epiphany to demand a celebration equal to that of the *translatio* octave.)

There was also some competition in the realm at large from another royal saint: Edmund the Martyr. It is for instance interesting to note that Benedict of Peterborough (c.1135-93) does not mention Edward the Confessor in his *Gesta Regis Henrici II*, but includes the story of the king's pilgrimage to St. Edmund's shrine at Bury St Edmunds in 1177.[122] Similarly Ralph Coggeshall (fl.1207-26) includes Edmund the Martyr's translation of 1198 in his *Chronicon Anglicanum* but makes no reference at all to Edward the Confessor.[123] We may consider this emblematic of the later Angevin era. Richard I does not appear to have exacted any special devotion to the Confessor, and King John chose to be buried close to Saint Wulfstan at Worcester.[124] This negligence may in part be explained by the popularity of Thomas Becket.

2.4 - 1233-72: The First Plantagenet Surge

By the 1220s we may safely say that the Angevin surge of the cult had reached its definite ebb. Stephen Langton (c.1150-1228), archbishop of Canterbury, complained to Pope Gregory IX that the English clergy failed to observe the feast of Edward the Confessor, and - although the archbishop may have been exaggerating - the pope issued a bull in 1227 demanding that Edward's feast be celebrated.[125] This papal bull did not make any immediate difference to Edward's standing, despite the tendency towards a "rehabilitation" of Anglo-Saxon royal saints in this period.[126] In the early 1230s, however, things were changing, and by 1233 the queen of Scotland, Ermengarde de Beaumont, had certainly made her devotion to Edward manifest through charitable gifts and dedications to the Confessor and his church.[127]

2.4.1 - A royal cult renewed
Although Edward the Confessor's crown was used at Henry III's second coronation of May 17 1220,[128] the first tangible signs of Henry III's devotion to Edward begin to appear in the sources from 1233. For the feast of Edward's *translatio* in this year, Henry ordered the Westminster monks to sing the *Laudes Regiae*, and when he granted Westminster "the right to enclose a wood at Islip" this was

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[122] Stubbs 1965 vol. 1: 159.
[123] Stephenson 1875: 85ff.
[124] Carpenter 2007: 866.
[125] Carpenter 2007: 867.
[126] Binski 1995: 66-67 and Carpenter 2007: 872.
[127] Carpenter 2007: 867.
[128] Stubbs 1873 (ed.), vol. 2: 244.The first was hastily performed by a papal legate in Gloucester upon John's death. Prestwich 2005: 28. The crown was also used at the coronations of Edward II and Henry IV. See Campbell 1997: 97.

done "out of reverence for the blessed king Edward, our predecessor". Henry III also referred to Edward as his "special patron".[129] In the subsequent years Henry's piety was expressed through art and liturgical observance: in 1235 Henry arranged with the Cistercian General Chapter to secure the observance of St. Edward's feast and in the year after he obtained from the pope an order of observance similar to that of 1227.[130] The first Plantagenet surge was gathering momentum very speedily - presumably owing in part to the influence of Westminster monks[131] - and in the following years Henry's devotion would be cemented further, reaching an apex in 1239 when Henry's firstborn was named after the Confessor, a most public affirmation of Henry's devotion.[132]

In 1241 the king commissioned a new shrine for his favourite saint and in 1245 the rebuilding of Westminster Abbey itself was begun, "ex devotione speciali et dilectione beati Ædwardi gloriosissimi regis et confessoris".[133] The following year, Henry stated he wanted to be buried next to the Confessor - reversing an earlier decision - and the new shrine was decorated with hangings depicting Edward's life.[134] These hangings were donated by Richard of Barking, Abbot of Westminster, who most likely was one of the ecclesiastics who brought the king to Edward in the first place.[135] It was not solely the king and clergy who expressed devotion to Edward, however, as evinced by the nobles of the council's decision to subsidise one thousand marks to the continued re-edification of Westminster in August 1258.[136]

2.4.2 - Liturgical shifts

Although Edward's *dies natalis* had originally been the most important feast of the cult's liturgical calendar, the prominence of January 5 shifted to October 13, the day of his *translatio*. The reason - and trajectory - for this shift can only be surmised, but it seems reasonable to suggest that Edward's *translatio* had a symbolism much more compelling to the English monarchy than that of January 5, a symbolism that eventually made October 13 more important. It was, after all, King Henry II who had commissioned the translation of 1163, and the incorrupt body of Edward evoked on this day must have

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[129] For Edward the predecessor see Carpenter 2007: 870. When a charter was issued in 1228, granting Westminster market rights, no reference to Edward was to be found. For Edward the special patron see Carpenter 2007: 870-71.

[130] For the expressions of Henry's piety see Carpenter 2007: 869. For the order obtained from the pope see Carpenter 2007: 871.

[131] Carpenter 2007: 873. The Cistercians may also have been involved.

[132] Luard 1890, vol. II: 231. Edward Freeman claims that Edward's sanctity saved the name Edward from extinction, because English names were supplanted by Norman ones (Freeman 1876, vol. v: 561.) Freeman may have exaggerated and is in general not very reliable (Barlow 1984: xxiii.)

[133] "(...) out of special devotion and love of the blessed and most glorious Edward, king and confessor." - my translation. See Luard 1890 (ed.), vol. II: 289. For the king's commission see Binski 1995: 56. For the rebuilding of 1245 see Carpenter 2007: 871.

[134] Robinson 1909a: 105ff. See also Binski 1991: 85. For the earlier decision see Carpenter 2007: 871.

[135] Binski 1995: 56; Carpenter 2007: 875.

[136] Jordan 2009: 51. It should, however, be pointed out that despite these various displays of veneration towards Edward, it was always Peter who was the patron of Westminster Abbey. Paul Binski has remarked that "Edward appears never to have overtaken Peter". See Binski 1995: 67. This fits well with the order in which Thomas duke of Gloucester commended himself to the Westminster patrons before leaving for Prussia in 1391. Hector and Harvey 1982: 481.

had reassuring connotations for a king once greatly troubled by civil strife.[137] That October 13 eventually superseded January 5 in importance might be indicated by Henry's request for the Westminster monks to perform *Laudes Regiae* on this day in 1233 and that the king, in 1260, fed 1163 paupers on Edward's *translatio* compared to 1500 on his *dies natalis*.[138] The *laudes regiae* litany - rife with royal symbolism - was celebrated at the *translatio* as the only feast-day of the *sanctorale* until 1237.[139] Furthermore, according to Michael Prestwich the king "hoped to feed more than 100, 000 poor men on the occasion", i.e. the centennial of the *translatio*, and Henry's firstborn, the future Edward I, was knighted on this auspicious day at the age of 15.[140]

A similarly firm testimony to the importance of Edward's translatio can be seen in the new translation of Edward's body, October 13, 1269,[141] that "coincided, quite deliberately, with the opening of a parliament", perhaps to emphasise the monarchy's sacrality.[142] By the time of Edward I, October 13 had become the feast of the English monarchy.[143] It should, however, be emphasised that this importance appears to have been limited to Westminster and the royal sphere, since "[n]one of the surviving lists of *festa ferianda* issued by the bishops of the thirteenth century and later periods for the guidance of their subjects includes it."[144] The *translatio* was, however, more important than January 5 as "even its liturgical observance by the religious was common."[145]

2.4.3 - Surge's ebb

The first Plantagenet surge came ebbed in the course of Edward I's reign, but devotion to the Confessor did not cease. October 13 was still an important day in England - in fact it was the most important feast together with Christmas in 1283-84 - but the king and his family developed a "special concern" for the cult of Thomas Becket.[146] The Confessor did, however, remain an important symbol

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[137] This is not to suggest that Henry saw in Edward's body the incorruptability and endurance of the monarchy, since this idea lies dangerously close to an anachronistic juxtaposition with the way the French mythology of monarchy would evolve in the 15th and 16th centuries (Giesey 1960: 125ff). My point is, on the other hand, that Edward's incorrupt body was evidence of the late king's sanctity, and as D. A. Carpenter has suggested, the troubled times of the 1230s may very well have been crucial to Henry's embrace of Edward, prompted by a desire for peace (Carpenter 2007: 879).

[138] Carpenter 2007: 865.

[139] Kantorowicz 1946: 174-76.

[140] For the feeding of the poor see Prestwich 1997: 4. For the knighting of Edward see Prestwich 1997: 10.

[141] Luard 1890 (ed.), vol. III: 18.

[142] Prestwich 2007: 30.

[143] Davies 1990: 53-54.

[144] Harvey 1977: 43.

[145] Harvey 1977: 43-44. This is supported by the dissemination of these feasts as found in extant liturgical books. In addition to Wormald's seven Benedictine calendars celebrating Edward's *dies natalis* (Wormald 1939: 1) we find four chants for January 5 only in the mid-14th-century Sarum antiphoner GB-AB 20541 E. This antiphoner, together with MS GB-Cu Mm.ii.9, a 13th-century Sarum antiphoner and MS GB-WO F.160, an early-13th-century compendium of Monastic cursus are the only books containing chants for Edward's *translatio*, containing respectively 1, 5 and 7 chants. The CANTUS database operates with 9 chants, but it appears that three of these are the same: *Ave sancte rex edwarde*, CANTUS ID 200468. In comparison the same books have respectively 1, 48 and 4 chants for Edmund's *dies natalis*. For provenance and further information see chapter 4.8.

[146] For both the importance of Edward's feast and the concern for Becket's cult see Prestwich 1997: 112.

to the monarchy.[147]

The Confessor also received continued attention in the realm at large. Colton states that "[d]uring Edward I's reign (1272-1307), the cult of his namesake, St Edward the Confessor, attracted increased attention from poets, authors and lyricists."[148] Despite this attraction there were no hagiographies written about the Confessor in this period. Furthermore, owing presumably to the military climate of Edward I's reign, the king's contemporary chronicler Peter Langtoft (d. in or after 1305) was more concerned with the Arthurian legacy, placing the legendary king's crown and sword in the ownership of William the Conqueror and Richard I respectively.[149]

At about this time, "shortly after 1308", a life of St. Edward in glass, based on the *Estoire* and modelled after a Westminster sequence, was placed in the Lady Chapel at the Benedictine abbey at Fécamp in Normandy.[150] Edward the Confessor had strong and long-standing ties to Normandy and had been included in the abbey liturgy since the 12th century.[151] After all, he had spent his youth at Fécamp so it is no wonder "mass was said for him" on both his *dies natalis* and his *translatio*.[152] Edward was also venerated together with Edmund in stained glass at Amiens dating from c.1280.[153]

2.5 - 1381-99: The Second Plantagenet Surge

2.5.1 - Ricardian Revival
Paul Binski has christened this period "the Ricardian Revival",[154] and this is a very apt term since so long a time elapsed between the heyday under Henry III and the devotion of Richard II. This is not to say that the cult of Edward had lain completely fallow or that its existence depended on the king alone: the chronicler Jean Froissart claimed he was "honored through all the realm".[155] Froissart may have exaggerated or he may have been spot on,[156] but regardless of the Confessor's popularity in the

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[147] Various episodes suggest this: Edward I built "a tower which he entrusted later to the custody of a confraternity, the provost and brethren of St Edward, Acre" (Powicke 1966: 605); Alfonso, son of Edward I, made an offering to the shrine of "sancti Edwardi" in 1283 (Luard 1890, vol. III: 61); Edward I placed the Scottish regalia at the shrine of "beato regi Edwardo", June 18, 1297 (Luard 1890, vol. III: 101. See also Stubbs 1883, vol II: 276).

[148] Colton 2003: 140.

[149] Wright 1866, vol. 1: 411 and vol. 2: 49. See also McKendrick et. al. 2011: 336.

[150] Harrison 1963: 23-25. Fécamp was also an important burial ground for Norman dukes. Weiss 1999: xiii.

[151] Harrison 1963: 25.

[152] Harrison 1963: 25.

[153] Harrison 1963: 25. See Chap. 4.8. Another example of Edward's popularity abroad can be found in the Icelandic *Játvarðar Saga*, chronicling the Confessor's life. The saga was written c.1350 at the latest at the Thingeyrar Monastery. This story is not based on one single source and adds new material (like Edward's three chaste marriages). It is printed in Rafn and Sigurdsson 1952.

[154] Binski 1995: 56 .

[155] Kuhl 1946: 341. Katherine J. Lewis supports this by saying Edward the Confessor "enjoyed a substantial cult in later medieval England". See Lewis 2002: 86). The poet William Langland, for instance, stated that Edward, together with Edmund, was always followed by the personification of Charity in his *Vision of Piers Plowman* (Schmidt 1995: 257). Froissart also claimed that Richard II embraced the Confessor to please the Irish (Berners 1967: 155).

[156] Popular cult is always difficult to assess, also in this period. The martial priorities of Edward III's reign made the king turn to the cults of Arthur and George instead (Ormrod 1989: 873), but the Confessor was nonetheless important as a part of Edward III's reconnection with his ancient heritage (Ormrod 1989: 869). Beyond the court, however, the most

realm at large, it was the king and the Westminster clergy who influenced the liturgical aspects of Edward's cult, and consequently we focus here on Richard II.

At his coronation in 1377 the young king swore to uphold the laws of King Edward, but this was a commonplace reportedly iterated by kings as diverse as Henry I, John and Edward II[157] and cannot therefore be taken as evidence of zeal. A preferable starting point for Richard's devotional trajectory would rather be around the time of the Peasant's Revolt in 1381, when the king is said to have "begun a custom of visiting the saint's shrine in times of trial, in search of counsel and help."[158] Richard also paid attention to the shrines of other "pre-Conquest English saints",[159] but no saint received more careful attention than Edward the Confessor, and throughout the 1380s this would become evident through a number of generous donations. The king also took a keen interest in the Confessor's church, and in 1386 Richard arranged for the rebuilding of Westminster to resume after years of neglect from more martially-orientated monarchs.[160] In 1389, after finances had been hampered for a few years, Richard again lent his economic aid to the Abbey, and as late as 1393 he "granted authority to two masons" of Westminster so that they could obtain the necessary materials. Other churches, too, received Richard II's attention, but none more so than Westminster.[161] It was here, naturally, that the cult of Edward had its major liturgical manifestation.

By 1386 a missal, known as the Lytlyngton Missal, had been compiled, and here St. Edward's feasts are given great prominence. The texts are based primarily on the *Vita III*. The most important feasts in this missal are Christmas and January 5, both rendered in gold and blue and designated 8 copes.[162] October 13 is only rendered in gold letters, while both the octaves are written in blue.[163]

2.5.2 - A king's zeal

During the 1390s, it appears that Richard's devotion to Edward became even more acute. On the Feast of the Translation in 1390 the king attended Prime, Vespers, Compline and Matins at Westminster and wore Edward's crown during High Mass.[164] Two years later, on the Eve of St. Edward, October 13,

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important part of Westminster's liturgical year appears to have been "the feast of Relics and the patronal festival of St. Peter" as argued by Barbara Harvey in Harvey 1977: 44.

[157] For the coronation of Richard see Kuhl 1946: 340. For the coronations of his predecessors see Barlow 1962: 121; Carpenter 2007: 882; Prestwich 1997: 90, respectively. Barlow also claims that William II Rufus won the loyalty of the English laity by promising to restore King Edward's laws during the rebellion of 1088 (Barlow 1969: 144), but there is no evidence that this had anything to do with devotion.

[158] Binski 1995: 87.

[159] Saul, Nigel, *Richard II*, Yale University Press, New Haven, 1997: 448.

[160] For the donations see Saul 1997: 313-15. For the rebuilding of Westminster see Saul 1997: 315.

[161] Saul 1997: 317-18.

[162] Legg 1891: v and xvi.

[163] For October 13 see Legg, 1891: xiv. For the octaves see Legg 1891: v and xiv. In comparison the calendar of MS A. 2. has January 5 written in gold and "kept in copes", whereas the octave on January 12 is written in black and kept in albis. The *translatio* is also written in gold and designated copes, while its octave is written in blue and designated albis. See Legg 1897: cols. 1385 and 1394

[164] Hector and Harvey 1983: 451. See also Mitchell 1997: 116.

the king walked barefoot in a monastic procession that Nigel Saul describes as a "major act of public ceremonial".[165] Following the death of his wife Anne of Bohemia in 1394, the king's devotion became even more consuming in what may be perceived as a re-enactment or at least an emulation of Edward's virginal virtue.[166] In the years to follow, Richard expressed his attachment to Edward in several items of art and "impaled his arms with those of the Confessor's".[167] These items include the famous Wilton Diptych, some silver vessels, and the king's banner. These were all marked by the new heraldic conflation, although the Confessor's arms were not adopted publicly by Richard until 1397.[168]

Devotion to Edward the Confessor was made manifest in various ways during Richard's reign. Exactly how widespread or deep this devotion was can not be ascertained fully, but we do see certain glimpses of how it affected the world beyond the court, such as in 1397 when the Lords Temporal and Spiritual swore an oath on St. Edward's shrine not to annull or revoke the "judgments, statutes, and ordinances of that year".[169] It was in this decade, most likely, that Richard of Cirencester wrote his highly derivative *Speculum historiale de gestis regum Angliae* (Brussels 1986, BHL 2427), the fourth book of which is dedicated to Edward the Confessor and to which we will return. It was also in this decade that the monk of Chaucer's *Canterbury Tales* decided a tragedy would be a more fitting tale to tell than "the lif of Seint Edwar".[170]

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[165] Saul 1997: 314-15.
[166] Lewis 2002: 90.
[167] Binski 1995: 87.
[168] Lewis 2002: 93 and Saul 1997: 311.
[169] Kuhl 1946: 341.
[170] Chaucer 2002: 569.

Chapter 3 - Edward the Confessor in Historical Narratives

(...) for avarice always breeds hatred, whereas generosity brings men fair fame.
- Boethius, The Consolation of Philosophy*: 28-29 (transl. P. G. Walsh)*

3.1 - Introduction

This study is chiefly concerned with the ways the liturgical image of Edward the Confessor has been composed, and the literary sources for the liturgical texts were almost certainly Latin hagiographies. Nonetheless, I have decided to include a slightly wider selection of source material, since liturgy was composed by men who were not only ecclesiastics but also partakers in a socio-political discourse that may have exposed them to literature which may not have been primarily hagiographic or Latin. In addition, we must keep in mind that the liturgical material does not come about in a vacuum and that it may even alert us to popular notions of Edward, or to a "reserve of stories about the saint".[171] The story of Edward's vision of the devil on the treasure chest,[172] for instance, is a very good example of how material was added and included in both hagiographical and historiographical matter - although it did never enter into the Latin *vitae* or the extant liturgical material - and this should alert us to the importance of knowing also those sources which do not show their relevance to the liturgical topic immediately.

The purpose of this particular chapter, therefore, is first of all to show the historiographical and hagiographical traditions the liturgical image is founded upon, and how texts of these two categories relate. It is important to bear in mind that I use these texts not as sources to the historical Edward the Confessor, but to the legendary saint.[173] To better understand the milieu in which these texts came about and in which the image of Saint Edward was cultivated, I aim to give an overview of how ideals of sainthood and kingship changed - or stood their ground - in the period 1066-1399, and how the texts of the two literary traditions developed within this timespan.

3.2 - Sainthood and Kingship in the time following Edward's death

3.2.1 - Kingship: teaching holiness in a Christocentric age

The hagiographies of Edward the Confessor were all written in an age of "christocentric kingship"

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[171] Binski 1990: 337.

[172] Stubbs 1964, vol I: 110. The story of Godwin's ordeal by morsel - establishing Godwin as a Judas figure - is similarly of uncertain origin (Waugh 2004: 206). Henry Huntingdon (Greenway 1996: 378-79) and - perhaps to a greater degree - Wace (Burgess 2004: line 5456) both depict the incident in terms very similar to a last supper scene. The most explicit statement about Godwin as Judas can be found in William de Jumiéges (Van Houts 2003, vol II: 106-07).

[173] Frank Barlow stated: "it is unreasonable to base our interpretation of Edward on twelfth-century views" (Barlow 1984: xvi). However, since our objective is in part to see how Edward was interpreted in the 12th century and beyond, these works are invaluable sources - not to the historical Edward but to the Edward of legend.

when the king, according to contemporary theology, served as Christ's vicar on earth.[174] Accordingly, this is the notion that informed the hagiographers' depiction of Edward the Confessor. (We learn from Kantorowicz that this idea of kingship was gradually replaced by a law-centred kingship[175] that reached its apogee in the 13th century after the Papacy had monopolised the title of *vicarius Christi*.)[176]

Due to the tensions between Church and monarchy throughout the 12th century, the former tried to make the latter conform to its ideals in many ways. In order to achieve this monarchs must be provided with proper examples, resulting in a didacticism that could be found in various literary works of the period. This literary strand was, as we have seen in chapter 1.3.1, not new, and this didacticism can also be seen in the genre of the Mirror of Princes, originating in the Carolingian era.[177] This didactic genre was inaugurated by Alcuin's writings to Charlemagne where the concept of *via regia*, the king's conduct was formulated. This concept drew on Numbers 21:22 and became the title of a work by Smaragdus, one of the earliest examples of the genre.[178] Its popularity waned in the course of the centuries, so, when John of Salisbury wrote *Policraticus* it was a new and more secular recalibration of the genre that in the later Middle Ages came to be known as the mirror of princes or mirror of morals.[179] Interestingly, Osbert likens Edward with Josiah, Hezekiah and David, three kings Smaragdus lauded for their visionary powers in *Via Regia*.[180] Historical writing and princes' mirrors were strengthened and resuscitated respectively in the 12th century.[181]

Although the first Mirror of Princes of the High Middle Ages was John of Salisbury's *Policraticus*, completed in 1159, in Osbert's *Vita II* of 1138 we can already see an adumbration of the ideals embraced by this resuscitated genre. After having presented King Midas and the tyrant Dionysius of Syracuse as opposites of Edward the Confessor, Osbert states that all kings can benefit from this lesson.[182] In *Vita III* by Aelred of Rievaulx this purpose of education has become "even more specific",[183] and Aelred explicitly mentions the work's edifying purpose, resorting to the unaging

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[174] Kantorowicz 1997: 88ff.
[175] Kantorowicz 1997: 93.
[176] This began during the pontificate of Innocent III who used this title in his decretals. See Kantorowicz 1997: 91.
[177] See Binski 1995: 86-87.
[178] On Alcuin's inaguration see Wallach 1959: 66-67. On the origin of *via regia* see Wallach 1958: 67-72. On Smaragdus see Laistner 1928: 392; Canning 2005: 52-55; Anton 2006: 4. It should be mentioned that Julia Smith puts Martin of Braga (6th century) as the first writer of didactic texts for kings, but it is not clear whether Martin's work *Formula honesta vitae* qualifies as a Mirror of Princes (Smith 2007: 244-45).
[179] Anton 2006: 6-7; Wallach 1959: 72
[180] Bloch 1923: 100-01. For Smaragdus' collegium see Laistner 1928: 392.
[181] By the 12th century there had of course been a continuous tradition of historical writing since the age of Bede, both in England and on the wider Continent. However, when William of Malmesbury embarked on his historiographical project at the beginning of the 1120s, he himself stated that after Bede there had been no Latin historian of a similar calibre and consequently saw the necessity of a project with a scope similar to that of Bede (Mynors et. al. (eds.) 1998: 15).
[182] Bloch 1923: 67-68. This juxtaposition between good and bad biblical princes can also be found in Henry Huntingdon's prologue to *Historia Anglorum* (Greenway 2007: 5).
[183] Jordan 1995: 437.

strategy of teaching *per exemplum*.[184]

Although one can rarely see any drastic improvements in royal behaviour following such didactic campaigns, it is nonetheless safe to assume that kings were also highly interested in adjusting to the new ideals and values as much as possible. After all, they were Christian monarchs, ruling under God and partaking in the Christian liturgy, and both they themselves as well as the Church were aware of this. Consequently it is no wonder that many royal saints were established amidst the tumult of investiture controversy or similar conflicts. The monarch's clergy had to present their secular master with a model for emulation, a predecessor for instance, so that the monarch might model or remodel his kingship or save his religious prestige. To show oneself, or one of one's predecessors, as an ideal Christian king was of particular pertinence during and after the investiture controversy, for in its wake it became necessary to strengthen the religious legitimation of the monarchy which had been partially lost as a result of the struggle.

3.2.2 - The 12th Century: athleta Christi and the chivalric ideal

As the 12th century progressed, so did the evolution of saint paradigms. There were two strands of conflict in particular that ushered in this development. First of all, the militant religiosity of the Roman Church following the first crusade and the concomitant idea of just war affected the emergence of a new saint more suited to the contemporary political and religious landscapes.[185] Secondly, the perennial conflicts between the temporal and the spiritual sphere also affected the virtues lauded in a saint. "The contradictions inherent in the cult of holy kings would become acutely explicit" and demand a new approach.[186] The result of these strands was the chivalric holy king, inspired in part by the legend of St. Alexis of Odessa and in part by the legends of King Arthur and Alexander the Great.[187] The new demand was that the holy king should be ascetic, chaste and an "athlete of Christ", a kind of warrior missionary[188] who made himself a martyr through his battle against the flesh. Both these ideas were expressed in Aelred of Rievaulx's sermons for Edward's *dies natalis*,[189] and the idea of martyrdom through flesh was reiterated in Matthew Paris's *Estoire*.[190] To suit a new paradigm of sanctity, established saints were sometimes reformulated, as was the fate of St Oswald.[191] Edward the Confessor's image was also affected by these developments, and his established characteristics that were already partly in tune with the new ideal - asceticism and poverty - were elaborated upon by his hagiographers. Osbert of Clare calls Edward "[p]reciosus adleta Domini" in *Vita II* and likens him to

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[184] Dutton 2005: 125-26.
[185] Klaniczay 2002: 165.
[186] Klaniczay 2002: 156.
[187] For the precursor of St. Alexis see Klaniczay 2002: 157. For Arthur and Alexander see Klaniczay 2002: 167ff.
[188] Klaniczay 2002: 157 and 168ff.
[189] Raciti 2012 vol. 4: 548, lines 66-69 and 557, lines 129-35).
[190] Fenster and Wogan-Browne 2008: 69.
[191] In a new *vita* from c.1165 Oswald becomes *athleta Christi invictissimus*. Klaniczay 2002: 168.

St Alexis,[192] while Aelred of Rievaulx claims that he was "needy in the midst of riches" after having alluded to the suffering Job who was made rich by his losses,[193] and describes Edward as "terrible to his enemy, and helpful to the church".[194] Additionally, Klaniczay claims that an attempt to add a "tinge of the new ideal" of the chivalric saint to Edward can be seen in the vision of the drowning Danish king.[195] According to Klaniczay the Dane's death occurred at Edward's behest, but I fail to see this connection, since both Osbert and Aelred give Edward the passive role of a spectator:[196] he is only the seer, the key of David, a temporal John the Apostle whom God has shown the faraway truths. Although Edward does mark the end of the tribulation of the age when God's wrath was wrought upon the English,[197] he is nonetheless merely the messenger, not the commissioner of this miraculous deliverance.

3.2.3 - The 13th Century: law-centred kingship and the Franciscan paradigm of sanctity

In the beginning of the 13th century, sanctity was defined to a large extent by the Franciscan ideal of humility, poverty and asceticism,[198] and although this did not preclude the masculine nobility from providing members of the *sanctorale*,[199] it was now chiefly queens and princesses who represented the upper echelons in the expanding catalogue of saints.[200] Following the papal annexation of the title *vicarius Christi*, the matter of kingship became increasingly disentangled from the theology of sanctity, and when Henry Bracton (d. 1268) wrote his juridical treatise known as *De legibus et consuetudinibus Angliae* the king had become a vicar of God, not of Christ. The important question was here how this vicarage affected the king's relationship to the law, i.e. whether he was above the law (as a mundane parallel to God) or subject to the law (as a mundane parallel to Christ).[201] This development is important to us, because it explains the ideals of kingship and sanctity during the

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[192] For athlete of God see Bloch 1923: 69. For the reference to St. Alexis see Bloch 1923: 75. Barlow claims that the reference probably not appeared in the original text "for it is foreign to the style" of Osbert, but the point still stands as someone saw it proper to tie Edward and Alexis together (see Barlow 1984: 83). Both Edward and Alexis refused the carnal consummation of wedlock, but whereas Alexis unsuccessfully "exhorts his bride to follow his example of chastity" (see Head 2001: 317-18) Edith and Edward consent together to take a vow of chastity. It should be noticed that the sobriquet "athlete of God" is not a 12th-century novelty but can be found in earlier writings. It is also a common trope in liturgical texts. Two examples that connect both these points are two Spanish antiphoners (E-Tc 44.1 (c.1120, Tavèrnoles) and E-Tc 44.2 (c.1095, Toledo). See http://www.cantusdatabase.org/source/374061/e-tc-441 and http://www.cantusdatabase.org/source/374062/e-tc-442, accessed 28.09.12. However, due to the reference to St. Alexis I find it fairly safe to say that the depiction of Edward is molded in the new ideal of the early 12th-century.

[193] Dutton 2005: 130. John of Salisbury referred to Job as "the very blueprint of ruling" in *Policraticus*. Interestingly, however, the passage in question, Job 28:12-13, recalls Job's conduct in his days of glory, not in the time of suffering. See Nederman 1992: 71.

[194] Dutton 2005: 137.

[195] Klaniczay 2002: 171.

[196] For Osbert see Bloch 1923: 76. For Aelred see Dutton 2006: 149. Interestingly, Wace's *Roman de Rou* comes closest to ascribing Edward any direct agency. In Godwin's trial by morsel Edward makes the sign of the cross over it, thus in effect bringing about Godwin's death (Burgess 2004: line 5456).

[197] Cf. Dutton 2005: 149.

[198] Kantorowicz 1997: 93 and Vauchez 2005: 175 and 388ff.

[199] Vauchez 2005: 175ff.

[200] Vauchez 2005: 175ff. See also Klaniczay 2002: chapter 5.

[201] Kantorowicz 1997: 157-58.

Golden Age of the cult of Edward, i.e. the reign of Henry III. As Edward reached the paramount of his prominence in this period, one might expect contemporaries to have reformulated the saint's characterisation to suit the sensibilities of the time, as in *Vitae I* and *II*. However, this apparently did not happen, since the only significant addition to the Edward literature in this period can be found in *La Estoire de Seint Aedward le Rei*, attributed to Matthew Paris. This is an adaptation of Aelred's *vita* into a poetic form, not a reinvention of St. Edward. The most important novelty of this vernacular hagiography is an elaboration on the Confessor's generosity, exemplified by including the vision of the devil on the money chest from Roger of Howden's chronicle.[202] This may be an attempt to recalibrate Edward according to post-Franciscan tastes, but it seems more plausible that the emendations are meant as courtly adaptations rather than monastic ones.[203] In this vernacular account Edward, together with Oswald, Oswin and Edmund, is listed among the "very wise, peaceable, and moderate" kings of England. These kings are contrasted with the "strong and bold" kings such as Arthur, Edmund Ironside and Cnut.[204] This of itself adds nothing new to the image of Edward. The novelty here is the comparison to other kings, a comparison that illustrates the matter more poignantly. We see no Franciscan traits in this hagiography, and we may surmise that a liturgical text of the 13th century will show no great signs of Franciscan influence, since there were - as far as I can see - no attempts to make Edward a Franciscan saint.

3.2.4 - Rex iustus - rex sanctus

The *rex iustus* figure had a long tradition in Christian writing, and the definition of this type of king had developed from the writings of such esteemed scholars as Isidore of Seville and Alcuin.[205] It was, however, not until the 11th century that this king type also became a saint type. In the course of the 11th century, a new type of saint appeared in Western Christendom: the *rex sanctus*, whose sanctity was merited by his execution of his office as king rather than by his martyrdom, as had been the case with the older paradigm of royal saints.[206] Edward the Confessor was an ideal candidate for this new type of saint, and when the hagiographers Osbert and Aelred made him the subject of their literary efforts in the 12th century, they drew on a well-established historiographical tradition that had depicted Edward as a *rex iustus* in all but the name. The *rex iustus* paradigm demanded that a royal saint should be a patron of the Church, a legislator and a "paragon of Christian virtue".[207] Furthermore the *rex iustus* or *rex bonus* should be instrumental in spreading Christianity throughout his realm, and

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[202] Binski 1995: 59.

[203] Note for instance that the *Estoire* "includes several scenes of gaily chivalric prowess far removed from the monastic roots of its text." (Binski 1995: 59). Note also that although the chivalric sanctity of the 12th century was inspired by the arthurian legends, it is not until the *Estoire* that we find a comparison between Edward and Arthur.

[204] Fenster and Wogan-Browne 2008: 53.

[205] Vauchez 2005: 164.

[206] Klaniczay 2002: 136.

[207] Klaniczay 2002: 147.

although this was more applicable for the kings at the newly-established fringes of Christendom - such as St. Stephen of Hungary (d. 1038, canonised 1083) - the princes elsewhere could presumably fulfil this requirement through "close collaboration with the clergy" and "munificence in the sphere of church and abbey building."[208]

Edward the Confessor fulfilled all these requirements. He had refurbished and consecrated Westminster, he had reintroduced the old Anglo-Saxon laws and he had established a period of peace following the tumultuous reign of Canute the Great.[209] As for Christian virtues both English and foreign chroniclers were happy to ascribe these to Edward and he is noted for his charity and generosity, temperance and wisdom,[210] to mention but a handful. These were all qualities a good and just king should be expected to have, but they were nonetheless exactly that: qualities of a good king, a secular prince, a participant in temporal politics. Although a good king was expected to care for the poor, establish churches and display temperance, justice, wisdom (all three of which were cardinal virtues) and humility - the latter two being virtues already emphasised by Carolingian authors[211] - these were still merely royal aspects, together with warfare[212] and the execution of punishment.

Edward was, however, also ascribed qualities pertaining more to sainthood than kingship, such as chastity, his visions and being elected to the English throne by God when still in mother's womb.[213] He was also famous for his monkish dedication to God.[214]

The saintly nature of these qualities notwithstanding, the earliest historiographies dealing with Edward did not seek to depict him as a saint. As discussed in chapter 2, there are no indications of

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[208] See Vauchez 2005:164. It is important to note that Edward the Confessor was not an ordinary Anglo-Saxon royal saint, of whom there were many. Unlike his male saintly forebears he was not a martyr king, nor was he a missionary king or a convert.

[209] For the refurbishment of Westminster see for instance Thorpe 1964: 224. For Edward the law-giver see Van Houts (ed.) 2003, vol. II: 108-09. For the establishment of peace see Barlow 1992: 6-7 and 18-19. A few comments are needed on the subject of Edward the law-giver: According to Elisabeth Van Houts Orderic Vitalis is the first chronicler to explicitly mention this (Van Houts 2003, vol. II: 108, n.2). These laws are the ones referred to as King Edward's laws in the coronation charter of Henry I (Barlow 1962: 121). They were named *Leges Edwardi Confessoris* in the 12th century and were referred to in legal debates throughout the Angevin era (Mortimer 2009b: 38; see also Greenway and Sayers 2009: 46, 51 and 67). Roger Howden, writing at about the same time as Jocelin, stated that Edward's laws were the laws of King Edgar restored (Stubbs 1964, vol. II: 235). The Magna Carta was also "said to have been based upon the 'good laws' of" the Confessor (Given-Wilson 2004: 181). For a good examination of the importance of Edward as lawgiver in medieval England, see Greenberg 2001: 36-78, esp. 42-55.

[210] For generosity: Barlow 1992: 16-19, 64-65, 80-81 and 92-95, Mynors 1998: 405-07. In the first part of *Vita I* the generosity is tied up to royal gift-giving. See Tyler 2000: 86-90. For temperance: Barlow 1992: 18-19, Mynors et. al. 1998: 405-07. For wisdom: Barlow 1992: 78-79, Davis and Chibnall 1998: 19.

[211] Gaposchkin 2010: 107.

[212] Whitelock et. al. 1962: 113 and 115-16.

[213] For visions: Barlow 1992: 116ff, Van Houts 2003, vol II: 108-09, Mynors et. al. 1998: 405-07. For chastity: Barlow 1992: 14-15, 91 and 123, Van Houts 2003, vol. II: 108-09, Mynors et. al. 1998: 353. For prenatal election: Barlow 1992: 14-15 and 90-91, Van Houts 2003, vol II: 78-79 and 158-59, Mynors et. al. 1998: 407. Elizabeth Van Houts claims Orderic Vitalis to be the first historian explicitly to mention the chaste marriage and his prophetic gifts (Van Houts 2003, vol. II: 108, n.2). In time Edward also grew to become an archetypal ideal for chastity (Given-Wilson 2004: 166).

[214] Barlow 1992: 62-63, Van Houts 2003, vol. II: 108-09, Mynors et. al. 1998: 405-07. In the 12th-century *Liber Eliensis* it is recorded that Edward was given to Ely Abbey as a child so that he could be educated as a monk. See Gardner 1996: 83.

such a portrayal prior to Osbert's campaign in the 1130s. When historiographers came close to a saintly representation nonetheless, we can probably trace this back to the Merovingian model of the monastic king,[215] rather than suspect a proper sanctification. The traits of this Merovingian model, however, fit well into the new saint type and indeed became prominent features in the 12th-century hagiographies where Edward is portrayed as a "crowned monk".[216] It is this compatibility that makes it appear as if Edward was hagiographically portrayed even in the historiographies. The *rex iustus* figure, in other words, became increasingly mingled and merged with the *rex sanctus* throughout the 12th century.

The image of Edward as a *rex iustus* was already constructed close to the time of his death in *Vita I* and was propagated by Orderic Vitalis in his redaction of *Gesta Normannorum Ducum* at the turn of the century and later by William of Malmesbury in the 1120s. In the course of this period, according to Klaniczay, the Roman Church gradually took on a more evangelical, even militant, approach and consequently the good king was also expected to care for pilgrims and the poor, requirements Edward the Confessor had already met.[217]

Edward the Confessor also possessed many virtues common to the martyr king or what Vauchez has termed "the holy sufferer". Although I do not agree with his affirmation that Edward "presents all the features"[218] of this saint type - he was for instance not martyred - there are certain characteristics that were probably more firmly rooted in the minds of secular clergy and courtiers as aspects of a martyr. The characteristics in question are the king's role as a mediator between God and man[219] which became apparent through Edward's visionary powers[220] and the fact that the time following Edward was one of bloodshed and tribulation, making his reign appear like a golden and peaceful age.[221]

3.3 - The Historiographical Texts

Having given an overview of how paradigms of sanctity evolved, it is now time to look more closely

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[215] Klaniczay 2002: 103.

[216] Binski 1995: 54. Graus also employs this term (Graus 1965: 425). Edina Bozoky states that "the anonymous *Vita* already contained elements of the representation of a holy king who was neither martyr nor monk. This ideal was to become the new model for the new type of holy king in the twelfth century" (Bozoky 2009: 174). Although correct, we should keep in mind the very monkish qualities of Edward already found in *Vita I*, and although it is right that he was not literally a monk, it must be stressed that Edward can be said to resemble a monk more than a king in his spurning of the world.

[217] For the Church's new approach see Klaniczay 2002: 137. For Edward meeting the requirements see for instance Van Houts 2003, vol II, pp. 108-09. It is interesting in this regard to note that the cripple Gillemichel whom Edward healed by carrying him was an Irishman, i.e. a stranger. Bloch 1923: 82 and Dutton 2005: 167ff.

[218] Vauchez 2005: 164, n. 21.

[219] Vauchez 2005: 162.

[220] Barlow 1992: 116-17.

[221] Cf. Vauchez 2005: 162. For Edward's peaceful reign see Barlow 1992: 6-7 and 18-19.

at some of the more important historiographical texts featuring Edward the Confessor. The historiographical tradition presents Edward as a *rex iustus* (although, as mentioned above, some authors afforded him more saintly features as well), and it is interesting to see how the works written before the canonisation of 1161 paved the way for the *rex sanctus* of hagiography, and how the post-canonisation histories added to the *rex sanctus*, whose sanctity was now an established fact. The following selection maps the most significant stepping-stones in the trajectory of Edward's historiographical tradition, while the details of this tradition will be treated in greater detail afterwards.

3.3.1 - Vita Ædwardi Regis qui apud Westmonasterium recquiescit

Vita I was written by an anonymous Flemish monk, ostensibly at the behest of Queen Edith, within the timeframe 1065-70.[222] The text is a curious piece of writing, in part a chronicle of the time of Edward, in part a biography of Edward's religious life.[223] What is even more curious, however, is the fact that the work was probably not composed primarily for the benefit of Edward, but rather to ensure his widow's position at court, a purpose very pertinent in the new age of the Normans.[224] If this is indeed the case, we can safely say that the presentation of Edward is not so much designed to foster a cult of the late king, but rather to enhance Edith's reputation by proxy of Edward's. *Vita I* is therefore, as far as we can surmise, not important primarily for its immediate effect on any veneration of Edward, but rather because it was a foundation for the later and fully-fledged Edward hagiographies that were composed in the 12th century. It is not unheard of that a text incorporates hagiographic mechanisms for other purposes than the instigation of a saint's cult. A similar case can be seen in Helgaud of Fleury's life of Robert the Pious (972-1031) written c.1050, a *vita* modelled on hagiography but seemingly not intended for any purpose beyond the glorification of Robert's next of kin and the recently established Capetian dynasty.[225]

3.3.2 - Sulcard of Westminster (fl. c.1080)

Edward was given an important position in the post-conquest Norman histories and hailed as a virtuous and just king, as we have seen (chapter 2.2.1). However, the most interesting text chronologically following *Vita I* is Sulcard's *Prologus de constructione Westmonasterii* (c.1085),[226]

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[222] Barlow 1962: xxvff. See also Stafford 1997: 40-48.

[223] The shift from chronicle to biography led Frank Barlow to divide the work into two books (Barlow 1962: xv). This division does point to an actual shift in the text, but the division itself is contested and Eleanor Heningham has voiced a persuasive argument against it (Heningham 1975: 27).

[224] Heningham 1975: 26. This issue is a contested one. See also Barlow 1962: xxv and Stafford 1997: 40-48.

[225] Klaniczay 2002: 137. The connection between Robert and Edward is strengthened by a couple of interesting features. First of all, according to Helgaud, Robert possessed the ability to heal by touching, the first instance of such a claim since Gregory of Tours' *History of the Franks*. (See Klaniczay 2002: 137 and Bloch 1973: 18f. Bloch calls *Vita I* a panegyric rather than a saint's life.) Secondly Robert II was, according to Rudolfus Glaber, destined "to rule the catholic people" by God's providence, a claim very similar to Edward's alleged predestined kingship (see France 1993: 50-51. This characteristic was established for confessors already in Merovingian times. See Graus 1965: 102).

[226] According to Barbara F. Harvey this is the "commonly accepted title". See Harvey 2004. For the sake of simplicity I

henceforth *History of Westminster* (BHL 2421B). This text is of great interest since it is an English source from the earliest Norman era, removed from the courtly circles in which the author of *Vita I* operated and which engendered the Norman histories. We know from this document that *Vita I* - preserved in a "single mutilated manuscript" from c. 1100[227] - was in circulation more than a decade earlier, since Sulcard (fl. c.1080) used it in his *History of Westminster* (c. 1085).[228] Sulcard's treatment of Edward is of great importance in charting the early stage of a posthumous presentation of Edward's life. Although *Vita I* furnished Sulcard with excellent material for the construction of a saint's cult, he would admit to Edward only a key part in the refurbishment of Westminster Abbey, omitting any accounts of the miracles - posthumous or otherwise - or visions ascribed to the late king by his first biographer.[229] Sulcard's purpose was instead to promote the cult of St. Peter,[230] the patron saint of Westminster Abbey. This choice of a patron saint shared by numerous other churches, such as York Minster, suggests that Sulcard thought it more worthwhile to rise above the masses, as it were, rather than to attempt the construction of a cult unique to Westminster.[231]

3.3.3 -William of Malmesbury (b. c.1090, d. in or after 1142)

The historiographer William of Malmesbury is the next big step in this ladder. William is our best source for the image of Edward the Confessor in the 1120s, and his work will be treated in greater detail below. In *Gesta Regum Anglorum* William commends Edward's various virtues, such as his moderation, and acknowledges his spirit of prophecy and his miracles.[232] At the same time, however, he is adamant that Edward was too simple-minded to be a good king and that the prosperity of his reign was due to God alone.[233] William was an influential author and he was one of Osbert of Clare's major sources for his hagiography of Edward.[234] Although we can not ascertain whether William influenced the popular devotion of Edward to any extent- if any such devotion existed - his fingerprints can be seen in numerous pages of subsequent historians.

3.3.4 - Aelred of Rievaulx (1110-67) and *The Genealogy of the Kings of England*

In 1153-54 Aelred of Rievaulx, later to become the author of Edward's first official *vita*, completed his *Genealogy of the Kings of England*. Aelred was by this time a writer of some renown, well-versed in

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will use "History of Westminster". The most recent edition to my knowledge is that of Bernhard W. Scholz, printed in Traditio 20: 1964, 59-91.

[227] Barlow 1962: xiv.
[228] Harvey 2004 and Barlow 1962: xxvi.
[229] Barlow 1962: xxxiv.
[230] Harvey 2004. See also Harvey 1977: 25. "The Abbey became the *filius specialis* of St Peter in the twelfth century, just at the time when the king's rights over the church emerged clearly as those of patron, neither more nor less."
[231] Cf. Harvey 2004.
[232] Mynors et. al.1998: 405-07.
[233] Mynors et. al. 1998: 349. This duality, according to Scott Waugh, can be said to result in two pictures of Edward in William's narrative (Waugh 2004: 206). The cause of this duality is presumably William's attempt to reconcile two traditions: the Norman and the Anglo-Saxon (Barlow 1984: xix-xx). As for simplicity cf. Matt. 5:3: Blessed are the poor in spirit: for theirs is the kingdom of heaven/beati pauperes spiritu quoniam ipsorum est regnum caelorum.
[234] Barlow 1962: xxxvii.

political literature and familiar with the resurgent mirror of princes genre. The *Genealogy* is of interest to us in this regard precisely because it does not portray Edward as a saint. Naturally Edward is praised for his numerous virtues, for his virginity and his peaceful reign, but all these characteristics are never grafted on to a seminal saint-figure, they merely serve to remind the audience - perhaps King Stephen - how a good king should behave.[235]

3.3.5 - The *Chronica* of Roger Howden (1192-1201)

Evidence that the legend of Edward the Confessor was still developing after his canonisation, can be found in one of the most important sources of the latter part of the Angevin era: the *Chronica* of Roger Howden, a clerk at Henry II's court from c.1174 to the king's death in 1189. Roger started on his chronicle at about the time he finished *Gesta Regis Henricis Secundi*, i.e. c.1192, and he continued working on this project until his death in 1201.[236] This chronicle is largely derivative, gleaning material from Symeon of Durham, John of Worcester and Aelred of Rievaulx, but there are some interesting points concerning Edward the Confessor that deserve specific mention here. First of all, Roger does not follow Aelred verbatim in his account, and when recounting the story of Edward carrying a cripple Roger sets the story in London following Edward's coronation. He also transforms the cripple of the original story into a leper.[237] Furthermore, we find in Howden's *Chronica* a story of Edward that I have not been able to find in any other sources, namely that of a vision of the devil guarding a treasure chest containing gold taken unjustly from the poor, which Edward redistributed when he learned of the gold's origin.[238] This allegory of Edward's remission of the Danegeld was later used in the 13th century *Estoire* and by Richard of Cirencester in his *Speculum Historiale De Gestis Regum Angliæ*.[239] Roger Howden's rendition of the Confessor's death is also largely derivative - here drawing on John of Worcester - but Howden included an original statement.[240]

3.3.8 - Richard of Cirencester's *Speculum Historiale* (c.1390-1400)

Richard of Cirencester's *Speculum Historiale* was written in the last decade of the 14th century, and its fourth book chronicles the life and times of Edward the Confessor.[241] The Confessor is mentioned already in book 3, for instance in a discussion on the origin of the Westminster regalia,[242] and he is

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[235] See Dutton 2005: 15.

[236] Corner 2004.

[237] For the original story recorded by Osbert and Aelred see Bloch 1923: 82 and Dutton 2005: 162. For Roger's rendition see Stubbs 1964, vol. I: 110.

[238] Stubbs (ed.) 1964, vol I: 110.

[239] For the *Estoire* see Fenster and Wogan-Browne 2008: 65-66 and Binski 1995: 59. For Richard of Cirencester see Mayor 1863, vol II: 216.

[240] "(...) *et in crastino sepultus regio more, ab omnibus, qui tunc affuere, non sine lacrymis plangebatur amarissime*"(Stubbs (ed.) 1964, vol. I: 108). "and during his burial in the morning hours, according to the custom of the region, he was mourned most bitterly by all of those present, not without tears." - translation by Roman Hankeln.

[241] Mayor (ed.) 1863, vol. II: 199-338.

[242] Mayor (ed.) 1863, vol II: 26ff.

here referred to as the glorious Edward king and Confessor and the first universal law-giver of England.[243] Book 4, dedicated to the joyful times of the most glorious Edward who did so many miracles,[244] is divided into chapters reminiscent of *Vita III*. Richard relies heavily on Aelred, but also includes mundane aspects, such as the confiscation of his mother's riches, and material from later legends, such as the devil on the money chest.[245] Richard, to my knowledge, adds nothing new to the roster of characteristics ascribed to Edward. However, according to Frank Barlow we may find in Richard's text a remnant from *Vita I* now lost in the extant manuscript.[246] The passage in question deals with Edith and her chastity, "rendering her the perfect match for Edward".[247]

Having charted the most important historiographical texts we must now proceed to a more detailed investigation of the image that emerges from this tradition.

3.4 - The Historiographical Image

3.4.1 - The Post-Conquest tradition

The historiographical image of Edward the Confessor is the image with the longest tradition, already starting in the 1050s with such texts as the *Encomium Emmae Reginae*[248] and the *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle*. Following the Norman conquest, the time of Edward became a natural point of comparison to the new reign of William the Conqueror, and in some post-conquest native texts Edward became a paragon of peace whose rule was a golden age that contrasted with that of Harold Godwinson.[249] Already in *Vita I* we can see this shift away from peace following the death of Edward, when the king on his deathbed prophesies a great harm that will befall England due to the wickedness of its priests.[250] This account evokes, as we have seen in chapter 3.2.4, the prophet Jonah through Edward's allusion to Nineveh.[251] *Vita I* established Edward's reputation as a visionary,[252] a generous man,[253] a

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[243] For "the glorious Edward" see Mayor (ed.) 1863, vol II: 35. For jurisprudence see Mayor (ed.) 1863, vol II: 31.

[244] Mayor (ed.) 1863, vol II: 199.

[245] For the confiscation see Mayor (ed.) 1863, vol II: 211. For the devil see Mayor (ed.) 1863, vol II: 216.

[246] Barlow 1992: xxxvii. See also Huntingdon 2003: 122.

[247] Huntingdon 2003: 122

[248] Edward's role in the *Encomium* is very inactive. His brother is murdered and upon his return from Normandy he acknowledges that he can do nothing to aid his mother. An illumination in the *Encomium* offers the only contemporary image of Edward aside from the coinage, but this is the work's most interesting contribution to the discussion of Edward's character. Praise of Edward at the end of the text is an addition from c.1500. See Mortimer 2009b: 2-3. A contemporary Norman account of Edward's reign can be found in the text *Discovery and Miracles of St Vulfran* (Mortimer 2009b: 5).

[249] The invocation of a lost golden age was a common topos in medieval historiography (Waugh 2004: 201.) Edward's grandfather Edgar also acquired this reputation (Barlow 1984: 3). As for Edward's peace as presented in *Vita I*, however, that was due to Queen Edith's advice rather than Edward's personality (Barlow 1992: 26-27).

[250] Barlow 1992: 116ff.

[251] Barlow 1992: 116-17.

[252] Interestingly this characteristic was also ascribed to Harthacanute in *Encomium Emmae Reginae* (1041-42) (Campbell 1998: 51).

[253] Edward's gift-giving (both religious and secular) is a significant part of *Vita I* and has been thoroughly dealt with by

healer[254] and the idea of a lost golden age of King Edward, an idea that would be picked up and embellished by William of Malmesbury in the 1120s and invoked in John of Worcester's obituary.[255] Another important feature of *Vita I* that also would be continued by William of Malmesbury is the twofold image of the Confessor. In *Vita I* Edward is at once angelic and angry, but not railing, a good king and a holy fool in *Gesta Regum* (although in the latter his "propensity to anger" has vanished).[256]

Following the Norman conquest Edward also became important to Norman historiographers and native writers of the new reign. Was it not Edward's lack of heirs that had paved the way for the Norman dynasty? Accordingly, much of post-conquest historiography was dedicated in part to the establishment of a history in which King Edward had bestowed the throne of his country on William the Duke of Normandy in gratitude for hospitality during Edward's adolescent exile. In this history, William became the rightful heir to England and Harold Godwinson became a usurper whose demise re-established a rightful rule.[257]

This idea first appears in William of Jumièges's *Gesta Normannorum Ducum* (c.1067-70) where it is stated that Edward's lack of an heir was the will of God,[258] and it is also propagated by William of Poitiers.[259] In both these Norman accounts Edward is presented in positive terms. *Gesta Normannorum Ducum* refers to the noble stock of King Edward,[260] while William of Poitiers is more laudatory when claiming that Edward was worthy of the English crown due to his wisdom, outstanding moral worth and ancient lineage[261] and that he "strove for heaven through his holy life".[262] The Englishman Eadmer of Canterbury (c.1060-c.1126), critical of the destruction wreaked by the Normans and nurturing a "devotion to Anglo-Saxon culture",[263] used this historical fiction to blame the entire conquest on Harold Godwinson. In his *History of Recent Events in England* it is William who claims England as his heirloom and coerces Harold into accepting William as Edward the Confessor's heir. Edward, having feared trickery from the Norman duke, chastises Harold for

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Elizabeth Tyler (Tyler 2000: 86-90. Almsgiving suggests Edward's piety, secular gift-giving suggests Edward's royalty, while ecclesiastical grants and munificence suggest royalty and piety alike. Kings were expected to be lavish in their gift-giving.

[254] Barlow 1992: 124ff.

[255] Mynors et. al. 1998: 415. While the Anonymous is content with stating that "many thousands of the people are thrown down, the kingdom is ravaged by fire and plunder" (Barlow 1992: 120-21), William writes that "demons will roam large over the whole of this land" for one year and one day (Mynors et. al. 1998: 415). For John's obituary see Thorpe1964, vol. 2: 224. It is, however, interesting to note that in this *Chronicon* Edith is suspected to have instigated the murder of Edward's kinsman Gospatric, for the benefit of her brothers (see Mason 1990: 99).

[256] Mortimer 2009: 21 and 36. See also Barlow 1992: 18-19.

[257] Edward as the *antecessor* was one of three main strands in the depiction of Edward up until Aelred's *Vita III*, the two others being the just lawgiver and the saintly king. See Mortimer 2009: 33. Although Mortimer uses the phrase "[t]he saint in Heaven" I do not feel comfortable using this term as it suggests a view of Edward as a saint prior to Osbert's campaign. Such a view is dubious at best.

[258] Van Houts (ed.) 2003, vol. 2: 158-59.

[259] Davis and Chibnall (eds.) 1998: 21.

[260] Van Houts (ed.) 2003, vol. 2: 180-81.

[261] Davis and Chibnall (eds.) 1998: 19. Cf. Aelred's *Geneaology*, Dutton 2005: 71.

[262] Davis and Chibnall (eds.) 1998: 69.

[263] Rubenstein 2004.

bringing ruin upon his country, and Eadmer comments that the Normans claim Harold's death to be a punishment for his "wicked perjury".[264]

The most seminal of all sources from the early Norman period is nonetheless *Vita I*, in which some of Edward's most important characteristics are set down, such as his healing powers, his chaste marriage, his Solomonic reign of peace, his devotion to God, his gift of prophecy, his pre natal election and his charity.[265] These virtues were all picked up by later authors, and most importantly - at least among the historiographers - by William of Malmesbury.

3.4.2 - William of Malmesbury

Since Edward was popular among Norman and Anglo-Saxon writers alike, his reputation solidified in the course of the Norman era. It was, however, the Anglo-Norman William of Malmesbury who made the most significant and lasting contribution to later developments in his *Gesta Regum Anglorum*. William's representation of Edward draws heavily on *Vita I*. He is the first historian to discuss Edward's virtues at any great length and he is also the first since the Flemish Anonymous author of *Vita I* to deal with Edward's miracles.

William's account is a very interesting document because there is a certain duality in his treatment of Edward. On the one hand he recounts the king's virtues enthusiastically, describing the king as moderate, devoted to God, having the gift of prophecy, living "amid the business of the realm an angel's life", and being generous to the poor and overseas pilgrims.[266] Edward also performed miracles, and William's account elaborates upon the story of the woman healed of scrofula and also includes two stories of blind men healed by him.[267] William does not doubt these miracles, but he is also adamant that the thaumaturgical powers owe to Edward's own virtues, rather than being inherent to royal blood, a claim that was burgeoning in France.[268] In other words, William ascribes Edward a number of *mira* and *prodigia* which were wondrous, but not indicative of sanctity.[269]

Although Edward is here portrayed very similarly to the type of the Merovingian monastic

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[264] Bosanquet 1964: 6-9. An interesting counterpart can be seen in Peter Langtoft's early 14th-century chronicle where Edward is said to have "forgotten the duke of Normandy" and consequently given the realm to Harold. See Wright 1866: 402-03.

[265] Barlow 1992. For healing powers see 92ff and 126-27. For chaste marriage see 14-15, 90-91 and 122-23. For peace see 6-7 and 18-19. For devotion to God see 62-63 and 124ff. For gift of prophecy see 116ff. For prenatal election see 14-15 and 90-91. For charity see 64-65, 80-81 and 92-93. When it comes to Solomonic peace it should be noted that in an English 11th-century laudes, "appended to the formulary of 1068", the king is asked to dress in the garments of Solomon (Kantorowicz 1946: 172 and n. 67). When it comes to prenatal election it is interesting to see that R. W. Southern draws attention to Edward's similarity to John the Baptist through his prenatal election. See Southern 1943: 385. To my knowledge, the connection between Edward and the Baptist was not taken up again until the production of the Wilton Diptych.

[266] Mynors et. al. 1998: 405-07.

[267] For the scrofulous woman see Mynors et. al. 1998: 407 and Barlow 1980: 3-27. For the healing of the blind see Mynors et. al. 1998: 407-11.

[268] Mynors et. al. 1998: 407-09.

[269] Ward 1987: 205. Edward was, in other words, merely the vessel of God's grace, the secondary cause as it was known in scholastic terms (Angenendt 1994:62-63). This was indicative of a virtuous life, but not necessarily sanctity.

king,[270] he does not fit squarely into the model of the *rex sanctus*. This is not surprising, since William did not aim to propagate a saint. William is keen to point out that it was the late king's virtues and his protection from God that assured the peace of his time, not his ability to rule.[271] As mentioned above William did not consider Edward "fit to govern" since he was too simple of mind, but he was nonetheless loved by the court.[272] Furthermore, despite referring to his saintly conduct, William includes Edward's confiscation of his mother's property, showing a mundane aspect of an otherwise generous figure.[273]

Edward was, in other words, both of the court and above the court. He was, as behoved a king, an avid huntsman, but at the same time his simplicity made him unfit for the sceptre.[274] His visionary powers were confirmed by his vision of the seven sleepers and the death-bed prophecy, but although his marriage was chaste William suggests this might have been out of hatred of Edith's family rather than his own love of chastity.[275]

The Edward of *Gesta Regum Anglorum* is a seminal saint. His conduct is saintly, he performs miracles and lives "an angel's life". William's account is too sober, however, to suggest that he considered Edward anything more than a moral king, an extraordinary *rex iustus*, and Edward's virtues serve more to disprove the idea of inherent royal sanctity than to propagate a cult of Edward.

3.4.3 - The King's Martial Exploits

Although William of Malmesbury stated that Edward had no interest in expanding his kingdom and shied away from the idea of conquest,[276] this representation of Edward as an angelic king aloof from the mundane matters goes contrary to his more martial exploits reported in several other sources. This line goes all the way back to the *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle*. In the Abingdon MS. we learn of naval expeditions in 1045, 1048 and 1049, and in the obituary Edward is lauded as a guardian of the homeland.[277] One of Edward's naval expeditions was also included in *Gesta Normannorum Ducum*, although it is also claimed here that he reigned without bloodshed.[278] John of Worcester, too, includes

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[270] Klaniczay 2002: 103.

[271] Mynors et. al. 1998: 349.

[272] Mynors et. al. 1998: 349. It should be noted that "simplicity" did not necessarily carry negative connotations. Wulfstan of Worcester (d. 1095, can.1203) achieved a reputation for simplicity - originating in Osbert's story of the miracle of Wulfstan's staff (Bloch 1923: 116-20) - and in the subsequent legends and stories his simplicity was favourably compared to the acts of authority figures (Mason 1990: 283).

[273] For the saintly conduct see Mynors et. al.: 1998 353. For the confiscation see Mynors et. al. 1998: 351.

[274] For hunting see Mynors et. al.: 1998 349. For simplicity see Mynors et. al. 1998: 349. William also stresses Edward's naivete on three occasions in his *Gesta Pontificum Anglorum*, in which Edward's munificence of Westminster and the confiscation of his mothers' riches also are mentioned. See Winterbottom 2002, vol. 1: 47, 287 and 383; 225; 627, respectively.) In his *Vita Wulfstani* William also states that Edward was a dutiful servant of the Church (Darlington 1928: 17-18.

[275] For the visionary powers see Mynors et. al. 1998: 411ff. For the dicussion on Edward's reason for abstinence see Mynors et. al. 1998: 353-55.

[276] Mynors et. al.: 479 and 535.

[277] For the naval expeditions see Whitelock et. al. 1962: 113 and 115-16. For the obituary see Whitelock et. al.: 141.

[278] "(...) *sine sanguinis effusione*," Van Houts 2003, vol. 2: 78-79, although this may pertain to the royal succession rather

this feature in his chronicle,[279] but it appears that no Latin chronicle grapples with this aspect until Richard of Cirencester in the 14th century, who otherwise follows Aelred's *Vita III* quite closely.[280] Geffrei Gaimar in his *L'estoire des Engleis* (c.1136-37) claims Edward went to Hungary to aid his half-brother Edmund Ironside, but this appears to be a (possibly deliberate) confusion with Edward Atheling who was sent to Hungary in exile.[281]

3.4.4 - Post-canonisation historiographies

Edward's canonisation naturally affected his representation in medieval historiography, but not as dramatically as one might suspect. When historians depended on pre-canonisation texts they were most likely to transmit the message of that text more or less verbatim. In Roger of Howden's chronicle, compiled in the last decade of the 12th century, we first find the term "blessed Edward, king and confessor" after he has exhausted Symeon of Durham's work.[282] Up until this stage, however, Roger depicts Edward in the same terms as Symeon, who composed his work before Edward was accorded sainthood. For the rest of his account Roger draws on Aelred but adding, as mentioned in chapter 3.1, Edward's vision of the devil on the money-chest.[283]

In the chronicle of Walter of Coventry (fl. 1293), Edward is similarly only referred to as "most holy king" in an account of Henry III's coronation,[284] while in the account of Edward's life Walter draws on John of Worcester, who paid Edward no particular attention with the exception of his original obituary, also reiterated by Walter of Coventry.[285]

Other chroniclers, such as the compilers of *Flores Historiarum* and writers like Robert of Gloucester and Richard of Cirencester were all happy to refer to Edward as a blessed man or a saint, two titles used interchangeably up until the beginning of the 13th century.[286] However, despite Edward's established sanctity, historiographers did not shy away from depicting the mundane aspects of the holy king. Roger of Howden includes the detail that Edward ordered the rebellious Rhys to be

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than the state of the realm at large. For the naval expedition see Van Houts 2003, vol. 2: 104-05.

[279] Thorpe 1964: 199 and 208.

[280] For the martial exploits see Mayor (ed.) 1863, vol. 2: 188. For Richard's reliance on Aelred see Mayor 1863, vol. 2: 200. Aelred does, however, state that Edward was "terrible to his enemies", but this is not elaborated upon and does not lend a martial air to the Confessor's characterisation (Dutton 2005: 137).

[281] Short 2009: 420.

[282] Stubbs (ed.) 1964, vol. 1: 108. Symeon is in turn highly derivative. The only original statement about Edward pertains to his piety and can be found in his work *Historia Ecclesiae Dunhelmensis*. See Arnold 1882, vol. I: 91-92.

[283] Cf. Stubbs (ed.) 1964, vol. 1: 109-10. This vision may be recorded in the Nun of Barking's vernacular verse hagiography. See Fenster and Wogan-Browne 2008: 66, n. 102. Hagiography as a source of historiography was nothing new by that time, as we learn from the example of Orderic Vitalis. See Haskins 1968: 240.

[284] Stubbs 1873, vol 2: 244.

[285] Stubbs 1873 (ed.), vol. 1: 80.

[286] Cf. Vauchez 2005: 85f. According to Vauchez this shift began in the mid-13th century, but as we see in the account of Edward I's offering at the shrine of "beato regi Edwardo" in 1297 (Luard 1890, vol. 3: 101) "blessed" was used at the turn of the century as well. Note also that Richard of Cirencester uses "beatissimus rex Eduuardus" (Mayor (ed.) 1964, vol. 1: 96. Liturgical texts, however, often use sanctus and beatus interchangingly.

put to death,[287] while Roger Wendover claims Edward repudiated his wife on account of her father.[288] Edward's passion for hunting is included in *Flores Historiarum*[289] and Walter of Coventry's chronicle,[290] despite the fact that John of Salisbury had deemed this activity the worst of courtly frivolities in his influential work *Policraticus*.[291] Furthermore, Edward's confiscation of his mother's property and his military exploits were included, as mentioned, even by Richard of Cirencester, whose fourth book to a great extent reads as an Edward hagiography.[292]

3.4.5 - Summary remarks: the historiographical image

As we have seen, the historiographical tradition presented Edward in a way that did not always conform to the ideals of sanctity, even after his canonisation. This can partly be explained by the fact that the sources used sometimes were pre-canonisation chronicles, but the inclusion of these mundane aspects are nonetheless interesting since the authors took the trouble to mention them, even though they did assert Edward's sanctity. The historiographical image, to the extent any unity can be concocted in this regard, is that of a religious and saintly king, capable of visions and miracles, but also a king who commissioned death and punishment when necessary. It is evident that the king's performance of even the most mundane aspects of the royal office did not appear to diminish his standing. This may seem surprising given the hagiographic depiction of Edward as aloof from courtly matters, but for historians - who may not have been particularly dedicated to St. Edward - it was probably only natural that a king would grapple with each and every aspect of his office.

That historiographers portrayed a worldlier Edward may not necessarily point to a courtly audience, but rather that they followed a different goal with their narratives than did the hagiographers. Matthew Paris, for instance, is clearly addressing a courtly audience with his *Estoire*, but Edward is still portrayed as a thorough saint and is not mixed up in martial affairs or hunting. Note also that Richard of Cirencester, who is the closest one comes to a 14th-century Edward hagiographer, includes Edward's confiscation of his mother's riches,[293] which is hardly an angelic course of action.

3.5 - The Hagiographical Texts

Hagiographical works occupy the lesser share of the Edward literature, but are the most important part for my purpose. Through the hagiographical works the saint Edward was shaped, and it is this figure that was celebrated in the liturgy. In this section I aim to examine the most important hagiographical texts and establish how Edward was represented. This image will be more unified than that of the

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[287] Stubbs (ed.) 1964: 100.
[288] Coxe 1964, vol. 1: 490.
[289] Luard (ed.) 1890, vol. 1: 584.
[290] Stubbs (ed.) 1873, vol. 1: 79.
[291] Luscombe 2004.
[292] Mayor (ed.) 1863, vol. 2: 211 and 188, respectively.
[293] Mayor (ed.) 1863, vol 2: 211.

historiographies, since all hagiographers wrote with a common purpose, with minor differences in emphasis.

3.5.1 - Osbert of Clare (d. in or after 1158) and *Vita II*

Vita II was finished in the course of 1138, dedicated to the papal legate Alberic and presented to the pope in 1139.[294] The *vita* was based on a number of texts and documents, most importantly William of Malmesbury's *Gesta Regum Anglorum*, Sulcard's *History of Westminster* and *Vita I*, which in turn had influenced the two former texts.[295] In addition to these written sources, Osbert also based his account on witnesses and personal experience, as he himself pointed out in a letter to Bishop Henry of Winchester.[296] *Vita II* retained "three themes" from *Vita I*, the prenatal election,[297] the chastity, and the miracles.[298] The superannuated political narrative was no longer of any use in the contemporary context and was omitted, while a number of cures and visions pertinent to the genre he opted for was added. The result was that almost all details not concerning Edward's purported sanctity were left out. Similarly Osbert strengthens the connection between the Confessor and Rome, indubitably to emphasise Edward's love for the papal church.[299] Osbert's labours did not achieve the victory he had hoped for as the canonisation proposal was, as we have seen in chapter 2.2.4, denied on grounds of lack of support by a united English church.[300] Slightly more than two decades later, however, *Vita II* was refurbished by Aelred of Rievaulx (1110-67) and transformed into the first official *vita*.

3.5.2 - Aelred of Rievaulx and *Vita III*

Vita III was commissioned for the translation in 1163 by Abbot Lawrence of Westminster. The task of writing fell to Aelred, a monk from the Cistercian abbey of Rievaulx and the abbot's kinsman. Aelred's product was presented to Henry II at the translation of October 13. On that same joyful occasion, Aelred preached a sermon on Luke 11:33.[301] The translation of Edward was important for the king, but probably even more so for Westminster, which now had a new and unique - albeit secondary - patron

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[294] For the date see Barlow 1962: xxx. For the dedication see Williamson 1998: 18-19.

[295] Bloch 1923: 45ff. In addition to the texts treated in the paragraph, Marc Bloch mentions a collection of miracles at Westminster, transmitted on "cédules" or schedules (cf. Barlow 1962: xxxvii), Goscelin's *Vita Sancti Melliti* and "[q]uelques textes diplomatiques" from Westminster.

[296] Williamson 1998: 84.

[297] A. G. Rigg states that since Osbert makes Edward a younger son of Aethelred, this makes "the prenatal oath of allegiance even more miraculous." Rigg also claims the transition from *Vita I* and *Vita II* is one of the most dramatic adaptations of hagiography in this period. (Rigg1992: 12-13.)

[298] Huntingdon 2003: 122.

[299] Bozoky 2009: 177.

[300] Williamson 1998: 18-19.

[301] "*[N]emo lucernam accendit et in abscondito ponit*" a text common to such occasions (Rex 2008: 223) and found in the mass of the vigil for Edward's *dies natalis* in the Westminster Missal (Legg 1893: col. 737). In Thomas Wykes' (1222-91/93) treatment of Edward's 1269 *translatio* Wykes described it as a light being brought out that for a long time had been hidden. Thomas also attested to Henry's special devotion for Edward. See Luard 1869, vol. 4: 226. This sermon may very well be *Mundus iste*, which refers to this passage. In the Corpus Christianorum edition it is claimed to have been performed on January 5. Emily O'Brien suggests, however, that the sermon may have been performed 13 October 1163, since its discussion on royal virtues may have suited a royal audience (O'Brien 2001: 167). It may have been preached on both occasions.

who could be asked to intervene whenever its privileges were threatened (he was, after all, known for his generosity to churches), and who - at least ideally - could command the king's obeisance. That this was a concern for Abbot Lawrence becomes evident when we consider Aelred's dedicatory prologue to King Henry where he urges the monarch to imitate Edward in order to "obtain eternal happiness".[302] Indeed, *Vita III* reads to a great extent like a mirror of princes meant to encourage the king to emulate his blessed forebear, attempting to mould the monarch to suit the clergy's moral standards. This may also explain why Abbot Lawrence selected Aelred for the task, since Aelred was an experienced man in the speculum tradition. *Vita III*, as Binski points out, "promotes a concentrated and liturgically apt vision of the king".[303]

Aelred dedicated his opus to King Henry II, and in the dedicatory prologue he writes that he is presenting Edward as a model for emulation,[304] typical of the *speculum* genre, and he sugarcoats this thinly veiled admonition by claiming that Henry's rule was foreseen by Edward on his deathbed as a bringer of peace and unity.[305]

Vita III proved to be a very influential piece of hagiography and, as Barlow puts it, "the only one to achieve a wide circulation".[306] The opus was an expanded - and simplified - version of Osbert's *Vita II* with added posthumous miracles, some of which took place outside the vicinity of the court or Westminster.[307] Some of these miracles are new to Edward's hagiography; one - the miracle of the ring[308] - was possibly invented by Aelred, while another - the miracle of the hand-maiden - is very uncharacteristic in that this is the only punitive miracle in the hagiographies.[309] Aelred also reintroduced the Godwins, but only to serve as foils for Edward.[310]

The text's influence can be seen in that it was used by several historians such as Roger Howden and Richard of Cirencester. It was also the basis of the Barking *Vie d'Edouard*, and it was given a verse rendition by Alexander of Ashby (1148/1154–1208/1214) at the turn of the 12th century in his collection of verse hagiography, *Festia.*[311] Furthermore, *Vita III* served as the basis for a Latin poem called *Vita Beati Edvardi Regis et Confessoris* written in elegiacs whose earliest source is the MS. Caius Coll. Camb. 153 from the 13th century, a poem including matter from Aelred's *Vita III* and also

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[302] Dutton 2005: 127.
[303] Binski 1995: 57.
[304] Dutton 2005: 126.
[305] Dutton 2005: 127. The applicability and adaptability of Edward's enigmatic and nebulous death-bed prophecy (see Barlow 1992: 116ff, Bloch 1923: 106ff and Dutton 2005: 202ff) is one of the features that allowed several kings to embrace Edward as a prophet of his own realm (cf. Binski 1995: 55).
[306] Barlow 1962: xxxvii.
[307] Cf. Barlow 1962: 112.
[308] Dutton 2005: 196ff.
[309] For the miracle see Dutton 2005: 228ff. Barlow claims this to be originally written by Osbert (Barlow 1992: 157). I consider the death of the Danish king as a vision beheld by Edward, not a miracle performed by him, which is Klaniczay's position (Klaniczay 2002: 171).
[310] As Rigg suggests this was probably gathered from William of Malmesbury (Rigg 1992: 14).
[311] Rigg 1992: 14, 131-32. The work can be found in Dinkova-Bruun 2004: 255-70.

his *Genealogy*.[312] In the 14th century an abridged version in Latin prose was included in John Tynemouth's *Sanctilogium Angliae*,[313] and in the 15th century two more abridgements were composed: a versification of *Vita III* was dedicated to Henry VI,[314] and a Middle English prose life dependent to a varying degree on Aelred's text.[315]

3.5.2 - The *Estoire* of Matthew Paris (1235-59)

Sometime in the course of Henry III's reign, a new hagiographic text was composed in French, attributed to Matthew Paris by modern scholarship. The opus, *Le Estoire de Seint Aedward le Rei*, is written in the vernacular and dedicated to Henry's queen, Eleanor of Provence,[316] and this allows for a date within the timeframe 1236-1259, from Eleanor and Henry's wedding to Matthew's death.[317] This is the only hagiography of Edward written during Henry's reign, at least that I know of. Matthew's *Estoire* is largely a reconfiguration of *Vita III*, altered, as Vaughan states, to suit the rather xenophobic politics of its author, but it also draws on Roger of Howden for some of its details.[318]

3.6 - The Hagiographical Image

As we have already seen in the preceding sections hagiography and historiography depended upon and affected each other, as exemplified by William of Malmesbury's influence on *Vita II* and Aelred of Rievaulx's influence on historians like Richard of Cirencester. Although both disciplines were concerned with historical matter and were driven by a didactic purpose, they nonetheless differed somewhat in approach. The historiographer was more likely to portray things good and bad,[319] whereas the hagiographer constructed, embellished or transmitted an ideal image of holy men and women for ordinary sinners to emulate.

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[312] Luard 1858: xxx-xxxi, 381-83. This does not appear to have had any bearing on the liturgical material.

[313] This work is now known as *Nova Legenda Anglie* and it is a result of three editorial stages. The first stage was a collection of English saints' lives, *Sanctilogium Angliae*, compiled in the mid-14th century by John Tynemouth, arranged according to the calendar (therefore starting with the Confessor on January 5) and based on a similar compilation of French saints by Guido de Castris, abbot of St. Denis from 1326-43. John's work was later reorganised in alphabetical order in the 15th century, a task attributed to John Capgrave. In 1516 Wynkyn de Worde added fifteen new lives to the collection and titled it *Nova Legenda Anglie*. (Horstman1901: ix). John refers to Edward and Oswald as kings particularly worthy of emulation (Horstman 1901: 8).

[314] The text is printed by Luard (1858: 359-77) who proposes 1455 as a *terminus ante quem* (Luard 1858: xxxvii-xviii. See also Rigg 1992: 311).

[315] This was an addition to the collection of saints lives known as the *Gilte Legende* (1438) which was a translation from a French version of Voragine's *Legenda Aurea*. Edward's life was included only in the London, British Library, Additional MS. 35298 (Hamer and Vida 2000: xiii and xxii). The Life sometimes follows Aelred verbatim, but other times it deviates significantly (Hamer and Russell 2000: xxxv.)

[316] Matthew had originally "criticized and abused Henry III, the queen's French relatives and other members of the establishment" in his *Chronica Majora*, but later established a close connection to the court and in particular the king. See Gransden 1985: 474.

[317] Wallace 1983: xxii. It should be noted that the attribution to Matthew Paris can not be fully assessed and as such 1259 is a false terminus ante quem, but I have decided to agree with the arguments put forth by Vaughan in 1958 and again by Binski in 1991 (Binski 1991: 89ff).

[318] For Matthew Paris' xenophobia see Vaughan 1958: 175. For the influence of Roger Howden see Binski 1995: 59. Specifically the vision of the devil on the money chest, a story seemingly invented by Roger.

[319] For a comprehensive discussion of the good-and-bad dichotomy see Henry Huntingdon's prologue to *Historia Anglorum* (Greenway 2007: 1-9)

3.6.1 - Osbert of Clare and *Vita II*

Osbert's hagiographic enterprise was driven by a mixture of personal devotion and ecclesio-political concerns. Writing in the late 1130s Osbert was the first true hagiographer of Edward the Confessor and he took this opportunity to shape a *vita* that was conform to the standards of the day and attentive to contemporary sensibilities. The characterisation of Edward had already been well established through the historiographical tradition and Osbert carried most of the saintly features over into his own account. The Edward of *Vita II* springs from a noble lineage, he is generous and charitable, Solomonic, elected as king while in his mother's womb, chaste, moderate, devout, humble, just and gentle. He is also endowed with prophetic powers and can work healing miracles.[320]

Osbert's rendition is, in other words, an elaboration of what can already be found in *Vita I* and *Gesta Regum Anglorum*, yet Osbert has also added new material, either his own invention or gleaned from popular legend. Osbert's most important contribution to the Edward literature is first of all that he has arranged the narrative in a professionally hagiographic manner, containing a *historia*, *passio* and *miracula* and moulded by an evident didactic purpose. The didacticism of *Vita II* is based to a great extent on mnemonic devices. Through allusion to and comparison with biblical and classical archetypes Osbert not only asserts Edward's virtues, he evokes figures from the biblical and classical past and thus immerses Edward more firmly in the reader's mind. Edward becomes both Solomon and Moses by default when the newly-consecrated Westminster is likened to both the Queen of Sheba and the Ethiopian wife of Moses.[321] Edward is also, by virtue of his prophetic powers, claimed to be a saint who merits inclusion in the saintly collegium of David, Hezekiah and Josiah.[322] The same visionary powers make Osbert compare him to John the Apostle, a fellow virgin, by calling Edward "the key of David".[323] Osbert also aims to teach by counterexample, and when praising Edward's generosity Osbert draws attention to the miserly Midas, while the king's chaste marriage is contrasted with the tyrant Dionysus of Syracuse.[324]

Vita II also shows alertness to contemporary preferences, shaped by the heavily Cistercian climate of the Church following the Concordat of Worms in 1122.[325] This can be seen in Edward's Marian invocation, pledging to follow her example,[326] a gesture that may be connected with Osbert's own devotion and his advocacy of the "restoration of the festival of the Immaculate Conception of the

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[320] Bloch 1923: For noble lineage see 69. For generosity and charity see 66-69, 74 and 112. For Solomonic features see 73, 78 and 105. For prenatal election see 66-69. For chastity see 66-69, 72, 75, 97 and 110-11. For moderate living see 66-69 and 74. For devotion see 66-69 and 98. For humility see 72. For justice see 104. For gentleness see 74. For prophetic powers see 75ff, 91-92, 98ff and 106ff. For thaumaturgical powers see 82, 92, 94, 95, 96, 112-113 and 116.

[321] Bloch 1923: 105-07.

[322] Bloch 1923: 100-01. These are three of the virtuous rulers hailed as exemplars of kings by Smaragdus in his *Via Regia*, drawing on Ecclesiasticus 49:4-6. See Laistner 1928: 392.

[323] Bloch 1923: 76. See Revelation 3:7.

[324] Bloch 1923: 67-68.

[325] Morri 1989: 182. The Virgin Mary was the saint to whom that order was dedicated. See Warner 1990: 131.

[326] Bloch 1923: 74.

Virgin Mary" at Westminster.[327] Furthermore, as mentioned in the introduction, Osbert refers to Edward as "[p]reciosus adleta Domini et rex insignis Eadwardus", a nod, perhaps, to the burgeoning ideal of the *athleta christi*.[328] Additionally, we can see in *Vita II* a recalibration of Edward's chastity, presenting an unambiguous case of mutually consensual chastity in wedlock and emphasising Edward's virginity in death rather than in life.[329]

3.6.2 - Aelred of Rievaulx: *Vita III* and the sermons

Aelred's hagiography is the only official Latin *vita* of Edward the Confessor, i.e. the only one intended to be used after papal recognition of the cult.[330] It is largely based on Osbert's account, but with a few additions as seen in chapter 3.5.3. It is not until the 13th-century *Estoire* that Edward the Confessor is expressly called a martyr on account of his conquest of the flesh.[331] On the whole *Vita III* is an updated rendition of *Vita II* but aimed at a different audience: the court of King Henry II. This change may account for some of Aelred's emendations. Like Osbert of Clare, Aelred has an outspoken didactic agenda, but while Osbert catered to fellow clerics who were acquainted with the frame of reference he used, Aelred was probably forced to adapt his didactic mechanisms to meet the education of the king, an education more heavily marked by the biblical lexicon than the classical. This is suggested by Aelred's omission of Osbert's classical types and his sole reliance on biblical figures such as Abraham, David, Joseph son of Jacob and Job[332] to evoke royal virtues, while turning to biblical women such as Judith and Susanna, and of course the Virgin Mary, as examples of chastity and constancy.[333]

Aelred emphasises Edward's monkish traits,[334] presenting Edward as detached from courtly matters. There is also a strong emphasis on Edward's christomimetic aspects. We see this in tandem with his monkish propensities, but also in his regal capacity as in the consecration of Westminster.[335] This intertwining of regal and holy characteristics can perhaps be seen most poignantly in the account

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[327] See Barlow 2004. Edward the Confessor's Marian devotion is also suggested by John Flete's list of relics allegedly donated to Westminster by the Confessor. This list includes pieces of cloth, milk, hairs and shoes belonging to the Blessed Virgin (Robinson 1909a: 69-70). It his, however, interesting that this invocation is made into a direct prayer to God in *Vita III* - see Bloch 1923 vs. Dutton 2005: 146. In *Vita I*, however, the Marian elements are connected to Edith rather than Edward (Otter 1999:70-71).

[328] Bloch 1923: 69.

[329] Huntingdon 2003: 124-25.

[330] Pezzini 2009: 8.

[331] Fenster and Wogan-Browne (transl.) 2008: 54. The idea that one can be a martyr on account of one's virginity is, however, an idea reaching back to Merovingian times and the origin of the "bloodless martyrdom". See Graus 1965: 101. Isidore of Seville, picking up this idea, stated expressly that people resisting carnal desires have "sacrificed themselves in their hearts" and become "martyrs even in times of peace" (book VII.xi). See Barney et. al. 2006: 170.

[332] Dutton 2005: 130.

[333] Dutton 2005: 146. Unlike Dionysius and Midas these figures were part of "a common stock of cultural knowledge" (Given-Wilson 2004: 167).

[334] Dutton 2005: 134, 175 and 193.

[335] For his monkish propensities see Dutton 2005: 135, an account very similar to Luke 2:41-50. For his regal capacity see Dutton 2005: 202. The reference to John 19:30 is perhaps the strongest evidence for the christomimesis of Edward in *Vita III*.

of Edward's death-bed prophecy. It is already stated in *Vita I* that Edward on his death-bed recalled his youth in Normandy in hermit-like terms, invoking the prophet Jonah by an allusion to Nineveh, and this continues in every major rendition of this narrative up to Aelred's v*ita*.[336] Aelred, however, adds a number of biblical citations to his account, chiefly from the Psalms, and it is tempting to suggest that he thus invokes King David, the supposed author of the Psalms, and presents the English king with a biblical antecedent in Edward the Confessor.[337] In addition to the humble David as a royal antecedent, Aelred also emphasises Edward's relationship with saint John, who, upon Edward's arrival in Heaven, "ran to meet him".[338] This relationship emphasises Edward's spiritual/monkish character, since John was Christ's beloved disciple and, like Edward himself, a virgin saint.

In addition to *Vita III* there are some additional works which belong under the hagiographic label: Aelred's three sermons in honour of Edward the Confessor. These sermons, referred to by their incipits, are interesting since they allowed Aelred to elaborate on some of the subjects found in *Vita III*. The sermons were most likely held at Westminster on Edward's *dies natalis*.[339] The first sermon, *Sanctum est*, emphasises virginity, humility and the peace of Edward, and states that he was a servant of God, not of Mammon.[340] The second sermon, *Mundus iste*, is more focused on Edward's royal virtues, such as equity, justice and mercy, and states that Edward is the lamp of virtue that he has set to shine upon the world. Interestingly, in this sermon Aelred alludes to the *miles Christi* who battles the evil spirits of the world, and the martyrdom through flesh as mentioned above.[341] The third sermon, *Pulchra et honesta*, is prefaced with an antiphon from the common of one martyr, and revolves around Edward's Pauline contempt for secular things, and how he communed with God in a manner very similar to the monastic fashion.[342] These sermons are interesting because of their emphases, and for being the possibly earliest documents where the concepts *miles Christi* and martyr of the flesh are connected to Edward.

3.6.3 - Vernacular hagiographies
Following Edward's canonisation and Aelred's official account presented at Westminster October 13 1163, no more Latin hagiographies appeared. Apparently nobody felt the need to reformulate the Confessor's image to such an extent that they attempted to make *Vita III* redundant. Roger of Howden and Richard of Cirencester are, as stated, the only authors who come close to a hagiographic

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[336] For *Vita I* see Barlow 1992: 116ff. For later renditions see Mynors et. al. 1998: 415, Bloch 1923: 107 and Dutton 2005: 205.

[337] Dutton 2005: 202ff.

[338] Dutton 2005: 211. This is possibly an allusion to John 20: 3-4 where the disciple runs to Christ's tomb. Given the messianic undertone prevalent in the Edward literature, I believe this is a deliberate echo.

[339] Emily O'Brien suggests a monastic audience (O'Brien 2001: 167-69) while Gaetano Raciti has listed them as sermons *in Natali Sancti Edwardi* (Raciti 2012 vol 4: 835). Interestingly, the first sermon is prefaced by a item [22] (Raciti 2012 vol 4: 546).

[340] Raciti 2012 vol 4: 546-552. See also O'Brien 2001: 167-68.

[341] Raciti 2012 vol 4: 553-58. See also O'Brien 2001: 168.

[342] Raciti 2012 vol 4: 559-67. See also O'Brien 2001: 169.

presentation of Edward in the period 1163-1399, but they both base their accounts on Aelred and their accounts are historiographic in form and function. However, two vernacular *vitae* were composed after 1163, and they were both Anglo-Norman verse renditions of Aelred's work. These deserve some attention as interesting literary aspects of the cult of Edward, and they may even have had some influence on the liturgy. This influence, if there was any, is difficult to assess, both because of the difference in language, but also because these vernacular texts are exceedingly prolix. Since liturgy is a category of compressed material, it is therefore difficult to see any structural parallels between these lives and the liturgy. Moreover, if any parallels can be found between these lives and the office material, this connection may more likely be due to the vernacular texts' dependence on Aelred. As for myself, I have been unable to find anything to suggest that the vernacular lives have influenced the liturgy.

The first of these vernacular texts is the life composed by a nun at Barking Abbey - *La Vie d'Edouard le Confesseur* - sometime during the reign of Henry II. The Barking *Vie*, according to Jocelyn Wogan-Browne, is directed at a female audience, shifting the focus of the narrative to Edward's wife Edith and giving it a distinct Anglo-Norman touch.[343] This transition recalibrates Edward into what Jennifer Brown calls an Anglo-Norman saint, but retains him as "valiant and puissant".[344] Since the *Vie* was intended for an audience of nuns - many of whom were likely to have an aristocratic background - it is difficult to assess the extent of its influence in medieval England, but a prose edition of this poem was composed in the 14th century.[345]

The second and most important vernacular hagiography is the illustrated Anglo-Norman verse life attributed to Matthew Paris, the *Estoire de Seint Aedward le Rei* or the *Estoire* for brevity. Composed in the mid-13th century and addressing a courtly audience, the *Estoire* sought to adapt Aelred's *Vita III* to a new setting. This was partly done by emphasising the chivalric aspects of the narrative, for example by rendering the duel between Cnut and Edmund Ironside similar to a tournament between knights, or criticising Harold Godwinson for his unchivalric behaviour.[346] Edward the Confessor, however, is not a chivalric saint, for the heyday of that saint type belonged to the past at that point.[347] Rather, Edward becomes a more monastic or monkish saint, a "sedentary" king,[348] a peer of John the Evangelist[349] whose largesse and thaumaturgical powers are highlighted

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[343] Brown 2007: 47.

[344] For Brown's statement see Brown 2007: 48. For Binski's statement see Binski 1995: 62.

[345] Pezzini 2009: 3 and 41. This text has been printed in Meyer, Paul, "Notice du MS. Egerton 745, Appendice", *Romania* 40 (1911): 41-69.

[346] For the duel see Fenster and Wogan-Browne (transl.) 2008: 57-58. For Godwinson's lack of chivalry see Fenster and Wogan-Browne (ed.s) 2008: 112. Interestingly, part of this unchivalric behaviour is his neglect of histories and heroic tales, exactly the kind of literature through which this criticism is presented.

[347] Cf. Klaniczay 2002: 184.

[348] Binski 1995: 62.

[349] Fenster and Wogan-Browne 2008: 99.

even further, the former by the inclusion of the vision of the devil on the money-chest, the latter by an additional and novel catalogue of his thaumaturgical repertoire.[350] Edward is a king who professes his love and obedience to his baronage.[351] He is not withdrawn from the court in the manner of William of Malmesbury's angelic king, but instead - though sedentary - he is engaged in the jurisprudence of the realm as was Solomon (although not in the executive manner illustrated in the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle).[352] He is also attentive to courtly matters in the sense that he is active within the court and makes his court "a school for good breeding and teaching".[353] "[N]ot since the time of Arthur had there been a king who had done such great honor", the narrator remarks and lauds Edward for his *debonereté*, his courtly meekness, a virtue also mentioned by the historiographer Robert of Gloucester (fl. c.1260-1300) in his metrical chronicle, along with generosity, devotion and temperance.[354]

3.6.4 - The Hagiographical Image

To sum up, then, the Edward Confessor of the hagiographies is a composite of royal and saintly virtues, among them the cardinal virtues established by Ambrose.[355] The royal virtues, i.e. virtues that by themselves do not point towards sanctity because they are expected of any good ruler, are justice (a cardinal virtue), piety and generosity (theological virtues). John of Salisbury exhorts the prince to be just but mild, saying "mercy will temper the vigour of justice". Piety is even more important to the prince, since lack of piety will engender "laughter, contempt and hatred". As for generosity, John states that the prince must shun avarice, cultivate a Solomonic contempt for money and "count his wealth as the people's".[356]

As for the saintly virtues, we must once again consider piety. Saintly piety takes on a more monastic form than the piety of a king. The king, although he is primarily a Christian king, has by virtue of his noble, aristocratic birth a worldly arrogance that prevents him from joining the *sanctorale*. If a king shows piety of a more monastic quality - piety conjoined with humility, as was the case with Edward - that spurns the world and the arrogance of an elevated position, the king is fit to be considered a saint.[357] This piety, a Pauline detachment from the secular affairs,[358] mitigates the

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[350] For the devil see Fenster and Wogan-Browne (eds.) 2008: 65-66. For the catalogue see Fenster and Wogan-Browne (transl.) 2008: 111.

[351] Fenster and Wogan-Browne 2008: 68.

[352] For the angelic king see Mynors et. al. 1998: 405-07. For jurisprudence See for instance Fenster and Wogan-Browne 2008: 65, 71 and 93-94.

[353] Fenster and Wogan-Browne 2008: 65.

[354] For the quote in the *Estoire* see Fenster and Wogan-Browne 2008: 65. For the definition of *debonereté* see Binski 1995: 61. For Robert's use see Wright 1887: 490. Robert's chronicle served as the basis for large parts of the 15th-century Middle English verse life of Edward (Moore 1942: lviiff).

[355] See for instance Bejczy 2011: 15-16. The cardinal virtues are a good example of Stoic philosophy molded into a Christian shape. See also Isidore's *Etymologies*, book II.xxiv (Barney et. al. 2006: 79).

[356] For mercy and piety see Nedermann 1992: 52. For generosity see Nedermann 1992: 38-40. The latter may have been picked up by Aelred of Rievaulx and used in his sermon *Sanctum est*, where Aelred states the following about Edward's wealth: "cuius diuitiae erant quasi res publica" Raciti 2012 vol 4: 547, line 60).

[357] Cf. Gaposchkin 2010: 107. Humility is a virtue invoked in the following offices: Heinrich II (see appendix III - item 03) and Oswin, king and martyr (appendix III - item 10).

burden of kingship, which, because of its secular nature, was a stumbling block on the stairway to Heaven. Edward's humility is therefore an important prerequisite for sainthood, along with noble conduct not ultimately based on blood. This is a trait we find in several other saints and saint types, such as confessors, kings and queens.[359]

In the hagiographies, Edward is also hailed as gentle and mild, chaste (the cardinal virtue of temperance), prophetic,[360] thaumaturgic and predestined to rule, elected by God already when he was enclosed in his mother's womb. This latter virtue or feature - predestination - invokes a number of great forebears, for instance John the Baptist,[361] Charlemagne[362] and a range of other saints.[363] Among the saints hailed for their predestfination we find kings, martyrs and confessors.[364] Edward was also, as we have seen, compared to a number of biblical and classical types, as other medieval kings were also, whether they were sainted or not. This intertextuality established a king's position in the minds of the audience or the celebrating community, invoking historical men and women whose virtues - or vices - could be found in the present monarch. In the literature of Edward the Confessor some of these types pertain to Edward as a king, a *rex iustus*, while others pertain to Edward's holiness as *rex sanctus*. In the conclusion of this chapter, a summary of these seems pertinent. The same archetype can of course easily be used when describing both a *rex iustus* and a *rex sanctus*, but I have here attempted a division based on whether the archetypes are used in a predominantly temporal or spiritual context.

Rex iustus - Edward as *rex iustus* is lauded for his Solomonic peace,[365] his Solomonic wealth[366] and as Solomon by proxy when Osbert describes Westminster as the Queen of Sheba.[367] We find allusions

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[358] Oswald, king and martyr, is hailed for his spurning of the world (see appendix III - item 07.

[359] Kunigund was said in the antiphon *Beata Kunegundi* to have been so noble in her conduct that it surpassed the nobility of her birth, a typical feature of what Germans scholars call *Gesinnungsadel*, nobility by conduct rather than nobility by blood (cf. Dutton 2005: 71).

[360] Interestingly, in Aldhelm of Malmesbury's prose *De Virginitate* visionary powers are said to be a gift for the virtue of chastity. See Lapidge and Herren 1979: 77.

[361] Southern 1943: 385.

[362] Allott 1974: 85-86.

[363] I have separated John the Baptist and Charlemagne from the *sanctorale* here for the following reasons: John the Baptist was a contemporary of Christ and accordingly one of the oldest and most venerable saints of all. He was therefore not hostage to the changing paradigms of sainthood, unlike the saints such as Edward the Confessor, who came in late and was given a label already established. Charlemagne was first canonised in 1165, but prior to that was famed as a paragon of royalty, placing him in a category on his own in this selection. Edward's exile is a feature shared by such saints as Thomas Becket (appendix III - item 11), Canute Lavard (appendix III - item 01) and John the Apostle. It may be said that this exile evoked John the Baptist's life in the desert, although there is no overt connection to this in the sources. A more plausible biblical connection is of course the flight to Egypt.

[364] Among these saints we find Oswald (appendix III - item 08), Louis IX (see appendix III - item 06) and Edmund the Martyr (appendix III - item 02).

[365] Barlow 1992: 6-7 and 18-19; Bloch 1923: 73 and 78; Dutton 2005: 142; Fenster and Wogan-Browne 2008: 65 and 71; Mayor 1863, vol. 2: 201.

[366] Dutton 2005: 156.

[367] Bloch 1923: 105.

and overt references to the patriarch Abraham,[368] and in Osbert's description of Westminster as the wife of Moses[369] he also becomes Moses by default. Furthermore, Edward is likened to King David, either by virtue of his humility, his chastity, his meekness, his gentleness and his vision of the seven sleepers. In the latter case, Edward is not solely compared to David but also to the kings Hezekiah and Josiah. It is also noteworthy that in the more Godwinist part of *Vita I* he is also likened to Saul and also classical forebears such as Aeneas and Caesar Augustus, but this did not enter into the hagiographical catalogue.[370] The selection below is based solely on the more or less overt references to the figures in question. (There may be some references I have not yet discovered.)

Rex sanctus - For his more saintly virtues Edward is likened to the following biblical figures: Joseph for his chastity and prudence, Job for his patience, temperance and piety, Susanna for his constancy and Judith for his chastity.[371] Edward's visionary powers also resulted in comparison with saintly figures - unlike the array of kings named by Osbert - namely John the Apostle[372] and the prophet Jonah.[373]

Having considered the biblical and classical types we must now turn our attention to royal saints with whom Edward's saintly image bears resemblance. These saints share various similarities with Edward and they are important to consider so that we may better grasp the tradition in which Edward is placed. We have already seen some of these shared features such as humility, noble conduct, exile and predestined rulership. Edward was also hailed for his noble lineage - his *beata stirps* - and this feature can also be found in saints such as Oswald, Kunigunde, Heinrich II, Edmund Martyr and Canute Lavard.[374]

3.7 - Summary remarks

As we have seen, some of Edward the Confessor's characteristics endured throughout the relevant period, while others were subject to the vicissitudes of tastes and sensibilities. Some characteristics were transmitted by hagiographers, liturgists and historiographers alike, others were omitted or perhaps even neglected by one of the parties for reasons we can only surmise. Edward as a saintly figure already had a very seminal genesis in *Vita I*, but it was not until the 12th century he burgeoned

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[368] Dutton 2005: 130, Mayor 1863, vol 2: 200.

[369] Bloch 1923: 105. Moses was an archetypal "tool of God" in hagiography. See Graus 1965: 102.

[370] Earl Godwin is likened to David, making Edward King Saul by default. See Barlow 1962: xvi and Barlow 1992: 44-46. Elizabeth Tyler has shown that the use of Virgilian poetics in *Vita I* results in allusions to Aeneas and Caesar Augustus "in a passage which celebrates Edward's lineage and dynasty" (Tyler 2009: 141).

[371] For Joseph see Dutton 2005: 130, Mayor (ed.) 1863, vol. 2: 200 (chastity) and Dutton 2005: 156 (prudence). For Job see Dutton 2005: 130 (patience) and Mayor (ed.) 1863, vol. 2: 200 (temperance and piety). For Susannah and Judith see Dutton 2005: 146.

[372] Bloch 1923: 76.

[373] Barlow 1992: 116-17, Mynors et. al. 1998: 415, Bloch 1923: 107 and Dutton 2005: 205.

[374] For Oswald see appendix III - item 09; for Kunigunde see appendix III - item 05; for Heinrich II see appendix III - item 04; for Edmund the Martyr see appendix III - item 02; for Canute see appendix III - item 01).

into a member of the *sanctorale*. Despite changes and alterations in saint types, the theology of kingship and the political landscape of Europe, he remained a virgin saint, a visionary and a worker of miracles. His appearance was always fair (although fixed in perpetual old age[375]), his complexion similar to both the rose and the lily,[376] and he was a just law-giver reigning in peace like Solomon.

We have also seen that certain details of the writers' representation of Edward depended in part on their times and audiences, but also on the type of history they wrote. While hagiographers and liturgists were committed to praising the saint and portraying him as an *exemplum* of good Christian behaviour, the historiographers were not subject to such demands and consequently saw no need to accommodate Edward to the shifting paradigms of sainthood and kingship. This is presumably the reason why William of Malmesbury, for instance, did not tailor Edward into a fully-fledged *rex sanctus*, although this may also be because the saint ideals were probably less clearly or succinctly formulated in the Middle Ages than in modern scholarship.

The representations of the figure of Edward, in other words, were quite diverse, but easily combined in the figure of a royal saint. A similar selection of biblical archetypes can be found in the liturgy of Louis IX, where the king is compared with David, Solomon, Hezekiah, Josiah and Moses.[377] Unsurprisingly, the surviving liturgical image of Edward the Confessor has based its representation chiefly on the Latin hagiographies, but there are certain glimpses pertaining to the changing sensitivities that cannot easily be ascribed to an origin in the Latin Edward literature. This will be discussed in the final chapter. On a concluding note, it must again be stressed that the liturgical image is not complete. *Tabulae 2* and *3* - tables of liturgical items for Matins in MS. Rawlinson - only contain material for Matins and we may therefore presume that at some point in time there were several offices for Edward in circulation. Consequently, we cannot say with absolute certainty that the Latin hagiographical influence is the sole influence on the liturgical texts, but it is the sole influence of what extant material we can study.

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[375] "The image of the old man is applied to him at the beginning of his reign [in *Vita I*], when he was in his late thirties and is fixed for ever" - Mortimer 2009b: 15. This is a common feature in medieval texts.

[376] Barlow 1992: 6-7 and 124-15; Mynors et. al. 1998: 405-07; Bloch 1923: 74, 111 and 121-23; Dutton 2005: 136, 143, 186, 211 and 227. Note that this imagery is also used about Edmund. See Colton 2003: 131.

[377] Gaposchkin 2008: 111. See also Jordan 2009: 30.

Chapter 4 - Edward the Confessor in the Liturgical Sources

The liturgy (...) is today one of the most important auxiliaries to the study of mediaeval history.
- Ernst Kantorowicz, Laudes Regiae: ix

4.1 - Introduction: the liturgical material

In the previous chapter, I placed the characteristics of Edward in two intertwined historical developments reaching back into the 11th century: the evolution of the ideology of sacred kingship, and the representation of Edward in hagiographical and historical texts. In this chapter, my aim will be to look at the liturgical texts in terms of their content, their internal structure and their position in relationship to the standard structure of the Divine Office and their relationship to biblical and hagiographical texts. My purpose is to elucidate some of the textual strategies - as seen especially in the responsories and antiphons - employed in developing the liturgical image of King Edward. This image will be compared to the historiographical and the hagiographical images in the next chapter.

The extant liturgical material for Edward the Confessor is fragmentary and incomplete. Very little music has survived, and the texts we have left are to a great extent merely tesserae, suggesting a historic mosaic that was once complete but is now badly damaged. To my knowledge, this part of the Confessor's cult has received little attention from scholars of either music or history, and examining this aspect may give us a better understanding of the cult and also shed light on how matter from historiography and hagiography was transmitted into liturgy.

The largest surviving corpus of liturgical material in honour of the Confessor is a compilation of office texts found in Bodleian Library, MS. Rawlinson liturg. g. 10 (14th century, henceforth MS. Rawlinson). The content of this manuscript was edited by J. W. Legg and issued in 1893 together with his publication of the Westminster Missal in the third part of vol. XII of the Henry Bradshaw Society series.[378] The Latin text of the office, and an English translation, to which the subsequent discussion will refer, can be found in Appendix II.

A search for material in honour of St. Edward the Confessor in the CANTUS database revealed additional eighteen chants from three British liturgical manuscripts from the 13th and 14th centuries.[379] The texts of two antiphons from the 15th-century Codex Coloniensis, Köln Historisches

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[378] Legg's edition of the Westminster Missal is based on Westminster Abbey MS. 34, the so called Lytlyngton Missal (Hughes 1990:200). The Lytlyngton Missal contains two benedictions for the Confessor's vigils and two for the *translatio* (Legg 1893: cols. 616-17 and 645-46, respectively), the vigils and feasts for the *dies natalis* (Legg 1893: cols. 737-38) and *translatio* (Legg 1893: cols. 975) and two octaves (Legg 1893: cols. 977 and 980 - the latter is together with the office of the thousand virgins).

[379] The MSS. in question are: a mid-14th-century antiphoner of the Sarum use prepared for a Welsh non-monastic church and kept in the Aberystwyth library (GB-AB 20541 E - 5 chants, http://www.cantusdatabase.org/source/374015/gb-ab-20541-e); a 13th-century antiphoner of the Sarum use most likely from an Augustinian English house, now kept in Cambridge University Library (GB-Cu Mm.ii.9 - 5 chants, http://www.cantusdatabase.org/source/374026/gb-cu-

Arkiv, W. kl. 8o 28 (henceforth CCW),[380] were edited in Analecta Hymnica, vol. 28.

The present study focusses on the St. Edward material which is accessible in editions and/or (online) databases. A full range study of all the *manuscript* material in honour of Edward the Confessor which might perhaps still be attainable in international libraries, was not intended. The liturgical material from five breviaries kept today at the Bibliothèque municipale of Rouen, mentioned by Madeline Harrison (1963), has however partly been taken into consideration. One source, also today housed at Rouen, but not mentioned in Harrison's list, could be added. See the survey of these materials in chapter 4.8.

Chapter 4.9 discusses, in addition, a handful of 14th-century motets, transmitted in various sources.[381]

Since MS. Rawlinson contains most of the preserved material for the office - which was the devotional heart of the cult - this will be the focal point of the liturgical part of my study. MS. Rawlinson was attributed to Westminster Abbey by William Dunn Macray and dated to the turn of the 14th-15th century for palaeographic reasons by John Wickham Legg.[382] The most extensive material from MS. Rawlinson is a collection of office-texts with the superscription "In commemoratione sancti Edwardi".[383] Three prayers which mention the Confessor are also printed in Legg's edition.[384] The present study deals only with the material *in commemoratione*. For an inventory of this office material see Appendix II.

The office texts transmitted in MS. Rawlinson are not transmitted with musical notation. The melodies of a number of items, which were taken over from the Common-repertory could be reconstructed with the help of parallel manuscripts. The only proper piece, listed in MS. Rawlinson, which could be reconstructed is A. *Ave Sancte Rex Edwarde*. It can also be found - as a later addition with musical notation - in the Worcester antiphonary Worcester, Cathedral, Music Library, F.160 (olim 1247).[385] Our main clues to the liturgical aspects of the celebration of Edward the Confessor's cult are accordingly the *texts* at hand.

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mmii9); the mid-13th-century Worcester antiphoner with 14th-century additions (GB-WO F.160 - 7 chants, http://www.cantusdatabase.org/source/374070/gb-wo-f160.) All sites last accessed 18 October 2012. Almost all these chants are taken from the common material.

[380] This is a collection of chant texts compiled by a Carthusian monk and it contains two antiphons in honour of St Edward. Guido Maria Dreves described this MS as a prayerbook and printed parts of it in vol. XXVIII of Analecta Hymnica in 1898 (Dreves 1898: 6). Dreves placed its origin somewhere in the 15th century, while Andrew Hughes has more precisely dated the MS to circa 1480 (Hughes 1993b: 281). The

[381] Colton 2003: 138-41.

[382] For Macray's attribution see Legg 1897: xii. For Legg's dating see Legg 1897: xii.

[383] See Legg 1897: cols. 1341–1349.

[384] See Legg 1897: cols. 1359, 1381, and 1382.

[385] *Le Codex F.160 de la Bibliotèque de la Cathédrale Worcester Antiphonaire Monastique (XIII Siècle)*, Solesmes, Tournai 1922, reprinted in 1997. *Ave Sancte Rex Edwarde* was also performed daily at the chapel royal of Henry V. One of six memorials at compline was dedicated to the Confessor (the other five being the Trinity, the Holy Spirit, St. John, St. George and St. Mary). It appears this antiphon could be substituted with *Ave rex gentis anglorum*. See Nosow 2012: 21.

Medieval liturgy is a manner of communication between supplicants, the saints and God, created and performed by clerics within the church. This communication operated within a complex system of ecclesiastical didacticism and devotion. The celebration of a saint's office combines the recitation of Psalms and prayers, the recitation of readings from the Bible and/or *vitae* and the performance of texts and music of chants. During the Carolingian era, the Divine Office was characterised by the prose texts of the Psalms and the biblical lessons, together with the hymns which (unlike the biblical texts) use classical metrical forms employed only occasionally in a few antiphons and responsories. From the 11th century onwards, classical verse forms, like hexameters, were much more frequently used in chant texts, but gradually yielded their ground to rhyming syllabic verse. This came to replace the classical forms in the 12th century.[386] In other words, later (post-Gregorian) office texts sometimes combine the traditional with the innovative, the classical with the new, and the established with the cutting-edge.

With regard to the texts of readings, prayers and chants, the compilers could very well make a collage of passages from various scriptural books. A medieval cleric - and even to a lesser extent the medieval layman - lived in a mindscape and reality largely held together by the texts of the scripture, a favourite subject of exegeses and apologetic treatises. By juxtaposing verses from different books, they could express themselves very poignantly and evoke the contexts of the books the verses were gathered from,[387] making use of the biblical imagery as mnemonic devices whose subtext may be said to have the same proportion to a word as an iceberg to its tip.[388] The same effect was achieved in the chant texts which I will come back to later.[389]

A saint's office[390] was first of all a celebration which united the community in the meditative commemoration of the saint. It was a unit of combined text and music, the meaning and various intricacies of which could only be grasped by the more experienced liturgists and, of course, God and the recipient saint. Accordingly, when speaking of the office as a "performance", we can exclude the laity (and some sophomore choristers) from the intended audience, but the performance of liturgy nonetheless had an important role in forging group identity both within the monastic community and

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[386] Hughes 1993b: 242.

[387] Slocum 2004: 147. By placing "biblical passages in new contexts" these passages were given "multiple layers of meaning that were also articulated by exegetes." Boynton 2011: 10.

[388] Gaposchkin 2010: 16.

[389] Which biblical texts were used in the chants and readings and how they were selected and combined constituted "a system of interpretation that parallels the readings of these same texts by patristic writers." (Boynton 2011: 10). When biblical texts were used on a feast of the *sanctorale*, the biblical typology of the saint was established and reinforced (Boynton 2011: 13). In the case of Edward, this can be seen most clearly in how the liturgy establishes Edward as a patriarch to a greater extent than the historical narratives due to the references to Ecclesiasticus (see chapter 4.5.1 in particular.)

[390] Not to be confused with Mass, as is frequently done in older historical literature (Apel 1958: 15). This division was of such importance that the items for mass and the items for the office were recorded in separate books as noted above.

the attached secular world.[391]

As for the laity, it, too, could benefit from the binding aspects of liturgy, but presumably to a lesser degree than the monastic clergy. In addition to the language barrier - increased by the musical arrangement sometimes stretching syllables beyond recognition of words -, the laity was separated from the choir by a rood screen, preventing it from beholding the performance of the office.[392] Furthermore, the laity would principally not be present during the most important part of the office - Matins - since this was carried out during the night hours (although, as we saw in chapter 2, both Henry III and Richard II eagerly partook in Edward the Confessor's liturgy. The actual presence and participation of the laity in the Divine Office is in fact an unsolved question). It should, however, be pointed out that although the message of the chants, the prayers and entreaties, were unintelligible to most people of the lower ranks of medieval society, it would be wrong to view the office as a matter relevant only to the saint and the elect few of the ecclesiastical hierarchy. Despite being confined to the aural qualities of the office, the laity could, if present, nonetheless partake in the beauty of the music, and its content could be explained by a cleric either before or after its celebration. Even those choristers too young to master the language they sang in were by the joint performance included in the community of the church during the devotional zenith of the veneration of a saint.[393] Additionally, the kings and nobles were well aware of the importance of liturgical performance, and although they may not have understood the message they knew the beneficial ends the liturgical chant could have.

Liturgy, therefore, is important in that it binds a community together - and not just solely the monastic community (however important this community might have been) - and that through its inherent meaning, the cult is maintained. Furthermore, through liturgy a particular institution can properise the existing textual tradition of a saint by drawing on a local or supra-local textual tradition (the corpus of Edward literature) and/or an "international" textual tradition (biblical and liturgical tropes) to create a local tradition (in this case the Westminster liturgy). The office material, in other words, opens up the centre of meaning of St. Edward's cult, and must be carefully examined in all its technical intricacy.

4.2 - The liturgical structure of St. Edward's office

With the term "Divine Office", we denote the daily round of prayer performed during the eight services of the day: Vespers, Compline, Matins, Lauds, Prime, Terce, Sext and None.[394] In this study I

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[391] Boynton and Fassler 2012: 376. See also Gaposchkin 2010: 13.

[392] Harper 1996: 40. For the importance of the mysteries see Fichtenau 1993: 212. "An integral part of liturgy is the conviction that it is important and meaningful. This conviction was mutually shared by clergy and people." I am indebted to Terje Breigutu Moseng for this reference.

[393] Harper 1996: 41. See, however, Slocum's argument for the widespread mimetic effect of liturgy, Slocum 2004: 147.

[394] The term "office" has various meanings which may cause confusion for anyone unfamiliar with liturgy and must therefore be explained here. The very word stems from the Latin *officium* which means duty and this duty is something

will use the standalone term "office" only for St. Edward's office, and when I refer to the office of a different saint this will be pointed out. During the High Middle Ages, the term "historia" was applied to saints' offices.

An office of an important saint usually began with Vespers on the preceding day and ended with a second Vespers on the actual day. The office hours are of varying length and importance, and consequently we distinguish between the lesser and the greater hours, the latter referring to Vespers, Matins and Lauds. At Westminster, the abbots were expected to participate in the celebration of each hour with the exception of Prime.[395]

In the office material for Edward, transmitted in MS. Rawlinson, almost all the hours are included with their assigned items, the exception being the hours of Compline and Second Vespers. This omission is unsurprising. The items for Compline, individual though they were in their arrangement, usually would repeat material already sung and said before. Therefore, the inclusion of Compline would be redundant. Similarly, Second Vespers often repeated material from the other hours and did not necessarily require a full written representation. (It might also have been left out because the MS.clearly denotes a *commemoratio*, a festal observance of lowest rank, and this would not include a second Vespers.[396]) One of the most characteristic aspects of this office, however, is that a number of antiphons are recorded as *alia antiphona*. Due to the use of *alia* rather than *secunda* we may assert that these are meant to be alternate, mutually exclusive antiphons, selected for performance either by a fixed pattern or according to the preferences of the cantor.

The office of MS. Rawlinson was intended for a monastic *cursus* of liturgical observance - as opposed to a secular one. This can be established by looking at the number of lessons and the structure of the psalmody. As we shall see in the table below, the material was organised as fitting to the liturgical scheme of a simple feast of two nocturns. In the following table, lengthier items are marked in big letters.[397]

Matins of St. Edward's Office	Matins of a double feast[398]
Invitatory	Invitatory
Hymn	Hymn
First nocturn	*First nocturn*
PSALMODY + 4 ANTIPHONS	PSALMODY + 6 ANTIPHONS

one does in return for a *beneficium*, a favour. The liturgical office, then, is a duty performed by the clerics in order to obtain the favours of God and His saints (see Slocum 2004: 12).

[395] Jordan 2009: 43.

[396] Harper 1996: 130-31.

[397] The common items of Matins, such as the opening versicle *Deus in auditorium* and the blessings after each nocturn are not included in the comparative table, since these are fixed and would not require notation in St. Edward's office. Items from *tabulae 2* and *3* are all from the Matins office and are therefore not included here.

[398] Harper 1996: 90-96.

Versicle and response	Versicle and response
Blessing	Blessing
LESSON 1-3 + 3 RESPONSORIES	LESSON 1-4 + 4 RESPONSORIES
Second nocturn	*Second nocturn*
PSALMODY + 4 ANTIPHONS	PSALMODY + 6 ANTIPHONS
Chapter	-
Versicle + response	Versicle + response
Collect	-
-	Blessing and Gospel verse
-	Lessons 5-8 + 4 RESPONSORIES
-	*Third nocturn*
-	Canticles + ANTIPHONA AD CANTICA
-	Versicle + response
-	Blessing and Gospel verse
-	Lessons 9-12 + 4 RESPONSORIES
-	Gospel of the day and collect

4.3 - The texts of St. Edward's office

In order to understand Edward's liturgical image we must understand how the various items function in a liturgical setting, and how this affects the representation of the saint. The most important factor in the context of a historical perspective is the definitive musical character of the Divine Office. Nearly all items of the Divine Office were sung, albeit in different ways: the longer texts (lessons, psalms) and the prayers were "recited" on special "tones", whereas the shorter items were given chant melodies in the proper sense. In the case of the antiphons, these melodies were stylistically modest; in the case of the great responsories (*responsoria prolixa*), they were sometimes quite elaborate. The construction of a liturgical text of the Divine Office presents another aspect to be considered. The text may be taken either from the saint's literature or from the Bible. The structure, content and textual provenance of the liturgical items will be explored in sections 4.4.2, 4.5.2 and 4.5.3, since I have decided to follow the structure laid out in Rawl. MS, examining each of the *tabulae* separately. The main question pertaining to content will be what message is transmitted in the liturgical items.

During the Middle Ages, various stylistic poetic preferences evolved. Textual innovation can be found chiefly in the antiphons and responsories. By the 12th century, these chants were composed predominantly in rhymed verse poetry with syllable count, but classical hexameters also still lingered on in certain chant cycles. Structured prose remained common.[399] The term "versified office" is used by Andrew Hughes to describe the offices in which poetic characteristics such as rhyme, accentuation

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[399] Hughes 1993b: 242.

or metre are important features.[400] Here a versification of the office text is allowed even when the recited items - such as lessons - are rendered in prose.[401] The office material for Edward the Confessor belongs to this repertoire of versified offices.

By examining this aspect we will see how the representation of Edward was carried out by poetic means.

The text-form of the liturgical items will be examined in chapter 4.4, and by exploring this aspect we will also be able to see the differences between the three tables of MS. Rawlinson, allowing us to map the trajectory of text-form and content alike. It will also enable us to say something about the date of the three tables, albeit tentatively.[402]

In the following the liturgical items will be divided into groups according to their *musical* layout (chants : recited items), as this division highlights the function, style and also impact of the various items.

During the recitation of a text on a recitation tone, musical means are reduced to a minimum. The recitation formula serves as a basis of transporting the text. However, this does not mean that the music is insignificant, since the inflections of the "tone", which the text is recited with, help to mark the main caesuras of the text.[403] This is important to keep in mind, as the two forms - chanted and recited - convey texts differently: chants allow a moment of contemplation spurred on by musical emphasis, while recited texts open up for intellectual perception. Texts singled out to be sung receive a considerable emphasis through prolongation: the time required to sing a responsory text is longer than the time required to read it. In addition, all chants show repetitions: the antiphons are repeated after the psalms, part of the responsum after the verse.[404]

4.4 - The form of the office texts

4.4.1 - The sung texts of *tabula 1*

Antiphons[405] - The antiphon is the most frequently recorded liturgical item in St. Edward's office, and in the case of the lesser hours is almost the only item recorded. The antiphons "were usually chosen to

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[400] Earlier Andrew Hughes employed the term "rhymed offices" (Hughes 1993b: 242), but in his book *The Versified Office* from 2011 he abandoned that term on grounds that it was "inaccurate and misleading" (Hughes 2011: 14).

[401] Hughes 2011: 14.

[402] The dating of the material is of secondary importance and will largely be based on conjecture, but it is important nonetheless in order to place the office material within the historical framework (see appendix I).

[403] "A great deal of the music performed during office (...) is extremely simple in character, being for the most part (...) a monotone, with melodic nuances at significant points in the text: usually at the starts and ends of phrases, and particularly at final cadences." See Hiley 2005: 47.

[404] Hankeln 2012: paragraph 57.

[405] The antiphon is a sung item that serves as both prologue and epilogue to a psalm or a canticle, and the number of individual antiphons is, as we have seen, variable according to the use. Each weekday has its own antiphons common to all such days, for instance Tuesdays, but many saints' feast-days have proper antiphons instead of these common - or ordinary - antiphons (Apel 1958: 19).

be a form of commentary on the psalms or canticles with which they were sung",[406] meaning they were repeated after the psalm. This repetition emphasises the antiphon texts, in contrast to the narrative texts of the lessons, for instance, where repetitions do not occur. Since the antiphons of MS. Rawlinson are all proper, they are some of the most interesting items, besides the responsories and hymns, to examine when investigating how Edward was represented in the liturgical setting. For the same reason it is important to study their form closely, since antiphons were among the major potential outlets for a text specific to the saint in question.

The first antiphon recorded is that to the Magnificat antiphon of Vespers [5], comprised of six lines of syllabic, rhymed verse.[407]

Next comes the invitatory antiphon of Matins [7], which here is a chant we can find in the Common of the Sarum and Worcester Uses. It is used for instance in *Commune unius confessoris non pontificis* in GB-Ob Can. Lit. 202 (13th century German MS) and *Commune unius confessoris non episcopi* from GB-WO F.160 (1230s).[408]

In the nocturns we encounter the mutually exclusive antiphons described above. The first set, [10A] and [25A], is rendered in elegiac distichs, while the second set, [10B] and [25B] is written in different forms, the first in leonine hexameters, the second in syllabic, partly rhymed verse. This suggests the two sets might come from at least two distinct offices.

As for Lauds its first antiphon [35] is a medieval rendition of classical hexameter.[409] This antiphon consists of two rhyming verses of 21 syllables each.[410] The second antiphon [41], the Benedictus antiphon, is a hexameter and recycles the benediction at Matins[18].[411]

For the lesser hours there are two sets of antiphons, and this division is further underlined by the fact that each set follows one particular poetic feature. The first set - items [44A], [45A], [48A] and [51A] - are written in elegiac distichs, while the second set - items [44B], [45B], [48B] and [51B] - are written in hexameters ([44B] in the Leonine version).

Responsories[412] - In *tabula 1*, and according to the traditional structure of the Divine Office, the great

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[406] Boynton and Fassler 2012: 378.

[407] See Hughes 2011: 17. Since medieval composers were not averse to a less rigorous adherence to end-rhyme it may very well be that -e/-as/-ia was intended as rhyme (Hughes 1993b: 242).

[408] http://www.cantusdatabase.org/node/304864?source=374110&folio=111v - last accessed 20 April 2012.

[409] This was a very flexible term in the Middle Ages (Hughes 2011: 23).

[410] This depends on a reading of "egregii" as a four-syllabic word. For medieval hexameters see Hughes 2011: 23.

[411] Cf. Legg 1893: cols. 1343 and 1345.

[412] The responsories are "the heart of the *historia* in Matins (Hughes 2011: 3). The responsory is a unit comprised of two parts: choral respond and verse. The choral respond, in its turn, consists of two parts: the first is called "responsum" and the second part "repetenda", which has to be repeated after the verse. Since it is repeated the repetenda is apt to emphasise the most important part of the responsory and this is the key to understand the most important part of the responsory's message (Hughes 2011: 3). As the name suggests the item is a reply to a lesson or a chapter, hence the term "responsorial chant" (Harper 1996: 313). Its complexity may vary and likewise the number of its verses, depending on whether a doxology wass sung or not (Harper 1996: 82). The text of the responsory was often taken from

responsories (*responsoria prolixa*) occur at Vespers [2] and after every lesson of Matins [20, 22 and 24]. At Lauds [38], a *responsorium breve* is prescribed.

These responsories encompass a wider stylistic range: item [2] is written in elegiac distichs, item [20] is also written in elegiac distichs except for the verse which is in prose, item [22] is in hexameters,[413] item [24] is in syllable counting, rhymed verse, while the short responsory (*responsorium breve*) [38], taken from the Common, uses a prose text from Ecclesiasticus (45:9). That particular choice of text can also be found in the versicles of Matins [33] and Sext [50].

Hymns[414] - There are three hymns in St. Edward's office, all of which are from the Common repertory but "properised" to the Edward context. In accordance with tradition, the first is sung at Vespers [3], the second at Matins [9] and the third at Lauds [39]. The latter is notated in abbreviation since it is a repetition of the Vespers hymn.

All the hymns in MS. Rawlinson follow the Sapphic metre, which consists of three lines of eleven syllables followed by a concluding line of five syllables (the so-called adonic). The Sapphic stanza is an ancient metre that enjoyed some imitation as early as the Carolingian era.[415] The hymns are also similar in terms of length, the hymn at Vespers and Lauds having four and the Matins hymn three stanzas.

4.4.2 - The recited texts of *tabula 1*

Chapters[416] - There are four chapters in *tabula 1*, recited at First Vespers [1], Matins [32], Sext [49] and None [52]. The texts of items [1], [49] and [52] are based on Ecclesiasticus and Proverbs and are accordingly prose texts. The chapter of Matins is rendered in versified prose, apparently taken from the *Commune unius confessoris non episcopis.*[417]

Versicles and responds[418] - versicles and responds (henceforth collectively referred to as versicle) can

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or based on scripture, but it could also be a rendition of hagiographic material, as in our case. The last responsory of Matins is the most important (Hughes 2011: 5).

[413] This is a metre known for its distinct internal rhyme (Tilliette 2012: 258.) Furthermore it is, according to Andrew Hughes, not widely extant after the 12th century (Hughes 1993b: 242.)

[414]The hymn is a liturgical piece arranged strophically (Hughes 1995: 23) using a "non-scriptural Christian" text (Harper 1996: 80). This means that the strophes or stanzas are set to the same melody and due to this melodic repetition their music has a special mnemonic quality. The hymn texts are all of Christian origin as opposed to the Hebrew Psalter, either taken from the early church liturgy - such as the Ambrosian - or composed at a later date. Hymn texts are often rendered according to classical or accentuated metre (Harper 1996: 80).

[415] Norberg 1958: 94f.

[416] The chapter is a shorter item performed during Vespers, Lauds and the second nocturn of a short Matins. Most often the chapter text is taken from the Bible and "many were evidently recited from memory". The length of the chapter may vary, but rarely - if ever - exceeds a handful of verses. Occasionally the chapter texts may have a non-scriptural provenance. The chapters are the most important outlet of scriptural texts in the Divine Office second only to the lessons of an ordinary Matins (Harper 1996: 81).

[417] At least it is found in the 13th century MS GB-Wo F.160, fol. 392, though this is the *commune* of the Worcester Use.

[418] This item is a dialogue between a soloist and the celebrant community, performing the versicle and response

be found during first Vespers [4], each nocturn [17 and 33], Lauds [40], Terce [47], Sext [50] and None [53]. In each case the text is taken from the scriptures, or, more precisely, from either the Psalms, Wisdom or Ecclesiasticus.

The Psalmody[419] - Psalms are Jewish scriptural texts transmitted into a Christian context, and although they are poetic items their structure is based on short stichs in prose.[420] This also means that while the melody of a hymn is given a repetitive quality due to the strophic repetition of the metric scheme, psalms allow more freedom for the composer if they are not recited on the respective psalm-tones .[421] The recitation of psalms formed "the core of every [o]ffice", and was usually preceded and concluded by an antiphon.[422] The pattern of the psalmody depended on what type of saint was celebrated that particular day. Unsurprisingly, the psalmody of Edward's office follows the English pattern for confessors: 1, 2, 4, 5, 8, 10 (first nocturn), 14, 20, 23, 95, 96, 97 (second nocturn).[423]

Lessons - The lessons of *tabula 1* are all rendered in prose and they differ in length. The third lesson is by far the longest followed by lessons 1 and 2 respectively.[424]

4.4.3 - The texts of *tabula 2*
As indicated by the table header, the material of *tabula 2* was meant as a substitute for the chants and recited items of *tabula 1*, just like the alternate antiphons of the latter. As with the antiphons we have no way of knowing the sequence of this substitution.

All the lessons of *tabula 2* are written in syllabic verse, and the rhyme scheme of the respective lessons can be seen in the following table.[425] The responsories are also written in this form, and these items can be seen compared with responsories from the other *tabulae* at the end of chapter 4.4.4.

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respectively. Both these units can be referred to collectively as "dialogue" or "versicle", and the latter is how they are marked in St. Edward's office. The item may be proper, but in most cases versicles were based on the Psalms or other texts of scripture (Harper 1996: 80). Most often the versicle text is rendered in prose and taken from the common material. Poetic versicles occur only exceptionally (Hughes 2011: 3).

[419] In MS Rawl. the office material for Edward the Confessor is followed by material for the commemoration of St Benedict: following the first nocturn antiphon it is stated *Psalmi et uersiculi sicut de sancto edwardo* (Legg 1893: col. 1350). This is significant since Benedict was the founder of the very order Westminster Abbey belonged to, but the full gravity implied by this can not be asserted. The choice of the psalms for Matins followed set patterns. These patterns were themselves subject to differences and must therefore speak, for instance, of a particular English pattern for confessors (see Slocum 2004: 148). We must also keep in mind that here we are dealing with the monastic pattern, not the shorter secular pattern (cf. Harper 1996: 260f).

[420] Hughes 1995: 23.

[421] Harper 1996: 80

[422] Harper 1996: 78

[423] Harper 1996: 260.

[424] Harper 1996: 81. The lessons are unique to Matins and they were "recited to one of a small group of designated tones". The number of lessons and their content depend on the occasion of the day, and this is the best way of determining what structure an office follows. The longer Monastic Matins - that of double feasts and simple feasts of 12 lessons - demanded four lessons and four responsories for each nocturn, while the shorter Matins of regular simple feasts contained only three lessons all grouped together in the first nocturn.

[425] The defining feature in this matter is whether the final stress falls on the penultimate or the antepenultimate syllable, termed paroxytone and proparoxytone respectively, commonly abbreviated p and pp (cf. Norberg 1958: 90.)

Lesson 1 [54]	Lesson 2 [56]	Lesson 3 [58]	
a (16pp)	a (8pp)	a (7pp)	f (7pp)
b (16pp)	a (8pp)	a (7pp)	f (7pp)
c (16pp)	b (8pp)	b (7pp)	e (7pp)
d - (22p)	b (8pp)	b (7pp)	e (7pp)
e (12p)	c (8pp)	c (7pp)	f (7pp)
	c (8pp)	c (7pp)	f (7pp)
	d (7pp)	d (7pp)	g (7pp)
	d (7pp)	d (7pp)	g (7pp)
		e (7pp)	
		e (7pp)	

4.4.4 - The texts of *tabula 3*

The lessons of *tabula 3* are in prose like those of *tabula 1*, but they are more equal in length, each comprising about 6-8 lines. The responsories, however, are chiefly in syllabic verse, with the interesting exception of item [63] which is rendered in leonine hexameters with a verse in prose. The responsories of the *tabulae* can be seen in the table below.

	Tabula 1			Tabula 2			Tabula 3		
M-R1	[20]	(R.) (V.)	dis prs	[55]	[R] [r] [V] [r]	a (10pp) b (10pp) a (10pp) a (10pp) c (8p) c (8p) a (10pp)	[61]	[R] [r] [V] [r]	a (10pp) a (10pp) b (10pp) b (10pp) c (10pp) c (10pp) d (10pp) e (10pp) e (10pp) d (10pp)
M-R2	[22]	R. V.	hex.	[57]	[R] [r] [V] [r]	a (10pp) a (10pp) a (10pp) a (10pp) c (8p) c (8p) a (10pp)	[63]		hex
M-R3	[24]	[R.] [r.] (V.) [r.]	a (7pp) a (7pp) b (8pp) b (8pp) hex b (8pp]	[59]	[R] [r] [V] [r]	a (8p) a (8p) b (4p) c (6pp) b (4p) c (6pp) d (10pp) d (10pp) c (6pp) b (4p) c (6pp)	[65]	[R] [r] [V] [r]	a (10pp) a (10pp) b (10pp) b (10pp) c (10pp) c (10pp) b (9pp) b (10pp)

4.5 - The content of the office texts

4.5.1 - The texts of *tabula 1*

In the following discussion the reader will notice that several items of the same genre share the same text, as is the case with the Vespers chapter [1] which is also used during Lauds [37] and Terce [46].

This was not an uncommon occurrence.[426] Within the texts of an office, a similar "textual identity" between antiphons and responsories may occur.[427] As for the responsories, we can detect certain similarities between the various items, but since a responsory operates in tandem with a lesson, these similarities presumably point rather to a prevalent concern in the lessons rather than inter-responsorial links.

The Psalmody - Since the psalmody followed set patterns arranged for a particular group of saints - in this case the confessors - we should not expect the selection to reflect the special characteristics of Edward the Confessor. The choice of these psalms indicates on the other hand to which type of saint St. Edward belongs, since these psalms were usually recited in offices devoted to confessors.[428] However, since the authors of the office material knew the psalms, they could craft the antiphons to correspond to or emphasise certain representations found in the psalmody.[429] In complete office cycles more concrete links between antiphons and psalms can be observed.430 The present cycle in honour of the Confessor is, as mentioned, however a highly abbreviated one. During the nocturns only one of the designated antiphons would have been chosen in order to be performed with the following six psalms. Concrete links between the antiphons and the psalms are therefore rare and/or of a coincidental nature.

I do, nevertheless, refer in the following to associations between the psalms and other texts of the office in order to show that the psalms are – even after the abbreviation of the office – not just an unconnected block and invite, due to the richness of the themes they invoke, to draw parallels to the other items of the office.

The psalmody of the first nocturn begins with Psalm 1 after the invitatory Psalm 96. As we have seen, the two designated antiphons [10A] and [10B] are rendered in distichs and leonine hexameters respectively. The subject of item 10A is Edward's royal heritage, while item 10B records Edward's baptism.

Psalm 1 [11] states that the blessed man is righteous and meditates day and night on the laws of God. That man shall be prosperous and bear fruit, as it were. An echo of this can be found in Lesson 2 [21] where Edward is referred to as "*beatus vir*", and also in lesson 1 [19] where it is stated that Edward was erudite in faith and justice ("*doctorem fidei*" and "*ac omnis iusticie eruditorem*"). The righteous man is also invoked in Psalm 10/11 [16] and again in the versicle [17] that follows after the first part of the psalmody during the first nocturn.

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[426] Hughes 2011: 159.
[427] Hughes 2011: 159.
[428] Harper 1996: 260.
[429] Cf. Hankeln 2012: 56.
[430] Hankeln 2012: paragraphs 67-69.

In Psalm 2 [12] we hear of a king placed on the holy hill of Zion, i.e. a king elected and enthroned by God for the purpose of conquering the heathen, who serves as a contrast to the other kings of the world who"take counsel together, against the Lord". The feature of prenatal election, among the oldest characteristics ascribed to St. Edward, can also be found in the Prime antiphon [44A] and the Terce antiphon [45A]. Psalm 2 is an admonition for kings to govern in fear of God which fits well with Edward's expressed piety. The more militant undertone of this psalm is not compatible with Edward, however.[431]

Psalm 4 [13] states that the Lord will listen to the godly man who hates vanity and avoids sin. This pious mediator brings to mind the Edward of lesson 2 [21], whose petitions "nobody questions the effect of", an efficacy further expounded in lesson 3 [23]. In M-R2 [22] it is said that Edward strove to avoid sin already in his youth, making him exactly the kind of mediator found in Psalm 4. Psalm 5 [14] speaks much to the same effect, although this is a more general call for the destruction of one's enemies.

In Psalm 8 [15] we find a reference to God being able to stop the works of enemies and avengers thanks to the strength of children. This may be considered applicable as a reference to the first responsory of Matins [20], which states that the days of Edward overflowed with peace.

In the case of Psalm 10 [16] I found not connections of any note, as the subject of this psalm is the ways of the wicked. It ends on a hopeful tone, however, concerning the Lord's vengeance over his adversaries, but to me it is hard to conjure any links to Edward in this regard.

The psalmody of the second nocturn starts after the alternative Matins antiphon of *tabula 1*. The two designated antiphons here are items [25A] and [25B]. Item [25A], too, deals with Edward's lineage, while [24B] refers to his exile and piety and possibly his chastity.

Psalm 14/15 [26] describes a man worthy of God's tabernacle. This is a man of righteousness, truth and generosity, who will protect those in need. These are traits familiar from Edward's aretalogy, and we find generosity - together with justice and piety - in the alternate antiphon of Terce [45B]. Righteousness occurs frequently throughout the material, namely in items [4], [11], [16], [17], [40] and [47].

Psalm 20/21 [27] states that "the king shall joy" in the strength of God and describes the fortunes of a king who has dedicated himself to the Lord. As we saw in the second responsory of Matins [22], Edward strove to avoid sin from his earliest years, a point so important it is placed in the repetenda. Furthermore, we learn from lesson 2 [21] that God granted everything to Edward and made the king joy in the strength of God. In lesson 3 [23] it is also stated that Edward sought to please God

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[431] The first 8 psalms of the psalmody of confessors are also used in the psalmody of martyrs. See Harper 1996: 261.

from his earliest age ("Qui quoniam ab infancia sua ... operatur est."). and in the responsory [24] we learn that Edward followed the word of God from the beginning.

In Psalm 23/24 [28] it is said that the man with "clean hands and a pure heart", someone who has disdained vanity, is the one who will ascend to God. This, too, sounds in tune with the representation of item 22 where Edward is said to have avoided what could subject him to the flesh. This characteristic is reiterated in lesson 3 [23], where it is stated that Edward spurned what was secular ("*Nam quia terrena... habuit*"), and also in the hymn of Vesper and Lauds [3] and [39].

Items 29-31 are psalms of praise for God and as such not particularly interesting with regard to characteristics of the king.

The psalmody of the second nocturn is followed by the chapter of Matins [32], which contains a text from the common of one martyr, focusing on the reward of the just man.

Antiphons - A full office cycle in honour of a patron saint requires at least 24 antiphons.432 The present office cycle in honour of the Confessor shows however only 16 which are spread over the different *tabulae* and hours. The still transmitted antiphons do nevertheless still belong to the most interesting items if it comes to the representation of Edward in the office. This is due to the fact that most of them are proper (the invitatory antiphon, item [7] is the only exception). In many cases throughout *tabula 1* we find that there are two antiphons instead of one, as indicated above. Only one of these are meant to be used at a time and this is evident from the fact that the second antiphons are all designated *alia antiphona*, an "alternate" antiphon. We can not tell whether there was a designated pattern as to how this selection was made. This also indicates that MS. Rawlinson is a *compilation* of liturgical material for Edward the Confessor. The alternate antiphons are probably taken from one or several offices no longer extant.

Antiphona ad Magnificat - The Magnificat antiphon, *Ave Sancte Rex Edwarde* [5], appears twice in MS. Rawlinson, both in the Office and the *gratiarum actiones*.[433] It *is also found with musical notation in the Worcester antiphonary* GB-WO F.160, and is therefore the only proper Edward antiphon the music for which has survived. In GB-WO F.160 it is performed on Edward's *translatio* (see below, 4.8). The Worcester MS. dates from 1230s, but this gives us nothing in terms of certainty regarding the date of the text itself. Nor does the fact that it is here used for the *translatio* mean we can assert that the office material in MS. Rawlinson was composed for October 13. The antiphon can also

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[432] 2 antiphons for 1st Vespers, 14 antiphons for Matins, 6 antiphons for Lauds, 2 antiphons for 2nd Vespers. These figures take into consideration that the Vesper-psalms are frequently celebrated with only one antiphon, a so called *antiphona super psalmos,* and that the minor hours do repeat often items from the major hours.
[433] Legg 1893: col. 1381. The latter is a benediction which was performed at the communal drinking of beer, the *potum*, once a day.

be found in the Codex Coloniensis together with *O decus ecclesie*.[434]

The poet's focus in this antiphon is primarily Edward's merits that glorify his successors, although the exact nature of these merits is not expounded. None of Edward's virtues are mentioned, but we see in the second line that Edward is said to reside among the lilies of heaven.[435] Based on hagiographic precedence, we may surmise that the Magnificat antiphon is alluding to Edward's virginity. The rose-and-lily imagery is also used in the antiphon *Ave rex gentis Anglorum* composed for St. Edmund the Martyr.[436] The lily is one of the foremost symbols of chastity and corporal purity in medieval iconography, and is very often applied to the Virgin Mary.[437] As illustrated in the previous chapter, it is used in one particular instance in the *Vita Ædwardi*: after Edward's death "the flesh of his face blushed like a rose, the adjacent beard gleamed like a lily",[438] and this is later picked up again by Osbert and also by Aelred.[439] Interestingly, Aelred - unlike Osbert - does not maintain the lily imagery, but it is Aelred who asserts that the "snowy whiteness" is an indicator of Edward's virginity.[440]

What is equally interesting is that the allusion to virginity occurs right before the Magnificat, Luke 1:46. Although the Magnificat itself is solely a reminder of Mary's obedience to God - *My soul doth magnify the Lord* - it invokes Luke 1:34 where the mother of Christ asserts her virginity: "*virum non cognosco /* I know not a man". This juxtaposition between Edward and Mary - two important virgins - becomes even more persuasive when we keep in mind Osbert of Clare's invocation to Mary while presenting Edward's chastity.[441]

Matins antiphons - The invitatory antiphon [7] is of an introductory nature, a call to the adoration of God that nicely prefaces the invitatory psalm [8]. This psalm is concerned with praise of and thanksgiving to God that ends on a rather discomforting note: the people must suffer for their errors.[442]

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[434] Dreves 1898: 292.

[435] "Inter celi lilia". This is a common trope of medieval liturgy and literature. It says that the virtuous lives of the faithful departed ensured them a residence in Heaven. It is not limited to hagiography or liturgy, but can also be found in secular texts, such as *The Song of Roland* (Burgess 1990: 99, line 2197.)

[436] Colton 2003: 131-32.

[437] Ross 1996: 90.

[438] Barlow 1992: 124-25.

[439] For Osbert see Bloch 1923: 74 and 111. For Aelred see Dutton 2005: 211.

[440] Joanna Huntingdon points out that Edward's virginity "is for the most part important to Osbert only in relation to the incorrupt corpse", i.e. as posthumous evidence of chastity. See Huntingdon 2003: 125. The two authors' different emphasis can also be seen from the fact that virginity occupies merely a part of a chapter in *Vita II*, but becomes the focal point of chapter 8 in *Vita III* as pointed out by Domenico Pezzini (Pezzini 2009: 12). There is also a qualitative difference between the *vitae* in that Osbert and Aelred present different kinds of chastity: Osbert ties it very firmly to the Virgin Mary, while Aelred connects Edward first and foremost to John the Evangelist, but also to Judith and Susannah. See Bloch 1923: 74; Dutton 2005: 146.

[441] Bloch 1923: 74.

[442] The message of the invitatory suits Edward's hagiography in that he, on his deathbed, states that following his passing the people will pay for the wickedness of the English clergy. This is not a subject taken up in the proper texts of the liturgical material, but it is an old and well-established feature in the literature. See Barlow 1992: 116ff; Bloch 1923: 107; Mynors et. al. 1998: 415; Dutton 2005: 205. This is, however, coincidental: the wrath of God is not specific to the invitatory psalm and the invitatory psalm is not specific to Edward's liturgy. Accordingly we can not draw any links

When it comes to the antiphons of the first nocturn [10A] and [10B], they ostensibly echo matter found in Aelred.[443] The first [10A] alludes to Edward's lineage, *beata stirps*,[444] and the importance of this particular aspect has been treated briefly in chapter three.[445] The alternate antiphon [10B] recounts Edward's baptism, asserting one of the major strands in the Edward hagiography, namely his dedication to God from a very early age.[446] It should also be noted that although Aelred appears to have had some impact on these and other antiphons, we can not ascertain whether the composer drew from Aelred or Osbert. Both these episodes and those to be discussed are all found in Osbert's *Vita* and Osbert may just as well be the source.

Since these antiphons were both intended to be performed in connection with the psalmody, we see that the blessed man, the righteous and the king invoked in the psalms (1, 2 and 10) are all accompanied by a representation of Edward's virtues. This may in turn also be an allusion to the cardinal virtue of justice.

The first antiphon of the second nocturn [25A] is also concerned with Edward's *beata stirps*, but rather than Aelred or Osbert, the composer here draws on Horatius, who held a strong position among Latin poets of the High Middle Ages.[447] Horatius's first ode in his first book begins accordingly: *Maecenas atauis edite regibus*,[448] a phrase remarkably close to *[r]egibus ex atavis*. This ode is a dithyrambic for his patron Maecenas and evokes a royal lineage. The imagery of a patron of royal heritage fits nicely with Edward's characterisation, and it is stated that he "nobilitated both his grandfathers", making them proud and perhaps even surpassing them in the process.

The other antiphon [25B] is concerned with Edward's chaste and religious life in exile, most likely based on Aelred's account.[449] We see, in other words, the same reinforcing mechanism of Edward's excellence, establishing that Edward is a man akin to the virtues invoked in the psalmody, perhaps with a hint of the cardinal virtue of temperance somewhere in the subtext.

Lauds antiphons - The first antiphon of Lauds [35] is a generic call for thanksgiving in honour of the saint. Edward is not mentioned by name, but as I have not been able to find the antiphon in other liturgical texts, I find it safe for now to claim this as a proper antiphon.

The Benedictus antiphon *Rex benedicte* [41] is not written out in full. Perhaps it repeats the

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between this psalm and a particular hagiography, but the coincidence is nonetheless notable.
[443] Dutton 2005: 132-33 and 134 respectively.
[444] Vauchez 2005: 177ff.
[445] See 3.6.5 for saints kindred to Edward who were lauded for their lineage.
[446] This is often seen in conjunction with Edward's predestined rulership. For kindred saints who also were predestined, see 3.6.5.
[447] Haskins 1958: 109.
[448] West 1995: 2.
[449] Dutton 2005: 134.

text of the benedictio [18] before the first lesson of Matins, which has the same Incipit.[450] If this is the case, then item [41] is a brief, generic supplication for the saint-king's intercession. Its generic content appears as a suitable prelude to the *Benedictus*-canticle where John the Baptist is presented as a prophet that will prepare the way for Christ. We may see here an intended juxtaposition of Edward and John the Baptist, for by virtue of his ascetic life and thaumaturgical powers Edward resembles John.[451]

The Lesser Hours - The first antiphon of Prime [44A] hails Edward as elected by God when still in his mother's womb. Although the text contains no name, the subject is typical of Edward's literature,[452] and since I have not found it anywhere else it appears to be a text proper to this Prime antiphon. The subject of the other antiphon [44B] is how Edward contained his ire and spoke mildly, two well-known virtues of Edward's characterisation that may be seen to tie in with the cardinal virtue of temperance.[453]

The first antiphon of Terce [45A] recounts Edward's predestined fate as king of England and how he was literally born to rule. Although the main source here may be Aelred, certain interesting echoes from the psalms can also be detected.[454] As for the other antiphon [45B], the subject here is Edward's generosity, a salient virtue according to Edward's hagiographers.[455]

The first antiphon of Sext [48A] praises Christ for bestowing His (not specified) gifts. The other antiphon [48B] tells how the king gained the favours of clerics, courtiers and laity alike. The text appears to play on a preceding text, and since the Sext antiphons are mutually exclusive I presume that it picks up on the alternate Terce antiphon [45B] where we learned of Edward's largesse.

The first antiphon of None [51A] alludes to the foretelling of Edward's kingship. This might very well be Brihtwald's prophecy recounted by Aelred,[456] although that the prophet was unaware of the truth is a novelty. The other antiphon [51B] refers to Edward's oath to go on a pilgrimage to Rome in the event of becoming king of England.[457]

Lessons - The text of the first of the lessons [19] is not taken from any of the known hagiographical writings, but is instead a somewhat inornate panegyric for Edward the Confessor. It states that he was erudite in all justice and that he reigned not solely by virtue of his power, but more importantly

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[450] In Legg's index, the Incipit is ascribed only to Edward's office.
[451] For the possible connection between John the Baptist and Edward see the previous chapter.
[452] Dutton 2005: 133. The theme can already be found in *Vita I* (Barlow 1992: 14-15 and 90-91), again in William of Malmesbury (Mynors et. al. 1998: 407), and of course in *Vita II* (Bloch 1923: 66-69). See also 3.6.5 for kindred saints.
[453] Dutton 2005: 135 and 143.
[454] For Aelred see Dutton 2005: 132-33. Of course the link to the psalms runs through Aelred and further down the hagiography of Edward and is not specific to this antiphon. The psalms in question are 70:6 and 138:13.
[455] Dutton 2005: 135 and 143.
[456] Mynors et. al. 1998: 407, Bloch 1923: 70-74, Dutton 2005: 135ff.
[457] Cf. Dutton 2005: 140.

through the beauty of his habits.[458] The virtues of the saint are less emphasised than the dedication of his devotees - an emphasis that seems natural in an introductory lesson - which includes such phrases as "*dilectissimi fratres*", "*vniuersa gens Anglorum*" and "*omnis populus*". Although I presume the latter two are both meant to include the English people, it is nonetheless interesting to note how the flock of devotees widens as the lesson proceeds, and also to see how the congregation represents the entirety of the English people. In addition we must keep in mind that liturgical texts try often to unite the local (bishopric, monastery) with the regional (archbishopric) and the universal (ecumene).

As with the first lesson, the second [21] is also rather vague as to the exact nature of Edward's virtues. His forgiveness is emphasised, likewise his dignity and God's goodwill towards him during his mortal days. All in all Edward is presented as a perfect patron and this perfection is due to his merits. The merits themselves, however, are but lightly touched upon.

The third lesson [23] is the longest and also the most descriptive. The text opens with an almost poetically repetitive assertion of the omnipotence of faith that serves as an introduction to an account of Edward's glory. Edward was rich in faith, we are told, and faith caused him to seek God from his childhood, to achieve what mere human strength could not achieve, and to disdain what was secular.[459] It was this faith, we learn, that earned Edward his sanctity, and this sanctity was in turn made manifest through Edward's thaumaturgy.

To sum up, then, we see that the lessons of *tabula* 1 do not echo the "liturgically apt vision of the king" that we find in Aelred's *vita*.[460] The virtues are admittedly accurate to Edward's established aretalogy, but since Edward was - as we have seen in chapter 4 - a thorough *rex bonus*,[461] this should cause no surprise. All in all, there is a remarkable lack of allusions to episodes from Edward's life. Not until the end of the third lesson do we come across material that can be attributed specifically to Edward: firstly that he sought God "ab infancia sua", and secondly that he healed the crippled and the blind. Both these claims are well-established in the literature dealing with Edward, even in texts that are not hagiographic.[462] In other words, it appears that Aelred's shadow can not clearly be discerned in the lessons of tabula 1.What can be said about these texts is, however, that they clearly emphazise Edward's status as an ideal ruler, saintly confessor and intercessor of the English people.

Responsories - The responsories all seem proper to Edward and they differ in their subject-matters. Since the responsories are the primary outlet for the saint's *historia* (at least during Matins) it is of

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[458]The behaviour of the king, his "exemplary *mores*" as a guide for his subject is an idea that goes back to Carolingian times. See Wallach 1959: 66-67.

[459] Cf. Philippians 3:8.

[460] Binski 1995: 57.

[461] Vauchez 2005: 164-65.

[462] See for instance Mynors et. al. 1998: 407.

course to be expected that the various responsories deal with various episodes.[463] It is also important to keep in mind that responsories are units normally interacting with their preceding items, repeating, emphasising and embellishing their features or themes. I have, in the following overview, attempted to point out these connections.

1V-R [2] is a rather generic plea for the saint's compassion. While the responsory itself contains little in terms of characteristics, it is interesting to note that it follows the chapter of Vespers [1] which, as we have seen, refers to verses from Ecclesiasticus where Abraham is told by God that his lineage will inherit the world. It is perhaps in this capacity as an abrahamic patriarch that Edward is asked for his compassion. Item 2 may also serve as a prelude to the praise for Edward and his virtues found in the Vespers hymn [3].

In M-R1 [20] the subject is the excellence of Edward's forefathers and how Edward's kingship is equal to their kingship. The verse speaks of the justice and peace that marked the days of Edward, one of the features most frequently referred to throughout the historical and hagiographical material and in this instance seemingly adapted from Aelred.[464] When we consider the placement of item 20 we see that the peace of Edward and his noble heritage fit well with the preceding lesson [19]. While item 19 refers to the ways in which Edward's reign was the reign of a good king, the responsory sums up these positive aspects by stating that Edward was a peaceful king and belonged to a long line of glorious rulers.

In M-R2 [22] the text is primarily concerned with the almost monkish/clerical qualities of Edward, recounting - once again - that his dedication to God came at a very early age, and asserting Edward's chastity and his disdain for worldly things. This disdain echoes Philippians 3:8 and is a common trope of hagiography. The same has been said of saints as different as Olav of Norway and Agatha, and it is an almost tedious recurrence in Aldhelm of Malmesbury's prose catalogue of virgin saints.[465] These are major features in Edward's hagiography and their source may be any of the texts, but due to the poetic rendition of the message it is difficult to say whether it is based on a text or whether these virtues were so commonly ascribed to Edward that the liturgist drew from a well-known reservoir. M-R2 follows lesson 2 [21] which is an assertion of Edward's favourable standing in the eyes of God, and we may consider the virtues expounded in the responsory as supporting the claims put forth in item 21. While lesson 2 stated Edward's standing, M-R2 explains how this standing came about. M-R2 is also of major importance for the dating of the office material transmitted in MS. Rawlinson, since its hexameter lines are the main starting point and theme of Aelred's *Sermo* CLXX,

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463 Hughes 2011: 3.
464 Dutton 2005: 141.
465 For Olav see Hankeln, Roman, "St. Olav's Augustine-Repertories", printed in Hankeln 2009b: 174. For Agatha - and a vast range of other virgin saints - see Lapidge and Herren 1979: 107ff.

In natali sancti Edwardi. The sermon returns to these lines again and again.[466] I think it is most probable that Aelred took his inspiration for the *Sermo* from an existing repertory with this text.[467] Since his sermon was held on the *dies natalis*, the hexameter-responsory has probably been part of Matins celebrated on that feast (although Raciti ascribes the responsory to October 13). It would have been known by heart from all the members of the congregation who would have participated in the performance of this piece during Matins earlier that day. If my assumption is right, this will give us a *terminus ante quem* for this and at least the other hexameter texts: 1166, the year before Aelred's death.[468]

The text of M-R3 [24] repeats what the previous items have been concerned with: Edward sought to please God from a very early age and rejected sin. Here the text may primarily echo Aelred's account of Edward's boyhood exile in Normandy.[469] M-R3 follows lesson 3 [23] which asserts Edward's holiness by referring to his thaumaturgical powers. Lesson 3 ascribes this holiness to the saint's search for God from a young age. M-R3 repeats this latter assertion, stating that the young Edward purposefully avoided sin out of his love for God. According to Andrew Hughes, the last responsory of Matins is the most important.[470] The *repetenda* (that part of the responsory which is repeated after the Verse) of M-R3 states that Edward sought and loved God. The repetenda is, as mentioned, the part of the responsory which is repeated, and due to this repetition the repetenda is the most essential part of the responsory, and the key to the analysis of the chants.[471]

The final responsorial item is the *responsorium breve* of Lauds, *Amavit eum Dominus* [38], a text taken from the Common (Cid: 6080). It follows the chapter of Lauds [37] which has the same text as the chapters of Vespers [1] and Terce [46]. The text of item [38], expounded above, is also used in items 33 and 50 and might be considered a continuation of item [37] on account of its abrahamic content, the text stating that "he" [in this context Edward] was loved by God and dressed in the garments of fame".

On a concluding note we must take a closer look at the *repentendae*, since these transmit the responsory's core message and reveal to us which aspects of St. Edward were emphasised by the liturgists at Westminster, the heart of his cult. When examined collectively, they reveal that Edward's striving to avoid sin from the earliest age, M-R1 [22] and his love of God , M-R3[24], are the core

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[466] Raciti 2012, 546–552.

[467] The start of the sermo "*Edwardus Domino se ut uidit esse dicatum, a primis annis studuit uitare reatum.*" reads like a word for word citation from the responsum of the responsory (Raciti 2012, 546 l. 1–2. See also the connected remark in the critical commentary.) The Verse of the responsory is cited at the start of paragraph 8 of the sermo: "*Sic utique 'omnia contempsit quae carni dant famulatum.*" Raciti 2012, 548 l. 66, and p. 551 l. 176–177 etc.

[468] The reason 1166 is the *terminus ante quem* rather than 1167, is that Aelred passed away January 12 of that year and spent his last month in sickness. On Edward's *dies natalis* he received his last oil and prepared for death, probably unable to perform any sermon. See Bell 2004.

[469] Dutton 2005: 135.

[470] Hughes 2011: 5.

[471] Hughes 2011: 3.

themes of *tabula I*. The significance of this will be further explored in chapter 5.3.1.

Hymns - The hymn of Vespers [3] and Lauds [39], *Iste confessor*, is largely taken from the Vespers hymn of the Common of one Confessor.[472] The only differences are that the first verse of the hymn for Edward the Confessor combines the two first stanzas of the *Commune* hymn, and some matters of orthography.[473] This hymn expounds the virtues expected in a confessor: sobriety, chastity, quietness, asceticicism and thaumaturgical powers. These are, as we have seen, all well-established in Edward's aretalogy.[474]

Why the author of the Westminster office material decided to merge the first two verses is beyond conjecture, but it is interesting to see how a hymn common to all confessors thus becomes properised to Edward the Confessor. As the table below illustrates, the Westminster liturgist has removed the original hymn's statement that the Confessor's feast day is celebrated all over the world. Instead the hymn is appropriated by the cult of Edward and localised to Westminster by default, this being the centre of his cult.[475]

Commune unius confessoris	Edward
1. Iste Confessor Domini sacratus festa plebs cujus celebrat per orbem, hodie laetus meruit secreta scandere coeli.	1. Iste confessor domini sacratus
2. Qui pius, prudens, humilis, pudicus, sobrius, castus fuit et quietus, vita dum praesens vegetavit ejus corporis artus.	sobrius castus fuit et quietus vita dum presens vegetauit eius corporis artus.[476]
3. Ad sacrum cujus tumulum frequenter membra languentum modo sanitati, quolibet modo fuerint gravati, restituuntur.	2. Ad sacrum cuius tumulum frequenter membra languentum modo sanitati quolibet morbo fuerint gravata restituuntur.
4. Unde nunc noster chorus in honore ipsius hymnum canit hunc libenter, ut piis ejus meritis juvemur omne per aevum.	3. Unde nunc noster choris in honore ipsius ympnum canit hunc libenter vt piis eius meritis iuuemur omne per euum.
5. Sit salus illi, decus atque virtus, qui, supra coeli residet cacumen, totíus mundi machinam gubernat, trinus et unus.	4. Sit salus illi decus atque virtus qui supra celi residens cacumen tocius mundi machinam gubernat trinus et vnus

The Matins hymn, *Huius o Christe* [9], is a more generic plea for intercession. The recipient of this

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[472] Dreves 1888: 77.

[473] This is due to the different sources used by Guido Maria Dreves and John Wickham Legg.

[474] See Barlow 1992: 18-19 and Dutton 2005: 143 for his calm and sobriety. For Edward's chastity see the following: Barlow 1992: 14-15, 90ff and 122-23; Bloch 1923: 66-69, 72, 75, 97,110-11; Dutton 2005: 128, 130, 146, 161, 199, 201-13, 223, 226 and chapter 8.

[475] This may point to a 12th-century provenance as it was in this period Westminster appropriated Edward, a process started by Osbert who linked several miracles specifically to Westminster (Greenberg 2001: 42-43).

[476] Aelred uses the phrase "corpore castus", cf. Dutton 2005 135.

hymn is God rather than Edward, for although the saint's merits are mentioned they serve here as an argument persuading God to bestow his aid upon the devotees of the saint. The hymn is not proper to Edward. It is not edited in *Analecta Hymnica* but can be found in six manuscripts of the CANTUS database (Cid: 0082800), among them the 13th-century Worcester antiphonary GB-WO F.160 where it is used as the Lauds hymn for the *Commune unius confessoris non episcopis* (and some other occasions). It is also recorded as the Lauds hymn for St. Neot in the St. Neot's Psalter (MS.563, Lambeth Palace Library, c. 1220), the so-called Gloucester-antiphonary.[477] The oldest MS.in the CANTUS database containing *Huius o Christe* is the 12th-century antiphoner F-Pn lat. 12044 from St. Maur-des-Fosses. The last stanza, however, beginning with "*Gloria patri resonemus omnes*" can be found at the end of a hymn in honour of S. Benedict, edited in vol. 2 of *Analecta Hymnica*, which is based on a manuscript from the 10th century.[478]

Chapters - The most noteworthy feature of the chapter texts of St Edward's office is the preponderant use of Ecclesiasticus, which is also frequently used in the *Commune unius confessoris*.[479] The chapter of first Vespers is a composite of texts from Ecclesiasticus 44:25-27. The reasons for this modification can not be assessed, but it may not be far off the mark to suggest that its purpose is to make the text fit the subject of St. Edward better (or at least the figure of the Confessor), while at the same time invoking the subtext of Ecclesiasticus and - as will be demonstrated - the subtext of Proverbs. This chapter text recurs in the services of Lauds and Terce.[480]

Ecclesiasticus 44:25-27	First Vespers chapter
Super caput Iacob agnovit eum in benedictionibus suis et dedit illi hereditatem et divisit ei partem in tribus duodecim et conservavit illis homines misericordiae invenientes gratiam in oculis omnis carnis	Benediccio domini super caput iusti; ideo dedit illi hereditatem; et diuisit ei partem in tribubus duodecim: et inuenit graciam in conspectu omnis carnis.
#See also Proverbs 10:6 - *benedictio super caput iusti os autem impiorum operit iniquitatem.*	

This chapter juxtaposes the venerated saint with the keepers of the covenant by its double invocation of Ecclesiasticus and Proverbs.[481] This allusion to the patriarchs fits well with similar comparisons found throughout the hagiographic material.[482] The invocation of Proverbs underlines Edward's

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[477] Http://www.ebooksread.com/authors-eng/james-mearns/early-latin-hymnaries-an-index-of-hymns-in-hymnaries-before-1100-rae/page-4-early-latin-hymnaries-an-index-of-hymns-in-hymnaries-before-1100-rae.shtml - last accessed 4 November 2012.
[478] See H. *Christe sanctorum decus*, Dreves 1888, vol. 2: 41.
[479] Texts from Ecclesiasticus are used during first Vespers chapter, the three first lessons of Matins, the chapter of Matins and the chapters of Terce and Sext.
[480] Legg 1893: 1647.
[481] John Wickham Legg has listed *Benedictio Domini super caput iusti* as the chapter text in his index of liturgical forms, pointing to both Proverbs 10:6 and Ecclesiasticus 44 (Legg 1893: 1647).
[482] See for instance: Barlow 1992: 16-17, 62-63, 90-91, 116-17 and 122-23; Bloch 1923; 106 and 107; Dutton 2005: 130

virtues of peacefulness and justice.

Since the office for St. Edward follows the structure of a simple feast of three lessons the second nocturn of Matins contains no recited reading other than a brief chapter [32]. Unlike the chapter of Vespers, this text is not taken from scripture, but from the Common material (Cid: 3418). It is used in liturgical texts for Guthlac, John the Baptist and George to mention a few.

Ecclesiasticus is also the basis for the remaining chapters, those of Sext and None. The chapter of Sext is a reorganisation of the three first lines of Ecclesiasticus 45, whereas the chapter of None is taken from Ecclesiasticus 45:3-4, alluding to God's election of Edward before his birth.

Versicles - The versicles of *tabula 1* are all either taken from the Bible or the Common, as is normally the case for this item.[483]

The versicle of first Vespers [4] is taken from Psalm 36:30 in the Vulgate. The virtues referred to in this Psalm are typical of the *rex bonus/rex iustus* model, and interestingly the versicle is used as a Vespers versicle also in the *Commune unius confessoris non episcopi* and on the *translatio* of Edward in the GB-WO F.160. In this office, it reappears as the Lauds versicle [40].

The versicle of the first nocturn [17] is taken from Wisdom 10:10, which may be an allusion to Edward's exile in Normandy. This Bible verse is also used in the versicle of Terce [47].

The versicle of the second nocturn *Amavit eum* [33] is identical with that of Sext [50]. It is part of the *Commune unius confessoris* (Cid: 001359) and appears to be a rendition or a modified version of Ecclesiasticus 45:7. The responsorium breve of Lauds [38] shows the same text, as mentioned above.

The None versicle [53] - the last of *tabula 1* - is taken from Psalm 92 and is also used in the Common. Psalm 92 states that the righteous will flourish like cedar of Lebanon, imagery also used in lesson 3 of *tabula 3*, item [64], which brings to mind the verses of Ecclesiasticus where Abraham is promised that his lineage will multiply and inherit the earth, found in items 1 and 46.

Collect[484] - The Incipit of the collect of first Vespers [6] is repeated in the collect of Lauds [43]. It is very difficult to surmise how this text is supposed to run in its entirety. Throughout the Westminster Missal and MS. Rawlinson the incipit occurs on several occasions, and John Wickham Legg has not endeavoured to reconstruct it. The table below gives an overview of the various instances of this incipit in the liturgical material for Edward the Confessor contained in Legg's edition.[485]

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and 205.

[483] Hughes 2011: 6.

[484] The collect is a prayer concluding some of the services, in this case the services of Vespers, Matins and Lauds.

[485] The collect *In Die Sancti Edwardi* (Oct. 13.) is also found in other uses, as listed in Legg 1897: 1601. I have chosen to focus on the Westminster material here, as this aptly illustrates the variety that makes reconstruction a problem.

Benediccio in uigilia utriusque festiuitatis gloriosi Regis Edwardi et confessoris. (Legg 1893: col. 616.)	Benediccio in translacione sancti Edwardi regis et confessoris. (Legg 1893: cols. 645-46.)	In uigilia sancti Regis Eduuardi et confessoris officium. (Legg 1893: col. 737.)	In die sancti eduuardi officium. (Legg 1893: col. 975)	Commemoracio de sancto eduuardo officium. (Legg 1893: cols. 1134-35)	In commemoratione sancti Edwardi regis et confessoris. (Legg cols. 1342 and 1345.)
Omnipotens deus uos dignetur benedicere. qui beatissimo regi edwardo donauit prospera mundi despicere. et nulla eius aduersa formidare. Amen. Ut cuius gloriosam commemoracionem deuotis sollempniis preuenitis ipsius meritis preces uestras apud dominum exaudiri senciatis. Amen. Et post cursum uite presentis uos transferri faciat ad celestia regna cum beatis. Amen. Quod ipse.	Omnipotens deus uos dignetur benedicere. qui beatissimum regem edwardum sanctorum suorum collegio dignatus est sociare. Amen. Et cuius gloriosam translacionem deuotis sollempniis preuenitis ipsius meritis preces uestras apud dominum exaudiri senciatis. Amen. Et post cursum uite presentis uos tranferri faciat ad celestia regna cum beatis. Amen. Quod ipse.	Omnipotens sempiterne deus qui donasti beatissimo regi eduuardo gloriam terrene potestatis in diuinum conuertere amorem: tribue nobis quesumus ex eius inuitacione pro amore tuo prospera mundi despicere. et nulla eius aduersa formidare. Per dominum.	Omnipotens sempiterne deus qui beatum regem Edwardum sacntorum tuorum collegio sociasti: concede propicius ut qui gloriose translacionis eius recolimus insignia. ipsius apud te senciamus patrocinia. Per.	Omnipotens sempiterne deus qui donasti beatissimo regi eduuardo gloriam terrene potestatis in diuinum conuertere amorem. tribue nobis quesumus. ex eius imitacione pro amore tuo prospera mundi despicere et nulla eius aduersa formidare. Per dominum.	Omnipotens sempiterne [deus qui beatissimum]. (Text in brackets only in col. 1342).

The next collect is found during the second nocturn and this text is found in several places in MS. Rawlinson: the Office for Edward the Confessor, in the Easter Vespers for Edward the Confessor and twice during the *gratiarum actiones*.[486] Its most complete form is found in col. 1381 and its text is a generic praise of Edward as ever-listening mediator which, as we shall see, is a recurring feature of the psalmody.

4.5.2 - The texts of *tabula 2*

I have been unable to pinpoint any psalmodic motifs in the lessons of *tabula 2*. Edward's life and deeds are more prevalent here than in the preceding *tabula*. The texts are all proper.

Lessons - When it comes to the matter of content, the lessons of *tabula* 2 are more interesting by far to the historian than those of *tabula* 1, since this is the first instance in the lessons when episodes from Edward's *historia* serve explicitly as the core narrative.

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[486] For the Easter Vespers see Legg 1897: col. 1360. For *gratiarum actiones* see Legg 1897: cols. 1381 and 1382.

The subject of the first lesson [54] is those healed by Edward, stressing his humility - in deigning to help even his lowliest subjects.[487] Although this, together with justice, is one of the two "central themes in the discourse on kingship",[488] this is the first occurrence of this virtue in the office material.

In the second lesson, the subject is the chastity of Edward and his queen - *castitatis professores* - that enriched "even Christ". Particularly interesting here is the phrase "to pluck heavenly flowers", an allusion, perhaps, to the lily, prime symbol of chastity, as mentioned in 4.4.2. Although an important part of Edward's aretalogy, this too, occurs for the first time in *tabula 2*.[489]

In the third and longest lesson [58], we are told of three proofs of the king's merited sanctity, all of which pertain to Edward's visionary powers. The first proof is the vision of the seven sleepers, the second is the vision of the death of the Danish king and the third is Christ's appearance to Edward at the altar.[490]

Responsories - As for the responsories, the respond of MR-1 [55] records how St. Peter brought Edward back from exile in Normandy to rule England, one of the key features laid down already in *Vita I* and reiterated by all later hagiographers.[491] In the verse we are assured that Edward remained chaste despite his marriage, one of his chief claims to sanctity,[492] and the verse is followed by the return of the repetenda stating that Edward was elevated to rule the entire kingdom. This responsory comes after the assertion of Edward's humility. Lesson 1 [54] may therefore be considered an example explaining that which is put forth in item 55. It may also be that the responsory originally was meant to follow Lesson 1 (which deals with chastity) but was later misplaced.

The second responsory [57] recounts an episode from Edward's *historia* of a boy who entered the king's chamber to steal money, found only in *Vita III*.[493] This episode served as an example of Edward's largesse and mildness. The respond describes the theft while the *repetenda* states that the boy was not to suffer death. The verse then picks up the story from here, stating that the king's mercy made him soften the justice of the law, and the *repetenda* concludes the responsory by reiterating that the boy was not to suffer death. This mercy may be seen as an example of that rulership without vices in lesson 2 [56], or it may have suffered the same fate conjectured in the case of [55]: M-R2 [57] may originally have meant to echo the humility of lesson 1.

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[487] Cf. Dutton 2005: 162-63.
[488] Gaposchkin 2008: 106.
[489] Unless, of course, the Matins antiphon 25A refers to this virtue, a case that depends on the reading of "inceste". In any case, Edward's chastity occupies a surprisingly marginal part of the liturgical discourse.
[490] For the seven sleepers see Dutton 2005: 192ff. For the death of the Danish king see Dutton 2005: 149ff. For the vision of Christ see Dutton 2005: 178ff.
[491] Dutton 2005: 140.
[492] Dutton 2005: 148.
[493] Dutton 2005: 144-45.

M-R3 [59] illustrates the relationship between lesson and responsory most clearly. While the lesson [58] refers to Edward's visionary powers, the responsory elaborates by narrating the second vision mentioned in the lesson. The respond describes how the vision moistened the king's tears while the *repetenda* describes the nature of the vision, the drowning of the Danish king. This vision was established by Osbert and picked up by Aelred[494] The verse recounts the temporal - and mystical - setting of this miracle, the feast of Pentecost, and is followed by the repetenda describing the nature of the miracle.

The emphasis of *tabula 2* as suggested by the *repetendae* is Edward's predestination to rule due to his lineage in item [55] (emphazised by the intercession of St. Peter in the respond), the king's mercy in item [57] and his visionary powers in item [59] (he "deserved to behold" the death of the Danish king) due to his pious excellence).

4.5.3 - The texts of *tabula 3*: content
As in the case of tabula 2, the texts here are all proper, with the exception of the verse of M-R2 [63]. There are some psalmodic motifs to be found in the lessons, but not very frequently.

Lessons - In the first of the lessons, item [60], Edward is addressed as a king, urged by the lector to keep watch over his subjects. Edward is here identified as a patron,[495] a sentiment also expressed in the first lesson of *tabula* 1: *qui nobis beatum regem Edwardum largitus est patronum.*[496] Here Edward is the mediator we so frequently encountered in *tabula 1* and that correlates with psalms 4 [13] and 5 [14].

The second lesson [62] is, like the first, a supplication directed towards Edward, imploring him to remain their patron and respond to their devotion, evoking a mediator in the same way as in lesson one [60]. The most interesting aspect of this otherwise nondescript prayer is the specific reference to the liturgy's architectural setting: *in hac domo*, i.e. Westminster.

The third lesson [64] praises of some of Edward's virtues, either expressed explicitly, like his chastity, or alluded to by choice of words. This lesson draws heavily on Old Testament poetry. The first instance is when Edward is presented as studiously pious, a character trait expounded in the previous chapter and that echoes Psalm 1. He is then compared to the cedar of Lebanon a simile of righteousness taken from Psalm 91, a psalm also used as the basis of the None versicle *Iustus ut*

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[494] Bloch 1923: 75ff; Dutton 2005: 176ff.
[495] Samantha Riches argues that "evidence suggests" Edward was the patron of the monarch rather than the English people, but the nature of this evidence is unclear (Riches 2000: 102-03). The question is whether the first lesson invokes Edward as patron of the English or of Westminster and this is difficult to decide. While it is stated that the entire English people celebrates Edward, this does not necessarily mean Edward is designated as a patron of the entire English people. Personally I favour the idea of Edward as a patron of the English, but Edward's role may have become increasingly obscure in the time between the composition of *tabula 1* and the mid-14th century.
[496] "[God gave] unto us the blessed king Edward as a patron." My translation.

palma [53].[497] The third biblical allusion is taken from Song of Solomon 2:2 by describing Edward as having sprung forth "*sicut lilium*".[498] The fourth allusion is a faint echo of Psalm 44:13-15 in the phrase "virgin among virgins", since this ought to be a suitable rendition of the image of the king's daughter (i.e. Edith) flanked by virgins, or perhaps by the king himself.

Responsories - We see that these responsories, as with those of *tabula 2*, are more concerned with episodes from Edward's *historia* than those of *tabula* 1. M-R1 [61] expounds the episode of the cripple Edward carried on his shoulders,[499] a prime example, one might say, of the humility and care for his subjects Edward is famed for. This care for his subjects is the key element of the preceding lesson [60]. The respond tells of Edward carrying the cripple, Gillemichel, while the *repetenda* states that the man was healed. The verse recounts both the scorn and admiration of the people who beheld this spectacle, and the *repetenda* concludes with the statement that the man was healed. The topic of this responsory, the Edward's care for his subjects is the key element of the preceding lesson [60].

M-R2 [63] recounts Edward's vision of Christ at the altar during the Eucharist,[500] one of the proofs of Edward's merited sanctity listed in the third lesson of *tabula* 1 and its versicle. We see here how the identification of the architectural setting in the lesson serves in a way as a prologue to the responsory, identifying the space of the vision, which happens - of course - to be the same space occupied by the celebrating choir.[501] The respond deals with the visions, while the *repetenda* states that Edward received multiple blessings from Christ. The verse consists of a line from the Gospel of Matthew: "Blessed are the pure at heart for they shall see God." A better proof of Edward's purity can not be found. After the verse - the only common item in the *tabula* - the *repetenda* returns to state that Edward received multiple blessings. The responsory is a nice confirmation of lesson 2 [62], showing him already sharing in a part of Heaven during his days on earth.

M-R3 [65] deals with the episode of the four men healed by Edward.[502] It is interesting to see here the juxtaposition of Edward's virtues in the lesson and his thaumaturgical powers in the responsory, proving thereby that his healing powers were earned by his virtuous life.[503] The respond recounts the episode, while the *repetenda* states that they were healed. The verse elaborates on how the miracle came about - through the sevenfold grace of the Holy Spirit - and then the *repetenda* repeats the details of the healing.

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[497] Although Psalm 91 is used in N-vs [53] this does not mean that this correlation is deliberate. Most likely it is not. Since the *tabulae* appear to have been written and different times and for different offices to Edward the correlation speaks more to a general perception of Edward than any deliberate connection between *tabulae 1* and *3*.

[498] See also Aldhelm's *On Virginity*. Lapidge and Herren 1979: 74.

[499] Dutton 2005: 162-65.

[500] Dutton 2005: 176-78.

[501] Cf. Dutton 2005: 176.

[502] Dutton 2005: 187ff.

[503] Cf. Dutton 2005: 196.

In sum we see that the emphasis carried by the *repetendae* is that of Edward's healing [61], the vision of Christ on the altar [63] and the restorative powers of the king's washing water [65].

4.6 - O decus ecclesie

4.6.1 - Form and content

According to Guido Maria Dreves, this item is an antiphon.[504] I subscribe to this assertion, since the text is an adaptation of an antiphon to St. Louis and is found together with the Magnificat antiphon *Ave sancte rex Edwarde* of tabula 1 in CCW. *O decus ecclesie* is comprised of 8 lines of alternating proparoxytone and paroxytone stresses. In all likelihood, *O decus ecclesie* is taken from an office made in honour of St Louis of France in the 1290s. This is based on the fact that we find two offices to St Louis with an identical text, save for the dedication,[505] namely *Nunc laudare* and *Ludovicus decus*, both composed around the turn of the 13th century when there were close ties between the court of Philip IV and the Dominican order.[506] The earliest MSS containing *Nunc laudare* - the older of the two - belonged to Dominican houses, and the historian Bernard Gui (1261-1331) suggested *Ludovicus decus* was "made for Dominican use".[507]

It is tempting to claim that the liturgy of St Louis came before the antiphon to Edward. My reason for this claim is not that Louis's liturgy antedates the Codex Coloniensis by almost two centuries; it would be fallacious to presume such a chronology of influence solely on grounds of absence of evidence. My reason for suggesting this order of influence owes to the fact that the Dominican order in France had a particular relationship with the late King Louis, who "drew his confessors from among them" and had been an important patron.[508] As for Edward the Confessor, there is no evidence suggesting a particular popularity among the Dominicans of the mid-13th-century. Quite the contrary, it was not until 1267 that Edward's *translatio* was added to the Dominican liturgy in England.[509] It was, however, the Cistercians, not so much the Dominicans, who considered Edward the Confessor an ideal saint-king.[510] Accordingly, I find it more plausible that a Dominican antiphon was disseminated to St. Edward's liturgists than the other way around.[511] Music for St Louis's

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[504] Dreves 1898: 292.

[505] For the exchange between Westminster Abbey and the monastery of St. Denis, the centre of St. Louis's cult, see Jordan 2009, especially pp. 48-59.

[506] For the dates of the offices see Gaposchkin 2008: 79 and 81. For the ties between Philip IV and the Dominicans see Gaposchkin 2008: 77.

[507] For *Nunc laudare* see Gaposchkin 2008: 79. For *Ludovicus decus* see Gaposchkin 2008: 80. Bernard Gui may have been wrong, but both offices are nonetheless connected with the Dominican order and the oldest, *Nunc laudare*, presumably influenced the later *Ludovicus decus*.

[508] Gaposchkin 2010: 77.

[509] Pfaff 2009: 314-15. This was despite the fact that the Dominicans had been in England since 1221 (Pfaff 2009: 311) and possibly already provided confessors for the English court at the time of Henry II (Pfaff 2009: 318). See also Grotefendt 1970, online version: http://www.manuscripta-mediaevalia.de/gaeste/grotefend/grotefend.htm.

[510] See Gaposchkin 2010: 129-31.

[511] It must be stressed that we do not know whether *O decus ecclesie* was a Westminster adaptation, hence my use of

antiphon *O decus ecclesie* can be found in MS. R248, fol. 139, a 13th-century antiphoner now in the Bibliothèque Municipale in Rouen, but there is no way we can establish whether or to what extent this chant was transmitted into liturgical use for Edward. It must be remembered that this piece is not present in an English source.

4.6.2 - The liturgical image

Although *O Decus Ecclesie* originally comes from the liturgy of St. Louis, it should come as no surprise that liturgists found this antiphon suitable for Edward the Confessor. After all Edward and Louis were both confessors and royal saints, and their liturgists quarried the same stock of biblical material.[512] Small wonder, then, that the sobriquets should fit Edward so well.

In this antiphon Edward is hailed as the "glory of the church", "pious king of the English", "model of justice, law and morals" and subsequently petitioned for his grace. These titles are all in tune with Edward's characterisation as portrayed and cultivated from *Vita I* onwards. What is particularly interesting, however, is the title "glory of the church" or "*decus ecclesie*". As Bernhard Scholz has illustrated, the term *decus* is a common adjective of medieval panegyrics, but when used to laud kings in 12th-century historiography the term is usually connected to elements of the temporal sphere.[513] Edward himself, for instance, is called *Anglorum decus* by John of Worcester, and *decus Angligenis* by Alexander of Asbhy.[514] In an impressive catalogue, Scholz lists numerous occurrences of the term *decus* in medieval literature, but the only time it pertains to the church is in Theodulf of Orleans's panegyric to Pope Hadrian.[515] The use of *decus* in the adapted antiphon is, in other words, something of a novelty, or perhaps rather an oddity. It nonetheless fits well, as do the invocations of Edward's piety, justice and morality, all being recurring features in Edward's long-standing aretalogy. As for the opening line, the glory of the church, this is a feature fitting Edward's *rex sanctus* typology, namely the king's role as a protector and establisher of churches. Although an important part of the hagiographical and historiographical images, it has less prominence in the liturgical image.

4.7 - Additional chants

There are also, as briefly mentioned above, certain chants to be found with the help of the CANTUS database in three liturgical MSS. outside the Westminster Use: the 13th-century Sarum antiphoner GB-Cu Mm.ii.9 (most likely from Barnwell), a mid-14th-century Sarum antiphoner from Aberystwyth (GB-AB 20541 E) and the so-called Worcester antiphonary, an early-13th-century Worcester

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"liturgists" rather than "Westminster monks".
[512] Such as the use of Smaragdus of St. Mihiel's collegium of virtuous kings.
[513] Scholz 1962: 379.
[514] For *Anglorum decus* see Thorpe 1964: 224; for *decus Angligenium* see Dinkova-Bruun 2004: 255ff, line 1381.
[515] Scholz 1962: 380

compendium of monastic cursus (GB-WO F.160).516 These manuscripts contain eleven different chants and three versicles unevenly distributed between the Confessor's two feast days, and sometimes repeated. The Aberystwyth antiphoner is the only MS. containing chants for January 5. (For an overview see Appendix V.)

Some of these chants can be found in MS. Rawlinson (see the entries in Appendix IV, col. 8). They have therefore been discussed before and will accordingly not be treated here, although their presence requires acknowledgement. These are the antiphon *Ave sancte rex Edwarde* (App. IV, no. 3), the hymn *Iste confessor* (App. IV, no. 6), and the versicles *Amauit eum* and *Os iusti* (App. IV, no. 7 and 8). A. *Ave sancte* is, as mentioned above, notated in a later hand as an addition in GB-WO F.160 (facs. p. 199). It is the only proper piece with music notation still extant in the Edward material.

For Edward's *dies natalis* (Jan. 5, transmitted in GB-AB 20541 E, App. IV, col. 4), we find several items from the Common (see Appendix IV, no. 7, 14, 15. – No. 1, A. *Justum deduxit* is also sung in GB-WO F.160 as Prime-antiphon, App. IV, no. 16). These fit well with Edward's established characterisation, as they emphasise "the just man" and his relationship to God. The start of the versicle, *Justus germinabit*, is the recurrent theme in Aelred's sermon CLXXI held on January 5.[517]

For St. Edward's *translatio* (Oct. 13, transmitted in GB-Cu Mm.ii.9, and GB-WO F.160, see App. IV, col. 5–7) we find a larger repository of chants. This is unsurprising, since the MSS. are all from a time when the *translatio* had superseded Edward's *dies natalis* in importance.[518] Only in the Barnwell antiphonary we find the antiphons *Similabo,* and *Iste est* (App. IV, no. 9, 17). A. *Similabo* is based on Matthew 7:24-27 and presents a wise king. About A. *Iste est* see below.

Both the Barnwell- and the Worcester antiphonary transmit A. *Amavit* (App. IV, no. 2), the R. *Miles Christi* (App. IV, no. 4, 13), and H. *Iste confessor* (App. IV, no. 6).

Both A. *Iste est* and R. *Miles Christi* seem as curious inclusions to me, as they both convey an apostolicity Edward did not have - the first addresses a peaceful apostolicity, while the second uses militant a more militant vocabulary.[519]

GB-WO F.160 transmits in addition three responsories, not included in the other repertories (App. IV, no. 5, 11, and 12): The responsory *Sancte Edwarde** (App. IV, no. 5), is a puzzling item in the Worcester-repertory. It is, as the other items, only notated with its incipit. A responsory with this beginning is not known otherwise in the Cantus-database. (Perhaps it had the same text as the

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[516] For Barnwell see http://www.cantusdatabase.org/source/374026/gb-cu-mmii9. For Aberystwyth see http://www.cantusdatabase.org/source/374015/gb-ab-20541-e. For Worcester see http://www.cantusdatabase.org/source/374070/gb-wo-f160. All accessed 8 June 2012.

[517] Raciti 2012 vol. 4: 553-58.

[518] Although it is curious to note that the Aberystwyth antiphoner only contains one chant for the *translatio* and four for the *dies natalis*. This chant is *Te Deum*, which is a generic praise of God and can add nothing to this discussion.

[519] However, in a sermon for January 5, *Mundus iste*, Aelred of Rievaulx did make a reference to the soldiers of Christ who through wisdom fought malignant spirits (Raciti 2012 vol 4: 557, lines 134-35.

antiphon from the Common which can be adapted to any confessor: "*Sancte N. confessor domini pretiose adesto nostris precibus pius ac propitius.*" Cid: 004717). R. *Coronam Auream* (App. IV, no. 11) claims the king's golden crown signifies his sanctity, his honour and great works while R. *Agmina* (App. IV, no. 12) lauds the faithful fellow-citizen of the angels.

There is also, as indicated in a footnote of Harrison 1963,[520] evidence of liturgical material in honour of of Edward in a handful of breviaries from Fécamp, which however deserves a more thorough systematical investigation than is possible in this present study.[521] Here I take only two sources from Fécamp into consideration: the oldest source mentioned by Harrison, Rouen, Bibliothèque Municipale 244 (A. 261), dating from the end of the 12th century, and includes Edward in the Litany and celebrates his *dies natalis*. The items of the *dies natalis*, an antiphon, a versicle (both additions in small script) and a collect are all from the Common material. I give a transcription in Appendix Va.

Rouen, Bib. mun. 245 (antiphoner, Fécamp, 1280–1320)[522] is not mentioned by Harrison, but it contains a monastic office for Edward's *dies natalis* which includes a complete list of chants (see Appendix Vb). Responsory 9 and the Magnificat-antiphon appear at first glance to be proper as their incipits read *Sancte Eduuarde*. They are possibly however items from the Common designed to be applicable to all confessors (*Sancte N., confessor domini...* Cid: 004717), which, as mentioned above, is also found in GB-WO F.160.

At the end of this section, the Lytlyngton Missal, mentioned above, must briefly be considered, as it contains a larger number of liturgical items in honour Edward (as recorded in 4.1, n. 375), which however belong to the Mass-context:

Col. 616	bishop's benedictions, both for Jan. 5 and Oct. 13, and both for the vigils and the main feastdays.
Col. 645	two benedictions for Oct. 13 (vigil? and main feast day).
Col. 737-738	Mass propers incl. prayers for the Jan. 5-feast, both vigil and "*dies natalis*". Part of the repertory of the "*dies natalis*" is also the proper Sequence *Letetur ecclesia*.
Col. 975-976	Mass proper for the "*translatio*"-feast (Oct. 13) incl. prayers.
Col. 977-978	Mass proper to be celebrated during the octave after the *translatio* (14-20 Oct.).
Col. 980	A rubric about the celebration of the octave (21 Oct.).

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[520] Harrison 1963: 25, n. 20.
[521] The MS. 251 (A. 393) in Rouen (second half of the 13th century, summer only) contains a *translatio* office, while MS. 205 (Rouen, 13th century) includes the king-saint in the Litany and both the *dies natalis* and *translatio*. The most recent is MS. 206 (A. 63) (Rouen, early 14th century), and this also contains material for both Edward's feast days. None of the lesson texts are given and consequently we can not compare it with the Westminster material. Harrison 1963: 25, n. 20.
[522] See Attinger 1998: 113 with literature.

For the most part, the items here are not very significant as they are taken from the Common material – apart from the usual insertion of the saints' name and feast in the Introit *Gaudeamus omnes* (cf. Wickham Legg, 1893: col. 738, 975). Some items are, however, of greater interest as they contain details from Edward's hagiography. First of all we have the *sequencia* of *dies natalis*, *Letetur ecclesia* (Legg 1893: col. 739), which recounts the king's life and deeds.[523] This item is a kind of summary of Edward's hagiography, as it records his predestined rulership, his chaste marriage, his visions of the seven sleepers and the death of the Danish king, the death of Godwin, Edward's humility, the healing of Gillemichel, and the miracle of Wulfstan's staff.[524] The *translatio-mass* does not contain similar material, which might strengthen the assumption that the missal texts are of a 12th-century provenance, considering Edward's *translatio* did not supersede the *dies natalis* until the 1200s.

The benedictions at the vigils of January 5 (Legg 1893: cols. 616-17) are also of great interest since they, too, narrate the life and miracles of the Confessor. The content, however, goes into far less detail than the *sequentia* and mentions chiefly Edward's chastity and charity as specific examples of his holiness. In this way, the vigil-benedictions and *sequentia* are mirror images of the *tabulae* of the Office-material of their respective provenances. (The benediction for the *translatio* does not go into specifics.)[525]

4.8 - The motets of the 14th century

One interesting repertoire linked to the Confessor is a handful of 14th-century motets. They are not included in the main discussion of my study, since they do not form a part of the office material for the celebration of St. Edward the Confessor and thus do not belong at the core of the cult.[526] These motets do not form a stylistical or functionl unity, and it is therefore difficult to make any collective statements about this repertoire and its representation of Edward. The motets must, however, be briefly considered if we are to come as close to a complete understanding of Edward's liturgical image as possible. The motets in question are *Ave Miles de Cuius*, *Civitas Nusquam*, *Regem Regum*, *Fons Origo Musicorum* and *Iste Confessor*. Not all of them, however, are of great importance to the matter of imagery.[527]

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[523] See also the edition in Analecta Hymnica, vol. 40, p. 174 no. 196, which is based on the Lytlington Missal. See Bannister 1903 (Analecta Hymnica, 40).

[524] Legg 1893: col. 739.

[525] Legg 1893: cols. 645-46.

[526] Paul Lefferts states that the motets for St. Edward were "essentially liturgical rather than devotional" (see the abstract of Lefferts 1983.) For the provenance of the motets see Lefferts 1983: 316-17.

[527] This is particularly the case for *Regem regum* and *Iste Confessor*. *Regem regum* is a cantilena, a homophonic carol in Latin, from the 14th century (see http://www.britannica.com/EBchecked/topic/93143/cantilena - accessed 13 June 2012.) A facsimile of the musical arrangement has been printed in Harrison and Wibberley 1981: 199. It is dedicated to Edward, but whether this refers to the Confessor or Edward III remains unsolved and accordingly I will not consider this here, so as to avoid the risk of misrepresentation (see Colton 2003: 159-61). *Iste Confessor* is a motet from Cambridge: University Library, Additional 4435 (12a-d), number b verso (1/1) and is based on the text of the hymn *Iste Confessor*, which has been described in detail in chapter 4.4.2. The hymn has been subject to a number of textual

Ave Miles de Cuius was composed for October 13, most likely in the 14th century, and it is interesting for some unusual representations of Edward.[528] It is one of very few texts referring to the Confessor in terms of the holy warrior of Christ,[529] and the only one to my knowledge referring to Edward as "sydus sanctatis" or "star of holiness".[530] The martial theme of *Ave Miles de cuius* is dovetailed into the Confessor's mythology quite nicely by emphasising the Christian soldier's cleansing of sins.[531] The motet contains common tropes as well: holiness from a young age, *ab infancia*, and the ascetic and pious life.[532]

Civitas nusquam was composed in honour of Edward the Confessor sometime in the 14th century and the text is based on Matthew 5:14-15 and 25:14-30.[533] In this motet Edward's life is held forth as an example for all the world to see, emphasising his charity. The motet may have been composed for January 5, as suggested by the references to Edward's as yet pending admission into Heaven, reliving - as it were - that joyous day of 1066 in a musical rememorative allegory. However, based on the references to the light and the bushel so heavily linked with Edward's 1163 *translatio*, October 13 may have been the intended date.[534] The motet emphasises Edward's virtues of charity, peacemaking and wisdom, all old and well-established features of his aretalogy, but the formulation relying this heavily on Matthew does not follow MS. Rawlinson. [535]

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renditions (the one printed by Dreves in 1888, the conflated version in Rawl. liturg. 10 and the *Iste confessor domini colentes* version (CANTUS ID 008323)) but his particular motet follows the text presented by Dreves. See Besseler and Gülke 1973, vol. 3, part 5: 82.

[528]. Colton 2003: 139. This militaristic representation fits well with the priorities of English kings in the 14th century. A similar incarnation of this can be seen in a stained glass image in Lincolnshire c.1360 where SS George, Edmund and Edward are all depicted in armour, a "unique presentation [that] tends to emphasise their joint role as the protectors of England from its earthly enemies" (Riches 2000: 22). It is tempting to see this motet as an attempt to bring the declining cult of Edward up to date with the martial tendencies of the 14th century, but this is of course mere conjecture. The text and music notation is printed in Harrison 1979: 176-77. See also Harrison 1979: 246.

[529] This sobriquet is predominantly given to martyr saints such as King Edmund. Colton 2003: 157. Interestingly, Aelred of Rievaulx also refers to Edward as a soldier of Christ in one of his sermons (Raciti 2012: 557, l. 129).

[530] This image was also used for St. Edmund. Colton 2003: 139 and Harrison 1979: 176. Throughout the 14th-century a pairing of Edmund and Edward is common in both art and literature. The Wilton Diptych is perhaps the most famous example of the former. It can also be found in William Langland's poem *Piers Plowman*, passus XV, lines 223-24 (see Schmidt 1995: 257). It is tempting to see this militarisation of Edward as a symptom of the martial climate of the mid-14th century.

[531] As Colton points out this motif, *ablue*, is taken from *Miles Christe Gloriose* and fits well with the thaumaturgical powers of Edward's washing water as established in Edward's literary tradition. Colton 2003: 157-58.

[532] Harrison 1980 : 176-77

[533] The former was the basis for *Nemo accendit lucernam*, the sermon reportedly held by Aelred on the translation of 1163, while the latter was the basis of a brief praise of Edward's charity in The *Estoire*. Colton 2003: 141.

[534] Harrison places *Civitas nusquam* on January 5 while Colton argues that the reference to Aelred's sermon indicates that it was celebrated on October 13. See Harrison 1980: 176; Colton 2003: 144

[535] Colton also suggests a subtle reference to Edward's virginity (see Colton 2003: 148). In terms of form, the motet comprises 24 lines of varying rhythm and rhyme-scheme for the triplum and 16 equally variable lines for the duplum (Harrison 1980: 175-76). The duplum, *Celi Cives Curie*, can also be found together with *Iste Confessor* and *Fons origo musicorum* in Cambridge: University Library, Additional 4435 (12a-d), number b verso (1/1). The document consists of four parchment fragments and three of these are ostensibly from an Ars nova MS dated to c. 1400. See http://www.lib.latrobe.edu.au/MMDB/Mss/GB-CUB.htm - accessed 7 June 2012. The same source contains *Fons origo musicorum*, which is written in a genre Maria del Carmen Gomez calls "motets de musiciens", a genre reputedly quite popular in England at the turn of the 14th century. See Gomez 1985: 19-20.

Chapter 5 - The king's three images

This image's head was of fine gold, his breast and his arms of silver, his belly and his thighs of brass, his legs of iron, his feet part of iron and part of clay.
- Daniel, 2:32-33

As stated in chapter 1 the purposes of this study are to examine the historiographical, hagiographical and liturgical images of the Confessor, and how these three images relate to one another by showing the relationship between them. Consequently, we must here look at these images comparatively. Through this comparison I aim to unveil an aspect of the saint's cult which has previously received little attention. This lack of attention is there despite the fact that liturgy and the liturgical performance is at the very heart of the cult. The liturgical image is, therefore, our window into the way the prime devotees of Edward - the Westminster monks - understood and formulated their saint. The liturgical image, then, is in a sense the most condensed image of the saint, where whatever was considered unimportant has been pruned away.

5.1 - The historiographical image

As we saw in chapter 3.4, the historiographical image was the first of the king's three images to be constructed, and I use that word advisedly since this image is assembled from many sources and comprises many parts. Edward's image has from the beginning been presented in most positive terms, and this is chiefly because he has always been a figure very palatable for Normans and Englishmen alike. The earliest formulations of Edward draw on a stockpile of topoi from the Bible and Christian mythology. Edward's positive aspects aside, however, he is nonetheless a mere mortal in the historiographical texts written prior to the canonisation: while he is humble, pious, just, temperate, generous and cheerful, a Solomonic peacemaker, a prophet and visionary, a healer who has been chosen by God to rule, it is not that he is a saint. This is because in addition to these virtues, he is also ascribed certain other characteristics: he is quick to anger, he engages in martial activity, he goes hunting and he confiscates his mother's riches. William of Malmesbury depicts him as a simpleton who was unfit to rule despite his piety and other good qualities, while John of Worcester hails him as the glory of England. The historiographical image, in other words, is a very motley patchwork, continuously evolving up to the canonisation and even beyond that to some minor extent. The historiographers all agree on the presentation and have a common idea of who Edward was, but what they emphasise and what they omit differs from text to text.

5.2 - The hagiographical image

The hagiographical image can be constructed from a considerable corpus of material, but not every part of this corpus is relevant for how liturgical texts evolved from hagiography. As mentioned in chapter 3.6.3, several vernacular texts were composed in our period, all of which are to some extent

based on *Vita III*. Since they were vernacular texts, they did not contribute to the textual repository liturgists would consult directly when selecting their material for the office. It is due to their non-liturgical status and the dependence of these vernacular texts on *Vita III* that the characteristics of this literature will not be relevant here.[536]

The hagiographical image that served as a model for liturgists contained several aspects taken from the historiographical texts. The transition was smooth and easy as from the start Edward already had been depicted in a very saint-like manner. This is not to say that hagiography could not add its own distinctive features: Osbert's classical allusions and Aelred's additional biblical allusions are both examples of this, while additional miracles served to enhance Edward's thaumaturgical reputation and stronger emphasis enhanced certain characteristics (like chastity). The virtues of Edward remain the same in hagiographical texts, but he is connected to a wider range of forebears, which makes his typology more complex: he is not just the solomonic peacemaker and Jonah-like prophet favoured by St. Peter, he is also John the Evangelist's fellow virgin - his peer - and he is likened to Moses, Abraham, Osiah, Susannah, Judith, Joseph and Job.

As we also have seen, the hagiographers omitted what they thought unfit for a saintly image, discarding political narratives and anecdotes of Edward's meddling in mundane affairs. Because of this, the hagiographical image presents a refined and idealised figure: the fully-fledged hero of faith, void of any blemish and in every way a fit foundation for the liturgical image.

5.3 - The liturgical image

Since the duty of liturgists was to celebrate and communicate with the saint, it was of course from the hagiography they gleaned the material they needed. However, as we have seen in chapter 4.4, liturgy has vastly different formal conventions than hagiography, and to transmit hagiographical material into liturgy required a compression of the material by selecting the key aspects and a formalisation of the text by rendering it in rhyme and metre, while the repetition of material in antiphons and responsories intensifies the message and emphasises the key motifs (see 4.4.1). Furthermore, the intertextuality - seen in the hagiography primarily through references to biblical typology - was taken up in the office in a very condensed form, which at the same time was open to a greater complexity as the liturgy not only contained biblical allusions but also references to other saints via the textual and melodic material taken from the Common. We have, on the other hand, also seen a tendency towards properisation through the linking of the common hymn *Iste Confessor Domini* directly to Westminster, the heart of the cult of St. Edward (see 4.5.1). Although Edward's liturgical image is very complex - as exemplified in chapter 4.8 - I will here only deal with the office material, as this is the liturgy

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[536] Vernacular texts may of course nonetheless have inspired liturgists and likewise may have been the repository of oral tradition and folklore concerning Edward the Confessor. Because of the nature of these repositories, however, their traces can not be identified in the liturgical material.

performed by the cult's core devotees and therefore the most refined version of the liturgical image. To better understand the liturgical image - and the transmission of material - we must now consider the *tabulae* more closely, and since they ostensibly contain texts from at least two different office-cycles and the Common we must consider them separately. It must again be emphasised that we only have fragmentary material, as *tabula 1* does not transmit a full festive cycle but only a commemoration, in which *tabulae 2* and *3* could replace the choice of lessons and responsories.

5.3.1 -Tabula 1

The chants and readings of *tabula 1* comprise a selection of items taken from pre-existing liturgical material (either gleaned from the Common of one confessor or the liturgy of other saints), biblical texts and what appear to be texts proper to Edward the Confessor. Edward's liturgical image in *tabula 1*, in other words, is a mosaic assembled from three different sets of tiles, and the image that emerges from this constellation is that of a blessed king who is just, pious ["erudite in faith"], forgiving, dignified, calm, generous, mild and of gentle manners, a king of all the English, whose reign was peaceful, who was favoured by every estate [clergy and laity alike] and who had been elected by God and St. Peter when he already was enclosed in his mother's womb. He was, furthermore, a king of noble heritage who disdained worldly matters and the flesh, who could heal the blind, the crippled and the sick, who did nothing unchaste or irreligious[537] and who was endowed with visionary powers. From a young age he had sought God, we are told, and he was united with God even when alive, so that now, as a saint, he is an unceasing intercessor.

We see here that practically the complete hagiographical image is retained in the narrow space of the office, albeit it in a compressed form. Due to this compression we can safely say that some characteristics have been of greater importance to the compiler than the rest. An indication of these emphases can be found by looking at the responsories (all proper), and especially their *repetendae*. As seen in chapter 4.5.1, the core themes of *tabula 1* can be summed up by two words: piety and kingship. The *repetendae* of items [22] and [24] emphasise Edward's piety and love of God. In the responsories as a whole we see this aspect conjoined with kingship, strengthened by the *repetenda* of item [20]. This suggests perhaps that Edward's kingship was a kingship of God, that Edward had His blessing and His attention. This is made particularly poignant when we consider that [22] follows lesson 2 [21], which states "[n]obody entertains doubts of his faith", and that [24] follows lesson 3 [23], which speaks of the excellence of Edward's faith. We see also that when *tabula 1* is taken as a whole, the virtue of piety is referred to in seven items, second only to the cardinal virtue of justice, which features in eight items.[538] Justice does not feature in the *repetendae*, but in the verse of item

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[537] This depends on the reading of the word "inceste" which means both unchaste and irreligious.
[538] The frequency of piety: Matins lessons 1, 2 and 3 [19, 21 and 23] (all Proper), T-AA (P) [45B] and Ncap (P) [52]. The frequency of justice: 1V-cap [1] (B), M-ll[19] (P), M-R1 [20] (P), M-cap [32] (C), L-vs [40] (B), T-AA [45B] (P), S-

[20], the responsory for lesson 1, Edward's reign is hailed as one of abundant peace and justice.

The representation of justice in *tabula 1* is also worth some scrutiny. In items [1] and [49] Edward's justice is tied into a representation of Abraham as found in Ecclesiasticus, and this may be said to allude to a patriarchal representation of Edward in tune with the "founding father" ideal of the *rex iustus* (cf. chapter 3.2.4). Another interesting detail in this regard is the chapter of Matins [32] where it is said that "this one knew justice". In the Westminster Missal this is found in the *commemoratio s. Benedicti* as a capitulum. In the Worcester antiphoner it features in the Common of one Confessor (not a bishop).

Another interesting characteristic is Edward's prenatal election to the English throne, which can be found in three items.[539] This is a salient feature of Edward's characterisation already found in *Vita I* that also occurs in *Gesta Regum Anglorum*, *Vita II* and *Vita III*.[540] It should be considered in conjunction with Edward's peaceful reign (M-R1 [20] (P)), which was frequently referred to in the literature and most often with a solomonic connection.[541] The prenatal election may also be tied into Edward's noble heritage - that ubiquitous feature of the high medieval *sanctorale*[542] - which can be found in items M-R1 [19] and M-A2 [25A], both proper.

His generosity, a theological virtue, is only referred to in T-AA [45B] (P) and perhaps by allusion in Sa-AA [48B] (P), although the latter states only that he was loved by clergy and laity alike.[543] More surprisingly Edward's thaumaturgical powers can only be found in lesson 3 [23],[544] but how this characteristic is treated is very interesting: Edward's thaumaturgical powers have very important christomimetical implications, since it is stated in the Gospels: "The blind receive their sight, and the lame walk, the lepers are cleansed, and the deaf hear, the dead are raised up, and the poor have the gospel preached to them."[545] Through his enlightening of the blind and raising of the cripples Edward not only imitates Christ in his virtues but also in his agency. The gospel verse in

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cap [49] (B) and N-vs [53] (B).

[539] The items in question are: P-A [44A] (P), T-A [45A] (P) and Ncap [52] (B).

[540] See Barlow 1992: 90-91, Bloch 1923: 70ff, Mynors et. al. 1998: 407 and Dutton 2005: 135ff respectively.

[541] See Barlow 1992: 6-7 and 18-19, Bloch 1923: 73 and Dutton, 2005: 137, 140, 162 and 170. This feature was ingrained in the English mindset and it occurs also in the works of such writers as John of Worcester, Henry Huntingdon, Matthew Paris and Richard of Cirencester (see Thorpe 1964, vol II: 224; Greenway 2007: 411; Fenster and Wogan-Browne 2008: 65 and Mayor 1863, vol II, p. 199 respectively.).

[542] Vauchez 2005: 173ff. Unlike older Anglo-Saxon royal saints, however, Edward's forebears were themselves Christian and his heritage underscores his family's proclivity for sanctity rather than serving as a compensation for his pagan heritage.

[543] This is a characterisation that suits both the church patron motif of the *rex iustus* and the care for the poor celebrated by the "evangelical religiousness of the eleventh and twelfth century" (Klaniczay 2002: 137), but that this is connected to generosity is admittedly a somewhat tenuous claim.

[544] This is surprising as it is a heavily emphasised feature of the Edward literature. See for instance Barlow 1992: 92ff and 124ff; Mynors et. al. 1998: 407-09; Bloch 1923: 82, 92, 94-96,112, 113 and 116; Dutton 2005: chapters 13, 19-23, 32, 35, 38-42; Stubbs (ed.) 1964, vol. 1: 110 and Mayor (ed.) 1863, vol. 2: 264.

[545] Matthew 11:5. This passage draws on Isaiah 35:2-6. Item [23] does not incorporate the word choice of the Vulgate, but the meaning is nonetheless evident.

question is also interesting since it invokes John the Baptist who was the recipient of these words.[546]

As for the rest of Edward's aretalogy, its remaining virtues are included - except his visionary powers[547] - but only very sparingly so. Their inclusions are too infrequent to merit any extensive discussion.[548] However, it must be noted that it is rather surprising Edward's chastity has not been given great prominence, as this is a key topic in the hagiographies (and even in *Vita I*).[549] In *tabula 1*, however, it features only in 1V-H [3] (C) and perhaps in M-A2 [25A] (P),[550] and this may be because unlike *Vita II* and to some minor extent *Vita III*, the liturgical texts were composed in, for and by a Benedictine milieu rather than a Cistercian milieu. This is, however, mere conjecture based on the surviving material, which is only a part of a larger cycle or some larger cycles no longer available to us. In these cycles some characteristics - such as chastity - may have been more emphasised than what is present in the material or MS. Rawlinson.

One final feature worth noting - which is more interesting than the virtues rendered minor occurrences in the *tabula* - is Edward's Englishness. Edward is said to be an "unceasing intercessor" for all the people and the "the entire English nation" (*vniuersa gens anglorum*) rejoices with "us" (as seen in item [19]), presumably the Westminster clerics, in celebrating his life and deeds. Edward himself, however, is not defined in terms of nationality and his own background is never stated.[551] This focus on "nationality"[552] or Englishness may suggest a mid-12th-century provenance as this issue was very important at that time, especially when considering Henry II's efforts to establish his

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[546] John the Baptist is of course the biblical archetype of ascetics and Edward's exile in Normandy may have been compared with the Baptist's desert life (or for that matter Christ's transfiguration on Mount Tabor.) If this was the case, however, no representation of the connection between these saints can be found prior to the Wilton Diptych where the Confessor is flanked by St. Edmund and John the Baptist. What is more important, however, is that the passages in question evoke a description of the reignof the Messiah, and when this is applied to Edward he becomes an impersonation of Christ and his kingdom becomes a messianic kingdom. This fits well with Peter's statement in Brihtwold's vision that the kingdom of the English is the kingdom of God (Barlow 1992: 14-15). That it is Peter, not Christ, who heralds this new messianic kingdom may be of great importance in view of the relationship between England and the Papal See, but this is beyond conjecture at this point.

[547] This is another surprise as it is an important part of the literature. See Barlow 1992: 116-17; Van Houts 2003, vol. 2: 108-09; Mynors et. al. 1998: 405-07 and 415; Bloch 1923: 76 and 100-01; Dutton 2005, especially chapters 9, 18 and 26.

[548] The virtues in question are: mercy (lesson 2 [21], (P)), dignity ([21]), temperance (a cardinal virtue, M-R2 [22], (P) and lesson 3 [23] (P)), his calmness (Pa -AA [44B], (P)) and his mildness (N-Cap [52], (P), cf. Matt. 5:5.) For these virtues and the established literature, see for instance Barlow 1992: 18-19 for calm and dignity. See Barlow 1992: 92-93; Mynors et. al. 1998: 349 and Bloch 1923: 105 for generosity. See Bloch 1923: 74 for mildness.

[549] See for instance Barlow 1992: 14-15, 90-91 and 122-23; Van Houts (ed.) 2003, vol 2: 108-09; Mynors et. al. 1998: 355ff; Bloch 1923: 66-69, 72, 75, 97, 110-11; Dutton 2005: 145-49. This was also the clergy's main argument for including Edward in the *sanctorale* as can be seen in Bishop Gilbert Foliot of Hereford's letter to Pope Alexander III in 1160 (Morey and Brooke 1967: 177.)

[550] The first instance owes the inclusion of chastity solely to the use of a hymn from the Common of one confessor in which chastity features as a topical allusion. In the case of M-A2 the crux of the matter is whether the word *inceste* was meant as "unchaste" or "irreligious".

[551] Edward was in fact of a very motley heritage, his mother being Norman and Danish and his father English. On his mother Emma see Keynes 2004. For his father see Colton 2003: 127. See also Brihtwold's vision, Barlow 1992: 14-15.

[552] To use a modern term such as "nationality" in a medieval context is deeply problematic due to its inherent anachronism. The Latin word "gens" can be translated as tribe, clan, nation or people, whereas the term "populo" has an even wider set of meanings, including people, nation and populace. I have used "nation" for "gens" and "people" for "populo" in order to differentiate between these two.

reputation as the legitimate English king (see 2.3.2). Edward as an English king was an important part of this representation even before his canonisation, as he was a palatable hero for Englishmen and Normans alike (see chapter 2.2), a point very poignantly expressed by John of Worcester's obituary referring to Edward as the glory of the English.

5.3.2 - Tabula 2

Tabula 2 is significantly shorter than *tabula 1* since it only includes a selection of lessons and responsories for Matins. Since the texts are all proper and poetic and since the selection is so scant the emerging image is much more streamlined than that of *tabula 1*, a mosaic put together by tiles of greater similitude, yet of course incomplete. The only assertion we can make is that the texts of *tabula 2* were at least written after 1163 due to their reliance on material from *Vita III*.

The image emerging from *tabula 2* is that of a humble, pious and merciful ruler who healed the sick and crippled, who lived in marital celibacy and possessed visionary powers, who ruled without vices and was placed on his ancestral throne by St Peter. These characteristics are all common to the established aretalogy and biography of Edward the Confessor. The emphasis, according to the *repetendae*, also here pertains to kingship: Edward is a pre-ordained [55], merciful ruler [57] who deserved - for some unspecified reason - to have the vision of the drowning Danish king.

The king's visionary powers attracted much attention from several writers and have long been considered one of his chief manifestations of sanctity. Edward's gift of prophecy is the most repeated characteristic of *tabula 2*, occurring in lesson 3 [58] and M-R3 [59]. Lesson 3 is dedicated to Edward's prophetic powers in its entirety, recounting the vision of the seven sleepers, the vision of the death of the Danish king and finally the vision of Christ upon the altar. The earliest source for these visions is Osbert of Clare[553] and they are all reiterated by Aelred.[554] The latter two visions are the subject of M-R3 and a crucial part of these texts is that Edward deserved the gift of prophecy due to *[s]ancti regis merita*.

Edward's chastity is also given some attention. It is treated in lesson 2 [56] where he and his wife Edith are called "confessors of chastity" and he is said to be venerated on account of his chaste bed. Furthermore his "chastity in marriage" is juxtaposed with his "rulership without vices".The virtue of humility (lesson 1 [54]) and the virtue of mercy (found in M-R2 [57]) are present, but they are only of minor prominence.[555]

Having taken a closer look at the texts of *tabula 2* we must of course keep in mind that what

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[553] See Bloch 1923: 98ff, 75ff and 91ff respectively.
[554] Dutton 2005: 192ff, 149ff and 176ff respectively.
[555] Humility is a prerequisite for any person to become sainted, but far more so in the case of a king who by virtue of his office was more prone to the arrogance of high rank. Edward's humility has been attested to by a wide range of writers. See for instance Barlow 1992: 122-23; Van Houts 2003, vol. 2: 108-09; Mynors et. al. 1998: 349 and 405-07; Bloch 1923: 72 and Dutton 2005: 130, 142 and 149.When it comes to mercy, item [57] is especially interesting since we are able to pinpoint its textual provenance, as this episode is first included in Aelred's *Vita III*. Dutton 2005: 144-45.

we have here is merely a selection of the Matins material, perhaps taken from an office that no longer exists. It is accordingly impossible to make any assertions concerning the liturgical image of Edward in the original setting of this chant cycle. It is nonetheless interesting to see that even from what little material we have available we can see a stronger emphasis on chastity and the prophetic powers of Edward than what we found in *tabula 1*.[556] This may point to a provenance in a period where this emphasis was even more pertinent, or more pressing, than in the case of *tabula 1*.

5.3.3 - Tabula 3

Tabula 3 resembles *tabula 1* in that it is a mixture of prose and poetic texts. At the same time it also resembles *tabula 2* in that its texts are all proper to Edward, that they only encompass a selection of items for Matins and that the poetic items are rendered in accentuated verse. The emphasis of *tabula 3* as suggested by the *repetendae* is Edward's thaumaturgical powers (items [61] and [65]) and his visionary abilities (item [63]).[557]

In sum, much emphasis is placed on the healing, as this appears in two responsories. In MR1 [61] the subject is the story of Gillemichel, the cripple who was healed when carried by the king,[558] a story that also serves as a prime example of the king's humility. In Aelred's *Vita III* Edward here becomes the humble King David who rejoiced in the grace of God despite the scorn of his wife Michal.[559] M-R3 [65] recounts the healing of the seven eyes which was performed in secrecy by a member of the king's staff.[560]

The remaining virtues add up to a depiction of a "blessed king and Confessor of Christ" (lesson 1 [60]), a "blessed patron" ([60]) who was humble, pious, pure at heart, studious in his religiosity and had visions and the ability to heal. Furthermore he was chaste, righteous and labelled "sweetest father" (lesson 2 [62]). Edward's piety is found in lesson 1 as a part of a supplication for aid, and again in lesson 3 [64] where Edward's "pious prayer shall succour us in time of need". Lesson 3 continues with an affirmation of the king's studious religiosity, righteousness and chastity through allusions to Psalms 1, 45 and 91.

As already mentioned, it is of course impossible to make assertions regarding the liturgical image of the original text based on a scant selection of items of Matins, and like tabula 2 these texts

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[556] Note that the additional antiphons may be from another office that may propagate a different emphasis, but this can not be ascertained.

[557] Bloch 1923: 91ff and Dutton 2005: 176ff

[558] Bloch 1923: 82ff, Dutton 2005: 162ff. See also Roger of Howden's rendition where the cripple has become a leper in Stubbs (ed.) 1964, vol. 1: 110.

[559] Dutton 2005: 163. See also 2 Samuel 6:14-23.

[560] Bloch 1923: 97ff and Dutton 2005: 187ff. For the symbolic significance of seven eyes see Revelation 5:6. See this in relation to the seven gifts of the Holy Spirit (Isaiah 11:2-3 and Fenster and Wogan-Browne 2008: 93-94 and nn. 204-05.) The secrecy of the miracle is in line with Matt 6:3. For an antecedent of Christ appearing in a different form to help bring about a miracle, see the legend of St. Christopher (Ryan 1993: vol. II: 12. Note that here, too, Christ appears as a child.) and also the miracle of the ring as put down by Aelred, although that is St. John, not Christ. That this was a common occurrence is asserted by William Langland in his *Piers Plowman*, passus XI, lines 230-47 (Schmidt (ed.) 1995: 177-78).

were once a part of a larger liturgical entity or entities now lost to us.

5.4 - The king's three images

In this study I hope to have elucidated a few issues: first of all how Edward is represented in the surprisingly heterogeneous liturgical material (as seen in ch. 4), secondly how this liturgical image has evolved from preceding traditions. At the basis of this evolution lies the historiographical image, a rather vast and somewhat motley repository that accrued an interesting diversity in the course of our period.[561] This image was later refined in hagiographical writings, and it was from the latter category that liturgy partly took its material. We see, then, that the construction of the liturgical image comes from a distillation process: elements from the oldest and largest repository are condensed into a smaller literary repository which omits all irrelevant aspects, resulting in a more condensed image. From this repository elements are further distilled into liturgy, which articulates an intensified image as a result of compression, formalisation, repetition and a more complex intertextuality. The elements of the hagiographical image are retained in the liturgical one, but through emphasis the distribution of these elements is different, making the liturgical image sufficiently different from the hagiographical image to merit separate examination and consideration. In addition we must keep in mind that the liturgy has commemorative and meditative aspects which further distinguish this category from historiography and hagiography. The chant texts of an office-cycle are produced on the basis of a disintegration of the hagiographic narratives. The emerging text units reorganise, abbreviate and concentrate the motifs of the narratives.[562] In the Edward material this "partial disintegration" can perhaps be seen most clearly in item [58], where three visions, each allotted page after page in the hagiographies, are summarised in 14 verse lines. In addition, we find a strong meditative aspect in the repetition of responsories and antiphons, which are complete or partially repeated in conjunction with their preceding or following items, i.e. the lessons and the psalms.

The liturgical image adds nothing new to the existing tradition, but this is unsurprising: the task of liturgy is not to provide novelty, but to articulate tradition and facts everybody agrees on in a refined and more poignant manner, as do all rituals and ceremonies.[563] Instead, the liturgical image shows us how the community at Westminster - the very heart of the cult - drew material from existing traditions and condensed or refined it. In this sense, it is tempting to view the liturgical image as the head of Nebuchadnezzar's statue mentioned in the citation at the beginning of this chapter: supported

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[561] The extremes of the historiographical image are Matthew Paris' sedate king and Geffrei Gaimar's soldier in Hungary, but the latter is of little significance to the tradition as a whole, almost like a maverick reformulation.

[562] Hankeln forthcoming (b).

[563] "Often rituals enshrine the most strongly felt values of a society." Leyser 1994: 189. Following this statement, we may claim that the emphases found in the Westminster material for Edward the Confessor express those values and concerns most important to the Westminster monastic society.

by "baser" units and clearly the purest and most refined of the three images.

By examining the liturgical image we have seen what representation this process resulted in, and we have thus gained some greater understanding of which aspects of St. Edward were important to his core devotees at Westminster and how he was articulated by those who, through their devotion, cultivated him. This is a part of the cult which has largely been ignored by previous scholarship, and although we know much about how historians and kings viewed him throughout this period, we are now allowed a glimpse into another sphere of St. Edward's cult. It is tempting to say that even in its fragmentary nature, the remaining pieces of Edward's liturgical image echoes very well the billowing trajectory of the Confessor's cult: occasionally rich in detail but lacking endurance and often, for periods, swallowed by greater waves only to resurface and gain strength later on.

Appendix I – Inventory of the office material in MS. Rawlinson liturg. g. 10

a = Antiphon. ab = Antiphona ad Benedictus. am = Antiphona ad Magnificat. bi= biblical. bn = benediction. cap = capitulum. cm = common. dis = distich. h = hymn. hex = hexameter. l = Lauds. lc = Lesson. M = Matins. m = magnificat. n = None. or = oration. p = Prime. pi = Invitatory psalm. pr = proper. prs = prose. ps = Psalm. R = responsory R. = responsum. r = repetenda. s = sext. sap = saphhic stanza. t = Terce. V = Vespers. v. = responsory verse. vs = versicle. vsc = verse, syllable count, rhymed.

Item	Function	Incipit	Form	Content	Scriptural Source	Base repertory
					Tabula 1	
			[Tabula 1, 1st vespers]			
[1]	1V-cap	Benediccio domini	prs	bi	Eccl. 44:22 and 45:1	
[2]	IV-R	Rex Edwarde tuam	dis	pr	-	
[3]	1V-H	Iste confessor	sap	cm		Cid: 008323
[4]	1V-vs	Os iusti*	prs	bi	Ps. 36:30-32/37:31	
[5]	1V-Am	Ave sancte rex	vsc	pr	-	Cid *200468*
[5a]	m	Magnificat*	prs	bib	Lk 1:46-55	
[6]	1V-or	Omnipotens sempiterne*	prs	cm	-	
			[Tabula 1, Matins, 1st nocturn]			
[7]	M-I	Regem confessorum	prs	cm		Cid: 001129
[8]	M-Pi	Venite exultemus*	prs	bi	Ps. 94/95	
[9]	M-H	Huius o Christe	sap	cm		Cid: 008280o
[10A]	M-A1a	Inclitus Edwardus	dis	pr	Aelred?	
[10B]	M-A1b	Tempora post partus	hex leo	pr	Aelred?	
[11]	M-Ps1	Beatus vir*	prs	bi	Ps. 1	
[12]	M-Ps2	Quare fremuerunt*	prs	bi	Ps. 2	
[13]	M-Ps3	Cum invocarem*	prs	bi	Ps. 4	
[14]	M-Ps4	Verba mea*	prs	bi	Ps. 5	
[15]	M-Ps5	Domine Dominus*	prs	bi	Ps. 8	
[16]	M-Ps6	In Domine confido*	prs	bi	Ps. 10/11	
[17]	M-vs	Haec profugum*	prs	bi	Wisd. 10:10	
[18]	M-Bn	Rex benedicte	hex	cm		
[19]	M-Lc1	Exultemus dilectissimi	prs	pr	-	
[20]	M-R1	Ingenius patribus	dis (R.) / prs (V.)	pr	-	
[21]	M-Lc2	Nvllus obsecro	prs	pr	-	
[22]	M-R2	Edwardus domino	hex	pr	-	
[23]	M-Lc3	Qvanto enim	prs	pr	-	
[24]	M-R3	Felix puericia	vsc	pr	-	
			[Tabula 1, Matins, 2nd nocturn]			
[25A]	M-A2a	Regibus ex atavis	dis	pr	Horatius Ode 1:1?	
[25B]	MA2b	Exulat a patria	hex leo	pr	Aelred?	
[26]	M-Ps7	Domine quis habitabit*	prs	bi	Ps. 14/15	
[27]	M-Ps8	Domine in virtute*	prs	bi	Ps. 20/21	
[28]	M-Ps9	Domini est terra*	prs	bi	Ps. 23-24	
[29]	M-Ps10	Cantate Domino*	prs	bi	Ps. 95/96	

Item	Function	Incipit	Form	Content	Scriptural Source	Base repertory
[30]	M-Ps11	*Dominus regnavit**	prs	bi	Ps. 96/97	
[31]	M-Ps12	*Cantate domino**	prs	bi	Ps. 97-98	
[32]	M-cap	*Iste cognouit*	prs	cm		
[33]	M-vs	*Amauit eum**	prs	bi	Eccl. 45:7	
[34]	M-or	*Sit quesumus**	prs	pr	-	
		[Tabula 1, Lauds]				
[35]	L-A1	*Principis egregii*	hex	pr	-	
[36]	L-Ps	*Dominus regnavit**	prs	bi	Ps. 92/93	
[37]	L-cap	*Benediccio domini**	prs	bi	Prov. 10:6	
[38]	L-R	*Amauit eius**	prs	Bi	Eccl. 45:9	
[39]	L-H	*Iste confessor**	sap	cm		Cid: 008323
[40]	L-vs	*Os iusti**	prs	prs	Ps. 36:30-32/37:31	
[41]	L-Ab	*Rex benedicte**	hex	cm		
[42]	canticle	*Benedictus deus**	prs	bi	Lk. 1:68-79	
[43]	L-or	*Omnipotens sempiterne**	prs	pr		
		[Tabula 1, Minor hours]				
[44A]	P-A^a	*Hic nondum*	dis	pr	Aelred	
[44B]	P-A^b	*Illicitos estus*	hex leo	pr	Aelred	
[45A]	T-A^a	*Eligitur clausus*	dis	pr	Aelred	
[45B]	T-A^b	*In donando celer*	hex	pr	Aelred	
[46]	T-cap	*Benediccio domini**	prs	bi	Eccl. 44:22	
[47]	T-vs	*Haec profugum**	prs	bi	Wisd. 10:10	
[48A]	S-A^a	*Laus tibi Christe*	dis	cm	-	
[48B]	S-A^b	*Inde cenorum*	hex	pr	Aelred	
[49]	S-cap	*Magnificauit*	prs	bi	Eccl. 45:2-3, 1	
[50]	S-vs	*Amauit eum**	prs	bi	Eccl. 45:7-8	
[51A]	N-A^a	*Iste futura deus*	dis	pr	Aelred / Osbert	
[51B]	N-A^b	*In dubiis positus*	hex	pr	Aelred / Osbert	
[52]	N-cap	*Glorificauit illum*	prs	pr	-	
[53]	N-vs	*Iustus ut palma**	prs	bi	Ps. 92:12	Cid 008117
		Tabula 2				
[54]	M-Lc1	*Qvisque pollet*	vsc	pr	Aelred	
[55]	M-R1	*In patriam vir*	vsc	pr	Aelred	
[56]	M-Lc2	*Castitatis professores*	vsc	pr	-	
[57]	M-R2	*Dum iaceret*	vsc	pr	Aelred	
[58]	M-Lc3	*Sancti regis merita*	vsc	pr	Aelred	
[59]	M-R3	*O quam dulcis*	vsc	pr	Aelred	
		Tabula 3				
[60]	M-Lc1	*O beate rex*	prs	pr	-	
[61]	M-R1	*O res vere*	vsc	pr	Aelred	
[62]	M-Lc2	*Tua nos pater*	prs	pr	-	
[63]	M-R2	*Agnus in altari*	hex leo (R.) / pr (V.)	pr	Aelred	
[64]	M-Lc3	*Nos tuis inuigilamus*	prs	pr	-	
[65]	M-R3	*Tribus cecis*	vsc	pr	Aelred	

II

Appendix II - The office material of MS. Rawlinson liturg. g. 10

A note on the translation

The text in this appendix is a facing page translation of the office material of Edward the Confessor contained in MS Rawlinson liturg. g. 10. This rendition follows the text as printed by John Wickham Legg in *Missale ad usum Ecclesie Westmonasteriensis*, vol. III, "Officia varia secundum usum ecclesiae Westmonasteriensis", cols. 1341-1349. Reconstructions of the texts follow the normalised text in the CANTUS database, and/or in Gryson, Roger (ed.), *Biblia Sacra Vulgata*, Deutsche Bibelgesellschaft, 1994. The psalm texts are taken from the King James Version (http://www.biblegateway.com/), not because this is the most correct translation, but precisely because its dated form may better convey the tone and the often inaccurate texts of the Vulgate.

The remaining translations have been undertaken by me, and - sometimes heavily - corrected by Roman Hankeln. The translations are authentic rather than accurate renditions of the Latin original. The purpose has been to emphasise the message of the texts rather than the literal meaning.

In commemoratione sancti
Edwardi regis et confessoris.

In commemoration of Saint
Edward, King and Confessor

WL c. 1341:

[1ˢᵗ Vespers]

[1] 1V-Cap *Capitulum*
Benediccio domini super caput iusti ideo dedit
illi hereditatem; et diuisit ei partem in tribubus
duodecim: et inuenit graciam in conspectu omnis
carnis.564

Chapter
The blessing of the Lord is on the head of
the just [man]. Therefore the Lord gave him
the inheritance and divided it into twelve
tribes and he found grace/mercy in the eyes
of all the flesh.

[2] 1V-R
R. Rex edwarde tuam muni miserando cateruam.
V. Vt quod voce canit mente manuque colat.

R. O King Edward grant your compassion [to] the
crowd;
V. So that likewise as the voice sings spirit
and hand achieves.

[3] 1V-H565 *Ympnus*
[1.] Iste confessor domini sacratus
sobrius castus fuit et quietus566
vita dum presens vegetauit eius
corporis artus.
[2.] Ad sacrum cuius tumulum frequenter
membra languentum modo sanitati

1. This confessor of the Lord was sainted,
[he] was sober, chaste and calm
while living his life in his
ascetic body.
2. At whose sacred grave frequently
in a healing manner the limbs of those

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564 Cf. Proverbs 10:6 and Ecclesiasticus 44:25-27. See also items 37 and 46.

565 This text is a rendition of the Vespers hymn from the *Commune unius Confessoris*. Cantus ID: 008323. See chapter 4.4.3.

566 Cf. Aelred col. 742C: "*Agebat parvulus quemdam honestis ac maturis moribus senem, corpore castus, sermone rarus (…)*". Dutton 2005: 135. This is not to say there is any literary connections between this hymn an Aelred's work, but it shows that both these texts are concerned with the same typology.

III

quolibet morbo fuerint grauata	suffering, burdened through illness
restituuntur.. [WL c. 1342:]	found restitution.
[3.] Unde nunc noster choris in honore	3. Therefore now our choir in his honour
ipsius ympnum canit hunc libenter	gladly sings this hymn
vt piis eius meritis iuuemur	so that we will be supported through his pious
omne per euum.	merits in all eternity.
[4.] Sit salus illi decus atque virtus	4. Hail be to Him, glory and strength,
qui supra celi residens cacumen	who resides on the highest peak of the heavens
tocius mundi machinam gubernat	and governs the machinery of the whole world,
trinus et vnus.	threefold and one.
Amen	Amen

[4] 1V-Vs

V. Os iusti [meditabitur sapientiam	V. The mouth of the righteous [speaketh wisdom,
[R.] Et lingua eius loquetur iudicium.][567]	[R.] And his tongue talketh of judgment]

[5] 1V-Am *Antiphona*

Aue sancte rex edwarde	Hail Saint Edward, king,
[inter celi lilia	[among the?] lily of the Heavens
meritis tuis exornas	through your merits you adorn,
regnantes in gloria	[those who] reign in glory,
nos omnes te diligentes	all of us who love you,
duc ad vera gaudia.][568]	lead to real joy.

[5A] M

Ps. Magnificat [anima mea Dominum et exultavit spiritus meus in Deo salutari meo, quia respexit humilitatem ancillae suae ecce enim ex hoc beatam me dicent omnes generationes, quia fecit mihi magna, qui potens est et sanctum nomen eius et misericordia eius in progenies et progenies timentibus eum fecit potentiam in brachio suo dispersit superbos mente cordis sui deposuit potentes de sede et exaltavit humiles esurientes implevit bonis et divites dimisit inanes suscepit Israel puerum suum memorari misricordiae sicut locutus est ad patres nostros Abraham et semini eius in saecula.][569]

My soul doth magnify the Lord [And my spirit hath rejoiced in God my Saviour. For he hath regarded the low estate of his handmaiden: for, behold, from henceforth all generations shall call me blessed. For he that is mighty hath hath done to me great things; and holy is his name. And his mercy is on them that fear him from generation to generation. He hath shewed strength with his arm; he hath scattered the proud in the imagination of their hearts. He hath put down the mighty from their seats, and exalted them of low degree. He hath filled the hungry with good things; and the rich he hath sent empty away. He hath holpen his servant Israel, in remembrance of his mercy; As he spake to our fathers, to Abraham, and to his seed for ever.]

[6] 1V-Or *Oracio*

Omnipotens sempiterne deus qui beatissimum...[570]	Almighty and everlasting God, the most blessed...

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[567] (Cid: 008165). Ps. 36:30-32 /Ps. 37:31. Compare with Ps. 1:2 and *Vita I* where St. Peter states that the kingdom of the English is the Kingdom of God (Barlow 1992: 14-15). Note how, by making Edward righteous, all of his enemies are immediately condemned as wicked.

[568] This antiphon was was performed "[a]fter the collect for the King" at the shrine of Edward the Confessor at Westminster during a reconciliation ceremony of 21 August 1392 (Shelagh Mitchell, "Richard II: Kingship and the Cult of Saints", printed in Gordon, Dillian, Monnas, Lisa and Elam, Caroline, *The Regal Image of Richard II and the Wilton Diptych*, Harvey Miller Publishers, London, 1997: 117.It is also found in CCW (Dreves 1898: 292) and *Gratiarum actiones*, Legg 1897: col. 1379.

[569] Luke 1:46-55, *Biblia Sacra Vulgata*: 1607.

[570] This text is found in the collect for several celebrations of St. Edward. For an overview see Chapter 4.4.3. See also Legg 1897: 1601 for usage outside of Westminster. *Omnipotens* and *sempiterne* are conventional phrases used in the opening and closing formulas of prayers (Hughes 1995: 22).

[7] M-I *Inuitatorium*

Regem confessorum dominum. Venite adoremus.

Come, let us adore the Lord, King of the Confessors.

[8] Ps. 94[571]

Ps. [1.] Venite [exultemus Domino iubilemus Deo salutari nostro

2. praeoccupemus faciem eius in confessione et in psalmis iubilemus ei

3. quoniam Deus magnus Dominus et rex magnus super omnes deos

4. quia in manu eius fines terrae et altitudines montium ipsius sunt.

5. quoniam ipsius est mare et ipse fecit illud et siccam manus eius et ipse fecit formaverunt

6. venite adoremus et procidamus et ploremus ante Dominum qui fecit nos

7. quia ipse est Deus noster et nos populus pascuae eius et oves manus eius.

8. hodie si vocem eius audieritis nolite obdurare corda vestra

9. sicut in inritatione secundum diem temptationis in deserto ubi temptaverunt me patres vestri probaverunt me: et viderunt opera mea.

10. quadraginta annis offensus fui generationi illi et dixi semper errant corde

11. et isti non cognoverunt vias meas ut iuravi in ira mea si intrabunt in requiem meam.]

Ps. 95

1. O come, [let us sing unto the LORD: let us make a joyful noise to the rock of our salvation.

2. Let us come before his presence with thanksgiving, and make a joyful noise unto him with psalms.

3. For the LORD is a great God, and a great king above all gods.

4. In his hand are the deep places of the earth: the strength of the hills is his also.

5. The sea is his, and he made it: and his hands formed the dry land.

6. O come, let us worship and bow down: let us kneel before the LORD our maker.

7. For he is our God; and we are the people of his pasture, and the sheep of his hand. To day if ye will hear his voice,

8. Harden not your heart, as in the provocation, and as in the day of temptation in the wilderness:

9. When your fathers tempted me, proved me, and saw my work.

10. Forty years long was I grieved with this generation, and said, It is a people that do err in their heart, and they have not known my ways:

11.Unto whom I sware in my wrath that they should not enter into my rest.]

[9] M-H[572] *Ympnus*

[1.] Huius o christe meritis precamur
arceas iram tribuas fauorem
graciam prestes veniamque nobis
mitis ad omnes.
[2.] Prebe oramus deus alme rector
vt fides nostra viciis resistat
atque virtutum studiis ministret
pectore puro.
[3.] Gloriam patri resonemus omnes
et tibi christe genite superne
cum quibus sanctus simul et creator
spiritus regnat.
Amen.

[Because of his] merits, O Christ, we implore
You to imprison your rage and to grant us
favour, give us your grace and mercy you
who are gentle to all.
2. Give, so do we pray, God, nourishing teacher
that our faith may resist [our] vices
And that it serves [our] striving for virtues
With pure hearts.
3. We all shall sing the praise of the Father
And that of yours, Christ, highest maker
With whom at once/simultaneously
The Holy Spirit and Creator reigns.
Amen.

[10A] M-A1a *In primo nocturno antiphona*

Inclitus edwardus de regum germine clarus
optinuit meritis clarior esse suis.[573]

Antiphon during the first nocturn

The famous Edward who sprung from royal lineage,
through his merits succeeded in being more
resplendent than his kin.

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[571] *Biblia Sacra Vulgata*: 890.

[572] Common of one confessor, not a bishop. Cantus ID: 008280o. In the Worcester MS GB-WO F.160 (c.1230) this hymn is also used as the Lauds hymn of the translation of Oswald (October 08).

[573] See Aelred: Col. 741B (tenuous); Dutton: 132-33 (tenuous). See also Legg 1897: col. 1359.

[10B] M-A1b *Alia Antiphona*

Tempora post partus vnda baptismatis artus
et mens mundanturque munda deo famulantur.[574]

Another antiphon

In the time following his birth through the wave of
baptism, his spirit was also cleansed to serve God
purely.

[11] Ps. 1[575]

Ps. [1.] Beatus vir [qui non abiit in consilio impiorum et in
via peccatorum non stetit et in cathedra pestilentiae non
sedit
2. sed in lege Domini voluntas eius et in lege eius
meditabitur die ac nocte
3. et erit tamquam lignum quod plantatum est secus
decursus aquarum quod fructum suum dabit in tempore suo
et folium eius non defluet et omnia quaecumque faciet
prosperabuntur
4. non sic impii non sic: sed tamquam pulvis quem proicit
ventus a facie terrae;
5. ideo non resurgent impii in iudicio neque peccatores in
consilio iustorum
7. quoniam novit Dominus viam iustorum et iter impiorum
peribit]

1. Blessed is the man [that walketh not in the counsel of
the ungodly, nor standeth in the way of sinners, nor sitteth
in the seat of the scornful.
2. But his delight is in the law of the LORD; and in his law
doth he meditate day and night.
3. And he shall be like a tree planted by the rivers of water,
that bringeth forth his fruit in his season; his leaf also shall
not wither; and whatsoever he doeth shall prosper.
4. The ungodly are not so: but are like the chaff which the
wind driveth away.
5. Therefore the ungodly shall not stand in the judgment,
nor sinners in the congregation of the righteous.
6. For the LORD knoweth the way of the righteous: but the
way of the ungodly shall perish.]

[12] Ps. 2[576]

Ps. [1.] Quare fremuerunt [gentes et populi meditati sunt
inania
2. adstiterunt reges terrae et principes convenerunt in unum
adversus Dominum et adversus christum eius
3. disrumpamus vincula eorum et proiciamus a nobis iugum
ipsorum
4. qui habitat in caelis inridebit eos et Dominus subsannabit
eos
5. tunc loquetur ad eos in ira sua et in furore suo conturbabit
eos
6. ego autem constitutus sum rex ab eo super Sion montem
sanctum eius praedicans praeceptum eius
7. dominus dixit ad me filius meus es tu ego hodie genui te
8. postula a me et dabo tibi gentes hereditatem tuam et
possessionem tuam terminos terrae
9. reges eos in virga ferrea tamquam vas figuli confringes eos
10. et nunc reges intellegite erudimini qui iudicatis terram
11. servite Domino in timore et exultate ei in tremore
12. adprehendite disciplinam nequando irascatur Dominus
et pereatis de via iusta
13. cum exarserit in brevi ira eius beati omnes qui confidunt
in eo]

1. Why do the heathen rage, [and the people imagine a
vain thing?
2. The kings of the earth set themselves, and the rulers take
counsel together, against the LORD, and against his
anointed, saying,
3. Let us break their bands asunder, and cast away their
cords from us.
4. He that sitteth in the heavens shall laugh: the Lord shall
have them in derision.
5. Then shall he speak unto them in his wrath, and vex them
in his sore displeasure.
6. Yet have I set my king upon my holy hill of Zion.
7. I will declare the decree: the LORD hath said unto me,
Thou art my Son; this day have I begotten thee.
8. Ask of me, and I shall give thee the heathen for thine
inheritance, and the uttermost parts of the earth for thy
possession.
9. Thou shalt break them with a rod of iron; thou shalt dash
them in pieces like a potter's vessel.
10. Be wise now therefore, O ye kings: be instructed, ye
judges of the earth.
11. Serve the LORD with fear, and rejoice with trembling.
12. Kiss the Son, lest he be angry, and ye perishfrom the
way, when his wrath is kindled but a little. Blessed are all
they that put their trust in him.]

[13] Ps. 4[577]

Ps. [2.] Cum inuocarem [exaudivit me Deus iustitiae meae
in tribulatione dilatasti mihi miserere mei et exaudi
orationem meam
3. filii hominum usquequo gravi corde ut quid diligitis
vanitatem et quaeritis mendacium

1. Hear me when I call, [O God of my righteousness:
thou hast enlarged me when I was in distress; have mercy
upon me, and hear my prayer.
2. O ye sons of men, how long will ye turn my glory into
shame? how long will ye love vanity, and seek after leasing?

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574 See Aelred: col. 742B; Dutton: 134.
575 *Biblia Sacra Vulgata*: 770. See also second lesson of Matins, *tabula 1* and third lesson of Matins, *tabula 3*.
576 *Biblia Sacra Vulgata*: 770.
577 *Biblia Sacra Vulgata*: 772.

4. et scitote quoniam mirificavit Dominus sanctum suum Dominus exaudiet me cum clamavero ad eum
5. irascimini et nolite peccare quae dicitis in cordibus vestris in cubilibus vestris conpungimini
6. sacrificate sacrificium iustitiae et sperate in Domino multi dicunt quis ostendet sperate in Domino nobis bona
7. signatum est super nos lumen vultus tui Domine dedisti laetitiam in corde meo
8. a fructu frumenti et vini et olei sui multiplicati sunt.
9. in pace in id ipsum dormiam et requiescam
10. quoniam tu Domine singulariter in spe constituisti me]

3. But know that the LORD hath set apart him that is godly for himself: the LORD will hear when I call unto him.
4. Stand in awe, and sin not: commune with your own heart upon your bed, and be still.
5. Offer the sacrifices of righteousness, and put your trust in the LORD.
6. There be many that say, Who will shew us any good LORD, lift thou up the light of thy countenance upon us.
7. Thou hast put gladness in my heart, more than in the time that their corn and their wine increased.
8. I will both lay me down in peace, and sleep: for thou, LORD, only makest me dwell in safety.]

[14] Ps. 5[578]

Ps. [2.] Uerba mea [auribus percipe Domine intellege clamorem meum
3. intende voci orationis meae rex meus et Deus meus
4 quoniam ad te orabo Domine mane exaudies vocem meam
5. mane adstabo tibi et videbo: quoniam non deus volens iniquitatem tu es
6. neque habitabit iuxta te malignus neque permanebunt iniusti ante oculos tuos
7. odisti omnes qui operantur iniquitatem perdes omnes: qui loquuntur mendacium virum sanguinum et dolosum abominabitur Dominus
8. ego autem in multitudine misericordiae tuae introibo in domum tuam adorabo ad templum sanctum tuum in timore tuo
9. domine deduc me in iustitia tua propter inimicos meos dirige in conspectu meo viam tuam
10. quoniam non est in ore eorum veritas cor eorum vanum est
11. sepulchrum patens est guttur eorum linguis suis dolose agebant iudica illos Deus decidant a cogitationibus suis secundum multitudinem impietatum eorum expelle eos quoniam inritaverunt te Domine
12. et laetentur omnes qui sperant in te in aeternum exultabunt et habitabis in eis et gloriabuntur in te omnes qui diligunt nomen tuum 13. quoniam tu benedices iusto Domine ut scuto bonae voluntatis coronasti nos]

1. Give ear to my words, [O LORD, consider my meditation.
2. Hearken unto the voice of my cry, my King, and my God: for unto thee will I pray.
3. My voice shalt thou hear in the morning, O LORD; in the morning will I direct my prayer unto thee, and will look up.
4. For thou art not a God that hath pleasure in wickedness: neither shall evil dwell with thee.
5. The foolish shall not stand in thy sight: thou hatest all workers of iniquity.
6. Thou shalt destroy them that speak leasing: the LORD will abhor the bloody and deceitful man.
7. But as for me, I will come into thy house in the multitude of thy mercy: and in thy fear will I worship toward thy holy temple.
8. Lead me, O LORD, in thy righteousness because of mine enemies; make thy way straight before my face.
9. For there is no faithfulness in their mouth; their inward part is very wickedness; their throat is an open sepulchre; they flatter with their tongue .
10. Destroy thou them, O God; let them fall by their own counsels; cast them out in the multitude of their transgressions; for they have rebelled against thee.
11. But let all those that put their trust in thee rejoice: let them ever shout for joy, because thou defendest them: let them also that love thy name be joyful in thee.
12. For thou, LORD, wilt bless the righteous; with favour wilt thou compass him as with a shield.]

WL c. 1343:

[15] Ps. 8[579]

Ps. [2.] Domine Dominus [noster quam admirabile est nomen tuum in universa terra quoniam elevata est magnificentia tua super caelos.
3. ex ore infantium et lactantium perfecisti laudem propter inimicos tuos ut destruas inimicum et ultorem
4. quoniam videbo caelos tuos: opera digitorum tuorum lunam et stellas quae tu fundasti
5. uid est homo quod memor es eius aut filius hominis quoniam visitas eum
6. minuisti eum paulo minus ab angelis gloria et honore coronasti eum
7. et constituisti eum super opera manuum tuarum

1. O LORD our Lord, [how excellent is thy name in all the earth! who hast set thy glory above the heavens.
2. Out of the mouth of babes and sucklings hast thou ordained strength because of thine enemies, that thou mightest still the enemy and the avenger.
3. When I consider thy heavens, the work of thy fingers, the moon and the stars, which thou hast ordained;
4. What is man, that thou art mindful of him? and the son of man, that thou visitest him?
5. For thou hast made him a little lower than the angels, and hast crowned him with glory and honour.
6. Thou madest him to have dominion over the works of

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[578]*Biblia Sacra Vulgata*: 772-74.
[579]*Biblia Sacra Vulgata*: 776.

8. omnia subiecisti sub pedibus eius oves et boves universas insuper et pecora campi
8. volucres caeli et pisces maris qui perambulant semitas maris
9. Domine Dominus noster quam admirabile est nomen tuum in universa terra]

thy hands; thou hast put all things under his feet:
7. All sheep and oxen, yea, and the beasts of the field;
8. The fowl of the air, and the fish of the sea, and whatsoever passeth through the paths of the seas.
9. O LORD our Lord, how excellent is thy name in all the earth!]

[16] Ps. 10[580]

Ps. [2.] In Domino confido [quomodo dicitis animae meae transmigra in montes sicut passer
3. quoniam ecce peccatores intenderunt arcum paraverunt sagittas suas in faretra ut sagittent in obscuro rectos corde
4. quoniam quae perfecisti destruxerunt iustus autem: quid fecit
5. dominus in templo sancto suo Dominus in caelo sedis eius oculi eius in pauperem; respiciunt palpebrae eius interrogant filios hominum
6. dominus interrogat iustum et impium qui autem diligit iniquitatem odit animam suam
7. pluet super peccatores laqueos ignis et sulphur et spiritus procellarum pars calicis eorum
8. quoniam iustus Dominus et: iustitias dilexit aequitatem vidit vultus eius]

Ps. 11

1. In the LORD put I my trust: [How say ye to my soul, Flee as a bird to your mountain?
2. For, lo, the wicked bend their bow, they make ready their arrow upon the string, that they may privily shoot at the upright in heart.
3. If the foundations be destroyed, what can the righteous do?
4. The LORD is in his holy temple, the LORD's throne is in heaven: his eyes behold, his eyelids try, the children of men.
5. The LORD trieth the righteous: but the wicked and him that loveth violence his soul hateth.
6. Upon the wicked he shall rain snares, fire and brimstone, and an horrible tempest: this shall be the portion of their cup.
7. For the righteous LORD loveth righteousness; his countenance doth behold the upright]

[17] M-Vs

V. Iustum deduxit [per vias rectas
[R.]: Et ostendit illi regnum Dei.][581]

V. She [Wisdom] guided him. [in right paths,
[R.] shewed him the kingdom of God.]

[18] M-Bn *Benediccio*

Rex benedicte deo nos commendare memento.

Blessed king, remember to commend us to God.

[19] M-L1 *Leccio prima*

Exultemus dilectissimi fratres in domino et ei tota animi alacritate gratias agamus qui nobis beatum regem edwardum largitus est patronum vite perdonauit doctorem fidei quoque et salutis ac omnis iusticie eruditorem. Gaudeat nobiscum vniuersa gens anglorum cui rex iste gloriosus prefuit non solum regia potestate sed quod pluris est exemplo sanctitatis et morum venustate. Collaudat eciam nobis cum omnis populus nostrum regem quem pro tocius populi salute non ambigimus assiduum esse intercessorem.

First lesson

Let us rejoice, beloved brethren, in God and with all eagerness of spirit give thanks unto Him, who [generously gave] unto us the blessed king Edward as a patron. He gave life [to him, the] erudite in faith and He gave salvation [to him, the] learned in all justice. With us shall rejoice the entire English nation over whom this glorious king reigned, not solely through royal power but - what is more - through the example of his sanctity and the beauty of his habits. With us, also, the entire people praises our king, who, we are certain, is an unceasing intercessor for all the people.

[20] M-R1

R. Ingenius patribus edwardus splenduit ortus.
[r.] Egit et in sceptris sedulitate patris.
V. In diebus eius orta est iusticia et habundancia pacis.[582]
Egit.

R. Edward descended glittering from noble forefathers.
[r.] He performed his kingship [with] the eagerness of his father
V. In his days [he] raised justice and overflow of peace.
[r.] He performed

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[580] *Biblia Sacra Vulgata*: 780.
[581] Wisdom 10:10. Cid: 008115. *Biblia Sacra Vulgata* 1994: 1014. See also item [47]
[582] See Aelred col. 745A and Dutton 2005: 141.

[21] M-L2 *Leccio ij.*

Nvllus obsecro dubitet in fide nullus de venie largicione ac de pie peticionis effectu desperet. Quid non impetrare poterit beatus vir iste iam deo coniunctus qui dum in hac mortali carne viueret tociens est exauditus? Quid negabit pius et misericors dominus amico suo secum conregnanti in celis quem pro sua reuerencia a tam sepe exaudiuit adhuc laborantem in terris? Qui ergo talem nobis concessit patronum? meritis eius nobis donet fructum [WL col. 1344:] optinere precum nostrarum.

Second lesson

Nobody entertains doubts of his faith, none of his richness of forgiving, and nobody questions the effect of his pious petition. What could he not ask for, this blessed man, already united with God who was granted everything when he still lived in his mortal flesh? Who will deny [that] the kind and merciful Lord reigns together with his friend in Heaven, to whom he listened because of his dignity during his travails on earth? Who in fact allowed us such a patron? Through his merits he grants that we may enjoy the fruits of our prayers.

[22] M-R2

R. Edwardus domino se vidit esse ditatum.
[r.] A primis annis studuit vitare reatum.
V. Omnia contemnens que carni dant famulatum.583
[r.] A primis.

R. Edward saw himself enriched by the Lord.
[r.] And from his earliest years on strove to avoid sin.
V. Avoiding all that could subject him to the flesh.
[r.] And from his earliest years on strove to avoid sin.

[23] M-L3 *Leccio iij.*

Qvanto enim instancius et fiducialius deprecamur tanto cicius et efficacius exaudiemur. Fides omnia impetrat.584 Fides eciam ipsi celo imperat. Fides nescit pati repulsam. Scriptura siquidem teste didicimus. quia nichil est impossibile credenti.585 Fides pie sociata deuocioni absque hesitacione aures pulsat diuinaset vsque ad cor penitrat summi conditoris.586 Fides perficit quod natura non preualet. et credulitas sola perorat vbi virtus humana succumbit. Quanta denique sit fidei eminencia huius sanctissimi regis manifesta pre oculis habemus exempla. Qui quoniam ab infancia sua per fidem deo placere contendit multa fidei adiumento operatus est que virtus humana non potuit natura ipsa negauit. Nam quia terrena omnia tanquam caduca et transitoria pro amore dei paruipendit non ex terra erat sed celitus data mira virtus quam habuit. Hoc nimirum testatur cecorum illuminacio claudorum ereccio. Hoc variarum docet infirmitatum edwardo operante curacio.587

Third lesson

The more vehemently and confidently we pray, the faster and more efficaciously may we be answered. Faith rules everything. Faith even rules the Heaven itself. Faith does not permit rejection. For by the witness of the Scripture we learn that nothing is impossible to the believers. Pious faith united with devotion, and without hesitation touches the Divine ears and enters the heart of the highest Creator. Faith achieves what nature cannot achieve and faith alone endures where human virtue falters. How great the excellence of the faith of this most holy king has been, we have manifest examples before our eyes. Who since his childhood sought to please God through faith, he achieved much, aided by faith, that human strength not could [and] nature herself denied. For, because he disdained everything secular which was frail and transitory, because of his love of God, he was not of this world, but given to heaven in the miraculous virtue which he possessed. This has indeed been testified by the enlightening of the blind and the raising of the crippled. All this is told through Edward's healing of the sick.

[24] M-R3

[R.] Felix puericia
que fandi primordia
verbo dei conformavit
[r.] Quem quesivit quem amavit.

[R.] Felicitous youth who, as it is told,
from the beginning, was conform to the Word of God
[r.] whom he sought and whom he loved.
[V.] He dreaded to be a sinner in whose mouth God

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583 The text in MS. Rawlinson is an emendation to fit with the rhyme-scheme. Compare with Aelred's sermon *Sanctum est*, printed in Raciti 2012: 546. It is here stated that the responsory was composed for October 13.
584 Presumably a misspelling for "*imperat*".
585 See Matt. 17:20 and Luke 17:6.
586 Cf. 1 Machabees 16:12.
587 Matthew 11:5. This passage draws on Isaiah 35:2-6. See 5.3.1, fn. 515. Compare also with Aelred's sermon *Sanctum est* (CCCM 2010 vol. 4: 550, lines 148-49).

[V.] Horruit esse reus cuius in ore deus.
[r.] Quem.[588]

was.
[r.] Whom he sought and whom he loved.

WL c. 1345:

[25A] M-A2a *In secundo Nocturno antiphona*
Regibus ex attauis et stirpe ducum generosa
ortus vtumque suos nobilitauit auos.[589]

Antiphon during the second nocturn
Descended from noble kings and a splendid lineage of leaders
he nobilitated both of his grandfathers.

[25B] M-A2b *Alia antiphona*
Exulat a patria quem seruat dya sophia
nil facit inceste vite vir amator honeste.[590]

Another antiphon
He left his fatherland that followed heresy to go into exile;
he did nothing unchaste/irreligious, the honourable man, lover of life.

[26] Ps. 14
Ps. [1.] Domine quis [habitabit in tabernaculo tuo aut quis requiescet in monte sancto tuo
2. qui ingreditur sine macula et operatur iustitiam
3. qui loquitur veritatem in corde suo qui non egit dolum in lingua sua nec fecit proximo suo malum et obprobrium non accepit adversus proximos suos
4. ad nihilum deductus est in conspectu eius malignus timentes autem Dominum glorificat qui iurat proximo suo et non decipit
5. qui pecuniam suam non dedit ad usuram et munera super innocentes non accepit qui facit haec non movebitur in aeternum]

Ps. 15
1. LORD, who [shall abide in thy tabernacle? who shall dwell in thy holy hill?
2. He that walketh uprightly, and worketh righteousness, and speaketh the truth in his heart.
3. He that backbiteth not with his tongue, nor doeth evil to his neighbour, nor taketh up a reproach against his neighbour.
4. In whose eyes a vile person is contemned; but he honoureth them that fear the LORD. He that sweareth to his own hurt, and changeth not,
5. He that putteth not out his money to usury, nor taketh reward against the innocent. He that doeth these things shall never be moved.]

[27] Ps. 20[591]
Ps. [2.] Domine in virtute [tua laetabitur rex et super salutare tuum exultabit vehementer
3. desiderium animae eius tribuisti ei et voluntate labiorum eius non fraudasti eum
4. quoniam praevenisti eum in benedictionibus dulcedinis posuisti in capite eius coronam de lapide pretioso
5. vitam petiit a te et tribuisti ei longitudinem dierum in saeculum et in saeculum saeculi
6. magna gloria eius in salutari tuo gloriam et magnum decorem inpones super eum
7. quoniam dabis eum benedictionem in saeculum saeculi laetificabis eum in gaudio cum vultu tuo
8. quoniam rex sperat in Domino et in misericordia Altissimi non commovebitur
9. inveniatur manus tua omnibus inimicis tuis dextera tua inveniat omnes: qui te oderunt
10. pones eos ut clibanum ignis in tempore vultus tui Dominus in ira sua conturbabit eos et devorabit eos ignis.
11. fructum eorum de terra perdes et semen eoruma filiis hominum

Ps. 21
1. The king shall joy in thy strength, [O LORD; and in thy salvation how greatly shall he rejoice!
2. Thou hast given him his heart's desire, and hast not withholden the request of his lips.
3. For thou preventest him with the blessings of goodness: thou settest a crown of pure gold on his head.
4. He asked life of thee, and thou gavest it him, even length of days for ever and ever.
5. His glory is great in thy salvation: honour and majesty hast thou laid upon him.
6. For thou hast made him most blessed for ever: thou hast made him exceeding glad with thy countenance.
7. For the king trusteth in the LORD, and through the mercy of the most High he shall not be moved.
8. Thine hand shall find out all thine enemies: thy right hand shall find out those that hate thee.
9. Thou shalt make them as a fiery oven in the time of thine anger: the LORD shall swallow them up in his wrath, and the fire shall devour them.
10. Their fruit shalt thou destroy from the earth, and their

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[588] Aelred:742C; Dutton 2005: 134-35.

[589] Quite possibly a paraphrase of Horace's Ode I, i. This is based on a lesser asclepiad of Horace, a meter predominantly used in satire in medieval times, but this is not carried over into the text in question. See Tilliette 2012: 276.

[590] Cf. Aelred: col. 742B; Dutton: 134.

[591] *Biblia Sacra Vulgata*: 790-92.

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12. quoniam in te mala cogitaverunt consilia quae non potuerunt declinaverunt stabilire:
13. quoniam pones eos dorsum in reliquis tuis praeparabis vultum eorum
14. exaltare Domine in virtute tua cantabimus et psallemus virtutes tuas]

seed from among the children of men.
11. For they intended evil against thee: they imagined a mischievous device, which they are not able to perform
12. Therefore shalt thou make them turn their back, when thou shalt make ready thine arrows upon thy strings against the face of them.
13. Be thou exalted, LORD, in thine own strength: so will we sing and praise thy power.]

[28] Ps. 23[592]

Ps. [1.] Domini est terra [et plenitudo eius orbis terrarum et universi: qui habitant in eo
2. quia: ipse super maria fundavit eum et super flumina praeparavit eum
3. quis ascendit in montem Domini aut quis stabit in loco sancto eius
4. innocens manibus et mundo corde qui non accepit in vano animam suam nec iuravit in dolo proximo suo
5. hic accipiet benedictionem a Domino et misericordiam a Deo salvatore suo
6. haec est generatio quaerentium eum quaerentium faciem Dei Iacob
7. adtollite portas principes vestras et elevamini portae aeternales et introibit rex gloriae
8. quis est iste rex gloriae Dominus fortis et potens Dominus potens in proelio
9. adtollite portas principes vestras et elevamini portae aeternales et introibit rex gloriae
10. quis est iste rex gloriae Dominus virtutum ipse est rex gloriae]

Ps. 24

1. The earth is the LORD's, [and the fulness thereof; the world, and they that dwell therein.
2. For he hath founded it upon the seas, and established it upon the floods.
3. Who shall ascend into the hill of the LORD? or who shall stand in his holy place?
4. He that hath clean hands, and a pure heart; who hath not lifted up his soul unto vanity, nor sworn deceitfully.
5. He shall receive the blessing from the Lord and righteousness from the God of his salvation.
6. This is the generation of them that seek him that seek thy face, O Jacob.
7. Lift up your head, O ye gates; and be ye lift up, ye everlasting doors; and the King of glory shall come in.
8. Who is this King of glory? The LORD strong and mighty, the LORD mighty in battle.
9. Lift up your heads, O ye gates; even lift them up, ye everlasting doors; and the King of glory shall come in.
10. Who is this King of glory? The LORD of hosts, he is the King of glory.]

[29] Ps. 95[593]

Ps. [1.] Cantate [Domino canticum novum cantate Domino omnis terra
2. cantate Domino benedicite nomini eius adnuntiate diem de die salutare eius
3. adnuntiate inter gentes gloriam eius in omnibus populis mirabilia eius
4. quoniam magnus Dominus et laudabilis valde terribilis est super omnes deos
5. quoniam omnes dii gentium daemonia at vero Dominus caelos fecit
6. confessio et pulchritudo in conspectu eius sanctimonia et magnificentia in sanctificatione eius
7. adferte Domino patriae gentium adferte Domino gloriam et honorem
8. adferte Domino gloriam nomini eius tollite hostias et introite in atria eius
9. adorate Dominum in atrio sancto eius commoveatur a facie eius universa terra
10. dicite in gentibus quia Dominus regnavit etenim correxit orbem qui non movebitur iudicabit populos in aequitate
11. laetentur caeli et exultet terra commoveatur rmare et plenitudo eius
12. gaudebunt campi et omnia quae in eis sunt tunc exultabunt omnia ligna silvarum
13. a facie Domini quia venit quoniam venit iudicare terram

Ps.96

1. O sing [unto the LORD a new song: sing unto the LORD, all the earth.
2. Sing unto the LORD,bless his name; shew forth his salvation from day to day.
3. Declare his glory among the heathen, his wonders among all people.
4. For the LORD is great, and greatly to be praised: he is to be feared above all gods.
5. For all the gods of the nations are idols: but the LORD made the heavens.
6. Honour and majesty are before him: strength and beauty are in his sanctuary.
7. Give unto the LORD, O ye kindreds of the people, give unto the LORD glory and strength
8. Give unto the LORD the glory due unto his name: bring an offering, and come into his courts.
9. O worship the LORD in the beauty of holiness: fear before him, all the earth.
10. Say among the heathen that the LORD reigneth: the world also shall be established that it shall not be moved: he shall judge the people righteously.
11. Let the heavens rejoice, and let the earth be glad; let the sea roar, and the fulness thereof.
12. Let the field be joyful, and all that is therein: then shall all the trees of the wood rejoice
13. before the LORD for he cometh, for he cometh to

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[592] *Biblia Sacra Vulgata*: 794-96.
[593] *Biblia Sacra Vulgata*: 890-92.

iudicabit orbem terrae in aequitate et populos in veritate sua] judgethe earth: he shall judge the world with righteousness, and the people with his truth.]

[30] Ps. 96[594]

Ps. [1.] Dominus regnauit [exultet terra laetentur insulae multae
2. nubes et caligo in circuitu eius iustitia et iudicium correctio sedis eius
3. ignis ante ipsum praecedet et inflammabit in circuitu inimicos eius
4. adluxerunt fulgora eius orbi terrae vidit et commota est terra
5. montes sicut cera fluxerunt a facie Domini: a facie Domini omnis terrae
6. adnuntiaverunt caeli iustitiam eius et viderunt omnes populi gloriam eius
7. confundantur omnes qui adorant sculptilia qui gloriantur in simulacris suis adorate eum omnes angeli eius
8. audivit et laetata est Sion et exultaverunt filiae Iudaeae propter iudicia tua Domine
9. quoniam tu Dominus Altissimus super omnem terram nimis superexaltatus es super omnes deos
10. qui diligitis Dominum odite malum custodit animas sanctorum suorum de manu peccatoris liberabit eos
11. lux orta est iusto et rectis corde laetitia
12. laetamini iusti in Domino et confitemini memoriae sanctificationis eius]

Ps. 97

1. The LORD reigneth; [let the earth rejoice; let the multitude of isles be glad thereof.
2. Clouds and darkness are round about him: righteousness and judgment are the habitation of his throne.
3. A fire goeth before him, and burneth up his enemies round about.
4. His lightnings enlightened the world: the earth saw, and trembled.
5. The hills melted like wax at the presence of the LORD, at the presence of the Lord of the whole earth.
6. The heavens declare his righteousness, and all the people see his glory.
7. Confounded be all they that serve graven images that boast themselves of idols: worship him, all ye gods.
8. Zion heard, and was glad; and the daughters of Judah rejoiced because of thy judgments, O LORD.
9. For thou, LORD, art high above all the earth: thou art exalted far above all gods.
10. Ye that love the LORD, hate evil: he preserveth the souls of his saints; he delivereth them out of the hand of the wicked.
11. Light is sown for the righteous, and gladness for the upright in heart.
12. Rejoice in the LORD, ye righteous; and give thanks at the remembrance of his holiness.]

[31] Ps. 97[595]

Ps. [1.] Cantate ii[us] [Domino canticum novum quoniam mirabilia fecit salvavit sibi dextera eius et brachium sanctum eius
2. notum fecit Dominus salutare suum in conspectu gentium revelavit iustitiam suam
3. recordatus est misericordiae suae et veritatem suam domui Israhel viderunt omnes termini terrae salutare Dei nostri
4. iubilate Domino omnis terra cantate et exultate et psallite
5. psallite Domino in cithara in cithara et voce psalmi
6. in tubis ductilibus et voce tubae corneae iubilate in conspectu regis Domini
7. moveatur mare et plenitudo eius orbis terrarum et qui habitant in eo
8. flumina plaudent manu simul montes exultabunt a conspectu Domini quoniam venit iudicare terram iudicabit orbem terrarum in iustitia et populos in aequitate]

Ps. 98

1. O sing [unto the LORD a new song; for he hath done marvellous things: his right hand, and his holy arm, hath gotten him the victory.
2. The LORD hath made known his salvation: his righteousness hath he openly shewed in the sight of the heathen.
3. He hath remembered his mercy and his truth toward the house of Israel: all the ends of the earth have seen the salvation of our God.
4. Make a joyful noise unto the LORD, all the earth: make a loud noise, and rejoice, and sing praise.
5. Sing unto the LORD with the harp; with the harp, and the voice of a psalm.
6. With trumpets and sound of cornet make a joyful noise before the LORD, the King.
7. Let the sea roar, and the fulness thereof; the world, and they that dwell therein.
8. Let the floods clap their hands: let the hills be joyful together
9. Before the LORD; for he cometh to judge the earth: with righteousness shall he judge the world, and the people with equity.]

[32] M-Cap *Capitulum*

Iste cognouit iusticiam et vidit mirabilia magna et

This one knew justice and he saw great wonders and

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[594]*Biblia Sacra Vulgata*: 892.
[595]*Biblia Sacra Vulgata*: 892-94.

exorauit altissimum et inuentus est in numero sanctorum.[596]

he implored the Highest and he was found in the numbers of the saints.

[33] M-Vs
V. Amauit eum [dominus et ornavit eum
[R.] stola glorie induit eum].[597]

He was loved [by God who dressed him
[R.] with beautiful garments of fame.]

[34] M-Or *Oracio*
Sit quesumus domine [beatissimus rex edwardus nobis semper adiutor et vt regnum mereamur celeste perpetuus Per christum dominum nostrum. Ad cenam vite eterne benedicat nos glorie rex.][598]

We implore him, Lord, [the most blessed king Edward, [to be] our helper always and a constant intercessor, that we may gain the kingdom of Heaven. By Our Lord Jesus Christ. At the table of Life Everlasting may God bless us, glorious king.]

[Ad Laudes]

[35] L-A1 *Ad laudes antiphona*
Principis egregii laudes cane turma piorum
quem sibi rex regum sociauit in arce piorum.[599]

Antiphon during Lauds
Sing praises, army of the pious, to the distinguished prince
who has joined himself to the King of Kings in the arch of triumph of the pious.

[36] Ps. 92[600]
Ps. [1.] Dominus regnauit [decore indutus est indutus est Dominus fortitudine et praecinxit se etenim firmavit orbem terrae qui non commovebitur
2. parata sedis tua ex tunc a saeculo tu es
3. elevaverunt flumina Domine elevaverunt flumina vocem suam elevabunt flumina fluctus suos:
4. a vocibus a quarum multarum mirabiles elationes maris mirabilis in altis Dominus
5. testimonia tua credibilia facta sunt nimis domum tuam decet sanctitudo Domine in longitudine dierum]

Ps. 93
1. The LORD reigneth, [he is clothed with majesty; the LORD is clothed with strength, wherewith he hath girded himself: the world also is stablished, that it cannot be moved.
2. Thy throne is established of old: thou art from everlasting.
3. The floods have lifted up, O LORD, the floods have lifted up their voice; the floods lift up their waves.
4. The LORD on high is mightier than the noise of many waters, yea, than the mighty waves of the sea.
5. Thy testimonies are very sure: holiness becometh thine house, O LORD, for ever.]

[37] L-Cap *Capitulum*
Benediccio domini... See [1].[601]

Chapter
The blessing of the Lord

[38] L-R
R. Amauit [eum dominus et ornabit eum.
[V.] Stola glorie induit eum.][602]

[R.]He was loved [by God who dressed him.
V. with beautiful garments of fame.][603]

[39] L-H
1. Iste confessor domini. See [3]

1. This confessor

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[596] In the Westminster Missal this is also found in the *commemoratio s. Benedicti* as a capitulum (Legg 1897: cols. 1352-53).

[597] Cid: 007941. Cf: "circumcinxit illum zonam gloriae induit illum stolam gloriae et coronavit illum in vasis virtutis" - Ecclesiasticus 45:9. See also Common of one Confessor and items 33 and 38. See also items [38] and [50].

[598] This can be found both in the office material for St. Edward and the *Gratiarum actiones* of MS. Rawlison. See Legg 1897: cols. 1345, 1360, 1381, 1382.

[599] There may be an echo of Horatius' Ode 1.6 here: "(...) *dum pudor / Imbellisque lyrae Musa potens vetat / Laudes egregii Caesaris et tuas / Culpa detere ingeni.*" See West 1995: 2.

[600] *Biblia Sacra Vulgata*: 888.

[601] Cf. Proverbs 10:6 and Ecclesiasticus 44:26. See also items [1] and [46].

[602] Text after Cid 06080.

[603] Cf. Ecclesiasticus 45:9. See the Common of Confessors and items [33] and [50].

[40] L-Vs
V. Os iusti. See [4].

The mouth of the righteous

[41] L-Ab *Antiphona*
Rex benedicte [Deo nos commendare memento.][604]

Antiphon
Blessed king [remember to commend us to God.]

[42] Benedictus
Ps. Benedictus [Deus Israhel quia visitavit et fecit redemptionem plebi suae et erexit cornu salutis nobis in domo David pueri sui sicut locutus est per os sanctorum qui a saeculo sunt prophetarum eius salutem ex inimicis nostris et de manu omnium qui oderunt nos ad faciendam misericordiam cum patribus nostris et memorari testamenti sui sancti iusiurandum quod iuravit ad Abraham patrem nostrum daturum se nobis ut sine timore de manu inimicorum nostrorum liberati serviamus illi in sanctitate et iustitia coram ipso omnibus diebus nostris et tu puer propheta Altissimi vocaberis praeibis enim ante faciem Domini parare vias eius ad dandam scientiam salutis plebi eius in remissionem peccatorum eorum per viscera misericordiae Dei nostri in quibus visitavit nos oriens ex alto inluminare his qui in tenebris et in umbra mortis sedent ad dirigendos pedes nostros in viam pacis][605]

Benedictus canticle
Blessed [be the Lord God of Israel; for he hath visited and redeemed his people, And hath raised up an horn of salvation for us in the house of his servant David; As he spake by the mouth of his holy prophets, which have been since the world began: That we should be saved from our enemies, and from the hand of all that hate us; To perform the mercy promised to our fathers, and to remember his holy covenant; The oath which he sware to our father Abraham, That he would grant unto us, that we being delivered out of the hand of our enemies might serve him without fear, In holiness and righteousness before him, all the days of our life. And thou, child, shalt be called the prophet of the Highest: for thou shalt go before the face of the Lord to prepare his ways; To give knowledge of salvation unto his people by the remission of their sins, Through the tender mercy of our God; whereby the dayspring from on high hath visited us, To give light to them that sit in darkness and in the shadow of death, to guide our feet into the way of peace.]

[43] L-Or *Oracio*
Omnipotens sempiterne [Deus qui beatissimum regem Edwardum aeternitatis gloria (...)][606]

Omnipotent and everlasting [God who [reigns with?] the most blessed king Edward in the glory of eternity (...)]

[Ad Primam]

[44A] P-A^A *Ad primam antiphona*
Hic nondum natus natis prefertur et aluo clausus adhuc meruit fratribus esse prior.[607]

Antiphon during Prime
This one, not yet born and enclosed in the womb, was preferred to those born and he deserved to be the first among the brethren.

[44B] P-A^b *Alia antiphona*
Illicitos estus domuit sermone modestus, ori more senum satagens imponere frenum.[608]

WL c. 1346:

Another antiphon
The unlawful fire he mastered with mild speech, his mouth after ancient custom he struggled to rein.

[Ad Tertiam]

[45A] T-A^a *Ad terciam antiphona*
Eligitur[609] clausus puer intra viscera matris[610] sceptrum laturus et dyadema patris.[611]

Antiphon during Terce
He was elected when enclosed as a boy in his mother's womb to be begotten for the sceptre and for the crown of the father[land?].

[45B] T-A^b *Alia antiphona*

Another antiphon
In giving quick but in receiving slow

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[604] See item [18].
[605] Luke 1:68-79. *Vulgata Sacra*: 1608.
[606] See [6] and Legg 1897: cols. 1342, 1345 and p. 1601.
[607] See Aelred cols. 741C and 741D; Dutton 2005: 133.
[608] Cf. Aelred cols. 742C; Dutton 2005: 135.
[609] See Ps.45:7.
[610] See Pss. 71:6, 89:19-20 and 139:13.
[611] See Aelred cols. 741C and 741D; Dutton 2005: 132-33.

In donando celer sed in accipiendo morosus
vir pius et iustus fuit omnibus officiosus.[612]

The just and pious man was attentive to everyone.

[46] T-Cap *Capitulum*

Benediccio domini [super caput iusti; ideo dedit
illi hereditatem; et diuisit ei partem in tribubus
duodecim: et inuenit graciam in conspectu omnis carnis.][613]

Chapter

The blessing of the Lord [lies over the head of
the just [man]. Therefore the Lord gave him
the inheritance and divided it into twelve
tribes and he found grace/mercy in the eyes
of all the flesh.]

[47] T-Vs

V. Iustum deduxit see [17].

V. She guided him...

[Ad Sextam]

[48A] S-A[a] *Ad sextam antiphona*

Laus tibi Christe patris verbum sunt hec tua dona
de cuius veniunt munere tanta bona.[614]

Antiphon during Sext

Praise be to Thee Christ, Word of the Father, these are
Thy gifts, from Thee came such good gifts.

[48B] S-A[b] *Alia antiphona*

Inde cenorum sibi consiliauit amorem
hinc eciam meruit cleri populique fauorem.

Another antiphon

In that way he drew to himself the love of his court(?)
and he gained the favour of clerics and laity.

[49] S-Cap[615] *Capitulum*

Magnificauit eum dominus in timore inimicorum[616] et
in verbis suis monstra placauit[617] et inuenit graciam in
conspectu omnis carnis.[618]

Chapter

He made him like to the glorious saints, and
magnified him, so that his enemies stood in fear of
him. By his words he caused the wonders to cease, and
he made him glorious in the sight of kings. And he
brought out of him a merciful man, which found
favour in the sight of all flesh.

[50] S-Vs

V. Amauit. See [33].

V. He was loved...

[Ad Nonam]

[51A] N-A[a] *Ad nonam antiphona*

Ista futura deus predixit plebe propheta
que quamuis veri nescia vera canit.[619]

Antiphon during None

This future God foretold to the people through the
prophet, who, although unaware of the truth, yet sang
the truth.

[51B] N-A[b] *Alia antiphona*

In dubiis positus votum vovit quod adiret
limina sacra petri si sceptra paterna subiret.[620]

Another antiphon

Put in doubt, he pledged a vow that he would go to the
holy threshold of Peter if he inherited the fatherly
sceptre.

[52] N-Cap *Capitulum*

Glorificauit illum dominus in conspectu regum[621] et

Chapter

God glorified him in the eyes of the kings and revealed

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[612] See Aelred col. 742C; Dutton 2005: 135 and 143.

[613] Cf. Proverbs 10:6 and Ecclesiasticus 44:26. See items [1] and [37].

[614] Cf. Legg 1897: col. 1360.

[615] This chapter is a composite of lines from Ecclesiasticus 45.

[616] Ecclesiasticus 45:2.

[617] Ecclesiasticus 45:3.

[618] Ecclesiasticus 45:1. See also Chapter of first Vespers. Note how Edward thus is juxtaposed with the patriarch Abraham.

[619] See Aelred col. 742Dff; Dutton 2005: 135ff.

[620] See Aelred, col. 744D; Dutton 2005: 140. The term "*limina sacra*" does not come from *Vita III*, but can be found in Alexander Ashby's poetic adaptation (see Dinkova-Bruun 2004: 255ff, line 985).

[621] The opening words are very similar to "magnificauit in conspectu regum" which comes from an antiphon of the

ostendit illi gloriam suam in fide et lenitate ipsius
sanctum fecit illum et elegit eum ex omni carne.[622]

to him his glory He made him [rich?] in faith and
mildness and He elected him of all flesh.

[53] N-Vs
Iustus ut palma [florebit in domo domini
[R.] sicut cedrum Lybani.][623]

Like the palm tree the righteous [shall flourish in the house
of God
[R.] like cedar of Lebanon][624]

WL c. 1347:

Quando secunda fit tabula lecciones ad placitum.

When the second list of chants is scheduled, the lessons can be chosen.

[54] M-L1[625] *Leccio prima*
Qvisque pollet diuiciis et mundanis deliciis
Edwardi regis gloriam spectet miretur graciam
qui rex potens et nobilis inuentus est tam humilis
vt cuidam miserabili fedo contracto se portando
supponeret portatum sanum redderet.

First lesson
Who exerts power over riches and mundane
delights, observe in awe the grace and glory of
King Edward who, [although] a mighty
and noble king, is [nonetheless] so humble
that he supported someone so miserably ugly and
crippled [and] carrying [him] made the one carried
healthy again.

[55] M-R1
R. In patriam vir ab exilio
reuocatur petri suffragia;
et tocius regni consilio.
[r.] Sullimatur auito solio.[626]
V. Quamuis esset vxoratus
vitam duxit celibatus.[627]
[r.] Sullimatur auito.

R. The man was called back to his fatherland
from exile by the intercession of Saint Peter
and to rule the entire kingdom
[r.] he was elevated to his ancestral throne
V. Although he was married
he led a celibate life.
[r.] He was elevated to the ancestral throne.

[56] M-L2 *Leccio secunda*
Castitatis professores[628]
qui celestes carpunt flores
casti regis castum thorum
venerentur cui decorum
munus christus hoc largitur
quod in eo reperitur
regnum sine viciis
castitas in nupciis.

Second lesson
These confessors of chastity
who plucked heavenly flowers
[this] chaste king's chaste bed,
is venerated, this precious gift
enriches even Christ
since in it is revealed
rulership without vices
and chastity in marriage.

[57] M-R2
R. Dum iaceret rex in cubiculo
lixa puer ingressus clauculo
furtum fecit de gazeloculo
qui [r.] ne mortis periret iaculo.[629]
V. Pietati sancti regis
cessit rigor iuste legis.

R. While the king lay in his bed
there entered a loose-boy
and stole from the money-box.
[r.] He should however not perish from the spear of
death.
V. But the piety of the blessed king

Common of one Confessor (see CCCM 2010 vol.4: 554, lines 35-36).
[622] Which was also the case with John the Baptist. Cf. Southern 1943: 385 and Barlow 1962. p. 60.
[623] Cf. Ps.91:13. Cid 008117.
[624] Cf. Ps.92:12.
[625] See Aelred col. 754D; Dutton 2005: 162-88.
[626] See Aelred, col. 744D; Dutton 2005:140.
[627] See Aelred, col. 748A; Dutton 2005:148.
[628] Edward and Edith.
[629] See Aelred, PL 195, cols. 746B-C; Dutton 2005: 144-45

[r.] Ne mortis.

Made him soften the hardness of the just law.
[r.] He should however not perish from the spear of death

[58] M-L3 *Leccio tercia*

Sancti regis merita
quam sint deo placita
quam simplex intencio
trina probat visio.
prima dormiencium
septem se vertencium.
dani regis alia
quem clauserunt maria.
tercia mirabilis
nam christus visibilis
edwardo apparuit
cum misse interfuit.
cuius sanctis precibus
saluemur in celestibus.[630]

Third lesson

The merits of the holy king
are pleasing to God;
this simple meaning [truth?]
a threefold vision demonstrates.
First: the Seven Sleepers!
turned around.
Second: The Danish king
who was enclosed in the seas.
Third: Miraculously Christ visibly
appeared [unto] Edward
when he participated in Mass.
Through his holy prayers
we shall be saved in Heaven.

[59] M-R3

R. O quam dulcis precum nardus
quam fundebat rex edwardus
[WL c. 1348]
cum superbum.
[r.] Videre meruit
regem mersum
qui danis prefuit.
V. Inter misse sacra solempnia
dum tractatur salutis hostia.
[r.] Uidere[631]

R. O how sweet was the balm of the nard
that sprinkled king Edward's eyes
[r.] when he deserved to behold
the proud king drowned
who ruled the Danes.
V. This occurred during the holy mysteries of
the mass. while the host of the salvation was touched.
[r.] When he was worthy to behold the proud
king drowned who ruled the Danes.

Item lecciones et responsoria quando tercia fit tabula.

Lessons and responsories in case the third table is scheduled

[60] M-L1 *Leccio prima*

O beate rex et confessor christi edwarde oculos pietatis
tue ad nos humiles seruos tuos conuerte ne nos
derelinquas laborantes in terris sed precibus tuis optine
nobis presidium speratum in celis. Vita tua apud
homines semper probata et pia fuit. o beate patrone
sint preces tue apud deum pro nobis semper intente.

First lesson

O blessed king and confessor of Christ, Edward, [turn]
your eyes of piousness towards us your lowly
[subjects], save us [from the devil and] transform us,
do nott forsake suffering on earth, but through your
prayers give us the protection we hope for in the
Heavens. Your life has always been found proper and
pious among men, O blessed patron, may your prayers
for us always be before God.

[61] M-R1

R. O res vere digna memoria
o preclara edwardi gloria
rex contractum abiectum nobilis
sanctis gaudens portat in humeris
nec abhorret fluentem saniem.
[r.] Dum quem portat reddit incolumen.

R. O true occurrence, worthy of memory,
o splendid glory of Edward,
the king gladly carried on his noble holy
shoulders an abominable cripple,
nor did he shrink from the flowing pus;
[r.] while he carried him [he] restored him to health.

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[630] See Aelred, cols. [1] 767B ff. [2] 748C and [3] 760B; Dutton 2005: 192ff, 149ff and pp. 178ff, respectively.
[631] Aelred, PL 195, cols. 748C-749C; Dutton 2005: 149-51.

V. Rident factum quidam de populo
plures laudant viso miraculo.
[r.] Dum.[632]

V. Some of the people laughed at this act
[but] more praised this miracle shown.
[r.] While

[62] M-L2 *Leccio secunda*
Tua nos pater dulcissime gracia in hac domo tua
congregauit in vnum tu nobis apud deum optineas vt
tecum omnes pariter in celesti patria regnemus
ineternum.[633] Tuum nobis patrocinium semper
senciamus adesse qui tuis instamus officiis sincera
deuocione.

Second lesson
Your grace, sweetest father, has gathered us together in
this, your house; achieve for us that God grants that
we reign together with you in the heavenly fatherland
in eternity. Grant that we always feel the presence of
your patronage, for which we implore your help in
earnest devotion.

[63] M-R2[634]
R. Agnus in altari[635] cum cepit sacrificari
luce videt clara puerum rex sanctus in ara.
[r.] A quo multiplici meruit signo benedici.[636]
V. Beati mundo corde quoniam ipsi deum videbunt.[637]
[r.] A.

R. When the lamb on the altar was about to be offered
the holy king beheld in bright light a boy on the altar
[r.] from whom he received multiple signs of blessing.
V. Blessed are the pure at heart for they shall see God.
[r.] From.

WL c. 1349:

[64] M-L3 *Leccio tercia*
Nos tuis inuigilamus laudibus mente deuota succurrat
nobis in necessitatibus pia oracio tua. Meditacio tua vir
beatissime in lege domini fuit die ac nocte.[638] ideo sicut
palma florere et sicut cedrus libani multiplicari
meruisti.[639] Et quia per virginitatis candorem
germinasti sicut lilium.[640] cum virginibus virgo florebis
in eternum ante dominum.[641]

Third lesson
We keep vigil to your praise with devout minds, your
pious prayer shall succour us in time of trouble. Your
thoughts, blessed man, were day and night in the laws
of God. Therefore you were worthy to blossom like a
palm and to flourish like the cedar of Lebanon. And
you, who through the splendour or your celibacy have
sprung forth like a lily, shall as a virgin among virgins
blossom before God in eternity.

[65] M-R3
[r.] Tribus cecis quartus monoculus
antecedens preibat baculus
sed [r.] Per aquam quam regis sanctitas
fudit visum recipit cecitas.[642]
[V] Septiformis spiritus gracia
restaurat septem luminaria.
[r.] Per.

[r.] Three blind men and, before them, a
fourth one, one-eyed, preceded them with his stick.
But [r.] through the water [that was] poured out,
by the sanctity of the king, blindness
regained its sight.
[V] The Holy Spirit, through sevenfold grace
restored the seven lights.
[r.] by.

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[632] Aelred, col. 745Dff; Dutton 2005:162-65.
[633] This probably a misspelling of "*in eternum*", another clerical error, perhaps.
[634] This responsory was performed at Westminster during a reconciliation ceremony of 21 August 1392. See Hector and
Harvey 1983: 507 and Shelagh Mitchell 1997: 117.
[635] See See Aelred, cols. 760CD; Dutton 2005: 176ff.
[636] Cf. Genesis 22:9-12.
[637] Matthew 5:8. This scriptural reference is included in Aelred's sermons *Sanctum est* and *Pulchra et honesta* (Raciti 2012
vol. 4: 550 and 566, lines 138 and 238 respectively).
[638] See Ps. 1:2.
[639] See Ps. 91:13/ Ps. 91:12.
[640] See Canticum canticorum 2:2. See also Aelred's sermon *Mundus iste*, lines 90-95 and 107 (Raciti 2012 vol 4: 556).
[641] See Ps. 44:14-15 / Ps. 45:14-15.
[642] See Aelred, PL 195, cols. 765B-C. and 777A; Dutton 2005: 187ff. Cf. the seven graces of the Holy Ghost (cf. Södergård
1948: 30-31) and the Lamb of Revelation.

Appendix III – Cited chant texts from other offices

The following items have been found with the help of a database developed by Roman Hankeln (NTNU), which gives thematic information about the content of the chants of ca. 100 saints' offices (ca. 2500 chants). The database is partly based on transcriptions made during the DFG-project "Die Heiligenoffizien des Mittelalters" http://www.uni-regensburg.de/Fakultaeten/phil_Fak_I/Musikwissenschaft/cantus/index.htm, see "Offices of the saints", but incorporates also the texts of editions, and occasionally also texts taken from from LMLO. I cite, where possible, from editions and/or manuscript-reproductions. (I thank professor Hankeln for letting me use this database.)

Canute Lavard (12th c)
01 - MR1 *Ortum duxit*
R. Ortum duxit dux Kanutus de radice nobili. / Rex Ericus erat huic propagator soboli. / *Ex qua crevit regni salus et libertas populi. V. Stemmatis pompositas, / morum elegancia / et virtutum probitas, / sunt in hac substancia. * Ex qua. Bergsagel 2010: 8.

Edmund the Martyr (11th c)
02 - MR1 *Sancte indolis puer*
R. Sancte indolis puer Edmundus ex antiquorum personis regum natiuitatis sumpsit exordium, quem sue militie informauit rex celestis. Vt sibi coheredem transferret in celis. V. Cuius infanciam illustrauit spiritus sancti gratia, quem complacuit sibi in illo anima domini Ihesu. R. Vt. Frere, AS: 599.

Heinrich (12th c)

Antiphons
03 - Heinrich, MA9 *Montem ascendit*
A. Montem ascendit domini vestigia imitatus humilitatis Ihesu Cristi merito enim exaltabitur qui pro Cristo humiliatur. München 18392, fol. 28v.

Responsories
04 - MR1 *Illustrem virum*
R. Illustrem uirum ge(r)mine nobilitatis Cristi confessorem laude personemus. *Floruit enim tam cristiana religione quam generosa seculi dignitate. V. Preuentus spiritus sancti rore fructum dedit ex fidei germine. *Floruit. München 18392, fol. 23v–24r.

Kunigunde (13th c)
05 - MA1 *Beata Kunegundis*
A. Beata Kunegundis / parentela nobilis / sed nobilior more / nobilissima gloria et honore. Ps. Domine dominus noster. München 18392, fol. 37r.

Louis (14th c)
06 - MA1 *Beatus qui solium*
A. Beatus qui solium, / iter et consilium / malorum vitavit; / sanctus ab infantia / Ludovicus hec tria / semper declinavit. Ps. Beatus vir. Gaposchkin 2010: 259.

Oswald of Northumbria (11th c)
07 - MA7 *Sic beatus Oswaldus*
A. Sic beatus Osuualdus regnabat, ut qui celeste non terrenum regnum desiderabat. Ps. Domine quid.

Cambridge F.4.10, fol. 259v.

08 - MA3 *Iamque puer purus*
A. Jamque puer purus fidei petra firma futurus, barbariem sprevit, stuiisque piis adolevit. Bayart 1926: 112.

09 - MA1 *Oswaldum puerum*
A. Oswaldum puerum, longo de sanguine regum, / Christus adoptavit, Nortymbria cum generavit. Bayart 1926, 111.

Oswin
10 - MR9 *Quantum rex humilis*
A. Quantum rex humilis / quantum fuerit sibi vilis / Presul Aidanus / novit egensque manus. LMLO OT01.

Thomas Becket (12th c)
11 - MR1 *Studens livor*
R. Studens livor Thome supplicio / Thome genus damnat exilio. / *Tota simul exit cognacio. V. Ordo, sexus, etas, condicio, / Nullo gaudet hic privilegio. *Tota. Slocum 2004, 175.

Mss. and editions cited:

Cambridge, Magdalene College, F.4.10, Peterborough, 14–15th c.

Bayart 1926

Frere 1901-1924, 1927.

Gaposchkin 2010

München, BSB clm 18392, Tegernsee, 14th c.

Slocum 2004

LMLO OT01 – http://hlub.dyndns.org/projekten/webplek/CANTUS/HTML/CANTUS_index.htm
acc. 29.10.12 (after ms. Oxford, Corpus Christi 134).

Appendix IV - Additional items from the CANTUS database, relationship to MS. Rawlinson.

The table does not include chapters/orations, and the *Te deum*.

No.	Hour / Incipit	Cid	I Ian. 5	II Oct. 13	IIIa Oct. 13 (add.)	IIIb Oct. 13	MS. Rawl.	Common / Proper
	1st Vespers							
1	A. Justum deduxit*	003541? 003542?	1V-A					Com
2	A. Amavit*	001360		1V-A		1V-A		Com
3	A. Ave sancte rex Edwarde	200468			1V-A / T-A		1V-Am (5)	Prop
4	R. Miles Christi*	007155		1V-R				Com
5	R. Sancte Edwarde*					1V-R		Com
6	H. Iste confessor*	008323		1V-H		1V-H	1V-H (3), L-H (39)	Com
7	Vs. Amavit eum dominus*	007941	1V-Vs				M-Vs (33), S-Vs (50)	Com
8	Vs. Os justi*	008165				1V-Vs	1V-Vs (4), L-Vs (40)	Com
9	A. Similabo*	004952		1V-Am				Com
10	A. Ave sancte*	200468				1V-Am	1V-Am (5)	Prop
	Matins							
11	R. Coronam auream*	006341				M-R1		Com
12	R. Agmina*	006063				M-R2		Com
13	R. Miles Christi*	007155				M-R3		Com
	Lauds							
14	A. Euge serve*	002732? 201660?	L-A					Com
15	Vs. Justus germinabit*	008116	L-Vs					Com
	Prime							
16	A. Justum deduxit*	003541				P-A		Com
	2nd Vespers							
17	A. Iste est*	003426		2V-Am				

I: **GB-AB 20541 E, facs. p./f. 31r, 32r.**
II: **GB-Cu Mm.ii.9, facs. p. 567. Addition in margine in a later hand.**
IIIa: **GB-WO F.160, facs. p. 199. Addition in a later hand: „Translacio sancti Edwardi regis et confessoris, ad primas vesperas et ad Tertias(?) antiphona.”**
IIIb: **GB-WO F.160, facs. p. 392.**

Appendix V - Inventories of Rouen material

A) **Rouen Bibliothèque municipale 244, fol. 162v:**

"Nonas Ianuarii Nat S. Edwardi Conf.
[The following antiphon (without neumes) and the versicle in smaller script:]
A. Iste cognouit iusticiam* [vidit mirabilia magna et exoravit altissimum et inventus est in numero sanctorum. Cid: 003418]
Vs. Iustus germinabit sicut lilium [R. Et florebit in aeternum ante dominum. Cid 008116.]

Dominus qui hodierna die beatissimum regem Edwardum eternitatis gloria et honore coronasti: Fac nos quesumus ita eum uenerari in terris, ut cum eos semper regnare possimus in celis. P[er dominum nostrum]

Lord who you today has crowned the blessed king Edward with eternal glory and honour: We beseech thee, that you let us venerate him on earth in such a way, that we with him always can reign in heaven. Through our Lord...

B) **The chant cycle in honour of S. Edward in the antiphoner Rouen Bibliothèque municipale MS. 245, fol. 287v-288r.**

De sco Eduuardo ad Vesperas Antiphona super psalmos
A. (illegible)
Or. Nec illud silendum est*
R. Iustum deduxit* (Cid 007059?)
Vs. Iustus germinauit* (Cid 008116)

In euangelio
Iste cognovit (Cid 003418) Ps. Magn.

(Commemoratio de sancto Dionisio)

Inuitatorium *Iustus florebit* (Cid 001096) Ps. Venite

A. Beatus uir* (Cid?) Ps. (Beatus vir) Qui non abiit
R. Euge serue* (Cid 006677)
R. Iste cognouit* (Cid 006995)
R. Iustus germinabit* (Cid 601296)
R. Iustus ut palma* (Cid 007062)

In secundo nocturno
A. Domine iste sanctus* (Cid 002350) Ps. Quis h.
A. Vitam petiit* (Cid 005478)
A. Hic accipiet* (Cid 003047)

A. Cognouit eum* (Cid 200815)
A. Magnificauit* (Cid 003671)
A. Beatificauit* (Cid?)
R. Beatus uir* (Cid 006230)
R. Desiderium* (Cid 006412)
R. Domine preuenisti* (Cid 006505)
R. Cibauit illum* (Cid 006281)

Ad cantica
A. Iustum deduxit* (Cid 003541 /-2?)
R. Amauit* (Cid 006081)
R. Iustum deduxit* (Cid 007059)
R. Cognouit eum* (Cid 600377)
R. Sancte Eduuarde* (Possibly Cid: 004717)

In laudibus
A. Euge serue*(Cid 002732 / 201660?) Ps. Dominus regnavit
A. Amauit* (Cid 001360)
Vs. Iustus germinabit* (Cid 008116)

In ewangelio
A. Iustus cor suum* (Cid 003544)
//Vs. Similabo//

Ad horas antiphonas sicut de uno pontifice

Ad vesperas
A. *Virgam** (Cid 205240?) Ps. *Domine dominus* et alia
R. Iustus ut palma* (Cid 007062)
Vs. Iustus germinabit* (Cid 008116)

In ewangelio
A. Sancte Eduuarde* Ps. Magnificat (Cid 004717?) Sancte N. confessor domini....

XXIV

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