

Lay male sanctity in early twelfth century England

Joanna Huntington

University of York
Centre for Medieval Studies

PhD.

November 2004

Contents

Acknowledgements.	iv
Abstract.	v
Abbreviations.	vi
 Introduction.	 1
 Chapter 1. <i>Laici, clerici</i> , and ‘very peculiar cases’.	 19
1.i <i>Laicus, clericus, monachus</i> : A useful division?	19
1.ii <i>Laici</i> within a hierarchy.	29
1.iii Very peculiar cases.	43
 Chapter 2. Ecclesiastical and lay authority: Anselm, Waltheof, Ansold and Stephen.	 55
2.i Anselm of Canterbury: <i>vitiosa cupiditas</i> or <i>religiosa necessitas</i> ?	56
2.ii Waltheof: <i>iudicibus Normannis ense peremptus</i> .	68
2.iii Ansold of Maule: <i>laudabilis patronus</i> .	79
2.iv <i>Gesta Stephani: tam benigni ... tamque mansueti erat animi</i> .	84
 Chapter 3. Removing the barbarian rust, I: Margaret of Scotland.	 93
3.i Margaret: <i>fide atque opere ut pretiosa margarita habebatur</i> .	99
3.ii Margaret as saint.	105
3.iii Family and lifecycle: Margaret’s genealogy.	107
3.iv Family and lifecycle: Daughter, wife, and mother.	118
3.v Margaret’s education.	131
3.vi Margaret as <i>magistra</i> .	136
 Chapter 4. Removing the barbarian rust, II: David of Scotland	 153
4.i <i>Epistola ad illustrem Ducem H.: pietatis illius haeredem</i> .	155
4.ii <i>Eulogium: virum tam necessarium mundo,</i> <i>rebus humanis exemptum</i> .	156
4.iii <i>Genealogia:</i> <i>contra rerum sit naturam de bona radice fructus malos pullulare</i> .	169
 Chapter 5. <i>Edward: et rex et sanctus</i>	 188
5.i The sources.	188
5.ii.i Edward as ruler.	193
5.ii.ii Edward as <i>rex pacificus</i> .	197
5.ii.iii <i>Rex philosophicus</i> or man of action?	205
5.ii.iv <i>Regalium ornamentorum pompa</i> .	214
5.iii Edward: <i>virginitatis domicilium</i> .	220

5.iv.i Edward the miracle-worker.	237
5.iv.ii <i>Per eum plurima Christus operatur magnalia.</i>	239
5.iv.iii The vision of the Green Tree.	244
5.v Conclusions.	247
Conclusion and future directions.	249
Table 1: Relationships between texts, authors and subjects.	257
Table 2: <i>Vita Anselmi.</i>	259
Table 3: Turgot's genealogy for Margaret.	263
Table 4: Aelred's genealogy for David and Henry II.	264
Table 5: Miraculous episodes in Edward's <i>vitae.</i>	265
Bibliography.	266

Acknowledgements.

This thesis was undertaken with the financial assistance of the A.H.R.B. I would like to thank all staff (administrative and academic) and students at the C.M.S. for their invaluable support and encouragement throughout my studies.

I am very grateful to Peter Biller, Katy Cubitt, Alastair Minnis, Mark Ormrod, Felicity Riddy and Elizabeth Tyler, who acted as supervisors in various capacities at various points of my research, and to Jim Binns for not laughing at my attempts to work with Latin. I am particularly grateful to Elizabeth, Peter, Katy and Mark for their advice and encouragement towards the end of the project. The support of the King's Manor community in general has been important. Being involved with Lords of Misrule, in its many incarnations, provided fun and friends. Victoria Thompson's encouragement has been most welcome, and Katherine Lewis's consistent enthusiasm for saints and kings, and her continued insistence that my research was actually interesting have been invaluable.

I have also benefited from the generosity of many scholars from other institutions. In particular, Bob Moore has continued to offer inspiration and support beyond the remit of undergraduate supervisor and patron. Marsha L. Dutton has generously shared her thoughts and research on Aelred. Sarah Salih and Anke Bernau gave me the opportunity to be included in their *Medieval Virginites* collection, and were patient and helpful above and beyond the call of duty.

Finally, thanks to Laurence and Graham for being generally wonderful. Graham has provided support, caffeine, chocolate and cocktails as the occasion has demanded, and has at times been practically a single parent to enable me to complete this thesis.

Abstract.

This thesis explores lived lay male sanctity in early twelfth century England. It examines textual representations of Anselm of Canterbury, Waltheof of Northumbria, Ansold de Maule, Stephen de Blois, Margaret and David of Scotland, and Edward the Confessor. The main texts to be considered were written by monastic authors, and therefore afford an opportunity to give more texture to our picture of monastic perceptions of the laity, in a period in which the dynamics between churchmen and laymen were issues of contention. Having examined perceptions of the laity inherited by twelfth century authors, the thesis considers examples of ecclesiastical sanctity, lay noble sanctity achieved by martyrdom, non-saintly lay piety, and non-royal, non-saintly piety, in order to establish a backdrop for the main case-studies. These all happen to be royal, but are of interest not as examples of royal sanctity but of lay sanctity. One of the key points to have emerged is that the boundaries between several sets of categories – especially sanctity/piety, lay/clerical/monastic, male rulership/female rulership – were not as impermeable as medieval rhetoric, and indeed much modern scholarship, might imply. The very ambiguity of category boundaries allowed authors to manipulate their sources in order to present their subjects according to their specific priorities.

By considering the points at which twelfth-century expectations of a saintly life and those of a lay life intersect or diverge, this thesis adds to our understanding of the complex relationships between not only saint and community but also *laici* and *clerici*. It also adds further nuance to our ever-evolving perception of the social and cultural landscape of Anglo-Norman England. Having thus opened up the texts in the light of lay male sanctity, the thesis concludes with suggestions as to how its readings may be further pushed into other academic discourses.

Abbreviations, and a note on citations.

Published translations are used where possible, but on occasion, where the published translation has preferred a flowing modern translation to literal translation, I have altered the translation slightly. Where the translation cited here differs greatly from a published translation, the Latin edition only will be referenced. Elsewhere, the relevant passage in the published translation will be referenced in square brackets, even if the translation here differs slightly, so that the reader is able to easily refer to the sources.

- AASS *Acta sanctorum* (Antwerp, etc., 1643-)
- Aelred, *Life* Aelred of Rievaulx, *Life of St. Edward the Confessor*, trans. J. Bertram, (2nd edn., Southampton, 1997).
- Aelred, *Vita S. Edwardi* Aelred of Rievaulx, *Vita S. Edwardi regis et confessoris*, PL 195: 737-90.
- Anon., *Vita Ædwardi* *The Life of King Edward Who Rests at Westminster: Attributed to a Monk of Saint-Bertin*, trans. F. Barlow, (London, 1962; 2nd edn, Oxford, 1992).
For the most part, the 2nd edition is cited here, but I have also occasionally cited the 1st edition, therefore (1962) or (1992) will denote the 1st and 2nd editions respectively. References to Barlow's introduction will be cited as Barlow, *Vita Ædwardi* (1962) or (1992).
- ASC *The Anglo Saxon Chronicle: A collaborative edition*, general editors D. Dumville and S. Keynes, 17 vols., vols. 1, 3-8, 10, 17 published to date (Cambridge, 1983-2004) [trans. M. Swanton, *The Anglo-Saxon Chronicles* (London, 1996, 2000 edn. cited)].
- Asser, *De rebus gestis Ælfredi* *Asser's Life of King Alfred together with the Annals of Saint Neots erroneously ascribed to Asser*, ed. W.H. Stevenson, (Oxford, 1959; 1998 repr. cited here), pp. 1-95 [*Alfred the Great: Asser's Life of King Alfred and other contemporary sources*, trans. S. Keynes and M. Lapidge (Harmondsworth, 1983), pp. 67-110].

- Bede, *Ecclesiastical History* *Bede's Ecclesiastical History of the English People*, ed. and trans. B. Colgrave and R.A.B. Mynors (Oxford, 1969).
- Eadmer, *Historia Novorum* Eadmer, *Historia Novorum in Anglia*, ed. M. Rule, RS 81 (London, 1884), pp. 1-302 [*Eadmer's History of Recent Events in England: Historia Novorum in Anglia*, trans. G. Bosanquet (London, 1964)].
- Eadmer, *Vita Anselmi* *The Life of St Anselm by Eadmer*, ed. and trans. R.W. Southern (London, etc., 1962; 1996 edn. cited).
- Eulogium* Aelred of Rievaulx, 'Eulogium Davidis regis Scotorum', in Pinkerton, *Lives of the Scottish Saints*, 2: 269-85. Incorporated into *Genealogia regum Anglorum*.
- Genealogia* Aelred of Rievaulx, *De genealogia regum Angliae, et regis David Scotiae*, PL 195: 716-38. Incorporated into *Genealogia regum Anglorum*.
- Genealogia regum Anglorum* Aelred of Rievaulx, *Eulogium* and *Genealogia*, together with prefatory letter, PL 195: 711-13
- Gesta Stephani* *Gesta Stephani*, ed. and trans. K.R. Potter (London etc., 1955; Oxford, 1976 edn. cited).
- John of Worcester, *Chronicon* *The Chronicle of John of Worcester*, 3 vols., *Volume III: The Annals from 1067 to 1140 with the Gloucester interpolations and the continuation to 1141*, trans. P. McGurk, (Oxford, 1998); *Volume II: The Annals from 450-1066*, eds. R.R. Darlington and P. McGurk, trans. J. Bray and P. McGurk (Oxford, 1995); Vol. I not yet published.
- MGH Monumenta Germaniae historica

- NPNF A Select Library of the Nicene and Post-Nicene Fathers of the Christian Church, Series 1, ed. P. Schaff, Series 2, ed. P. Schaff and H. Wace (New York, 1886-90).
- Orderic, *Historia Ecclesiastica* *The Ecclesiastical History of Orderic Vitalis*, ed. and trans. M. Chibnall, 6 vols. (Oxford, 1969-1980)
For ease of reference, citations will be to the volume of Chibnall's edition rather than the book number of the *Historia*.
- Osbert, *Vita beati Eadwardi* 'La vie de S. Édouard le Confesseur par Osbert de Clare', ed. M. Bloch, *Analecta Bollandiana*, 41 (1923), 5-131.
References to Bloch's introduction will be cited as Bloch, 'La vie'.
- Pinkerton, *Lives of Scottish Saints* W.M. Metcalfe (ed.), *Pinkerton's Lives of the Scottish Saints*, 2 vols. (Paisley, 1889) [*Ancient Lives of Scottish Saints*, trans. W.M. Metcalfe (Paisley, 1895)]
- PL J.P. Migne (ed.), *Patrologia cursus completus: Patrologia Latina* (Paris, 1844-65)
- Regula Benedicti* *The Rule of Saint Benedict*, ed. and trans. J. McCann (London, 1972 edn.)
- RS *Rerum Britannicarum Medii Ævi Scriptores: Chronicles and Memorials of Great Britain and Ireland during the Middle Ages* (Rolls Series).
- Stevenson, *Church Historians* trans. J. Stevenson, *The Church Historians of England* 8 vols. (London, 1853-8).
- Symeon, *Historia regum* *Symeonis Monachi opera omnia*, ed. T. Arnold, 2 vols., RS 75, 2: 3-283
[Stevenson, *Church Historians*, 3.ii: 423-617].
- Symeon, *Libellus de Exordio* Symeon of Durham, *Libellus de Exordio atque procursu istius, hoc est Dunhelmensis, ecclesie: Tract on the origins and progress of this the church of Durham*, trans. D. Rollason (Oxford, 2000).

- TRHS* *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society*
- Turgot, *Vita Margaretae* in W.M. Metcalfe (ed.), *Pinkerton's Lives of the Scottish Saints*, 2 vols. (Paisley, 1889), 2: 159-82
[*Ancient Lives of Scottish Saints*, trans. W.M. Metcalfe (Paisley, 1895), pp. 297-321].
- William of Malmesbury, *Gesta pontificum Anglorum* *Gesta pontificum Anglorum*, ed. N.E.S.A. Hamilton, *De Gestis Pontificum Anglorum*, RS 52 (London, 1870; Wiesbaden, 1964 reprint cited)
[*The Deeds of the Bishops of England (Gesta pontificum Anglorum)*, trans. D. Preest (Woodbridge, 2002)]
- William of Malmesbury, *Genealogia regum Anglorum* William of Malmesbury, *Gesta Regum Anglorum: The history of the English Kings*, ed. and trans. R.A.B. Mynors, completed by R.M. Thomson and M. Winterbottom, 2 vols. (Oxford, 1998-99).
Citations will be to the text as presented in Vol. 1, followed by the page numbers.

Introduction.

This thesis explores lived lay male sanctity in early twelfth century England, in order to expand our understanding of medieval sanctity. Setting down a saintly life could, of course, itself be an act of piety, an expression of genuine affection for the subject, and/or a statement of firm belief in the subject's sanctity. It could also – and indeed concurrently – be an attempt to bolster the prestige of people or institutions associated with the subject, or to impress models of behaviour upon its audience. Depictions of sanctity, therefore, not only reflected but also directed and shaped manifold cultural, spiritual and social concerns. I will examine a selection of narrative sources, which treat of Anselm of Canterbury, Waltheof of Northumbria, Ansold de Maule, Margaret and David of Scotland, Edward the Confessor, and one figure not known for holiness, Stephen de Blois. By considering the tensions between the expectations of a saintly life and those of a lay life, as discerned in these texts, all written by clerical or monastic authors, I aim to add more texture to our picture of the complex relationships between not only saint and community but also *laici* and *clerici*.

My choice of lay male sanctity, as opposed to lay sanctity in general, was, as will be further discussed below, partly dictated by the nature of the sources, but also by a desire to contribute to redressing the historiographical imbalance whereby until recently, men tended to be treated as normative, and women as an aberration from the norm. I want to add to our growing appreciation of the multiplicity of masculinities, by fragmenting the notion of a monolithic male sanctity against which female saints may be measured.¹ As we will see, male sanctity was not simply a default position: it needed to be carefully written, presented and taught.

Early to mid twelfth century England is in many ways a fascinating arena, but is particularly suited to my study for two main reasons. First, this period sat at

¹ On our emerging understanding of the multiplicity of masculinities, see, for example, the various models discussed in C.A. Lees (ed.), *Medieval Masculinities: Regarding men in the middle ages* (Minneapolis and London, 1994); D.M. Hadley (ed.), *Masculinity in Medieval Europe* (London, 1999); J. Murray (ed.), *Conflicted Identities and Multiple Masculinities: Men in the medieval West* (New York and London, 1999); P.H. Cullum and K.J. Lewis (eds.), *Holiness and Masculinity in the Middle Ages* (Cardiff, 2004).

the culmination of a series of protracted and often bitterly-fought renegotiations of the dynamics between church and lay society throughout Christian Europe. Second, the political, social and cultural disruptions recently experienced by England specifically, as a result of the Conquest, had created an intellectual climate which, *inter alia*, produced a flowering of historical and hagiographical writing.² It is possible to discern in these texts intriguing and often imaginative attempts to reforge ruptured identities and reconcile disparate factions, and sanctity was one of many tools deployed. This thesis uses a selection of the texts which emerged from this fruitful juxtaposition of circumstances and impulses. I approach my sources with a view to identifying aspects of each text which are useful as part of a broader historical exercise, to add to our understanding of sanctity rather than of the individual texts themselves, although I hope that the former will also add incidentally to the latter. By identifying clerical perceptions of both the spiritual potential and the drawbacks inherent in the lay state, this thesis contributes to a more nuanced awareness of medieval attitudes to sanctity, of the mutual expectations of laity and clergy, and of Anglo-Norman England's culture.

I propose, therefore, what has been described as 'a relational reading of text and context',³ which takes into account the 'social logic' of my texts, as both products and agents in their social and cultural environments.⁴ The interest lies more in the work a text does than in what it reflects. Similarly, in his study of

² On the flourishing of historiography in England in this period, see, for example, R.W. Southern, 'Aspects of the European tradition of historical writing: 4. The sense of the past', *TRHS* 5th ser. 23 (1973): 243-63, and J. Campbell, 'Some twelfth-century views of the Anglo-Saxon past', in *Essays in Anglo-Saxon History* (London and Ronceverte, 1986), pp. 209-28. On hagiography, see M. Lapidge and R.C. Love, 'The Latin hagiography of England and Wales (600-1550)', in G. Philippart (ed.), *Hagiographies: Histoire internationale de la littérature hagiographique latine et vernaculaire en Occident des origines à 1550*, 3 vols (Turnhout, 1994-2001), 3: 203-325, pp. 224-68, and further p. 15, *infra*.

³ G.M. Spiegel, 'Towards a theory of the middle ground', originally in *Historia A Debate*, 3 vols. (Santiago de Compostela, 1995), 1: 169-76, repr. in *eadem*, *The Past as Text: The theory and practice of medieval historiography* (Baltimore and London, 1997), pp. 44-56, p. 54.

⁴ This term was coined by Spiegel, in 'History, historicism, and the social logic of the text in the Middle Ages', *Speculum* 65 (1990): 59-86, and usefully defined as implying an understanding of both '[a text's] location within an embedded social environment of which it is a product and in which it acts as an agent,' and 'itself as a literary artifact composed of language', *eadem*, 'Introduction', in *The Past as Text*, pp. xi-xxii, p. xviii. On the relevance of Spiegel's model for hagiography, see A.B. Mulder-Bakker, 'The invention of saintliness: Texts and contexts', in *eadem* (ed.), *The Invention of Saintliness*, Routledge Studies in Medieval Religion and Culture, 2 (London, 2002), pp. 3-23, pp. 5-6, 14.

courtly literature, Stephen Jaeger noted that a panegyric portrait ‘speaks of a language of ideals that allure and promise social rewards ..., and that have the exemplary force of a charismatic human being, the power to draw others into its orbit’.⁵ This is not to say that it was intended to provide a rigid ticklist, but rather that it borrowed piecemeal from multiple and varied values and *topoi*, in order to bring about a desired outcome. This seems just as – indeed perhaps even more – applicable to hagiographical portraits.⁶ Hagiography could itself be an agent of change, and it is with this in mind that I approach my sources. It would be difficult – and, arguably, of little academic value – to extract from the extant sources a blueprint for what could make a lay saint in twelfth-century England, but it is possible to gain insight into the hopes and priorities of an author and what he expected of his intended audience, thus enriching our broader historical understanding of the period. To borrow from Jaeger again: he warned against interpreting the interwoven threads and ideas of a given text as a rigid systematic ideal, as the text is itself a setting down of ‘all possible outcomes of a once complex and chaotic melee [which have ossified] into a single constellation’. ‘The point’, he insisted, ‘is not to describe the ossified constellation but rather ... to restore it to chaos in order to see once again the issues in their various interactions’.⁷ That too is the aim of this thesis: not to categorize or create a catch-all blueprint, but rather to disentangle some of the issues which permeated perceptions of sanctity and of the lay state.

Before proceeding further, we need to consider sanctity itself. How would one recognise somebody as a saint, and what did that recognition mean to a twelfth-century audience? By the thirteenth century, the decision as to whether a given person was to be regarded as a saint had largely been brought under papal

⁵ C.S. Jaeger, ‘Courtliness and social change’, in T.N. Bisson (ed.), *Cultures of Power: Lordship, status, and process in twelfth-century Europe* (Philadelphia, 1995), pp. 287-309, p. 297.

⁶ I use “hagiography” and its associated terms in the sense of any text which deals with a saint or saints. Felice Lifshitz has usefully outlined usage and historiographical implications of the term, tracing its association with things saintly to the late-nineteenth century, and has argued that ‘it should not be anachronistically applied’, in ‘Beyond positivism and genre: “Hagiographical” texts as historical narrative’, *Viator: Medieval and Renaissance Studies* 25 (1994): 95-113, p. 113 cited. Awareness of the anachronism notwithstanding, I continue to use the term advisedly, without the negative connotations with which it has in the past been attributed. On including texts beyond merely those traditionally labelled “hagiography”, i.e. *vitae*, c.f. Mulder-Bakker, ‘The invention of saintliness’, p. 13.

⁷ Jaeger, ‘Courtliness and social change’, p. 303.

authority, although even after this point, cults which were not papally approved continued to flourish. In our period, however, although papal authority over canonisation was beginning to be established, sanctity was still rather more fluid and localised.

Sanctus, from which the English word ‘saint’ is derived, has as its root meaning ‘holy’, but soon came to denote one who had demonstrably been admitted into the kingdom of heaven. In the early years of Christianity, it was used much as it had been for some time, to denote one who was concerned with holy things, and therefore applied to prelates, regardless of their individual merits or character.⁸ From the sixth century onwards, however, it came to be applied to those who were deemed to be saints in the sense of having been received into heaven immediately after death. As has been noted, ‘in theory all who resided in the divine court were saints, but in practice Christian churches accorded a relatively small number of people the title of saint, and, with it, public veneration’.⁹ As residents of the divine court, saints could – if satisfactorily and appropriately approached and besought – bestow favours, cures, and general patronage, and intercede with God himself on the behalf of their successful petitioners.

In the early years of Christianity, those who had been executed for refusing to renounce their Christian faith were seen as saintly. These martyrs – a term derived from the Greek *martus* (witness) – were deemed to be extraordinary on account of their having borne witness to their faith even unto the ultimate sacrifice. In the wake of the Constantinian edict which granted freedom of religious expression, and the cessation of widespread and institutionalized persecution, there were fewer opportunities for sanctity via martyrdom. In the

⁸ A. Vauchez, *Sainthood in the Later Middle Ages* (originally *La sainteté en Occident aux derniers siècles du Moyen Age*, Paris, 1981; cited here from J. Birrell’s translation of the Rome, 1988 edn., Cambridge, 1997), pp. 17-18.

⁹ T. Head, ‘Introduction’, in *idem* (ed.), *Medieval Hagiography: An anthology* (London, 2001), pp. xiii-xxxviii, p. xiv. Head’s introduction provides a useful brief overview, on which this and the following paragraphs are largely based. See also Vauchez, *Sainthood*, pp. 13-21; T.F.X. Noble and T. Head, ‘Introduction’, in *Soldiers of Christ: Saints and saints’ lives from Late Antiquity and the Early Middle Ages* (London, 1995), pp. xiii-xliv; A. Vauchez, ‘The saint’, in J. Le Goff (ed.), *The Medieval World*, originally published as *L’Uomo Medievale* (Roma-Bari, 1987), trans. L.G. Cochrane (London, 1990), pp. 313-45, pp. 314-24.

fourth and fifth centuries, in addition to martyr-saints, new types of saints emerged, whose sanctity was predicated on their being confessors, that is, their confessing or teaching Christian faith *in vita* (in the sense of within their lifetime). The Egyptian desert fathers were venerated for their asceticism, and the development and growing popularity of monasticism provided a development of the ascetic saintly model, exemplified by the enduringly influential *vita* of Antony of Egypt, written c. 360 by Athanasius of Alexandria. This model was transmitted to the western parts of the Roman Empire, and was soon joined by that of the saintly cleric – often a bishop: Sulpicius Severus’s representation of Martin of Tours was particularly influential.¹⁰ Texts promoting the lived sanctity of such figures introduced a didactic element to hagiography: not everyone could aspire to witnessing their faith through martyrdom, or to demonstrating it by means of miracles, but they could nonetheless seek to emulate the holy lives depicted in these texts, which could provide ‘a map of the path to salvation’.¹¹ At the same time as these new models of *in vita* sanctity were emerging, there was a growing emphasis on the power of saints’ relics, which rendered their resting places – and therefore the custodians of those resting places – increasingly powerful, therefore bringing sanctity more under the auspices of the church rather than spontaneous popular acclamation. With the expansion of western Christendom, martyrdom was again a possible route to sanctity, in newly converted territories, but monastic and episcopal sanctity also continued to be popular. Vauchez has identified the tenth and eleventh centuries as a period in which representations of lay sanctity were occasionally created, such as those of Gerald of Aurillac, queens, empresses, or kings (usually martyred), but suggests that a combination of a ‘tendency to disparage the lay state’ that was inherent in the Gregorian reform movement and a reinvigorated emphasis on the values of monastic reform rendered a lay life less likely to be depicted as saintly.¹² From this brief survey, we may conclude that

¹⁰ On Martin, see C. Stancliffe, *St. Martin and his Hagiographer: History and miracle in Sulpicius Severus* (Oxford and New York, 1983). On Anglo-Saxon reception of his legend, see Lapidge and Love, ‘Latin hagiography’, p. 211 and J.E. Damon, *Soldier Saints and Holy Warriors: Warfare and sanctity in the literature of early England* (Aldershot, 2003).

¹¹ Noble and Head, ‘Introduction’, *Soldiers of Christ*, p. xviii. On the notion of saint as exemplar, see, for example, with regard to early twelfth century Bec, S.N. Vaughn, ‘Among These Authors are the Men of Bec: Historical writing among the monks of Bec’, *Essays in Medieval Studies* 17 (2000): 1-18 (online at <http://www.luc.edu/publications/medieval/vol17/vaughn.html>).

¹² A. Vauchez, ‘Lay people’s sanctity in Western Europe: Evolution of a pattern (twelfth and thirteenth centuries)’, in R. Blumenfeld-Kosinski and T. Szell (eds.), *Images of Sainthood in Medieval Europe*, (Cornell, 1991), pp. 21-32, pp. 22-3, p. 22 cited; *idem*, ‘The saint’, pp. 321-2.

two broad types of sanctity – not necessarily mutually exclusive – were feasible, namely that based on posthumous miraculous activity and that based on lived sanctity. Why, then, does this thesis concentrate mainly on lived sanctity?

For Anglo-Saxon England specifically, sanctity has been characterised as a localized phenomenon which centred on the posthumous power of relics:

the essential criterion for the creation of a new saint was the efficacy of his relics. If a man or woman were known to have lived a holy life (or... not to have lived an evil life), and, after death, to have accomplished miraculous cures through his relics, the saint could be received straight away into the liturgical observance of the local church which first recognized the efficacy.¹³

We may see, however, that by the early twelfth century, there was also a desire to focus on a lived saintly life.

Towards the end of his *vita* of Margaret of Scotland, to be further discussed in chapter 3, Turgot sought (at some length) to direct attention not at Margaret's miracles, but at her lived sanctity:

Mirentur alii in aliis signa miraculorum, ego in Margarita multo magis admiror opera misericordiarum: nam signa bonis et malis sunt communia, opera autem veræ pietatis et caritatis bonorum propria. Illa sanctitatem interdum ostendunt, ista etiam faciunt. Dignius, inquam, miremur in Margarita facta, quæ illam sanctam faciebant, quam signa, si aliqua fecisset, quæ hominibus sanctam tantum ostenderent. Dignius illam obstupescamus, in qua per justitiæ, pietatis, misericordiæ et caritatis studia, antiquorum Patrum facta magis quam signa consideramus.¹⁴

On Odo of Cluny's c. 930 *vita* of Gerald of Aurillac (855-909), see S. Airlie, 'The anxiety of sanctity: St Gerald of Aurillac and his maker', *Journal of Ecclesiastical History* 43 (1992): 372-95; J.L. Nelson, 'Monks, secular men and masculinity, c. 900', in Hadley (ed.), *Masculinity in Medieval Europe*, pp. 121-42.

¹³ M. Lapidge, 'The saintly life in Anglo-Saxon England', M. Lapidge and M. Godden (eds.), *The Cambridge Companion to Old English Literature* (Cambridge, 1991), pp. 243-63, p. 245.

¹⁴ Turgot, *Vita Margaretae*, in ed. W.M. Metcalfe, *Pinkerton's Lives of the Scottish Saints*, 2 vols. (Paisley, 1889), 2: 159-82, p. 176 ['Let others admire the tokens of miracles which they see in others, I, for my part, admire much more the works of mercy which I saw in Margaret. Miracles are common to the evil and to the good, but the works of true piety and charity belong to the good alone. The former sometimes indicate holiness, but the latter are holiness itself. Let us, I say, admire in Margaret the things which made her *sancta*, rather than the miracles, if she did any, which might only have indicated that she was one to men. Let us more worthily admire her as one in whom, because of her devotion to justice, piety, mercy, and love, we see rather the works of the ancient fathers than their miracles', trans. W.M. Metcalfe, *Ancient Live of Scottish Saints* (Paisley, 1895), pp. 297-321, p. 315].

Similar uneasiness with *in vita* miracles – as opposed to post-humous miracles either at or remote from shrines – as proof of sanctity and attempts to focus instead on lived sanctity may be seen in other *vitae*.¹⁵ As has been noted, of sanctity in general: ‘To define sanctity in terms of the christian virtues – patience, a disciplined way of life, works of mercy – was to retain the power of definition securely in the hands of [the *clerici* who were writing of sanctity]’.¹⁶ R.I. Moore has argued that *in vita* miracles continued to be recorded, albeit decreasingly and with ambivalence on the part of the clerical elite, in the twelfth century, and sees this as part of a broader process:

the gathering of holy power to the shrines and the formalisation of canonisation are familiar aspects of the general shaking down of authority, both secular and ecclesiastical, in the second half of the twelfth century.¹⁷

Our sources, therefore, emerge from a climate in which the nature and value of lived sanctity was being worked out, as part of the renegotiated relationship between church and lay society. Consequently, depictions of lived lay sanctity – however few or atypical – are of particular interest, in that they set down a clerical view of an ideal layperson in this emerging system.

At what point, and by what markers, does notable piety segue into sanctity? For the later middle ages, some indication may be inferred from whether a subject is referred to as *beatus* or *sanctus*,¹⁸ but for our period things are occasionally somewhat murkier. For our present purposes, I take the lead of one

¹⁵ See, for example, Odo’s *Vita Geraldi*, and John of Salerno’s *vita* of Odo himself, as discussed in R.I. Moore, *The First European Revolution, c. 970-1215* (Oxford, 2000), pp. 25-6.

¹⁶ Moore, *First European Revolution*, p. 25.

¹⁷ R.I. Moore, ‘Between Sanctity and Superstition: Saints and their miracles in the age of revolution’, in M. Rubin (ed.), *The Work of Jacques Le Goff, and the Challenges of Medieval History*, (Woodbridge, 1997), pp. 63-75, p. 69-70. See also Moore, *First European Revolution*, pp. 26-7.

¹⁸ Vauchez, *Sainthood*, pp. 85-98, wherein Vauchez stresses that the distinction was nonetheless still not clear-cut. See also J. Hamesse, ‘The image of sanctity in medieval preaching as a means of sanctification’, in B. Mayne Kienzle, E. Wilks Dolnikowski, R. Drage Hale, D. Pryds, and A.T. Thayer (eds.), *Models of Holiness in Medieval Sermons: Proceedings of the International Symposium (Kalamazoo, 4-7 May, 1995) Textes et Études du Moyen Age*, 5 (Louvain-la-Neuve, 1996), pp. 127-39. On the continued lack of clear distinction, also for the later middle ages, see R. Kieckhefer, ‘Holiness and the culture of devotion: Remarks on some late medieval male saints’, in R. Blumenfeld-Kosinski and T. Szell (eds.), *Images of Sainthood in Medieval Europe* (Ithaca and London, 1991), pp. 288-305, which suggests that ‘the more we know about the piety of devout Christians in the last Middle Ages, ... the more difficult it becomes to distinguish them from their sainted contemporaries, or a fortiori from those *beati* whose cult lacked papal confirmation’, p. 290.

of the authors to be examined in the thesis itself, namely Eadmer. In his *Vita Anselmi*, Eadmer unambiguously placed Anselm with the saints in heaven, to be prayed *to* rather than *for*. When his ship was in peril, Earl Arnulf urged his men to pray to Anselm – ‘implorantes ... quatinus sanctis meritis suis impetret a Creatore nostro ... nobis et peccatorum remissionem, et hujus gravissimæ incommoditatis’ – and was rewarded with instantaneous success.¹⁹ Apparently this was not proof enough of Anselm’s sanctity for all, and Eadmer returned to this distinction between praying for or to a possible saint in the *Descriptio quorundam miraculorum gloriosi patris Anselmi Archiepiscopi*. A monk who had joined Christ Church after Anselm’s death was uncertain as to the rectitude of those who flocked to Anselm’s tomb: ‘tumbæ patris more aliorum se prosternere gestiebat, sed utrum pro eo, an ut ipse pro se Deo preces offeret precaretur hæsitabat’.²⁰ Accordingly, he begged God to clear up his doubt as to Anselm’s sanctity, and ‘sibi revelare ... quid de Anselmo verius amodo sentiat, sanctusne videlicet sit qui pro aliis ad Deum intercedere digne possit, an adhuc talis pro quo potius intercedendum ab aliis sit’.²¹ He received his answer unequivocally: the troubled monk had nodded off, ‘et ecce ante illum volumen apertum, in quo deducto lumine vidit decentissime scriptum SANCTUS ANSELMUS.’²² Clearly Eadmer was keen to impress upon his audience that Anselm was a saint, and the dividing line between saint and not-saint was whether he was to be prayed to rather than for.²³ We too, therefore, will accept this as indication of whether the subjects in the case-studies below were intended to be seen as saintly or not.

¹⁹ Eadmer, *Vita Anselmi*, ed. and trans. R.W. Southern, *The Life of St Anselm, Archbishop of Canterbury, by Eadmer* (London, etc., 1962; Oxford, 1996 edn. cited here), p. 147 [‘let us implore him by his holy merits to obtain for us from our Creator ... remission of our sins and a speedy delivery from this most heavy trouble’].

²⁰ Eadmer, *Descriptio quorundam miraculorum gloriosi patris Anselmi Archiepiscopi*, in Eadmer, *Vita Anselmi*, pp. 152-71, p. 167 [‘he longed to prostrate himself before the father’s tomb as the others did, but was uncertain whether to pray for him, or ask him to offer prayers to God for the supplicant himself’].

²¹ Eadmer, *Descriptio quorundam miraculorum*, p. 168 [‘to reveal to him what he ought henceforth to believe about Anselm: whether he was a saint who could worthily intercede for others before God, or whether he was as yet one for whom others ought rather to intercede’].

²² Eadmer, *Descriptio quorundam miraculorum*, p. 168 [‘and lo, a book appeared open before him, on which he looked and saw most handsomely written SAINT ANSELM’].

²³ On this distinction, see also, with regard to Oswine, P.A. Hayward, ‘Sanctity and Lordship in Twelfth-Century England: Saint Albans, Durham, and the Cult of Saint Oswine, king and martyr’, *Viator: Medieval and Renaissance Studies*, 30 (1999), 105-44, pp. 107, 109, with further reference to discussion of whether it was necessary to pray for Becket’s soul, John of Salisbury, Ep. 305. *The Letters*, eds. W.J. Miller, H.E. Butler and C.N.L. Brooke, 2 vols. (Oxford, 1955-79), 2: 724-39, pp. 736-737.

Why, though, does this thesis focus on lived lay male sanctity? Why not simply sanctity, or, given that Margaret provides a main case-study, why not lay sanctity in general? To understand this, it is necessary briefly to consider the historiography of hagiographical scholarship.

Until just a few decades ago, work on sanctity tended to focus on men, and especially men of the church.²⁴ This in itself is not unreasonable, as this group comprises the majority of saints throughout the high and late medieval period. Weinstein and Bell's study of saints from the period 1000-1700 found that from a sample of 864 saints, 511 of the 713 who were men, were male churchmen - that is, 59.1 percent of their sample as a whole and 71.7 percent of all men.²⁵ Much recent research into medieval sanctity has rightly addressed the imbalance by which male clerical saints were seen to be normative, and women but an aberration. However in the process, men *qua* men have been given little attention, largely, perhaps, due to the temporal coincidence of revived interest in hagiography with the rise of gender studies.²⁶

The concentration on female saints was partially stimulated by Weinstein and Bell's statistical findings, which suggested a chronological pattern in the proportion of female to male saints. Whereas women were consistently in a minority (just 17.5 percent of their total sample), the imbalance became less pronounced between the eleventh and sixteenth centuries. Female saints made up 8.6 percent of new saints in the eleventh century, 11.8 percent in the twelfth, 22.6 percent in the thirteenth, 23.4 percent in the fourteenth, and 27.7 percent in the

²⁴ An exhaustive bibliography of such works is not appropriate here, but see, for example, D. Knowles, *Saints and Scholars: Twenty-five medieval portraits* (Cambridge, 1963); R.W. Southern, *Saint Anselm and his Biographer: A study of monastic life and thought, 1059-c.1130*, (Cambridge, 1963); A.H. Bredero, *Bernard of Clairvaux: Between cult and history*, originally published as *Bernard van Clairvaux: tussen cultus en historie* (Kampen, 1993), trans. R. Bruinsma (Edinburgh, 1996); on men in general, see, for example, M. Goodich, *Vita perfecta: The ideal of sainthood in the thirteenth century* (Stuttgart, 1982).

²⁵ D. Weinstein and R.M. Bell, *Saints & Society: The two worlds of Western Christendom, 1000-1700* (Chicago, 1982; 1986 edn. cited here), summarized at p. 222. I have used the following of their categories to indicate the subject being a 'churchman': popes, cardinals, archbishops, bishops, abbots, priors, monks, canons regular, friars, secular priests, lay brothers.

²⁶ A useful general overview of this process is provided by K.J. Lewis, 'Gender and sanctity in the middle ages', *Gender & History* 12 (2000): 735-44. See also J.L. Nelson, 'Family, gender and

fifteenth.²⁷ Schulenburg's temporal boundaries differ from those of Weinstein and Bell, but she found that for the years 500-1200, the proportion of female to male saints was similar overall (some 15 percent).²⁸ Quite rightly, scholars were intrigued by this proportional increase, and a great deal of valuable research has significantly enhanced our understanding of female sanctity and the society which valued it.²⁹ For some time, however, the focus of so-called gendered studies on women – rather than on men *and* women – served to perpetuate the impression which they presumably fought to dispel: if only women had constructed gender, surely that left men as the default position? Fortunately, a number of studies have sought to look at medieval men as constructed entities, and the imbalance is gradually being redressed, although there is still much to be done.³⁰

Weinstein and Bell ascribed the predominance of male saints in the eleventh and twelfth centuries to 'a deep-seated prejudice in medieval society ...[which] more often than not looked to its designated leaders for its spiritual

sexuality in the middle ages', in M. Bentley (ed.), *Companion to Historiography* (London and New York, 1997), pp. 153-176, p. 168.

²⁷ Weinstein and Bell, *Saints & Society*, the proportions cited here are summarized at p. 220.

²⁸ J.T. Schulenburg, 'Sexism and the celestial gynaeceum – from 500 to 1200', *Journal of Medieval History* 4 (1978): 117-33, *passim*, summarized at p. 122.

²⁹ Again, an exhaustive bibliography on this is not practicable here, but many works have studied female saints as a group and/or individual saintly women. See, for instance, J.A. McNamara and S.F. Wemple, 'Sanctity and power: The dual pursuit of medieval women', in R. Bridenthal and C. Koonz (eds.), *Becoming Visible: Women in European History* (Boston, 1977; 2nd edn., 1987), pp. 132-51; S. Struand, 'The dominion of gender: Women's fortune in the high Middle Ages', in *Becoming Visible*, pp. 153-72; B. Newman, *Sister of Wisdom: St. Hildegard's theology of the feminine* (Berkeley, 1987); J. Tibbetts Schulenburg, 'Female sanctity: public and private roles, ca. 500-1100', in M. Erler and M. Kowaleski (eds.), *Women and Power in the Middle Ages* (Athens, Ga., 1988), pp. 102-25, and *Forgetful of their Sex: Female sanctity and society ca. 500-1100* (Chicago, 1998); K.A. Winstead, *Virgin Martyrs: Legends of Sainthood in Late Medieval England* (Ithaca, 1997); K. Jones *Women Saints: Lives of faith and courage* (New York, 1999); C.M. Mooney (ed.), *Gendered Voices: Medieval saints and their interpreters* (Philadelphia, 1999); K.J. Lewis, *The Cult of St. Katherine of Alexandria in Late Medieval England* (Woodbridge, 2000); J. Wogan-Browne, *Saints' Lives and Women's Literary Culture c.1150-1300: Virginité and its authorizations* (Oxford, 2001).

³⁰ On writing men *qua* men back into our understanding of the middle ages and/or of sanctity, see also, for example, T. Fenster, 'Preface: Why men?', and C.A. Lees, 'Introduction', both in *Medieval Masculinities*, pp. ix-xiii and xv-xxv, pp. xv-xxi; D.M. Hadley, 'Introduction: Medieval masculinities', in *Masculinity in Medieval Europe*, pp. 1-18, pp. 1-4; J. Murray, 'Introduction', in *Conflicted Identities and Multiple Masculinities*, pp. ix-xx; S.J. Riches and S. Salih, 'Introduction. Gender and holiness: performance and representation in the later middle ages', in *eadem* (eds.), *Gender and Holiness: Men, women and saints in late medieval Europe*, (London and New York, 2002), pp. 1-8, pp. 2-3; E. Campbell, 'Separating the saints from the boys: Sainthood and masculinity in the Old French *Vie de Saint Alexis*', *French Studies* 57 (2003): 447-62; P.H. Cullum, 'Introduction', in *Holiness and Masculinity*, pp. 1-7. See also Kieckhefer, 'Holiness and the culture of devotion', p. 291.

heroes'.³¹ In practical terms, this 'prejudice' created not only a bias towards male saints, but also towards those who were within the ecclesiastical infrastructure.³² Weinstein and Bell's study does not give a breakdown of change over time by gender, but in their period as a whole, they identified 80 laywomen and 202 laymen. They showed a pattern of change over time in the proportion of laypeople to churchpeople: 27.3 percent in the eleventh century, 26.7 percent in the twelfth, 36.5 percent in the thirteenth, 33.6 percent in the fourteenth, 36.1 percent in the fifteenth.³³ These figures suggest a relatively high percentage of lay saints in the eleventh and twelfth centuries and a significant jump in the following centuries.

Whereas Weinstein and Bell used *vitae* for their study, Vauchez's study, which was published at approximately the same time, uses canonization processes, and concentrates on the c. 400 processes between 1185 and 1431.³⁴ His statistical figures differ from those of Weinstein and Bell, but corroborate the overall trend of a significant proportion of saints being lay, which increased in the later period (he identified 20.4 percent and 30.4 percent of all canonization processes as lay in the periods 1198-1304 and 1304-1431 respectively).³⁵ We see, then, that in the early 1980s, two independent studies both highlighted lay sanctity as a minority but nonetheless significant feature of the Middle Ages. However, as pointed out in a recent collection on lay sanctity,

most previous studies that have conjoined the topics of "sanctity" and "laity" have explored them from the perspective of medieval popular religion, in order to define the cultural relationship of patronage between the saints and the laypeople.... They have, in short, been interested in the

³¹ Weinstein and Bell, *Saints & Society*, p. 221 cited here, see also pp. 196-7, p. 202. Schulenburg came to the same conclusion in her study of women for the years 500-1100, 'Female sanctity', *passim*.

³² See p. 9, *supra*.

³³ Weinstein and Bell, *Saints & Society*, p. 204. Their breakdown of 'lay' is given elsewhere: royalty, titled nobles, untitled nobles, courtiers, professionals, military officers, merchants/bankers, shopkeepers/artisans, peasants, housewives/matrons, youths and marginal persons.

³⁴ 1185 is the starting point which Vauchez attributes to his study, Vauchez, *Sainthood*, p. 2, although 1198 is a more common starting point in most of his analytical tables, pp. xvi-xvii.

³⁵ Vauchez, *Sainthood*, summarized at p. 264. Oddly, he includes St. Caradoc, the Welsh hermit (d. 1124), as a layman. This is somewhat puzzling as it appears that Caradoc was in fact tonsured: 'Veniens itaque Caradocus ad episcopum, coronam clericalem ab ipso suscepit: et in ecclesia sancti Thelii aliquanto tempore deo seruiuit', 'De sancto Caradoco heremita', John of Tynemouth, John Capgrave, Wynkyn de Worde, *Nova Legenda Angliae*, ed. C. Horstman (Oxford, 1901), 2 vols., 1: 174-6, at p. 174.

relationship of the laity *to* saints, rather than in the laity's shifting historical understanding of themselves *as* saints.³⁶

This collection, however, mainly focuses on female sanctity, with most of its medieval case-studies featuring women.³⁷ This imbalance is justified by the editor thus: 'whereas men (even married men) can be admitted to the priesthood, women (even women in religious orders) are always canonically "lay"'. In relation to the male clergy, moreover, the faithful as a whole are regularly gendered as feminine. The laity, in short, has a distinctly feminine face, and this holds true for the (male or female) saint'.³⁸ Whilst women were indeed 'canonically "lay"',³⁹ the subsequent studies nonetheless do not feature nuns or abbesses, for example, so clearly women in religious orders are not actually included in the collection's remit. Astell bases the notion that the clergy was gendered masculine and the laity feminine on canon lawyers' interpretation of popes, bishops and priests as husbands of the Church (that is, Christ's bride).⁴⁰ This is somewhat undermined, for example, by Bynum's study of Cistercians' adoption of maternal imagery.⁴¹ It seems that Astell's justification might be acceptable for a book on female lay sanctity, but does not fully justify a bias towards women within a book which purports to be on lay sanctity in general.

Astell's collection tends to see lay saints as achieving sanctity by being quasi-monastic. She points to an understanding on the part of both laity and clergy of sanctity as quasi-monastic, so that 'laymen and laywomen of the Middle Ages could aspire to sanctity by approximating the ascetical, world-renouncing lifestyle of the monks'.⁴² This antithesis of sanctity and involvement in the world

³⁶ A.W. Astell (ed.), *Lay Sanctity, Medieval and Modern: A search for models*, (Notre Dame, 2000), p. 1.

³⁷ Namely Angela of Foligno, Catherine of Siena, and Margery Kempe. The exceptions are M.S. Skinner, 'Lay sanctity and church reform in early medieval France', pp. 27-45, and P.H. Wasyliw, 'The pious infant: Developments in popular piety during the high middle ages', pp. 105-115.

³⁸ Astell, *Lay Sanctity*, p. 3.

³⁹ R.J. Cox, *A Study of the Juridic Status of Laymen in the Writing of the Medieval Canonists* (Washington, D.C., 1959), p. 30.

⁴⁰ Astell, *Lay Sanctity*, p. 193, n. 4.

⁴¹ C. Walker Bynum, 'Jesus as mother and abbot as mother: Some themes in twelfth-century Cistercian writing', in *eadem*, *Jesus as Mother: Studies in the spirituality of the high middle ages*, (Berkeley, 1982), pp. 110-69.

⁴² Astell, *Lay Sanctity*, p. 2; c.f. M.S. Skinner, 'Lay sanctity and church reform', p. 32. See also B. Cazelles, 'Introduction', in Blumenfeld-Kosinski and Szell (eds.), *Images of Sainthood*, pp. 1-17.

may be seen in the purported etymological derivation of *hagios* (saint) from *agios* (external to the earth), which was attributed to Plato and Origen, and led Vauchez to note that ‘against such a background, the saint can properly be identified with the model of the monk only, who, by his asceticism and his celibacy, is most detached from worldly things and sensuality’.⁴³ Addressing the lack of focus on male saints is particularly compelling in the case of the twelfth century. In her influential study, McNamara identified the early twelfth century as a period which saw a restructuring of the gender system: ‘broad social changes, complicated by the ideological struggle between celibate and married men for leadership of the Christian world, precipitated a masculine identity crisis’, which McNamara memorably called the *Herrenfrage*.⁴⁴ As we will see, various aspects of lay life – most notably, sex, power, money, and arms-bearing – did indeed come to be seen as spiritually undesirable. Nonetheless, if carefully written, these fundamentally lay activities not only did not necessarily debar a potential saint from sanctity, but could even themselves be the route to and manifestation of their sanctity.

One scholar who has focused on lay saints – of whom many are male – is André Vauchez, whose studies have rightly proven to be enduringly influential. In the preface to the English translation of Vauchez’s collected essays, Bornstein highlights as a recurrent theme ‘the struggle, never entirely successful, of the Christian laity to carve out for themselves a religious role that would concede some spiritual dignity to the circumstances and concerns of their daily lives: marriage, work, civic life, even war’.⁴⁵ In particular, his research on twelfth- and thirteenth-century Italian lay saints, Vauchez suggests, shows a rehabilitation of the active life in Christian spirituality from this period, which culminated in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries being ‘the golden age of the laity’, as, he argues,

at p. 5: ‘By the thirteenth century the active life was rehabilitated and monastic life was no longer a requirement for sainthood’; c.f. Hamesse, ‘Image of sanctity’, p. 136.

⁴³ Vauchez, ‘Lay people’s sanctity’, p. 23, with reference to Y. Congar, ‘Laïc et laïcat’, in *Dictionnaire de spiritualité: Ascétique et mystique doctrine et histoire* (Paris, 1976), 9: 79-93, c. 85, which refers to R.M. Frank, ‘An etymology of *ΑΓΙΟΣ* in a work of Caesarius of Arles’, *Traditio* 8 (1952): 387-9.

⁴⁴ J.A. McNamara, ‘The *Herrenfrage*: The restructuring of the gender system, 1050-1150’, in Lees (ed.), *Medieval Masculinities*, pp. 3-29, p. 3.

⁴⁵ D.E. Bornstein, ‘Preface’, in A. Vauchez, *The Laity in the Middle Ages: Religious beliefs and devotional practices*, originally published as *Les laïcs du Moyen Age: Pratiques et expériences religieuses* (Paris, 1987), ed. D.E. Bornstein and trans. M.J. Schneider (Notre Dame and London, 1993), pp. ix-xiii, p. xi.

the evolution of the typology of sanctity demonstrates.⁴⁶ He places the early stages of this rehabilitation firmly in urban areas of the mediterranean. A similar (although not unequivocal) revaluation of the spiritual potential and worth of the active life from the mid eleventh century has been suggested for north-western Europe, through a study of allusions to Martha and Mary.⁴⁷

We see, then, that until relatively recently male *clerici* were the usual focus of research into sanctity – not as men *qua* men, but as the default position of sanctity. Our understanding of female saints is steadily increasing in the light of new research, but there is still much work to be done on male saints as male saints, rather than what saints are unless they are women. Studies which have focused on lay sanctity as a phenomenon have tended to concentrate on women, or men and women of southern Europe. I came to be interested in lay male sanctity in early to mid twelfth century England, then, as it sits at the intersection of several areas which require attention. At the outset of my research for this thesis, I anticipated that I might find common patterns or themes in the representations of Waltheof and Edward, and that the later medieval depiction of David as a saint would have roots in the early twelfth century sources. Margaret was to be included to provide a female counterpoint to the three male saints. This was partially due to the way in which Margaret has tended to be discussed in the past, as a distinctly female saint.⁴⁸ Thus, for example, Vauchez noted that a *vita* of Saint Mathilda (d. 968), the mother of Emperor Otto I, composed around the year 1000, ‘defines norms of behaviour consistent with the Saxon upper classes of the year 1000’, extols her ‘conjugal and family life ...[and] her qualities as a wife, mother, and widow above all else’, and ‘is characterized by great moderation where miracles are concerned and by restraint in the practice of pious acts’.⁴⁹ He then briefly noted that ‘the same can be said, *mutatis mutandis*, of [Turgot’s *Vita Margaretae*]’. Having closely considered the *Vita Margaretae*, however, I suggest *infra* that hers is not in fact simply a picture of female-gendered sanctity

⁴⁶ Vauchez, *Laity*, especially ‘A twelfth-century novelty: the lay saints of urban Italy’, pp. 51-72; pp. xviii-xix.

⁴⁷ G. Constable, ‘The interpretation of Mary and Martha’, in *idem*, *Three Studies in Medieval Religious and Social Thought* (Cambridge, 1995), pp. 1-141.

⁴⁸ One exception is Riches and Salih, ‘Introduction’ to *Gender and Holiness*, p. 5, where she is ‘closer to the masculine type [of saint]’.

⁴⁹ Vauchez, ‘Lay people’s sanctity’, p. 22.

but rather one of ruling sanctity, and is therefore still more fitting for inclusion in a study of male sanctity.

This leads us to the selection of sources to be used in this thesis as case-studies. The nature of the sources dictates the examination of a number of interconnected lives and texts, and has therefore determined the nature of the thesis itself. This period has been aptly described as one of ‘pullulating creativity’ with regard to English hagiographical writing.⁵⁰ It has been estimated that more than sixty saints’ lives, liturgical offices, and miracle collections were composed between the conquest and c.1140.⁵¹ The texts on which this thesis will concentrate were written before the explosion of the Anglo-Norman vernacular, and are therefore in Latin.⁵² Three crucial points need to be noted. First, all the sources are of monastic origin. This therefore shapes both the questions I can ask and the nature of my findings. It needs to be borne in mind throughout that any conclusions drawn must be seen as relating to a monastic viewpoint.

Second, there are no extant *vitae* as such of saints who remained lay commoners – what Vauchez termed ‘simple laypersons’⁵³ – in England in our period. It has long been recognised that in our period sanctity tended to be conferred upon the elite, that is, upon those who wielded power, which is itself a reflection of the nature of the literate culture of the time. This is borne out by the examples to be considered here: of the laypeople who were represented as saintly, one was an earl and two were royal.⁵⁴ The sanctity of the earl – Waltheof of Northumbria, as seen in Orderic Vitalis’ *Historia Ecclesiastica* – focused not on his lived life but on his martyrdom and post-mortem miraculous career, and he is

⁵⁰ R. Bartlett, ‘Cults of Irish, Scottish and Welsh Saints in Twelfth-Century England’, in B. Smith (ed.), *Britain and Ireland, 900-1300: Insular Responses to Medieval European Change* (Cambridge, 1999), pp. 67-86, p. 70.

⁵¹ P.A. Hayward, ‘Translation-narratives in post-Conquest hagiography and English resistance to the Norman Conquest’, *Anglo-Norman Studies* 21 (1999): 67-93, p. 67.

⁵² R. Bartlett, ‘The Hagiography of Angevin England’, *Thirteenth Century England* 5 (1993): 37-52, p. 39; *idem*, *England under the Norman and Angevin Kings, 1075-1225* (Oxford, 2000), pp. 492-3, 497-502. On Anglo-Norman hagiography, see M. Thiry-Stassin, ‘L’hagiographie en Anglo-Normand’ in Philippart (ed.), *Hagiographies*, I: 407-28, especially pp. 407-18; Wogan-Browne, *Saints’ Lives and Women’s Literary Culture*, and on Anglo-Norman historiography, see P. Damian-Grint, *The New Historians of the Twelfth-Century Renaissance: Inventing vernacular authority* (Woodbridge, 1999).

⁵³ Vauchez, *Laity*, p. 51.

therefore not a primary source for lived sanctity. This is not to say that there was not an awareness of the spiritual value of lived baronial life, as will be seen in Orderic's depiction of the notably pious but not saintly Ansold of Maule. The two main sources, therefore, for lived sanctity here are both royal: Margaret of Scotland and Edward the Confessor. This is not, however, to be a study of royal sanctity *per se*, but rather a study of lay sanctity which considers subjects who were royal. Counterpointing the depictions of Margaret and Edward, two further male royal figures will be examined, namely David of Scotland and Stephen of England. There are many different representations of Stephen which situate him as a bad king, but in the source to be considered *infra*, he is depicted as a good, but ultimately flawed, king, with no overlay of sanctity. Although David was regarded as saintly in the later middle ages, in the sources to be considered here, he is an exemplary but not saintly figure. Stephen and David, therefore, provide models of moral goodness in a king which stop short of sanctity.

The authority over others that power entailed was problematic even in the construction of ecclesiastical sanctity, as will be seen with regard to Anselm of Canterbury. Rulership in general, and kingship specifically, occupy an ambiguous position within the lay-clerical-monastic continuum. That position is further complicated in the case of royal saints, as there were tensions between the respective expectations of royal rulership and holiness. This will be further discussed in Chapter 1, but for now, suffice it to note that recognition in the twelfth century of such dissonance may be seen in microcosm in the first chapter of Aelred of Rievaulx's *Vita S. Edwardi regis et confessoris*: 'Nemo [...] miretur si Edwardus noster et rex dicatur et sanctus'.⁵⁵ Clearly Aelred was aware that at least some of the *vita*'s audience might find the juxtaposition of kingly and saintly statuses problematic. Why, then, did he and the other authors to be considered here attempt to grasp the nettle of such sanctity? Quite simply, because if carefully written, like any other sanctity, it could be powerful and persuasive.

⁵⁴ Further biographical information on the subjects and bibliographical information on the sources will be given in the relevant chapters.

⁵⁵ Aelred of Rievaulx, *Vita S. Edwardi regis et confessoris*, PL 195: 737-90, 740 ['Let no one be amazed [...] if our Edward is proclaimed both king and saint'].

The third and final point to be noted here is that the texts, their authors, and their subjects exist in a complex web of interrelationships, which may be seen in a simplified form on Table 1.⁵⁶ Perhaps most prominent amongst the sources to be considered are those which treat of Edward the Confessor (r. 1042-66). This is simply because they are the most numerous and the most fruitful. Three *vitae* were written within a century of his death, namely the anonymous *Vita Ædwardi regis qui apud Westmonasterium requiescit*, Osbert of Clare's *Vita beati Eadwardi regis Anglorum*, and Aelred of Rievaulx's *Vita S. Edwardi regis et confessoris*. Each of the later authors had read his predecessor's work, and, as we will see, reworked elements of it to suit his own priorities. This suggests that elements of his story were considered exceptionable and/or that that story was malleable enough to serve different purposes. Did he eventually achieve sanctity by having been rendered quasi-monastic, by having been "neutered" as a layman? Or did aspects of his status as a layman facilitate his sanctity?

The historical Edward's failure to leave England with an uncontested heir led to decades of dynastic manoeuvring, which is reflected in the complicated blood- and marriage-ties of those to be considered in this thesis. Margaret of Scotland (1046-93) was Edward the Confessor's great-niece, and mother to, *inter alia*, David of Scotland (r. 1124-53), who was to marry to Waltheof's daughter. Stephen de Blois (r. 1135-53) was fostered at the court of Henry I along with David, and married Margaret's granddaughter.

Reflecting this interconnectedness of the historical figures, the textual interrelationships are also manifold and complex. Turgot was Margaret's confessor, and addressed his *Vita Margaretae* to Margaret's daughter, Edith-Matilda, probably upon her marriage to Henry I (r. 1100-35). Aelred of Rievaulx was fostered at David's court, and was probably David's steward prior to his monastic conversion. Aelred's *Eulogium Davidis* and *Genealogia regum Anglorum* were apparently written separately but joined together by Aelred and presented to Henry Plantagenet, Margaret's great-grandson, shortly before he became Henry II (r. 1154-89). Aelred had read Turgot's *Vita Margaratae* when

⁵⁶ pp. 257-8, *infra*.

he wrote the *Genealogia*, and if he had not yet read the hagiographical literature concerned with Edward, he was to have done so within a decade.

Looming in the midst of all these relationships with varying degrees of prominence, is Henry I. Henry I was son-in-law to Margaret, brother-in-law to David, husband to Edith-Matilda, to whom Turgot's *Vita Margaretae* was dedicated, uncle to Stephen de Blois, grandfather to Henry II, to whom Aelred's *Eulogium Davidis* and *Genealogia* were dedicated. Henry I and his kingship – not to mention his relationship with Anselm – will figure strongly in some of the studies below, and it is therefore important to also factor him into this complicated set of historical and textual connections.

These, then, are the texts with which we are primarily concerned. We have seen that they sit in a nexus of textual relationships which echoes the complex relationships between the texts' subjects. Before turning to the sources, however, it will be useful to pause briefly to consider the implications of 'lay', and the degree to which kings might be seen as lay. Chapter 1, therefore, will sketch the connotations of the term *laicus* which our authors had inherited, and consider the position of kings within the monastic/clerical/lay continuum, and the points at which the respective expectations of good kingship and of sanctity could intersect or diverge. Chapter 2 will explore aspects of ecclesiastical sanctity, lay non-royal sanctity, lay non-royal piety, and moral goodness in a non-saintly royal ruler, with regard to Anselm, Waltheof, Ansold, and Stephen. With the backdrop thus unfurled, Chapter 3 will explore Margaret of Scotland in terms of lay sanctity. Chapter 4 considers David, her son, who was exemplarily good, but not yet saintly, as well as the models of good kingship set down in the *Genealogia*. Chapter 5 examines the successive representations of Edward the Confessor, in order to see how his legend adapted to counter the problems and capitalise on the advantages identified in previous chapters. The thesis concludes by suggesting some of the ways in which my readings of the texts may be further developed within other academic discourses.

Chapter 1.
Laici, clerici, and ‘very peculiar cases’.

In the Introduction, the term ‘lay’ was primarily used in the sense of ‘not-clerical’, and indeed it will be thus used throughout the main part of the thesis. Before embarking on my case-studies, however, I wish to pause to briefly consider the evolution of lay status and changing assumptions as to its value and spiritual connotations. This is a complex field, in which much valuable scholarship has been undertaken. In parts of this section I rely on others’ research, not to challenge or add to this voluminous body of work, but in order to draw from it those aspects which will provide a context for subsequent chapters, that I may move on to the specific concerns of this thesis.

1.i *Laicus, clericus, monachus: A useful division?*

Modern usage of ‘lay’ usually rests on an antithetical relationship with ‘clerical’. Thus the *Oxford English Dictionary* defines ‘lay’ as ‘of persons: belonging to the “people” contradistinguished from the clergy; not in orders; non-clerical. ... Characteristic of, connected with, occupied or performed by laymen or the laity’.¹ A subsidiary definition is ‘unhallowed, unsanctified; unspiritual, secular, worldly’. This antithesis certainly features in what is perhaps the classic medieval definition of the relationship between clerics and laity, namely Gratian’s *Duo sunt genera Christianorum*. Written in the mid twelfth century, the canon distinguishes between *clerici* and *laici*. The former are apart from the world, dedicated to divine worship and contemplation, marked off by their tonsures, whereas,

Aliud vero est genus Christianorum, ut sunt laici. Λαός enim est populus. His licet temporalia possidere, sed non nisi ad usum. Nichil enim miserius est quam propter nummum Deum contempnere. His concessum est uxorem ducere, terram colere, inter virum et virum iudicare, causas agere,

¹ *The Oxford English Dictionary, Vol. VIII: Interval to Looie* (Oxford, 1989;1991 edn.), p. 724. It is, then, antithetical to ‘clerical’, itself derived from the Greek κλήρος (*kleros*), which in its earliest usages denotes ‘lot’, ‘that which is assigned by lot’, ‘inheritance’ or ‘portion’ [H.G. Liddell and R. Scott [revised H.S. Jones], *A Greek-English Lexicon* (1843; Oxford, 1940 edn. cited), p. 959].

oblaciones super altaria ponere, decimas reddere, et ita salvari poterunt. si vicia tamen benefaciendo evitaverint.²

We will return to this passage later in this section, but for now it serves to illustrate that the modern lay/clerical antithesis was also current in the twelfth century. An understanding of the history of this topic will give insight into its continuing complexities in the eleventh and twelfth centuries. In early Christian texts, ‘the laity’ was usually held to be the whole Christian community. Over time, a distinction between priests and the rest of the community became established, and this bipartite model was further divided as monasticism became entrenched in the Christian landscape. Alignments within this tripartite schema were fluid, however. We turn now to tracing usage of lay, from the Greek *λαός* (*laos*), via the Latin *laicus* and its related forms.

In pre-Christian Greek texts, *λαός* denotes ‘men, i.e. soldiers, both of the whole army and smaller divisions’ and ‘men or people; as subjects of a prince’, with subsidiary definitions thus: ‘the common men’, as opposed to their leaders, and ‘civil population’, as opposed to priests and soldiers.³ It was also used to denote ‘people assembled’, or ‘multitude’ or ‘a people’. It appears 1772 times in the Septuagint Old Testament,⁴ usually in this latter sense, of ‘people’ or ‘people of God’, and was translated in the Vulgate as *populus* or *plebs*, as, for example, in Deut. 7:6.⁵ There are instances where *λαός* is used in the context of a distinction

² Gratian, *Decretum, Decreti secunda pars*, in ed. A. Friedberg, *Corpus Iuris Canonici* 2 vols. (Leipzig, 1922), 1: 678, c.12, q.1, 7 [‘There is another kind of Christians, the sort that are lay. For *λαός* means people. These are allowed to own temporal goods, but only what they need for use. For nothing is more wretched than to think lightly of God on account of money. They are allowed to take a wife, to till the earth, to judge between man and man, and to pursue [law] suits, to lay offerings on altars, to pay tithes, and thus they may be saved, if by doing well they avoid evil’]. On the dating of “Gratian”’s *Decretum*, see A. Winroth, *The Making of Gratian’s Decretum* (Cambridge, 2000). According to his model, this canon is contained within the second recension of the *Decretum*, which may or may not be by Gratian, but was in place before 1158, and acquired a position as a standard text, and one of quite extraordinary diffusion and influence. On the canon’s popularity with subsequent canonists, see Cox, *Juridic Status of Laymen*, p. 19ff.

³ Liddell and Scott, *A Greek-English Lexicon*, pp. 1029-30.

⁴ As found on the searchable Septuagint at <http://unbound.biola.edu/index.cfm?fuseaction=frames>.

⁵ ‘οτι λαος αγιος ει κυριω τω θεω σου και σε προειλατο κυριος ο θεος σου ειναι σε αυτω λαον περιουσιον παρα παντα τα εθνη οσα επι προσωπου της γης’ [‘quia *populus sanctus es Domino Deo tuo te elegit Dominus Deus tuus ut sis ei *populus peculiaris de cunctis populis qui sunt super terram*’; ‘Because thou art a holy people to the Lord thy God. The Lord thy God hath chosen thee, to be his peculiar people of all peoples that are upon the earth’]. The intention in this section is to consider the transmission of the concept and connotations of *λαός* into Latin culture. Hereafter, therefore, full scriptural citations will be given where necessary just in the Latin*

between church rulers and the rest of the people of God, such as Isa. 24:2.⁶ More often, however, the usages of the term are more inclusive, denoting the Jewish community as the people of God, as opposed to the *ethne*, the Gentiles.

In the Greek New Testament *λαός* appears 140 times, and is used in much the same way as in the Septuagint, but now applied to the Christian community.⁷ Sometimes it implies specifically the people of God,⁸ at other points it might denote the community or people at large,⁹ or simply those who were present at the time being described,¹⁰ often those who were to be preached unto and/or converted.¹¹ As in the Old Testament, the Vulgate usually renders *λαός* as *plebs* or, more frequently, *populus*.¹² Again, there are some passages which highlight a distinction between priests and the Christian community, but the majority of examples of *λαός* denote the Christian community as a whole.

The adjectival form, *λαϊκός* (*laikos*), was apparently rarer than the noun. Only two pre-Christian usages are cited by Liddell and Scott, denoting ‘of or from the people: hence, unofficial, civilian’.¹³ It does not appear in either the Septuagint (which was translated from Hebrew into Greek in the third to second centuries B.C.) or the Greek New Testament. However the second- and third-century early Christian translations of the Old Testament from Hebrew to Greek by Aqila, Theodotion and Symmachus do use *λαϊκός* to suggest common, as in

Vulgate and Douay-Rheims translations. I am extremely grateful to Victoria Thompson for her patient assistance with the Greek text.

⁶ ‘et erit sicut populus sic sacerdos...’ [‘And it shall be as with the people, so with the priest...’].

⁷ Thus, for example, 1 Pet. 2:9-10: ‘vos autem genus electum regale sacerdotium gens sancta populus acquisitionis ut virtutes adnuntietis eius qui de tenebris vos vocavit in admirabile lumen suum qui aliquando non populus nunc autem populus Dei qui non consecuti misericordiam nunc autem misericordiam consecuti’ [‘But you are a chosen generation, a kingly priesthood, a holy nation, a purchased people: that you may declare his virtues, who hath called you out of darkness into his marvellous light: Who in time past were not a people: but are now the people of God. Who had not obtained mercy; but now have obtained mercy’].

⁸ See, for example, Matt. 1:21, Acts 26:23 (where, as in Deut. 7:6, the people of God – *λαός* – are distinct from the Gentiles – *ethne*).

⁹ As, for example, at Luke 22:66.

¹⁰ See, for example, Luke 20:45.

¹¹ See Matt. 4:23, Matt. 13:15, Luke 7:29, Luke 18:43, Luke 20:9, Acts 3:8-12. This can also be seen in the Old Testament at, for example, Num. 5:27, Jer 6:27.

¹² As in the Old Testament, some usages of *λαός* in the New Testament are rendered as *multitudo*, as well as *turba* [crowd], see, for example, Luke 9:13.

¹³ Liddell and Scott, *A Greek-English Lexicon*, p. 1024.

‘not-consecrated’, of things as opposed to people.¹⁴ It is rendered in the Vulgate as *laicus* when applied to bread in 1 Sam. 21:4-5.¹⁵ Interestingly, this passage in the Septuagint uses *βεβηλος* (*bebhlos*), which literally means ‘allowable to be trodden’, and hence profane, unhallowed, or impure.¹⁶ Similarly, it was used by Symmachus and Theodotion of a place in Ezek. 48:15 to mean ‘not-holy’, and is rendered *profana* in the Vulgate.

In the Septuagint Old Testament and the Greek New Testament, then, *λαός* generally implies an inclusion in the community of God. The only scriptural passages which include a related word in the sense closer to the definitions cited at the beginning of this section (namely ‘non-clerical, ...unhallowed’) actually date from the second and third centuries. As we will see, this concurs with a general shift in the perceptions and expectations of *λαός*.

The first extant usage in early Christian literature of the substantive *λαϊκός* – ‘layman’ – as an antonym to ‘priest’ occurs c. A.D. 96 in Greek, in Clement of Rome’s letter to the Corinthians:

Special functions are assigned to the high priest; a special office is imposed upon the priests; and special ministrations fall to the Levites. The layman is bound by rules laid down for the laity. Each of us, brethren, must in his own place endeavour to please God with a good conscience.¹⁷

¹⁴ Liddell and Scott, *A Greek-English Lexicon*, p. 1024. On Jerome’s translation of the Old Testament from the Hebrew and Aramaic texts, apparently with consultation of the Greek translations, see B.M. Peebles, ‘Bible, IV’, in *The New Catholic Encyclopedia* (Washington D.C., 1967), 2: 441-3; H.F.D. Sparks, ‘Jerome as biblical scholar’, in P.R. Ackroyd and C.F. Evans (eds.), *The Cambridge History of the Bible Vol. I: From the beginnings to St. Jerome* (Cambridge, 1970), pp. 510-40.

¹⁵ ‘et respondens sacerdos David ait ei non habeo panes laicos ad manum sed tantum panem sanctum si mundi sunt pueri maxime a mulieribus’ [‘And the priest answered David, saying: I have no common bread at hand, but only holy bread, if the young men be clean, especially from women’].

¹⁶ Liddell and Scott, *A Greek-English Lexicon*, p. 312. Indeed, elsewhere in the Septuagint, *βεβηλος* is unambiguously ‘not-holy’, see, for example, its antithetical pairing in Lev. 10:10: ‘διαστείλαι ανα μεσον των αγιων και των βεβηλων και ανα μεσον των ακαθαρτων και των καθαρων’; ‘et ut habeatis scientiam discernendi inter sanctum et profanum inter pollutum et mundum’ [‘And that you may have knowledge to discern between holy and unholy, between unclean and clean’]. See also Ex. 31:14.

¹⁷ Clement of Rome, Epistle to the Corinthians 40:5; 41:1, cited here from *The Epistles of St. Clement of Rome and St. Ignatius of Antioch*, trans. J.A. Kleist, (Westminster, Md., 1946), p. 34. Discussed in Y.M.J. Congar, *Lay People in the Church: A study for the theology of the laity*, originally published as *Jalons pour une theologie du laicat* (Paris, 1953), cited here from trans. D. Attwater (London, 1957: 1959 edition), p. 2, J.-G. Vaillancourt, *Papal Power: A study of Vatican*

Here, then, we have an early suggestion of separate traditions and expectations for priests and laity. The letter was written in order to bring the Corinthian community back to heel, as they had deposed several Church officials, against ecclesiastical authority.¹⁸ From the context, then, as well as the letter as a whole, we may infer that Clement saw the laity as the ‘rank-and-file members of the church, as opposed to the clerical and episcopal leaders’.¹⁹ This notion can also be seen at the beginning of the third century, in Tertullian’s *De exhortatione castitatis*: ‘Nonne et laici sacerdotes sumus?’.²⁰ This passage suggests a situation in which the boundary between clergy and laity was clearly set out but not yet impermeable (in rhetorical exhortations, at least).

From the fourth century, a further category – that of monks – was introduced, as monasticism became more firmly entrenched in west European spirituality, and was soon established as a third way of Christian life.²¹ Thus, for example, Augustine: ‘modo autem quisquis es, homo es: justus sis licet, homo es; laicus sis, homo es; monachus sis, homo es; clericus sis, homo es; episcopus sis, homo es; apostolus sis, homo es’.²² Gregory the Great also spoke of three orders, identifying ‘ordo praedicantium, ... continentium, ... coniugium’ with Noah,

control over lay catholic elites (Berkeley, 1980), p. 21 and J. Fontaine, ‘The practice of Christian life: the birth of the laity’, in B. McGinn and J. Meyendorff (eds.), *Christian Spirituality: Origins to the twelfth century* (London, 1986), pp. 453-91, p. 455. For the Greek text, see ed. J.B. Lightfoot, *S. Clement of Rome: The two epistles to the Corinthians* (London, 1869).

¹⁸ For the epistle’s context, see Kleist, *Epistles*, pp. 3-8.

¹⁹ Vaillancourt, *Papal Power*, p. 21.

²⁰ Tertullian, *De exhortatione castitatis* c. 7, eds. C. Moreschini and J.-C. Fredouille, *Exhortation a la Chasteté*, Sources Chrétiennes 319 (Paris, 1985), p. 92 [‘...are not we laypeople also priests? ...It is ecclesiastical authority which distinguishes clergy and laity, this and the dignity which sets a man apart by reason of membership in the hierarchy’, trans. W. P. le Saint, *Tertullian: Treatises on Marriage and remarriage* (Westminster, Md., 1956), p.53].

²¹ On this process, see, for example, C.H. Lawrence, *Medieval Monasticism: Forms of religious life in Western Europe in the Middle Ages* (London, 1984); H. Leyser, *Hermits and the New Monasticism: A study of religious communities in Western Europe, 1000-1150*, (London, 1984), P. Brown, *The Rise of Western Christendom: Triumph and diversity* (Oxford, 1996). A useful, albeit now inevitably dated, bibliography on the historiography of monasticism is provided by G. Constable, *Medieval Monasticism: A select bibliography* (Toronto, 1976).

²² Augustine, *Sermones*, sermo 114, PL 38: 652-4, c. 653 [‘But as it is, whosoever thou art, thou art a man; though thou be righteous, thou art a man; be thou layman, or monk, or clerk, or Bishop, or Apostle, thou art a man’, trans. R.G. MacMullen, in ‘Sermons on selected lessons of the New Testament’, in ed. P. Schaff, *St Augustine: Sermon on the Mount, Harmony of the Gospels, Homilies on the Gospels*, NPNF 1/6: 452-54, p. 453].

Daniel and Job respectively,²³ and insisted elsewhere that the distinction between monks and clerics should be firmly maintained, as: ‘invicem et ecclesiasticus ordo vitae monachicae, et ecclesiasticis utilitatibus regula monachatus impediatur’.²⁴

The transition by which monks were incorporated into models of society may be seen in microcosm in the social divisions implied in a selection of church councils’ canons. A bipartite model of society, contrasting *λαϊκός* with *κλήρος* in the original Greek, is suggested, at the First Council of Constantinople (A.D. 381): ‘sive ex clero, sive ex laicorum ordine’.²⁵ At the Council of Ephesus (A.D. 431), we may still see this clerical/lay model:

si quicumque voluerint ea quae de singulis acta sunt in hac ...synoda..., quolibet modo commovere, eadem ...synodus definivit, si episcopi aut clerici fuerint, ut omni modo a gradu proprio excidant; si vero laici, sint communionem privati.²⁶

By this time, however, monks were also to be considered, although not apparently automatically, as may be seen in the ‘Definitio contra messalianitas’,²⁷ where they are dealt with in a subsequent note: ‘Convicti quoque non permittantur habere

²³ Gregory the Great, *Homilia in Hiezechihalem*, II, 4, 5, and 7, 3, in ed. Marcus Adriaen, Sancti Gregorii Magni, *Homilia in Hiezechihalem Prophetam*, Corpus Christianorum series Latina, CXLII (Turnhout, 1971), pp. 261-2 and 317 [‘the order<s> of preachers, continent and married’]; c.f. G. Constable, ‘The Orders of Society’, in *idem*, *Three Studies in Medieval Religious and Social Thought*, pp. 249-360, p. 271.

²⁴ Gregory the Great, *Ep.* IV, 11, in MGH Epistolarum, ed. P. Ewald and L.M. Hartmann, 2 vols. (Berlin, 1891), 1: 243-5, at p. 244 [‘reciprocally both the ecclesiastical order prevents monastic life and the monastic rule prevents ecclesiastical utility’, trans. from Constable, ‘Orders of Society’, p. 272].

²⁵ Concilium Constantinopolitanum I, c. 6, trans. and ed. N.P. Tanner, *Decrees of the Ecumenical Councils*, 2 vols. (London and Washington D.C., 1990), 1: 21-35, p. 34 [‘either from the order of clerics or the order of laymen’].

²⁶ Concilium Ephesinum, ‘Synodi epistula generalis de orientalibus episcopis’, *Decrees of the Ecumenical Councils*, pp. 62-4 [‘if anyone should wish in any way to upset the decisions in each act taken in [this] ...synod..., the ...synod decides that if they are bishops or clerics, they should be completely deprived of their own rank, and if they are laymen, they should be excommunicated’, pp. 64-5]. See also ‘Definitio contra impios messalianitas’ [‘Definition against the impious Messalians’], *Decrees of the Ecumenical Councils*, pp. 66- 7, which again makes a bipartite distinction: ‘sive clerici sive laici sint’ [‘whether they be clerics or laymen’], p. 66; ‘si presbyteri vel diaconi fuerint vel in alio quopiam gradu ecclesiae, excidant et a clero et a gradu et a communionem; laici vero anathematizentur’ [‘if they are presbyters or deacons or hold any other rank in the church, they are to forfeit their clerical status and grade and communion; if they are laymen let them be anathematized’], p. 67.

²⁷ Cited in n. 26, *supra*.

monasteria, ut ne zizaniae diffundantur et crescant'.²⁸ Just twenty years later, at Chalcedon, monks were included at once rather than as an afterthought. but were aligned with the laity: 'si episcopi fuerint aut clerici, alienos esse episcopos ab episcopatu et clericos a clero, si vero monachi aut laici fuerint, anathematizar'.²⁹ A realignment of monks with clerics is foreshadowed: 'si qui ...clerici vel monachi reperti fuerint coniurantes ..., a gradu proprio arceantur'.³⁰ That this is but a foreshadowing, however, is suggested by the continued alignment of monks with the laity at the Second and Third Councils of Constantinople and the Second Council of Nicaea, in 553, 680-1 and 787 respectively.³¹

Theoretically clerics and monks were sharply differentiated: the former ordained into service of the altar and of the Christian people, the latter dedicated to a life apart from the world and its priorities, so that "cleric" indicates a function, "monk" a way of life'.³² The distinction was blurred, however, by the adoption of the tonsure by both categories. Clerics began to be tonsured in the late-fifth or early-sixth centuries, but the late eleventh century saw this established as required practice, reinforced at the Council of Toulouse (1119) and Lateran IV.³³ The distinction between monks and clerics was further blurred by the increasingly common practice of monks being ordained into the priesthood. In England, this seems to have started in the seventh century, and been generally established by the tenth.³⁴ A greater distance between monks and the majority of laymen was created with the contemporaneous disappearance of manual

²⁸ 'Definitio contra messalianitas', *Decrees of the Ecumenical Councils*, p. 67 ['In addition, those who have been convicted are not to be permitted to rule monasteries, lest tares be sown and increase']

²⁹ Concilium Chalcedonense, 'Definitio fidei', *Decrees of the Ecumenical Councils*, pp. 83-7, p. 87 ['if they be bishops or clerics, the bishops are to be alienated from the episcopacy and clerics from the clergy, if they be monks or laymen, they are to be anathematized']. C.f. c. 2, p. 88: 'si quidem clericus fuerit, ... si vero laicus aut monachus...' ['if he is a cleric, ... if he is a layman or monk...'], c.f. c. 8, p. 91.

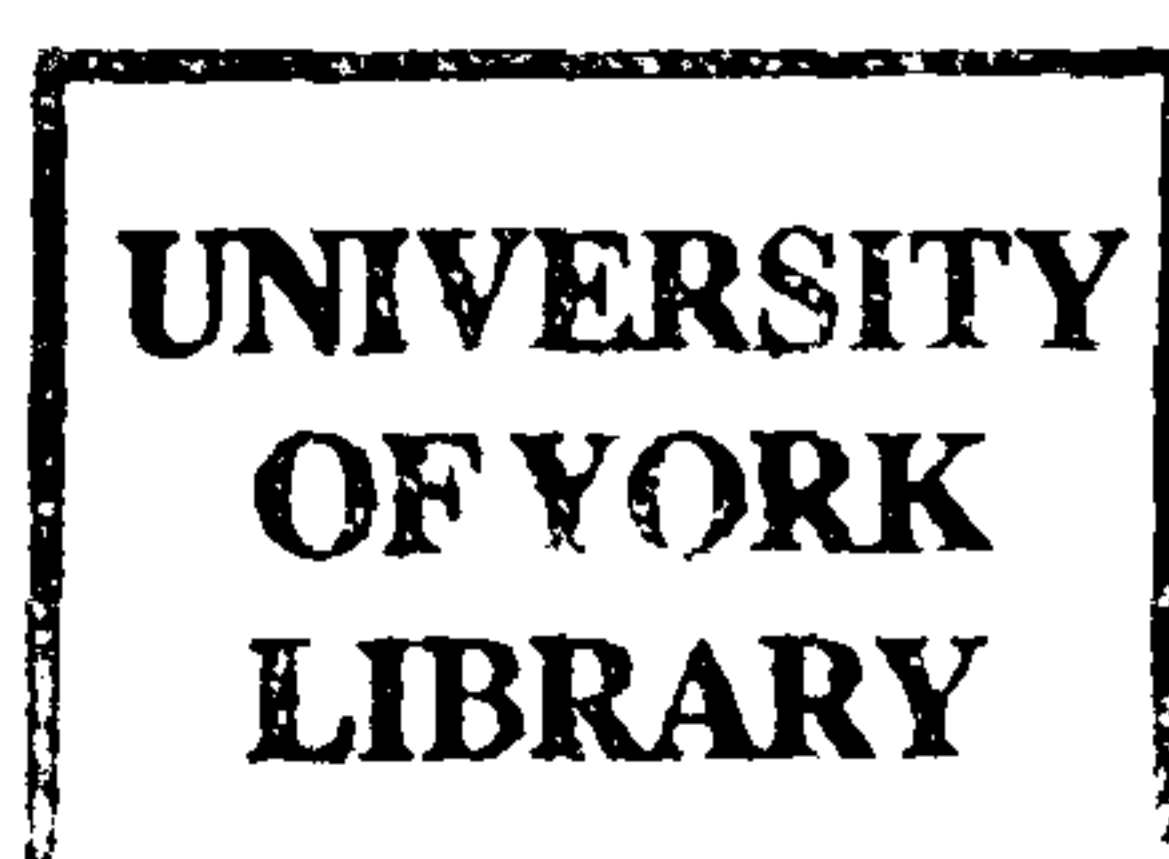
³⁰ Concilium Chalcedonense, c. 18, *Decrees of the Ecumenical Councils*, p. 95 ['if any clerics or monks are found to be ... forming a conspiracy..., let them lose their own rank'].

³¹ Concilium Constantinopolitanum II, *Decrees of the Ecumenical Councils*, pp. 105-22, Anathema 14, at p. 122; Concilium Constantinopolitanum III, pp. 120-30, 'Exposition of faith', at p. 130; Concilium Nicaenum II, pp. 131-56, c. 5, at p. 143, c. 9, p. 146.

³² This characterization from Congar, *Lay People*, pp. 4-5.

³³ Cox, *Juridic Status of Laymen*, p. 30ff; R. Mills, 'The signification of the tonsure', in Cullum and Lewis (eds.), *Holiness and Masculinity*, pp. 109-26, p. 111.

³⁴ D. Knowles, *The Monastic Order in England: A history of its development from the times of Saint Dunstan to the Fourth Lateran Council, 943-1216* (Cambridge, 1940), p. 19.



(especially agricultural) work from monastic duties.³⁵ By the eleventh to twelfth centuries, then, we may see a merging of monks and clergy, creating a bipartite model of monks plus clerics/laity.³⁶ Thus, for example, Herbert of Losinga, bishop of Norwich (d. 1119), wrote, ‘monachus id ipsum est quod clericus’.³⁷ In the 1020s/30s, Gerard of Cambrai set out both a bipartite and a tripartite model, but in neither were monks separate from clergy.³⁸ The distinction was further blurred by the monastic and papal reforms, which sought, *inter alia*, to impose celibacy upon monks and clerics alike.³⁹

The reforms saw a move to mark off both secular clergy and religious from the laity. This attempt may be seen in the Second Lateran Council (1139):

Decernimus ... qui in ordine subdiaconatus et supra uxores duxerint aut concubinas habuerint, officio atque ecclesiastico beneficio careant. Cum enim ipsi templum Dei, vasa Domini, sacrarium Spiritus sancti debeant indignum est eos cubilibus et immunditiis deservire.

... statuimus quatenus episcopi presbyteri diaconi subdiaconi regulares canonici et monachi atque conversi professi, qui sanctum transgredientes propositum uxores sibi copulare praesumpserint, separentur.⁴⁰

³⁵ Knowles, *The Monastic Order*, p. 19.

³⁶ See Constable, ‘Orders of Society’, p. 294ff. Constable did, however, go on to highlight a contemporaneous movement to emphasise monasticism as a still-separate *ordo*, citing works of Bernard of Clairvaux as examples, p. 296ff.

³⁷ Herbert of Losinga, Ep. 60, ad Ricardum abbatem, in *Epistolae Herberti de Losinga, primi episcopi Norwicensis, Osberti de Clara et Elmeri, prioris Cantuariensis*, R. Anstruther (ed.) (Brussels and London, 1846), pp. 106-7, at p. 106 [‘a monk is the same thing as a cleric’], c.f. Constable, ‘Orders of Society’, p. 294.

³⁸ *Gesta pontificum Cameracensium*, MGH, SS, VII, 474; III, 52. These passages are highlighted in Constable, ‘Orders of Society’, pp. 284-5, after T. Head and R. Landes (eds.), *The Peace of God: Social violence and religious response in France around the year 1000* (Ithaca and London, 1992), pp. 335-7.

³⁹ On the importance of virginity in the Benedictine monastic reforms in England, see C. Cubitt, ‘Virginity and misogyny in tenth- and eleventh-century England’, *Gender & History* 12 (2000): 1-32. On the papal reforms in general, see C. Morris, *The Papal Monarchy: The Western Church from 1050 to 1250* (Oxford, 1989: 1991 edn. cited here), esp. pp. 79-108; reform of the clergy, with a two-pronged assault on simony and clerical marriage, is discussed at pp. 101ff. On clerical marriage, see H.C. Lea, *History of Sacerdotal Celibacy in the Christian Church*, 2 vols. (3rd edn., London, 1907), especially vol. 1; C.N.L. Brooke, ‘Gregorian reform in action: clerical marriage in England, 1050-1200’, *The Cambridge Historical Journal*, 12 (1956): 1-21; McNamara, ‘The *Herrenfrage*’, pp. 7-8

⁴⁰ Concilium Lateranense II, cc. 6-7, *Decrees of the Ecumenical Councils*, pp. 195-203, at p. 198 [‘We... decree that those in the orders of subdeacon and above who have taken wives or concubines are to be deprived of their position and ecclesiastical benefice. For since they ought to be ... temples of God, vessels of the Lord and sanctuaries of the holy Spirit, it is unbecoming that they give themselves up to marriage and impurity. ... we decree that where bishops, priests,

The notion of celibacy as a form of “white” martyrdom had been promoted by Cluny from the late tenth century, having been favoured by Abbot Odilo.⁴¹ Monks were thus provided not only with a route to personal salvation, but also with a status avowedly apart from lay society, which justified and secured their possession of institutional, as opposed to personal, property. By the middle of the eleventh century, this institutional “trade-off” was increasingly being imposed upon cathedral chapters as well as monastic communities.⁴² For our present purposes, this is significant in that it reveals an attempt to differentiate monastic and secular *clerici* from *laici*, and a major focus of this attempt was sex (and its concomitant procreation), hereafter – theoretically – to be the preserve of the laity.⁴³

We have seen, then, a progression – albeit by no means universal or uniform – by which *λαός* was used inclusively to denote the people of God, and then the Christian community as a whole, to denoting ‘rank and file’ Christians, that is, those who were not church leaders. As monasticism became established, it was used to mean ‘not monk’, or ‘not cleric’, within tripartite models, and then, with monastic and papal reforms, ‘not monk or cleric’.

The shifting ideological relationships between *clerici*, *monachi* and *laici* reflects historical relationships. The actual line between clergy and laity was not as impermeable as some of the rhetoric – and indeed some modern scholarship – might imply.⁴⁴ *Clerici* and *laici* mingled at secular courts – to the extent that Lateran IV sought to insist that the distinction between them should be clearly visible in day-to-day dress and behaviour.⁴⁵ They often came from the same

deacons, subdeacons, canons regular, monks and professed lay brothers have presumed to take wives and so transgress this holy precept, they are to be separated from their partners’].

⁴¹ Moore, *First European Revolution*, pp. 86ff.

⁴² J.A. Brundage, *Medieval Canon Law* (London, 1995), pp. 39-40.

⁴³ See, for example, Abbo of Fleury’s intrinsic association of the conjugal state with the laity, discussed in Vauchez, *Laity*, p. 41, with reference to *Apologeticus ad Hugonem et Rodbertum reges Francorum*, PL 139: 461-72, c. 463. c.f. McNamara, ‘The *Herrenfrage*’, pp. 8-9, 21.

⁴⁴ See also, for example, C. Leyser, ‘Custom, truth, and gender in eleventh-century reform’, in R.N. Swanson (ed.), *Gender and Christian Religion: Studies in Church History* 34 (1998): 75-91, p. 85.

⁴⁵ See Moore, *First European Revolution*, pp. 134-5. C.f. Concilium Lateranense IV, *Decrees of the Ecumenical Councils*, pp. 227-71, cc. 15-16, pp. 242-3.

families, as younger sons, who were increasingly excluded by the adoption of primogeniture, entered the church, but nonetheless continued to be politically active in secular affairs. To give but one example in our period, Stephen, the third son of Stephen-Henry, count of Blois-Chartres and Meaux, was sent to the court of Henry I of England, his mother Adela's brother, probably around 1106, at the age of ten. Stephen-Henry had died in 1102, at which point his sons were still children, and Adela and Stephen-Henry's brother Hugh acted as regents for some five years. Stephen's eldest brother, William, is referred to as count of Chartres during his father's lifetime, but was for reasons now unclear demoted, and Adela's second son, Thibaud became Count of Blois in 1107.⁴⁶ Stephen's being sent to the English royal court was presumably a bid to enable him to make his way without further dividing his family's patrimony, and he did indeed become one of Henry I's favourite protégés.⁴⁷ Stephen's youngest brother, Henry, was entered into the church, as a monk at Cluny, and also benefited from Henry I's patronage, as he was granted the abbacy of Glastonbury in 1126, and the bishopric of Winchester three years later. Henry de Blois was influential enough to be instrumental in Stephen's acquisition of the English crown in 1135,⁴⁸ after which he continued to enjoy royal patronage (for a while at least), being granted the sees of Canterbury and Salisbury, and was notably politically active in matters of the realm. Unsurprisingly, even given the brevity of the above summary, *clerici* and *laici* often shared the same *mores*, expectations and vocabulary – *vide*, for example, the military language used by Abelard to describe his studies, or by Bernard of Clairvaux in his parables.⁴⁹

⁴⁶ K.A. LoPrete, 'The Anglo-Norman card of Adela of Blois', *Albion* (22) 1990: 569-89; D. Crouch, *The Reign of King Stephen, 1135-1154* (Harlow, 2000), pp. 11-15.

⁴⁷ Crouch, *Reign of King Stephen*, pp. 12, 14, 17-22.

⁴⁸ Crouch, *Reign of King Stephen*, p. 36.

⁴⁹ This is also noted of Abelard by A. Taylor, "'A second Ajax: Peter Abelard and the violence of dialectic', in D. Townsend and A. Taylor (eds.), *The Tongue of the Fathers: Gender and ideology in medieval Latin* (Philadelphia, 1998), pp. 14-34 and J. Murray, 'Masculinizing religious life: Sexual prowess, the battle for chastity and monastic identity', in Cullum and Lewis (eds.), *Holiness and Masculinity*, pp. 24-42, p. 27-8. I am most grateful to Jacqueline Murray for generously sending me an early version of this article. On the application of military imagery to the monastic life, see, for example, B.H. Rosenwein, 'Feudal War and Monastic Peace: Cluniac Liturgy as Ritual Aggression,' *Viator: Medieval and Renaissance Studies* 2 (1971): 129-57, especially pp. 153-7; M.G. Newman, *The Boundaries of Charity: Cistercian culture and ecclesiastical reform, 1098-1180* (Stanford, 1996), pp. 28-37 in general, and pp. 30-2 on Bernard specifically. The application of military imagery to monastic or clerical endeavours was not, of course, a twelfth-century innovation – see, for example, E. Pettit, 'Holiness and masculinity in

Thus far, this discussion has sought (in as much as this is possible) to ignore any hierarchical values placed by authors on the respective conditions of lay, clerical and monastic. We turn now, however, to a consideration of shifting perceptions of the value of the lay state, which has a bearing on perceptions of laypeople's function and spiritual potential.

1.ii *Laici within a hierarchy.*

Those passages of the Septuagint which do highlight a distinction between church leaders and the rest of the community of God, seem to suggest a reciprocal, functional relationship, rather than an overt hierarchy.⁵⁰ Similarly, the church of the New Testament did not seem to focus on a hierarchical split by which its leaders were in authority over the community at large.⁵¹ Even at this early stage, however, there was a sense of the intrinsic problem in living in the world but not of the world:

hoc itaque dico fratres tempus breve est reliquum est ut qui habent uxores tamquam non habentes sint et qui flent tamquam non flentes et qui gaudent tamquam non gaudentes et qui emunt tamquam non possidentes.⁵²

Clement of Rome's letter to the Corinthians is the first point at which we can detect a notion that the laity should be submissive to church leaders,⁵³ whose authority is from God, not the people.⁵⁴ According to Clement, church officials

Aldhelm's *Opus Geminatum De virginitate*, Cullum and Lewis (eds.), *Holiness and Masculinity*, pp. 8-23, pp. 11-12, 18.

⁵⁰ See, for example, 2 Chron. 30:27: 'surrexerunt autem sacerdotes atque Levitae benedicentes populo et exaudita est vox eorum pervenitque oratio in habitaculum sanctum caeli' ['And the priests and the Levites rose up and blessed the people: and their voice was heard: and their prayer came to the holy dwelling place of heaven'].

⁵¹ On this, see Vaillancourt, *Papal Power*, p. 20.

⁵² 1 Cor. 7:29-31 ['This therefore I say, brethren; the time is short; it remaineth, that they also who have wives, be as if they had none; And they that weep, as though they wept not; and they that rejoice, as if they rejoiced not; and they that buy, as though they possessed not; And they that use this world, as if they used it not: for the fashion of this world passeth away'].

⁵³ Clement of Rome, *Epistle*. In the opening of the epistle, in which Clement praises the conduct of the Corinthians before the depositions, he states: 'You were submissive to your officials', 1:3, p. 9.

⁵⁴ Thus, for example, Clement seems to conflate submission to the church officials with submission to God: 'It is right and holy, therefore, brethren, that we should be submissive to God

were chosen by the will of God, via Christ, the apostles, and the apostles' appointees.⁵⁵

The pseudo-Clementine letter to James, which probably dates to second or third centuries, reinforces this notion of a laity which should be passive and obedient: the church is likened to a ship, with God as shipmaster, Christ as pilot, bishops as mates, deacons as sailors, and the laity passengers, trying to negotiate winds as temptations and waves as afflictions. The role of the laity within this vessel is clear:

cum quiete et silentio epibatae, id est laici, in suis unusquisque resideant locis, ne forte per inquietudinem et inconditos inutilesque discursus, si passim vagari coeperint, vel ab officio suo nautas inpediant, vel in alterum latus per inquietudinem eorum navis pressa demergat.⁵⁶

The very early centuries of Christianity saw a pattern of communal equality, epitomized by the communality of *agape*,⁵⁷ within the Christian community as it faced persecutions and sought to consolidate itself. As we have seen, the clerical class was becoming established, but the line between clergy and laity was still relatively permeable.⁵⁸ In the wake of Constantine's conversion and the proclamation of freedom of religion, the clerical/lay distinction became more sharply defined as the Christian clergy began to be given privileges, and was becoming established and professionalized as a clerical caste.⁵⁹ It is possible from this stage to detect an emerging hierarchy within which the lay condition might be

rather than follow those who through arrogance and insubordination are the ringleaders in a quarrel formented by detestable jealousy', Clement of Rome, *Epistle*, 14:1, p. 17; see also 40:3, p. 34: '[the Master] has..., Himself, by His sovereign will determined where *and by whom* He wants [sacrifices and services] to be carried out.' [italics added].

⁵⁵ Clement of Rome, *Epistle*, 41:1-5, pp. 34-5.

⁵⁶ Pseudo-Clement, 'Epistula ad Iacobum', in ed. B. Rehm, *Die Pseudoklementinen, II: Rekognitionen in Rufins Übersetzung*, Die Griechischen Christlichen Schriftsteller der ersten Jahrhundert, 51 (Berlin, 1965), pp. 375-87, pp. 383-4 ['Let the soldiers aboard the ship, that is the laypeople, remain quiet and silent, sitting in their own places, lest by chance by restlessness and unprofitable disorderly running hither and thither, if they should begin to wander about at random, either hinder the sailors in their duties or on account of their restlessness the burdened ship should sink'].

⁵⁷ That is, communal meals of early Christian communities which seem to have been determinedly non-hierarchical, on which see R. Sennett, *Flesh and Stone: The body and the city in Western Civilization* (London, 1994), pp. 136-8.

⁵⁸ See also G. Williams, 'The Ancient Church, A.D. 30-313', in S.C. Neill and H.-R. Weber (eds.), *The Layman in Christian History: A project of the Department on the Laity of the World Council of Churches* (London, 1963), pp. 28-56.

seen as inferior. In spite of the model of communality suggested by Tertullian in *De exhortatione castitatis*,⁶⁰ he protested that heretics ‘nam et laicis sacerdotalia munera iniungunt’, which hints at a clearer demarcation between priest and laity than in *De exhortatione*.⁶¹ Augustine betrayed less than positive expectations of lay spirituality in *De natura et origine animae*:

pervenerunt ad me duo libri Vincentii Victoris, quos ad Sanctitatem tuam scripsit, mittente mihi eos fratre nostro Renato, homine quidem laico, sed pro sua fide et eorum quos diligit prudenter religioseque sollicito.⁶²

Fourth- and fifth-century writers voiced a mistrust of the married state, which, in spite of the lipservice paid to the ‘complete lawfulness of marriage and its compatibility with holiness’, was nonetheless placed in an inferior position to virginity and continence, to monastic values and asceticism.⁶³ As, however, this was still an age of conversion, ecclesiastical authorities often had a long lay life behind them – think, for example, of Augustine and Ambrose – and therefore retained some degree of appreciation of the lay experience.⁶⁴ Nonetheless, there was still an awareness of the spiritual potential of the lay state: an attempt to work out a practicable way of living a Christian lay life may be seen in Jonas of Orleans’ *De institutione laicali*, written by 828. Jonas dedicated the work to Mathfredus in response to his request ‘ut tibi citissime et quam brevissime scriberemus qualiter to caeterosque qui uxorio vinculo ligantur, vitam Deo

⁵⁹ Fontaine, ‘Practice of Christian life’, p. 464.

⁶⁰ See p. 23, *supra*.

⁶¹ Tertullian, *De praescriptione haereticorum*, c. 41, ed. J.N. Bakhuizen van den Brink (Haag, 1946), pp. 7-49, p. 46 [‘they impose priestly functions even upon laymen’, *The Prescriptions against the Heretics*, trans. S.L. Greenslade *Early Latin Theology: Library of Christian Classics V* (Philadelphia, 1954), pp. 19-64, p. 62].

⁶² Augustine, ‘De natura et origine animae’, bk. 2, c. 1, PL 44: 475-548, c. 495 [‘there have reached me the two books of Vincentius Victor, which he addressed in writing to your Holiness; they have been forwarded to me by our brother Renatus, a layman indeed, but a person who has a prudent and religious care about the faith both of himself and of all he loves’, *St Augustine: Anti-Pelagian writings*, trans. P. Holmes, R.E. Wallis and B.B. Warfield, NPNF 1/5: 310-71, p. 331].

⁶³ Congar, p. 385.

⁶⁴ See, for example, Augustine, *De civitate Dei*, 15.26, ed. B. Dombart and A. Kalb, *Corpus Christianorum Series Latina*, 2 vols., 47 and 48 (Turnhout, 1955), 2: 493-4 [*St. Augustin’s City of God and Christian Doctrine*, trans. M. Dods, NPNF 1/2: 1-511, pp. 306-7], where he equates the thirty-, sixty- and hundred-fold harvest increases with chaste marriage, chaste widowhood, and virginal purity, which might be seen as denigrating the married state. Nonetheless, this discussion is in the context of God’s instructions to Noah to build the ark with lower, middle and upper chambers, which, Augustine implies, signifies that all three stories, and therefore all three sexual

placitam ducere oporteret'.⁶⁵ The work is divided into three books, 'ut primus et ultimus omnibus generaliter fidelibus, medius autem magna sui ex parte conjugalem vitam ducentibus specialiter convenerit'.⁶⁶ The work, then, addresses issues relevant to all laypeople, but the fact that the second book comprises almost half of the work suggests that the married life was seen as spiritually problematic.⁶⁷

Arms-bearing was also intrinsically linked with the lay condition, as seen in Sulpicius Severus' description of St. Martin's renunciation of arms: 'inquit ad Caesarem, militaui tibi: patere ut nunc militem Deo. Donatum tuum pugnaturus accipiat; Christi ego miles sum: pugnare mihi non licit'.⁶⁸ When Caesar furiously ascribed this to cowardice, Martin insisted, 'si hoc... ignaviae adscribitur, non fidei, crastina die ante aciem inermis adstabo et in nomine Domine Iesu, signo crucis, non clipeo protectus aut galea, hostium cuneos penetrabo securus'.⁶⁹ Fortunately, the battle was averted, which was interpreted as a sign of God's protection and approval of Martin's choice. For our present purposes, this

states, are explicitly wanted by God. See also Congar, *Lay People*, p. 387 on John of Chrysostom being 'a thoroughgoing upholder of perfection in lay life'.

⁶⁵ Jonas of Orleans, *De institutione laicali*, PL 106: 121-280, cc. 121-2: 'that we might write to you as quickly and briefly as possible how you and others who are bound by the conjugal bond, might lead a life pleasing to God'. I am most grateful to Rachel Stone for generously sharing her translation of this text and her thoughts thereon.

⁶⁶ Jonas, *De institutione laicali*, c. 124: 'so that the first and last might be appropriate to all the general faithful, the middle one however might to a large extent be especially appropriate to those who live the conjugal life'.

⁶⁷ On the natural association of the laity with the married state, see also Nicaea II (A.D. 787), c. 22, *Decrees of the Ecumenical Councils*, 1:155: 'Deo quidem totum committere, et non propriis voluntatibus deservire, magna res est. Sive enim manducatis, sive bibitis, divinus Apostolus dicit, omnia in gloriam Dei facite. ...Necessarium ergo est omni homini manducare, ut vivat. Et quidem inter eos, quibus vita est nuptiarum et natorum atque laicalis affectus, manducare viros et mulieres simul, nulli detractio patet' ['It is very important to dedicate everything to God and not to become slaves of our own desires; for whether you eat or drink, the divine apostle says, do all for the glory of God. ... Now everybody is certainly obliged to eat in order to live, and in the case of those whose life includes marriage and children and the conditions proper to layfolk it is not reprehensible that men and women should eat in one another's company'].

⁶⁸ Sulpicius Severus, *Vie de Saint Martin*, c. 4, ed. Jacques Fontaine, 3 vols., Sources Chretiennes, 133-135, Vol. 1 (Paris, 1967), p. 260, ['he said to Cæsar, 'Hitherto I have served you as a soldier: allow me now to become a soldier to God: let the man who is to serve thee receive thy donative: I am the soldier of Christ: it is not lawful for me to fight', trans. A. Roberts, 'The works of Sulpitius Severus', in eds. H. Wace and P. Schaff, *Sulpitius Severus, Vincent of Lerins, John Cassian*, NPNF 2/11: 3-17, p. 6].

⁶⁹ Sulpicius Severus, *Vie de Saint Martin*, p. 260 ['if this conduct of mine is ascribed to cowardice, and not to faith, I will take my stand unarmed before the line of battle tomorrow, and in the name of the Lord Jesus, protected by the sign of the cross, and not by shield or helmet, I will safely penetrate the ranks of the enemy', p. 6].

provides an early awareness of tensions between military activity and a Christian life.⁷⁰ Similarly, in the sixth century, Gregory of Tours complained of Salunius and Sagittarius, who, upon promotion to their bishoprics, ‘coeperunt in pervasionibus, caedibus, homicidiis, adulteriis diversisque sceleribus insano furore crassari ... unus *ex laicis, accinti arma*, plurimos propriis manibus interfecerunt’.⁷¹

There was some spiritual rehabilitation of arms-bearing, provided it was used in appropriately just causes, especially around the time of the Peace of God.⁷² Nonetheless, that it was still seen as problematic is evidenced, for example, by the penances prescribed for those who fought in the Battle of Hastings.⁷³ Similarly, St. Magnus, Earl of Orkney, is approvingly described as having refused to go into battle, preferring to “arm” himself with a psalter:

Latebit praeterea neminem summum esse miraculum quod in denso admodum telorum imbree, cum arma strenue adhiberent, non vulnaretur, undique autem circa eum armati ceciderunt.⁷⁴

As monasticism became more firmly entrenched as the *vita perfecta*, so lay society gradually became in thrall to monasticism’s monopoly on salvation.⁷⁵ This may be seen, for example, in the increasing enthusiasm with which the

⁷⁰ See also, for example, Damon, *Soldier Saints and Holy Warriors*, pp. 4-10.

⁷¹ Gregory of Tours, *Historia Francorum*, 5. 20, in *Gregorii Turonensis Opera*, W. Arndt and Br. Krusch (eds.), MGH, *Scriptores rerum Merovingicarum*, vol. 1 (Hanover, 1885), pp. 217-18 [‘with a sort of insane fury ... began to disgrace themselves in peculation, physical assaults, murders, adultery and every crime in the calendar. ... they *armed themselves like laymen* and killed many men with their own hands’, trans. L. Thorpe, Gregory of Tours, *The History of the Franks* (Harmondsworth, 1974), pp. 285-6]. Italics added.

⁷² P. Contamine, *War in the Middle Ages* [originally *La Guerre au moyen âge* (Paris, 1980)], trans. M. Jones (Oxford, 1984; 1986 edn. cited here), pp. 260ff.

⁷³ It was decreed that any soldier who knew he had killed a man was to undertake one year’s penance for each slain man. There was also a sliding scale of penance, including, for example, one day a week for the rest of his life for a soldier who did not know how many men he had slain. Discussed in H.E.J. Cowdrey, ‘Bishop Ermenfrid of Sion and the penitential ordinance following the Battle of Hastings’, *Journal of Ecclesiastical History* 20 (1969): 225-42, see especially pp. 233-6. See also the not entirely successful way in which Odo of Cluny sought to present Gerald of Aurillac’s military activity, on which, see Airlie, ‘Anxiety of sanctity’.

⁷⁴ *Vita Magni*, ed. W.M. Metcalfe, *Pinkerton’s Lives of the Scottish Saints*, 2 vols. (Paisley, 1889) 1: 211-58, p. 223 [‘and it might be seen of all, that it was the clearest miracle, that in so thick a flight of arrows, and so heavy a meeting of weapons, he should not be wounded, while on all sides around him fell armed men’, trans. W.M. Metcalfe, ‘Life of St. Magnus’, *Ancient Lives of Scottish Saints* (Paisley, 1895), pp. 323-66, at p. 334].

⁷⁵ Vauchez, *Laity*, pp. 12-13.

monastic life was taken up. There was a marked rise in the number of male monastic houses in England from the mid-tenth to late-twelfth centuries, and it seems that there was a similar increase in the number of female religious houses from the late-eleventh to late-twelfth centuries.⁷⁶ Even allowing for the inherent difficulties in precise quantifications, and acknowledging that entering a religious community was not always a simple matter of spiritual vocation, we may infer that the monastic life was increasingly seen as a desirable one.

As monastic and clerical communities were (at least theoretically) increasingly marked off from lay society by communal rather than personal possession of worldly goods, so personal wealth – and the relationships that it necessitated – were acknowledged as problematic. There was an awareness of the spiritual fallout of the practicalities of lay power – at this point still to a large extent rooted in possession of land – namely being grasping over land, defrauding tenants and peers, failing to be suitably generous to the church, ambition, possessing worldly goods.⁷⁷

Moving towards the period with which this study is concerned, Skinner posited that power over church and society was exercised by laypeople, clerics and monks together in the period up to 1050, by which laypeople were at the vanguard of eleventh- and twelfth-century evangelical movements – *with* monks and canons – not least because they were less bound by the institutional infrastructures than their clerical counterparts.⁷⁸ Accordingly, quasi-monastic

⁷⁶ Knowles, *Monastic Order*, pp. 679ff; B.L. Venarde, *Women's Monasticism and Medieval Society: Nunneries in France and England, 890-1215* (Ithaca and London, 1997), esp. pp. 1-16, summarized at pp. 8 and 10.

⁷⁷ See, for example, the letters written by Nigel d'Aubigny when he thought he was on his deathbed, as discussed by R.W. Southern, in 'King Henry I', in *idem, Medieval Humanism and Other Studies*, (Oxford, 1970), pp. 206-33, at pp. 220-1, and D. Crouch, 'The troubled deathbeds of Henry I's servants: Death, confession and secular conduct in the twelfth century', *Albion* 34 (2002): 24-36, which demonstrate deathbed repentance of *in vita* rapacity. See also Orderic Vitalis on William the Conqueror's deathbed repentance of rapacity and cruelty, *Historia Ecclesiastica, The Ecclesiastical History of Orderic Vitalis*, ed. and trans. M. Chibnall, 6 vols. (Oxford, 1969-1980), 4: 94-5, noted in T.N. Bisson, 'The "feudal revolution"', *Past and Present* 142 (1994): 6-42, pp. 32-3. *In extremis* repentance of rapacity related to the practicalities of power was not limited to laymen, however – see, for example, Richard I of Belmeis, Bishop of London, noted by E.G. Whatley, *The Saint of London: The life and miracles of St. Erkenwald* (Binghamton, N.Y., 1989), p. 29, after D. Bethel, 'Richard of Belmeis and the foundation of St. Osyth's', *Trans. Essex Archaeol. Soc.*, 3rd ser., 2 (1970): 299-328, pp. 302-3, 309.

⁷⁸ Skinner, 'Lay sanctity and church reform', *passim*.

ideals were recommended for laypeople in the tenth and eleventh centuries,⁷⁹ so that a ‘quasi-monastic asceticism of the laity helped to unite clergy, religious, and laity, and to keep the early medieval church remarkably cohesive’.⁸⁰

We can, however, still see a trend by which the laity was clearly seen as inferior to clerics and/or religious. In the ninth century, for example, Rabanus Maurus proposed a tripartite model of laypeople, monks and clerics, with the latter at the top of the hierarchy, as they served both God and the people.⁸¹ At the close of the tenth century, Abbo of Fleury saw laymen as infinitely inferior to *clerici*, themselves inferior to monks: ‘siquidem clericorum ordo inter laicos et monachos medius, quantum est superior inferiore, tantum inferior superiore’.⁸² Gerard, Bishop of Cambrai, however, described an episcopally-led hierarchy created via the ordination of priests, which seems remarkably similar to the model outlined by Clement of Rome.⁸³ This hierarchy marked its members off from the rest of society: ‘Non enim valebit saecularis homo sacerdotii magisterium implere, cujus nec officium tenuit, nec disciplinam cognovit, sed neque docere postest quod non didicit’.⁸⁴

We have returned, then, to a bipartite model, such as that embodied by “Gratian” in the passage cited above, which we now briefly revisit. Out of context, this passage may seem to be a neutral, possibly even positive, evaluation of the lay state. It appears, however, in a *Causa* which discusses clerical ownership of temporal goods. *Λαός* is placed in opposition to *κλήρος*, and the passage which precedes that cited above makes it clear that “Gratian” considered

⁷⁹ Skinner cited Jonas and Dhuoda, among others, as examples.

⁸⁰ Skinner, ‘Lay sanctity’, p. 32.

⁸¹ Rabanus Maurus, *De institutione clericorum*, I, 2, ed. A. Knoepfler (Munich, 1900), pp. 6-7; c.f. Constable, ‘Orders of Society’, p. 278.

⁸² Abbo of Fleury, *Apologeticus ad Hugonem et Robertem reges Francorum*, at c. 464: ‘the order of clerks stands between laymen and monks: just as much as it is superior to the inferior, by so much is it inferior to the superior’, c.f. Duby, *Three Orders*, pp. 89-90, Constable, ‘Orders of Society’, p. 353. McNamara noted that monks’ superiority hinged on their being furthest removed from women, ‘The *Herrenfrage*’, p. 7.

⁸³ Gerard of Cambrai, *Acta synodi Atrebatensis in Manichaeos*, in PL 142, cc. 1269-1312. For Clement, see p. 29, *supra*.

⁸⁴ Gerard, *Acta synodi Atrebatensis*, c. 1294 [‘A man of the world cannot validly assume the authority of the priesthood, whose office he did not hold, whose discipline is unfamiliar to him, and who cannot teach what he has not learned’]. This passage is translated and discussed in Duby, *Three Orders*, p. 31.

the clerical state to be spiritually superior: ‘Hi [clerici] namque sunt reges, id est se et alios regentes in uirtutibus, et ita in Deo regnum habent. Et hoc designat corona in capite. ... Rasio uero capitis est temporalium omnium depositio’.⁸⁵

Nonetheless, the picture of the laity was not entirely negative. It was possible to profit from one’s own labour, as long as that profit was used to ease others’ *paupertas*, as seen in Vauchez’s Italian *vitae*. Marriage continued to prove rather more problematic, and was downplayed in these *vitae*, but, as Vauchez points out, ‘at least it was no longer considered an insurmountable obstacle on the path to Christian perfection’.⁸⁶ Such activities were clearly seen by “Gratian” as inimical to a good life and salvation, but not insurmountable impediments, if one’s life was lived appropriately.

Thus far, then, we have seen a shift in perceptions of the laity in relation to those in the church. Presumably both reflecting and reinforcing the progression in the usage of *λαός* and its related terms noted above, it seems that whereas in the earliest days of Christianity the laity were respected as equals of church leaders, they were soon seen as somehow inferior. Reservations as to the spiritual dangers of aspects of the lay life – especially arms-bearing, sex and worldly possessions – led to a denigration of the lay life and its spiritual potential, which may not have been universal, but was nonetheless significant. Permeating the discourses on sex and warfare was the association of both with pollution, which came particularly to the fore in the rhetoric of the tenth- and eleventh-century reform movements, and which also described clerical involvement in money in terms of sexual pollution.⁸⁷

⁸⁵ Gratian, *Decretum*, 1: 678, c. 12, q. 1, 7 [‘For indeed these are kings, that is, people reigning over themselves and others in *virtutes*, and thus they have a realm in God. And this is indicated by the crown [i.e. tonsure] on their head. ... Indeed the shaving of the head is the putting aside of all things temporal.’].

⁸⁶ Vauchez, *Laity*, p. 66. Indeed, but a little later, Lateran IV insisted upon the spiritual validity of the married state, albeit in terms which strongly suggest that there were still reservations: Concilium Lateranense IV, c. 1, *Decrees of the Ecumenical Councils*, pp. 227-71, at p. 231: ‘non solum ... uirgines et continentes, verum etiam coniugati per fidem rectam et operationem bonam placentes Deo, ad aeternam merentur beatitudinem pervenire’ [‘not only virgins and the continent but also married persons find favour with God by right faith and good actions and deserve to attain to eternal blessedness’].

⁸⁷ R.I. Moore, ‘Family, community, and cult on the eve of the Gregorian reform’, *TRHS* 5th ser. 30 (1980): 49-69, pp. 66-8; Vauchez, ‘Lay people’s sanctity’, p. 24; A. Remensnyder, ‘Pollution, purity, and peace: An aspect of social reform between the late tenth century and 1076’, in Head and Landes (eds.), *Peace of God*, pp. 280-307; See also C. Cubitt, ‘Sites and sanctity: Revisiting

As clerical involvement with sex, war and association with money was deprecated, so, by implication, were the activities themselves – and the laity, with whom they were rhetorically associated – denigrated.

Further insight into the value placed on the laity may be seen by a consideration of the changing connotations of *clericus*, which by implication shed negative light on its antonym, *laicus*. *Clericus* was used by medieval authors to suggest various (but often overlapping) concepts, which might vary according to who was using it, when, of whom and to what purpose. Literally, *clericus* meant ‘chosen’ or ‘elect’.⁸⁸ By the high middle ages, however, this had been refined, so that *clericus* might mean ‘(ordained) clerk, member of clergy’.⁸⁹ This ordination-dictated *clericus/laicus* distinction is perhaps that which is most firmly lodged in the modern mind, and, as we have seen, was current throughout our period: essentially, a monk was marked by his monastic profession, a clerk by his ordination, and a layman by his having been neither professed nor ordained.

By the twelfth century, however, a differently-orientated *clericus/laicus* antithesis had come into common currency, which focused on the acquisition of literacy and learning. Orderic, for example, wrote of ‘Radulfus...clericus cognominatus est. quia peritia litterarum et aliarum artium apprime imbutus est’.⁹⁰ By this time, *clericus* was practically synonymous with *litteratus*, and *laicus* with *illiteratus*. *Laicus* was defined in terms of what it was not, by those who were *clerici* in the sense of *litterati*. In this context, *clericus* implies a knowledge of Latin. Thus, for example, Bede refers to ‘idiotas, hoc est, eos qui propriae tantum linguae notitiam habent, haec ipsa sua lingua discere, ac sedulo decantare facito.

the cult of murdered and martyred Anglo-Saxon royal saints’, *Early Medieval Europe* 9 (2000): 53-83, p. 64; Leyser, ‘Custom, truth, and gender’, pp. 76-7; P. Stafford, ‘Queens, nunneries and reforming churchmen: Gender, religious status and reform in tenth- and eleventh-century England’, *Past and Present* 163 (1999): 3-35, pp. 6-12. See, for example, Concilium Lateranense IV, c. 18, *Decrees of the Ecumenical Councils*, p. 244, which prohibits clerics’ involvement in shedding blood not only in martial or judicial circumstances but also in a medical context.

⁸⁸ C.f. p. 19, n. 1, *supra*.

⁸⁹ Ed. R.E. Latham, *Dictionary of Medieval Latin*, Fasc. II, C: 359, c.f. examples cited therein.

⁹⁰ Orderic, *Historia Aecclesiastica*, 2: 28-9 [‘Ralph ... was called ‘the *clericus*’, for he was thoroughly versed in letters and the other liberal arts’].

Quod non solum de laicis, id est, in populari adhuc vita constitutis, verum etiam de clericis sive monachis qui latinae sunt linguae expertes fieri oportet'.⁹¹

Clericatus in this respect was therefore a relative concept. Unlike the first usage outlined here, whereby one was either ordained or not, in terms of learning, one could be *clericus* in one context, but *laicus* in another.⁹² By the 1170s, Philip of Harvengt was moved to complain that,

quem viderimus litteratum statim clericum nominemus, et quoniam agit quod clerici est, ex officio ei vocabulum assignemus. Si quis igitur litteratum militem idiotae presbytero conferat, fiducialiter exclamabit et cum juramento affirmabit eundem militem meliorem presbytero clericum esse, ...improprii sermonis usus ita praevaluit, ut qui operam dat litteris, quod clerici est, clericus nominetur.⁹³

That this ambiguity was also current within our period is attested by Grundmann's assertion that from the tenth century,

Von *clerici litterati* und von *laici illiterati* ist ... allenthalben die Rede, beides ist fast formelhaft ... geworden, und nur die Abweichung von

⁹¹ Bede, 'Epistola ad Ecgberctum antistitem', in *Opera Historica*, ed. J.E. King, (Cambridge, Mass., 1930), pp. 446-89, pp. 454-5 ['those who are unlearned, that is, those who have knowledge only of their own tongue, say them [i.e. the Apostles' Creed and the Lord's Prayer] and repeat them assiduously. This ought to be done, not only as touching laymen, that is, those who are still established in the life of the world, but also of those clerics or monks, who are ignorant of the Latin language']. C.f. H. Grundmann, 'Litteratus-illiteratus. Der Wandel einer Bildungsnorm vom Altertum zum Mittelalter', in *idem, Ausgewählte Aufsätze*, Teil 3, *Bildung und Sprache*, Schriften der Monumenta Germaniae Historica, 25 (Stuttgart, 1978), pp. 6-7.

⁹² Thus, for example, in the late twelfth century it was noted of Helias, Prior of Holy Trinity in York, that he was almost a layman, but for the fact that he knew the psalms ('qui omnino pene laicus, excepta psalorum recordatione'), *Historia monasterii Selebiensis in Anglia*, ed. J.T. Fowler, *The Coucher Book of Selby*, 2 vols., Yorkshire Archaeological Record Series, 10 and 13, 1: 1-54, p. 33. On the *Historia*, see J. Burton, 'Selby Abbey and its twelfth century historian', in S. Rees Jones (ed.), *Learning and Literacy in Medieval England and Abroad* (Turnhout, 2003), pp. 49-68. I was alerted to this reference by Paul Dalton's conference paper, 'Religious houses, conflict, peacemaking and protection in King Stephen's reign', Leeds I.M.C., 13 July, 2004.

⁹³ Phillip of Harvengt, 'De institutione clericorum', PL 203: 665-1206, c. 816 ['when we see someone *litteratus*, immediately we call him *clericus*. Because he acts the part that is a cleric's, we assign him the name *ex officio*. Thus if anyone is comparing a knight who is *litteratus* with a priest who is ignorant, he will...affirm...that the knight is a better *clericus* than the priest...This improper usage has become so prevalent that whoever gives attention to letters, which is clerkly, is named *clericus*', trans. from M.T. Clanchy, *From Memory to Written Record: England 1066-1307* (Oxford, 1979; 1993 edn. cited), p. 226].

diesen Gleichungen fällt auf: wenn ein Kleriker (oder Mönch) nicht *litteratus*, ein Laie nicht *illiteratus* ist.⁹⁴

Axiomatically, the sources with which we are concerned here emanate from a culture which valued literacy, and specifically Latin literacy. This connotation of *laicus*, therefore, is automatically imbued with a sense of inferiority. The implicit gulf between *clerici* (in the sense of educated) and ‘non-*clerici*’ is exemplified by an allegedly twelfth-century proverb, which ‘[gleichsetzt] den Unterschied zwischen *litterati* und Laien mit dem Unterschied zwischen Mensch und Tier’.⁹⁵ Increasingly, with the formalization of universities, men acquired education with no desire (or need) to aspire to a career within the church. Thus Peter the Chanter was able to say in around 1200, ‘*Clericorum duo sunt genera et in utroque boni et mali: quidam ecclesiastici, quidam scolastici*’.⁹⁶

Clericus could also denote one who held a specific administrative office, attached to a specific person or administrative body. *Historia pontificalis* shows the mid twelfth century papal *curia* as an impressive bureaucratic machine, stretching its influence to varying degrees as far as Ireland in the west, and Tripoli to the east.⁹⁷ The papal *curia* had quickly recognized the benefit of using the educated men emerging from the schools.⁹⁸ Use of professional administrators – especially lawyers – reached such a scale that Bernard of Clairvaux grumbled that at the papal *curia*, ‘*quidem quotidie perstrepunt in palatio leges, sed Iustiniani, non Domini ... Tu, ergo, pastor et episcopus animarum, qua mente, obsecro, sustines coram te semper silere illam, garrere istas?*’⁹⁹ It was not only via office

⁹⁴ Grundmann, ‘*Litteratus-illiteratus*’, pp. 45-6 [‘the talk everywhere was of *clerici litterati* and *laici illiterati*, both had almost become stereotypes ... and only deviations from these paradigms stood out: if a cleric (or monk) was not *litteratus*, a layman not *illiteratus*’].

⁹⁵ Grundmann, ‘*Litteratus-illiteratus*’, p. 53 [‘equates the difference between *litterati* and laymen with the difference between man and animal’].

⁹⁶ Cited from J.W. Baldwin, *Masters, Princes and Merchants: The social views of Peter the Chanter and his circle*, 2 vols. (Princeton, 1970), 2:51, n. 57 [‘There are two kinds of *clerici* and in both there are good and bad, namely those who are ecclesiastics and those who are scholastics’, translation cited from Clanchy, *Memory to Written Record*, p. 228].

⁹⁷ John of Salisbury, *Historia pontificalis*, trans. M. Chibnall (London, 1956), pp. 45-6, 65-66, 71-2, 73-4, 50, 59.

⁹⁸ William of Champeaux, for instance, was engaged on account of his logician's skills to be the pope's negotiator with Emperor Henry V, M.T. Clanchy, *Abelard: A medieval life* (Oxford, 1997, 1999 edn. cited), p. 114.

⁹⁹ Bernard of Clairvaux, *De consideratione ad Eugonium Tertium*, I. iv, in *Opera omnia*, ed. J. Mabillon, 2 vols. (Paris, 1839), cc. 1005-96, c. 1011 [‘the palace every day re-echoes with the sound of the laws, but <the laws> of Justinian, not of the Lord. ... How is it..., pray tell me, that

within the Church that careerists prospered: scholars and masters were increasingly employed by secular powers as advisors at court and to staff the emerging bureaucracies. The twelfth century saw the rise of this new career path within the royal governmental machine. Nowhere was this more efficient and more sophisticated at this early stage than in England.¹⁰⁰ Thus, for example, Richard fitzNeale explained how ‘clericus thesaurarii cum fuerit numerata pecunia et in forulus missa...apponit sigillum et deputat scripto quantum uel a quo uel ob quam causam receperit’.¹⁰¹

This had far-reaching implications in the next usage of *clericus/laicus* to be discussed, namely the judicial system. Anyone who could be described as *clericus* was theoretically entitled to benefit of clergy, which, *inter alia*, rendered him immune to the death penalty.¹⁰² As literacy came within the reach of those not dedicated to a church or monastic career, this created potentially dangerous loopholes within the judicial system, which lawyers sought to address.¹⁰³ Canon lawyers, therefore, seem to have been more concerned with defining a twofold *clericus/laicus* model of society. Thus Durand, for example, differentiated in the late thirteenth century between ‘seculares personae <qui>“laici” dicuntur’ and clerics, ‘qui in ecclesia deserviunt vel ipsam regunt’.¹⁰⁴

you the shepherd and bishop of souls can endure to have the law of the Lord stand dumb before you, while these laws never cease to chatter?’, trans. G. Lewis, *Saint Bernard: On consideration*, (Oxford, 1908), p. 20]. See also I. iii-ix.

¹⁰⁰ This development can be seen in England from the early part of the twelfth century. It was not until the middle of the thirteenth century that the continental royal governmental machines could rival that of the English Crown, see J.W. Baldwin, ‘Masters at Paris from 1179 to 1215: A social perspective’, in R.L. Benson & G. Constable (eds.), *Renaissance & Renewal in the Twelfth Century* (Oxford, 1982;1985 edn.), pp. 138-172, p. 157. The classic study of administrative kingship in England is C.W. Hollister, ‘The rise of administrative kingship: Henry I’, *American Historical Review* 83 (1978): 868-91, repr. in *idem*, *Monarchy, Magnates and Institutions in the Anglo-Norman World* (London and Ronceverte, 1986), pp. 223-45.

¹⁰¹ Richard fitzNeale, *Dialogus de Scaccario*, trans. C. Johnson (London, 1950), pp. 8-9 [‘the Treasure’s Clerk seals up the money when it has been counted and packed in “forels” ..., and records in writing how much he has received, from what person and on what account’].

¹⁰² F. Pollock and F.W. Maitland, *The History of English Law Before the Time of Edward I* (1895; Cambridge, 1968 edn.), 1: 441-5.

¹⁰³ L.C. Gabel, *Benefit of Clergy in England in the Later Middle Ages* (1928-9; New York, 1969 edn.), especially pp. 62-91.

¹⁰⁴ Guillaume Durand, *Rationale divinatorum officiorum*, II.i.ii, eds. A. Davril and T.M. Thibodeau, *Corpus Christianorum Continuatio Medievalis*, CXL (Turnhout: Brepols, 1995), p. 124 [‘secular people are said to be “laici”, ‘who serve in or rule the church’].

We see, then, that the terms *laicus* and *clericus* were used to suggest various concepts. A man might be described as *laicus* to indicate that he is not ordained, not a monk, unable to read, unable to read Latin, able to read Latin but lacking the “right” sort or level of education, not employed as an administrative officer, or any combination thereof. This consideration of the usages of *clericus* and *laicus* not dictated by ordination has shown that in these contexts, to be *laicus* was somehow implicitly inferior to being *clericus* in clerical eyes: a *laicus* was illiterate or not sufficiently learned, he was not in prestigious employment, he was under the jurisdiction of secular law. This perceived inferiority must also have both reflected and had an effect on perceptions of the relative position of the laity in the sense of ‘not-clerical’.

We have seen that attitudes towards the laity and laypeople’s place in the spiritual scheme of things were extremely complex. At a crudely simplified level, we may suggest a progression, from a communal model, wherein the Christian community made a unified stand against persecution as it established itself and won new converts, to a gradually separating model wherein the priesthood acquired privileges and set itself apart from the laity in a bipartite division. This division became tripartite with the growing popularity, prestige and influence of monasticism. Initially, the lay condition was not necessarily seen as inferior, but problems inherent in the lay life which rendered a holy life difficult were increasingly highlighted. With the reform movements, there was a move towards blurring the distinction between clerics and monks, and sharpening that between these two groups and the laity. This was not, of course, universal: by no means did medieval models follow this broad pattern to the exclusion of others. Nonetheless, as we have seen, this progression was rendered at least ideologically feasible.

To conclude this section, which has selected from many sources and periods in order to sketch the ideological inheritance of the authors with whom we will be concerned, we turn to one of the texts which will be further considered in chapter 2, but contains an episode which is instructive here, in that it sets down a tripartite model, which suggests that a lay life is at least potentially good, but – ultimately – inferior to a monastic one. According to his biographer, Eadmer,

Anselm, eventually St. Anselm, Archbishop of Canterbury, decided at the age of fourteen that the monastic life was superior to any other option.¹⁰⁵ He wavered temporarily, however:

cum corporis sanitas, juvenilis aetas, seculi prosperitas ei arrideret. coepit paulatim fervor animi ejus a religioso proposito tepescere, in tantum ut seculi vias magis ingredi, quam relictis eis monachus fieri cuperet.¹⁰⁶

After this lapse, Anselm went to study at Bec and asked Lanfranc's advice as to what he should do after he had inherited his patrimony upon his father's death:

venit ad eum, indicans voluntatem suam ad tria pendere, sed per ejus consilium ad unum quod potissimum judicaret duobus relictis se velle tenere. Quae tria sic exposuit ei. "Aut enim", inquit, "monachus fieri volo, aut heremi cultor esse desidero, aut ex proprio patrimonio vivens. quibuslibet indigentibus propter Deum pro meo posse exinde ministrare si consulitis cupio".¹⁰⁷

Lanfranc hesitated to answer but Maurilius, Archbishop of Rouen, was more forthcoming: 'Nec mora. Monachicus ordo prae caeteris laudatur, ejusque propositum omnibus aliis antefertur'.¹⁰⁸ Here, then, Eadmer positioned a noble lay life – even a pious, alms-giving one – as spiritually inferior to that of a monk. Naturally, given that Anselm duly 'seculo relicto Becci factus est monachus',¹⁰⁹ and that Eadmer was also a monk, this comes from a specific perspective on the relative spiritual values of lay versus monastic religiosity. Nonetheless, Anselm apparently felt that piously administering his estate as an alms-giving layman was at least potentially pleasing to God.¹¹⁰ Maurilius's immediate advocacy of the monastic life, however, was unequivocal: monasticism was best.¹¹¹

¹⁰⁵ Eadmer, *Vita Anselmi*, p. 5.

¹⁰⁶ Eadmer, *Vita Anselmi*, p. 6 ['with health of body, youth and worldly well-being smiling upon him, he began little by little to cool in the fervour of his desire for a religious life – so much so that he began to desire to go the way of the world rather than to leave the world for a monastic life'].

¹⁰⁷ Eadmer, *Vita Anselmi*, p. 10 ['[Anselm] came to [Lanfranc] and told him that he was undecided between three courses of action, but that he would hold to the one which Lanfranc judged best and reject the other two. He expounded to him the three aims, as follows: "I want", he said, "either to be a monk, or to dwell in a hermitage, or to live on my family estate, ministering so far as I can to the poor, in God's name, if you advise it'].

¹⁰⁸ Eadmer, *Vita Anselmi*, p. 11 ['Without hesitation the monastic life was extolled beyond the others, and the monastic profession recommended before all others'].

¹⁰⁹ Eadmer, *Vita Anselmi*, p. 11 ['left the world and became a monk at Bec'].

¹¹⁰ This is the phrase Eadmer used of Anselm's decision at Bec to live a religious life: 'totam intentionem suam ad placendum Deo dirigere coepit' ['he began to turn his whole intention to

Given the persistent fluidity of the expectations of and relationships between *laici*, *clerici*, and *monachi*, the ‘grey areas’ could be successfully manipulated to forge a spiritual function and identity. Thus, for example, as demonstrated in C. Stephen Jaeger’s study, Ottonian courtier-bishops melded qualities which might more naturally be associated with the laity, as they were ‘urbane, splendid, ...and skillful courtiers, highly learned, highly articulate’, with ‘sharp eyes for fashion and style’.¹¹² Similarly, hermits occupied another ‘grey area’, and many successfully negotiated considerable spiritual and social power.¹¹³ Within our period, the only lay male figure to whom a useful degree of lived sanctity is unequivocally attributed in extant sources for England happens to be a king, namely Edward the Confessor. In this study, I wish to look at him neither as a king nor a royal saint, but as an example of lay male sanctity. Nonetheless, before we turn to the case-studies, however, one potential cavil needs to be addressed: should a king be included in a thesis concerned with lay sanctity? Were not kings at this stage considered to be essentially not-lay, and therefore should they not be excluded from a study of lay sanctity?

1.iii Very peculiar cases.

Kings occupied an ambiguous position within the *laicus-clericus-monachus* schema, and are often therefore treated as anomalous. Perhaps most influentially, Vauchez excluded kings as a major focus of his study on lay sanctity on the grounds that they were held to be quasi-clerical. Sainted kings are, according to Vauchez, ‘very peculiar cases’, by virtue of the coronation

pleasing God’], Eadmer, *Vita Anselmi*, pp. 8-9.

¹¹¹ Interestingly, William of Malmesbury’s account of Anselm’s quandary does not include that Anselm considered a life as a pious layman, *Gesta pontificum Anglorum*, c. 45, ed. N.E.S.A. Hamilton, *De Gestis Pontificum Anglorum*, RS 52 (London, 1870; Wiesbaden, 1964 repr. cited here), p. 74 [trans. D. Preest, *The Deeds of the Bishops of England (Gesta pontificum Anglorum)* (Woodbridge, 2002), p. 50].

¹¹² This summary is at C.S. Jaeger, *The Origins of Courtliness: Civilizing trends and the formation of courtly ideals, 939-1210* (Philadelphia, 1985), p. 263.

¹¹³ Most usefully on hermits, see P. Brown, ‘The rise and function of the holy man in Late Antiquity’, in *idem, Society and the Holy in Late Antiquity* (London, 1982), pp. 103-52, H. Mayr-Harting, ‘Functions of a twelfth-century recluse’, *History* 60 (1975): 337-52, Leyser, *Hermits and the New Monasticism*, and D.D. Alexander, ‘Hermits, hagiography, and popular culture: A comparative study of Durham Cathedral Priory’s hermits in the twelfth century’, (PhD thesis, University of London, 2000).

ceremony which conferred ‘a religious rank comparable to that of the bishops by whom [they were] anointed’, and are thus not ‘typical representatives of the laity’.¹¹⁴ Thus, he stated, because of eleventh- and twelfth-century king-saints’ atypicality, ‘the historian is entitled to set apart those who exercised kingly power’.¹¹⁵ Moreover, as Vauchez noted, at the time of the original publication of *Laity* in 1987, ‘important studies’ of royal saints had recently been published.¹¹⁶ In his later study of lay sanctity, Vauchez cited Klaniczay’s article more specifically as further justification for king-saints’ non-inclusion, on the grounds that ‘the king was an exceptional person, a kind of mediator between the spheres of the profane and the holy’.¹¹⁷ Kings’ very atypicality, however, is what is of interest here: the ambiguity of royal status allowed for it to be written in order to best suit specific authors’ priorities.

Much academic attention has been paid to the ideologies of medieval kingship.¹¹⁸ The purpose of this section is neither to add to this literature, nor to make a case for kings being treated as unambiguously lay, but rather to suggest that they should not be excluded from a study of laymen on grounds of their atypicality. As we will see in the chapter which deals with Edward, aspects of his lay status – especially the imperative to procreate, possession of wealth – received particular authorial attention, and ultimately proved crucial to his being acknowledged as a saint. This section, then, seeks to identify those aspects of kingship which will be useful in subsequent chapters’ consideration of royal – and non-royal – authority.

¹¹⁴ Vauchez, *Laity*, pp. 51-2. See also *idem*, ‘Lay people’s sanctity’, p. 25.

¹¹⁵ Vauchez, ‘Lay people’s sanctity’, p. 25.

¹¹⁶ Vauchez, *Laity*, p. 52. Vauchez refers (at p. 276, n. 2) to the then recent studies of Robert Folz and Gábor Klaniczay, namely R. Folz, *Les saints rois du Moyen Âge en Occident (VI^e-XIII^e siècles)*, Subsidia Hagiographica 68 (Brussels, 1984); G. Klaniczay, ‘From sacral kingship to self-representation: Hungarian and European royal saints in the 11th-13th centuries’, in E. Vestergaard (ed.), *Continuity and Change: A symposium*, (Odense, 1986), pp. 61-86. The 1993 translation also references S. J. Ridyard, *The Royal Saints of Anglo-Saxon England: A study of West Saxon and East Anglian cults* (Cambridge, 1988).

¹¹⁷ Vauchez, ‘Lay people’s sanctity’, p. 25.

¹¹⁸ A brief but useful historiographical survey is provided by P. Wormald, ‘Celtic and Anglo-Saxon kingship: Some further thoughts’, in P.E. Szarmach and V. Darrow Oggins (eds.), *Sources of Anglo-Saxon Culture*, Studies in Medieval Culture (Kalamazoo, 1986), pp. 151-83, pp. 151-4; see also G. Klaniczay, *Holy Rulers and Blessed Princesses: Dynastic cults in Central Europe*, trans. É. Pálmai (Cambridge, 2002; originally published as *Az uralkodók szentsége a középkorban: Magyar dinasztikus szentkultuszok és európai modellek* [Budapest, 2000]), pp. 2-16.

One school of scholarship describes kingship as imbued with a sacral flavour as a vestige of charisma with which Germanic pagan kingship was suffused.¹¹⁹ At the other end of the spectrum, Graus argued that early medieval saintly kings were saintly as a result of either renouncing the world or martyrdom.¹²⁰ In other words, ‘they were not saints by virtue of their royalty, but in spite of it’.¹²¹ Other scholars have argued that royal saints were not a kind of sacral hangover.¹²² Ridyard, for example, emphatically rejected Chaney’s model of continuity and argued that there was no lineal connection between pre-conversion automatically transmitted, ascribed sacrality and post-conversion individually achieved sanctity.¹²³ She asserted that whilst it was certainly felt that kingship status was conferred by *Dei gratia* (and that a king was accordingly to act as God’s vice-regent on earth, protecting the Christian church and Christian society, thereby ensuring internal peace and external security, as well as justice), he was nevertheless expected to achieve this via a proper and pious relationship with God. A king did not automatically achieve sanctity. Essentially, whereas sacrality was automatic transmission of other-worldly power, sanctity was an achieved status, not an automatic one.¹²⁴ This is borne out by our period: not every king came to be seen as saintly, so one who did come to be seen as such must have somehow provided favourable raw material – his must have been an achieved status. That said, the inheritance of sanctity was nonetheless a powerful and useful topos, as we will see in subsequent chapters.

¹¹⁹ The classic – and much-critiqued – study is W.A. Chaney, *The Cult of Kingship in Anglo-Saxon England* (Manchester, 1970). See also J.M. Wallace-Hadrill, *Early Germanic Kingship in England and on the Continent* (Oxford, 1971).

¹²⁰ On Graus’s *Volk, Herrscher und Heiliger im Reich der Merowinger*, see J. Nelson, ‘Royal saints and early medieval kingship’, *Studies in Church History* 10 (1973): 39-44, p. 40, and Klaniczay, *Holy Rulers*, pp. 7-9.

¹²¹ Nelson, ‘Royal saints’, p. 40.

¹²² See, for example, D.W. Rollason, ‘The cults of murdered royal saints in Anglo-Saxon England’, *Anglo-Saxon England* 11 (1983): 1-22, p. 16; A. Thacker, ‘Kings, saints, and monasteries in pre-Viking Mercia’, *Midland History* 10 (1985): 1-25, p. 20; Cubitt, ‘Sites and sanctity’, p. 54.

¹²³ Ridyard, *Royal Saints*, especially at pp. 74-95. Ridyard acknowledged the influence of the important research of Nelson, p. 75. See also R.W. Southern, ‘The church of the Dark Ages, 600-1000’, in Neill and Weber (eds.), *The Layman in Christian History*, pp. 88-110; P.J.E. Kershaw, ‘*Rex pacificus*: Studies in royal peacemaking and the image of the peacemaking king in the Early Medieval West’ (PhD thesis, University of London, 1998), pp. 172-3; J.L. Nelson, ‘Rulers and government’, in T. Reuter (ed.), *The New Cambridge Medieval History, Vol. III: c.900-c.1024*, (Cambridge, 1999), pp. 95-129, p. 96; P. Fouracre, ‘Space, culture and kingdoms in early medieval Europe’, in P. Linehan and J.L. Nelson (eds.), *The Medieval World* (London and New York, 2001), pp. 366-80, pp. 371-2.

Much has been made of the quasi-clerical status of medieval kings. Chaney, for example, saw Christian Anglo-Saxon kingship as intrinsically priestly, having extrapolated it to the sacral nature of pre-conversion Germanic tribal kingship.¹²⁵ The late eleventh century so-called Norman Anonymous, writing in York, completely assimilated the sovereign to the sacerdotal order: ‘Quare non est appellandus laicus, quia christus Domini est’.¹²⁶ Congar suggested that such sentiments ‘were not all that isolated and unusual’, and provided other examples of this view.¹²⁷ Two important points should be noted however. First, Congar’s other examples are fifteenth-century and later. Second, as even Kantorowicz (arguably the Anonymous’ most influential promoter) admitted, it appears that the Norman Anonymous was writing a swansong of the notions he espoused, presenting a magnified, extreme and perhaps distorted model of notions about to be eclipsed.¹²⁸ I suggest that these models, persistently enduring in popular academic discourse, assume too rigid a distinction between lay and clerical, and that three relatively recent studies of ideologies of kingship slightly before our period afford a more profitable way of accessing our sources.

Deshman argued that late Anglo-Saxon kingship was affected by tenth- and eleventh-century monastic reform ideology.¹²⁹ He outlined a blurring of the boundaries between the functions, expectations, terminology and symbolism used of secular, clerical and monastic rulers, all of which themselves also both borrowed and contributed to representations of Christ.¹³⁰ Thus, for example, the prologue of the *Regularis Concordia*, the manifesto of monastic reform, written c. 970, referred to King Edgar’s royal function as ‘the shepherd of shepherds’

¹²⁴ This is after Nelson, ‘Royal saints’, pp. 39-44; c.f. *eadem*, ‘Rulers and government’, p. 96.

¹²⁵ Chaney, *Cult of Kingship*.

¹²⁶ Norman Anonymous, ‘De consecratione pontificum et regum’, ed. H. Böhmer, in MGH Libelli de Lite, 3: 662-79, p. 679 [‘therefore he is not to be called *laicus*, for he is the anointed of the Lord’].

¹²⁷ Congar, *Lay People*, p. 240.

¹²⁸ E. Kantorowicz, *The King’s Two Bodies: A study in medieval political theology* (Princeton, 1957, 1997 edn. cited), p. 60. C.f. J.G. Haahr, ‘The concept of kingship in William of Malmesbury’s *Gesta Regum* and *Historia Novella*’ *Mediaeval Studies* 38 (1976): 351-71, 353; D. Bates, ‘Kingship, government, and political life to c. 1160’, in B. Harvey (ed.), *The Twelfth and Thirteenth Centuries, 1066-c.1280* (Oxford, 2001), pp. 69-98, p. 73.

¹²⁹ R. Deshman, ‘*Benedictus monarcha et monachus*: Early medieval ruler theology and the Anglo-Saxon reform’, *Frühmittelalterliche Studien* 22 (1988): 204-40.

[‘*pastorum pastor*’], just as a Benedictine abbot is a shepherd, responsible for his flock, and as Christ is ‘prince of shepherds’ [‘*princeps pastorum*’], rewarding those bishops who have cared for their flock.¹³¹ Similarly, Byrhtferth’s late tenth century *Vita Oswaldi* describes Edgar as responsible for ensuring abbots’ pastoral care of their flocks, and describes Oswald’s ecclesiastical appointments in terms remarkably similar to those used of secular kingship.¹³² This blurring of the boundaries is key to the inclusion of kings in this thesis: kings did not become excluded from lay status but rather occupied a grey area at the intersection of clerical, monastic, and lay. Representations of kings could therefore borrow from whichever models and topoi best suited the author’s purposes.

Suggesting a similar blurring of clerical/lay boundaries, Matthew Kempshall has usefully examined the problems and ideologies of authority over others, in the context of Asser’s *De Rebus gestis Ælfredi*, noting a reliance on the ideas expressed in Gregory the Great’s *Regula pastoralis*, which was applicable to all who exercised such authority, whether kings or bishops.¹³³ Wisdom and the teaching of those under one’s care were key to Gregory’s model of proper exercise of authority. As Kempshall noted, ‘to recognize the proximity, even equivalence, of royal and episcopal ideology is one vital means of avoiding any anachronistic separation of temporal from spiritual authority’.¹³⁴

There was an acknowledgement that authority over others was inherently spiritually questionable. Such authority rendered holders of any office vulnerable to charges of ambition. Weiler has usefully discussed reluctance to accept office in lay and ecclesiastical contexts, suggesting that the *rex renitens* topos was more than mere propaganda but of itself manifestation of the candidate’s fitness for office, and highlighting the overlapping of royal, abbatial and episcopal ideologies

¹³⁰ See also Nelson, ‘Rulers and government’, p. 95.

¹³¹ Deshman, ‘*Benedictus monarcha et monachus*’, p. 207. On the notion of king as protector and pastor of his people, see also R.V. Turner, ‘King John’s concept of royal authority’, *History of Political Thought* 17 (1996): 157-78, p. 159.

¹³² Deshman, ‘*Benedictus monarcha et monachus*’, p. 208.

¹³³ M. Kempshall, ‘No bishop, no king: The ministerial ideology of kingship and Asser’s *Res Gestae Aelfredi*’, in R. Gameson and H. Leyser (eds.), *Belief and Culture in the Middle Ages: Studies presented to Henry Mayr-Harting* (Oxford and New York, 2001), pp. 106-27.

¹³⁴ Kempshall, ‘No bishop, no king’, p. 107.

and topoi.¹³⁵ Weiler cautioned, however, against simply assuming that a good king was more cleric than secular ruler, referring to one of his study's examples:

Although Fulcher of Chartres drew parallels between Godfrey's virtues and those of a monk, they remained parallels, and can be explained by the shared roots of episcopal and secular power, as well as by the fact that prelates, like kings, found themselves exposed to similar dangers in the pursuit of different duties.¹³⁶

Yet again we have a blurring of the boundaries between *clerici* and *laici*, in which we may detect shared problems, vocabulary and paradigms.

At several points in this thesis thus far, reference has been made to the ideological and rhetorical changes which the Benedictine and Gregorian reform movements sought to impose. There is a huge body of material on these movements (which were not as distinct as modern scholarship sometimes implies),¹³⁷ to which the present study is not intended to add. My concern is rather with how my sources sought to address the renegotiated perceptions of the laity in the light of their ideological inheritance. It should be borne in mind that by the twelfth century, there had been often heated debate as to the proper place and rights of kings. Although some scholars have questioned the extent to which lay powers were checked by Gregorian reform, nonetheless the reformers clearly saw *principes* as lay, and sought accordingly to limit their intervention in ecclesiastical affairs. More immediately relevantly, in that they are authors to be considered in this thesis, Orderic Vitalis, Henry of Huntingdon and Osbert of Clare, for example, all referred to kings as laymen. Regardless of whether they were entirely lay, clearly kings were not entirely outwith the lay state, and should therefore be included in a study of lay sanctity. We have seen, then, that kings' ambiguous position in the *laicus-clericus-monachus* schema allowed authors treating of them to borrow from whichever models best suited their purpose. Are

¹³⁵ B. Weiler, 'The *rex renitens* and the medieval idea of kingship, ca. 900- ca. 1250', *Viator: Medieval and Renaissance Studies* 31 (2000): 1-42.

¹³⁶ Weiler, 'Rex renitens', p. 38.

¹³⁷ A useful overview of recent historiography on the former is C. Cubitt, 'Review article: The tenth-century Benedictine reform in England', *Early Medieval Europe* 6 (1997): 77-94. The classic study of the latter reforms remains Morris, *The Papal Monarchy*.

there any specifically lay aspects of kingship in our period which may have a bearing on sanctity?

By the high middle ages, the ideal ruler was traditionally expected to embody a number of qualities, which appeared time and again, and may be crudely boiled down to fostering justice, protecting the weak, and oppressing oppressors.¹³⁸ Thus, in his discussion of the seventh-century tract, *De duodecim abusivis saeculi*, Wormald refers to ‘what became the tediously familiar virtues of Christian kingship, including the defense of the Church, the punishment of sin, and the protection of the weaker elements in society’.¹³⁹ Perhaps most influentially, Augustine had defined good rulership in terms of a ruler’s balanced exercise of justice:

felices eos dicimus, si iuste imperant, ... si Deum timent diligunt colunt; ... si tardius uindicant, facile ignoscunt; si eandem uindictam pro necessitate regendae tuendaeque rei publicae, non pro saturandis inimicitarum odiis exerunt; si eandem ueniam non ad impunitatem iniquitatis, sed ad spem correctionis indulgent; si, quod aspere coguntur plerumque decernere, misericordiae lenitate et beneficiorum largitate compensant; si luxuria tanto eis est castigator, quanto posset esse liberior.¹⁴⁰

Augustine emphasised the etymological neatness of *rex* and *rectus* (derived from from *rego*), upon which Isidore of Seville picked up, pithily defining kingship in terms of ruling: ‘rex a regere’. He emphasised the intrinsic importance of correction: ‘non autem regit, qui non corrigit’.¹⁴¹

¹³⁸ For a useful brief summary of the patristic inheritance, see B. Weiler, ‘Kingship, usurpation and propaganda in twelfth-century Europe: The case of Stephen’, *Anglo-Norman Studies* 23 (2001 for 2000): 299-326, p. 309, and the sources cited therein.

¹³⁹ Wormald, ‘Celtic and Anglo-Saxon kingship’, p. 161.

¹⁴⁰ Augustine, *De civitate dei*, 5.25, 1: 160 [‘we say that they are happy if they rule justly; ... if they fear, love, worship God; ... if they are slow to punish, ready to pardon; if they apply that punishment as necessary to government and defence of the republic, and not in order to gratify their own enmity; if they grant pardon, not that iniquity may go unpunished, but with the hope that the transgressor may amend his ways; if they compensate with the lenity of mercy and the liberality of benevolence for whatever severity they may be compelled to decree; if their luxury is as much restrained as it might have been unrestrained’, NPNF 1/2: 105]. This passage is also cited, with different emphases, by M.C. Gaposchkin, ‘Boniface VII, Philip the Fair, and the sanctity of Louis IX’, *Journal of Medieval History* 29 (2003): 1-26, p. 13.

¹⁴¹ Isidore of Seville, *Etymologiarum sive originum*, ed. W.M. Lindsay, 2 vols. (Oxford, 1911), 1: 9.3 [‘king derives from ruling’, ‘he does not rule who does not correct’]. On this transmission from Augustine to Isidore, see Nelson, ‘Kings with justice, kings without justice’, pp. 797-9; Weiler, ‘Kingship, usurpation and propaganda’, p. 309; Gaposchkin, ‘The sanctity of Louis IX’, p. 14.

We will certainly encounter this emphasis on ruling by enforcement of law in our sources, which is intrinsically linked with fostering of peace. Peace-keeping was a crucial element of a king's duties, and twelfth-century writers' preoccupation with it is particularly understandable in the light of the social and political upheavals England had experienced.¹⁴² Henry I was often held up as a peace-engendering king – indeed, as Hollister noted, Henry I 'was viewed, above all, as the embodiment of the *rex pacificus*'.¹⁴³ This had an intrinsic corollary of severity towards malefactors (as had been advocated by Augustine),¹⁴⁴ which has perhaps contributed to some other scholars' reluctance to whole-heartedly endorse the extent of Hollister's rehabilitation of Henry's character.¹⁴⁵

A large proportion of the cataclysmic events of the century or so preceding the end of our period could be laid at the door of failure to designate a universally acceptable heir to the kingdom who was still available when his time came. It was important for a king to leave an uncontested heir, but a series of dynastic misfortunes left the crown insecure and succession questionable at each succession in our period, to say nothing of occasionally undignified scrambles for acknowledgement upon a king's death. With the possible exception of Stephen, the early twelfth century English kings were not generally known for sexual continence. Henry I's voracious sexual appetite is legendary: he fathered more bastards than any other English king, and famously saw his illegitimate children as valuable resources, to be deployed in strategic and mutually beneficial

¹⁴² On this, see, for example, C. Holdsworth, 'War and peace in the twelfth century: The reign of Stephen reconsidered', in B.P. McGuire (ed.), *War and Peace in the Middle Ages* (Copenhagen, 1987), pp. 67-93; M. Brett, 'Warfare and its restraints in England 1066-1154', *Miscellanea del Centro di studi medioevali 13: Militia Christi e Crociata nei secoli XI-XIII: atti della undecima Settimana internazionale di studio, Mendola, 28 agosto-1 settembre 1989* (1992): 129-44; C. Holdsworth, 'Peacemaking in the twelfth century', *Anglo-Norman Studies* (1997 for 1996): 1-17; P. Dalton, 'Civil war and ecclesiastical peace in the reign of King Stephen', in D. Dunn (ed.), *War and Society in Medieval and Early Modern Britain*, (Liverpool, 2000), pp. 53-75.

¹⁴³ C.W. Hollister, 'Henry I and the invisible transformation of medieval England', originally in Mayr-Harting and Moore (eds.), *Studies in Medieval History Presented to R. H. C. Davis*, pp. 303-16, repr. in Hollister, *Monarchy, Magnates and Institutions*, pp. 303-15, pp. 303-4.

¹⁴⁴ C.f. Nelson, 'Kings with justice', pp. 820-2.

¹⁴⁵ Hollister, 'Henry I and the invisible transformation', pp. 303-4. On the rehabilitation of Henry, see Southern, 'Henry I'. See also A. Cooper, "'The feet of those that bark shall be cut off': Timorous historians and the personality of Henry I', *Anglo-Norman Studies* 23 (2001 for 2000): 47-67.

alliances.¹⁴⁶ Stephen had an illegitimate son, Gervase, and possibly also a daughter by his mistress Damette. Damette seems to have been put aside but provided for upon Stephen's marriage to Mathilda of Boulogne, but Stephen acknowledged Gervase and conferred upon him the abbacy of Westminster.¹⁴⁷ Henry II had two known bastards, Geoffrey Plantagenet and William Longsword – probably born before his marriage to Eleanor of Aquitaine – whom he publicly acknowledged and provided for. He also had an adulterous relationship with Rosamund Clifford,¹⁴⁸ and allegedly seduced other women, although the veracity of these claims is contested.¹⁴⁹ All this sexual activity aside, none of the kings was succeeded by his first choice, that is, his eldest son, whether due to fatal accident, political machinations, or both.

Much scholarship has focused on the king as patron of learning and the written word, law, and the rise of administrative kingship.¹⁵⁰ The *locus classicus* for this model of kingship in early medieval England is Alfred, as seen in Asser's *De Rebus gestis Ælfredi* and the texts which he himself allegedly commissioned and/or wrote.¹⁵¹ Increasingly from the start of the twelfth century, kings were expected to be learned, which implied literacy in the sense of having a grounding in Latin.¹⁵² Twelfth-century authors attributed to Henry a remarkable degree of learning – in keeping with his later medieval soubriquet of Beauclerc – which may or may not have accurately reflected the real Henry's achievements.¹⁵³

¹⁴⁶ Crouch, *Reign of King Stephen*, p. 16; K. Thompson, 'Affairs of State: the illegitimate children of Henry I', *Journal of Medieval History* 29 (2003): 129-51.

¹⁴⁷ Crouch, *Reign of King Stephen*, p. 18; H.J. Tanner, 'Queenship: Office, custom, or ad hoc? The case of Queen Matilda III of England (1135-1152)', in B. Wheeler and J. Carmi Parsons (eds.), *Eleanor of Aquitaine: Lord and lady* (New York and Basingstoke, 2003), pp. 133-58, p. 152, n. 31.

¹⁴⁸ W.L. Warren, *Henry II* (1973; New Haven and London, 2000 edn.cited), pp. 119, 601.

¹⁴⁹ Warren, *Henry II*, pp. 119, 611.

¹⁵⁰ The seminal study of the use of literacy in government remains Clanchy, *Memory to Written Record*. See also, for example, S. Keynes, 'Royal government and the written word in late Anglo-Saxon England', in R. McKitterick (ed.), *The Uses of Literacy in Early Mediaeval Europe* (Cambridge, 1990, 1992 edn.), pp. 226-57. On administrative kingship, see Hollister, 'The rise of administrative kingship'.

¹⁵¹ See Keynes, 'Royal government and the written word', pp. 230-4.

¹⁵² J.W. Thompson, *The Literacy of the Laity in the Middle Ages* (New York, 1960), pp. 167ff.; Clanchy, *Memory to Written Record*, p. 235.

¹⁵³ C.W. David, 'The claim of King Henry I to be called learned', in *Anniversary Essays in Mediaeval History by Students of Charles Homer Haskins* (Boston and New York, 1929), pp. 45-56; V.H. Galbraith, 'The literacy of the English medieval kings', originally Proceedings of the British Academy, 221 (1935): 201-38, repr. in L.S. Sutherland (ed.), *Studies in History: British*

William of Malmesbury, for example, famously put into Henry's mouth the proverb 'rex illiteratus, asinus coronatus', allegedly said in the presence of his (probably) illiterate father, William the Conqueror.¹⁵⁴ Doubt has been cast on the historical accuracy of this.¹⁵⁵ Notwithstanding, the arts flourished under the patronage of Henry's court, and it seems that from Henry on, kings were instructed at least to some degree in Latin.¹⁵⁶ Stephen's degree of education is uncertain, although Crouch plausibly insisted that 'it is impossible that Stephen was the aristocratic twit that Davis believed him to be'.¹⁵⁷ Having been nurtured in the court of Henry I, it is indeed unlikely that he would not have had at least some appreciation of letters.¹⁵⁸ Henry II was educated by some of the finest scholars of the day,¹⁵⁹ and was 'literate in every sense of the word'.¹⁶⁰ He allegedly understood many languages, but spoke only French and Latin,¹⁶¹ and was patron of a court at which 'was the most dazzling group of literary men the Middle Ages had ever known'.¹⁶² Still more importantly for our present purposes, the inference is clear that learning in a king was perceived to be desirable.

Academy Lectures (Oxford, 1966), pp. 78-111, and with the same pagination in Galbraith, *Kings and Chroniclers: Essays in English Medieval History* (London, 1983), cited here, pp. 89-90; D. Bates, 'The House of Normandy, 1066-1154', in W.M. Ormrod (ed.), *The Kings and Queens of England* (Stroud, 2001), pp. 45-70, p. 60.

¹⁵⁴ William of Malmesbury, *Gesta Regum Anglorum: The history of the English Kings*, ed. and trans. R.A.B. Mynors, completed by R.M. Thomson and M. Winterbottom, 2 vols. (Oxford, 1998-99), 1: 710-11 ['an illiterate king is a crowned ass']. This aphorism was also used by John of Salisbury, who attributed it to Conrad III in a letter to Louis VII, *Policraticus*, Bk. 4, ch. 6, ed. C.C.I. Webb, 2 vols. (Oxford, 1909), 1: 254 [*The Statesman's Book of John of Salisbury*, trans. J. Dickinson (New York, 1963), p. 28]; c.f. Galbraith, 'Literacy', p. 91; Clanchy, *Memory to Written Record*, p. 272. Although William had a tutor, 'it is extremely unlikely that he could read or write', Bates, 'The house of Normandy', p. 47.

¹⁵⁵ Galbraith, 'Literacy', pp. 90-1; Hollister, 'Henry I and the invisible transformation', pp. 311-12; David, 'The claim of King Henry I to be called learned', pp. 45-56.

¹⁵⁶ Galbraith, 'Literacy', pp. 91-5; Hollister, 'Henry I and the invisible transformation', pp. 311-12; L.L. Huneycutt, "'Proclaiming her dignity abroad": The literary and artistic network of Matilda of Scotland, Queen of England 1100-1118', in J. Hall McCash (ed.), *The Cultural Patronage of Medieval Women* (Athens, Ga. and London, 1996), pp. 155-74.

¹⁵⁷ Crouch, *Reign of King Stephen*, p. 98, with reference to R.H.C. Davis, *King Stephen: 1135-1154* (London, 1967).

¹⁵⁸ C.f. Thompson, *Literacy of the Laity*, p. 174.

¹⁵⁹ Warren, *Henry II*, pp. 38-9.

¹⁶⁰ Clanchy, *Memory to Written Record*, p. 272; c.f. Warren, *Henry II*, p. 208.

¹⁶¹ C.f. Galbraith, 'Literacy', p. 92, after Walter Map, see *De nugis curialium: Courtiers' trifles*, ed. and trans. M.R. James, revised by C.N.L. Brooke and R.A.B. Mynors (Oxford, 1983), pp. 476-7; H. Summerson, 'Kingship, government, and political life, c.1160-c.1280', in Harvey (ed.), *The Twelfth and Thirteenth Centuries*, pp. 201-240, p. 210.

¹⁶² Galbraith, 'Literacy', p. 93.

We see then, that expectations of a good king in our period included a saintly inheritance, peace-keeping (which included enforcement of the law and the inherent corollaries of military and/or judicial violence), lack of improper ambition, provision of an unquestioned surviving heir (ideally of his own loins, which therefore inevitably necessitates sexual activity), wisdom, learning and a concern to educate his subjects. Violence and sex seem to sit within the avowedly lay area of a king's function. The acquisition of learning and literacy might conceivably align a king with *clerici*. Educated laymen below royal status were not unheard of, but were presumably unusual enough to be remarkable, as evidenced by Orderic's comments of Ralph 'the *clericus*'.¹⁶³ Ralph eventually became a monk, but demonstrating again the common ground shared by *clerici* and their knightly brothers, Ralph was to gain another nickname – Ill-Tonsured (*Male Corona*) – on account of his persistent fondness for knightly pursuits, particularly engaging in warfare.¹⁶⁴ As discussed in the previous section, however, educated *laici* became less anomalous as the twelfth century progressed.

Already, then, we see how a king could sit at the intersection of *clerici*, *monachi*, and *laici*, but thus far we have focused mainly on the qualities expected of a good king, rather than a saintly one.¹⁶⁵ How far could the performance of kingly duties facilitate or hinder the expectations of sanctity? Could an effective king provide the raw material for an effective saint? I argue below that although what might be considered lay aspects of the performance of royal authority do seem to have been questionable in depictions of a subject's sanctity, if carefully presented, they could in fact be manifestations of that sanctity. In other words, if carefully written, royal sanctity could be via, rather than despite, the functions of royal authority. Other scholars' studies of royal sanctity outwith the chronological and geographical parameters of this thesis have also concluded that the performance of kingship could be manifestations of sanctity.¹⁶⁶ Similarly, Vauchez noted an increased appreciation of the lay life in texts concerned with his

¹⁶³ see p. 37, *supra*.

¹⁶⁴ Orderic, *Historia Ecclesiastica*, 2: 76-7.

¹⁶⁵ This distinction is also made by Airlie of lesser nobility, 'Anxiety of sanctity'.

¹⁶⁶ Gaposchkin, 'The sanctity of Louis IX'; Klaniczay, *Holy Rulers*, pp. 134-54; K.J. Lewis, 'Edmund of East Anglia, Henry VI and ideals of kingly masculinity', in Cullum and Lewis (eds.), *Holiness and Masculinity*, pp. 158-173, p. 161.

later Italian lay saints. I wish to demonstrate that such an appreciation may also be seen in early twelfth century England. This is not, therefore, a study of royal sanctity *per se*, but rather one which leads to consideration of the lay aspects of royal saintly legends.

In the introduction and this chapter, we have seen that the twelfth century inherited a long tradition of ambiguity with regard to relationships between *clerici* and *laici*, with continually shifting boundaries and changing notions of what pertained to each category. Additionally, considerable attention was paid to establishing spiritually proper relationships between genders, and to the nature of sanctity, of authority in general and of kingship specifically. Our period saw an increased intensity in attempts to pin all of these concepts down. Lay male sanctity around the turn of the twelfth century, then, may be seen as sitting amidst shifting boundaries, overlapping discourses and renegotiated relationships, and is therefore interesting not only in its own right, but also for what light it can shed on all of these aspects of medieval *mores*.

Chapter 2.
Ecclesiastical and lay authority:
Anselm, Waltheof, Ansold and Stephen.

The previous chapter has shown that we need to be aware of the permeability of the boundaries between *laicus*, *clericus*, and *monachus*, and that kings occupied a particularly ambiguous position within the continuum. One of the recurring themes of the discussion thus far is the problematic nature of authority. Who wielded authority and how always was, of course, a potential bone of contention, but in the context of relationships between *laici* and *clerici*, this was amplified by the Gregorian reform movement's attempts to check what it perceived to be lay intervention in church affairs. Moreover, in the first half of the twelfth century in England specifically, a prolonged period of successive dynastic disruptions, and the social, political and cultural ramifications of those disruptions, had rendered the wielding of authority a particularly contentious issue.¹

This chapter will briefly examine four twelfth-century representations of figures who wielded authority over others, in order to establish the parameters of my study. I draw on existing scholarship for some of this chapter, and aim to use the four figures herein to suggest a backdrop of themes for the main studies of the thesis. Having considered one figure who wielded ecclesiastical authority and was deemed saintly, albeit apparently not by all, another who wielded lay authority and came to be seen by some as saintly, another who wielded lay authority well but was not saintly, and, finally, another who is represented as a morally good but not saintly royal ruler, we will be able to turn to the main case-studies of this thesis equipped with an idea of what a twelfth-century observer might have expected of a saintly layperson in authority.

We have seen that historiographical orthodoxy contends that lay sanctity in this period was quasi-monastic. Even monastic authority, however, was potentially problematic in the construction of sanctity, as may be seen in the

¹ See Edmund King, for example, on sources written of and during Stephen's reign: 'They make it clear that during the nineteen long winters of Stephen's reign the nature of authority was discussed at every level', 'Introduction', in *idem* (ed.), *The Anarchy of King Stephen's Reign* (Oxford, 1994), pp. 1-36, p. 5.

literature which promoted Anselm, Archbishop of Canterbury (1033-1109) as a saint.

2.i Anselm of Canterbury: *vitiosa cupiditas* or *religiosa necessitas*?

Anselm studied under Lanfranc at Bec in Normandy and became a monk there in 1060.² He was made prior then abbot of Bec in 1063 and 1078 respectively, and archbishop of Canterbury in 1093. His archiepiscopate was far from trouble-free, and clashes with William Rufus and Henry I forced him into exile from England in 1097-1100 and 1103-6. He died at Canterbury on 21 April, 1109, after some two years of sporadic ill-health. Eadmer, one of his monastic sons, wrote two texts concerning Anselm, namely the *Historia Novorum in Anglia*, written between c. 1095 and 1123,³ and *De vita et conversatione Anselmi Cantuariensis Archiepiscopi*, on which Eadmer was working while Anselm was yet alive. Eadmer revisited his *Vita Anselmi* in the 1120s in response to criticism of Anselm,⁴ and continued to revise it until c. 1125.⁵ John of Salisbury's reworking of Eadmer's *Vita Anselmi* was presented to Pope Alexander III as part of a canonization bid in 1163, supported by Archbishop Thomas Becket.⁶ No

² The classic study of Anselm, on which this paragraph draws, is Southern, *Saint Anselm and his Biographer*, which Southern revised and published as *Saint Anselm: A portrait in a landscape* (Cambridge, 1990), which includes a useful chronology at pp. xxvii-xxix.

³ Eadmer, *Historia Novorum in Anglia*, ed. M. Rule, RS 81 (London, 1884), pp. 1-302 [trans. G. Bosanquet, *Eadmer's History of Recent Events in England: Historia Novorum in Anglia* (London, 1964)]. On the dating of the work, see Southern, *Saint Anselm: A Portrait*, pp. 411-20; A. Gransden, *Historical Writing in England, c. 550 to c. 1307* (London, 1974), p. 136.

⁴ See, for example, Eadmer, *Historia novorum*, p. 30: 'obtestatus est rex quod manibus ac pedibus plaudens in amplexum ejus accurreret, si ullam fiduciam haberet se ad eum posse ullatenus aspirare' ['{Rufus} protested that Anselm would applaud with hands and feet and run to embrace {the archbishopric}, had he any confidence that he could attain it', p. 31]; c.f. Eadmer, *Historia novorum*, pp. 27-8 [pp. 29-30]. In addition to *Vita Anselmi* and *Historia novorum*, see also William of Malmesbury, *Gesta pontificum Anglorum*, pp. 78, 80 [pp. 53, 54]. See also Southern, *Saint Anselm: A Portrait*, p. 192; *idem*, 'St Anselm at Canterbury: His mission of reconciliation', in D.E. Luscombe and G.R. Evans (eds.), *Anselm: Aosta, Bec and Canterbury. Papers in commemoration of the nine-hundredth anniversary of Anselm's enthronement as Archbishop, 25 September 1093* (Sheffield, 1996), pp. 17-35, pp. 19-20; Gransden, *Historical Writing in England, c. 550 to c. 1307*, pp. 135, 138-9.

⁵ On the dating of the *Vita Anselmi* and the revisions made by Eadmer, see Southern's introduction to his edition, pp. ix-xxv. On Eadmer's other extant works, see Gransden, *Historical Writing in England, c. 550 to c. 1307*, pp. 129-31; Southern, *Saint Anselm and his Biographer*, pp. 274-98; *idem*, *Saint Anselm: A portrait*, pp. 404-21; P.A. Hayward, 'An absent father: Eadmer, Goscelin and the cult of St Peter, the first abbot of St Augustine's Abbey, Canterbury', *Journal of Medieval History* 29 (2003): 201-18.

⁶ On Anselm's cult after Eadmer's fostering, see Southern, *Saint Anselm and his Biographer*, pp. 336-43; F. Barlow, *Thomas Becket* (London, 1986), p. 86. On John of Salisbury's *vita* and its

formal decision is extant, but Anselm was subsequently venerated as a saint and his body was translated to St. Anselm's chapel in Canterbury cathedral. Further bids for formal canonization were made in 1492 and 1720, when he was finally included in the catalogue of saints.⁷

There is a voluminous body of literature concerned with the life and works of Anselm (1033-1109).⁸ Anselm's usefulness for the purposes of this thesis lies in the fact that his acquisition and deployment of authority clearly needed careful narrative attention in order that he might be successfully written as saintly. I want to consider where and how Eadmer situated Anselm's holiness and authority. As we will see, justification of his authority over others was both explicitly stated and implicitly woven into the fabric of Eadmer's *Vita Anselmi*.

According to Eadmer, the *Historia novorum* treated of Anselm's official relationships with the kings of England, but 'nec adeo quicquam in se contineat quod ad privatam conversationem, vel ad morum ipsius Anselmi qualitatem, aut ad miraculorum exhibitionem pertinere videatur'.⁹ The *Vita Anselmi*, Eadmer suggested, sought to remedy this omission, and should be read in conjunction with the *Historia Novorum*: 'Plene... actus ejus scire volentibus. nec illud sine isto, nec istud sine illo sufficere posse pronuncio'.¹⁰ The intimacy of the *Vita Anselmi*, its depiction of Anselm's inner life and its vivid use of direct speech have contributed to a continued perception of the *vita* as a rediscovery of the art of particularly intimate biography, as opposed to the *Historia novorum*'s treatment of Anselm's public life.¹¹ Far from focusing only on Anselm's private life, as

broader context, see Y. Hirata, 'St Anselm and two clerks of Thomas Becket', in Luscombe and Evans (eds.), *Anselm: Aosta, Bec and Canterbury*, pp. 323-33.

⁷ On the canonization bids, see Southern, *Saint Anselm and his Biographer*, pp. 338-43.

⁸ See, for example, J. Hopkins, *A Companion to the Study of St. Anselm* (Minneapolis and London, 1972), and his supplementary bibliography provided at <http://www.cla.umn.edu/jhopkins/Anselmbibliography.pdf>.

⁹ Eadmer, *Vita Anselmi*, p. 1 ['it left out anything which seemed to belong merely to Anselm's private conversation, or to the nature of his *mores*, or to the setting forth of his miracles'].

¹⁰ Eadmer, *Vita Anselmi*, p. 2 ['I give warning... that readers of the former work cannot fully understand [Anselm's] actions without the help of this work, nor can readers of this work do so without the help of the other'].

¹¹ See especially Southern, *Saint Anselm and his Biographer*, pp. 329-36; c.f. *idem*, *Saint Anselm: A portrait*, pp. 422-6; *idem*, 'Foreword', in Eadmer, *Historia novorum*, pp. vii-xiii, p. xii; Gransden, *Historical Writing in England, c. 550 to c. 1307*, p. 133; S.N. Vaughn, 'Eadmer's *Historia Novorum*: A reinterpretation', *Anglo-Norman Studies* 10 (1988 for 1987): 259-89, p. 283; *eadem*, *Anselm of Bec and Robert of Meulan: The innocence of the dove and the wisdom of the serpent* (Berkeley and London, 1987), p. 4; Lapidge and Love, 'Latin hagiography', p. 254.

Eadmer alleged, however, the *vita* also contains comment on and justification of Anselm's public life, and it is in this respect that the text is of interest to this study. Michael Staunton has also argued that Eadmer's professed division of public/private in the *Historia novorum* and *Vita Anselmi* respectively needs to be questioned, and that Eadmer's agenda with regard to Anselm's public acts needs to be written into our understanding of the *vita*.¹² A study of Anselm himself should certainly consider the two works together. For our present purposes, however, it suffices to focus largely on one aspect of the *Vita Anselmi* only, namely how it presents Anselm's acquisition and exercising of authority over others in order to circumvent charges of ambition.

It is clear that the accession of Anselm, abbot of Bec, to the archbishopric of Canterbury was controversial. He himself acknowledged this when he wrote to the monks at Bec – who were complaining that he had abandoned them and not resisted his election as he could have – of certain people ‘qui aut fingunt malitia aut suspicantur errore ..., quod magis trahar ad archiepiscopatum vitiosa cupiditate, quam cogar religiosa necessitate’.¹³ Anselm refuted such charges: ‘nec aliquis in me videret aliquid opus, unde me praelatione delectari cognosceret’.¹⁴ The motivating factors behind Anselm's career and achievements, however, have continued to exercise commentators. Thus, for example, Richard Southern and Sally Vaughn had a long-running debate, in which Southern insisted that Anselm was an innocent, reluctant to assume authority over others. Vaughn, on the other hand attributed to him a more canny ‘holy guile’, but maintained that this political astuteness neither implied hypocrisy nor undermined Anselm's sanctity.¹⁵ Much of the modern debate centres on Anselm's alleged horror of

¹² M. Staunton, ‘Eadmer's *Vita Anselmi*: A reinterpretation’, *Journal of Medieval History* 23 (1997): 1-14, pp. 2-3, then *passim*.

¹³ Anselm, *Ep.* 156, Ad Baldricum priorem ceterosque monachos Beccenses, in ed. F.S. Schmitt, *S. Anselmi Cantuariensis Archiepiscopi Opera Omnia* [hereafter cited as *Anselmi opera omnia*], 6 vols. (Edinburgh, 1946-61), 4: 16-23, p. 18 [‘who either maliciously pretend, or erroneously suspect ... that I was more attracted to the archbishopric by corrupt cupidity than compelled by religious necessity’, trans. W. Fröhlich, *The Letters of Saint Anselm of Canterbury*, 3 vols., Cistercian Studies series 96, 97, 142 (Kalamazoo, 1990, 1993, 1994), 2: 28-36, p. 29]. c.f. Staunton, ‘Eadmer's *Vita Anselmi*’, p. 4.

¹⁴ Anselm, *Ep.* 156, *Anselmi opera omnia*, 4: 18 [‘no-one might discern in me any act from which he might conclude that I delight in prelacy’].

¹⁵ S.N. Vaughn, *Anselm of Bec*, p. 17 cited here; c.f. pp. 116-38. In this book, Vaughn addressed the model established by Southern in his introduction to the *Vita Anselmi*, *Saint Anselm and his Biographer*, and subsequently *Saint Anselm: A Portrait*, see especially pp. 186-94. See also R.W.

accepting the archbishopric, and whether he was merely conforming to the expectations of a *topos*.¹⁶ Overall, Vaughn's model is more convincing than Southern's. For our present purposes, however, whether Anselm really was ambitious or manipulative – however holy his motivation – is less relevant than the clear inference that at least some of Eadmer's contemporaries levelled the charge at him. That Eadmer felt the need to insist upon Anselm's horror of office and all that it entailed demonstrates that such authority was seen as potentially problematic even for monastic figures.

Anselm was aware of the problems of authority over others, and especially how such authority impinges on the imperatives of obedience, and he seems to have overcome his qualms – or justified his acceptance of authority to others, depending on one's opinion as to the sincerity of his objections – by describing his acceptance of the archbishopric in terms of obedience to earthly and divine will.¹⁷ Eadmer also depicted Anselm as obedient to the counsel of his ecclesiastical superiors. We have already seen that Anselm submitted himself to the advice of Lanfranc and Maurilius, Archbishop of Rouen, at the outset of his monastic career.¹⁸ His desire to utterly obey counsel is stressed: 'Sciens...

Southern, 'Sally Vaughn's Anselm: An examination of the foundations', *Albion* 20 (1988): 181-204; *idem*, 'St Anselm at Canterbury: His mission of reconciliation', in *Anselm: Aosta, Bec and Canterbury*, pp. 17-35, pp. 19-20; S.N. Vaughn, 'St Anselm of Canterbury: Reluctant archbishop?', *Albion* 6 (1974): 240-50; *eadem*, 'Anselm: Saint and statesman', *Albion* 20 (1988): 205-220; *eadem*, 'Eadmer's *Historia Novorum*'. See also G.R. Evans, 'Anselm and keeping order in the real world', in J.R. Fortin (ed.), *Saint Anselm: His origins and influence* (Lewiston, N.Y., 2001), pp. 3-25, wherein Evans argues that Anselm was without guile; c.f. M. Chibnall, 'From Bec to Canterbury: Anselm and monastic privilege', *Anselm Studies: An occasional journal* 1 (1983): 23-44, p. 39.

¹⁶ Eadmer, *Historia novorum*, pp. 32-7 [pp. 33-8]; *idem*, *Vita Anselmi*, pp. 63-7. Other aspects include Anselm's deployment of friendship and the degree to which Anselm edited his letters and works in order to present a particular image to contemporaries and posterity, see especially Southern, 'Sally Vaughn's Anselm', pp. 187-91, 191-202 respectively, and Vaughn, 'Anselm: Saint and statesman', pp. 218-211-16 respectively. Fascinating though these aspects are with regard to Anselm in general, they will not be dwelt upon here, as they are less directly relevant to our particular concerns. On the *topos*, see also M. Ruud, 'Episcopal reluctance: Lanfranc's resignation reconsidered', *Albion* 2 (1987): 163-75; *eadem*, "'Unworthy Servants": The rhetoric of resignation at Canterbury, 1070-1170', *Journal of Religious History* 22(1998): 1-13; Staunton, 'Eadmer's *Vita Anselmi*', p. 4-5; Weiler, 'The *rex renitens*', pp. 18-24. Weiler also discussed an analogous *topos vis-à-vis* royal authority, as discussed at p. 47, *supra*.

¹⁷ See, for example, Anselm, *Ep.* 156, 20-2 [*Letters*, pp. 31-4]. See also Evans' discussion and the sources referenced therein, 'Anselm and keeping order', pp. 13-15, 16-17, and Staunton, 'Eadmer's *Vita Anselmi*', p. 4.

¹⁸ Eadmer, *Vita Anselmi*, pp. 10-11, see pp. 41-2, *supra*.

scriptum esse, “Omnia fac cum consilio et post factum non pænitebis”. nolebat se alicui uni vitæ earum quas mente volvebat inconsulte credere.’¹⁹ Similarly,

Tanta autem vis devotionis pectus Anselmi tunc possidebat, tantumque veri consilii Lanfranco inesse credebat. ut cum Rotomagum petentes per magnam quæ super Beccum est silvam pergerent, si Lanfrancus ei diceret, ‘In hac silva mane, et ne dum vixeris hinc exeas cave’. proculdubio ut fatebatur imperata servaret.²⁰

The very next chapter of the *vita* briefly compresses three years and turns directly to Anselm’s succeeding Lanfranc as prior of Bec.²¹ We shall further consider the narrative context of his acquisition of this office presently, but his priorship is of interest here in that Eadmer again affirms that Anselm exercised authority only out of obedience. While prior of Bec, Anselm went again to Maurilius of Rouen, and ‘inter verba pro amissa status sui tranquillitate vehementissime fleret. ab onere prælationis quod sibi fatebatur importabile, ut relevari mereretur magnopere coepit rogare’.²² Maurilius refused, binding him by ‘sanctam oboedientiam’ to persist,²³ and prophesying that Anselm would soon be promoted to higher office, from which he must on no account shy away. Anselm’s priorship, then, is suffered by him, on account of holy obedience, which is enjoined upon him by his superior. His elevation to the abbacy of Bec is also linked to this holy obedience, as Maurilius’s injunction is reintroduced: ‘nam sicut ipse testabatur nunquam se abbatem fieri consensisset, nisi eum hoc quod dicimus imperium ad constrinxisset’.²⁴ Similarly, Anselm’s visit to England, which led to his acclamation as archbishop, is written in terms of his obedience:

¹⁹ Eadmer, *Vita Anselmi*, p. 10 [‘Knowing... that it is written “Do all things with counsel, and when they are done you will not repent”, he was unwilling to commit himself unadvisedly to any one of the walks of life on which his thoughts were turned’].

²⁰ Eadmer, *Vita Anselmi*, p. 11 [‘By this time Anselm’s devotion to Lanfranc was so great, and his belief in the value of Lanfranc’s advice so strong, that if while they were going to Rouen through the great wood which lies above Bec Lanfranc had said to him “Stay in the wood and see that you never come out so long as you live”, without a doubt, as he used to say, he would have obeyed the command’].

²¹ Eadmer, *Vita Anselmi*, pp. 11-12.

²² Eadmer, *Vita Anselmi*, p. 21 [‘vehemently and with tears deplored his lost tranquillity, he began to beg most earnestly to be relieved of the burden of his office, which he declared to be insupportable to him’].

²³ Eadmer, *Vita Anselmi*, p. 22 [‘holy obedience’].

²⁴ Eadmer, *Vita Anselmi*, p. 45 [‘For, as he himself used to testify, he would never have consented to become abbot unless this command which we mention had constrained him’].

Anselmus invitatus immo districta interpellatione adjuratus ab Hugone Cestrensi comite, multisque aliis Anglorum regni principibus, qui eum animarum suarum medicum et advocatum elegerant, et insuper æcclesiæ suæ prece atque præcepto pro communi utilitate coactus. Angliam ingressus est.²⁵

Throughout his career in the *Vita Anselmi*, then, Anselm's acquisition of authority is explicitly motivated not by ambition but rather by the constraint of obedience, and thus in accordance with one of the central tenets of the *Regula Benedicti*. Eadmer also underscored Anselm's fitness for office and lack of ambition implicitly, by carefully positioning his accounts of Anselm's acquisition and deployment of authority amidst supernatural confirmations of God's approbation of Anselm, and it is to this implicit treatment of the theme that we now turn.

Miracles within texts can have many layers of meaning. At one level, a healing miracle, for example, aligns a subject with Christ. Such an alignment was fundamental to the core expectations of sanctity,²⁶ and a mimetic miracle was thus itself manifestation and proof of the subject's sanctity. The way in which that healing miracle is written, however, can additionally give it more nuanced meaning, arising from and impacting on the saint's relationships with others. The positioning of a miracle within a narrative can also be instructive.

Although allegedly aware of many miracles and visions, Eadmer chose not to include all of them in the *vita* itself.²⁷ This is, of course, a standard hagiographical topos, but does seem to be borne out in this instance by Eadmer's subsequent collection of miracles, written shortly after 1122.²⁸ Southern,

²⁵ Eadmer, *Vita Anselmi*, p. 63 ['Anselm was invited, nay urgently entreated and required to come to England by Hugh earl of Chester and many other noblement of the English kingdom, who had chosen him as their spiritual physician and protector; and being moreover constrained by the prayer and command laid upon him by his own church for their common good, he came to England'].

²⁶ See, for example, A. Vauchez, 'The saint', p. 313: 'All saints worthy of the title, male and female attempted during their lifetimes, if not to identify with the person of the Son of God, at least to approach that absolute norm as closely as possible'. C.f. P. Fouracre and R.A. Gerberding, *Late Merovingian France: History and hagiography, 640-720* (Manchester and New York, 1996), pp. 44-5.

²⁷ Eadmer, *Vita Anselmi*, pp. 61-2.

²⁸ Eadmer, *Descriptio quorundam miraculorum*. On the dating of the miracle collection, see Southern, 'Introduction', *Vita Anselmi*, p. xxii.

however, attributed to him a certain squeamishness over the reportage of miracles, suggesting that he was too ‘exact [an] observer’ to see conclusive miracles,²⁹ and that Eadmer’s innate reluctance to recount the miraculous left him with a hagiographical problem: ‘Eadmer would no doubt have liked to write a work bristling with conventional miracles.... But ... he preserved the scrupulosity of vision which prevented his seeing the miracles which others saw’.³⁰ Eadmer does not, however, seem to have been uncomfortable with those supernatural occurrences which he does recount, as he had already apparently distinguished to his own satisfaction between those which came on good authority and those with less watertight credentials.³¹ Moreover, just under half of the chapters within the *vita* itself in its final form³² contain incidents which are in some way supernatural or imply divine approbation of Anselm.³³ With but a few exceptions, the remaining chapters all concern Anselm’s career, and/or fitness for authority over others.³⁴ By considering the relative positioning of supernatural episodes within the *vita*, I aim to identify those aspects of Anselm’s sanctity that Eadmer felt needed particular attention, which, I suggest, are in some way centred on his authority.

Staunton’s analysis of the narrative context of Anselm’s acceptance of office (specifically his abbacy and archbishopric) and exile in the *vita* suggested that Eadmer positioned miraculous episodes in the *vita*’s narrative structure in an attempt to clear Anselm’s name of charges of ambition, and to insist upon his saintliness.³⁵ Thus, for example, the three chapters preceding Eadmer’s account of Anselm’s promotion to the abbacy of Bec, ‘though ostensibly dealing with other matters, when viewed in the light of later criticisms of Anselm’s acceptance

²⁹ Southern, *Saint Anselm and his Biographer*, p. 331.

³⁰ Southern, *Saint Anselm: A portrait*, pp. 426-7, p. 427 cited here. C.f. Southern’s introduction to the *Vita Anselmi*, pp. xviii-xix.

³¹ Eadmer, *Descriptio quorundam miraculorum*, p. 152: ‘Quædam ... quæ visa fuerunt, quædam vero quæ facta probantur sub uno statui scribere, omissis pluribus quæ popularis rumor jactitat vera quidem esse, sed michi non omni ex parte comperta’ [‘I decided ... to gather together and write down some of the things which had been seen and done, omitting many things which popular rumour asserted to be true but of which I was not altogether certain’].

³² That is, forty-four of the 107 chapters within the *vita*, in addition to the miracles and visions recounted in the *Descriptio quorundam miraculorum*. See Table 2, pp. 259-62, *infra*.

³³ This proportion is also noted by Staunton, ‘Eadmer’s *Vita Anselmi*’, p. 2, where he points out that it is a higher proportion than in the twelfth-century *vitæ* of, for example, Wulfstan and Thomas Becket.

³⁴ See Table 2, pp. 259-62, *infra*.

of the Canterbury office, appear to have an oblique bearing on the subject'.³⁶ The chapters deal with Anselm's horror of possessions, the mysterious appearance of a gold ring and how Anselm disposed of it to enrich the community, and the devil's frustration at Anselm's burgeoning reputation and popularity, and one of the devil's thwarted attempts to seduce a supplicant, Cadulus. Considering these episodes in the light of Anselm's promotion to the abbacy, Staunton concluded that,

they ... act as refutations of the two principal charges against Anselm's elevation to Canterbury. First, the story of the gold ring, its prophetic interpretation, and Anselm's disposal of it, equates the archbishopric of Canterbury with a precious commodity presented to Anselm but accepted and used by him for the good of the Bec community. Secondly, in the story of Cadulus, the charge that Anselm was a hypocrite who would go back on his promises and leave men destitute – essentially that made by many among the Bec community in 1093 – is attributed to the devil.³⁷

Similarly, he examined Eadmer's treatment of the stand-off between Anselm and Rufus at Rockingham, which culminated in Anselm seeking permission to go to Rome and his 1097-1100 exile.³⁸ Some accused him of being a shepherd abandoning his flock at this point.³⁹ Staunton's analysis of the following four chapters (which recount the semi-miraculous episodes in which Anselm protects a pursued hare and rejoices when a tormented bird is released respectively, followed by Anselm's decision to go to Rome despite not gaining Rufus's permission, and his reluctant leave-taking of his Canterbury community)⁴⁰ concludes that 'the implication that Anselm's exile of 1097 was a flight from persecution is not entirely convincing, but Eadmer was not above stretching the evidence to fit his case'.⁴¹

³⁵ Staunton, 'Eadmer's *Vita Anselmi*'.

³⁶ Staunton, 'Eadmer's *Vita Anselmi*', p. 6, with regard to Eadmer, *Vita Anselmi*, pp. 40-3.

³⁷ Staunton, 'Eadmer's *Vita Anselmi*', p. 6.

³⁸ Eadmer, *Vita Anselmi*, pp. 85-7. On Rockingham and the issues on which it dwelt, see also Eadmer, *Historia novorum*, pp. 52-67 [pp. 53-68]. C.f. Vaughn, *Anselm of Bec*, pp. 177-86; Southern, *Saint Anselm and his Biographer*, pp. 154-5; *idem*, *Saint Anselm: A portrait*, p. 269; M. Staunton, 'Trial and inspiration in the *Lives* of Anselm and Thomas Becket', in Luscombe and Evans (eds.), *Anselm: Aosta, Bec and Canterbury*, pp. 310-22, pp. 312-14, 316.

³⁹ See the discussion in Staunton, 'Eadmer's *Vita Anselmi*', pp. 9-10.

⁴⁰ Eadmer, *Vita Anselmi*, pp. 89-98.

⁴¹ Staunton, 'Eadmer's *Vita Anselmi*', pp. 10-12, p. 11 cited.

We see, then, that Eadmer interspersed accounts of Anselm's successive promotions to high office and periods of conflict with affirmations that Anselm was acting appropriately and selflessly, rather than out of self-serving ambition, that he was persecuted, and that he was validated by various supernatural signs. This in itself is useful for this thesis: that Eadmer felt the need to do so indicates that Anselm's authority over others attracted criticism, and threatened his claim to sanctity. It is possible, however, to push the enquiry a little further. We turn now to Eadmer's treatment of Anselm's first assumption of office, and the aspects of it which Eadmer seems to have felt needed supernatural affirmation.

In the *vita*, Anselm's first promotion, to prior of Bec, is validated by a vision, which describes an episode of intellectual elucidation:

meditando secum rimari conaretur quonam modo prophetæ præterita simul et futura quasi præsentia olim agnoverint, et indubitanter ea dicto vel scripto protulerint. Et ecce cum in his totus esset, et ea intelligere magnopere desideraret. defixis oculorum suorum radiis vidit per medias maceries oratorii ac dormitorii monachos quorum hoc officium erat pro apparatu matutinarum altare et alia loca æcclesiæ circumeuntes, luminaria accendentes Conceptit ergo apud se Deo levissimum esse prophetis in spiritu ventura monstrare, cum sibi concesserit quæ fiebant per tot obstacula corporeis oculis posse videre.⁴²

At one level, this demonstrates Anselm's intellectual brilliance, but, by virtue of its narrative position, it also provides validation of his promotion.

This is followed by six chapters which treat of how Anselm exercised his authority over others, creating a cumulative picture of a gentle, assiduous, patient, charitable counselling of each according to his needs and character, by which everyone, even those who were initially hostile, was eventually won over.⁴³ This

⁴² Eadmer, *Vita Anselmi*, pp. 11-13, at 12-13: ['as he meditated he tried to puzzle out how the prophets of old could see both past and future as if they were present and set them forth beyond doubt in speech or writing. And, behold, while he was thus absorbed and striving with all his might to understand this problem, he fixed his eyes on the wall and – right through the masonry of the church and dormitory – he saw the monks whose office it was to prepare for matins going about the altar and other parts of the church lighting the candles From this he saw that it was a very small thing for God to show to the prophets in the spirit the things which would come to pass, since God had allowed him to see with his bodily eyes through so many obstacles the things which were then happening'].

⁴³ Eadmer, *Vita Anselmi*, pp. 13-23.

is exemplified by Anselm's careful taming of the initially wild Osbern – a spiritual nurturing which is underlined by chapter xiii's description of the physical and emotional nurturing he provided to his brethren, both healthy and ill.⁴⁴ This series of chapters is followed by a further six chapters which in some way entail miracles or visions – the largest cluster of supernatural occurrences in the *vita* other than that which validated Anselm during his 1097-1100 exile.⁴⁵ I suggest that this preponderance implies that this is also a key section in Eadmer's construction of Anselm. Just as the later series of chapters treating of the period surrounding his first exile may be seen as creating Anselm as a persecuted saint, so this series of chapters may be seen as creating him as a saintly educator and counsellor.

By the evidence of Anselm's own works, the keynote of his rulership seems to have been guidance,⁴⁶ and Eadmer's construction of Anselm in the *Vita Anselmi* reflects this. Anselm is consistently and persistently seen using his authority appropriately: nurturing, instructing, correcting and setting a good example to his charges.⁴⁷ As discussed in Chapter 1, and as will be seen in Chapter 3's study of Margaret, effective guidance and education of subjects is an important signifier of saintly rulership. Accordingly, Eadmer follows his first reference to Anselm's promotion within a monastic hierarchy with a description of how Anselm, having learnt from suitable monastic exemplars, became an exemplar himself:

Anselmus ... novus monachus factus. studiose vitam aliorum religiosius viventium emulabatur; immo ipse sic religioni per omnia serviebat, ut quisquis religiose in tota ipsa congregatione vivere volebat, in ejus vita satis inveniret quod imitaretur.⁴⁸

⁴⁴ Eadmer, *Vita Anselmi*, pp. 13-23; Anselm's role in Osbern's conversion is recounted at pp. 16-20.

⁴⁵ See Table 2, pp. 259-62, *infra*.

⁴⁶ Evans, 'Anselm and keeping order', p. 17. On Anselm's impact on his students, see, *inter alia*, J. Rubinstein, 'St Anselm's influence on Guibert of Nogent', in Luscombe and Evans (eds.), *Anselm: Aosta, Bec and Canterbury*, pp. 296-309; Vaughn, 'Among These Authors'.

⁴⁷ See also Walter Daniel's depiction of Aelred, *The Life of Ailred of Rievaulx by Walter Daniel*, trans. F.M. Powicke, (London, 1950).

⁴⁸ Eadmer, *Vita Anselmi*, pp. 11-12 ['Anselm, having been made a new monk, set himself to imitate the lives of the more religious among the monks. Indeed he so performed every religious

From the very first mention of Anselm's authority over others, then, Eadmer positions him as one who teaches by his own example, and thus in accordance with the Benedictine rule's precepts for an abbot, as well as with those outlined in Gregory the Great's *Regula Pastoralis*.⁴⁹ Vaughn has noted that 'Anselm had surely read Gregory's *Pastoral Care*, since it enjoyed a wide circulation throughout Europe'.⁵⁰ More importantly for our present purposes, however, Eadmer was apparently aware of the rhetorical value of Gregory's models in his creation of the hagiographical Anselm, as may be seen in his paraphrasing of Gregory in his description of Anselm being adaptable and all things to all men.⁵¹ Accordingly, Eadmer described how Anselm adapted himself as an educator: lovingly, painstakingly and increasingly strictly taming Osbern and thus bringing him to a satisfactory spiritual end.⁵²

The final chapter of this cluster of episodes containing supernatural elements concerns some of his books written at this time, and the *Prosologion*

duty, that if anyone in the whole community wished to lead a religious life, he had in Anselm a pattern which he could follow'].

⁴⁹ In one of his letters, Anselm himself had set down that anyone in authority over others should teach 'et verbo et exemplo vitae' ['both by word and the example of his life'], *Ep.* 160, ad Fulconem episcopum Belvacensem, *Anselmi opera omnia*, 4: 29-31, p. 30 [pp. 44-47, p. 46]; c.f. *Regula Benedicti*, c. 2, ed. and trans. J. McCann, *The Rule of Saint Benedict* (London, 1972 edn.), pp. 18-19. c.f. Vaughn, 'Eadmer's *Historia Novorum*', p. 261 on this passage. See also Eadmer, *Vita Anselmi*, p. 16, where Anselm teaches, admittedly not by *verbum* and *exemplum* explicitly, but by 'dicta ejus et facta' ['his words and deeds'].

⁵⁰ Vaughn, *Anselm of Bec*, p. 15; c.f. *eadem*, 'Eadmer's *Historia Novorum*', pp. 264, 271, 280-3, 287. Gillian Evans, however, has suggested that the influence of *Regula pastoralis* upon Anselm's behaviour needs to be qualified: 'although we may safely take it that Anselm knew that material nowhere does he speak of the *rectores* of the Church', that is, using the same terms as had Gregory in the *Regula*, Evans, 'Anselm and keeping order', p. 17. Notwithstanding, the concept of twofold teaching was firmly established at this time, regardless of the actual terms used by Anselm himself, C. Walker Bynum, *Docere verbo et exemplo: An aspect of twelfth-century spirituality*, *Harvard Theological Review*, 31 (Missoula, Mont., 1979). C.f. Staunton, 'Eadmer's *Vita Anselmi*', p. 13.

⁵¹ Eadmer, *Vita Anselmi*, pp. 54-6; c.f. Gregory the Great, *Regula pastoralis*, PL 77: 13-128, III, Prologue, c. 49, and III, *passim*; at cc. 49-126 [St. Gregory the Great, *Pastoral Care*, trans. H. Davis, *Ancient Christian Writers: The works of the Fathers in translation*, no. 11 (New York, 1950), pp. 89-90, and 89-233]. On correcting others by being adaptable, see also Gregory's advice to Augustine of Canterbury, recounted by Bede, in *Ecclesiastical History of the English People*, ed. and trans. B. Colgrave and R.A.B. Mynors (Oxford, 1969), pp. 84-5; Eadmer, *Vita Anselmi*, pp. 15-16, 16-20, 37-39, 54-7. These similarities are discussed by Vaughn, 'Eadmer's *Historia Novorum*', pp. 281-2, and *eadem*, *Anselm of Bec*, pp. 15-16.

⁵² On this, see also P. Baumstein, 'Benedictine education: Principles of Anselm's patronage', *American Benedictine Review* 43 (1992): 3-11, pp. 7-8. C.f. *Regula Benedicti*, c. 2, pp. 20-23. Anselm's patient nurturing of initially rebellious monks echoes that of Cuthbert, see Symeon of Durham, *Libellus de Exordio atque procursu istius, hoc est Dunhelmensis, ecclesie: Tract on the origins and progress of this the church of Durham*, trans. D. Rollason (Oxford, 2000), pp. 36-7,

specifically.⁵³ As with the vision of elucidation he had upon becoming prior, here Anselm was wrestling with a theological conundrum, and received divine inspiration. This time, the conundrum was the construction of a proof that God is as he is believed to be: ‘Quæ res ... magnam sibi peperit difficultatem. Nam hæc cogitatio partim illi cibum, potum et somnum tollebat, partim ... intentionem ejus qua matutinis et alii servitio Dei intendere debebat perturbabat’.⁵⁴ Suddenly, ‘quadam nocte ... Dei gratia illuxit in corde ejus’,⁵⁵ and he resolved the problem. He immediately wrote his proof down on wax tablets, which mysteriously disappeared, and their replacements were carefully secreted, but still found mysteriously scattered and shredded. Anselm took this as a sign that he should commit his proof to parchment, and duly did so. In this episode, then, his intellect is divinely assisted, and he is supernaturally encouraged to commit the fruits of his intellect to parchment for the benefit of others.

This account leads up to a long chapter which quotes a letter of advice which Anselm wrote to Lanzo, subsequently Prior of St Pancras at Lewes,⁵⁶ which is succeeded by one which recounts visions granted to Anselm, and a further one which expounds his teaching methods, which were so well thought of that his reputation spread throughout Normandy, France, Flanders and England.⁵⁷ I suggest that this concentration of narrative attention is designed to underline Anselm’s eminent and appropriate exercise of authority, manifested by his education and nurturing of others, which renders him still more suited to the promotion to higher office which is about to be recounted within the *vita*.

This suggestion is corroborated by Eadmer’s subsequent references to Anselm’s literary output. Thus, for example, the chapter before that in which Eadmer described Anselm sending *De Incarnatione Verbi* to Pope Urban concentrates on his readiness to receive and assist all who came to him for any

after Bede, *Vita Cuthberti*, ed. and trans. B. Colgrave, *Two Lives of Saint Cuthbert* (Cambridge etc., 1940; 1985 edn.), pp. 141-307, pp. 210-11.

⁵³ Eadmer, *Vita Anselmi*, pp. 28-31.

⁵⁴ Eadmer, *Vita Anselmi*, pp. 29-30 [‘this... gave him great trouble, partly because thinking about it took away his desire for food, drink and sleep, and partly... because it disturbed the attention which he ought to have paid to matins and to Divine service at other times’].

⁵⁵ Eadmer, *Vita Anselmi*, p. 30 [‘one night... the grace of God illuminated his heart’].

⁵⁶ Eadmer, *Vita Anselmi*, pp. 32-5.

⁵⁷ Eadmer, *Vita Anselmi*, pp. 37-40.

reason, with special mention of scriptural or moral issues, thus positioning him as a suitable intellectual authority.⁵⁸ Similarly, the chapters which mention his completion of *Cur Deus Homo* and *De conceptu virginali* are succeeded by two miracle chapters in the first instance and four which include a miracle and validating visions or knowledge somehow supernaturally conferred in the second.⁵⁹ Anselm is established as one who is worthy not only to teach personally, but also to disseminate his teachings via the written word.

We see, then, that although the *Vita Anselmi* is indeed an intimate biography, it is far more than the account of Anselm's inner life that Eadmer professed it to be. The overall structure of the work seems to suggest that Anselm's inner life rendered him inherently suited to authority over others, and his performance of that authority earned him divine approbation. Monastic and ecclesiastical authority was problematic, then, but could nonetheless be presented in such a way as to circumvent charges of self-serving ambition and to inculcate a reputation of sanctity. Patient and loving but rigorous education of a ruler's charges also needed careful narrative attention, but could itself be used as evidence of their fitness to rule.

We turn now to a layman who came to be regarded as a martyr-saint. Whereas Eadmer dwelt on Anselm's qualities *in vita*, and how they rendered him fit to exercise authority over others, Waltheof's alleged sanctity came to be largely centred not on his life or his lordship, but on his death, his behaviour immediately beforehand, and his posthumous miracles.

2.ii Waltheof: *iudicibus Normannis ense peremptus*.⁶⁰

Waltheof was one of the few indigenous nobles known to have retained power in the post-Conquest period, and the only prominent Anglo-Saxon publicly killed by William the Conqueror outside battle. He submitted to William in the winter of 1066-7, but rebelled in 1069, achieving a notable victory against the

⁵⁸ Eadmer, *Vita Anselmi*, pp. 72-3.

⁵⁹ Eadmer, *Vita Anselmi*, pp. 107-10, pp. 122-6.

⁶⁰ Orderic, *Historia Ecclesiastica*, 2: 350 ['Slain with the sword by Norman judges'].

Norman garrison at York.⁶¹ William's response to the rebellion was decisive, but Waltheof apparently secured himself in the king's favour following his submission in 1070, as he was granted not only the earldoms of Huntingdon and Northumbria, but also 'the unparalleled privilege for an Anglo-Saxon' of marrying into William's own family, to Judith, the daughter of William's sister.⁶² In 1075, however, Waltheof became somehow embroiled in open revolt against William. The leaders of the revolt seem to have been Roger, earl of Hereford and Ralph, earl of East Anglia, and the plot was hatched during the feast which celebrated Ralph's marriage to Roger's sister.⁶³ Modern scholars' uncertainty about the degree of his complicity echoes the ambiguity of contemporary chroniclers.⁶⁴ The revolt faltered, apparently beset by poor organisation.⁶⁵ According to some accounts, Waltheof sought William's pardon, but without success, and was thrown into prison.⁶⁶ On 31 May, 1076, he was beheaded, just outside Winchester, and buried at Crowland Abbey in Lincolnshire.⁶⁷ He left no male heir, but two daughters, the elder of whom, Matilda, was to marry Simon de Senlis, and then David I of Scotland.

Although there is no evidence that Waltheof was regarded a saint in the immediate aftermath of his execution, by the twelfth and thirteenth centuries a cult was centred on his remains at Crowland. He was apparently soon seen by

⁶¹ ASC, s.a. 1068 [1069] D, *The Anglo Saxon Chronicle: A collaborative edition*, general editors D. Dumville and S. Keynes (Cambridge, 1983-2004), 6: 84 [trans. M. Swanton, *The Anglo-Saxon Chronicles* (London, 1996, 2000 edn. cited), p. 204]; Orderic, *Historia Ecclesiastica* 2: 196-7, 226-33; John of Worcester, *Chronicon*, trans. P. McGurk, *The Chronicle of John of Worcester. Volume III: The Annals from 1067 to 1140 with the Gloucester interpolations and the continuation to 1141* (Oxford, 1998), s.a. 1069, 3: 8-9; Symeon, *Historia Regum*, s.a. 1069, in *Symeonis Monachi opera omnia*, ed. T. Arnold, 2 vols., RS 75, 2: 3-283, p. 187 [trans. J. Stevenson, *The Church Historians of England* 8 vols. (London, 1853-8), 3.ii: 423-617, p. 550]; William of Malmesbury, *Gesta regum Anglorum*, 1: 468-9; F.S. Scott, 'Earl Waltheof of Northumbria', *Archaeologia Aeliana* 4th ser., 30 (1952): 149-215, pp. 174-9; F.M. Stenton, *Anglo-Saxon England*, (Oxford, 1943; 1971 edn.), p. 603.

⁶² Orderic, *Historia Ecclesiastica* 2: 262-3, W.E. Kapelle, *The Norman Conquest of the North: The region and its transformation, 1000-1135* (Chapel Hill, 1979), p. 127 cited here. C.f. Scott, 'Earl Waltheof', p. 170; R. Fletcher, *Bloodfeud: Murder and revenge in Anglo-Saxon England* (London, 2002), p. 187.

⁶³ Orderic, *Historia Ecclesiastica*, 2: 310-15. Roger was the son of William FitzOsbern, a close friend of William the Conqueror, and Ralph was born in England of Breton descent, Scott, 'Earl Waltheof', p. 202.

⁶⁴ See, for example, Scott, 'Earl Waltheof', pp. 203-5; Stenton, *Anglo-Saxon England*, p. 610; D. Bates, *William the Conqueror* (Stroud, 2001), pp. 182-3. This point is also made by Kapelle, *Norman Conquest of the North*, p. 134.

⁶⁵ Orderic, *Historia Ecclesiastica*, 2: 316-19; Kapelle, *Norman Conquest of the North*, p. 136.

⁶⁶ ASC, s.a. 1076 [1075] D, 6: 87 [p. 211]; John of Worcester, *Chronicon*, s.a. 1074, 3: 24-5.

some as an English political martyr, and his remains were exhumed in 1091, whereupon his corpse was found to be incorrupt, and his head miraculously rejoined onto his body.⁶⁸ There had been a fire at Crowland in 1091, which destroyed many of the abbey's historical records.⁶⁹ It is perhaps no coincidence, therefore, that it was in 1091 that Waltheof's corpse was exhumed and translated: these actions may be seen as part of a general promotion of Crowland's interests. He was accordingly translated to a more prestigious spot in the abbey church, and healing miracles duly began to be performed and noted, possibly almost immediately, possibly some twenty years later.⁷⁰

Orderic Vitalis, a monk at the Norman monastery of Saint-Évroul, was invited by the abbot of Crowland, Geoffrey of Orleans (1109-24), and asked to write about Crowland and two men associated with the abbey, namely St. Guthlac and Waltheof.⁷¹ Orderic duly included in his *Historia Ecclesiastica* a brief account of Crowland's early history, a version of Felix's *vita* of St. Guthlac, and

⁶⁷ Orderic, *Historia Ecclesiastica*, 2: 320-3.

⁶⁸ Orderic, *Historia Ecclesiastica*, 2: 346-7. Waltheof is often treated in the context of political saints, defined in J.C. Russell's classic study of political sanctity, as those for whom 'it was apparently in large measure the political side of [their] careers ... which led the English people to give them the honors of sainthood popularly', J.C. Russell, 'The canonization of opposition to the king in Angevin England', in C.H. Taylor (ed.), *Anniversary Essays in Medieval History by Students of Charles Homer Haskins: Presented on his completion of forty years of teaching* (Boston and New York, 1929), pp. 279-90, p. 280; c.f. J.W. McKenna, 'Popular canonisation as political propaganda: The cult of Archbishop Scrope', *Speculum* 45 (1970): 608-23. Russell did not include Waltheof as a political saint, but had the trend beginning with Thomas Becket. Subsequent studies, however, have placed Waltheof's cult as a forerunner of later medieval baronial political saint-cults, such as those of Simon de Montfort, Thomas of Lancaster, and Richard FitzAlan, earl of Arundel and/or royal or clerical cults of those who died violent deaths as a result of political discord, such as Edward II and Archbishop Scrope. See, for example, D.W. Rollason, 'The cult of murdered royal saints in Anglo-Saxon England', *Anglo-Saxon England* 11 (1983): 1-22, p. 22; J.M. Theilmann, 'Political canonization and political symbolism in medieval England', *Journal of British Studies* 29 (1990): 241-66; S. Walker, 'Political saints in later medieval England', in R.H. Britnell and A.J. Pollard (eds.), *The McFarlane Legacy: Studies in late medieval politics and society* (Stroud and New York, 1995), pp. 77-106. It has also been argued, however, that 'by the early twelfth century, Waltheof had become a depoliticised saint, memories of his political career having been occluded by time', C. Watkins, 'The cult of Earl Waltheof at Crowland', *Hagiographica* 3 (1996): 95-111, p. 111.

⁶⁹ Orderic, *Historia Ecclesiastica*, 2: 346-7.

⁷⁰ Orderic suggested that there were miracles in 1091, between the translation and Abbot Ingulf's death in November 1091, but also stated that the first miracles occurred 'anno tercio' of the abbacy of Geoffrey of Orleans, and therefore in 1111-12: Orderic, *Historia Ecclesiastica*, 2: 346-7; 348-9.

⁷¹ On Orderic's life and works, see Chibnall's introductions to *Historia Ecclesiastica*, 1: 1-44 and 2: xiii-xxvi; M. Chibnall, *The World of Orderic Vitalis: Norman monks and Norman knights* (Woodbridge, 1984; 1996 edn. cited), esp. pp. 3-16, 28-41. On his visit to Crowland, see Orderic, *Historia Ecclesiastica*, 2: xxvi; Chibnall, *World of Orderic*, pp. 107-8.

an account of Waltheof's career and his cult.⁷² There is no evidence of Orderic's *Historia* circulating in England,⁷³ but as Orderic was recording Crowland tradition which he had received from the subprior and monks,⁷⁴ the text is relevant here. Both the facts of his life and their varying representations could be fruitfully approached in terms of his political context. Waltheof is of interest to this thesis, however, in that he was a layman with lordly authority over others who came to be represented, albeit not unanimously, as a saint. Orderic's account places him as unambiguously saintly, and therefore provides the main focus of this section. There are other literary treatments of Waltheof. In addition to the Old English and Latin texts cited here, he also appears in Old Norse sources.⁷⁵ For Orderic, however, Waltheof's saintly reputation was not predicated on his authority – indeed he barely touched on Waltheof's activities as a lord – but rather on his innocence of treason, his demeanour in prison before his execution, his execution, and posthumous miracles which situate that execution as a martyrdom.⁷⁶

It should be noted that Orderic did not explicitly refer to Waltheof as a martyr [*martir*] or having been martyred [*martirizo*], as he did elsewhere to, for example, Edmund of East Anglia,⁷⁷ Elphege of Canterbury,⁷⁸ and Nicaise of Rouen.⁷⁹ He did, however, give Waltheof's execution a veneer of martyrdom, writing Waltheof as sinned against rather than a sinner himself. The E and D manuscripts of the *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle* both have Waltheof at least initially

⁷² Orderic, *Historia Ecclesiastica*, 2: 320-51, plus further references discussed *infra*. For Felix's vita, see *Felix's Life of St. Guthlac*, ed. B. Colgrave (Cambridge, 1956; 2nd edn., 1985). Orderic's *Historia* as a whole was written between 1114 and 1141 (Orderic, *Historia Ecclesiastica*, 1: 31ff, 112), and the fourth book, in which Waltheof appears, was probably written c. 1125 (Orderic, *Historia Ecclesiastica*, 2: xv).

⁷³ Orderic, *Historia Ecclesiastica*, 2: xxv.

⁷⁴ Orderic, *Historia Ecclesiastica*, 2: 338-9.

⁷⁵ Thus, for example, according to the early thirteenth century saga *Fagrskinna*, Waltheof – albeit misremembered as a son of Godwin – was treacherously killed by William's knights, and posthumously cured many people. See A. Finlay (trans.), *Fagrskinna: A catalogue of the kings of Norway. A translation with introduction and notes* (Leiden and Boston, 2004), pp. 234-5, see also 221-3. I am most grateful to Matt Townend for sharing his thoughts on Waltheof in the Norse tradition, and directing me to *Fagrskinna*. On other Norse sources, see Scott, 'Earl Waltheof', pp. 165-9 and Watkins, 'Cult of Earl Waltheof', pp. 99-100.

⁷⁶ Cubitt also made the point that Waltheof's usefulness lay not in his blood but in the manner of his death, 'Sites and sanctity', p. 81.

⁷⁷ Orderic, *Historia Ecclesiastica*, 1: 154, 2: 240-1.

⁷⁸ Orderic, *Historia Ecclesiastica*, 2: 244-5.

⁷⁹ Orderic, *Historia Ecclesiastica*, 3: 36-7.

complicit in the 1075 plot,⁸⁰ and his execution is recorded baldly: ‘Walþeof eorl wes beheafðod on Wincestre on sancte Petronella mæssedæg, 7 his lic wearð gelæd to Crulande’.⁸¹ William of Malmesbury also noted in his *Gesta regum* that notwithstanding William’s generosity, Waltheof was unable to remain loyal, which he attributed to Waltheof’s ‘prauum ingenium’,⁸² and that some believed Waltheof had been fully complicit in the plot, and therefore appropriately imprisoned and executed.⁸³ In *Gesta pontificum*, however, William had Waltheof being forced to join the conspiracy, noting that his apparent complicity had been but ‘desimulato ad horam’,⁸⁴ and that some held Waltheof to be a martyr: ‘Invenerunt ... nostra tempora quem consecrarent martirem, quod innocenter cesum fama pronuntiet’.⁸⁵ Clearly, the nature of Waltheof’s death and its implications were burning issues. Nonetheless, William retained some reservation: ‘quæ utinam a veritate non dissideat’.⁸⁶ With none of the doubts or ambivalence of these accounts, however, Orderic placed responsibility for the rebellion of 1075 squarely with Roger of Hereford and Ralph of Norwich, whom he described as garnering support via a campaign of sedition.⁸⁷ Their overtures towards Waltheof were an assault (‘multis eum modis temptantes ... promunt’),⁸⁸

⁸⁰ *ASC*, s.a. 1075 E, 7: 91: ‘Ðær wæs Roger eorl 7 Walþeof eorl 7 biscopas & abbotes, 7 ræddon þær saw þet hi woldon þone cyng gesattan ut of Englelandes cynedome... Þet wæs Roger eorl 7 Raulf eorl þe wæron yldast to ðam unreode’ [‘Earl Roger was there, and Earl Waltheof, and bishops and abbots, and there planned that they would put the king out of the kingship of England. ... It was Earl Roger and Earl Ralph who were the foremost in the foolish plan’, pp. 210-11]; D is virtually identical in this passage, 6: 87.

⁸¹ *ASC*, s.a. 1077 [1076] D, 6: 88 [‘Earl Waltheof was beheaded in Winchester on the Feast of St Petronella; and his body was led to Crowland’, p. 212]. The Peterborough Chronicle is almost identical, s.a. 1075-6 E, 7: 91 [pp. 212-13]. Some appreciation that Waltheof’s death might be seen as a martyrdom, however, is suggested by the fact that Waltheof’s name in the E manuscript’s account of his death is rubricated as that of a martyr, *ASC*, ed. Swanton, p. 212, n. 3. On the E text’s tendency to note which historical personalities were saints, see C. Fell, ‘Edward king and martyr and the Anglo-Saxon hagiographic tradition’, in D. Hill (ed.), *Ethelred the Unready: Papers from the millenary conference*, British Archaeological Reports British ser. 59 (London, 1978), pp. 1-13, p. 7.

⁸² William of Malmesbury, *Gesta regum Anglorum*, 1: 468-9 [‘innately perverse nature’].

⁸³ William of Malmesbury, *Gesta regum Anglorum*, 1: 468-9. C.f. William’s insistence that William I’s apparently harsh treatment of the English was understandable in the light of their persistent lack of trustworthiness, *Gesta regum Anglorum*, 1: 470-1.

⁸⁴ William of Malmesbury, *Gesta pontificum Anglorum*, p. 322 [‘the pretence of an hour’, p. 217].

⁸⁵ William of Malmesbury, *Gesta pontificum Anglorum*, p. 321 [‘Our own times have found someone to consecrate there [at Crowland] as martyr, on the grounds that fame pronounces that he was put to death when he was innocent’, p. 217].

⁸⁶ William of Malmesbury, *Gesta pontificum Anglorum*, p. 321 [‘I hope that that does not differ from the truth’].

⁸⁷ Orderic, *Historia Ecclesiastica*, 2: 310 ff.

⁸⁸ Orderic, *Historia Ecclesiastica*, 2: 314 [‘they produced incitations in many ways’].

and they dangled the prospect of regaining his lost titles and sharing power with them over the whole realm, in return for his assistance in restoring England to how it was under the most pious Edward, and freeing his people from slavery.⁸⁹

Tento implies assailing, tempting and inciting,⁹⁰ thus in Orderic's account, Waltheof is a passive agent rather than active conspirator. His refusal centres on his loyalty to William as his lord:

integra fides in omnibus gentibus ab omni homine domino suo seruanda est. Guillelmus rex fidem meam ut maior a minore iure recepit. ac ut ei semper fidelis existerem in matrimonium michi neptem suam copulauit. Locupletem quoque comitatum michi donauit. et inter suos familiares conuiuas connumerauit. Et tanto principi qualiter infidus esse queam, nisi penitus mentiri uelim fidem meam?⁹¹

Orderic's Waltheof, then, is a good and loyal vassal, which Waltheof stresses repeatedly throughout his reply. Indeed Waltheof is fully aware of the ignominy of betraying a lord:

Nusquam de traditore bona cantio cantata est. Omnes gentes apostatam et proditorem sicut lupum maledicunt, et suspendio dignum iudicant et opprimunt. et si fors est patibulo cum dedecore multisque probris affigunt.⁹²

With this passage, Orderic proleptically established Waltheof's moral character. Orderic himself composed an epitaph for Waltheof, at the request of the Crowland monks.⁹³ If no good song is indeed sung of a traitor, then the good song sung of Waltheof should render him faithful rather than treacherous. Lest Waltheof's innocence of treachery should still be doubted, Orderic continued to stress Waltheof's abhorrence of 'scelus traditionis'.⁹⁴ Waltheof concludes his reply by commending himself to God, 'in ipso fiducialiter spero. quod traditionem in uita

⁸⁹ Orderic, *Historia Ecclesiastica*, 2: 314.

⁹⁰ C.T. Lewis and C. Short (eds.), *A Latin Dictionary* (Oxford, 1879), pp. 1855-6.

⁹¹ Orderic, *Historia Ecclesiastica*, 2: 314-15 ['in all peoples the faith sworn by every man to his lord should be faithfully kept. King William lawfully received mine, from one lesser to one greater, and gave his niece to me in marriage that I might maintain lasting loyalty to him. He also gave me a rich earldom and counted me among his closest friends. How can I be unfaithful to such a lord, unless I utterly break my faith?'].

⁹² Orderic, *Historia Ecclesiastica*, 2: 314-15 ['Nowhere is a good song is sung about a traitor. All peoples brand apostates and traitors as wolves, and judge them fit to be hanged and – if it is possible – they bear them to the gallows with all sorts of disgrace and reproaches'].

⁹³ Orderic, *Historia Ecclesiastica*, 2: 350-1.

⁹⁴ Orderic, *Historia Ecclesiastica*, 2: 314-15 ['the crime of treachery'].

mea non faciam, nec angelo Sathanæ similis efficiar per apostasiam'.⁹⁵ Orderic's message is clear: Waltheof was not a traitor, and had an appropriate horror of treachery and traitors.⁹⁶ He was unable to alert William to the conspiracy. however, on account of 'coniuratione terribili' forced upon him by Ralph and Roger.⁹⁷

According to Orderic, Waltheof's awareness of the plot was betrayed by his wife Judith, whereupon Waltheof immediately confessed but stressed that he had had no part in it. For more than a year there was uncertainty as to what his fate should be, but the consensus was that he would be released.⁹⁸ Having insisted upon Waltheof's innocence of treachery earlier in his recounting of events, Orderic painted a brief but definite account of Waltheof as a good pious layman in his captivity:

Interea ... in carcere regis erat, et multoties peccata sua deflebat. quæ ibidem religiosis episcopis et abbatibus sepe flens enarrabat. Spacio itaque unius anni iuxta sacerdotum consilium poenituit. et cotidie centum quinquaginta psalmos Daud, quos in infantia didicerat in oratione Deo cecinit. Erat idem uir corpore magnus et elegans. largitate et audacia multis milibus præstans. Deuotus Deo cultor, sacerdotum et omnium religiosorum supplex auditor. æcclesiæ pauperumque benignus amator. Pro his et multis aliis karismatibus quibus in ordine laicali specialiter

⁹⁵ Orderic, *Historia Ecclesiastica*, 2: 314-15 ['in him [God] I faithfully trust that I may never be guilty of treachery in my life nor imitate the apostasy of the fallen angel Satan'].

⁹⁶ This is in contrast to the treatment of Waltheof in the fragmentary work published as the *Chronicon monasterii de Hyda iuxta Wintoniam*, in *Liber Monasterii de Hyda*, ed. E. Edwards, RS 45 (London, 1886; Wiesbaden, 1964 repr. cited), pp. 283-321, at pp. 294-5. The passage concerning Waltheof is also printed, with an English translation, in *English Lawsuits from William I to Richard I*, ed. R.C. van Caenegem, 2 vols., Seldon Society, 106, 107 (London, 1990-1), 1: 20. The anonymous author made Waltheof fully complicit in the plot, and insisted that Waltheof was a disloyal and dissembling recipient of the king's generous attempts at peaceful reconciliation, 'Waldeth ... tanto iracundiae igne est accensus, ut nullis precibus, nullis muneribus, nec propter consanguineam regis Juditham nomine pacis dotae, ut fertur, sibi conjunctam, nisi simulatam cum rege potuerit habere concordiam' ['Waltheof ... burnt with anger to such an extent that no prayers of gifts or the fact that he was said to have married, for the sake of peace, a relation of the king, named Judith, could establish between the king and him anything else than a simulated union', p. 20]. On the *Chronicon*, see J. Gillingham, 'Henry of Huntingdon and the twelfth-century revival of the English nation', originally in S. Forde, L. Johnson and A. Murray (eds.), *Concepts of National Identity in the Middle Ages* (Leeds, 1995), pp. 75-101, repr. Gillingham, *The English in the Twelfth Century: Imperialism, national identity and political values* (Woodbridge, 2000), pp. 123-44.

⁹⁷ Orderic, *Historia Ecclesiastica*, 2: 314-15 ['a terrible oath'].

⁹⁸ Orderic, *Historia Ecclesiastica*, 2: 320-21.

fruebatur, a suis et ab exteris qui Deo placita diligere norunt multum diligebatur.⁹⁹

The use of the phrase *ordo laicalis* here is telling: not only did Orderic – himself, of course, commenting on a layman from his position within the monastic *ordo* – see the laity as an *ordo*, he explicitly saw worshipping God, listening to the counsel of *clerici*, and being a patron of the church and *pauperes* as pertaining to the piety of that lay *ordo*.

It has been suggested that Waltheof's having learnt the psalms as a child may be evidence that as a younger son he was intended to be a monk, until his brother's death.¹⁰⁰ Waltheof's recourse to the psalms in prison could therefore, be seen as indicating a quasi-monastic incarceration, which might signal his imminent saintly status according to the traditional models of lay sanctity.¹⁰¹ The context of Waltheof's psalmody in Orderic, however, places him firmly as a layman: having confessed to *clerici*, he adheres to their counsel, and Orderic immediately outlines him as a conventionally good pious layman, obedient to *clerici*, and generous to church and poor, which Orderic labels as belonging to a layman's piety.

⁹⁹ Orderic, *Historia Ecclesiastica*, 2: 320-21 ['During this time ... he was kept in the king's prison... and he often deplored his offences, recounting them with tears to religious bishops and abbots. There for the space of a year he did penance according to the counsel of the priests, daily chanting in prayer to God the hundred and fifty psalms of David which he had learned in childhood. He was a man of great and elegant physique, exceeding many thousands in his largesse and courage. He was a devoted worshipper of God, a humble auditor of priests and of all religious, and a kind lover of the Church and the poor. On account of these and of many other spiritual gifts in which, in the lay order, he delighted to a remarkable degree, he was dearly beloved both by his own people and by others who recognized those things that are pleasing to God'].

¹⁰⁰ Scott, 'Earl Waltheof', p. 156; Chibnall, in *Historia Ecclesiastica*, 2: 320, n. 2. On Waltheof's birth and acquisition of his patrimony, see Scott, 'Earl Waltheof', pp. 154-60, 185, 192. On the place of psalmody in monastic liturgy, see E. Bishop, 'On the origin of the Prymer', in *idem*, *Liturgica Historica: Papers on the liturgy and religious life of the Western Church* (Oxford, 1918), pp. 211-37, pp. 214, 220, 221-2; M. McLaughlin, *Consorting with Saints: Prayer for the dead in Early Medieval France* (Ithaca and London, 1994), p. 74; M. Lapidge, 'Anglo-Latin literature', originally in S.B. Greenfield and D.G. Calder (eds.), *A New Critical History of Old English Literature* (New York and London, 1986), pp. 5-37, repr. M. Lapidge, *Anglo-Latin Literature, 600-899* (London and Rio Grande, 1986), pp. 1-35, pp. 1-2.

¹⁰¹ See also the *Chronicon de Hyda*, in which Waltheof is desperate to renounce his lay status, p. 295: 'carceri mancipatus totus convertitur ad Dominum, jejuniis, lacrimis, assiduisque orationibus intensis insistens, oratque suppliciter, sed minime impetrat ... ut monachus fieri possit, denique servitio perpetuo mancipari' ['being imprisoned he turned fully to the Lord and begged with fasts,

Although Orderic stated that Waltheof confessed his sins and did penance, he did not elaborate on what those sins might have been. There does seem to have been an awareness of the ‘moral compromise’ inherent in lay noble life in the early twelfth century.¹⁰² Such effusions are notably absent from the accounts of Waltheof’s penance, but Orderic did list the ways in which Waltheof was a good lord – as we have seen, he was courageous, generous, and humble towards churchmen, protected *pauperes*, and was possessed of unspecified spiritual gifts [*karismata*] above and beyond those expected of a layman.¹⁰³

I suggest that the narrative usefulness of Waltheof’s incarceration was neither to describe Waltheof as a lord, nor to highlight specific actions or sins as problematic, but rather to signal his proper obedience to clerical counsel. Although the passage does not elaborate on Waltheof’s performance of his lordly authority, it mentions no fewer than three times that he entrusted himself to the counsel of *clerici*: ‘religiosis episcopis et abbatibus sepe flens enarrabat’, ‘iuxta sacerdotum consilium poenituit’, ‘sacerdotum et omnium religiosorum supplex auditor’. The point of Orderic’s account of Waltheof’s incarceration, then, seems not to be to position him as quasi-monastic, nor to provide a catalogue of his exemplary lordship, but rather to present him as a layman who knows his place and responsibilities within the Christian earthly infrastructure.

This done, Orderic turned to Waltheof’s death, wrought by treacherous enemies, who smuggled him out of Winchester and had him executed before his supporters could halt the proceedings.¹⁰⁴ As we have seen, Orderic insisted that Waltheof was loyal and innocent of treachery. Though Orderic did not proceed to use the word martyrdom, he did colour his account of Waltheof’s execution with the qualities of wickedness, envy and injustice, thus imbuing his death with a suggestion of martyrdom, wrought by malicious enemies: ‘malignitate Normannorum qui ei nimis inuidebant. eumque pro ingenti probitate eius

tears and assiduous and intense prayers to be allowed to become a monk and to be held in [God’s] service forever. His wish was however not fulfilled’, p. 20].

¹⁰² Crouch, ‘The troubled deathbeds of Henry I’s servants’, p. 24.

¹⁰³ Elsewhere, Orderic referred to Waltheof as ‘fidus frater et adiutor’ [‘faithful brother and supporter’] of Crowland, *Historia Ecclesiastica*, 2: 324-5, and noted his donation of a manor to the abbey, 2: 344-5. On other evidence of his patronage of the church, see Scott, ‘Earl Waltheof’, pp. 195-202.

metuebant, iniuste cum luctu multorum ... Guintoniæ decollatus est'.¹⁰⁵

Waltheof's sanctity manifested itself literally at the instant of his death, as his severed head completed the Lord's Prayer, which had been interrupted by the executioner's impatient fulfilment of his duty.¹⁰⁶ With this detail, Orderic placed Waltheof in a long line of decapitated saints who miraculously moved and/or spoke post-mortem.¹⁰⁷ Waltheof's sanctity is further underlined by the assertion that when his corpse was disinterred two weeks after its first burial, it was still 'integrum cum recenti cruore acsi tunc idem uir obisset erat'.¹⁰⁸

The concept of martyrdom had come to be applicable to more than its earliest manifestation, namely death at the hands of pagans.¹⁰⁹ Eadmer, for example, recounted how Anselm had convinced Lanfranc that Elphege of Canterbury deserved to be venerated as a martyr as he had died for justice and therefore for truth.¹¹⁰ The concept of martyrdom, then, was being worked through at this time, and Waltheof's death was clearly being represented by some as a martyrdom.¹¹¹ If Waltheof was a martyr, there was no need for a lengthy

¹⁰⁴ Orderic, *Historia Ecclesiastica*, 2: 320-23.

¹⁰⁵ Orderic, *Historia Ecclesiastica*, 2: 344-5 ['by the malice of the Normans who were envious of him and feared him for his great integrity, [Waltheof] was unjustly beheaded at Winchester... amidst general mourning'].

¹⁰⁶ Orderic, *Historia Ecclesiastica*, 2: 322-3.

¹⁰⁷ On this phenomenon, although largely concentrating on Jacobus de Voragine's *Legenda Aurea*, and therefore on a later period than that covered by this thesis, see E. Colledge and J.C. Marler, "'Céphalogie": A recurring theme in classical and mediaeval lore', *Traditio* 37 (1981): 411-26. It may be significant that sanctity via decapitation was also associated with the Anglo-Saxon martyr king-saints Edmund and Oswald, c.f. A. Thacker, 'Membra disjecta: The division of the body and the diffusion of the cult', in C. Stancliffe and E. Cambridge (eds.), *Oswald: Northumbrian king to European saint* (Stamford, 1995; 1996 edn.), pp. 97-127; Damon, *Soldier Saints and Holy Warriors*, pp. 42-56, 159-90; E. Christie, 'Self-mastery and submission: Holiness and masculinity in the Lives of Anglo-Saxon martyr-kings', in Cullum and Lewis (eds.), *Holiness and Masculinity*, pp. 143-57. On Edmund, see further *infra*.

¹⁰⁸ Orderic, *Historia Ecclesiastica*, 2: 322-3 ['incorrupt with the blood as fresh as if he had just died'].

¹⁰⁹ With regard to the earlier middle ages, see C. Stancliffe, "Red, white and blue martyrdom," in D. Dumville (ed.), *Ireland in Early Mediaeval Europe. Studies in memory of Kathleen Hughes*, (Cambridge, 1982), pp. 21-46; Cubitt, 'Sites and sanctity', p. 59. See also Vauchez, *Sainthood*, pp. 147-56, especially p. 151: 'Victims become martyrs, hence saints, since, in the popular mind, these two notions overlap and there are no other saints than those who died a royal death on behalf of justice'.

¹¹⁰ Eadmer, *Vita Anselmi*, pp. 51-4. C.f. Southern, *Saint Anselm: A portrait*, p. 42; J. Rubenstein, 'Liturgy against history: The competing visions of Lanfranc and Eadmer of Canterbury', *Speculum* 74 (1999): 279-309, pp. 284ff.

¹¹¹ C.f. William of Malmesbury's description of *fama* pronouncing that Waltheof was a martyr, at p. 72, n. 85, *supra*.

exposition on his lived sanctity – his death would suffice to mark his corpse as a locus of sanctity.¹¹²

Some sixteen years later, his corpse was found to be still incorrupt, and ‘caput corpori coniunctum repertum est. Filum tantummodo quasi pro signo decollationis rubicundum uiderunt. monachi et laici quamplures qui affuerunt’.¹¹³ This detail (also recounted by William of Malmesbury¹¹⁴) may also have been aligning Waltheof with an acknowledged saintly Anglo-Saxon martyr. A similar reattachment of severed head onto corpse also occurs in the legend of Edmund, King of East Anglia (r. c.855-869/70), who was martyred by invading Danes.¹¹⁵ An alignment of Waltheof with a tradition of saintly martyrdom is further reinforced by Orderic’s account of the miraculous smiting of a Norman monk, Ouen, who ‘aduenientes derisit, et præfato comiti cum irrisione detraxit, dicens quod nequam traditor fuerit, et pro reatu suo capitis obruncatione multari meruerit’,¹¹⁶ and accordingly died – significantly ‘in æcclesia sancti Albani prothomartyris Anglorum’.¹¹⁷ To sum up, then, for the most part, Orderic seems little concerned with Waltheof as a lord, but focuses instead on Waltheof as a miraculous corpse, an interest we will also see in the hagiography of Edward.

Waltheof’s sanctity, therefore, according to Orderic, is predicated not on his lordship, but on his martyrdom at the hands of wicked men, and manifested by posthumous signs which occurred even from the point of death. This is presumably not, however, because Orderic did not appreciate the potential

¹¹² This point is also made by Thomas Head in his discussion of Edmund, T. Head, *Hagiography and the Cult of Saints: The diocese of Orléans, 800-1200* (Cambridge etc., 1990), p. 242.

¹¹³ Orderic, *Historia Ecclesiastica*, 2: 346-7 [‘the head was rejoined to the body. The monks and the several layman who were present saw just a thin red line, as if as a sign of his decapitation’].

¹¹⁴ William of Malmesbury, *Gesta pontificum Anglorum*, p. 322 [pp. 217-18].

¹¹⁵ *ASC*, s.a. 870 A, 3: 47, E, 6: 24 [pp. 70-1] ; Asser, *De rebus gestis Ælfredi*, ed. W.H. Stevenson, *Asser’s Life of King Alfred together with the Annals of Saint Neots erroneously ascribed to Asser*, (Oxford, 1959; 1998 repr. cited here), pp. 1-95, pp. 25-6 [trans. S. Keynes and M. Lapidge, *Alfred the Great: Asser’s Life of King Alfred and other contemporary sources* (Harmondsworth, 1983), pp. 67-110, pp. 77-8]; Symeon, *Libellus de Exordio*, pp. 98-9; Orderic, *Historia Ecclesiastica*, 2: 240-1; On Edmund, see Cubitt, ‘Sites and sanctity’, pp. 63-5 ; Ridyard, *Royal Saints*, esp. pp. 61-73, 211-33. On the post-Conquest development of Edmund’s hagiographical legend, see Ridyard, *Royal Saints*, pp. 69-73, 227-33.

¹¹⁶ Orderic, *Historia Ecclesiastica*, 2: 348-9 [‘derided the pilgrims and denigrated with mockery the earl himself, saying that he was a false traitor who had absolutely deserved the loss of his head as a punishment for his guilt’].

¹¹⁷ Orderic, *Historia Ecclesiastica*, 2: 348-9 [‘in the church of St. Alban the protomartyr of the English’].

spiritual value of a lay noble life, as may be seen in his paeon to Ansold of Maule, to which we now briefly turn.

2.iii Ansold of Maule: *laudabilis patronus*.¹¹⁸

The lords of Maule belonged to a cadet line of the powerful Le Riche family of Paris.¹¹⁹ In 1076, Peter of Maule granted Maule's churches to the monks of Saint-Évroul, and a priory was soon thereafter founded, which benefitted from his generous patronage.¹²⁰ After Peter's death, in 1100 X 1101, his son, Ansold, was lord of Maule, in the Île de France, for some eighteen years, from 1100 X 1101.¹²¹ Ansold too was a generous patron, confirming and adding to his father's gifts to the priory and Saint-Évroul.¹²² In c.1118, realising his death was imminent, Ansold relinquished his patrimony to his son Peter, in order to die a monk.¹²³

Orderic's depiction of Ansold demonstrates that a lay lord could live an exemplarily pious life. Nonetheless, Ansold's piety stopped short of sanctity. Orderic described Ansold's father, Peter, as a good but ultimately flawed layman: he was generous in alms-giving, loved by his peers and underlings, but impulsive, too open-handed, too extravagant, and averse to fasting.¹²⁴ Orderic asserted that Ansold, however, '*moribus in quibusdam multum fuit dissimilis. multimoda tamen uirtute maior uel ut moderatius loquar æqualis*'.¹²⁵ He proceeded to extol Ansold's virtues at length: he was intelligent, magnanimous, strong, a soldier of probity, attended church frequently, and listened attentively to sermons.¹²⁶ He was distinguished in his authority and just in his judgement, learned and eloquent to the extent that he might be thought a philosopher ('in sententiis disserendis

¹¹⁸ Orderic, *Historia Ecclesiastica*, 3: 192 ['laudable patron'].

¹¹⁹ On the family, see Chibnall, in *Historia Ecclesiastica*, 3: 172, n. 1; Chibnall, *World of Orderic*, pp. 35, 120.

¹²⁰ Orderic, *Historia Ecclesiastica*, 3: 170-79.

¹²¹ On the date of his assumption of his lordship, see Chibnall, in *Historia Ecclesiastica*, 3: 178, n. 2.

¹²² Orderic, *Historia Ecclesiastica*, 3: 184-7.

¹²³ Orderic, *Historia Ecclesiastica*, 3: 192-9.

¹²⁴ Orderic, *Historia Ecclesiastica*, 3: 178-9.

¹²⁵ Orderic, *Historia Ecclesiastica*, 3: 178-9 ['was dissimilar to his father in his ways; in many respects his *uirtus* was greater, or, to say the least, equal'].

¹²⁶ Orderic, *Historia Ecclesiastica*, 3: 178-81.

audax ac facundus, atque philosophis pæne adæquandus'¹²⁷), clearly a great compliment for a layperson, and one which we will encounter again with regard to Margaret of Scotland. Furthermore, in a phrase which perhaps betrays Orderic's distaste for much of the behaviour and discourse of the laity, 'obscentatem libidinis non ut laicus uulgari uerbositate uituperabat, sed ut doctor æcclesiasticus argutis allegationibus palam condemnabat'.¹²⁸ He honoured his mother, distinguished himself in battle, rendered tithes dutifully, fasted (even refusing to snack between meals),¹²⁹ spurned the company of jesters, rascals and prostitutes, and enjoyed modest but fertile wedlock, fathering nine children.¹³⁰ According to the allegedly quasi-monastic model of lay sanctity, this last point could conceivably have been an impediment to being seen as saintly. As we will see with regard to Margaret, however, fecundity was not necessarily inimical to sanctity.

In Ansold, we encounter a hint of a rulership topos we have already seen in Anselm, and which we will encounter again in subsequent chapters, namely teaching by word and example. Orderic described him publicly correcting wrongs in others: 'falsidicos relatores et uerbum Dei adulterantes et turpibus lucris inhiantes exosos habebat. et detectis sophismatibus malignis ne insontes deciperent palam confutabat'.¹³¹ He also explicitly taught by example, providing a good model for laymen and monks alike: 'frugalitate sua militaris uir cunctos

¹²⁷ Orderic, *Historia Ecclesiastica*, 3: 180-1.

¹²⁸ Orderic, *Historia Ecclesiastica*, 3: 180-3 ['he attacked the obscenity of lust, not as a layman, with vulgar words, but rather openly condemned it with penetrating proofs as if a doctor of the church'].

¹²⁹ Orderic, *Historia Ecclesiastica*, 3: 180-2: 'Nunquam poma in uiridario comedit. nunquam uuas in uinea nec auellanas in silua gustauit. Canonicis solummodo ad mensam quæ apponebantur sumebat horis, dicens brutorum animalium esse non hominis. comedere quicquid fors suggereret absque consideratione loci et temporis' ['He never ate apples in an orchard, nor tasted grapes in a vineyard, nor nuts in a wood. He only took those things which were set down at the table at regular hours, saying that it was for brute beasts, not men, to eat whatever fate happened to provide regardless of time or place'].

¹³⁰ Orderic, *Historia Ecclesiastica*, 3: 182-3.

¹³¹ Orderic, *Historia Ecclesiastica*, 3: 180-1 ['he detested those who told inaccurate narratives or falsified the word of God or thirsted for dishonest gains; and when he detected any dangerous sophistries he refuted them publicly, so that they should not mislead simple people']. See also his public correction of lust, n. 128, *supra*.

sibi coherentes ad honestatem prouocabat. parsimoniæque modesta restrictione. regularibus etiam personis exemplum portendebat'.¹³²

His exemplary life notwithstanding, Ansold still had reason to tearfully repent of some of his deeds, explicitly, claims he had made against Saint-Évroul.¹³³ On relinquishing his lordship to his son, Ansold publicly addressed him, exhorting him to revere God, bishop and king, to govern his men as a benevolent patron, to attend offices at church daily, and to particularly revere the monks of Saint-Évroul.¹³⁴ As has been noted, this admonishment is effectively 'an inventory of bad lordship in reverse'.¹³⁵ Thus, Ansold told his son,

Hominibus tuis fidem quam debes exhibe. eisque non ut tirranus sed ut mitis patronus dominare. Dominium tuum ... prudenter conserua... .
Rapinas noli exercere, fures et raptores a te penitus abige. Res tuas legitime custodi. et res alienas per uiolentiam et inuasionem tollere noli. His nempe rebus uenit ira, deinde discordia. Sequuntur latrocinia, cedes et incendia. damna et homicidia, et alia mala fiunt innumera.¹³⁶

This exhortation embodies the notion that the nature of a lord's lordship determined whether peace was maintained or disrupted. Bisson rightly read this passage as speaking to a widespread concept of bad lordship characterized by violence, noting 'the prevalence of a peculiarly harsh and violent mode of lordship associated with the multiplication of castles, castellans, and knights – that is, of the persons (and their instruments) least capable of maintaining of achieving lordly status without violence or constraint'.¹³⁷ Limiting excessive or inappropriate violence associated with the imperatives of lordship will feature in subsequent case-studies here, but those parts of the exhortation not dwelt upon by Bisson are also instructive.

¹³² Orderic, *Historia Ecclesiastica*, 3: 180-1 ['The knightly man inspired his companions to *honestas* by his frugality; with his parsimonious and temperate restraint set an example even to regulars'].

¹³³ Orderic, *Historia Ecclesiastica*, 3: 182-3.

¹³⁴ Orderic, *Historia Ecclesiastica*, 3: 194-7, pp. 194-5 cited.

¹³⁵ T. Bisson, 'Medieval lordship', *Speculum* 70 (1995): 743-59, p. 752.

¹³⁶ Orderic, *Historia Ecclesiastica*, 3: 194-5 ['treat your men with the loyalty that you owe them, and govern them not as a tyrant but as a mild patron. Maintain your demesne lands prudently... . Never plunder others, and drive thieves or robbers far from you. Keep what is legitimately yours, and never seize others' property by force or violence. For such things give rise to anger and then disputes; robbery, slaughter, and arson, injuries and murder and countless other evils follow in their train'].

The passage which deals with limiting the disruption caused by excessively violent or predatory lordship is sandwiched between exhortations to revere God, king, bishop and monks. Having urged Peter to love God above all else, Ansold told him,

Pontificem tuum et regem ut patronos tuos time, uenerare, eorumque preceptis ... ne obliuiscaris obœdire. Pro eorum prosperitate cotidie Deum deprecare, ut meritis et tuitione boni presulis perpes salus detur animæ tuæ. et pacifici regis moderamine possis temporalem honorem quiete et iuste possidere.¹³⁸

Loyalty to a good king will, therefore, ensure a peaceful world in which Peter may exercise his lordship, and his bishop is responsible for his spiritual well-being. Ansold concluded by urging Peter to revere and be a good patron to the monks of Saint-Évroul, who will accordingly provide him with spiritual patronage. The passage which deals with limitation of violence, then, is sandwiched between insistence that Peter should defer to the counsel of *clerici*, in the form of bishop and monks. Orderic was, naturally, not impartial in his viewpoint, being not only a monk, but also of Saint-Évroul, to which Ansold urged particular allegiance, but it is clear that obedience to clerical counsel was desirable in a lay lord.

The contrast between Orderic's depictions of the respective lordships of Ansold and Waltheof is stark. Whereas, in Chibnall's edition, some fifty-eight lines are devoted to Ansold's lived lordship, and one hundred and twelve to his exhortations, monastic profession and death, all of which speak in some way of Ansold's exercising of his authority, the passage which deals with Waltheof's sentencing and incarceration up to his execution accounts for just twenty lines. Common to Orderic's representations of both Ansold and Waltheof, however, is a concern to submit to the counsel of *clerici*, which we will also encounter in subsequent case-studies.

¹³⁷ Bisson, 'Medieval lordship', p. 752.

¹³⁸ Orderic, *Historia Ecclesiastica*, 3: 194-5 ['fear and honour your bishop and king as your patrons, and never forget to obey their precepts... . Pray to God daily for their good fortune, that through the kindnesses and protection of a good bishop you may obtain eternal salvation for your

Orderic's portrait of Ansold, especially together with that of his father Peter, affords a useful negative image of the perceived spiritual dangers of the lay life: extravagance, over-indulgence in eating, lack of learning, desultory attendance at church, failure to honour one's mother or *clerici*, lust, keeping inappropriate company, rapacious lordship, oppression of underlings, and lack of respect for lords. Ansold's successful avoidance of these dangers, however, was still not enough to render him saintly.

In Ansold, then, we see notably pious and good lived lay lordship, with no hint of sanctity. Ultimately, for Waltheof, it was knowledge of his miraculous activity that inculcated a cult, and his perceived martyrdom rendered him a suitable candidate for miraculous activity. Does this imply that lay lordship that was not stopped short by an unjust death was by definition a bar to sanctity? As we will see in Chapters 3 and 4, this is not necessarily the case. Is, then, an exemplar – however worthy, however pious – simply an exemplar if there is no evidence of potential intercession? Ansold's example suggests that despite the growing interest in lived sanctity, if, for reasons which are now unrecoverable, there was no impulse to attribute miracles to a given pious subject: he was a good example, but not a saint. Ansold is relevant here, then, as a reminder of the necessity of miraculous activity in the construction of sanctity. Although much of this thesis focuses on how the sources' respective subjects are presented as models, we must always bear in mind the importance of supernatural proof of their sanctity. A coincidence of special circumstances were necessary in the fostering of a cult, such as being royal, meeting a potentially unjust death, evidence of miraculous activity, or having an important, powerful or vociferous promoter. In Ansold's case, there was apparently an absence of special circumstances, so he was merely exemplarily good. William of Malmesbury's account suggests that Waltheof's death was something of a *cause célèbre*: sanctity – and its ramifications – mattered.¹³⁹

soul; and under the rule of a peaceful king you may justly enjoy your worldly estates undisturbed'].

¹³⁹ See also Rubenstein, 'Liturgy against history', *passim*.

Thus far, then, we have considered an ecclesiastical saint, a lay lord who was saintly by virtue of martyrdom, and a non-saintly lay lord who was nonetheless a model of lived lay piety. As the main figures to be examined in Chapters 3 to 5 are royal, it is necessary to also consider royal authority. This chapter concludes, therefore, with a brief consideration of Stephen de Blois, king of England from 1135-53. There are several contemporary textual representations of him as a bad king, but the text to which we now turn is of use here in that it seeks to depict him as a royal ruler who was morally good.

2.iv *Gesta Stephani: tam benigni ... tamque mansueti erat animi.*¹⁴⁰

Famously, the E manuscript of the *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle* described England under Stephen's rule as so rife with depredations that people 'sæden openlice ðat Crist slep 7 his halechen'.¹⁴¹ Until relatively recently, the general historiographical orthodoxy was that Stephen was a weak and indecisive king, beset by the machinations of an overmighty nobility, and that England was plunged into chaos by his monumentally bad decisions.¹⁴² This model has been challenged over the last few decades,¹⁴³ to the extent that what was once labelled 'the Anarchy' of Stephen's reign now generally has the distancing prefix 'so-called'.¹⁴⁴ Björn Weiler's analysis of propaganda concerned with usurping kings has demonstrated that the period with which this thesis is concerned saw the production of 'a rich corpus of materials, designed to extol, legitimise and justify, or to question and discredit political actions', whose authors 'resorted to a common pool of imagery and values, intended to portray those whom they

¹⁴⁰ *Gesta Stephani*, ed. and trans. K.R. Potter (London etc., 1955; Oxford, 1976 edn. cited), pp. 22-23 ['He was ... of such a kindly and gentle disposition'].

¹⁴¹ *ASC* s.a. 1137 E, 7: 135 ['said openly that Christ and His saints slept', p. 265].

¹⁴² See, for example, A.L. Poole, *From Domesday Book to Magna Carta, 1087-1216* (Oxford, 1951; 1955 edn. cited), pp. 131-166; Davis, *King Stephen*, especially ch. 3, pp. 24-35.

¹⁴³ See, *inter alia*, E. King, 'The Anarchy of King Stephen's reign', *TRHS* 5th ser., 34 (1984): 133-53; J. Bradbury, 'The early years of the reign of Stephen, 1135-9', in D. Williams (ed.), *England in the Twelfth Century: Proceedings of the 1988 Harlaxton Symposium* (Woodbridge, 1990), pp. 17-30; K.J. Stringer, *The Reign of Stephen: Kingship, Warfare and Government in twelfth-century England* (London, 1993); G.J. White, 'The Myth of the Anarchy', *Anglo-Norman Studies*, 22 (2000 for 1999): 323-37; D. Matthew, *King Stephen* (London and New York, 2002); G.J. White, *Restoration and Reform, 1153-1165: Recovery from Civil War in England* (Cambridge, 2000), see esp. pp. 12-17. A useful historiographical survey is provided by Crouch, *Reign of King Stephen*, pp. 1-7.

¹⁴⁴ See for example Bartlett, *England under the Normans and Angevins*, p. 252.

favoured as conforming to widely recognised paradigms of political behaviour'.¹⁴⁵ This section will focus on a few key passages in the *Gesta Stephani*, one of the central texts of his investigation, which is representative in its deployment of those paradigms. As seen in the previous chapter, the qualities recently attributed to 'courtier-bishops' were increasingly expected of and attributed to those who wielded secular authority. Central to these was *affabilitas*, or ease of manners. Stephen in the *Gesta Stephani* is remarkably affable, but a long way removed from holiness. He is investigated here as an example of moral goodness in a ruler which is not moved towards being a picture of saintliness, which will be a useful point of reference when approaching Margaret and Edward.

The *Gesta Stephani* is traditionally treated as an anonymous work, although it has been suggested that it was written by Robert, bishop of Bath (1136-66).¹⁴⁶ More importantly, for our present purposes, it seems to have been written in two stages: the first twelve years or so of Stephen's reign being written c. 1148, and the conclusion written after 1153.¹⁴⁷ Roughly speaking, the section written in the first phase is pro-Stephen, and from then it praises Henry of Anjou.¹⁴⁸ Stephen's rulership is not saintly,¹⁴⁹ and so is not tainted by the imperatives of sanctity, thus providing a useful yardstick against which to measure textual constructions which treat of rulers who are potentially saintly.

¹⁴⁵ Weiler, 'Kingship, usurpation and propaganda', pp. 301-2.

¹⁴⁶ Davis, 'Introduction' to *Gesta Stephani*, pp. xi-xl, pp. xxi-xxxviii. Some scholars have noted in passing that this attribution is possible, see, for example, M. Chibnall, *The Empress Matilda: Queen Consort, Queen Mother and Lady of the English* (Oxford, 1991; 1993 edition), p. 148; Bartlett, *England under the Normans and Angevins*, p. 99; Crouch, *Reign of King Stephen*, p. 80; H.M. Thomas, *The English and the Normans: Ethnic hostility, assimilation, and identity, 1066-c.1220* (Oxford, 2003), p. 268. Others have continued to refer to it as anonymous and/or express reservations with regard to the attribution, see, for example, Gransden, *Historical Writing in England, c. 550 to c. 1307*, pp. 189-90; F. Barlow, *The English Church, 1066-1154* (London and New York, 1979), p. 21.

¹⁴⁷ Davis, 'Introduction' to *Gesta Stephani*, pp. xix-xxi.

¹⁴⁸ See, for example, *Gesta Stephani*, pp. 204-5, at which point Henry of Anjou is first referred to as 'iustus regni Anglorum heres et appetitor' ['the lawful heir and striver for the realm of the English']; see also the marked change in tone in the references to Stephen's son Eustace for 1149 and 1153, pp. 218-19, 222-5, 238-9, which are far more cursory and less optimistically eulogizing than in the description concerning the events of 1147, pp. 208-9; Davis, 'Introduction', p. xx; c.f. Gransden, *Historical Writing in England, c. 550 to c. 1307*, p. 188. Bradbury questioned this model of partiality, Bradbury, 'The early years', p. 18. This debate does not, however, affect the usefulness of the text here.

¹⁴⁹ Other than explaining the fortunes of war and politics in terms of divine approbation or punishment, the only evidence of anything miraculous occurs in the account of Matilda's infamous escape from Oxford, *Gesta Stephani*, pp. 142-4; c.f. William of Malmesbury on the escape, which

Weiler identified four stages by which pro-royalists sought to legitimise Stephen's kingship: 'the reasons why he claimed the crown, why he received it, why he deserved to keep it, and why he merited obtaining it'.¹⁵⁰ The first stage need not detain us here, but the remainder are of interest. Essentially, what circumstances could render a particular rule necessary, how could a monarch exercise rulership in order to justify his or her position, and what character traits rendered them fit to do so?

Having outlined the ways in which pro-Stephen propaganda sought to establish Stephen's suitability by virtue of designation and dynastic claims, Weiler turned to how it constructed interregal England as collapsing into disorder, desperately in need of the right ruler. The *Gesta Stephani* opens by describing how the death of Henry I – 'pax patriae gentisque suae pater'¹⁵¹ – plunged the realm into lawlessness. The *Gesta* author contrasted the peace, justice and prosperity which England enjoyed under Henry's paternal, Solomonic rule with the utter chaos it suffered when robbed of an effective king:

Vbi namque, eo regnante, iudicii caput, iuris inerat domicilium; ibi, eodem ruente, iniquitatis copia, totiusque malitiae succreuit seminarium. Anglia siquidem, iustitiae prius sedes, pacis habitaculum, pietatis apex, religionis speculum, peruersitatis postea locus, dissensionis recessus, inquietudinis disciplina, omnisque rebellii effecta est magistra. ... Nouo ... quisque saeuendi raptus amore, in alterum crudele debacchari, tantoque sese gloriosorem aestimare, quanto in innocentes nocentius insurgebat. Legis quoque institutis, quibus indisciplinatus coercetur populus, ex toto neglectis, immo et adnullatis, ad omne illicitum effrenati, quicquid flagitii mente occurrebat, promptissime peragebant.¹⁵²

he described as 'euidens Dei miraculum' ['a manifest miracle of God'], in *Historia Novella: The Contemporary History*, trans. K.R. Potter, ed. E. King, (Oxford, 1998), pp. 132-3.

¹⁵⁰ Weiler, 'Kingship, usurpation and propaganda', p. 302.

¹⁵¹ *Gesta Stephani*, pp. 1-2 ['the peace of his country and father of his people'].

¹⁵² *Gesta Stephani*, pp. 1-2 ['For where, during his reign, had been the fount of righteous judgement and the abode of law, there, on his decease, grew up abundance of iniquity and a seed plot of all manner of wickedness; insomuch as England, formerly the seat of justice, the habitation of peace, the height of piety, the mirror of religion, became thereafter a home of perversity, a haunt of strife, a training-ground of disorder and a teacher of every kind of rebellion. ... each man, seized by a strange passion for violence, raged cruelly against his neighbour and reckoned himself the more glorious the more guiltily he attacked the innocent. Likewise, utterly disregarding, or rather bringing to naught, the enactments of law, whereby an undisciplined people is

With this passage,¹⁵³ the author not only deplures the sorry state into which England had fallen, but also establishes from the outset a model of what a good king should provide.¹⁵⁴ This was a major concern of the period, and we will return to Solomonic rule in the discussions of Margaret, David and Edward. The extent to which the *Gesta Stephani* author's depiction of violent anarchy is accurate is debatable: indeed, 'how much horror could logically have been perpetrated in the three weeks between the news of Henry's death reaching England, Stephen's ascent of the throne and the despatch of ambassadors to Italy?'¹⁵⁵ The accuracy of the depiction, however, is of less importance than the notions it suggests: England without a ruler of Henry's calibre was doomed to an

restrained, and abandoned to all things unlawful, they were executing most readily any crime that occurred to their minds'].

¹⁵³ And, indeed, others like it, c.f. for example *Gesta Stephani*, pp. 4-5.

¹⁵⁴ See also William of Malmesbury, *Historia Novella*, pp. 72-3: 'Angliam, preclarissimam quondam pacis nutriculum, speciale domicilium quietis, ad hoc miseriae deuolutam esse, ut nec etiam episcopi nec monachi de uilla in uillam tuto possent progredi. Sub Henrico rege multi alienigenae, qui genialis humi inquietationibus exagitabantur, Angliam annauigabant, et sub eius alis quietum otium agebant. Sub Stephano plures ex Flandria et Britannia, raptu uiuere assueti, spe magnarum predarum Angliam inuolabant' ['England, once the noblest purse of peace, had sunk to such wretchedness that even bishops or monks could not safely pass from village to village. Under King Henry many foreigners, displaced by troubles in their native land, sailed to England and lived in undisturbed peace under his wings. Under Stephen many from Flanders and Brittany, who were wont to live by plunder, flew to England in the hope of great bounty'].

¹⁵⁵ Crouch, *Reign of King Stephen*, pp. 52-3, with further reference to Innocent II's letter which confirmed Stephen's election, and cited the lawless chaos into which England had fallen in the interregnum.

ugly fate.¹⁵⁶ Fortunately, for the *Gesta Stephani* author, just such a man was able to step into the breach.¹⁵⁷

Having stressed Stephen's lineage and how close he had been to Henry in terms of blood and moral qualities ('erat ... pacifico regi Henrico omnium nepotum solus carissimus; eo quod non solum ei germana contribulis lineæ consanguinitate coniunctus, sed multimodo esset uirtutum coruscamine præcipue insignitus'),¹⁵⁸ we are given a catalogue of Stephen's specific virtues: 'Fuit siquidem, quod in nostri temporis diuitibus constat esse rarissimum, diues et humilis, munificus et affabilis; sed et in omni militari congressione, siue in hostium qualibet obsidione, audax et fortis, discretus et longanimis.'¹⁵⁹ Humility, affability, generosity, soldierly braveness tempered with discretion: these are qualities which will be encountered again, in varying combinations, in later chapters. Their interest here is to flag these qualities as clearly desirable in an effective monarch, as they are part of what was effectively Stephen's *curriculum*

¹⁵⁶ This model is corroborated by John of Worcester's account of nationwide anarchy upon the demise of Henry's effective kingship which appears in all of the five extant manuscripts and is further elaborated upon in two. For John, however, this period of chaos was not ended by the good rulership of Stephen, but caused by it, *Chronicon*, s.a. 1136, 3: 216-17: 'Quo sepulto, et Stephano regnante, nec non multo ubique locorum per Angliam et Normanniam dirupto pacis foedere plurima fit distirbatio. Quisque in alterum caput eleuat. Que oritur discordia in uastando omnia nobilium et ignobilium, alta, magna, ac diuersa subintrat moenia. Quisque alium rebus spoliât. Potens impotentem ui opprimit. Questum super hoc agentem minis territât. Neci traditur qui resistit. Opulenti regni optimates diuitiis affluentes minime procurant quam impie tractentur miseri. Sibi suisque dumtaxat consulunt. Vite necessariis castella et oppida muniunt, manu militari cum armis instruunt. Dum autem ob regium terrorem, rugitui leonis comparandum, omnia deberent paci cedere, iam in pluribus locis, et maxime in Walia, depopulatio et depredatio minime cessat' [After his [Henry's] burial, and with Stephen as king, it was not long before there was much discord throughout England and Normandy, and the bonds of peace were torn apart. Each man rose against his fellow. Conflict arose, infiltrating the tall, massive, and diverse fortifications of both greater and lesser alike, and devastating everything. Each man plundered the goods of others. The strong violently oppressed the weak. They deter with threats any criticism of their actions. They kill those who resist. The rich nobles of the kingdom, in their affluence and wealth, are not in the least bothered by the way the poor are unjustly treated. They care only for themselves and theirs. They store castles and towns with necessary provisions. They garrison them with armed followers. ... When all should be at peace through fear of the king, who should be as a roaring lion, there is in many places, particularly in Wales, depopulation and devastation'].

¹⁵⁷ On the *Gesta Stephani*'s depiction of shattered public order, and a new man stepping into the breach, as representative of many such examples, and how accusations of abuse or lack of the same qualities were levied against Stephen by Angevin apologists, see Weiler, 'Kingship, usurpation and propaganda', pp. 306-13.

¹⁵⁸ *Gesta Stephani*, pp. 4-5 ['[he] was by far the dearest of all his nephews to King Henry the peacemaker, not only because of the close family relationship but also because he was peculiarly eminent for many conspicuous virtues'].

¹⁵⁹ *Gesta Stephani*, pp. 4-5 ['He was in fact a thing acknowledged to be most rare among the wealthy of the present day, wealthy and humble, munificent and affable; but in all the conflicts of

vitae in his apologist's account of his worthiness for power. Both the necessity for such a ruler and Stephen's suitability for assuming the post is confirmed by his reception by the citizens of London:

Concussa protinus in aduentu uiri ciuitas illa, cum læto strepitu obuiam ei occurrit: quæque lugendum tutoris sui Henrici occasum moestuose lugebat, tanquam eum in Stephano recuperasset, lætanter et festiue tripudiabat. ... Dicebant enim omne regnum sinistræ fortunæ casibus subiacere, ubi ipsa totius regiminis præsentia, iustitiæque caput defuerit.¹⁶⁰

That Stephen was welcomed by the English people is reiterated by the account of his progress through England, which also underscores his humility and *mansuetudo* – another quality which will figure large in later chapters – and his determination to re-establish peace.¹⁶¹ Although he was committed to peace-making, Stephen's rule was marked by military strife. The author offset this with reference to his (by now often stressed) benignity in the face of the surly recalcitrance of Henry's "new men": 'rex malens circa eos benigna uit patientia, et omnia prius amore experiri quam armis, quosdam de assistentibus sibi, super quos præcipue innitebatur, ad eos in amoris concordiam reducendos transmisit'.¹⁶² The continued lack of peace which England suffered was not, insisted the author, for lack of Stephen's efforts and capabilities: 'Rex Stephanus plurimo militandi artificio ad regnum pacandum inuigilaret, licet immenso decertandi sudore se et suos contra aduersarios continuo fatigaret, non tamen ad uotum profecit'.¹⁶³

war or in any siege of his enemies, bold and strong, discreet and patient']. On his ease of manner, see also William of Malmesbury, *Historia Novella*, pp. 32-3.

¹⁶⁰ *Gesta Stephani*, pp. 4-7 ['at his arrival the town was immediately filled with excitement and came to meet him with acclamation, and whereas it had been sadly mourning the grievous death of its protector Henry, it revelled in exultant joy as though it had recovered him in Stephen. ... For, they said, every kingdom was exposed to calamities from ill fortune when a representative of the whole government and a fount of justice was lacking'].

¹⁶¹ *Gesta Stephani*, pp. 14-15: 'se suo regimini inclinantes benigne et ueneranter suscipere; in omnibus utriusque ordinis ecclesiis, urbibus etiam et castellis, cum festiua occursione recipi; ad omnes se pro necessariis expetentes humiliter et mansuete inflecti; pro pace in regno reuocanda plurimum adniti' ['he received those who submitted to his authority benignly and respectfully; in all the churches of both orders, also in the cities and castles, he was greeted with an enthusiastic welcome; to all who implored him for their own needs he gave his consent humbly and with gentleness; he made very great efforts to re-establish peace in the realm']. C.f. pp. 22-3.

¹⁶² *Gesta Stephani*, pp. 24-5 ['the king, preferring to employ kindly patience towards them and to make every effort of affection before resorting to war, sent some of his counsellors, on whom he especially relied, to bring them to a cordial understanding'].

¹⁶³ *Gesta Stephani*, pp. 86-7 ['King Stephen watched over the pacification of the kingdom with the greatest soldierly skill, though he continually wearied himself and his men with endless efforts in contending with the foe, yet did his success not equal his desire']. On Stephen's military prowess, see also, for example, pp. 226-7.

Stephen's affable, peace-loving gentleness is contrasted with the character of Empress Matilda, which therefore provides a mirror image of good rulership. While Stephen languished in prison, Matilda tried to muster support for her cause. That she was dramatically unsuccessful is attributed to her demeanour: 'illa statim elatissimum summi fastus induere supercilium nec iam humilem femineæ mansuetudinis motum uel incessum, sed solito seuerius, solito et arrogantius procedere et loqui, et cuncta coepit peragere'.¹⁶⁴ This makes a stark comparison with Stephen's manner: 'tam benigni etiam tamque mansueti erat animi, ut regiae fere dignitatis oblitus in multis negotiis non se suis prælatum, sed omnimodis parem, quandoque etiam inferiorem uideret'.¹⁶⁵ Worse, Matilda's haughtiness led her to political misjudgments, underlining the symbiotic relationship between one's moral character and political success: 'illa ... in hunc supremi honoris cumulum tam gloriose tam et excellenter euecta, cuncta coepit potenter, immo et præcipitanter agere'.¹⁶⁶ As Weiler noted, 'a ruler's character was the mirror of his motives, and, thus, more than anything else, the criterion by which moral judgement could be passed'.¹⁶⁷ Consequently, and fittingly, Matilda failed to gain popular support, and ultimately lost the battle for power.

The main quality of rulership which the *Gesta Stephani* author valued in Henry I that Stephen apparently lacked is the opposite of the *affabilitas* for which he is praised, namely severity. The rigorous enforcement of law which characterized Henry's reign in the opening passage describing the interregnum state of the realm is notably absent in Stephen's rule.¹⁶⁸ As we saw in the previous chapter, protection of *pauperes* was a fundamental responsibility of a good lay ruler, and as we saw in Eadmer's Anselm, carefully balancing gentleness

¹⁶⁴ *Gesta Stephani*, pp. 118-19 ['she at once put on an extremely arrogant demeanour instead of the modest gait and bearing proper to the gentle sex, began to walk and speak and do all things more stiffly and more haughtily than she had been wont'].

¹⁶⁵ *Gesta Stephani*, pp. 22-23 ['He was even of such a kindly and gentle disposition that he commonly forgot a king's exalted rank and in many affairs saw himself not superior to his men, but in every way their equal, sometimes actually their inferior'].

¹⁶⁶ *Gesta Stephani*, pp. 120-1 ['she, on being raised with such splendour and distinction to this pre-eminent position, began to be arbitrary, or rather headstrong, in all that she did.']; c.f. pp. 120-1.

¹⁶⁷ Weiler, 'Kingship, usurpation and propaganda', p. 317.

¹⁶⁸ On Henry's enforcement of justice, see C.W. Hollister, 'Royal acts of mutilation: The case against Henry I', originally *Albion* 10 (1978): 330-40, repr. in *idem, Monarchy, Magnates, and Institutions*, pp. 291-301.

and severity to one's underlings was also intrinsic to effective ecclesiastical authority. Anselm himself had advocated such a balance to Alexander of Scotland.¹⁶⁹ Stephen, however, was gentle, humble and affable, but not sufficiently severe.

At the end of Stephen's rule as recounted in the *Gesta Stephani*, one further element is highlighted. Stephen's fortunes finally waned when he was bereft of his lifelong supporters, which itself was a sign of the withdrawal of God's favour: 'comes de Northamtuna et comes Cæstriæ et alii super quos rex maxime innitebatur, eodem in tempore oppetierunt, ut talibus indiciis facile daretur intelligi nostrorum actuum prouisorem Deum uelle ducem ad regni apicem uocare, sicque pertinaci discordiæ finem tandem imponere'.¹⁷⁰ Just as submission to good counsel facilitated Waltheof's transition to sanctity, so Stephen's loss of good counsel marked the end of his rulership. Waltheof's obedience was not simply to good counsel, but to that of *clerici*, which may have been a crucial factor in his ultimate sanctity.

We see in the *Gesta Stephani* a depiction which embodies some of the qualities expected of a good royal ruler, but is sufficiently lacking to be problematic. The depiction of Stephen as ruler in the *Gesta Stephani* embodies some of the qualities expected of a good ruler, but also lacks other qualities to such an extent that the depicted rulership is problematic. Humility, generosity, affability, and military prowess were important, but were only part of the requisite ingredients, and needed to be tempered by severity and supported by constant good counsel.

This chapter, then, has explored depictions of different types of authority: one ecclesiastical, three lay; two saintly, two non-saintly; one royal, three non-royal. The aim was not to provide a checklist of what a saintly lay ruler should or should not embody or possess – such a list could never be comprehensive.

¹⁶⁹ Anselm, *Ep.* 413, cited in Hollister, 'Royal acts of mutilation', pp. 292-3.

¹⁷⁰ *Gesta Stephani*, pp. 238-9 ['the Earl of Northampton and the Earl of Chester, and others upon whom the king chiefly depended, died at the same time, so that from these signs it could be readily understood that God, who determines all we do, wished to summon the duke [i.e. Henry of Anjou] to the sovereignty and thus put an end at last to the obstinate struggle'].

Instead, it has enabled us to identify a number of qualities and *topoi*, which will enable us to better understand the sources in subsequent chapters. In no particular order, piety, generosity, humility, lack of ambition, affability, but also severity when necessary, personal restraint with regard to food and extravagance, divine approbation, learning, and kindness are all qualities which unsurprisingly figure prominently, and a subject's inner life was important in the representation of their public life. For laymen, obedience to counsel – perhaps especially to clerical counsel – was beneficial. What is elementary in the *Gesta Stephani* is the need for a ruler, a king. Not only does a realm need a king, but it needs a king who should ensure – and, where necessary, severely enforce – peace. He should also exhibit soldierly braveness, albeit tempered with discretion. Although lived sanctity was increasingly in vogue, martyrdom was still one possible route to sanctity.

We have, however, also noted a number of qualities which were apparently of interest or problematic in representations of authority and sanctity. Authority itself rendered one vulnerable to charges of cupidity or ambition. The proper instruction and care of underlings, however, if carefully undertaken and/or written, could provide justification for assumption of authority as well as evidence of sanctity. With these points in mind, we turn to Margaret of Scotland, the first of the figures within this thesis to whom lived lay sanctity was attributed, and her son, David, who was notably pious but not, at this early stage, a saint. To what extent do they embody the qualities discussed in this chapter? How far do their respective performances of rulership impinge upon or fulfil the imperatives of sanctity?

Chapter 3.
Removing the barbarian rust, I:
Margaret of Scotland.

In an oft-cited passage, William of Malmesbury described David, the new king of Scotland, as more courtly than one might expect of a Scottish prince, by virtue of his upbringing at the English court: ‘iuuenis ceteris curialior et qui, nostrorum conuictu et familiaritate limatus a puero, omnem rubiginem Scotticae barbariei detererat’.¹ Notwithstanding David’s particular *curialitas*, Edgar and Alexander – two of his elder brothers, both of whom had also reigned Scotland – were also praised:

Neque uero umquam in acta historiarum relatam est tantae sanctitatis tres fuisse pariter reges et fratres, maternae pietatis nectar redolentes; namque preter uictus parcitatem, elemosinarum copiam, orationum assiduitatem ita domesticum regibus uitium euicerunt ut numquam feratur in eorum thalamos nisi legitimis uxores isse, nec eorum quemquam pellicatu aliquae pudicitiam contristasse.²

This passage exemplifies one of the key issues of this thesis, namely the blurred point at which piety and sanctity shade into each other. William attributed *sanctitas* to the three kings, none of whom was regarded as a saint at this point, but used *pietas* with regard to their mother Margaret, who, as we will see, was already regarded as a saint. Margaret’s cult received papal approval in 1249,³ whereas there is no evidence I have yet been able to find of a cult surrounding

¹ William of Malmesbury, *Gesta regum Anglorum*, 1: 726-7 [‘A young man of more courtly disposition than the rest [his brothers], he had from boyhood been polished by familiar intercourse with the English, and had rubbed off all the barbarian rust of Scottish manners’].

² William of Malmesbury, *Gesta regum Anglorum*, 1: 726-7 [‘History can show no parallel to these three brothers, each a king and each so holy, breathing the fragrance of their mother’s pious life; for besides their abstinence, their copious almsgiving and their constancy in prayer, they successfully overcame the vice most prevalent in kings, and it is recorded that no woman entered their bedchamber except their lawful wives, nor did any of them bring a stain upon his innocence by keeping any mistress’].

³ On the canonization bid, which eventually succeeded in 1249, the translation, and subsequent events, see Pinkerton, *Lives of Scottish Saints*, 2: 189-94; L. Menzies, *St. Margaret Queen of Scotland* (1925; facsimile repr. Felinfach, 1992), pp. 179-81; R.L.G. Ritchie, *The Normans in Scotland* (Edinburgh, 1954), p. 396; D. Baker, ‘“A Nursery of saints”: St Margaret of Scotland reconsidered’, in D. Baker (ed.), *Medieval Women*, Studies in Church History, Subsidia, 1 (Oxford, 1978) pp. 119-41, at pp. 120-1; E.L. O’Brien, ‘The cult of St Edward the Confessor: 1066-1399’ (DPhil. thesis, Oxford University, 2001), pp. 193-4; R. Bartlett (ed.), *The Miracles of Saint Æbbe of Coldingham and Saint Margaret of Scotland* (Oxford, 2003), pp. xxxvi-xxxvii.

David until the later middle ages.⁴ These upright, pious royal men, their *sanctitas* attributed to Margaret's piety, did not have to be quasi-monastic celibates in order to win such fulsome praise, simply to behave better than might be expected of kings, which here explicitly meant not having adulterous affairs. This chapter and the next will examine selected twelfth-century depictions of Margaret, a saintly queen, and David, a pious but not yet saintly king. Is it possible to explain their different receptions? Was it, perhaps, less problematic for a queen to be seen as saintly than a king? Do their respective performances of royal rulership differ significantly?

Turgot's *Vita Margaretae* and Aelred's *Genealogia regum Anglorum* have, understandably, been studied together by other scholars.⁵ Setting aside the familial relationship between the historical Margaret and David (the starting point of the genealogy), there are also similarities in terms of the texts' provenances and alleged intended audience. Both were written by monks in the north-east of England, both of whom were familiar with the Scottish royal court, both texts were addressed to key members of the English royal court, and both were arguably intended to serve as *specula*.

Before examining the textual constructions of Margaret and David, it will be useful to give a brief historical context, which will provide a useful background

⁴ For the later middle ages, see, for example, Walter Bower, *Scotichronicon*, ed. D.E.R. Watt, 9 vols. (Edinburgh, 1987-97), 4: 2, 251, 284, where David is clearly *sanctus* in the sense of saint, and James I's description of him as 'ane sair sanct for the croune' ['a sorry saint for the crown'], because of his generosity to the church, R. Oram, 'David I', in *idem* (ed.), *The Kings and Queens of Scotland* (Stroud, 2001), pp. 61-7, p. 66. See also D. Farmer, *The Oxford Dictionary of Saints* (4th edn., Oxford, 1997), pp. 129-30. I am most grateful to Geoffrey Barrow for his confirmation of the lack of evidence for a cult centred on David in the period with which we are concerned, personal communication, December, 2002. One possible exception occurs in John of Hexham's continuation of Symeon of Durham's *Historia regum*, as the tempestuous sea *en route* to David's burial at Dunfermline calmed for as long as it took for his corpse to be ferried across, in *Symeonis Monachi opera omnia*, ed. T. Arnold, 2 vols., RS 75, 2: 330-1 [Stevenson, *Church Historians*, 4.i: 1-33, p. 31]. It is possible that the miraculous calming of the sea should be attributed to Margaret (who is described as *Sancta* immediately beforehand) rather than David, but as John's continuation was not completed until at least after 1162 (Gransden, *Historical Writing in England, c. 550 to c. 1307*, p. 261) and therefore after the main period with which we are here concerned, this hint of sanctity need not concern us.

⁵ See, for example, Baker, "'A nursery of saints'"; M.A. Mayeski, 'Secundum naturam: The inheritance of virtue in Aelred's *Genealogy of the English Kings*', *Cistercian Studies Quarterly* 37 (2002): 221-8.

for both chapters.⁶ Edmund Ironside, King of Wessex, died in 1016, leaving two infant sons, Edmund and Edward, who were afforded protection from Cnut at the Hungarian court.⁷ Edmund married King Stephen's daughter, but died without children. Edward returned to England in 1057 with his wife Agatha and their children, Margaret, Christina and Edgar the Ætheling, but died shortly after arriving.⁸ The children came under the protection of Edward the Confessor.⁹ Stafford suggests that 'one or other of the daughters may have been reared in a West Saxon nunnery', on the grounds that Christina is known to have been at Romsey later,¹⁰ but I have yet to find clearer reference to Margaret's education.¹¹

⁶ Understandably, given their royal status, they are mentioned – with more or less detail – in many sources of the period. A complete list is neither practical nor necessary here, but on Margaret, see, *inter alia*, *ASC*, s.a. 1067 D and E, 1075 D, 1091, 1093, 1097, 1100 E, 6: 82, 86, 7: 87, 102, 103, 108, 110 [pp. 201, 20-226, 228, 234, 236]; Eadmer, *Historia novorum*, p. 121 [p. 126]; Orderic, *Historia Ecclesiastica*, 4: 270-3, 5: 298-9; William of Malmesbury, *Gesta regum Anglorum*, 1: 416-7, 462-3, 554-5, 726-7; John of Worcester, *Chronicon*, sa. 1068, 1093, 3: 6-7, 66-7; Henry of Huntingdon, *Historia Anglorum: The History of the English People*, trans. D. Greenway (Oxford, 1996), pp. 380-1, 418-19, pp. 396-7. There are a number of popular biographies of Margaret, see, for example, Menzies, *St. Margaret, Queen of Scotland*, A.J. Wilson, *St. Margaret, Queen of Scotland* (Edinburgh, 1993). On David, see, *inter alia*, *ASC*, s.a. 1124, 1126, 1127, 1135, 1138 E, 7: 125, 127, 133-4, 136 [pp. 254, 256, 263, 266]; Symeon, *Libellus de Exordio*, pp. 280-1, 282-3, 290-1, 320-1; Orderic, *Historia Ecclesiastica*, 4: 274-9; William of Malmesbury, *Gesta regum Anglorum*, 1: 2-5, 416-7, 724-7; John of Worcester, *Chronicon*, s.a. 1123, 1128, 1138, 3: 154-5, 174-5, 178-9, 236-7, 252-7; Henry of Huntingdon, *Historia Anglorum*, pp. 380-1, pp. 706-7, pp. 710-19, pp. 740-1, pp. 754-5; G.W.S. Barrow (ed.), *The Charters of David I* (Woodbridge, 1999).
⁷ *ASC*, s.a. 1057 D, 6: 75 and E, 7: 85 [pp. 187-8]. For an introduction to these events and the period in general see, for example, Stenton, *Anglo-Saxon England*, p. 397; Poole, *From Domesday Book to Magna Carta*; Ritchie, *The Normans in Scotland*; G.W.S. Barrow, *The Kingdom of the Scots: Government, church and society from the eleventh to the fourteenth century* (London, 1973); A.A.M. Duncan, *Scotland: The making of a kingdom* (Edinburgh, 1975); E. John, 'The return of the Vikings' and 'The end of Anglo-Saxon England', in J. Campbell, E. John and P. Wormald (eds.), *The Anglo-Saxons* (1982; London, etc., 1991 edn.), pp. 192-239; M. Chibnall, *Anglo-Norman England, 1066-1166* (Oxford, 1986); G.W.S. Barrow, *Scotland and its Neighbours in the Middle Ages* (London, 1992); M.K. Lawson, *Cnut: The Danes in England in the early eleventh century* (London and New York, 1993); F. Barlow, *Edward the Confessor* (London, 1970; New Haven and London, 1997 edn.); Bartlett, *England under the Norman and Angevin Kings*; R. Oram, 'Malcolm III or Máel Coluim Mac Donnchada (1058-1093)', in *idem*, *Kings and Queens of Scotland*, pp. 51-6.

⁸ *ASC*, s.a. 1057 D, 6: 75 and E, 7: 85 [pp. 187-8]; Symeon, *Historia Regum*, s.a. 1057, p. 173 [p. 540]. Ritchie suggested that the children were probably about twelve, nine, and six respectively (which would give Margaret a birth date of c. 1046), *Normans in Scotland*, p. 8. Stenton stressed that Edward's death was not under suspicious circumstances, *Anglo-Saxon England*, p. 571. For a succinct account of the lineage of Edward the Exile's children and the fortunes of Edgar in particular, see N. Hooper, 'Edgar the Ætheling: Anglo-Saxon prince, rebel and crusader', *Anglo-Saxon England* 14 (1985): 197-214.

⁹ P. Stafford, *Queen Emma and Queen Edith: Queenship and Women's Power in Eleventh-Century England* (Oxford, 1997), p. 269; Ritchie, *Normans in Scotland*, p. 10.

¹⁰ Stafford, *Queen Emma and Queen Edith*, p. 269, n. 57; see also Ritchie, *Normans in Scotland*, p. 75. Christina is described as retiring to Romsey in *ASC* s.a. 1085 E, 7: 94 [p. 217].

¹¹ It is perhaps significant that Margaret sent two of her daughters, Edith-Matilda and Mary to be educated at Romsey under Christina's care, before Edith-Matilda (and possibly Mary) went to Wilton, Ritchie, *Normans in Scotland*, pp. 75-6, after Eadmer *Historia novorum*, p. 122 [p. 127] and William of Malmesbury, *Gesta regum Anglorum*, 1: 754-5.

Shortly after the Battle of Hastings, a party rallied around Edgar, as the last male descendant of Cerdic, at London, but was soon quashed by William.¹² In 1068 Edgar fled to the Scottish court with his mother and sisters, and in c.1070 Margaret was married to Malcolm, King of Scotland (r. 1058-93).¹³ According to Orderic, Margaret had been promised to Malcolm earlier, by Edward the Confessor, allegedly by Malcolm's own account,¹⁴ which is also put into the mouth of Henry I by William of Malmesbury.¹⁵ This may have occurred during Malcolm's visit to the English court in 1059 – apparently a ceremonial visit to acknowledge Edward as his overlord.¹⁶ Instead, however, Malcolm's first marriage was to Ingibiorg in 1059 x 1061: a politically advantageous match with the family of his father's erstwhile enemy, Thorfinn.¹⁷ Malcolm and Margaret proceeded to have eight children of whom records are extant: Edward (b. c. 1071), Edmund (b. c. 1072), Æthelred (b. c. 1073), Edgar (b. c. 1074), Alexander (b. c. 1077), Edith (b. c. 1080), Mary (b. c. 1082), and David (b. c. 1084).¹⁸ Turgot made much of Margaret's influence over Malcolm's policies and Scottish church reform. It is unclear to what extent this represents the historical Margaret's influence,¹⁹ but she does indeed seem to have been instrumental in introducing

¹² ASC, s.a. 1066 D, 6: 80-1 and E, 7: 87 [pp. 199-200]; Stenton, *Anglo-Saxon England*, pp. 596-7.

¹³ ASC, s.a. 1068 D, 6: 82 and 1067 E, 7: 87 [pp. 200-1]; Symeon, *Historia Regum*, s.a. 1068, 1070, pp. 186, 190, 192 [pp. 549, 552, 554]; Stenton, *Anglo-Saxon England*, p. 601. Malcolm would have been approximately thirty-nine years old, and Margaret about twenty-four, Ritchie, *Normans in Scotland*, p. 24.

¹⁴ Orderic, *Historia Ecclesiastica*, 4: 270-1: 'Fateor quod rex Eduardus, dum michi Margaritam proneptem suam in coniugium tradidit, Lodonensem comitatum michi donavit' ['I acknowledge that when King Edward gave me his great-niece Margaret in marriage, he gave me the county of Lothian'].

¹⁵ William of Malmesbury, *Historia Novella*, p. 4: 'Porro Edwardus illius progeniei ultimus, idemque et praeclarissimus, proneptem suam Margaritam ex fratre Edmundo Irenside Malcolmi regis Scottorum nuptiis copulavit' ['Then Edward, last and most illustrious of that race, married his great-niece Margaret, descended from his brother Edmund Ironside, to Malcolm King of Scots'].

¹⁶ Discussed by Ritchie, *Normans in Scotland*, pp. 16, 386 and Barlow, *Edward*, p. 203.

¹⁷ Ritchie, *Normans in Scotland*, pp. 16-17; V. Wall, 'Queen Margaret of Scotland (1070-93): Burying the past, enshrining the future', in A.J. Duggan (ed.), *Queens and Queenship in Medieval Europe* (Woodbridge, 1997), pp. 27-38, p. 28. It is unclear whether Ingibiorg was Thorfinn's daughter or widow. As Wall pointed out (p. 29), however, Turgot did not seek to denigrate Ingibiorg, as had the Encomiast of Emma's rival Ælfgifu of Northampton in *Encomium Emmae*. Instead, Turgot simply ignored Ingibiorg's existence. Ritchie suggested that Ingibiorg had died before 1069, and that her death was not suspicious, *Normans in Scotland*, p. 24. For other sources' treatment of the "problem" of Ingibiorg and her children, see Wall, 'Queen Margaret', p. 29, and Ritchie, *Normans in Scotland*, p. 17.

¹⁸ Ritchie, *Normans in Scotland*, p. 393.

¹⁹ Oram, 'Malcolm III', p. 55; G. Donaldson, 'Bishops' sees before the reign of David I', *Proceedings of the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland* 87 (1955): 106-17. repr. in G. Donaldson, *Scottish Church History* (Edinburgh, 1985), pp. 11-24; Barrow, *Kingdom of the Scots*, pp. 165ff.

Benedictine monks into Scotland at Dunfermline, in a daughter-house of Holy Trinity or Christ Church at Canterbury, with the guidance of Lanfranc, and she invited continental clerks to help her reform the Scottish church.²⁰ Other sources corroborate Turgot's depiction of her as a generous patron of the church. In addition to establishing hostels and a ferry²¹ for pilgrims crossing the Firth of Forth and founding Dunfermline, she funded the rebuilding of Columba's cell at Iona,²² and donated a jewelled cross, a book and a linen headdress to the monks at Durham.²³ Malcolm was killed on 13 November 1093, in an ambush near Alnwick during a military foray into Northumberland, and his eldest son and heir, Edward, having been mortally wounded, died two days later.²⁴ Margaret died on 16 November, having heard the news of the deaths of her husband and son.

Malcolm was succeeded by his younger brother, Donald *Bán*, whose claim was challenged by Duncan, Malcolm's son by Ingibiorg. With the support of William Rufus, Duncan defeated Donald and became Duncan II in May 1094.²⁵ Duncan was murdered in November 1094, and Donald was re-established as king. Malcolm's eldest son by Margaret, Edmund, negotiated with Donald for a share of power. In 1097, Donald and Edmund were defeated by Malcolm and Margaret's fourth son Edgar, supported by William Rufus and Edgar the Ætheling.²⁶ Edgar, exiled at the English court since 1093, was King of Scotland from 1097. Edgar's rule was relatively peaceful, after the turmoil in the wake of Malcolm's death, and he is described as the current king in the *Vita Margaretæ*. He died in 1107 without issue, and was succeeded by his brother Alexander, apparently having bequeathed a large estate in south-west Scotland and south Lothian to David.²⁷

²⁰ Barrow, *Kingdom of the Scots*, p. 167; L.L. Huneycutt, *Matilda of Scotland: A study in medieval queenship* (Woodbridge, 2003), pp. 14-15.

²¹ Turgot, *Vita Margaretæ*, pp. 173-4 [p. 312].

²² Orderic, *Historia Ecclesiastica*, 4: 272-3.

²³ Huneycutt, *Matilda*, p. 15.

²⁴ Oram, 'Malcolm III', p. 56.

²⁵ A useful account of the power struggles and successions in the wake of Malcolm's death is given in Oram, 'Donald III or Donnall mac Donnchada (1094-1097), Duncan II of Donnchad mac Maelcoluim (1094) and Edmund (1094-1097)', and 'Edgar (1097-1107)', in *Kings and Queens of Scotland*, pp. 56-9, on which the summary here draws.

²⁶ Edmund was imprisoned, and subsequently became a monk. Donald was blinded, allegedly at the prompting of David.

²⁷ G.W.S. Barrow, 'Kingship in Medieval England and Scotland', *Scotland and its Neighbours*, pp. 23-44 [originally in German in *Historisches Jahrbuch*, 102 (1982): 362-89], pp. 39-40; J.A. Green, 'David I and Henry I', *Scottish Historical Review* 75 (1996): 1-19, p. 3; Oram, 'Alexander I (1107-1124)', *Kings and Queens of Scotland*, pp. 59-61, p. 59.

David had been reared in the English court, and been knighted by Henry I. who seems to have regarded him as a favourite.²⁸ David achieved a prestigious marriage to Matilda de Senlis, widow and heiress of the earl of Huntingdon, and daughter of Waltheof, Earl of Northumbria and Judith, niece of William the Conqueror, before Christmas 1113, at which point he himself was styled Earl of Huntingdon.²⁹

Upon Alexander's death in 1124, David became King of Scotland. His acquisition of the throne was not universally popular. Most notably, Angus, earl of Moray and Malcolm MacHeth, the illegitimate son of Alexander, joined in rebellion against David.³⁰ His method of establishing royal power in Moray after his victory against the rebels has been characterized as a microcosm of his methods in the realm as a whole:

The intrusion of colonists was balanced by a developing partnership with his Gaelic nobility and the retention of key estates as the foci for a network of new royal castles. In time, with David's encouragement, these castles attracted commercial settlements to which he granted charters of privileges... thereby encouraging settlements of new colonies of traders and craftsmen to stimulate the economic development of his kingdom and establishing in the process outposts of royal power scattered throughout Scotland.³¹

Additionally, David, like his mother, was an enthusiastic patron of monastic houses, tending to favour the newer orders.³²

In 1126 David had sworn allegiance to Henry's daughter Matilda.³³

Shortly after Henry's death in 1135, David embarked on a campaign (ostensibly at least) in support of his niece's claim to the throne, and also to claim Cumberland,

²⁸ Orderic, *Historia Æcclesiastica*, 4: 274-5.

²⁹ J.A. Green, 'Anglo-Scottish relations, 1066-1174', in M. Jones and M. Vale (eds.), *England and her Neighbours, 1066-1453: Essays in honour of Pierre Chaplais* (London, 1989), pp. 53-72, p. 59; *eadem*, 'David I and Henry I', pp. 1-19, p. 6; Bartlett, *England Under the Norman and Angevin Kings*, p. 44; Duncan, *Scotland*, p. 134.

³⁰ Oram, 'David I', p. 62.

³¹ Oram, 'David I', p. 63; c.f. *idem*, 'David I and the Scottish conquest and colonisation of Moray', *Northern Scotland* 19 (1999): 1-19.

³² As, indeed, had been his brother Alexander, G.W.S. Barrow, 'The royal house and the religious orders', *Kingdom of the Scots*, pp. 165-87 [originally published in *TRHS* 5th ser., 3 (1953)], pp. 167, 170-2, 173-87; c.f. *idem*, 'Benedictines, Tironensians and Cistercians', *Kingdom of the Scots*, pp. 188-211 [originally published as 'From Queen Margaret to David I: Benedictines and Tironensians', *Innes Review* 9 (1960)].

Westmorland and Northumberland on his son's behalf. The consequent truce with Stephen conceded Carlisle and Doncaster to Henry.³⁴ In January 1138, David again invaded Northumberland, in what was generally seen as an unnecessarily brutal campaign, which culminated in the Battle of the Standard.³⁵ Stephen was distracted by unrest in the south of England, however, and consequently ceded more to David and Henry than he might otherwise have done. Thereafter, David's hold over his realm was relatively peaceful, which allowed him to further the institutionalisation of government, law and church reform. He died at Carlisle, having outlived his son Henry by almost a year, and designated Henry's son William as heir to the throne.

With this historical context in mind, we turn now to the texts themselves. Margaret will be considered first. Although she was a woman, Margaret's sanctity in Turgot's *vita* is achieved via her rulership. For the purposes of this thesis, this is useful, as it demonstrates that at least some of the functions of rulership were not necessarily inimical to sanctity: aspects of the lay life which are traditionally seen as problematic – most notably sex, worldly goods, authority over others – did not debar her from being represented as a saint. On the contrary, the way in which she deployed them *enabled* her to live a saintly life.

3.i Margaret: *fide atque opere ut pretiosa margarita habebatur*.³⁶

The *Vita Margaretae* is problematic in terms of authorship, dating, manuscript transmission, and post-medieval editing. It is extant in three manuscript forms, each in one medieval manuscript: MS British Library Cotton Tiberius D.iii, a collection of saints' lives,³⁷ which seems to date from the mid

³³ William of Malmesbury, *Historia novella*, pp. 4-5.

³⁴ Oram, 'David I', pp. 62-3; c.f. William of Malmesbury, *Historia novella*, pp. 30-1, where William describes David as willing to accept Stephen's terms, partly on account of his mildness of character [*morum lenitate*], but also 'quia ... propiori iam senectute infractus, libenter in otium uel uere uel simulate pacis concessit' ['because he was enfeebled by the approach of old age, was glad to pass into tranquillity, whether it were of a genuine or pretended peace'].

³⁵ On the Battle of the Standard, see J. Beeler, *Warfare in England, 1066-1189* (Ithaca, N.Y., 1966), pp. 85-95.

³⁶ Turgot, *Vita Margaretae*, p. 160 ['a goodly pearl by reason of her faith and works', p. 299].

³⁷ Along with Margaret's *vita*, the manuscript contains a *Passio sancti Dioscori*, a *vita* of John of Beverley, Adomnán's *vita* of Columba, see the Humanities Research Institute, University of Sheffield, at <http://www.shef.ac.uk/hri/bl/cotframe.htm>.

thirteenth century, contains a long version;³⁸ a short version is in MS British Library Cotton Tiberius E.i, otherwise known as the *Sanctilogium*, a collection of *vitae* of British saints attributed to John of Tynemouth, a monk of St. Albans, in the first quarter of the fourteenth century;³⁹ a third, 'heavily interpolated', version of the *vita* is found, together with a collection of post-humous miracles, in MS Madrid, Biblioteca del Palacio Real, II. 2097, which is probably a fifteenth-century Dunfermline-originated copy of a mid thirteenth century text.⁴⁰ Until relatively recently, it was assumed that the Tiberius D.iii *vita* was the earlier text, dated to 1104 x 1107,⁴¹ and that the shorter *vita* was a later abridgement of the longer.⁴² Derek Baker suggested an alternative model, according to which the short *vita* was the earlier version, dateable to 1093 x 1095, and the longer *vita* should be linked to the thirteenth-century canonization process.⁴³ Huneycutt's rebuttal of Baker's hypothesis,⁴⁴ however, is convincing, and the longer version is generally taken to be the earlier by recent scholars.⁴⁵

Post-medieval transmission of the texts is similarly difficult to disentangle. The longer *vita* was edited by Daniel Papebroch (1628-1714) from a no longer extant manuscript.⁴⁶ This edition was reprinted in Pinkerton's *Vitae antiquae*

³⁸ The dating of the manuscript is discussed in L.L. Huneycutt, 'The idea of the perfect princess: The *Life of St Margaret* in the reign of Matilda II (1100-1118)', *Anglo-Norman Studies* 12 (1990 for 1989): 81-97, p. 82; see also Huneycutt, *Matilda*, p. 161.

³⁹ a description of the manuscript and its contents may be seen at <http://www.shef.ac.uk/hri/bl/cotframe.htm>.

⁴⁰ On the dating and provenance of the Madrid manuscript and text, see Bartlett, *Miracles of Æbbe and Margaret*, pp. xxxi-xxxvii, p. xxxi cited here.

⁴¹ Based on references to the incorruption of St Cuthbert's corpse (*Vita Margaretae*, p. 179 [p. 318]), which had been discovered in 1104, and Edgar as the reigning Scottish king (*Vita Margaretae*, p. 180 [p. 319]). On Cuthbert, see *Historia translationum sancti Cuthberti*, in J. Hodgson Hinde (ed.), *Symeonis Dunelmensis Opera et Collectanae*, Surtees Society 51 (1868), pp. 158-201, at pp. 188-97; B. Colgrave, 'The Post-Bedan miracles and translations of St Cuthbert', in C. Fox and B. Dickins (eds.), *The Early Cultures of North-West Europe: H. M. Chadwick memorial studies* (Cambridge, 1950), pp. 307-32, p. 317. Edgar reigned 1097-1107, Oram, 'Malcolm III or Máel Coluim Mac Donnchada', p. 57.

⁴² See, for instance, Metcalfe, 'Introduction', in *Ancient Lives of Scottish Saints*, pp. ix-xxiii, p. xi.

⁴³ Baker, 'Nursery of saints', *passim*, pp. 131 and 132 for these specific points.

⁴⁴ Huneycutt, 'Perfect princess', *passim*.

⁴⁵ See, for instance, P. Stafford, 'The portrayal of royal women in England, mid-tenth to mid-twelfth centuries', in J. Carmi Parsons (ed.), *Medieval Queenship* (Stroud, 1994), pp. 143-67, at p. 162; V. Wall, 'Malcolm III and the foundation of Durham Cathedral', in D. Rollason, M. Harvey, M. Prestwich (eds.), *Anglo-Norman Durham, 1093-1193* (Woodbridge, 1994), pp. 325-37, at p. 330; *eadem*, 'Queen Margaret', at p. 28; O'Brien, 'Cult of St Edward', pp. 201, 212.

⁴⁶ 'ex Membrano nostro Ms. Valcellensi', *AASS* June II, cc. 320-40 (including *Prolegomena*, notes and appendices), at c. 328. On the Bollandists, see D. Knowles, *Great Historical Enterprises: Problems in monastic history* (London etc., 1964), pp. 1-32; P. Roche, 'Bollandists',

sanctorum, along with Papebroch's *Prolegomena*, notes and appendices,⁴⁷ and subsequently translated by Metcalfe.⁴⁸ A version of the longer *vita*, based on Tiberius D.iii but collated with the shorter *vita* (Tiberius E.i), was edited by John Hodgson Hinde, as an appendix to the works of Symeon of Durham.⁴⁹

The shorter version (Tiberius E.i) was printed, with additions, by Wynkyn de Worde in 1516, as *Nova legenda angliae*,⁵⁰ and this edition's *Vita Margaretae* was revised and published by Laurentius Surius.⁵¹ Surius's version of the shorter *vita* was included in Pinkerton's *Vitae antiquae sanctorum*, along with the longer *Vita Margaretae* and the *Prolegomena*, notes and appendices of the *AASS* edition.⁵² The abridgement of this *vita* probably dates to the fourteenth century, and is possibly attributable to John of Tynemouth.⁵³ This thesis, therefore, will use the longer *vita*, as edited by Papebroch, citing from Metcalfe's revision of Pinkerton's edition.⁵⁴

There remains the question of authorship. The no longer extant manuscript from which the Bollandist edition is taken attributed the text to 'Theoderic[us], monach[us] Dunelm. confessari[us] ipsius sanctae'.⁵⁵ The Tiberius D.iii manuscript, however, simply names the author 'T'.⁵⁶ The first

New Catholic Encyclopedia 2: 648-9. This outline of the editions of the longer *vita* manuscripts follows Baker, 'Nursery of saints', p. 129.

⁴⁷ John Pinkerton, *Vitae antiquae sanctorum qui habitaverunt in ea parte Britanniae nunc vocata Scotia vel in ejus insulis* (London, 1789), which was revised and enlarged by William Metcalfe, as *Pinkerton's Lives of the Scottish Saints*. The longer *vita* is at pp. 135-82 of Metcalfe's edition.

⁴⁸ W.M. Metcalfe, *Ancient Lives of Scottish Saints* (Paisley, 1895), pp. 295-321.

⁴⁹ J. Hodgson Hinde, *Symeonis Dunelmensis opera et collectanea*, Surtees Society, 51, vol. 1, (Durham, 1868). Baker was sceptical of Hinde's claim that all variations between the two manuscripts are noted, Baker, 'Nursery of saints', p. 129, on Hinde, *Symeonis Dunelmensis opera*, 1: lvii.

⁵⁰ John Capgrave's compilation of John of Tynemouth, *Nova legenda angliae*. This outline of the editions of the shorter *vita* follows Huneycutt, 'Perfect princess', p. 82.

⁵¹ Huneycutt stated that 'Surius used the *Life of St Margaret* from ...[*Nova legenda angliae*] as the basis for his own significantly revised version of the *Life*, which appeared in 1618', Huneycutt, 'Perfect princess', p. 82. On Surius, see B. du Moustier, 'Surius, Lawrence', *New Catholic Encyclopedia* 13: 820-1.

⁵² Pinkerton, *Lives of Scottish Saints*, 2: 135-96; the longer *vita* is at pp. 135-82, followed by the shorter *vita* at pp. 199-209.

⁵³ Baker, 'Nursery of saints', p. 130; Huneycutt, 'Perfect princess', p. 82. On how the shorter *vita* differs from the longer in tone and content, see Huneycutt, 'Perfect princess', pp. 84-7.

⁵⁴ References will be given as Turgot, *Vita Margaretae*, followed by the page number of Metcalfe's edition of Pinkerton's Latin text, with the page number of Metcalfe's translation in square brackets where relevant.

⁵⁵ Turgot, *Vita Margaretae*, p. 159.

⁵⁶ Huneycutt, 'Perfect princess', p. 81, n. 3.

definite attribution to Turgot (prior of Durham from 1087-1107 x 1109, and bishop of St Andrew's from 1109-1115)⁵⁷ dates to the fourteenth century, in John of Fordun's *Chronica gentis Scotorum*.⁵⁸ Until recently, Turgot's authorship seems to have been accepted almost by default, but only in the absence of a more convincing alternative,⁵⁹ but Valerie Wall makes the more positive suggestion that the text sits perfectly at ease with the works of the Durham scriptorium in general and the influence of Turgot in particular.⁶⁰ For our present purposes, Turgot's authorship of the longer *vita* will be accepted.

The *vita* is effectively a "mirror for princesses", written as a 'didactic tool for Matilda [Edith-Matilda, Margaret's daughter, and wife of Henry I of England, to whom the *vita* is dedicated], to instil in her an ideal of queenly behaviour'.⁶¹ This model is also accepted by Stafford who additionally factors in dynastic concerns: 'in some respects [the *vita* is] a Mirror of Princesses for a ruling queen, in others a dynastic work securing the line of succession for a daughter's children by stressing the lineage and virtues of her mother'.⁶² Wall also concurs with Huneycutt's interpretation, but adds that Turgot frequently stresses Margaret's close links with Turgot specifically and Durham generally.⁶³ She sees Turgot as being concerned with 'posthumously ... plac[ing] Margaret firmly in control of family and court, moving her centre stage as the wife and the queen of Malcolm and the mother of kings of Scots' and with providing 'a justification of Turgot's role as kingmaker and a defence of Durham's interference in the Scottish

⁵⁷ On Turgot's career, see Symeon, *Libellus de Exordio*, pp. 206-9, 240-7; see also Rollason's comments at pp. xx, 207, n. 85; Symeon, *Historia Regum*, s.a. 1074, pp. 202-5 [pp. 560-2]; R.H. Forster, 'Turgot, prior of Durham', *Journal of the British Archaeological Association* 63 (1907): 32-40; W.M. Aird, 'An absent friend: the career of Bishop William of St Calais', in Rollason, Harvey and Prestwich (eds.), *Anglo-Norman Durham*, pp. 283-97, at p. 292; Wall, 'Malcolm III', pp. 325-31.

⁵⁸ Huneycutt, 'Perfect princess', p. 81, n. 3. See John of Fordun, *Chronica gentis Scotorum*, ed. W. F. Skene [trans. F.J.H. Skene], *Historians of Scotland*, 1 and 4, 2 vols. (1871-2) 1: 216 [2: 205].

⁵⁹ See, for instance, Hodgson Hinde, *Symeonis Dunelmensis Opera*, 1: lviii-lx; Gransden, *Historical Writing in England, c. 550 to c. 1307*, p. 116; Ritchie, *Normans in Scotland*, p. 395; Baker, 'Nursery of saints', p. 130; L.L. Huneycutt, 'Images of queenship in the high middle ages', *Haskins Society Journal* 1 (1989): 61-71; *eadem*, 'Perfect princess', p. 81. Others who have also accepted the attribution to Turgot include P. Dalton, 'Scottish influence on Durham, 1066-1214', in Rollason, Harvey and Prestwich, *Anglo-Norman Durham*, pp. 339-52, at p. 342; O'Brien, 'Cult of St Edward', p. 201.

⁶⁰ Wall, 'Malcolm III', p. 330, n. 30

⁶¹ Huneycutt, 'Perfect princess', *passim*, pp. 88-89 cited here.

⁶² Stafford, 'Portrayal of royal women', p. 162.

⁶³ Wall, 'Queen Margaret', pp. 28-9.

succession in the years 1093-97',⁶⁴ and thus rightly reminds us that whilst the *vita* was indeed directed to the English royal court, it is nonetheless also a product of the complex political *milieu* of Scotland and northern England at the start of the twelfth century.⁶⁵

Queenly power in the early to high middle ages seems to have been firmly rooted in familial roles: in the roles of daughter, wife, widow, mother.⁶⁶ This is assuredly the case in many sources which deal with and/or touch upon specific queens and queenship in general, as seen, for example, in Stafford's analysis of the life-cycle-dependent titles conferred upon Emma, wife of Aethelred and Cnut, in charter witness lists.⁶⁷ In the case of Margaret specifically, she stated that Turgot's *vita* 'provides a classic restatement of the acceptable face of female power that had evolved in the early Middle Ages: wife, mother, household manager, patroness of churchmen, active within the limits that such statuses defined'.⁶⁸ This interpretation, however, rather underestimates the complexity of the *Vita Margaretae*. Margaret's sanctity allowed her to transcend her familial-based role, so that by the end of the twelfth century, Malcolm III was defined by *his* relationship to *her* in regnal lists – 'Hic fuit vir Sanctae Margaretae

⁶⁴ Wall, 'Queen Margaret', pp. 29-30.

⁶⁵ Within, that is, the narrower context of Turgot's own concerns. As Wall points out, 'Turgot displays little interest in Scotland, mentioning only Dunfermline and St Andrews in Fife by name', 'Queen Margaret', p. 29. On relations between Scotland/Northern England at this time, see, for example, Duncan, *Scotland*; Barrow, *Scotland and its Neighbours*; Rollason, Harvey and Prestwich (eds.), *Anglo-Norman Durham*; W.M. Aird, 'Northern England or Southern Scotland? The Anglo-Scottish border in the eleventh and twelfth centuries and the problem of perspective', in J.C. Appleby and P. Dalton (eds.), *Government, Religion and Society in Northern England 1000-1700* (Stroud, 1997), pp. 27-39.

⁶⁶ See, for example, Stafford, 'Portrayal of royal women', p. 144. This is a common theme to all of the studies in the 1993 collection *Medieval Queenship*, summarized by Carmi Parsons in his introduction: 'the one fundamental to all the essays in this collection is the familial context in which queens operated'; 'Family, sex, and power: The rhythms of medieval queenship', pp. 1-11, at p. 2 and *passim*

⁶⁷ P. Stafford, 'Emma: The powers of the queen in the eleventh century', in Duggan (ed.), *Queens and Queenship*, pp. 3-26

⁶⁸ Stafford, 'Portrayal of royal women', p. 162. This is contradicted, however, by Stafford's comment earlier in the same article: 'This is not hagiography shaped by family roles ... this is family politics calling for hagiographical expression', p. 154. On seventh- and tenth-century examples, see also P. Stafford, 'Powerful women in the early middle ages: Queens and abbesses', in P. Linehan and J.L. Nelson (eds.), *The Medieval World* (London, 2001), pp. 398-415, p. 399. This notion of a familiarly-rooted Margaret also underlies Knowles' description of the Scottish court as 'a nursery of saints', and Baker's adoption of this 'felicitous phrase' in his article title, Knowles, *Monastic Order*, p. 242; Baker, 'Nursery of saints', p. 119.

(reginae)⁶⁹ – rather than vice versa. This is not to say that family is not important in the representation of Margaret – as we will see, family, Margaret’s familial roles, and her influence over her husband are – to varying degrees – important in Turgot’s construction of her, and it was this aspect of Margaret’s sanctity which initially led me to believe that she would provide a useful gendered counterpoint to male sanctity within this thesis. Margaret’s saintly character, demeanour and deeds also conform, however, with models and expectations which are not rooted in the family and her role therein. In addition to what might be seen as traditionally female saintly rulership, then, Turgot’s Margaret also assumed aspects traditionally associated with male rulership, and it is with this fascinating mixture of male and female rulership that her sanctity was expressed.⁷⁰ Turgot’s *Vita Margaretae* is of interest to this thesis, therefore, in that it articulates a successful combination of the functions of rulership and sanctity.

The *vita* as it appears in the Bollandist edition comprises thirty-two paragraphs divided into a prologue (§§ 1-2) and four chapters. Broadly speaking, chapter 1 (§§ 3-9) treats of Margaret’s family background, marriage, patronage of the church, and her performance of duties as head of household and mother. Chapter 2 (§§ 10-16) describes her relationship with her husband, promotion of royal dignity, encouragement of trade and luxury goods in Scotland, and her reform of the Scottish church and society in general. Chapter 3 (§§ 17-25) catalogues her personal piety, her patronage of *pauperes*, and includes a solitary miracle. Chapter 4 (§§ 26-32) recounts her foreknowledge of her own death, her final illness, and death. The *vita* is more complex than has occasionally been assumed. It deploys many allusions and *topoi*, which are difficult to entirely disentangle and at times even seem to be contradictory. Five aspects of Turgot’s Margaret (which, as will be seen, are not discrete) will be considered here: how her sanctity is established, her representation in the context of family and lifecycle, her voracious appetite for learning, and the deployment of that learning as *magistra*, exemplar, just ruler and reformer.

⁶⁹ Regnal lists F and N, in M.O. Anderson, *Kings and Kingship in Early Scotland* (Edinburgh, 1973), pp. 276, 291. The relative positions of Margaret and Malcolm in the lists are mentioned in Wall, ‘Queen Margaret’, p. 27.

3.ii Margaret as saint.

There was an early awareness both of Margaret's sanctity and its potential benefits, demonstrated by the Durham monks' acquisition of one of her teeth and some hair after her death.⁷¹ Turgot himself was in no doubt that Margaret was a saint. He insisted that what he included on her virtues is but the tip of the iceberg:

cupio, ...vos ...scire ..., quod si omnia, quæ de illa novi prædicanda, dicere conabor, vobis, propter regiæ dignitatis apicem, in matris laude adulari putabor. ... profiteor me nihil supra id quod est, addere; sed ne incredibilia videantur, multa silentio supprimere.⁷²

Punning on her name, Turgot allowed no doubt as to her post-mortem spiritual fate: 'Assumpta est, inquam, Margarita de mundi hujus sterquilinio, et rutilat nunc in æterni Regis posita ornamento. Inde enim nemo, ut reor, dubitabit, cum ejus vitam et vitæ finem paulo post audierit'.⁷³ Her moderation of temper recalls that of many saints, going right back to St Martin, suggesting a disregard for earthly things: 'cum magna gravitate lætabatur, cum magna honestate irascebatur. Numquam hilaritate nimia in cachinum soluta, numquam irascendo fuerat in

⁷⁰ In their problematization of the categories of gender and sanctity, Riches and Salih noted that Margaret is a female saint who is 'closer to the masculine type', in 'Introduction. Gender and holiness', p. 5.

⁷¹ D. Matthew, 'Durham and the Anglo-Norman world', in Rollason, Harvey and Prestwich (eds.), *Anglo-Norman Durham*, pp. 1-22, p. 9. See also the unambiguously saintly description in the inscription, which dates to the reign of Henry II, on the tomb of Edith-Matilda: 'Here lies the lady Matilda II, the good queen of the English, once wife of king Henry I, mother of the empress Matilda, daughter of the lord Malcolm, once king of Scotland, and St Margaret, wife of that Malcolm', cited here from Bartlett, *England under the Angevin Kings*, p. 598. See also the inscription which was added to the flyleaf of the Gospel Book which has been identified as having belonged to Margaret, namely MS Oxford: Bodleian Latin Liturgical f5, produced in a facsimile edition: ed. W. Forbes-Leith, *The Gospel Book of St. Margaret: Being a facsimile reproduction of St Margaret's copy of the Gospels preserved in the Bodleian Library, Oxford* (Edinburgh, 1896). The inscription, which is reproduced, with a translation, in R. Gameson, 'The Gospels of Margaret of Scotland and the literacy of an eleventh-century queen', in L. Smith and J.H.M. Taylor (eds.), *Women and the Book: Assessing the visual evidence* (London and Toronto, 1997), pp. 149-71, at pp. 165-6, is dated to the very beginning of the twelfth century, and recounts the miraculous story which Turgot also gave, and refers to Margaret as *sancta*.

⁷² Turgot, *Vita Margaretæ*, p. 160 ['I desire that you... should know that if I were to attempt to relate all that could be told respecting her, I should be thought to be flattering you under cover of your mother's praises on account of the greatness of your queenly dignity. ... I profess ... that I add nothing to the truth; but suppress many things lest they should seem incredible', p. 298]

⁷³ Turgot, *Vita Margaretæ*, p. 161['This pearl ... was taken from the dunghill of this world and now shines in her place among the jewels of the Eternal King. This I think no one will doubt, when he has read the following account of her life and death', p. 299]. C.f. the respective spiritual fates of David and Edward, pp. 157-8, *infra*.

furorem effusa'.⁷⁴ Towards the end of the *vita*, Turgot explicitly called her *sancta* by virtue of her life rather than her miraculous activity, in the passage cited in the Introduction: 'Dignius, inquam, miremur in Margarita facta, quæ illam sanctam faciebant, quam signa, si aliqua fecisset, quæ hominibus sanctam tantum ostenderent'.⁷⁵

As noted in the Introduction, usage of the term *sanctus* was ambiguous until at least the thirteenth century.⁷⁶ Taken together, however, these passages remove any ambiguity in the case of Turgot's Margaret: she was already in the heavenly court, which was a result of her lived sanctity, namely her good life, her good character, and her own choices. Notwithstanding, lest anyone should doubt that this renders her saintly Turgot did proceed to relate one miracle, 'Quiddam tamen narrabo, quod ad religiosæ vitæ illius indicium pertinere, non inconvenienter dixerim, ut puto'.⁷⁷

Huneycutt argued that seeing the *vita* as a didactic text removes the 'problems' within the text at which scholars have 'bristled': 'all of these problems are easily overcome when it is realized that the author was not creating a saint's

⁷⁴ Turgot, *Vita Margaretæ*, p. 164 ['there was great gravity in her joy and something noble in her anger. Her mirth was never expressed in immoderate laughter; when angry she never gave way to fury', p. 302]. C.f. Sulpicius Severus, *Vie de Saint Martin*, 'Nemo umquam illum vidit iratum, nemo commotum, nemo mærentem, nemo ridentem: unus idemque fuit semper: cælestem quodammodo lætitiæ uultu præferens, extra naturam hominis videbatur', 1: 314 ['No one ever saw him enraged, or excited, or lamenting, or laughing; he was always one and the same: displaying a kind of heavenly happiness in his countenance, he seemed to have passed the ordinary limits of human nature', NPNF 2/11: 17]. This is also reminiscent of the Benedictine eleventh degree of humility: *Regula Benedicti*, c. 7, pp. 46-7: 'Undecimus humilitatis gradus est, si cum loquitur monachus, leniter et sine risu, humiliter cum gravitate, vel pauca verba et rationabilia loquatur, et non sit clamorosus in voce, sicut scriptum est: Sapiens verbis innotescit paucis' ['The eleventh degree of humility is that a monk, when he speaks, do so gently and without laughter, humbly and seriously, in few and sensible words, and without clamour. It is written: "A wise man is known by the fewness of his words"']. As will be discussed below, echoes of Benedictine monasticism are also found in subsequent parts of the *vita*.

⁷⁵ Turgot, *Vita Margaretæ*, p. 176 ['It is better, I say, to admire in Margaret the things which made her *sancta*, rather than the miracles, if she did any, which might only have indicated that she was one to men', p. 315]; c.f. p. 6, *supra*.

⁷⁶ C.f. p. 7, *supra*.

⁷⁷ Turgot, *Vita Margaretæ*, p. 176 ['Nevertheless, it will not be out of place if I here narrate one incident which seems to me to indicate the holiness of her life', p. 315]. On this miracle, see p. 135, *infra*. Additionally, of course, the recently published *miracula* presumably fulfilled a perceived requirement, apparently but a short time after the period dealt with by this thesis, *Miracles of Æbbe and Margaret*, pp. 69-145.

life, a history of the era, or even a secular biography of the queen'.⁷⁸ I suggest that this implies a rather narrow understanding of the purposes of *vitae*, which were indeed often created with didactic intent. We have seen that Turgot constructed Margaret as a saint. As will be discussed below, Margaret's sanctity was an active one, achieved by her diligence and piety, which is, of course, perfectly in keeping with Huneycutt's interpretation of the text as a "mirror". More importantly for our present purposes, whatever his own motivations in creating the text, Turgot provided a depiction of a figure for whom functions of rulership are not inimical to sanctity. Before considering these aspects of Margaret's sanctity, however, we turn to those which might be seen as conforming to traditionally gendered saintly models, namely those rooted in her familial identities.

3.iii Family and lifecycle: Margaret's genealogy.

Writing in the mid twelfth century, Aelred of Rievaulx traced Henry Plantagenet's lineage, through the Empress Matilda, Edith-Matilda and Margaret of Scotland, to a markedly Anglo-Saxon ancestry:

Tu igitur, vir optime, filius es gloriosissimae imperatricis Mathildis, cujus fuit mater christianissima et excellentissima Anglorum regina, Mathildis filia sanctissimae feminae reginae Scotorum Margaretae, quae nominis sui splendori morum sanctitatem praeferebat. Hujus pater Edwardus, qui fuit filius Edmundi regis invictissimi, cujus pater Edelred, cujus pater Aedgarus pacificus, cujus pater Eadmundus, cujus pater Edwardus senior, cujus pater nobilis Aluredus...⁷⁹

⁷⁸ Huneycutt, *Matilda*, p. 13, with reference to the doubts as to the veracity of Turgot's account of Margaret's reforms and involvement in ecclesiastical affairs expressed by Duncan, *Scotland: The Making of the Kingdom*, p. 117; Baker, 'Nursery of Saints', pp. 128-9. See also W.M. Bryce, 'Saint Margaret of Scotland and her chapel in the castle of Edinburgh', *The Book of the Old Edinburgh Club* 5 (1913): 1-66, p. 8.

⁷⁹ Aelred of Rievaulx, *Genealogia*, PL 195: 716-717 ['You then, good Sir, are the son of the illustrious Empress Matilda. Her mother was the most christian and excellent queen of the English, Matilda, daughter of the most holy woman Margaret, queen of the Scots, who put sanctity of life before the lustre of her name. Her father was Edward, son of the unconquered Edmund, whose father was Ethelred, whose father was Edgar the Peaceful, whose father was Edmund, whose father was the elder Edward, whose father was the noble Alfred...']. I am extremely grateful to Professor Dutton for allowing me to see an early version of a translation of the *Genealogia* currently under preparation, namely *Aelred's Historical Works*, trans. J.P. Freeland, ed. M.L. Dutton, Cistercian Fathers Series 57 (Kalamazoo, forthcoming). The translations of the *Genealogia* cited in this thesis borrow heavily from this edition, with occasional alterations where literal translation is more useful for present purposes than a modern, flowing edition.

That the three women were not noteworthy ancestors in their own right, but instead served merely as blood conduits, is underlined by their absence from the subsequent chapters which elaborate on ancestors of note.⁸⁰ That the historical Margaret valued her Anglo-Saxon roots may be inferred from the names of five of her eight known children,⁸¹ but how was she subsequently depicted?

The genealogy with which the Anglo-Saxon D chronicler provided Margaret also takes into account imperial glory conferred through her maternal line, but, like Aelred, seems to privilege her Anglo-Saxon inheritance by listing five specific ancestors from her paternal line:

Deos foresprecene cwen seoððan on þam lande manege nytwryðe dæda gefremede Gode to lofe, & Eadmer on þa kynewisan wel geþeh, eallswa hire gecynde wæs. Of geleaffullan & æðelan cynne heo was asprungon, hire fæder wæs Eadward æpeling, Eadmundes sunu kynges, Eadmund Æþelreding, Æþelred Eadgaring, Eadgar Eadreding, 7 swa forð on þæt cynecynn, 7 hire modorcynn gæð to Heinrice casere, þe hæfde anwald ofer Rome.⁸²

Given the political situation in England at the start of the twelfth century, such an emphasis is perfectly reasonable. Henry I married Edith-Matilda but three months after becoming king, and it is easy to see how her Anglo-Saxon inheritance would have been an attractive asset. His choice, as summed up by Marjorie Chibnall,

was partly, perhaps, because an alliance with the Scots royal house might protect his northern frontier, but most of all because her mother, Margaret, was the great-granddaughter of Edmund Ironside. Chroniclers were quick to note the significance of this Henry himself was only the third king in the Norman line, whereas Margaret's ancestry stretched back to the West Saxon Cerdic. The children of such a union would have a particularly strong hereditary claim to the English throne.⁸³

⁸⁰ This point is also made by E. Freeman, *Narratives of a New Order: Cistercian historical writing in England, 1150-1220*, Medieval Church Studies 2 (Turnhout, 2001), p. 74. The *Genealogia* will be further considered in its own right in Chapter 4.

⁸¹ Edward, Edmund, Æthelred, Edgar and Edith are all names associated with the royal house of Wessex.

⁸² *ASC*, s.a. 1067 D, 6: 83 ['She was sprung from a noble and believing race; her father was the ætheling Edward, son of King Edmund – Edmund Æthelred's offspring, Æthelred Edgar's offspring, Edgar Eadred's offspring and so forth in that royal family; and her mother's family goes back to the emperor Henry who had dominion over Rome', p. 202].

⁸³ Chibnall, *Empress Matilda*, p. 7; c.f. G.W.S. Barrow, 'David I of Scotland: The balance of new and old', *The Stenton Lecture, xviii (1984)* (Reading, 1985), repr. in Barrow, *Scotland and its Neighbours*, pp. 45-65, pp. 62-3.

Similarly, considering the depictions of Margaret in the *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle* and the *Vita Margaretae*, Stafford saw Margaret as providing the West Saxon ingredients of a reconciliatory Anglo-Norman mixture:

it is an image cultivated as part of the politics of Anglo-Norman succession. She and her descendants carried the claims of the West Saxon dynasty to the throne. She is a dynastic saint.⁸⁴

It does indeed seem that early twelfth century commentators thought Edith-Matilda's Anglo-Saxon heritage was an important factor in the marriage: Edith-Matilda was described by the E Chronicle, for example, as 'Malcolmes cynges dohter of Scotlande 7 Margareta þære goda cwæne Eadwardes cynges magan 7 of þan rihtan Ænglalandes kynekynne'.⁸⁵ Similarly, Orderic described her as 'Haec nimirum Melculfi regis Scottorum et Margaritae reginae filia fuit, cuius origo de stirpe Elfridi regis filii Egberti regis processit, qui primus monarchiam totius Angliae post Danicam cladem et occasum sancti Edmundi regis et martiris optinuit'.⁸⁶ William of Malmesbury also described her as 'genere sullimis utpote regis Eduardi ex fratre Edmundo abneptis',⁸⁷ 'ex antiqua et illustri regum stirpe descendit ..., filia regis Scottorum'.⁸⁸ Eadmer also provided Edith-Matilda with a markedly Anglo-Saxon heritage, referring to her as:

Mathildis filia Malchomi nobilissimi regis Scottorum et Margaritæ, quæ scitur exorta de semine regum Anglorum ... Ipsa quippe Margarita filia fuit Edwardi filii regis Edmundi, qui fuit filius regis Æthelredi filii gloriosissimi regis Eadgari.⁸⁹

Within three years of her marriage, Edith-Matilda had borne two children, Matilda, the future empress, and William, who was to die in the wreck of the

⁸⁴ Stafford, 'Portrayal of royal women', p. 154; c.f. J.L. Nelson's review article, 'Gender, memory and social power', *Gender and History* 12 (2000): 722-34, p. 723; Mayeski, 'Secundum naturam', pp. 221-2.

⁸⁵ *ASC*, s.a. 1100 E, 7: 110 ['daughter of King Malcolm of Scotland and the good queen Margaret, King Edward's relative, of the rightful royal family of England', p. 236].

⁸⁶ Orderic, *Historia Ecclesiastica*, 5: 298-9 ['the daughter of Malcolm, king of Scots, and Queen Margaret, who was descended from the stock of King Alfred, son of King Egbert, the line which first ruled all England after the Danish war and murder of St. Edmund king and martyr'].

⁸⁷ William of Malmesbury, *Genealogia regum Anglorum*, 1: 714-17 ['of exalted rank as a great-great-niece of King Edward through his brother Edmund'].

⁸⁸ William of Malmesbury *Genealogia regum Anglorum*, 1: 754-5 ['a daughter of the king of the Scots..., descended from an ancient and illustrious line of kings'].

⁸⁹ Eadmer, *Historia novorum*, p. 121 ['Matilda the daughter of Malcolm, most noble King of the Scots and of Margaret, who is known to have been descended from the kings of the English...']

White Ship in 1120.⁹⁰ Other texts addressed to Edith-Matilda stress her royal West Saxon blood, especially in the light of the birth of her children, in whom were mingled ‘the bloodlines of both the old English kings and the new line of Norman conquerors,’ and Edith-Matilda herself seems to have had an interest in her Anglo-Saxon heritage, and upon her death in 1118, was buried at Westminster near Edward the Confessor.⁹¹

Aelred’s interpretation of Edward the Confessor’s deathbed vision of the green tree would place the well-being and peaceful reconciliation of the realm in the intermingling of Norman and Anglo-Saxon within Henry and Edith-Matilda’s children. Whereas the story of the vision itself was in circulation as Turgot was writing, it seems that its application to Edith-Matilda and her progeny was not. According to the eleventh-century biographer of Edward, traditionally known as the Anonymous, two monks whom Edward had known during his childhood in Normandy appeared to him in a vision and foretold a period of divine punishment for the realm.⁹² Edward pleaded for forgiveness, but they prophesied remission only upon fulfillment of a seemingly impossible prophecy.⁹³ Aelred asserted that this prophecy had been fulfilled in the person of Henry II,⁹⁴ and it is therefore possible to extrapolate his interpretation back to the Henry I’s reign. Indeed Huneycutt does just this:

In 1103, the green tree was interpreted as signifying the line of English kings, the three acres the reigns of Harold, the Conqueror, and Rufus, and the reunification of the tree the marriage of Henry and Matilda. Now that a son had been born, the tree was again flowering and bearing fruit. England could thenceforth look forward to happier times.⁹⁵

Now Margaret herself was a daughter of Edward, son of King Edmund, who was a son of King Ethelred, son of [the] glorious King Edgar’, p. 126].

⁹⁰ Chibnall, *Empress Matilda*, pp. 8-9, 37-8; Bartlett, *England under the Norman and Angevin Kings*, pp. 9, 38-9; Huneycutt, *Matilda*, pp. 74-7.

⁹¹ Huneycutt, ‘Perfect princess’, p. 93; *eadem*, *Matilda*, p. 133; E. Mason, *Westminster Abbey and its People, c. 1050-c. 1216* (Woodbridge, 1996), p. 155. It should be noted, however, that this burial site may not have been her own choice: according to the (obviously not impartial) account of the canons at Holy Trinity, Aldgate, she had wished to be buried there, but Henry overruled this choice, *The Cartulary of Holy Trinity Aldgate*, ed. G.A.J. Hodgett (London, 1971), no. 13, pp. 3, 230

⁹² Anon., *Vita Æwardi*, trans. F. Barlow, *The Life of King Edward Who Rests at Westminster: Attributed to a Monk of Saint-Bertin* (London, 1962; Oxford, 1992), pp. 116-19. This vision will be further considered in its own right, along with its successive treatments, in Chapter 5.

⁹³ Anon., *Vita Æwardi*, pp. 118-19.

⁹⁴ Aelred, *Vita S. Edwardi*, cc. 773-4 [Aelred, *Life*, p. 91].

⁹⁵ Huneycutt, *Matilda*, p. 77; c.f. *ibid.*, p. 134.

The early accounts of Edward's vision, however, do not justify this extrapolation. Both the Anonymous and Osbert of Clare, rewriting the Anonymous *Vita Aedwardi* in c.1138, treated the potential remedy as an impossibility: the havoc of the Norman Conquest is the period of punishment, and the proffered remedy is impossible so there is no end in sight.⁹⁶ William of Malmesbury's account of the vision is similarly pessimistic.⁹⁷ Later texts would indeed focus on Edith-Matilda's royal Anglo-Saxon inheritance, but, as we will see, the genealogy with which Turgot provided Margaret does not in fact feature the heavy Anglo-Saxon bias that one might expect from subsequent treatments of the text. I submit that at this early stage, the picture was more subtly nuanced, and suggested a greater Norman blood inheritance than actually existed. We turn now to how this was achieved, and the nature of qualities transmitted to Margaret and, via her, to Edith-Matilda.

Margaret, Turgot suggested, was the natural result of her ancestors' earthly nobility and piety.⁹⁸ The ancestors thought worthy of note are her paternal grandfather Edmund Ironside ('pugnandi strenuus ... invicibilis'⁹⁹), and his half-brother Edward the Confessor, who was singled out for his peacable kingship:

piissimus ille atque mansuetissimus fuerat Rex Eadwardus, qui se patrem patriæ exhibuerat; et alter quodammodo Salomon, id est pacificus, magis pace quam armis regnum protexerat. Gerebat animum iræ victorem, avaritiæ contemptorem, superbiæ prorsus expertem.¹⁰⁰

Turgot then traced Edward's (that is, not Edmund's) glory and nobility to his grandfathers, King Edgar and Richard of Normandy, 'non solum nobilissimis, sed etiam religiosissimis'.¹⁰¹ Turgot's Edgar 'rex simul et justitiæ ac pacis amator

⁹⁶ Anon., *Vita Aedwardi*, pp. 118ff; Osbert of Clare, ed. M. Bloch, 'La vie de S. Édouard le Confesseur par Osbert de Clare', *Analecta Bollandiana*, 41 (1923): 5-131, pp. 108-10.

⁹⁷ William of Malmesbury, *Gesta regum Anglorum*, 1: 414-17.

⁹⁸ See Table 3, p. 263, *infra*.

⁹⁹ Turgot, *Vita Margaretae*, p. 161 ['strong in battle... invincible', p. 299].

¹⁰⁰ Turgot, *Vita Margaretae*, p. 161 ['the most religious and meek Edward, who proved himself the Father of his Country; and as another Solomon, that is, a lover of peace, protected his kingdom by peace rather than by arms. He had a mind that subdued anger, despised avarice, and was entirely free from pride', pp. 299-300].

¹⁰¹ Turgot, *Vita Margaretae*, p. 161 ['men who were not only most illustrious, but also most religious', p. 300].

futurus præsignabatur'¹⁰², and Richard ruled with prosperity, honour, and fervent love of religion, and managed to successfully circumvent the spiritual dangers of earthly status: 'in summis divitiis positus; spiritu, velut alter David, erat pauperrimus: Dominus populorum constitutus, servorum Christi servus fuit humillimus.'¹⁰³ Richard's foundation of Fécamp is praised, along with his humility, yearning and reverence for the monastic life: 'secularis quidem habitu, sed Monachus actu'.¹⁰⁴ The illustrious list closes by positioning Margaret as fitting issue of such a family, after a reminder that Edmund and Edward were but half-brothers and a cursory reference (without name) to her father, Edward the Exile: 'ex solo, ut ante dictum est, patre frater Eadmundi Regis; cujus filio Margarita exorta, claritate meritorum claram perornat seriem progenitorum'.¹⁰⁵

According to Turgot's genealogy, then, Margaret's legacy from her ancestors is an association with military strength and enemies' respect (from Edmund Ironside), religious peace-loving kingship mingled with innate humility (from Edward the Confessor), saint-sanctioned justice-dispensing and peace-loving kingship (from Edgar), and devout humility amidst riches, financial and practical patronage of the church, and particular respect for monastic life (Richard), and (implicit in the very nature of the genealogical structure) transmission of virtues to future generations, via blood and/or association. All are kings except Richard, who, although non-royal, was nonetheless an exemplary Christian ruler, as shines from the pages of Dudo of Saint-Quentin's *Gesta Normannorum*, to which Turgot referred any potentially interested readers.¹⁰⁶

¹⁰² Turgot, *Vita Margaretae*, p. 162 ['was marked out ... both as a king and as a lover of justice and peace', p. 300]. He is given a saintly seal of approval by Dunstan, at p.162: 'Nato enim illo, audivit beatus Dunstanus sanctos Angelos, in cælo gratulantes, et cum magna gratulatione psallentes; Sit pax, sit Anglorum Ecclesiæ lætitia, quamdiu puer natus regnum tenuerit, et Dunstanus mortalis vitæ viam cucurrerit' ['For at his birth S. Dunstan heard the holy angels rejoicing in heaven and singing with great joy: "Let there be peace, let there be joy in the Church of the English, as long as this new-born boy shall hold the kingdom and Dunstan runs the course of this mortal life', p. 300].

¹⁰³ Turgot, *Vita Margaretae*, p. 162 ['endowed with great riches, like a second David, he was poor in Spirit; exalted to be lord over his people, he was a lowly servant of the servants of Christ', p. 300].

¹⁰⁴ Turgot, *Vita Margaretae*, p. 162 ['secular in habit, but in action a monk', p. 300].

¹⁰⁵ Turgot, *Vita Margaretae*, p. 162 ['on the father's side only, as was before said, ... [Edward] was the brother of King Edmund, from whose son came Margaret, who, by the splendour of her merits completes the glory of this illustrious family' p. 300].

¹⁰⁶ Turgot, *Vita Margaretae*, p. 162 [p. 300].

This inherited “package” might be summed up as Solomonic kingship, which was explicitly evoked in the case of Edward the Confessor.¹⁰⁷ Arguably, the keynote of Solomonic kingship in the eleventh century was peaceful rulership.¹⁰⁸ Certainly, as discussed in Chapters 1 and 2, peace-making and peace-keeping were by this time seen as intrinsic elements of kingship.¹⁰⁹ Solomon was the ‘prototypical peaceful king’, and, according to exegetical tradition, his peace had prefigured that of Christ, who was ‘the highest peacemaker’.¹¹⁰ This christological aspect of peaceful kingship might conceivably have reinforced the christological connotations of saintly miracle-working, if the two coincided in the reputation of one individual.¹¹¹ There were also other models, however, which themselves borrowed from and elaborated upon Solomonic kingship, including that of Alfred the Great.¹¹² One of the important themes of Alfred’s legend at this point was his reputation ‘as a sage and a scholar, coupled in one way or another with his distinction as a law-maker’.¹¹³ For Alfred, wisdom, peace and justice were intrinsically interrelated.¹¹⁴ A further element of Alfredian rulership is that he was a builder, as had been Solomon.¹¹⁵ Indeed for Alfred, building was an apposite metaphor for his programme of fostering wisdom and learning.¹¹⁶ We see, then, that peace-keeping, learning, education, justice, and building were all bound up together, and suggested Solomonic and/or Alfredian rulership. Margaret does not, then, inherit female-gendered qualities according to Turgot’s genealogy, but rather a composite picture of Solomonic rulership. This inheritance is itself significant, but the route through which she received it is also of interest.

Just under one-third of the two chapters on Margaret’s ancestors deal with Edward the Confessor, that is with her father’s half-brother. His virtues might

¹⁰⁷ See p. 111, n. 100, *supra*.

¹⁰⁸ Thus, for example, Barlow, *Edward the Confessor*, p. 192.

¹⁰⁹ C.f. pp. 49-50, 86-8, *supra*. See also Kershaw, ‘*Rex pacificus*’, *passim*.

¹¹⁰ Kershaw, ‘*Rex pacificus*’, p. 21.

¹¹¹ C.f. pp. 46-7, 61, *supra*.

¹¹² On the reception of Alfred in the eleventh and twelfth centuries, see S. Keynes, ‘The cult of King Alfred the Great’, *Anglo-Saxon England* 28 (1999): 225-356, pp. 228-31.

¹¹³ Keynes, ‘Cult of Alfred’, pp. 233-4.

¹¹⁴ Kershaw, ‘*Rex pacificus*’, p. 178.

¹¹⁵ Kershaw, ‘*Rex pacificus*’, p. 184.

¹¹⁶ R. Abels, *Alfred the Great: Kingship and culture in Anglo-Saxon England* (London and New York, 1998), pp. 219, 236-7.

arguably have been passed through paternal blood to Margaret, but there is no blood link whatsoever between Margaret and Richard of Normandy, Edward's ancestor via his mother. Notwithstanding, Turgot devoted more than two-fifths of his genealogy to Richard, the father of Margaret's grandfather's stepmother, Emma. The only direct ancestors noted are Edmund Ironside, who takes up just over one-tenth of the section, and Edgar, who takes up just under one-fifth of the section. However Edgar, grandfather to Edward the Confessor, of course, as well as to Edmund Ironside, is explicitly placed as Edward's ancestor, not Edmund's. Therefore almost nine-tenths of the section which allegedly describes Margaret's ancestors deal not with her direct blood-line but with her spiritual ancestors, amongst whom Edward the Confessor and Richard of Normandy are prominent.

Baker saw the *vita*'s 'awkward genealogical preamble', with its emphasis on Edward, as anachronistic for an early twelfth century composition date and, agreeing with Ritchie that the genealogy was intended 'to attach a cult of Margaret to the already formed cult of Edward', explained the apparent anachronism by positing his later date of composition.¹¹⁷ Surprisingly, Huneycutt did not take this point to its logical conclusion, which would sit perfectly at ease with her argument that the text presents 'an ideal of queenly behaviour'¹¹⁸ for a new English queen. Neither Baker nor Huneycutt noted that whilst Turgot's Edward was undeniably extremely and laudably religious and kingly, he is not explicitly described as saintly in Turgot's genealogy. Instead, Huneycutt skirted around Baker's alleged anachronism: 'although I would agree with Baker that the genealogy of the longer version may well have been rewritten after 1107, the stress on Edward the Confessor is not *prima facie* absurd even at the earlier date'.¹¹⁹ She rightly pointed out that other early twelfth century sources refer to Edith-Matilda's relationship to Edward,¹²⁰ and that her marriage to Henry I, and their offspring, were seen as reuniting the Norman and West Saxon bloodlines.¹²¹ As noted above, in the context of the *vita*'s intended audience, a genealogy which assumed an intermingling of virtues from the ancestors of both queen and king

¹¹⁷ Baker, 'Nursery of saints', pp. 124-5, discussing and citing Ritchie, *Normans in England*, pp. 396-7.

¹¹⁸ Huneycutt, 'Perfect princess', p. 89.

¹¹⁹ Huneycutt, 'Perfect princess', p. 93.

¹²⁰ Huneycutt, 'Perfect princess', p. 93.

would have been politic. Accepting Huneycutt's interpretation of the text as a model for Edith-Matilda, the exemplars in its genealogy do not necessarily *need* to be explicitly saintly. They need, rather, to exemplify aspects of good Christian rulership, and this is precisely what they do.

The emphasis in the *vita*'s genealogy is not, therefore, on Margaret's Anglo-Saxon inheritance but on (at most) her pivotal position, via Edward the Confessor, at the crossroads of Anglo-Saxon and Norman cultures, and, given how Turgot situates Edward in the context of his Norman ancestry, may even seek to place her as an honorary Norman. However politically and ideologically valuable Margaret's Anglo-Saxon royal blood may have been in her selection as Malcolm's bride, however important it may have been to later authors such as Aelred, Turgot's Margaret is at least as Norman as she is Anglo-Saxon, and possibly more so.

Turgot was notably silent on Margaret's maternal lineage and her consequent connection with the Hungarian court. The exact identity of her mother, Agatha, is unclear.¹²² The Anglo-Saxon D chronicler referred to her as 'caseres maga',¹²³ William of Malmesbury described her as the Queen of Hungary's sister,¹²⁴ and John of Worcester called her a daughter of the Emperor Henry's brother.¹²⁵ Regardless of the exact nature of the connection, however, Margaret and her siblings Edgar Aetheling and Christina seem to have been born and partially reared in the newly-Christianized Hungarian court of the mid eleventh century. If Ritchie's suggested birthdates for the children are correct, Margaret will have been born but eight years after the death of King Stephen of Hungary (r. 1000-38). Perhaps more significantly, Turgot was writing some twenty years after Stephen's canonisation, which, it seems, was driven by the need for dynastic legitimation on the part of King (and ultimately St.) Ladislas (r.

¹²¹ Huneycutt, 'Perfect princess', p. 93.

¹²² It has been variously suggested by modern scholars that she was daughter of St Stephen of Hungary and Gisela (and therefore a niece of Emperor Henry II), daughter of Henry's brother Bruno, and daughter of a half-brother of Emperor Henry III. See Ritchie, *Normans in Scotland*, pp. 389-92 and Hooper, 'Edgar the Ætheling', especially pp. 199-200.

¹²³ *ASC*, s.a. 1057 D, 6: 75 ['the emperor's relative', p. 188].

¹²⁴ William of Malmesbury, *Gesta regum Anglorum*, 1: 318-19.

¹²⁵ John of Worcester, *Chronicon*, s.a. 1017, 2: 502-5.

1077-95).¹²⁶ Stephen's claim to sanctity was 'not through martyrdom, but simply by virtue of his having converted his people to Christianity, and having ruled as a Christian prince'.¹²⁷ Turgot's omission of Margaret's Hungarian connection is therefore surprising. According to the *Legenda maior*, written prior to 1083, 'Si ipse evangelizandi non assumpsit officium, predicatorum tamen dux et magister eius tutaminis et sustentationis instituit solatium'.¹²⁸ As will be suggested below, supervision of the church is an important part of Turgot's construction of Margaret, and allusion to a saintly ancestor whose sanctity featured such supervision would have been grist to Turgot's mill. There is, of course, no reason to assume that Turgot should have been familiar with Stephen's hagiographical literature,¹²⁹ but notwithstanding, contemporary commentators were not unaware of the connection, nor of its potential for contextualising Margaret's piety. Unlike Turgot, Orderic noted this association, albeit inaccurately:

Hæc nimirum filia fuit Eduardi regis Hunorum, qui fuit filius Edmundi cognomento Irneside fratris Eduardi regis Anglorum. et exul coniugem accepit cum regno filiam Salomonis regis Hunorum. Generosa quippe mulier de sanguine regum a proavis orta pollebat, sed morum bonitate uitæque sanctitate magis precluebat.¹³⁰

As argued above, however, Turgot chose instead to privilege Margaret's alleged Norman connections. Why should this be so?

¹²⁶ On the date (1083) and circumstances of Stephen's canonisation, see Klaniczay, *Holy Rulers*, pp. 124, 129-30. The chronicle accounts which suggest that the virtues of Christian rulership were lacking at the Hungarian court between Stephen's death and the accession of Ladislas – which includes the time during which Margaret was there – may need, therefore, to be taken with a pinch of salt.

¹²⁷ Klaniczay, *Holy Rulers*, p. 134.

¹²⁸ *Legendæ Sancti Stephanae regis maior*, cited here from Klaniczay, *Holy Rulers*, p. 134 ['although he himself did not assume the duty of evangelisation nonetheless, leader and master of preachers, he established the comfort of protection and support for them', trans. N. Berend, in T. Head (ed.), *Medieval Hagiography: An Anthology* (New York and London, 2000), pp. 375-98, p. 387]. On the hagiographical literature centred on Stephen, see Klaniczay, *Holy Rulers*, pp. 134-6, 412-15.

¹²⁹ A possible, if tenuous, bridge is provided via the cult of the Danish martyr king, St. Canute, who was culted in England [Farmer, *Dictionary of Saints*, p. 87] and whose relationship with Stephen's cult is discussed by Klaniczay in *Holy Rulers*, pp. 150-2.

¹³⁰ Orderic, *Historia Ecclesiastica*, 4: 272-3 ['This lady [Margaret] was a daughter of Edward, king of the Magyars, who was son of King Edward <the Confessor's> brother Edmund Ironside, and when in exile had married the daughter of Solomon king of the Magyars, receiving the kingdom with her. This noble lady, descended from a long line of kings, was eminent for her high birth, but even more renowned for her virtue and holy life'].

It seems that Edith-Matilda's Anglo-Saxon blood was not universally seen as a good thing. William of Malmesbury tells of dissent against Henry in the court in the first year of his reign: 'Rotbertus ...Normanniam ueniens.... Quo audito, omnes pene huius terrae optimates fidei regi iuratae transfugae fuere.... Omnes uel clam pro Rotberto, ut rex fieret, mittere, uel palam contumeliis dominum inuerer, Godricum eum et comparem Godgium appellantes'.¹³¹ The choice of Anglo-Saxon nicknames suggests that some factions within the court were not convinced of the need for Norman claims to the throne to be enhanced by Anglo-Saxon associations. Turgot's ambiguous genealogy may, then, have been a retort to such belittling of Edith-Matilda's Anglo-Saxon roots. Her implicit Norman inheritance rendered her a suitable consort in the face of sarcastic gibes against her Anglo-Saxon blood, and Margaret's exemplary performance of queenly duties rendered her still more so. Her own good queenship would eventually silence detractors of her Englishness, removing the need for her inheritance to be given a Norman veneer. Further, perceptions and implications of "Norman" or "English" as labels were themselves undergoing profound change, as will be discussed later in this chapter. Suffice it for now to suggest that in his genealogy Turgot was creating a subtly multiple inheritance for Margaret, possibly in response to specific circumstances, in order to counter criticisms of her allegedly unsuitable Anglo-Saxon roots. His success in doing so, Edith-Matilda's subsequent performance of her queenly duties, and broader changes in the cultural connotations of Anglo-Norman relations combined to pave the way for later depictions of Margaret and her daughter as conduits of unreservedly Anglo-Saxon qualities.

Having considered what virtues are evoked in the genealogy, and through whom they are transmitted to Margaret, we now turn to one final issue concerning Margaret's illustrious ancestors: is it possible to discern a gendered flavour to the genealogy which Turgot sets down for Margaret? Other than Margaret herself, the only woman named in the entire passage is Emma, whose sole function here is

¹³¹ William of Malmesbury, *Gesta regum Anglorum*, 1: 716-17 ['Robert ...[Curthose] reached Normandy...; on hearing which, nearly all the English nobles threw over the homage they had pledged to the king.... All either sent secretly for Robert offering to make him king, or openly insulted their own lord, calling him Godric and his consort Godgifu']. This episode is also

to provide a conduit for Richard of Normandy's virtues to Edward the Confessor (and hence to Margaret): 'Ricardus quoque, genitor genitricis¹³² ipsius Eadwardi Emmæ, tanto nepote dignus effulserat'.¹³³ The ancestors with catalogued virtues are all male. This is perfectly in keeping with the conventions of genealogies as a genre, as discussed by Elizabeth Freeman, in which women tend to be included simply as a means to an end, 'to play down discontinuity in the historical record', 'as necessary bridges over what would be the worst thing possible in a genealogy, dubious lineage'.¹³⁴ The genealogy in Turgot's *vita*, however, takes this one stage further and uses women to suggest lineage where there is none. Moreover, the lineage is, of course, completed by a woman, namely Margaret herself, and directed to another, Edith-Matilda. It is perhaps, therefore, surprising that no queens or even noblewomen are held up as exemplars. Instead, Margaret's legacy is Solomonic rulership and appropriate use of authority. The following section will examine how Margaret's familial relationships within her own lifecycle are depicted.

3.iv Family and lifecycle: Daughter, wife, and mother.

Having outlined what were the most useful aspects of her genealogical inheritance, Turgot continues to ignore Margaret's parents. Her childhood is removed not only from parental influence but also from secular concerns, and provides a bridge for Margaret from the role of grand-daughter to that of wife:

Cum ergo in primæva adhuc floreret ætate, vitam sobrietatis ducere, ac Deum super omnia coepit diligere; in divinarum lectionum studio sese occupare, et in his animum delectabiliter exercere. Inerat ei ad intelligendum quamlibet rem acuta ingenii subtilitas, ad retinendum multa memoriæ tenacitas, ad proferendum gratiosa verborum facilitas.¹³⁵

discussed by I. Short, 'Tam Angli quam Franci: Self-definition in Anglo-Norman England', *Anglo-Norman Studies* 18 (1995): 153-75, p. 168 and Huneycutt, *Matilda*, p. 72.

¹³² Thus AASS, Pinkerton, *Lives of Scottish Saints* has genitrix.

¹³³ Turgot, *Vita Margaretae*, p. 162 ['Richard... the father of Emma, the mother of this Edward, was an illustrious ancestor of so noble a grandchild', p. 300]. Edmund's mother is mentioned in passing, but only in the context of her not being Edward the Confessor's mother, at p.161: 'Cujus frater ex patre, non autem ex matre; ... fuerat Eadwardus' ['[Edmund's] brother on his father's side, but not on his mother's, was ... Edward', p. 299].

¹³⁴ Freeman, *Narratives*, see especially pp. 70-85, pp. 72 and 74 cited here.

¹³⁵ Turgot, *Vita Margaretae*, p. 162 ['While therefore Margaret was still in the flower of her youth, she began to lead a life of great strictness, to love God above all things, to occupy herself with the study of sacred readings and to exercise her mind therein with joy. There was in her a sharp

Margaret's fierce intelligence and capacity for understanding and expressing ideas will figure strongly in her role as *magistra*, to be discussed later. At this point, however, her strict, scholarly childhood, detached from the world, is reminiscent of the childhoods of female monastic saints.¹³⁶ Indeed the term used of Margaret's childhood studies, *lectio divina*, is a quintessentially monastic activity.¹³⁷ According to Turgot, however, Margaret's marriage was not as traumatic a wrench from another vocation as that allusion might suggest.

Turgot depicted Margaret's marriage as not of her own choosing, almost suggesting that she was torn from her preferred non-secular inclinations: 'Cum ... in lege Domini die ac nocte meditaretur, et tamquam altera Maria secus pedes Domini sedens, audire verbum illius delectaretur; suorum magis quam sua voluntate, imo¹³⁸ Dei ordinatione, potentissimo Regis¹³⁹ Scotorum Malcolmo, Regis Dunecani filio, in conjugium copulatur'.¹⁴⁰ The Anglo-Saxon D Chronicle makes this point stronger still in its description of events following Malcolm's protection of the wife and children of Edward the Exile:

acuteness of genius for understanding any matter whatsoever, a tenacity of memory for retaining many things, and a graceful facility of language for giving expression to her thoughts', p. 301].

¹³⁶ See, for example, the ninth-century *vita* of St. Leoba, which describes the young Leoba's education in the nunnery at Wimborne, Rudolf, *Vitae Leobae abbatissae Bischofesheimensis*, c. 7, MGH Scriptorum 15.i: 118-31, pp. 124-5 'cura erudiebatur, ut nihil aliud praeter monasterium et caelestis disciplinae studia cognosceret. Non iocis delectabatur ineptis, nec iungi passa est inanibus iuvenularum fabulis; sed Christi desiderio flagrans, ad legendum vel audiendum praeceptorum vita et institutione servabat. ... ne lecte vel audita ex eius animo laberentur sed praecepta Domini custodiens, memoriam eorum in executione operum semper habere consuevit' ['she was taught with care so that ... she knew nothing other than the monastery and the studies of celestial discipline. She did not suffer herself to be connected to inane jests and girlish tales, but, burning with desire for Christ, she paid attention to reading or hearing of the precepts of life and disposition. ... She took great care not to forget what she had heard or read, observing the precepts of the Lord and putting into practice what she remembered of them', trans. C.H. Talbot, in Noble and Head (eds.), *Soldiers of Christ*, pp. 255-77, pp. 262-3].

¹³⁷ C.f. *Regula Benedicti*, c. 48, pp. 110-111: 'Otiositas inimica est animae, et ideo certis temporibus occupari debent fratres in labore manuum, certis iterum horis in lectione divina' ['Idleness is the enemy of the soul. The brethren, therefore, must be occupied at certain times in manual labour, and again at other hours in sacred reading']. On *lectio divina* and its fundamental role in the monastic life, see for example Lawrence, *Medieval Monasticism*, pp. 33-4, 111-12; G. Constable, *The Reformation of the Twelfth Century* (Cambridge, 1996; 1998 edn.), pp. 15-16; J. Burton, *Monastic and Religious Orders in Britain, 1000-1300* (Cambridge, 1994), pp. 164-5, 187

¹³⁸ Thus AASS, Pinkerton, *Lives of Scottish Saints* has immo.

¹³⁹ Thus AASS, Pinkerton, *Lives of Scottish Saints* has regi.

¹⁴⁰ Turgot, *Vita Margaretae*, pp. 162-3 ['While ... she meditated in the law of the Lord day and night, like another Mary, sitting at His feet, she delighted to hear His word, by the desire of her people rather than by her own, yea, rather by the appointment of God, she was joined in marriage to Malcolm, son of Duncan, the most powerful king of the Scots', p. 301].

Ða begann \se cyngc Malcholom / gyrnan his [Edgar's] sweoster him to wife, Margaretan, ac he 7 his men ealle lange wiðcwædon, 7 eac heo sylf wiðsoc, 7 cwæð þæt heo hine ne nanne habban wolde, gyf hire seo uplice arfæstnys geunnan wolde, þæt heo on mægðhade mihtigan Drihtne mid lichom\licre/ heortan on þisn life sceortan on clænre foræfve/dnyse cweman mihte. Se kyng befealh georne hire breðer oð þæt he cwæð ia wið, 7 eac he elles ne dorste, for þan þe hi on his anwald becumene wæron. Hit wearð þa swa geworden swa God foresceawode on ær, Se kyng hi þa underfeng, þeah hit hire unþance wære.¹⁴¹

In Turgot's account, Margaret's marriage is brokered *more* by the will of her people than by her own, but not necessarily explicitly and entirely against her will as in the Chronicle. Wall also notes Margaret's unwillingness in both Chronicle and *vita*,¹⁴² pointing out that although according to Anglo-Saxon law, Margaret could have entered a nunnery from the age of sixteen had that been her true vocation, she was nonetheless twenty-four at the time of her marriage.¹⁴³ Leaving aside whether Margaret's personal circumstances might have disallowed this as a course of action, as Wall acknowledges, 'There is no way of knowing whether she had ever considered that course of action, but once married, she showed no interest in the cloister, except as a place for the education of her daughters'.¹⁴⁴ More important, for the purposes of this thesis, is that Turgot, like the D chronicler, whilst nodding to the notion of monastic vocation unwillingly renounced, did not emphasize Margaret's reluctance as much as had the chronicler. The latter went on to justify Margaret's renunciation of her natural inclinations by constructing her in the mould of a converting queen consort:

Se forewitola Scyppend wiste on ær hwæt he of hyre gedon habban wolde, for þan þe heo sceolde on þan lande Godes lof (geeacnian) \ycean/ 7 þone kyng gerihtan of þam dweliandan pæðe 7 gebegean hine to beteran wege 7 his leode samod, 7 alegcean þa unþeawas þe seo þeod ær beeode, eallswa heo syððan dyde. ... him gelicade hire þeawas, 7 þancode Gode þe him swylce gemæccan mihtiglice forgeaf, 7 wislice hine beþohte, swa he full witter wæs, 7 awende hine sylfne to Gode, 7 ælce unsiuernysse

¹⁴¹ *ASC*, s.a. 1067 D, 6: 82 ['the king Malcolm began to desire his [Edgar's] sister, Margaret, as wife, but he and his men opposed it for a long time, and also she herself refused, and declared that she would not have him, nor any, if the Graciousness on high would grant her that with bodily heart she might please the mighty Lord with pure continence in maidenhood in this short life. The king eagerly pressed her brother until he said "yes" to it – also he dared not otherwise, because they had come into his power. So it came to pass as provided by God The king then received her, although it was against her will', p. 201].

¹⁴² Without, however, noting that that unwillingness is stronger in *ASC* than in *Vita Margaretae*.

¹⁴³ Wall, 'Queen Margaret', p. 30.

¹⁴⁴ Wall, 'Queen Margaret', p. 30.

oferhogode. Be þam se apostol Paulus, ealra þeoda lareow, cwæð:
 ‘Saluabitur uir infidelis per mulierem fidelem, sic et mulier infidelis per
 uirum fidelem et reliqua,’ þæt is on uran geþeode: ‘Ful oft se ungeleaffulla
 wer bið gehalgad 7 gehæled þurh þæt (rihtwise) \leaffulle/ wif, 7 swa
 gelice þæt wif þurh geleaffulne wer.’ ðeos foresprecene cwen seoððen on
 þam lande manege nytwyrðe dæde gefremede Gode to lofe, 7 eac on þa
 kynewisan wel geþeh, eallswa hire gecyned wæs.¹⁴⁵

The reference is to St Paul’s epistle to the Corinthians.¹⁴⁶ This passage was also used by Sedulius Scottus in his ninth-century treatise *Liber de rectoribus christianis*, which was written for Charles the Bald and included a chapter largely devoted to the role of the queen.¹⁴⁷ According to Sedulius, the king should rule himself, his queen, his children and his household, but the queen’s role is not passive: ‘casta et prudens mulier utilibus rebus disciplinabiliter intendens humili facie hilarique sermone pacifice liberos et familiam regit’; she is to be constant, ‘qui est amicus eius heri, idem et amicus hodie’, and to offer prudent counsel – ‘sicut enim persuasione malae coniugis damnosa nascuntur pericula, ita prudentis uxoris consilio multa proveniunt utilia quae sunt Omnipotenti beneplacita’.¹⁴⁸ Sedulius’s husband will be saved by his wife and her counsel [*salvabitur*] rather than sanctified [*sanctificatus est*], as in Paul’s epistle, but appropriate queenly counsel and behaviour remain important ingredients in Christian rulership. This model is applicable not only to a Christian queen converting a pagan husband, as

¹⁴⁵ ASC, s.a. 1067 D, 6: 82-3 [‘The foreknowing Creator knew beforehand what he wanted to have done by her, because she would increase the glory of God in that land, and direct the king out of the path of error, and turn him and his people together towards a better way, and lay aside the evil customs which that nation earlier followed – just as she afterwards did. Her [Margaret’s] customs pleased him [Malcolm], and [he] thanked God, who so powerfully gave him such a consort, and reflected wisely, since he was prudent, and turned himself toward God, and despised every impurity. About that the apostle Paul, teacher of all nations, declared: ‘The unbelieving man is saved through the believing wife, and likewise the unbelieving wife through the believing man’ etc., that is in our language, ‘Very often the unbelieving man is sanctified and saved through a righteous wife; and likewise, the wife through a believing man’. This aforesaid queen afterwards performed many useful works in that land to the glory of God, and also throve well in the royal estate, just as was natural to her’, pp. 201-2].

¹⁴⁶ I Cor. 7:14: ‘sanctificatus est enim vir infidelis in muliere fideli’ [‘For the unbelieving husband is sanctified by the believing wife’].

¹⁴⁷ Sedulius Scottus, *Liber de rectoribus christianis*, ed. S. Hellman (Munich, 1906), pp. 19-91, pp. 34-7 [Sedulius Scottus, *On Christian Rulers and The Poems*, trans. E.G. Doyle (Binghamton, 1983), pp. 59-61]. On Sedulius, see J.L. Nelson, ‘Early medieval rites of queen-making and the shaping of medieval queenship’, in Duggan (ed.), *Queens and Queenship*, pp. 301-15, pp. 304-5; Huneycutt, *Matilda*, pp. 32-3.

¹⁴⁸ Sedulius, *Liber de rectoribus christianis*, p. 35 [‘a chaste and prudent wife, diligently attending to useful matters with a humble demeanour and cheerful speech, peacefully manages her children and family’; ‘whoever was her friend yesterday is her friend today’; ‘Just as by the persuasion of an evil wife pernicious dangers are begotten, so by the counsel of a prudent wife many benefits are produced that are pleasing to the Almighty’, p. 60].

for example in the case of Clothild,¹⁴⁹ but also to the queen of an already pious man: ‘Nec solum infideles, sed etiam sancti et orthodoxi principes mirabilem saepe in uxoribus perpendunt et auscultant prudentiam, non sexum fragilem considerantes, sed fructus bonorum consiliorum carpentes’.¹⁵⁰ The queen herself has a ruling function: ‘Princeps et reatrix, populum si rite gubernant, // suam regant prosapiam’.¹⁵¹ As Nelson has pointed out, the title *reatrix* is telling: ‘alongside the prince, the queen “governs” and “rules”. ... ruling the people, and ruling the children, were indeed two intimately linked spheres of queenly activity’.¹⁵² A queen’s good counsel is crucial, but she herself rules alongside her husband.

Turgot does not, however, immediately detail how Margaret converted Malcolm. Instead, he turns to a more general characterization of her attitude to her new queenly status:

quamvis ea quæ sunt mundi compelleretur agere, mundi tamen rebus ex desiderio contempsit inhærere: plus enim delectabatur bono opere, quam divitiarum possessione. De temporalibus æternas sibi mercedes parabat; quoniam in cælo, ubi erat thesaurus ejus, cor suum locarat. Et quia præcipue regnum Dei et justitiam ejus quærebat, larga omnipotentis gratia honores ei et divitias affluenter adjiciebat.¹⁵³

Here, as within the narrative Margaret enters into adulthood becoming wife and queen, Turgot set down what is arguably an exemplification of the queenship that is to follow and – still more importantly for this thesis – of her route to sanctity: effectively, do not despise or shun the trappings of royal status, instead use them appropriately, and lead your people to prosperity by an example of faith, prudence and law. Indeed, possession of wealth could itself be a Solomonic signifier of

¹⁴⁹ See the Carolingian *vita* of Clothild, in J.A. McNamara, J.E. Halborg with E.G. Whatley (ed. and trans.), *Sainted Women of the Dark Ages* (Durham and London, 1992), pp. 38-50, p. 43.

¹⁵⁰ Sedulius, *Liber de rectoribus christianis*, p. 35 [‘Not only the unbelieving but also pious and orthodox princes often ponder and give heed to the marvelous prudence in their wives, not reflecting on their fragile sex, but, rather, plucking the fruit of their good counsels’, p. 60].

¹⁵¹ Sedulius, *Liber de rectoribus christianis*, p. 37 [‘If king and queen govern the people justly, they will rule their own offspring’, p. 61].

¹⁵² Nelson, ‘Early medieval rites’, p. 305.

¹⁵³ Turgot, *Vita Margaretae*, p. 163 [‘though compelled to do the things which are of the world, she deemed it beneath her to set her affections upon them; for she delighted more in good work than in possession of riches. With things temporal she procured for herself everlasting rewards; for in heaven where her treasure was, there she had placed her heart. And because before all things she sought the kingdom of God and His justice, the abundant grace of the Almighty freely added to her honours and riches’, p. 301].

wisdom and fitness to rule,¹⁵⁴ a notion we will encounter again with regard to Edward the Confessor.

Margaret's sanctity was not achieved in spite of her earthly status, but rather *through* it: 'De temporalibus æternas sibi mercedes parabat'.¹⁵⁵ That hers was to be a prudent queenship is suggested by the following two sentences: 'Omnia quæ decebant prudentis Reginae imperio agebantur: ejus consilio regni jura disponebantur, illius industria religio divina augebatur, rerum prosperitate populus lætabatur. Nihil illius fide firmissus, vultu constantius, patientia tolerabilis, consilio gravior, sententia justior, colloquio jucundior'.¹⁵⁶ Here we see Margaret imbued with the qualities espoused by Sedulius Scottus – prudence, constancy, wise counsel – but she is no mere consort, but is herself ruling, actively administering laws and pronouncing judgments. Promulgation of laws was itself a manifestation of royal rulership.¹⁵⁷ The final cluster of qualities is also reminiscent of those of the Ottonian courtier-bishop, described by Stephen Jaeger as an 'educator/statesman'.¹⁵⁸ These qualities, he argued, 'produce an odd blend of virtues from the active and contemplative life: authority and humility, zealousness and compassion, gravity and affability'.¹⁵⁹ Those which recur in Jaeger's sources include 'virtues connected with the exercise of administrative duties: *discretione providus, auctoritate gravis, acumen ingenii, strenuitas, diligentia, moderamen, facundia, eloquentia, sollertas, and astutia*' and 'personal qualities: *gravitas, compassio, moderamen, mansuetudo, humilitas, probitas, patientia, amabilitas, and affabilitas*'.¹⁶⁰ Jaeger's courtier-bishops were 'urbane,

¹⁵⁴ E.M. Tyler, "'When Wings Incarnadine with Gold are Spread": The *Vita Ædwardi Regis* and the Display of Treasure at the Court of Edward the Confessor', in *eadem* (ed.), *Treasure in the Medieval West* (Woodbridge, 2000), pp. 83-107, p. 105.

¹⁵⁵ Turgot, *Vita Margaretae*, p. 163 ['With things temporal she procured for herself everlasting rewards', p. 301].

¹⁵⁶ Turgot, *Vita Margaretae*, p. 163 ['All things which became the *imperium* of a prudent Queen were done by her; by her counsel the laws of the kingdom were administered; by her zeal God's religion was increased and the people rejoiced in the prosperity of things. Nothing was more firm than her faith, more constant than her countenance, more enduring than her patience, weightier than her counsel, more just than her judgment, or more pleasant than her conversation.', p. 301].

¹⁵⁷ Wallace-Hadrill, *Early Germanic Kingship*, p. 44; P. Wormald, '*Lex scripta* and *Verbum Regis*: Legislation and Germanic kingship, from Euric to Cnut', in I. Wood and P. Sawyer (eds.), *Early Medieval Kingship* (Leeds, 1977), pp. 105-38; P. Wormald, *The Making of English Law: King Alfred to the twelfth century. Volume I: Legislation and its limits* (Oxford, 1999). C.f. Abels, *Alfred the Great*, p. 247.

¹⁵⁸ Jaeger, *Origins of Courtliness*, p. 12.

¹⁵⁹ Jaeger, *Origins of Courtliness*, p. 35.

¹⁶⁰ Jaeger, *Origins of Courtliness*, p. 35.

splendid, ...and skillful courtiers, highly learned, highly articulate', with 'sharp eyes for fashion and style',¹⁶¹ who were instrumental in propagating the civilizing ideals of courtliness. Several of the listed qualities have already been noted in Turgot's depiction of Margaret, and, as we will see, most are either explicitly or implicitly attributed to her throughout the course of the *vita*.

Margaret's first public expression of piety as queen places her as wife and mother, and she therefore fits thus far with the notion of queenly power being based on family and household. Immediately after her marriage, she followed Richard of Normandy's example and founded a church, at Dunfermline: 'Postquam ergo culmen ascenderat honoris; mox in loco ubi ejus nuptiæ fuerant celebratæ, æternum sui nominis et religiositatis erexit monumentum'.¹⁶² This, Turgot explained, was done 'Triplici enim salutis intentione ...; ob animæ videlicet Regis et suæ redemptionem, atque ad obtinendam suæ soboli vitæ præsentis et futuræ prosperitatem'.¹⁶³ The remainder of this paragraph is concerned with her generous gifts of ecclesiastical paraphernalia, so beautiful and so numerous that her chamber is likened to a workshop:

Hiis¹⁶⁴ rebus, id est quæ ad divinæ servitutis cultum pertinebant, numquam vacua erat illius camera; quæ, ut ita dicam, quædam cælestis artificii videbatur esse officina. Ibi cappæ cantorum, casulæ, stolæ, altaris pallia, alia quoque vestimenta sacerdotalia, et ecclesiæ semper videbantur ornamenta. Alia manu artificum parabantur, alia jam parata admiratione digna habebantur.¹⁶⁵

This use of *officina* may echo the *Regula Benedicti*'s use of the term:

'Officina ... ubi hæc omnia diligenter operemur, claustra sunt monasterii et

¹⁶¹ This summary is at Jaeger, *Origins of Courtliness*, p. 263.

¹⁶² Turgot, *Vita Margaretae*, p. 163 ['After she had attained this high dignity, she at once, in the place where her nuptials were celebrated, built an eternal monument of her name and devotion', p. 301].

¹⁶³ Turgot, *Vita Margaretae*, p. 163 ['with a three-fold purpose; for the redemption of the King's soul, for the good of her own, and to obtain prosperity in this life and in the life that is to come for her children', p. 301].

¹⁶⁴ Thus AASS, Pinkerton, *Lives of Scottish Saints* has *his*.

¹⁶⁵ Turgot, *Vita Margaretae*, p. 164 ['Without these things, those, I mean, which belong to the celebration of divine service, her chamber was never found; it seemed, so to say, to be the workshop of a heavenly artificer. There were always to be seen in it copes for the cantors, chasubles, stoles, altar-cloths, also other priestly vestments and church ornaments. Some were being prepared by the hands of artisans, others, already finished, were of admirable beauty', p. 302].

stabilitas in congregatione'.¹⁶⁶ Royal Anglo-Saxon women were traditionally associated with the production of ecclesiastical vestments. St. Edith of Wilton, for example, had allegedly designed an elaborately and richly embroidered alb, and William the Conqueror's queen, Matilda of Flanders had also patronised *opus Anglicana*.¹⁶⁷ Edward the Confessor's queen, Edith, had been described by the Anonymous as skilled at needlework (although not necessarily in connection with ecclesiastical vestments): 'pictura et opere altera, ut aiunt, Minerua'.¹⁶⁸ Edith-Matilda apparently continued the association, as Ivo of Chartres requested a suitable garment to cement their relationship.¹⁶⁹

The paragraph which immediately follows Turgot's account of Margaret's constant generosity to the Church also resonates with the requirements of an abbot as embodied in the *Regula Benedicti*. Margaret's choice of 'feminæ ..., quæ natu nobiles, et sobriis moribus probabiles, interesse Reginae obsequiis dignæ judicabantur',¹⁷⁰ who staffed her workshop, is reminiscent of the type of women who tended to enter nunneries at this time,¹⁷¹ an impression which is reinforced by the quasi-monastic security and behaviour:

Nullus ad eas virorum introitus erat, nisi quos ipsa, cum interdum ad illas intraret, secum introire permittebat. Nulla eis inhonesta cum viris familiaritas, nulla unquam cum petulantia levitas.¹⁷²

¹⁶⁶ *Regula Benedicti*, c. 4, pp. 32-3 ['the workshop, wherein we shall diligently execute all these tasks, is the enclosure of the monastery and stability in the community'].

¹⁶⁷ Huneycutt, *Matilda*, pp. 127-8. On Edith, see Ridyard, *Royal Saints*, pp. 37-44. On the alb, see C.R. Dodwell, *Anglo-Saxon Art: A New Perspective* (Manchester, 1982), p. 33.

¹⁶⁸ Anon. *Vita Aedwardi*, pp. 22-3 ['In the arts of painting and needlework she was, as they say, another Minerva']. This is, admittedly, potentially anachronistic, as it is from the account given by Richard of Cirencester in the fourteenth century, which Barlow has convincingly argued represents the no-longer extant passage in the Anonymous ms, see discussion in Chapter 5, pp. 189-90, *infra*. Notwithstanding, the notion of Edith's skill at needlework was sufficient in the now lost Anonymous passage for Osbert to describe her in the same way: 'opere et pictura altera erat Minerua' ['in her needlework and painting she was another Minerva'], Osbert, *Vita beati Eadwardi*, p. 75.

¹⁶⁹ Huneycutt, *Matilda*, pp. 128-9.

¹⁷⁰ Turgot, *Vita Margaretae*, p. 164 ['women of noble birth and approved gravity of conduct who were deemed worthy to be engaged in the Queen's service', p. 302].

¹⁷¹ Venarde, *Women's Monasticism*, p. 114.

¹⁷² Turgot, *Vita Margaretae*, p. 164 ['No men were admitted among them, save such as she allowed to accompany her when she sometimes paid them a visit. There was no unseemly familiarity among them with the men, nor any pert frivolity', p. 302].

Just as an abbot was to balance gentleness and severity,¹⁷³ just as Eadmer depicted Anselm,¹⁷⁴ so Margaret was a firm but fair head of this community: ‘Inerat enim Reginæ tanta cum jucunditate severitas, tanta cum severitate jucunditas, ut omnes qui erant in ejus obsequio, viri et feminae, illam et timendo diligenter, et diligendo timerent’.¹⁷⁵ This quartet of oxymora is reinforced by a further pair: ‘cum magna gravitate laetabatur, cum magna honestate irascebatur’.¹⁷⁶ Such apparent contradictions were characteristic of Solomonic kingship, which centred on wisdom and justice. This model of rulership was well-characterized by Nelson: ‘justice is a two-way stretch: it contains two very different qualities, severity and mercy.... There was a complementarity in *pax* and *iustitia*, and between severity and equity as twin aspects of justice’.¹⁷⁷ Margaret is thus aligned with a model of rulership more powerful than that of mere consort, which sets the scene for the bulk of her activity in the second chapter. The paragraph closes with an assertion that Margaret taught by both wise words and the example of her own life:

Omnis vita ejus summo discretionis moderamine composita, quaedam erat virtutum forma. Sermo ejus, sale sapientiae conditus; silentium, erat plenum bonis cogitationibus. Sobrietati morum ita ejus persona conveniebat, ut ad solam vitae honestatem nata credi potuisset.¹⁷⁸

As will be seen, this notion of two-fold teaching is significant. For now, however, it suffices to note that it recurs throughout the chapter of the *Regula* which deals with the ideal abbot:

cum aliquis suscipit nomen abbatis, duplici debet doctrina suis praeesse discipulis, id est omnia bona et sancta factis amplius quam verbis ostendat,

¹⁷³ *Regula Benedicti*, c. 2, pp. 20-1: ‘miscens temporibus tempora, terroribus blandimenta, dirum magistri, pium patris ostendat affectum’ [‘adapting to circumstances, now using severity and now persuasion, displaying the rigour of a master or the loving affection of a father’].

¹⁷⁴ C.f. pp. 64-5, *supra*.

¹⁷⁵ Turgot, *Vita Margaretae*, p. 164 [‘the Queen united such strictness to her sweetness and such sweetness to her strictness that all who were in her service, men as well as women, while fearing loved her and while loving feared her’, p. 302].

¹⁷⁶ Turgot, *Vita Margaretae*, p. 164 [‘there was great gravity in her joy and great dignity in her anger’, p. 302].

¹⁷⁷ J.L. Nelson, ‘Kings with justice, kings without justice: An early medieval paradox’, *La Giustizia Nell’alto Medioevo (Secoli ix-xi): Settimane di Studio del Centro Italiano di Studi Sull’alto Medioevo* 44 (1997): 797-823, p. 821; see also R. McKitterick, ‘Perceptions of justice in Western Europe in the ninth and tenth centuries’, in the same volume, pp. 1075-1102.

¹⁷⁸ Turgot, *Vita Margaretae*, p. 164 [‘Her whole life, composed of the utmost skill of discretion, was, as it were, a pattern of the virtues. Her conversation was seasoned with the salt of wisdom: her silence was filled with good thoughts. Her person so corresponded with sobriety of morals that she might be believed to have been born to the sole dignity of life’, pp. 302-3].

ut capacibus discipulis mandata Domini verbis proponat, duris corde vero et simplicioribus, factis suis divina praecepta monstret.¹⁷⁹

We see, then, that paragraphs 7 and 8 provide an account of Margaret's appropriate use of the wealth conferred by her new queenly status as well as describing how she developed that status within her household, drawing heavily on ideas embodied in the *Regula Benedicti*, and on qualities associated with different models of rulership. The paragraph which deals with Margaret as head of her household might seem an odd interpolation in this chapter concerned with familial relationships. If, however, one bears in mind the extended notion of *familia*, it becomes less incongruous, and indeed the next paragraph is devoted to her children, or, more specifically, to Margaret's concern that they should 'honestis moribus instituerentur'.¹⁸⁰

There is no hint that Margaret found the sexual act repugnant or spiritually endangering. Alfred, by contrast, was so concerned at the spiritual implications of carnal desire [*carnali desiderio*] that he prayed for an illness uncomfortable enough to distract him from lust (but not so incapacitating that he would not still be able to function within his secular office).¹⁸¹ That God approved of the balanced nature of this request is confirmed by his conferral upon Alfred of just such an ailment which nonetheless did not render him unable to father children.¹⁸² The existence of Margaret's children – and of course, Edith-Matilda's position as patron of the *vita* itself – could have made an overt horror of sex problematic, so Turgot simply ignored sex and instead focused on what the children could demonstrate about Margaret herself.¹⁸³

¹⁷⁹ *Regula Benedicti*, c. 2, pp. 18-19 ['when anyone has received the name of abbot, he ought to rule his disciples with a twofold teaching, displaying all goodness and holiness by deeds more than by words; explain the commandments of God to intelligent disciples by words, but show the divine precepts to those who are harder of heart and more simple by works'].

¹⁸⁰ Turgot, *Vita Margaretae*, p. 164 ['be trained in decent ways', p. 303].

¹⁸¹ Asser, *De rebus gestis Ælfredi*, pp. 54-7 [pp. 88-90].

¹⁸² Who are described in the following chapter, Asser, *De rebus gestis Ælfredi*, pp. 57-9 [pp. 90-1].

¹⁸³ Both repugnance at marital sex and the tensions between sanctity and motherhood are dealt with, for example, in the thirteenth-century *vita* of Yvette of Huy, *AASS*, Jan. I, dies 13, *De B. Ivetta, sive Ivetta, vidva reclvsa, hvi in Belgio*, cols. 864-87 [trans. J.A. McNamara, *The Life of Yvette, Recluse of Huy, by Hugh of Floreffe* (Toronto, 2000)], discussed in J. Carpenter, 'Juette of Huy, recluse and mother (1158-1228): Children and mothering in the saintly life', in J. Carpenter and S. MacLean (eds.), *Power of the Weak: Studies on medieval women* (Urbana and Chicago, 1995), pp. 57-93.

Turgot approvingly described Margaret's loving insistence upon strictness: 'quia sciebat scriptum, Qui parcit virgæ odit filium; familiari ministro injunxerat, ut quoties infantili lascivia delinquerent, sicut ætas illa solet, eos ipse minis et verberibus coeceret'.¹⁸⁴ These beatings position Margaret as a suitable *magistra*, as it seems that 'beating was [held to be] indispensable for the proper education of the young'.¹⁸⁵ Turgot demonstrates how successful her policy was by stressing their unusually good behaviour, creating a charming vignette of sibling harmony:

semper inter se benevoli existebant et pacifici, et minor ubique honorem exhibebat majori. Unde et inter Missarum solennia, cum post parentes ad offerendum procederent, junior majorem prævenire nullo modo præsumpsit, sed secundum ætatis ordinem major juniorem præcedere consuevit.¹⁸⁶

In the light of the abbatial flavour noted above in the preceding paragraph of the *vita*, her discipline of her children and her care for their spiritual welfare may be seen as overlaid with the notion of an abbot's concern for his spiritual charges.¹⁸⁷ The notion of continued monastic undertones in this section on Margaret as mother is corroborated by the mutual respect amongst the siblings, which echoes the Rule's insistence on appropriate recognition of hierarchy within the

¹⁸⁴ Turgot, *Vita Margaretae*, p. 164 ['because she knew the Scripture: He that spareth the rod hateth the child, she instructed the governer of the nursery as often as the children fell into such faults as are common to their age, to curb them with words and beatings', p. 303]; c.f. Prov. 13: 24. Her maternal concern as depicted here is more distant than that of Alfred's mother, for example, see Asser, *De rebus gestis Ælfredi*, pp. 19-20 [pp. 74-5].

¹⁸⁵ Lawrence, *Medieval Monasticism*, p. 111; c.f. J. Gillingham, 'Civilizing the English? The English Histories of William of Malmesbury and David Hume', *Historical Research* 74 (2001): 17-43, wherein he asserts that in William's history 'we can hear the swish of the teacher's cane, and learn of the fear which that sound instilled', p. 31, with reference to William of Malmesbury, *Gesta regum Anglorum* 1: 212-13.

¹⁸⁶ Turgot, *Vita Margaretae*, p. 165 ['among themselves they were always kindly and peaceable, and the younger everywhere paid respect to the elder. Hence, also, during the celebration of the Mass, when they went up after their parents to make their offerings, the younger never in any way presumed to precede the older, but the older were wont to go before the younger according to their age', p. 303]. C.f. Asser's testimony to the admirably humble and gentle demeanour of Alfred's children, which is explicitly linked to Alfred's care for their education: 'ad omnes indigenas et alienigenas humilitate, affabilitate et etiam lenitate, et cum magna patris subiectione huc usque perseverant', Asser, *De rebus gestis Ælfredi*, p. 58 ['to the present day they continue to behave with humility, friendliness and gentleness to all compatriots and foreigners, and with great obedience to their father', p. 90].

¹⁸⁷ See, for example, the Rule's reference at c. 2 to Prov 23:14, *Regula Benedicti*, pp. 20-1: 'Percute filium tuum virga, et liberabis animam ejus a morte' ['Beat thy son with the rod, and thou shalt deliver his soul from death'].

monastery.¹⁸⁸ Margaret's personal instruction of her children can also, therefore, be seen in the context of abbess as *magistra* of her charges.

This paragraph, devoted to her biological children and her care for them, concludes the first chapter. Those children are not mentioned in the following two chapters, and do not feature again until Margaret nears her death and asks Turgot to assume a paternal care for their spiritual welfare and humility.¹⁸⁹

The second chapter deals with Margaret's role as *magistra* and corrector of abuses within the Scottish church and society. The third deals with her personal piety and care of *pauperes*, to whom she was as a mother: 'Cum in publicum procederet vel equitaret, miserorum, orphanorum, viduarum greges quasi ad matrem piissimam confluerunt, quorum nulli ab ea sine consolatione abscesserunt'.¹⁹⁰ Significantly, Turgot's Margaret is more demonstratively affectionate to *pauperes* than to her biological children.¹⁹¹

Given the historical circumstances surrounding her death, the fourth chapter inevitably writes her biological family back into her story. Having received foreknowledge of her imminent demise (which foreknowledge Turgot inferred and consequently suggested, but did not elaborate upon),¹⁹² Margaret entrusted her children and their well-being to Turgot:

a te postulo: ... ut filiorum meorum ac filiarum curam habeas, amorem impendas, præcipue Deum timere et amare doceas, et ab eis docendis

¹⁸⁸ *Regula Benedicti*, c. 63, pp. 142-3: 'pueris per omnia ab omnibus disciplina conservata. Juniores igitur priores suos honorent; priores minores suos diligant' ['Boys are to be kept under discipline at all times and by everyone. Juniors, therefore, shall honour their elders, and the seniors shall love the juniors'].

¹⁸⁹ Turgot, *Vita Margaretae*, p. 178 [p. 317].

¹⁹⁰ Turgot, *Vita Margaretae*, p. 172 ['When she walked or rode out in public, crowds of poor people, orphans and widows, flocked to her as they would to a most beloved mother, and none of them ever left her without being comforted', p. 311].

¹⁹¹ Turgot, *Vita Margaretae*, pp. 174-5: 'Jusserat ... cibos molliores, quibus infantilis ætas delectatur, illis [i.e. for orphan infants] quotidie præparari; quos allatos illa flexis genibus apponere, sorbitiunculas eis facere, et quibus ipsamet utebatur cochlearibus, cibos illis in ora dignabatur mittere. Ita Regina, quæ ab omnibus populis honorabatur, pro Christo et ministræ et matris piissimæ officio fungebatur' ['she ordered soft food, in which infant age takes delight, to be prepared for them daily; and when the little ones were brought to her, she did not think it beneath her to take them on her knee and make little sups for them, and to place them in their mouths with the spoons she herself used. Thus the Queen, who was honoured by all the people, performed for Christ's sake the office of a most devoted servant and mother', p. 313].

¹⁹² Turgot, *Vita Margaretae*, p. 177 [pp. 316-17].

numquam desistas: et cum in culmen terrenæ dignitatis quemlibet ex eis exaltari videris, illius maxime pater simul et magister accedas; scilicet admonendo, et cum res exegerit arguendo; ne propter momentaneum honorem in superbiam tumeat, ne Deum per avaritiam offendat, ne per mundi prosperitatem æternæ vitæ negligat felicitatem.¹⁹³

It is telling that in the two paragraphs which describe Margaret's care for her children, the care takes the form of providing for their education and spiritual instruction. As we will see, teaching is central to Turgot's construction of Margaret. Four days before her death, and on the very day that Malcolm was slain, Margaret was again apparently aware of events far off, and Turgot vaguely suggested that she was aware of the disastrous outcome of Malcolm's foray before he had departed: 'Quem quidem ipsa, quasi futurorum præscia, multum prohibuerat, quoquam cum exercitu ire; sed nescio qua de causa contigit, ne tunc illius monitis obediret'.¹⁹⁴ In spite of her son's attempt to spare her the news, Margaret insisted, calling on their familial bond, that he told her all,¹⁹⁵ and she duly died, trusting that enduring such afflictions would be taken into account when her sins were weighed.

What, then, can we conclude about Margaret in the context of family and her familial relationships? Her genealogy places her as the descendant of what seems to be a deliberately ambiguous lineage, which – ignoring her parents – includes male members of the Anglo-Saxon royal house but privileges suggested Norman connections. She thus herself inherited the main qualities of (male) Solomonic rulership, rather than a model of mere consortship. Those passages which deal with her children seem to “bookend” the central two chapters, which, as will be suggested below, treat of those aspects of Margaret which Turgot deemed to be most important, and have been set up in the first chapter. Turgot's

¹⁹³ Turgot, *Vita Margaretae*, p. 178 ['I beg of you... that you will take some care of my sons and daughters, pour out your affection upon them, above all things teach them to fear and love God, and never cease from instructing them; and when you see any of them exalted to the height of earthly dignity, then at once, as a father or a teacher in the highest sense, go to him, warn, and when circumstances require it, censure him, lest, on account of a passing honour, he be puffed up with pride, or offend God with avarice, or through the prosperity of the world neglect the blessedness of life eternal', p. 317].

¹⁹⁴ Turgot, *Vita Margaretae*, pp. 179 ['As if foreseeing the future, she forbade him to go with the army, but it chanced, I know not from what cause, that he did not follow her warnings', p. 318]. Note that here, too, Margaret is no meek consort – she is able to forbid [*prohibeo*] Malcolm, even if he chose to ignore her, with disastrous consequences.

¹⁹⁵ Turgot, *Vita Margaretae*, pp. 180-1 [p. 320].

Margaret is not a queen simply defined by her familial role as daughter, wife, or mother. Her relationships with her husband and children stand as a model of her role as teacher of the realm at large. Before discussing Margaret as *magistra*, however, we turn now to the way in which her learning was acquired.

3.v Margaret's education.

Margaret's enthusiasm for pious learning has already been alluded to, in the description of her childhood.¹⁹⁶ That Margaret was well-educated may be seen as placing her as a typical royal Anglo-Saxon woman. Thus, for example, Asser apparently suggested that Alfred's mother was responsible for initiating Alfred's enthusiasm for books, when he was inspired by her promise to give a book of English poetry to whichever of her children could learn it first: 'Tunc ille statim tollens librum de manu sua, magistrum adiit et legit'.¹⁹⁷ This does not necessarily, of course, imply that she herself was educated: possession of a book, even an apparent awareness of the value of a book, does not necessarily require literacy. Doubts as to Osburh's personal enthusiasm for education are reinforced by Asser's comment on Alfred's parents' lack of concern for their son's education: 'proh dolor! Indigna suorum parentum et nutritorum incuria usque ad duodecimum aetatis annum, aut eo amplius, illiteratus permansit'.¹⁹⁸ Edith, Edward the Confessor's wife, however, was unambiguously learned (albeit at this point without the monastic overtones of the term *lectio divina*), having benefited from a distinguished education at Wilton: 'Hec ... uirgo elegantissima a tempore infancie studiis literarum in monasterio Wiltunensi inuebatur, et tam literis quam uniuersa morum honestate ac arte manuum illustris habebatur'.¹⁹⁹ Edith continued to pursue learning as an adult: 'Lectioe diuine vel seculari sedula, ipsa per se prosa uel uersu eximia Loqui uniuersa Gallorum lingua uel Danorum

¹⁹⁶ See pp. 118-19, *supra*.

¹⁹⁷ Asser, *De Rebus gestis Ælfredi*, p. 20 ['He immediately took the book from her hand, went to his teacher and read it', p. 75].

¹⁹⁸ Asser, *De Rebus gestis Ælfredi*, p. 20 ['alas, by the shameful negligence of his parents and tutors he remained *illiteratus* [which could be in the sense of unable to read and/not fluent in Latin, c.f. Abels, *Alfred the Great*, p. 225] until his twelfth year, or even longer', p. 75].

¹⁹⁹ Anon. *Vita Aedwardi*, pp. 22-3 ['this most exquisite young woman was from infancy immersed in the study of letters in the monastery at Wilton, and, it was reported, shone not only in letters but also in her handicraft and the integrity of all her behaviour'].

uel Hibernensium eque docta, acsi eisdem fuisset innate.’²⁰⁰ Edith’s mother-in-law, Emma is also described as wise, although her education was not dwelt on by the Encomiast: ‘pulcritudinis et prudentiae delectamine omnium eius temporum mulierum praestantissima’.²⁰¹ Indeed, it is possible that early medieval noblewomen in general tended to receive a more literate education than most laymen: ‘it would seem that the gentler skills in which women were trained were not so antipathetic to the pursuit of letters as the warfare and hunting that dominated male adolescence’.²⁰² At one level, then, Margaret as an educated Anglo-Saxon woman sits well with our current understanding of Anglo-Saxon noblewomen. The acquisition of her learning, however, as described by Turgot, is reminiscent of other models, and may add to our understanding of the text.

The second chapter opens with Margaret at the spiritual helm of the household, and her authority is grounded in her thorough and ceaseless recourse to the Holy Scriptures: ‘Nec mirandum, quod sapiente se suosque regimine moderabatur Regina, quæ sapientissimo sacræ semper Scripturæ²⁰³ magisterio regebatur’.²⁰⁴ The very next sentence expands Margaret’s sphere of influence beyond the limits of her immediate household and constructs her as a learned and effective *magistra*:

²⁰⁰ Anon. *Vita Aedwardi*, pp. 22-3 [‘she diligently read sacred and secular books, and she herself excelled in the writing of prose and verse. ... She could speak the general language used in Gaul, as well as Danish and Irish, as though they were her mother-tongues; and in all these she attained not merely an average standard but perfection’]. Similarly, William of Malmesbury described her as ‘feminam in cuius pectore omnium liberalium artium esset gimnasium’ [‘a woman in whose bosom there was a school of all the liberal arts’], *Gesta regum Anglorum*, 1: 352-3. Edith’s command of the liberal arts was also exalted by Godfrey of Cambrai after her death at Winchester in 1075, on which see F. Barlow, *The Godwins: The rise and fall of a noble dynasty* (Harlow, etc, 2002), pp. 115-16. Wilton was the wealthiest of the female abbeys recorded in the Domesday Book, S.K. Elkins, *Holy Women of Twelfth-Century England* (Chapel Hill and London, 1988), pp. 2-3. On Wilton as a traditional centre of learning and refuge for Anglo-Saxon royal women, see Stafford, *Queen Emma and Queen Edith*, pp. 257-9. Ridyard, *Royal Saints*, pp. 37-44, 140-54; S. Foot, *Veiled Women II: Female religious communities in England, 871-1066* (Aldershot, 2000), pp. 221-31. That Wilton continued to have a reputation for providing quality education for women is suggested by the decision of the founder of Wroxall Priory, to bring a Wilton nun to instruct the women at Wroxall in the 1130s, Elkins, *Holy Women*, p. 70.

²⁰¹ *Encomium Emmae Reginae*, trans. A. Campbell, Camden 3rd ser., 72 (London, 1949), pp. 32-3 [‘the most distinguished of the women of her time for delightful beauty and wisdom’].

²⁰² C.P. Wormald, ‘The uses of literacy in Anglo-Saxon England and its neighbours’, *TRHS*, 5th ser., 27 (1977): 95-114, at p. 98. C.f. H. Grundmann, ‘Die Frauen und die Literatur im Mittelalter’, *Ausgewählte Aufsätze*, iii. 67-95; A. Barratt, ‘Small Latin? The post-conquest learning of English religious women’, in S. Echard and G.R. Wieland (eds.), *Anglo-Latin and its Heritage: Essays in honour of A G Rigg* (Turnhout, 2001), pp. 51-65; Huneycutt, *Matilda*, p. 43.

²⁰³ Thus Pinkerton, *AASS* has *Scripture*.

Nam, quod ego in illa multum admirari solebam, inter causarum tumultus, inter multiplices regni curas, miro studio divinæ lectioni operam dabat, de qua cum doctissimis assidentibus viris etiam subtiles sæpius quæstiones conserebat. Sed sicut inter eos nemo illa ingenio profundior, ita nemo aderat eloquio clarior. Evenit itaque sæpius, ut ab ea ipsi rectores, multo quam advenerant²⁰⁵ abscederent doctiores.²⁰⁶

Here again, she is no mere consort. She was not merely observing, but actively participating in the nitty-gritty of royal rulership: ‘inter causarum tumultus, inter multiplices regni curas’. Moreover, despite her active involvement in such matters, she still pursued her studies, and in doing so, also enlightened others by means of her eloquence, thus echoing Solomonic – and Alfredian – kingship, as well as Jaeger’s eloquent courtier-bishops.²⁰⁷ The phrase *subtiles quaestiones*, used of Margaret’s learning here, seems to place her at the vanguard of academic endeavour. *Quaestiones* were one of the key tools of scholasticism, which was at this time at the vanguard of the intellectual world, and attracting the most ambitious and exciting scholars.²⁰⁸ Margaret, like these scholars, was voracious for more learning, to which Turgot himself is able to testify: ‘Plane sacrorum voluminum religiosa, nec parva illi aviditas inerat, in quibus sibi acquirendis familiaris ejus caritas et caritativa familiaritas me ipsum me fatigare plerumque cogebat’.²⁰⁹ Turgot returned to Margaret’s influence beyond family and court later in the *vita*, but for now, it is not expanded upon, and instead sets the scene for subsequent chapters’ activities, and the narrative turns here to Margaret’s influence over her husband’s spiritual well-being.

²⁰⁴ Turgot, *Vita Margaretae*, p. 149 [‘Nor need we wonder that the Queen, who was always herself ruled by the most wise counsel of the Holy Scripture, ran her [people] with wise rule’, p. 304].

²⁰⁵ Thus Pinkerton, *AASS* has *adveneram*.

²⁰⁶ Turgot, *Vita Margaretae*, pp. 165-6 [‘For what I used frequently to admire in her was that amid the tumult of lawsuits, and the multiple cares of the kingdom, she gave herself with wonderful diligence to the work of sacred reading, concerning which she used to engage in subtle questions with the most learned men who were sitting near her. But as among them no one had a profounder intellect, so no one present was clearer in eloquence. Thus it often happened that these teachers left her much more learned than when they came’, p. 304].

²⁰⁷ Abels, *Alfred the Great*, pp. 219-57; Jaeger, *Origins of Courtliness*, p. 35. Alfred’s dedication to learning was similarly in spite of the *impedimenta* of his secular duties: Asser, *De rebus gestis Ælfredi*, pp. 21-2 [pp. 75-6], pp. 59-60 [pp. 91-2], pp. 62-3 [pp. 92-3], pp. 66-67 [pp. 96-7].

²⁰⁸ Clanchy, *Abelard*, pp. 86-7, 108, 267; R.W. Southern, *Scholastic Humanism and the Unification of Europe, Volume II: The heroic age* (Oxford, 2001), pp. 39-43, 46-7, 51.

²⁰⁹ Turgot, *Vita Margaretae*, p. 165 [‘She had a religious and by no means small hunger for sacred volumes, and very often her affectionate familiarity with me forced me to fatigue myself to obtain them for her’, p. 304].

Significantly, each of the references to Margaret's erudition thus far cited are in the immediate context of her relationship with Malcolm. The account of her childhood education and aptitude segues into her marriage, and the citations from paragraph 10 immediately preface an account of her introducing him to appropriate devotion and rulership.

Margaret's learning is explicitly the result of diligent study on her part. This is in contrast to the notion of directly and divinely conferred knowledge which would soon feature in, for example, the anonymous *vita* of Christina of Markyate.²¹⁰ Christina was brought by her family to Fredebert, prior of St Mary's in Huntingdon, who cited Scripture to teach her the error of her ways. 'Hiis perhoratis; Christina respond[it]. Nescio scripturas qua nominasti. ex sensu vero desuper [intellect]to domine prior respondebo tibi'.²¹¹ She proceeded to refute his argument, so that Fredebert, 'obstupescens ... super prudentia et responsis Christine',²¹² admitted that he was unable to sway her.²¹³ Regardless of whether Christina's learning and powers of argument were indeed as intuitive and divinely conferred as the *vita* suggests, the textual construction clearly positions her in antithesis to – and spiritually superior to – traditionally educated men.²¹⁴ Asser constructed Alfred's acquisition of literacy using both models. Throughout the *De rebus*, Alfred is shown assiduously thirsting for knowledge and learning: 'Cui ab incunabulis ante omnia et cum omnibus praesentis vitae studiis, sapientiae desiderium cum nobilitate generis, nobilis mentis ingenium supplevit'.²¹⁵ In this respect, Margaret's diligence and learning are similar to Alfred's, and she is thus

²¹⁰ Hildegard of Bingen's literacy was also allegedly miraculous, on the implications of which, see A. Clark Bartlett, 'Miraculous literacy and textual communities in Hildegard of Bingen's *Scivias*', *Mystics Quarterly* 18 (1992): 43-55.

²¹¹ *De S. Theodora, virgine, quae et Christina dicitur*, trans. C.H. Talbot, *The Life of Christina of Markyate: A twelfth century recluse* (Oxford, 1959), pp. 60-1 ['To these exhortations Christina replied: "I am ignorant of the scriptures which you have quoted, father prior. But from their sense I will give my answers thereto'].

²¹² *De S. Theodore*, pp. 62-3 ['astonished at the prudence and answers of Christina'].

²¹³ *De S. Theodore*, pp. 64-5.

²¹⁴ See also Christina's subsequent relationship with Abbot Geoffrey.

²¹⁵ Asser, *De rebus gestis Aelfredi*, pp. 19-20 ['From the cradle onwards, in spite of all the demands of the present life, it has been the desire for wisdom, more than anything else, together with the nobility of his birth, which have characterized the nature of his noble mind', pp. 74-5]. Cf. pp. 20-2 [pp. 75-6], pp. 59-68 [pp. 91-7].

aligned with an influential model of Anglo-Saxon royal educated rulership.²¹⁶ Unlike Margaret, however, Alfred did receive a supernatural boost – more explicitly than in the case of Christina of Markyate – to his literacy: ‘Ælfred ... divino instinctu legere et interpretari simul uno eodemque die primitus inchoavit’.²¹⁷ Whilst Margaret’s erudition was remarkable, it was not supernatural.

The implication of literacy may have automatically conferred authority on Margaret’s character. It is perhaps significant that the only miracle Turgot chose to recount concerned a book. A gospel book, of which Margaret was particularly fond, was dropped but subsequently found, miraculously preserved, at the bottom of the river.²¹⁸ Margaret’s miracle is connected to a similar one connected with Cuthbert’s cult recounted by Symeon of Durham, concerning a gospel book (probably the Lindisfarne Gospels) as they accompanied Cuthbert’s corpse and its custodians on their flight from Lindisfarne.²¹⁹ Gameson points to ‘the firm associations of reading with spirituality’, with reference to ‘the hagiographic resonances of reading’, and suggests that ‘while there is no reason to doubt that Margaret did collect books and read them, this is not why Turgot tells of it; he does so because it has highly potent, spiritual overtones’.²²⁰ His study provides a valuable reminder that books in this period were in and of themselves a marker of piety: ‘although early-medieval books could, of course, be a reflection of literacy, learning and status, most of them were first and foremost a function of

²¹⁶ That Asser’s work was known at Durham at the start of the twelfth century is demonstrated by Symeon of Durham’s use of the text, see Stevenson’s introduction in *Asser’s Life of King Alfred*, pp. lviii-lix.

²¹⁷ Asser, *De rebus gestis Ælfredi*, p. 73 [‘Alfred... began through divine inspiration to read [Latin] and to translate/explain [dual meaning] at the same time, all on one and the same day’, p. 99], elaborated upon at pp. 73-5 [pp. 99-100]. On the difficulties and ambiguities surrounding Alfred’s acquisition of learning and literacy, see Keynes and Lapidge, *Alfred the Great*, p. 239, n. 46.

²¹⁸ Turgot, *Vita Margaretae*, pp. 176-7 [pp. 315-6].

²¹⁹ Symeon, *Libellus de Exordio*, pp. 114-21. The similarity is pointed out by Gransden, *Historical Writing in England, c. 550 to c. 1307*, p. 118, and discussed by Gameson, ‘The Gospels of Margaret of Scotland’, pp. 160-1, with reference to further examples of ‘early medieval manuscript[s] which [are] recorded to have survived a dunking’, including those associated with St Patrick and St Columba. T.J. Brown noted that Symeon, writing between 1104 X 1107/9 would have known the story of Margaret’s book, ‘The lives of the authors and the later history of the MS’, in T. Kendrick *et al.* (eds.), *Evangeliorum Quattuor: Codex Lindisfarnensis*, 2 vols. (Olten and Lausanne, 1956-60), 2: 23.

²²⁰ Gameson, ‘The gospels of Margaret of Scotland’, pp. 157-8.

Christianity'.²²¹ With this in mind, we see that Turgot's references to Margaret's learning serve to underline her holiness. Notwithstanding, this interpretation does not refute the possibility of other, concurrent implications.

Margaret's education, then, is constructed with allusions to several models. She concurs with our understanding of Anglo-Saxon royal women's education at this period, but there are also allusions to male Solomonic kingship and the Alfredian version thereof. Her learning is voraciously pursued and actively and effectively deployed. As we will see in the next section, Turgot's Margaret is a learned, active, pious reformer. Her influence is not promoted as a result of her proximity to the king. Instead, it is an influence expressed and justified by her own diligence and persuasive rhetorical skills.

3.vi Margaret as *magistra*.

In the discussion above of the passage concerning Margaret's queenly workshop, it was noted that Turgot's Margaret taught her household by the example of her own life as well as by her words.²²² This is reinforced almost immediately: 'Sobrietati morum ita ejus persona conveniebat, ut ad solam vitæ honestatem nata credi potuisset'.²²³ This notion of two-fold teaching recurs in the *Vita Margaretæ*. Thus Malcolm learns proper devotion: 'didicit, ejus hortatu et exemplo, cum gemitu cordis et lacrymarum profusione Deum orare'.²²⁴ Similarly, before his account of Margaret's learned and persuasive arguments at church councils, Turgot wrote: 'Religiosa et Deo digna Regina, cum mente, verbo, et factis ad cælestem patriam tenderet; etiam alios secum in via immaculata invitabat ire, quo secum possent ad veram beatitudinem pervenire'.²²⁵

²²¹ Gamson, 'The gospels of Margaret of Scotland', p. 163.

²²² Turgot, *Vita Margaretæ*, p. 164 [pp. 302-3], c.f. p. 126, *supra*.

²²³ Turgot, *Vita Margaretæ*, p. 164 ['Her person so corresponded with sobriety of morals that she might be believed to have been born to the sole dignity of life', pp. 302-3].

²²⁴ Turgot, *Vita Margaretæ*, p. 166 ['from her exhortation and example he learned to pray with groanings from the heart and abundance of tears', p. 304].

²²⁵ Turgot, *Vita Margaretæ*, p. 167 ['This religious and devout Queen, while she thus in mind and word and deed journeyed on to the heavenly country, also invited others to accompany her on the undefiled way, in order that they with her might attain true happiness', p. 306].

As noted above, teaching by word and example features in the *Regula Benedicti*'s instructions for the ideal abbot.²²⁶ This evocation of the *Regula* is appropriate at several levels. First, Margaret's foundation at Dunfermline was Benedictine.²²⁷ At another level, recent scholarship for the early medieval period has pointed to similarities between the respective offices of queen and abbess. Nelson has demonstrated that early rites for anointing queens are taken from the rites for the ordination of abbesses.²²⁸ Neither kings nor queens were consecrated at this time in Scotland,²²⁹ but whilst Margaret herself was not consecrated, English queens were.²³⁰ Through their exposure to the English court, both Margaret and – more importantly for this study – Turgot would have been more than aware of the paradigms. Abbesses participated in ecclesiastical assemblies and acted as female teachers,²³¹ a 'combination of functions [which] likewise characterized the later Carolingian queen', so that,

In the tenth-century narrative and charter evidence, queens and empresses are conspicuous for their political activities in all the kingdoms of Latin Christendom for which adequate documentation survives. ... queens were not only mothers of future kings, but acted in partnership with their husbands, and perhaps did so because they knew themselves to have been consecrated to that end.²³²

Stafford noted that whilst the respective rites for king- and queen-making in the early middle ages differentiated king from queen, 'those for the making of an abbot and abbess already stress their close identity. Prayers used in the making of an abbess were often identical to those used for an abbot: only the gender of the

²²⁶ *Regula Benedicti*, c. 2, pp. 18-19, c.f. pp. 66, 126, *supra*.

²²⁷ On this, and later royal foundations, see Barrow, 'David I of Scotland', p. 55. As Barrow pointed out, her introduction of non-Celtic monasticism is 'natural', as 'her origins and upbringing meant ... that for her the ideal of the Christian life was approached most closely not only by an adherence to the accepted laws of the church as a whole but more especially by the revived and reinvigorated religious life, following the rule of St. Benedict', *idem*, 'The royal house and the religious orders', p. 165-6.

²²⁸ Nelson, 'Early medieval rites', see especially pp. 309-10.

²²⁹ M. Penman, 'David II (1329-71) and Edward Baliol (1332-56)', in Oram (ed.), *Kings and Queens of Scotland*, pp. 115-22, p. 115; Wall, 'Queen Margaret', pp. 34-5.

²³⁰ Tanner, 'Queenship', p. 134.

²³¹ See, for example, the involvement of Hild, Abbess of Whitby in the Synod of Whitby, recounted by Bede, *Ecclesiastical History*, pp. 298-309.

²³² Nelson, 'Early medieval rites of queen-making', pp. 310; pp. 312-13.

pronoun changed'.²³³ She suggested, however, that their authority as abbesses was nonetheless not ungendered:

Abbesses were women, and some of their powers had the same gendered origins and were legitimated in the same ways as those of the queen: they ruled households and were referred to as mothers of their communities. But their position in the church hierarchy meant that they were more clearly separated from family roles than were queens or empresses.²³⁴

Whilst abbesses' secular family status continued to be important, their celibacy set them apart to an extent. Notwithstanding, Stafford argued, the power of her seventh- and tenth-century case-studies, both monastic and secular, 'was rooted in a series of family roles. ... the roles of these women were strongly gendered. ... Their power derived from the essentially female roles of daughter, wife and mother'.²³⁵ How true is this in the twelfth century, of Turgot's Margaret? The similarities between the description of her and the picture of an ideal abbot in the *Regula Benedicti* suggest that it is indeed relevant to consider her in the context of queen-abbess paradigms. As we have seen, however, her power does not seem to be solely rooted in familial status. Consideration of the *topos* of teaching by word and example in another context may be illuminating here.

Caroline Walker Bynum's study of twelfth-century treatments of the *topos* in what she identified as 'treatises of practical spiritual advice – i.e., non-polemical works about the soul's progress within the cloistered life written by monks or regular canons for members of their own orders' is instructive.²³⁶ Regular canons tended to read into the concept an obligation for each canon to edify his neighbours, by preaching and example, whereas monastic understanding tended to be vertical rather than horizontal: an ordinary monk's role was to learn, specifically from his abbot, who was to teach, by word and example.²³⁷ As a general concept, such teaching may be traced to the New Testament, and was

²³³ Stafford, 'Powerful women', p. 410; see also *eadem*, 'Queens, nunneries and reforming churchmen', p. 11.

²³⁴ Stafford, 'Powerful women', pp. 411.

²³⁵ Stafford, 'Powerful women', pp. 411-12, p. 412 cited here. See also Freeman, *Narratives*, p. 72, after Parsons, *Medieval Queenship*: 'As far as we can tell, it appears that in so far as medieval queens possessed widespread authority this was dependent on their close relationship to the body of the king'.

²³⁶ Walker Bynum, *Docere verbo et exemplo*, p. 4.

²³⁷ Walker Bynum, *Docere verbo et exemplo, passim*, summarized at p. 195.

developed by the Fathers, especially Gregory the Great, and featured in hagiography and biblical commentaries. Gregory's influential *Regula Pastoralis* 'developed at length the idea that a preacher teaches by what he does as well as by what he says'.²³⁸ Bynum argued that for the most part, the abbot in the *Regula Benedicti* does teach by word and deed, 'but his life, although emphasized, is chiefly seen as a support to effective speech. ... the major teaching of the abbot is verbal; and it is less instruction, or the inculcation of virtue, than rule'.²³⁹ Thus, for example, Abelard's rule for nuns 'lays much greater emphasis on the abbess than on the community. It sees the abbess both as ruler to be obeyed and as teacher *verbo et exemplo*. But *exemplum* is sometimes seen merely as a support to word'.²⁴⁰ What bearing does this have on Turgot's Margaret?

Two-fold teaching is twice asserted in paragraph 8, which describes Margaret in the context of her household workshop.²⁴¹ Here, then, Turgot stressed her authority over the household. This consequently set the scene for the two subsequent allusions to the trope, that is in paragraphs 10 and 13,²⁴² which preface accounts of her teaching Malcolm and the whole realm respectively. Thus, by using a recognizable trope of vertical authority in an unambiguously acceptable context (as head of her own household), Turgot removes any potential controversy from her authority – where it might potentially be controversial – by further reference to the trope.

Teaching by word and example is still more loaded a concept in the light of its use in Asser's *De rebus*. The priorities embodied in Gregory's *Regula Pastoralis* were crucial in Asser's construction of Alfred.²⁴³ By this point, the *Regula* had become relevant for all who exercised authority.²⁴⁴ By evoking a recognized model of teaching, which had already been successfully deployed,

²³⁸ Walker Bynum, *Docere verbo et exemplo*, pp. 15-17, p. 15 cited here; c.f., for example, Symeon, *Libellus de Exordio*, pp. 48-9, on Cuthbert: 'ea que agenda docebat, ipse prius agendo premonstraret' ['everything he taught should be done he himself first of all demonstrated by his own actions'], after Bede, *Ecclesiastical History*, pp. 438-9 and *idem*, *Vita Cuthberti*, pp. 206-7, 208-9, 240-3. C.f. *Libellus de Exordio*, pp. 28-9, 36-7.

²³⁹ Walker Bynum, *Docere verbo et exemplo*, p. 107.

²⁴⁰ Walker Bynum, *Docere verbo et exemplo*, p. 184.

²⁴¹ Turgot, *Vita Margaretae*, p. 164 [pp. 302-3], c.f. p. 126, n. 178, *supra*.

²⁴² Turgot, *Vita Margaretae*, pp. 166, 167 [pp. 304, 306], c.f. p. 140, n. 245, *infra*.

²⁴³ Kempshall, 'No bishop, no king', *passim*, see especially pp. 112-13.

²⁴⁴ Kempshall, 'No bishop, no king', p. 107. C.f. Walker Bynum, *Docere verbo et exemplo*.

inter alia, by Asser, Turgot underlined Margaret's authority as a teacher, and a royal one at that. How, then, did Margaret teach, and what did she teach?

Having outlined in the first chapter how Margaret taught her household and children, Turgot turned in the second chapter to how she taught her husband. Margaret did not literally convert Malcolm in the way that early medieval saintly queens converted their pagan husbands. Instead, she incited him to perform Christian kingship, encouraging an improvement in his personal piety:

ipsum Regem, ad justitiæ, misericordiæ, eleemosynarum, aliarumque opera virtutum, ipsa, cooperante sibi Deo, fecerat obtemperantissimum. Didicit ille ab ea etiam vigiliis noctis frequenter orando producere; didicit, ejus hortatu et exemplo, cum gemitu cordis et lacrymarum profusione Deum orare.²⁴⁵

The emphasis on justice and mercy suggests that Margaret fostered Malcolm not merely into Christianity but into Christian rulership specifically, as it acknowledges his authority over others, focusing on the linchpins of Solomonic kingship. Far from Margaret-as-queen exercising authority by virtue of her proximity to the body of the king,²⁴⁶ here Malcolm exercises his authority appropriately by virtue of his proximity to Margaret's holiness:

Ipsam tam venerabilis vitæ Reginam, quoniam in ejus corde Christum veraciter habitare perspexerat, ille quoquomodo offendere formidabat; sed potius votis ejus et prudentibus consiliis celerius per omnia obedire properabat. Quæ ipsa respuerat, eadem et ipse respuere; et quæ amaverat, amore amoris illius amare.²⁴⁷

Turgot thus began the process which would lead to Malcolm's secondary position in the late twelfth century regnal lists: 'Hic fuit vir Sanctae Margaretae (reginae)'.²⁴⁸ Indeed, Malcolm is depicted here as a kind of lapdog: not

²⁴⁵ Turgot, *Vita Margaretae*, pp. 165-6 ['with the help of God, she made the King himself most attentive to works of justice, mercy, almsgiving, and other virtues. From her also he learned to keep the vigils of the night in prayer: from her exhortation and example he learned to pray with groanings from the heart and abundance of tears', p. 304].

²⁴⁶ See p. 138, n. 235, *supra*.

²⁴⁷ Turgot, *Vita Margaretae*, p. 166 ['A Queen whose life was so venerable, he as it were feared to offend, since he clearly perceived that Christ was truly dwelling in her heart; he hastened rather the more quickly to obey in all things her earnest desires and prudent counsels. What she refused he refused, and what she loved, he loved for the love of her love', p. 304].

²⁴⁸ See p. 104, *supra*.

particularly clever, but loving, loyal, and eager to maintain the approval of his mistress:

libros, in quibus ipsa vel orare consueverat, vel legere; ille, ignarus licet litterarum, saepe²⁴⁹ manoversare solebat et inspicere; et dum ab²⁵⁰ ea quis illorum esset ei carior audisset, hunc et ipse cariorem habere, deosculari, saepius contrectare. Aliquando etiam advocato aurifice ipsum codicem auro gemmisque perornari praecipit, atque perornatum ipse Rex ad Reginam, quasi suae devotionis indicium, referre consuevit.²⁵¹

Throughout the *vita*, there is an impression of Margaret civilizing Malcolm and the Scottish court, bringing ‘a veneer of continental urbanity to the Gaelic household’.²⁵² This particular image of Malcolm as an uncivilized simple man, lacking a true appreciation of books, is perhaps at odds with the historical Malcolm,²⁵³ who had spent some fourteen years in exile in England, partly at the English court, following the death of his father in 1040,²⁵⁴ and may also, as was to be said of his son David, have had the rust of barbarity polished away.²⁵⁵ Such a historical Malcolm, however, was of little use to Turgot. For the purposes of the *vita*, it was not Malcolm who was wise and erudite, qualities increasingly expected of a king,²⁵⁶ but Margaret. Indeed, Margaret in the second chapter is depicted not simply as influential consort but as *magistra*, inciting Malcolm – by word and example – into Christian kingship.

We will see in Chapter 4 that there is often the notion of a symbiotic relationship between a king’s good rulership and his kingdom’s prosperity,²⁵⁷ and similarly, Margaret enhanced Scotland’s prosperity and status. As we saw with

²⁴⁹ Thus Pinkerton, *AASS* has sepe.

²⁵⁰ Thus Pinkerton, *AASS* has ad.

²⁵¹ Turgot, *Vita Margaretae*, p. 166 [‘the books in which she was accustomed to pray or read, he, though unable to read, used often to handle and examine, and when he heard from her that one of them was dearer to her than the others, this he often also regarded with kindlier affection, and would kiss and often fondle it. Sometimes also he would send for the goldsmith, and instruct him to adorn the volume with gold and precious gems, and when finished he would carry it to the Queen as proof of his devotion’, pp. 304-5].

²⁵² This phrase is Oram’s, ‘Malcolm III or Máel Coluim Mac Donnchada’, p. 55.

²⁵³ Similar reservations are expressed by Gameson, ‘The Gospels of Margaret of Scotland’, p. 160; Huneycutt, *Matilda*, pp. 13-14.

²⁵⁴ Ritchie, *Normans in Scotland*, pp. 3-4, 25, 387. On the association of Henry I’s court with good manners, see J. Gillingham, ‘From *civilitas* to civility: Codes of manners in medieval and early modern England’, *TRHS* 12 (2002): 267-89, p. 272.

²⁵⁵ C.f. p. 93, *supra*.

²⁵⁶ See pp. 51-2, *supra*.

²⁵⁷ See pp. 179-80, *infra*.

regard to her learning, however, Turgot did not suggest that this was supernaturally achieved.²⁵⁸ Instead, Margaret astutely nurtured such trade as would “civilize” Scotland, presumably seeking to bring the Scottish court onto a level footing with the lavish Anglo-Norman royal court:

Hæc quoque regiæ stirpis nobilissima gemma, regii honoris magnificentiam, Regi multo magnificentiorem effecit; cunctisque regni Primatibus et illorum ministris plurimum gloriæ ac decoris ipsa contulit. Fecerat enim ut mercatores, terra marique de diversis regionibus venientes, rerum venalium complures et pretiosas species, quæ ibidem adhuc ignotæ fuerant, adveherent: inter quas cum diversis coloribus vestes variaque²⁵⁹ vestium ornamenta, indigenæ compellente Regina emerent; ita ejus instantia diversis vestium cultibus deinceps incedebant compositi, ut tali decore quodammodo crederentur esse renovati.²⁶⁰

Gillingham has identified *compositus*, from *componere*, as something of a key word in the twelfth century, arguing that it was used by authors such as William of Malmesbury, Aelred (as we will see below), Gerald of Wales, and Richard of Devizes not just in its literal sense of ‘put together’ but also in the sense of composure and development, and therefore also implied a process of civilizing.²⁶¹ It is in the light of this that we may better understand Margaret’s concern with trade, clothes and splendid trappings – at face value incongruous with our perceptions of saintly asceticism. Margaret’s civilization of Scotland’s ‘natives’ (*indigenae*) is but one aspect of her taming of the realm as a whole, which itself facilitated peace, and therefore may be seen as within the traditional remit of royal rulership.

²⁵⁸ C.f. pp. 134-5, *supra*.

²⁵⁹ Thus Pinkerton, *AASS* has *variaq*.

²⁶⁰ Turgot, *Vita Margaretae*, p. 166 [‘The Queen, ... herself the noblest gem of a royal race, made the splendour of her husband’s royal magnificence much more splendid, and contributed much glory and honour to all the nobility of the kingdom and their retainers. For she brought it to pass that merchants who came by land and sea from divers lands, brought with them for sale many and precious kinds of merchandise which in Scotland were before unknown, among which were garments with various accoutrements and diverse colours, which, at the compelling of the queen, the natives bought; thus, at her insistence, with diverse cultivation of clothing, they went around thereafter <in a> composed <fashion>, so that they might have been supposed to have been made anew’, p. 305].

²⁶¹ Gillingham, ‘Civilizing the English’, pp. 41-2. It is also used of Margaret at p. 126, n. 178, *supra*. On David, see p. 159, n. 40, and p. 162, n. 57, *infra*.

Margaret's introduction of new mercantile activity, and the consequent fashion for new luxury goods was not the only tool in her campaign for the promotion of the Scottish royal dignity:

Obsequia²⁶² etiam Regis sublimiora constituit, ut eum procedentem sive equitantem, multa cum grandi honore agmina constiparent: et hoc cum tanta censura, ut quocumque devenissent, nulli eorum cuiquam aliquid liceret rapere, nec rusticos aut pauperes quolibet modo quisquam illorum opprimere auderet vel lædere.²⁶³

This “taming” of the royal household was part of Margaret's encouragement of a more merciful and caring royal rulership, which may also be seen at other points within the *vita*. Intercession and nurturing royal clemency figured prominently in high medieval queenship.²⁶⁴ At this point, however, it is embedded within a passage which deals with Margaret's material and social patronage. That all this served to enhance the lustre of the Scottish crown is underlined by the close of the paragraph, which brings her activities back to her adornment of the court itself:

Regalis quoque aulæ ornamenta multiplicavit; ut non tantum diverso palliorum decore niteret, sed etiam auro argentoque domus tota resplenderet. Aut enim aurea vel argentea, aut deaurata sive deargentata fuerant vasa, quibus Regi et regni Proceribus dapes inferebantur et potus.²⁶⁵

Thus this paragraph as a whole contrasts Malcolm's well-meaning but nonetheless misguided attempts to deploy royal wealth with Margaret's more appropriate and organized programme of the glorification of the Scottish crown and court.

²⁶² Thus Pinkerton, *AASS* has *obsequi*.

²⁶³ Turgot, *Vita Margaretae*, p. 166 [‘She also appointed a higher class of servants for the King, that when he walked or rode abroad numerous bodies of them might accompany him in state; and this was carried out with such discipline that wherever they came none of them was permitted to take anything from anyone by force; nor did any of them dare to oppress or injure the country people or the poor in any way’, p. 305].

²⁶⁴ Stafford, *Queen Emma and Queen Edith*, p. 181; K.J. Leyser, ‘The Anglo-Norman succession, 1120-25’, *Anglo-Norman Studies* 13 (1991 for 1990): 225-41 [repr. in T. Reuter (ed.), *Communications and Power in Medieval Europe: The Gregorian revolution and beyond* (London and Rio Grande, 1994), pp. 97-114], p. 230; L.L. Huneycutt, ‘Intercession and the high-medieval queen: The Esther topos’, in Carpenter and MacLean (eds.), *Power of the Weak*, pp. 126-46; see also Leyser's comments on tenth-century wives of high Ottonian social status, K.J. Leyser, *Rule and Conflict in an Early Medieval Society: Ottonian Saxony* (London, 1979), p. 72; *idem*, ‘The Ottonians and Wessex’, in Reuter (ed.), *Communications and Power in Medieval Europe: The Carolingian and Ottonian Centuries* (London and Rio Grande, 1994), pp. 73-104 [originally published as ‘Die Ottonen und Wessex’, *Frühmittelalterliche Studien* 17 (1983): 73-97], at p. 91.

²⁶⁵ Turgot, *Vita Margaretae*, p. 166 [‘Moreover, she increased the trappings of the royal palace, so that not only was it brightened by the diverse splendour of coverings, but the whole house glittered

In Chapter 5 we will see that Edward's conspicuous consumption was explained in terms of Solomonic kingship, whereby royal trappings were themselves proof of fitness to rule and provided evidence of Edward's sanctity.²⁶⁶ Turgot, however, provided another spiritually acceptable justification and scriptural model for Margaret's penchant for and encouragement of luxury:

Et hæc quidem illa fecerat, non quod mundi honore delectabatur; sed, quod regia dignitas ab ea exigebat, persolvere cogebatur. Nam cum pretioso ut Reginam decebat cultu induta procederet, omnia ornamenta velut altera Esther mente calcavit; seque sub gemmis et auro nihil aliud quam pulverem et cinerem consideravit.²⁶⁷

Margaret's encouragement of conspicuous consumption within the court was not without precedent: Edward the Confessor's wife Edith had also enhanced the royal dignity with splendid clothes, jewels and furnishings.²⁶⁸ Stafford, however, has pointed to a growing discomfort with conspicuous consumption on the part of authors in the eleventh and twelfth centuries.²⁶⁹ It is significant that the impulse behind the introduction of such splendours was Edith's, not Edward's. Whatever the initial intent of the Anonymous, subsequent reworkings of the *Vita Aedwardi* emphasised that Edward only wore such things because he had to, not out of personal choice, thus circumventing the sticky problem of wallowing in earthly riches.²⁷⁰ By referring to Esther, Turgot overcame this potential problem by tapping into a vein of medieval scriptural allusions which denoted a model of intercessory queenship, using the splendid trappings of royalty only when necessary and with all due contempt.²⁷¹ Edward needed Edith to insist upon

with gold and silver; for the vessels in which the King and nobles of the kingdom were served with food and drink, were either of gold or silver, or with gold or silver plated', p. 305].

²⁶⁶ C.f. pp. 214-20, *infra*.

²⁶⁷ Turgot, *Vita Margaretae*, p. 167 ['And this the Queen did not because the honour of the world delighted her, but because she felt compelled to do what the royal dignity required of her. For when she walked in state clad in splendid apparel, as became a Queen, like another Esther, she in her heart trod all these trappings beneath her feet, and bore in mind that under the gems and gold there was nothing but dust and ash', p. 305].

²⁶⁸ Anon., *Vita Aedwardi*, pp. 24-5. This is further discussed in Ch. 5.

²⁶⁹ Stafford, 'Portrayal of royal women', *passim*; see also Huneycutt, "'Proclaiming her dignity abroad"', pp. 162-3.

²⁷⁰ It seems that this shift of emphasis is also evident in other contexts: M.C. Miller, *The Bishop's Palace: Architecture and authority in medieval Italy* (Ithaca and London, 2000), especially pp. 97-121.

²⁷¹ The Old Testament Book of Esther (in the Greek narrative incorporated by Jerome into the Hebrew version) has Esther putting aside her royal apparel when possible, and insisting to God

ceremonial pomp, and could thus be distanced from the potential spiritual sully that it could imply. Turgot's Margaret, however, had no need of such distancing. Like Esther, Margaret retained humility in spite of the potentially distracting baubles of her position as queen: 'Denique in tanta celsitudine dignitatis, maximam semper habuit servandæ curam humilitatis'.²⁷² Just as a good ruler always fears the judgment of God, so did Turgot's Margaret: 'Et quia, ut Scriptura loquitur, Beatus homo qui semper est pavidus; tanto facilius peccata venerabilis Regina devitabat, quanto tremens et pavens districtum iudicii diem indesinenter ante mentis oculos sibi præsentabat.'²⁷³

Aelred would also use the Esther topos in the *Genealogia regum Anglorum*. Here, however, it was Edith-Matilda, not Margaret, who was another Esther: 'De cuius admirabili gloria animique virtute, quamque fuerit in officiis divinis sacrisque vigiliis assidua ac devota, in tanta insuper potestate quam humilis, qui scribere voluerit, alteram nobis Esther nostris temporibus declarabit'.²⁷⁴ Huneycutt saw this allusion in terms of cultural reconciliation: 'Aelred's allusion referred to the biblical Queen Esther's role in marrying a foreign king, and then interceding with him to save her oppressed people from extinction'.²⁷⁵ Certainly this aspect of the Esther topos is more appropriate to the dynamics of the historical Edith-Matilda's marriage than to those of her mother's, and it would sit at ease with one of the central messages of the *Genealogia*, namely that Henry Plantagenet was to be the cornerstone of the English and Normans.²⁷⁶ Notwithstanding, it does not seem to be the primary function of the allusion at this point, for Aelred did not go on to extol Edith-Matilda's reconciliation of factions, or indeed to outline her interceding with the king on

that she loathes it. For a full discussion of this *topos*, see Huneycutt, 'Intercession and the high medieval queen'.

²⁷² Turgot, *Vita Margaretae*, p. 167 ['In a word, in the midst of her exalted dignity she always took the greatest care to preserve her lowliness of mind', pp. 305-6].

²⁷³ Turgot, *Vita Margaretae*, p. 167 ['And because as the Scripture says, "Happy is the man that feareth alway", this venerable Queen made it the easier for her to avoid sin, as in fear and trembling she continually kept before her mind's eye the dreadful day of Judgement', with reference to Prov. 28:14, p. 306].

²⁷⁴ Aelred, *Genealogia*, PL 195, c. 736 ['He who wishes to write about her wonderful renown and her strength of mind, how assiduous and devoted she was in the divine services and holy vigils, how humble she was, especially considering her great power, will show us another Esther in our own time'].

²⁷⁵ Huneycutt, *Matilda*, p. 6.

²⁷⁶ On this, see further, Chapters 4 and 5, *infra*.

anyone's behalf. Instead, Aelred allegedly shied away from detailing exactly how Edith-Matilda resembled Esther,²⁷⁷ and proceeded instead to relate the subsequently frequently-cited account of Edith-Matilda's devoted kissing of lepers' feet, in which she insisted that the feet of Christ, in the shape of those of lepers, are more worthy of veneration than the lips of an earthly king.²⁷⁸ This story, I suggest, continues the depiction of Edith-Matilda as another Esther, in the sense of having an appropriate awareness of the relative values of earthly and heavenly kingship. Whereas the allusion was quite possibly multivalent, and would have connoted (to at least some of its audience) an additional message of reconciliation of conquerors and conquered, perfectly in keeping with one of the central themes of the *Genealogia*, the primary function of the allusion is the same as that in the *Vita Margaretae*: royal trappings and power should be used, but one should always be suitably humble in the midst of regal pomp and glitter.

No fewer than four paragraphs deal with Margaret's reform of the Scottish church, comprising approximately one-third of the *vita* as a whole.²⁷⁹ Whether the historical Margaret was indeed as active as Turgot's hagiographical one is a moot point. Recent scholarship on queens and queenship, such as those works cited throughout this chapter, has demonstrated that automatic dismissal of the possibility is untenable.²⁸⁰ Queens by marriage could and did participate in councils.²⁸¹ Famously, for example, Edith-Matilda had determinedly addressed an episcopal council to insist that she had not made a monastic profession and was

²⁷⁷ Aelred, *Genealogia*, PL 195, c. 736: 'Quod nos facere omisimus et propter materiae magnitudinem, et propter harum rerum minorem adhuc cognitionem' ['We do not do this, because of the great amount of material and because we as yet know little of these affairs'].

²⁷⁸ Aelred, *Genealogia*, PL 195, c. 736.

²⁷⁹ Huneycutt also noted this proportion, "'Proclaiming her dignity abroad'", p. 162, and *Matilda*, p. 112.

²⁸⁰ Notwithstanding, the view persists. See, for example, A.D.M. Barrell, *Medieval Scotland* (Cambridge, 2000), on Margaret, p. 14: 'The importance of [Malcolm's] marriage to the saintly Margaret must not be overemphasised. While she was undoubtedly pious, ... Turgot ... almost certainly credits her with much greater influence over her husband than is credible in a male-dominated, martial society'. For earlier views, see, for example, Ritchie, *Normans in Scotland*, p. 397, n. 5: 'Turgot seems to represent Margaret as presiding over a Church Council, which would have been unprecedented in Christendom, and must be dismissed as well-intended hyperbole'. See also W.C. Dickinson, G. Donaldson and I.A. Milne (eds.), *A Source Book of Scottish History*, 3 vols. (2nd edn., London etc., 1958), 1: 42, discussed in Barrow, 'Benedictines, Tironensians and Cistercians', p. 193, where Barrow attributes greater authority to Margaret.

²⁸¹ See, for example, Huneycutt, 'Intercession and the high medieval queen'; *eadem*, 'Female succession and the language of power in the writings of twelfth-century churchmen', in Carmi Parsons, *Medieval Queenship*, pp. 189-201, at p. 190; LoPrete, 'The Anglo-Norman card of Adela of Blois'.

therefore able to marry.²⁸² An emphasis on Margaret's active involvement in church reform and the well-being of the realm is perfectly in keeping with other literature aimed at Margaret's daughter, Edith-Matilda. Thus, for instance, Hildebert of Lavardin wrote to Edith-Matilda, praising her upholding of justice, peace and protection of the church:

In leges enim et in Ecclesiam peccare convincor, nisi de salute laetetur et exsultet spiritus meus, cujus incolumitas et legum reverentiam, et Ecclesiae statum servat incolumen. Nihil enim est unde magis oporteat laetari animam Christianam, quam super eorum incolumitate, quibus et legum integritas, et Ecclesiae status incolumis perseverat. Gaudeo igitur, sed et gaudebo, quoties meas aures aura, quae te sospitem nuntiet, afflaverit, quoties audiam vivere reginam et valere, cui et potestas collata est ad iudicium sceleris, et mores ad exemplar honestatis.²⁸³

Regardless of whether Margaret was as active in the political sphere or in religious reform as Turgot's account asserts, however, a politically and culturally active queen was not outwith the realms of possibility, as the examples of Adelaide of Maurienne, Melisende of Jerusalem and, indeed, Edith-Matilda demonstrate.²⁸⁴ More important for this study is that Margaret is shown actively, intelligently and diligently correcting perceived abuses in the Scottish church and in lay religious observance, and hence moving Scotland culturally from the peripheries into the mainstream. It is with these passages that Margaret becomes unambiguously in control as an educating ruler:

Malum cum videret, admonuit ut bonus fieret; bonum, ut melior existeret; meliorem, ut optimus esse studeret. Quoniam fide Apostolica ferventem zelus domus Dei, quae est Ecclesia, comedit: unde quoque illicita, quae in ea pullulaverant, eradicare penitus laboravit. Cum enim contra rectae fidei

²⁸² Eadmer, *Historia Novorum*, pp. 121-25 [pp. 126-31]. See also Huneycutt, *Matilda*, pp. 25-30, and, on Edith-Matilda's subsequent political activity, pp. 73-102.

²⁸³ Hildebert of Lavardin, *Epistolae et Diplomata*, in PL 171, Ep. 11, cc. 289-90 ['My spirit rejoices and is made glad about the health of [the one] whose safety preserves reverence for the laws and the undamaged state of the church. For there is nothing greater which ought to gladden the Christian soul above the safety of [the one] whom the integrity of the law and the state of the church continue uninjured. I rejoice, therefore, and what is more, I shall rejoice as often as Heaven breathes upon my ears, announcing that you are unharmed, as often as I shall hear that the queen, to whom the power of judging crimes has been conferred, whose character is an example of honesty, lives and prospers', this translation from Huneycutt, "Proclaiming her dignity abroad", pp. 161-2]; for further examples, see also Huneycutt, 'Images of queenship', *eadem*, 'Intercession and the high medieval queen', and *eadem*, 'Perfect princess'.

²⁸⁴ The activities of these women are discussed by Huneycutt in 'Images of queenship', *passim*. Adelaide of Maurienne was the wife of Louis VI of France from 1115-37, and Melisende of Jerusalem ruled in her own right 1131-61. See also *eadem*, 'Female succession and the language of power', *passim*.

regulam, et sanctam universalis Ecclesiae consuetudinem, multa in gente illa fieri perspexisset, crebra Concilia statuit.²⁸⁵

There are a notable number of active terms used in this passage – *statuo* is especially strong – which are further underlined by her activity in the most important of the counsels, at which ‘sola, cum paucissimis suorum, contra perversae consuetudinis assertores gladio Spiritus, quod est Verbum Dei, triduo dimicabat’.²⁸⁶ Lest there be any doubt that Margaret was in charge of this programme, Turgot stated that although final decisions were ostensibly Malcolm’s, he was ‘quodcumque in hac causa jussisset, dicere paratissimus et facere’.²⁸⁷ That this was not inappropriate is underlined by Turgot’s reiteration of Margaret’s suitability for the task:

Multa quoque alia, quæ contra fidei regulam et ecclesiasticarum observationum instituta inoleverant, ipsa in eodem Concilio damnare, et de Regni sui finibus curavit proturbare. Universa enim quæ proposuerat, ita sanctæ Scripturæ testimoniis atque sanctorum Patrum corroboravit sententiis, ut contra hæc nil omnino respondere valerent; quin potius deposita, pertinacia rationi acquiescentes, universa libenter implenda susciperent.²⁸⁸

This, then, is a picture of active rulership: Margaret did not merely suggest a council, then sit back so that Malcolm could preside, but was instead herself very much in charge (*statuo, iubeo*). Moreover, the way in which she is described imposing her will is itself active and, as noted with regard to her education, at the cutting edge of contemporary (and largely male) intellectual endeavour – she

²⁸⁵ Turgot, *Vita Margaretae*, pp. 167-8 [‘The wicked whom she saw, she admonished to become good; the good to be better, and the better to strive to be best. The zeal of God’s house, which is the Church, consumed her so that, inflamed with Apostolic faith, she laboured to root out entirely those unlawful things which had sprung up within it. For when she saw that many things were done among that people which were contrary to the rule of the right faith and the holy custom of the universal church, she constituted frequent councils’, pp. 306-7].

²⁸⁶ *Vita Margaretae*, p. 168 [‘she alone, with a very few of her people, for three days combated the defenders of a perverse custom with the sword of the Spirit, that is, the Word of God’, p. 307].

²⁸⁷ Turgot, *Vita Margaretae*, p. 168 [‘fully prepared to say and do whatever she in this matter might command’, p. 307].

²⁸⁸ Turgot, *Vita Margaretae*, pp. 170-1 [‘Many other [abuses] also which had grown up contrary to the rule of faith and the institutions and observances of the Church, she likewise in the Council succeeded in condemning and expelling from the Kingdom. For whatever she proposed, she so supported with the testimony of the Holy Scriptures and with *sententiae* from the holy Fathers, that no one on the opposite side could say anything at all against it; nay, rather, laying aside their obstinacy and yielding to reason, they willingly undertook to adopt whatever she desired’, pp. 309-10].

proved her points with the support of *sententiae*, gleaned from the Fathers, another key scholastic method.²⁸⁹

What then, may we infer from Turgot's depiction of Margaret? I have argued that the *vita* depicts her as saintly, and that her sanctity was achieved by a successful combination of the virtues imbued by her genealogical inheritance, her good character, and her successful ruling of *familia*, patronage of the church, assiduous learning, teaching, civilizing the realm, and fostering of justice – essentially by appropriately performing the functions of rulership. Her authority is described using terms and models which were associated with the figures of queen as consort and counsellor, courtly clerical educator/statesman, pastoral ruler, Benedictine abbacy and Solomonic kingship, with allusion to monastic and scholastic learning, Alfredian narrative *topoi* and the cultural expectations of Anglo-Saxon female royalty. Her rulership, however, is more than mere consortship: it is instead itself an active, civilizing rulership, and through Turgot's complex blend of qualities and activities, Margaret's sanctity is demonstrated. I have noted similarities throughout between Margaret's queenship and models of monastic rulership. This is not to say, however, that she was saintly by virtue of being quasi-monastic. Instead, the boundaries between the offices of queen/ruler and abbess/abbot were by this time blurred to such an extent that Margaret's performance of her queenly duties placed her simply as a good ruler. Hers is therefore an instructive model of saintly rulership which is constructed by both female and male aspects of rulership.

Subsequent medieval authors, and in their wake, many modern scholars, have focused on Margaret's Anglo-Saxon roots. As argued above, however, Turgot's genealogy also positioned Margaret as an honorary Norman, foreshadowing the position at the cornerstone of Anglo-Norman/Anglo-Saxon which would be attributed to the marriage of Henry and Edith-Matilda, which would be constructed via Margaret's by now avowedly Anglo-Saxon identity. Before we conclude the section on Margaret, it will be useful to further consider

²⁸⁹ On *sententiae*, see Clanchy, *Abelard*, pp. 88, 90; Southern, *Scholastic Humanism, II*, pp. 26-7, 39-45, 51-4.

Margaret's temporary honorary Norman identity in the context of her activities as a saintly ruler.

It is with Margaret's civilization of Malcolm, the Scottish court, and Scotland at large, that we may make sense of the seemingly awkward Norman undertones to the *vita* which were noted above. In his influential study of imperial Europe, Stephen Jaeger suggested that the tenth to twelfth centuries saw a process of "civilization" in which the cultural role of women was eclipsed by that of "courtier-bishops".²⁹⁰ Huneycutt, however, rightly called for the cultural patronage of women to be written back into the process, and highlighted the intercessory function apparently attributed to queens²⁹¹ – what, after all, is effective intercession if not "taming" another's wrath and/or judgment? More specifically for our present purposes, the respective studies of Rees Davies and John Gillingham, among others, have demonstrated that national identity and notions of national "barbarity" and "civilization" were important concepts in England in the decades which followed the Norman Conquest. William of Malmesbury, for example, was extremely interested in the process of cultural and social civilization.²⁹² William associated towns (which proliferated during our period) and their corollary, trade, with civilized living.²⁹³ Gillingham pinpointed William of Malmesbury's *Gesta Regum Anglorum*, completed by 1125, as a key work in propagating the idea that the Welsh, Scots, and Irish were barbarians, highlighting the urbanity and sophistication of the English.²⁹⁴ As Gillingham noted, a contrast between a civilized England and barbaric Celtic peripheries is not entirely fanciful.

²⁹⁰ Jaeger, *Origins of Courtliness*, summarized at p. 268: 'The sources tell us much about courtly education, and they do not show women as a mediator of it'.

²⁹¹ Huneycutt, 'Images of queenship', *passim*; *eadem*, 'Intercession and the high-medieval queen', *passim*.

²⁹² J. Gillingham, 'The context and purposes of Geoffrey of Monmouth's *History of the Kings of Britain*', *Anglo-Norman Studies* 13 (1992 for 1991): 99-118, repr. in *The English in the Twelfth Century*, pp. 19-39, pp. 28-9; *idem* 'Civilizing the English', *passim*.

²⁹³ Gillingham, 'Civilizing the English', pp. 39-40, with reference to M. Beresford, *New Towns of the Middle Ages: Town plantation in England, Wales and Gascony* (London, 1967), p. 328.

²⁹⁴ J. Gillingham, 'The beginnings of English imperialism', *Journal of Historical Sociology* 5 (1992): 392-409; repr. in *idem*, *The English in the Twelfth Century*, pp. 3-18, cited here, see especially pp. 9ff. On the problems of the medieval usage and modern interpretations of terms such as *gens*, *natio*, and *populus*, however, see R. Bartlett, 'Medieval and modern concepts of race and ethnicity', *Journal of Medieval and Early Modern Studies* 31 (2001): 39-55.

Margaret's love of splendour, exquisite robes and costly furnishings may be seen in an Anglo-Saxon context.²⁹⁵ Further, an Anglo-Saxon princess civilizing a less advanced Scottish king and realm sits at ease with Gillingham's understanding of English imperialism: 'one of the ingredients of twelfth-century English consciousness was the sense that "we" live in a much urbanised and commercialised society, in short a more developed economy, than do the Celts'.²⁹⁶ It is possible, however, that in Turgot's account we also have an early example of a notion of Norman cultural superiority, not necessarily at odds with the civilizing Anglo-Saxon model. For William of Malmesbury, things French were intrinsically civilized: 'William's view was that a combination of Christianity and the French had civilized the English'.²⁹⁷ Thus, for example, in William's *schema*, the English under Norman influence (that of William I specifically) had abandoned taking slaves as war booty, a practice which the space of a few decades now rendered barbaric, and was still practised by the Scots.²⁹⁸ It was down to French influence, according to William, that Anglo-Saxon kings had learnt a newly merciful and clement kingship.²⁹⁹ Similarly, the tenth and eleventh centuries saw England becoming increasingly urbanized, and there was a concomitant upturn in trade in luxury goods and monetary economy. Scotland, Ireland and Wales, however, did not experience this trend, so that 'put very roughly, the Celtic regions in the twelfth century looked rather like eighth-century England: a dispersed settlement pattern of farms and hamlets, not many coins, very few towns'.³⁰⁰

In this context, Margaret's encouragement of foreign trade, and promotion of regal glamour and use of luxury goods may be seen as part of a programme of bringing Scotland in from the cold, culturally speaking. 'Just as the French had taught the English', Gillingham states, 'so the English were now teaching the

²⁹⁵ An impression of Anglo-Saxon love of luxurious items and skill at creating them may be gleaned, for example, from Dodwell, *Anglo-Saxon Art*.

²⁹⁶ Gillingham, *The English in the Twelfth Century*, p. xxv.

²⁹⁷ Gillingham, 'Civilizing the English?', p. 22; c.f. p. 37. C.f. *idem*, 'The beginnings of English imperialism', pp. 5-6.

²⁹⁸ Gillingham, 'Civilizing the English?', pp. 35-6; *idem*, 'Beginnings of English imperialism', p. 13; *idem*, *The English in the Twelfth Century*, p. xxiii.

²⁹⁹ Gillingham, 'Civilizing the English?', p. 37.

³⁰⁰ Gillingham, 'Beginnings of English imperialism', p. 12; c.f. *idem*, 'Civilizing the English?', pp. 38-9.

Scots'.³⁰¹ I suggest that this is precisely what is happening with Turgot's Margaret, albeit a little before Gillingham's main period of consideration. The process undertaken by Margaret, however, is even better than that of England civilizing Scotland. She is English (and of the royal Anglo-Saxon house, to boot, as underlined, for example, by the allusions to Asser's Alfred), but with Norman glamour (invented where necessary), and therefore eminently suited to the task.

This model explains some of the seeming puzzling aspects of the *vita*. It is, of course, far too complex a text to be thoroughly explicated in so short a space. I do, however, suggest that those elements discussed are of interest to my thesis overall in that they demonstrate that some of the functions of rulership are not inimical to sanctity. Although Margaret is *magistra*, rather than king, she teaches Malcolm by word and example, and therefore performs those functions which she teaches, a notion rendered more active by allusions to various other models of authoritative rulership. Her active use of wealth, promotion of trade, her involvement in state and church affairs, sex and procreation – none of these things marred her spiritually in Turgot's eyes. On the contrary, they were her route to sanctity, allowing her to show others how things may be appropriately done.

We see, then, that it was possible for a ruler to achieve sanctity via rulership. I have argued that, contrary to my initial expectations, Margaret's is not an explicitly female model of saintly rulership. She does not, therefore, provide so much a gendered contrast as a model of active royal rulership. Her active engagement with and deployment of the expectations and trappings of royal rulership – wealth, sex, authority – facilitated her sanctity. She did not engage, however, with one key facet of lay male rulership, namely warfare. Could it be that this was the sticking point in the construction of lay male sanctity?

³⁰¹ Gillingham, 'Civilizing the English?', p. 40.

Chapter 4.
Removing the barbarian rust, II:
David of Scotland.

We turn now to Margaret's son, David, who was King of Scotland from 1124. In his *Vita Ailredi*, written in the late 1160s, Walter Daniel stated that Aelred of Rievaulx 'uitam Dauid Regis Scocie sub specie lamentandi edidit cui genealogiam Regis Anglie Henrici iunioris uno libro comprehendens adiunxit'.¹ Subsequent manuscript transmission and modern editions and studies have been uncertain whether to treat what Aelred allegedly wrote as two works, but circulated as one, as a single whole or as two separate texts. A modern critical edition is badly needed, as is a study of medieval transmission. According to Hoste, the genealogy is extant in nineteen manuscripts.² He is less clear, however, on the transmission of the *vita/lament*, citing just four manuscripts.³ In the fourteenth century, John of Fordun incorporated the *vita/lament* into his *Chronica gentis Scotorum*.⁴ Twysden published a drastically abridged edition of the two texts together, allegedly based on two manuscripts.⁵ Although the resultant text of the genealogy is similar to extant manuscripts, Twysden's *vita/lament* bears little resemblance to any known manuscript version.⁶ Regrettably, Migne used Twysden's edition for the *Patrologia Latina* edition.⁷ The full version of the *vita/lament*, as known in extant manuscripts,⁸ was

¹ Walter Daniel, *Vita Ailredi*, p. 41 ['published a life of David, King of Scotland, in the form of a lamentation, and added to it a genealogy of the King of England, the younger Henry, uniting them in one book']. On the dating of the *Vita Ailredi*, see pp. xxxiv and n. 1, p. 41.

² A. Hoste, *Bibliotheca Aelrediana: A survey of the manuscripts, old catalogues, editions and studies concerning St. Aelred of Rievaulx*, Instrumenta Patristica 2 (Steenbrugge, 1962), pp. 111-12.

³ Hoste, *Bibliotheca Aelrediana*, pp. 113-14. Marsha L. Dutton's current research, however, suggests that the *vita/lament* exists in far more manuscripts than Hoste identified. I am most grateful to Professor Dutton for generously sharing her thoughts on this and many other aspects of Aelred's works.

⁴ On John of Fordun, see S. Boardman, 'Late Medieval Scotland and the Matter of Britain', in E.J. Cowan and R.J. Finlay (eds.), *Scottish History: The power of the past* (Edinburgh, 2002), pp. 47-72. I am very grateful to Steve Boardman for allowing me to see a copy of this prior to publication.

⁵ R. Twysden, *Historiae Anglicanae Decem Scriptores* (London, 1652).

⁶ Marsha Dutton, personal communication.

⁷ PL 195: 711-38, the abridged version of the *vita/lament* is at cc. 713-16.

⁸ Marsha Dutton, personal communication. See also M.L. Dutton, 'Ælred of Rievaulx on friendship, chastity, and sex: The sources', *Cistercian Studies Quarterly* 29 (1994): 121-196, at p. 124, n. 11, where she notes that it is Pinkerton's version which is in 'all manuscripts containing the *Genealogy* that [...she has] examined in the British and Bodleian libraries'.

published by Pinkerton, under the title of *Eulogium Davidis regis Scotorum*.⁹ In conclusion, then, as yet there is no single edition of the *vita*/lament and genealogy, which has meant that regrettably few scholars have examined both texts as they appear in the manuscripts.

Instead, modern scholarship has tended to continue this separation of the works.¹⁰ Thus, for example, Aelred Squire stated that ‘they do not in fact make a literary unity. ...Indeed the imaginative and didactic purpose behind them is the only real link between the two parts. The whole work is evidently meant to be a “mirror for kings”’.¹¹ I suggest, however, that that overall didactic purpose is sufficient to warrant considering both works: as Aelred himself apparently saw fit to disseminate the works as one, it seems logical to study them together.¹²

In those manuscripts where both works are included, the *Eulogium* stands as the first chapter of *Genealogia regum Anglorum*, addressed to Henry Plantagenet. Powicke dated completion of this work to between 24 May 1153 and 25 October 1154, that is, between David’s death and that of Stephen, from which point Henry would have been referred to as Henry II.¹³

Why did Aelred decide to circulate the two texts together? It does indeed seem to be the case that they were originally written separately, as David’s qualities in the *Genealogia* are rather different than those in the *Eulogium*. This chapter will initially treat of the works separately, in a bid to identify their respective depictions of pious kingship. Medieval manuscripts consistently contain the *Eulogium* before the *Genealogia*, therefore we turn first to the *Eulogium*, after a brief consideration of Aelred’s prefatory letter.

⁹ ‘*Eulogium Davidis regis Scotorum*’, in Pinkerton, *Lives of the Scottish Saints*, 2: 269-85.

¹⁰ Most recently, see Freeman, *Narratives*, pp. 58-9.

¹¹ A. Squire, *Aelred of Rievaulx: A study* (London, 1969; 1981 edn.), p. 88.

¹² In the absence of a single edition, the following study will cite the *vita*/lament from Metcalfe’s edition of Pinkerton’s text, as *Eulogium*, and Aelred’s prefatory letter to Henry and the *Genealogia* will be cited from PL. References to the works as a whole will be made as *Genealogia regum Anglorum*.

¹³ Powicke, *Vita Ailredi*, pp. xci-xcii, referring to the *Incipit*, PL 195: 711.

4.i *Epistola ad illustrem Ducem H.: pietatis illius haeredem.*¹⁴

The letter with which Aelred prefaced the *Eulogium* opens with a typically Cistercian exposition of the soul's natural inclination towards virtue.¹⁵ The practical application of this for Henry was that one who consciously strives towards good morals will consequently win the favour of others – an understandably attractive prospect to a king-in-waiting.¹⁶ Aelred praised Henry's temporal rulership, attributing to him 'in tali aetate tanta sapientia, in tantis deliciis tanta continentia, in tantis negotiis tanta providentia, in tali sublimitate talis severitas, in tali severitate talis benignitas'.¹⁷ Thus far Henry had avoided the potential pitfalls of achieving temporal power,¹⁸ but Aelred urged him to ensure that he had that power in proper Christian perspective: 'Hoc tantum superest, ut Jesum Christum horum munerum largitorem agnoscas et exoptes conservatorem'.¹⁹ Aelred suggested that Henry had achieved his capacity for such virtues via a dual transmission, namely via blood and knighthood:

Ego ... considerans de quorum progenie originem duxeris, gratias [ago] Domino Deo meo quod pro talibus talis nobis filius, quasi novus quidam splendor, illuxit, in quo cum omnium antecessorum virtutes convenerint, maxime tamen in te spiritum Christianissimi regis David gaudeo quievisse; unde divina providentia actum existimo, ut illius mundissimae

¹⁴ PL 195: 713 ['the heir of his [David's] piety'].

¹⁵ PL 195: 712: 'Nam et vitium quasi semetipsum ob innatam sibi turpitudinem erubescens, semper latebras quaerit et optat secretum: cum econtra virtus suae sibi pulchritudinis et honestatis conscia ad omnem tripudiet et exsultet aspectum, ob solam humilitatem publicum fugiens et humanum testimonium horrens' ['Just as virtue is according to nature, vice is against nature, so that even a vicious man praises and approves virtue, and not even a vicious man would excuse vice, if he follows the reason of human judgment. And now vice, as if blushing on account of its innate foulness, always searches for a hiding-place and chooses secrecy; whereas in contrast, virtue, conscious of its beauty and honesty, dances and exults at every site, fleeing the public on account of humility alone and abhorring human testimony']. See Freeman, *Narratives*, p. 63.

¹⁶ PL 195: 712-13: 'Quoniam igitur animae rationali naturaliter inest amor virtutum, odium vitiorum, quicumque bonis moribus virtutisque studuerit, facile sibi omnium illicit et inclinatur affectum' ['Since, therefore, love of virtue and hatred of vices naturally enter into the rational soul, whoever applies himself to good morals and virtues, unquestionably entices and inclines the good feeling of all to himself'].

¹⁷ PL 195: 713 ['such wisdom in so great a state, so much continence amongst such delights, such foresight in matters so great, such gravity at so great an elevation, such benignity in such gravity'].

¹⁸ PL 195: 713: 'Quis enim non obstupeat juvenem pro regno certantem abstinere rapinis, caedibus parcere, cavere incendia, nullum gravamen inferre pauperibus, pacem et reverentiam ecclesiis et sacerdotibus conservare?' ['Who would not be amazed that a young man struggling for a kingdom should abstain from robberies, refrain from murders, be wary of arson, cause no injury to the poor, and conserve peace and reverence to the churches and the priests?'].

¹⁹ PL 195: 713 ['Only one thing remains, that you should recognize Jesus Christ as the dispenser of these rewards, and you should desire him as your preserver'].

manus balteo te cinxerunt militari, per quas Christi gratia virtutem tibi castitatis illius, humilitatis et pietatis infunderet.²⁰

In her exploration of inherited virtue in Aelred's *Genealogia*, Marie Anne Mayeski noted, of Henry's inheritance: 'it is the capacity, the predisposition, to enrich himself, to gain military victories, to abound in virtues, and to shine with piety and justice that Henry has received. To act upon this predisposition is both Henry's glory and his responsibility'.²¹ As if this were not powerful enough in itself, Henry was also David's heir in chivalric terms. In 1149, David had dubbed Henry a knight, an act which in itself created a special relationship, and which Aelred further glosses as transmitting David's spiritual qualities of chastity, humility and piety, so that Henry is 'pietatis illius haeredem'.²² Finally, that David was to be an example to Henry is underlined: 'cum laudabilem ejus vitam et pretiosam legeris mortem, illam imiteris ut ista consequi merearis'.²³ The *incipit*, therefore, established Henry's position as heir to the virtues of David and his ancestors, and promised to set down a template for Henry to follow himself. What, then, was *laudabilis* about David's life, and *pretiosus* about his death? More importantly, what can this tell us about his potential for piety or sanctity?

4.ii *Eulogium: virum tam necessarium mundo, rebus humanis exemptum.*²⁴

Squire placed Aelred's lament for David, his erstwhile patron and mentor, firmly in the tradition of laments which stretched back, through Ambrose on his brother Satyrus, to those of David for Saul and Jonathan, of Jeremiah for Jerusalem.²⁵ More recent examples included Aelred's lament for his friend Simon

²⁰ PL 195: 713 ['contemplating the lineage from which you have drawn your origin, I give thanks to my Lord God, thank God that there has shone forth, like some bright new light, such a son for such as us – <a son> in whom not only have the virtues of forebears come together, but particularly I rejoice that in you the spirit of that most Christian king David has come to rest; from which I consider that it has come to pass, by divine providence, that his most pure hands girded you with a knightly belt through which the grace of Christ might impart to you the power of his [ie David's] chastity, humility and piety'].

²¹ Mayeski, 'Secundum naturam', p. 226.

²² PL 195: 713 ['the heir of his [David's] piety'].

²³ PL 195: 713 ['when you read of his praiseworthy life and valuable death, may you imitate the former that you may deserve the latter'].

²⁴ *Eulogium*, p. 269 ['a man so necessary to the world, has been removed from human affairs'].

²⁵ Squire, *Aelred*, pp. 82-3; *idem*, 'Aelred and King David', *Collectanea ordinis Cisterciensium Reformatorem* 22 (1960): 356-77, p. 360.

and Bernard of Clairvaux's for his brother Gerard.²⁶ Squire summarized the form thus: 'first the *exordium*, then an *encomium* and lament with its development of *τόποι* dealing with the manner of life, moral qualities and achievements of the subject, and in conclusion an exhortation and prayer'.²⁷ 'Such a scheme', stated Squire, 'carefully and systematically worked out, is exactly what we find in Aelred's lament for King David'.²⁸ I suggest, however, that the *Eulogium* is far more interesting than this might imply, because it does not in fact strictly confirm to these conventions. Significantly, neither Bernard's lament for Gerard nor Aelred's for Simon includes moral flaws.²⁹ David, however, is flawed, and it is here that we may attempt to identify the pitfalls which might preclude a pious ruler from sanctity.

The first words of the *Eulogium* itself establish David as pious: 'Religiosus et pius Rex David'.³⁰ He is not, however, explicitly saintly, here or at any point in the text. On the contrary, although 'licet dignum tali animae locum invenerit',³¹ at the end of the *Eulogium* Aelred calls on the saints and angels to receive David's soul: 'Subvenite, Sancti Dei! occurrere angeli Domini! suscipite animam vestro dignam consortio: collocate eam in sinu Abrahæ, cum Lazaro'.³² The reference to Luke 16:19-26 and the respective postmortem fates of the rich man and Lazarus implies that Aelred did not believe that David's soul had automatically joined the ranks of the saints, and indeed was not even necessarily yet in what Le Goff termed 'the waiting place of saved souls', namely the bosom

²⁶ Aelred, *Speculum caritatis*, PL195: 539-46 [trans. E. Connor, *The Mirror of Charity*, Cistercian Fathers 17 (Kalamazoo, 1990), pp. 147-59]; Bernard of Clairvaux, *Sermones super cantica canticorum*, sermon 26, [trans. K. Walsh, *On the Song of Songs*, Cistercian Fathers 7, 4 vols., 2: 58-73].

²⁷ Squire, 'Aelred and King David', p. 360.

²⁸ Squire, 'Aelred and King David', p. 360. It does also seem to be the case, as pointed out by Squire, that the virtues attributed by Aelred to David echo the treatment of Moses in the book of *Ecclesiasticus*: Squire, *Aelred*, p. 83; cf Eccles. 45 and *Eulogium*, p. 270: 'Cui satis congruit quod lectum est: Dilectus a Deo, et hominibus, cujus memoria in benedictione est' ['That which is read is fitting enough: Beloved of God, and of men, whose memory is blessed'].

²⁹ Squire did note this apparent anomaly, but inferred that this renders the *Eulogium* a trustworthy source as to What Really Happened, Squire, 'Aelred and King David', p. 362: 'When we add ... the admission of a frank criticism of the king's conduct of Anglo-Scottish relations, it must be said that the lament for David strikes one as a serious and genuine estimate of his life and character, written with the words that came easiest to mind, and within a dignified and accepted convention'.

³⁰ *Eulogium*, p. 269.

³¹ *Eulogium*, p. 269 ['he has found a place for his soul worthy of such a man'].

³² *Eulogium*, p. 284 ['Relieve him, saints of God! meet him, angels of the Lord! receive his worthy soul in your fellowship, establish it in the bosom of Abraham with Lazarus'].

of Abraham.³³ This is markedly different to, for example, Aelred's description of the fate of Edward's soul: 'puram relinquens purus spiritus carnem auctori spirituum in æternum victurus conjungitur; cui cæli cives obviant, cui claviger æthereus cæli reserat, cui verax sui exsecutor promissi discipulus ille quem amavit Jesus Joannes occurrit, cum quo virgine virgo sequetur Agnum quoconque ierit!'.³⁴ Here again, we have the distinction between those who were to be prayed for and those who were to be prayed to.³⁵ In the *Eulogium*, Aelred placed David in the former category.

David's kingship was hands-on – 'quis ... non lugeat virum tam necessarium mundo, rebus humanis exemptum'³⁶ – and much of the *Eulogium* outlines how David was useful, and to whom. Essentially, he was all things to all men, to be mourned by all,³⁷ but the first group to be mentioned specifically are priests: 'Inter vestibulum et altare plorate, sacerdotes Domini, ministri Dei nostri, quum recessit a vobis qui consolabatur vos; qui vestiebat vos duplicibus; qui ditabat muneribus; qui honoribus sublimabat'.³⁸ Here we have a dual message, which recurs throughout the *Eulogium* and, as we will see, the *Genealogia*: be useful as a king, and suitably generous and deferential towards men of the church. The first chapter concludes with a summary of the description to come in the subsequent chapters: 'qui eum amisimus virum qui non sibi vivebat, sed omnibus; omnium curam agens, omnium saluti prospiciens; rector morum, censor scelerum, virtutum incentor; cujus vita humilitatis fuit forma, justitiæ speculum, castitatis

³³ J. Le Goff, *The Birth of Purgatory* (originally publ. *La naissance du Purgatoire*, 1981; trans. A. Goldhammer, Chicago, 1984, 1986 edn. cited here), p. 43; see also Le Goff's discussion of medieval treatments of this reference at pp. 47, 67-8, 157-8, 206.

³⁴ Aelred, *Vita S. Edwardi*, c. 775 ['His pure spirit left his virginal body and was wedded to the Creator of Spirits in eternal life. The citizens of heaven came to meet him; the keybearer of the sky opened heaven; John, the disciple whom Jesus loved, ran to meet him ...; and with that virgin, our virgin follows the Lamb wherever he goes!'] Aelred, *Life*, p. 94]. As Ridyard pointed out, being led to heaven by angels is a common topos of hagiography, but is not exclusive to saints, S.J. Ridyard, 'Monk-kings and the Anglo-Saxon hagiographic tradition', *Haskins Society Journal* 6 (1994): 13-27, p. 15.

³⁵ C.f. pp. 8-9 and 105 *supra*.

³⁶ *Eulogium*, p. 269 ['who would not mourn that a man so necessary to the world, has been removed from human affairs'].

³⁷ *Eulogium*, p. 269: 'Juvenes et virgines, senes cum junioribus, induite vos ciliciis, et aspergite cinere' ['Young men and women, old and young, don your hair shirts, and sprinkle ashes'].

³⁸ *Eulogium*, p. 269 ['Lament at the vestibule and the altar, priests of the Lord, ministers of our God, for he has departed from you, he who used to console you, who clothed you in doublets, who enriched you with rewards, who exalted you with honours'].

exemplar'.³⁹ As discussed with regard to the *Vita Margaretae*, teaching *verbo et exemplo* was a feature of Gregorian pastoral care, and here David is described in such terms: he was a guide, censor, and incitor, but his life itself was also a didactic tool.

These qualities are reiterated at the opening of the next chapter⁴⁰ before Aelred marvelled at how such virtues were still worthier in a king, whose very position creates dangerous opportunities to fall away from virtue:⁴¹ 'Potuit ... transgredi et non est transgressus'.⁴² Instead, David's head was not turned by the trappings of power and royal authority,⁴³ and again we are told of his humility to all people, of his deference to priests.⁴⁴ The following chapter outlines how, like his mother in Turgot's account, David tamed and civilized the Scottish people, and shows him exercising Solomonic kingship. Margaret had tamed them by word and example, by educating them and by introducing modern and prestigious luxury goods. David's civilizing process was grounded in humility, justice and gentleness:

Sublimatus vero in regem, nichil superbum in moribus, nihil in verbis crudele, nihil inhonestum praeferebat in factis, unde tota illa gentis illius barbaries mansuefacta tanta se mox regi benevolentia et humilitate substravit, ut naturalis oblita saevitiae, legibus quas regia mansuetudo

³⁹ *Eulogium*, p. 269 ['we have lost a man who lived not for himself but for all; tending the cure of all, providing for the well-being of all; guide of morals, censor of sins, incitor of virtues; whose life was a model of humility, a mirror of justice, an exemplar of chastity'].

⁴⁰ *Eulogium*, p. 270: 'Rex enim iste mansuetus, rex justus, rex castus, rex humilis, quis facile dixerit, quid utilitatis humanae vitae contulerit; quem mansuetudo amabilem, justitia terribilem, castitas compositum, humilitas communem fecerat?' ['For that gentle king, righteous king, chaste king, humble king, who could easily say what usefulness he - made loveable by gentleness, made terrible by justice, made composed by chastity, made affable by humility - conferred on human life?'].

⁴¹ *Eulogium*, p. 270: 'Quae omnia si in privato quolibet laude dignissima judicantur, quanto magis in rege cui potestas dat licere quodlibet; cujus vitiis facile favent inferiores, proni ad imitandum, prompti ad adulandum, cum et impunitas praestet audaciam, libido vero acuat et accendat luxuriam?' ['All of these things, if they are considered most worthy in a private man, how much more so in a king, to whom power gives anything to be lawful; whose inferiors easily favour his vices, are inclined to imitate him, ready to flatter him, and as impunity may provide audacity, so desire may sharpen and incite extravagance?'].

⁴² *Eulogium*, p. 270 ['He could ... have transgressed, and he did not transgress'].

⁴³ *Eulogium*, p. 270: 'te in auro pauperem, in throno humilem, in armis mitem, castum in deliciis, exhibebas' ['You showed yourself poor amidst gold, humble on the throne, mild in arms, chaste amidst delights'].

⁴⁴ *Eulogium*, p. 270: 'te modestum plebi, equalem militibus, inferiorem sacerdotibus, ostendebas' ['You who were modest to the people, behaved as an equal to knights, lowly to priests'].

dictabat colla submitteret, et pacem quam eatenus nesciebat gratanter exciperet.⁴⁵

His justice was balanced by a natural inclination towards gentleness.⁴⁶ This balance of leniency and harshness fits Nelson's two-way stretch characterisation of Solomonic kingship (and will be encountered again in the *Genealogia*'s picture of Edmund Ironside): 'Præcellit his, ut mihi videtur, quod talem servabat modum in utroque, ut in severitate justitiæ ab omnibus amaretur, et in lenitate misericordiæ ab omnibus timeretur; quamvis optaverit semper magis amari quam timeri'.⁴⁷ It was this effective balance that allowed David to bring peace to his realm, uniting disparate factions:

Unde non immerito velut mansuetus hereditabat terram, quantum nullus antecessorum illius possederat; et delectabatur in multitudine pacis, quam inter barbaras gentes, et diversitate linguarum et morum sibi contrarias, et propter mutuas mortes et vulnera sibi inimicissimas, tanta cautione composuit, tanta auctoritate servavit, ut inter cognatas gentes, ejusdemque generis et linguæ, homines tale fedes⁴⁸ tanto tempore vix aliquando viderimus custodiri.⁴⁹

⁴⁵ *Eulogium*, p. 271 ['Having been raised to king, he displayed no arrogance in manners, no cruelty in words, nothing dishonourable in deeds; and so, all the barbarity of that people, having been made gentle, was soon won into the king's service by his benevolence and humility, so that forgetting its innate ferocity, submitted itself to the laws which royal gentleness dictated, and gladly welcomed that peace which it had hitherto not known'].

⁴⁶ *Eulogium*, p. 271: 'Nec mansuetudo illa remissa videbatur aut segnis; cum in puniendis iniquis et justitiæ per omnia cederet, ne videretur gladium sine causa portare; et mansuetudinem in corde teneret, ne videretur non exercere judicium, sed suæ potius impatientiæ satisfacere. Credo eum nunquam sine magna cordis contritione, etiam in eos qui prodicionis ipsius rei fuerant, exercuisse vindictam. Vidimus eum sæpe in pænis latronum, vel proditorum, pectus tundere, lacrimas fundere, ut manifestum faceret se in reis puniendis, ut ministrum legum, obedire justitiæ, non sævitiam exercere' ['he held gentleness in [his] heart, lest he should be seen as not exercising justice, but acting to satisfy his impulses. I believe that he never exercised punishment without great contrition of heart, even on those who had betrayed him. We often saw him beat his breast, or pour forth tears, over the punishment of robbers or traitors, proving that in punitive matters he acted not out of harshness, but to obey justice and administer the law'].

⁴⁷ *Eulogium*, p. 271 ['he served such measure in both, that he was loved by all in the harshness of [his] justice and was feared by all in the leniency of [his] mercy; however much he may have preferred to be always loved than feared']. C.f. p. 126 *supra*.

⁴⁸ Pinkerton has *fædes* here, but *fedes* seems more likely.

⁴⁹ *Eulogium*, p. 271 ['Whence, not undeservedly, as a gentle man, he inherited the earth, so much as none of his ancestors had possessed; and he delighted in the multitude of the peace, which he united with great caution amongst barbaric races, and amongst a diversity of tongues and manners contrary to each other, and most hostile to each other on account of deaths and wounds, he preserved such a compact of peacefulness with such great authority such as we have hardly seen kept for so great a time even among those who are related by race and language'].

David had peacefully united disparate races and linguistic cultures through effective Solomonic kingship.⁵⁰ The advantages of emulating such kingship would have been apparent to Henry: Aelred had made his point eloquently.

The following chapter reiterates that David seemed ‘non immerito dilectus a Deo, et hominibus’,⁵¹ before moving to David’s generous patronage of the church, monasticism, and the poor. This is also part of his civilizing policy: just as Margaret had presided over church reform, so David brought Scotland in from the margins by introducing the most modish of monastic orders.⁵² His patronage is glossed, however, as suitably deferential to *clerici*, and both patronage and deference are intrinsically linked with the standard kingly protection of *pauperes*:

Scio ... lugent mecum sacerdotes et clerici, quos venerabatur ut patres; lugent sancti moniales et monachi, quos amplectebatur ut fratres; lugent milites, quorum se dominum nesciebat, sed socium; lugent viduæ, quas tuebatur; orphani quos consolabatur; pauperes quos sustentabat; miseri quos fovebat. Erat enim moerentium consolator; pater orphanorum; et vindex viduarum.⁵³

This protection of widows is expanded upon, thus bringing David’s kingship back to diligent enactment of justice.⁵⁴ Deference, humility and mildness notwithstanding, David was no pushover when it came to enforcing the law: ‘Nam saepe litigabant cum illo, et ipse cum illis, cum ipse nollet contra justitiam personam pauperis accipere, et ipsi nollent rationi quod ostendebat acquiescere’.⁵⁵ His justice is therefore perfectly in keeping with that advocated in Gregory’s

⁵⁰ See also Edgar in the *Genealogia*, p. 179, n. 135, *infra*.

⁵¹ *Eulogium*, p. 272 [‘not unjustly beloved by God and by men’].

⁵² On the historical David’s monastic patronage, see C.N.L. Brooke, ‘King David I of Scotland as a connoisseur of the religious orders’, in C.E. Viola (ed.), *Mediaevalia Christiana: XIe-XIIIe siècles: hommage à Raymonde Foreville de ses amis, ses collègues et ses anciens élèves* (Paris, 1989), pp. 320-34. On his patronage as an extension of Margaret’s, to the extent that Barrow has described the practice as ‘a family enterprise’, Barrow, ‘The royal house and the religious orders’, p. 165; c.f. *idem*, ‘Benedictines, Tironensians and Cistercians’; Green, ‘David I and Henry I’, pp. 6-7.

⁵³ *Eulogium*, pp. 272-3 [‘For I know that with me weep priests and clerics, whom he venerated as fathers; nuns and monks, whom he embraced as brothers weep; knights, to whom he held himself not as a lord, but as a companion, weep; widows, whom he protected, weep; orphans whom he consoled; paupers whom he supported; wretched people whom he cherished. For he was a consoler of mourners; a father of orphans; and a protector of widows’].

⁵⁴ *Eulogium*, p. 273.

⁵⁵ *Eulogium*, p. 273 [‘They often quarrelled with him, and he with them, since he was unwilling to take the part of a pauper if it were contrary to justice, and they themselves might be unwilling to acquiesce to the reason which he was showing’].

Regula pastoralis: firm and impartial, and provides a marked contrast to the affable but not sufficiently severe Stephen de Blois. David's moderation of temperament similarly sits at ease with Gregory's model: he is affable and moderates himself according to his audience.⁵⁶ That this chapter is concerned with rulership influenced by the Gregorian model is corroborated by its conclusion, which has David teaching by word and example:

et sic omnes jucundos et aedificatos dimitteret. Ita enim populum illum, rudem et agrestem, ad mores compositos et edomitos illicere satagebat, ut non solum de magnis regni sui causis, verum de minimis quibusque, ut puta de hortis, de aedificiis, de pomariis, curam gereret, ut eos similia suo exemplo provocaret.⁵⁷

Aelred praised David's chastity but did not deem it necessary to attempt to create quasi-virginity for him.⁵⁸ Instead, it sufficed for David to be faithful to his wife, whatever experience he may have had before his marriage:

Sane castitatem in eo laudare, non est necesse; cum primo initum semel matrimonium, fidem thori uni servaverit, adeo ut non solum non cognosceret aliam, sed nec unquam indecenter aspiceret; sicut carne, ita et mente, manu, motu, gestu, oculis, ac sermone, pudicus.⁵⁹

Such was his chastity, that even though he survived his wife by many years, he was not troubled by so much as a nocturnal emission ['nunquam ... in somnis carnalis contagionis pateretur injuriam'].⁶⁰

⁵⁶ *Eulogium*, p. 273: 'Denique si contingeret ut sacerdos, vel miles, vel monachus, vel dives vel pauper, vel civis vel peregrinus, vel negotiator vel rusticus cum eo haberet sermonem, ita cum singulis de suis negotiis et officiis convenienter et humiliter disserebat, ut singulus quisque sua eum tantum curare putaret' ['In brief, whether priest, or knight, or monk, whether rich or poor, whether citizen or pilgrim, whether merchant or rustic, might happen to converse with him, he would appropriately and humbly discuss with each his business and duties, that each and every one might think that he [ie the king] attended him only'].

⁵⁷ *Eulogium*, pp. 273-4 ['and thus everyone he sent away was delighted and edified. And thus he strove to draw that people, rude and rustic, to composed and tame *mores*, as he sustained the care of not only the great causes of his realm, but also the smallest, as, for example, of gardens, of buildings, of orchards, so that he might call others to follow his example'].

⁵⁸ On the implications of creating virginity for a king, see K.J. Lewis, 'Becoming a virgin king: Richard II and Edward the Confessor', in Riches and Salih (eds.), *Gender and Holiness*, pp. 86-100.

⁵⁹ *Eulogium*, p. 274 ['Clearly there is no need to praise chastity in him; once he had entered upon marriage he remained faithful to the one bed; to such an extent that not only did he not know another woman; but also that he never looked at one improperly; just as he was modest in body so also was he modest in mind, hand, movement, gesture, eyes, and speech']. C.f. William of Malmesbury's comments, p. 93, n. 2, *supra*.

⁶⁰ *Eulogium*, p. 274. On the spiritual implications of nocturnal emissions, see C. Leyser, 'Masculinity in flux: Nocturnal emission and the limits of celibacy in the early middle ages', in Hadley (ed.) *Masculinity in Medieval Europe*, pp. 103-20; J. Murray, 'Men's bodies, men's minds:

It is at this point, however, that we learn of David's spiritual Achilles' heel, which Aelred claimed to record in spite of his disinclination, 'Cum non solum bonorum virorum sit laudanda iustitia; verum etiam, si forte deliquerint, poenitentia praedicanda'.⁶¹ After mentioning two Old Testament models of sinners who repented,⁶² Aelred turned to the ultimate Old Testament model of repentance, David: 'David sanctus pro spiritalium gratiarum innumera munera, quasi divinae bonitatis oblitus, primum servi sui fidelis adulteravit uxorem; quem deinde mira prodicione peremit. Fateor peccavit, et noster David'.⁶³ David of Scotland's sin, however, was not, according to Aelred, borne of proactive sinning on his own part. Instead,

Peccavit non seipsum aliquo foedando scelere, sed alienae crudelitati vires plusquam oportuit ministrando. Nam post mortem regis Henrici, cum exercitum egisset in Angliam, gens illa effera, et Anglis inimicissima, supra humanum morem saevientes in ecclesiam, in sacerdotes, in utrumque sexum, in omnem aetatem, crudelia exercuere iudicia. Quae omnia, licet eo nolente, immo etiam prohibente, facta sunt quia tamen poterat eos non duxisse, poterat eos semel expertos non reduxisse, poterat fortasse eos plus cohibuisse, et ipsum cum lacrimis peccasse confitemur.⁶⁴

Seminal emissions and sexual anxiety in the middle ages', *Annual Review of Sex Research* 8 (1997): 1-26; D. Elliott, 'Pollution, illusion and masculine disarray: nocturnal emissions and sexual anxiety in the middle ages', *eadem, Fallen Bodies: Pollution, sexuality and demonology in the middle ages* (Philadelphia, 1999), pp. 14-34; J. Murray, "'The law of sin that is in my members': The problem of male embodiment", in Riches and Salih (eds.), *Gender and Holiness*, pp. 9-22, p. 13. C.f. p. 229, *infra*.

⁶¹ *Eulogium*, p. 274 ['Since it is just not only to praise the good of men, but also, if by chance they have done wrong, to make repentance known'].

⁶² *Eulogium*, pp. 274-5: 'Legimus Aaron, primum sub lege pontificem, populo idolum sibi fieri postulanti praeuisse consensum. Moyses ipse, ad aquas contradictionis, pronunciatum coelesti sententia deliquisse. Mariam prophetissam, ob murmur in Moysen lepra fuisse percussam, scriptura testatur' ['We read that Aaron, the first bishop under law, offered consent to the people, who had asked for an idol to be made for them. Moses himself was pronounced by celestial sentence to have erred at the waters of strife. It is attested in scripture that the prophetess Miriam was struck with leprosy on account of murmuring against Moses'].

⁶³ *Eulogium*, p. 275 ['David, holy on account of innumerable signs of spiritual grace, as if having forgotten divine goodness, first committed adultery with the wife of his faithful servant; whom he then killed in astonishing betrayal. I admit that he sinned, and so did our David'].

⁶⁴ *Eulogium*, p. 275 ['He sinned, not in defiling himself with any crime, but in giving more power than he should have to the cruelty of others. For after the death of King Henry, when he had led an army into England, that savage people, utterly inimical to the English, raging beyond human custom against the church, against priests, against both sexes, against all ages, exercised their cruel judgments. All these things happened although he did not wish them, but even forbade them: because however he could have not led them, could, when he had once put them to the test, have not led them again, could, perhaps, have restrained them more, <we say>, with tears. <that> he too sinned.'].]

David's 1138 military foray into England, which culminated in the Battle of the Standard, was seen as unnecessarily brutal. Richard of Hexham, for example, was appalled at the barbaric behaviour of David's men, and saw the way in which his men were hunted down and killed after their defeat in the Battle of the Standard as divine judgment for their earlier behaviour.⁶⁵ Twelfth-century commentators were far from unanimous on David's military activity. Henry of Huntingdon, for example, described David as dissembling, impious and cowardly and even made him the progenitor of his army's barbarous behaviour.⁶⁶

The Anglo-Scottish border was far from fixed at this period, and David arguably had a legitimate claim on the region.⁶⁷ His military foray of 1138, however, is relevant to us here for two reasons. First, in the context of the *Genealogia regum Anglorum* as a whole, it provided a salutary warning with regard to military action. Whereas, as we will see, military violence is important in the construction of several of the kings detailed in the *Genealogia*, it had to be pursued appropriately and for the correct reasons. Second, it provided Aelred with an opportunity to extol the virtue of sincere penitence: 'Excusent eum alii. ... Ego autem sciens quia bonum est confiteri tibi, elegi rogare, non excusare; misericordiam petens, non praesumens de iudicio. ... Maluit enim ipse se accusare, quam excusare, maluit pectus tundere, quam exerere'.⁶⁸

⁶⁵ Richard of Hexham, *De Gestis Regis Stephani*, in *Chronicles of the Reigns of Stephen, Henry II and Richard I*, ed. R. Howlett, RS 82, 4 vols., 3: 139-78, pp. 151-64 [trans. Stevenson, *Church Historians*, 4.i: 33-58, pp. 42-50].

⁶⁶ Henry of Huntingdon, *Historia Anglorum*, pp. 710-11: 'Rex ... Scotorum, quia sacramentum fecerat filie regis Henrici, quasi sub uelamento sanctitatis, per suos execrabiliter egit. ... Rex ... Stephenus insurgens combussit et destruxit australes partes regni regis Daud, ipso quidem Daud non audente ei congređi' ['the king of Scots, under cover of piety, on account of the oath he had sworn to King Henry's daughter, commanded his men in barbarous deeds. ... [as a result of the atrocities,] King Stephen invaded, burned, and laid waste the southern areas of King David's kingdom, but David himself did not dare to come to fight him']. Aelred sought to answer this criticism in his *Relatio de Standardo*, written 1155 X 1157, see A. Glidden, 'Aelred the historian: The Account of the Battle of the Standard', in J.R. Sommerfeldt (ed.), *Erudition at God's Service*, Studies in Medieval Cistercian History, 11 (Kalamazoo, 1987), pp. 175-84.

⁶⁷ See, *inter alia*, K. Stringer, 'King David I (1124-53): the Scottish occupation of Northern England', *Medieval History* 4 (1994): 51-61; Green, 'Anglo-Scottish relations'; *eadem*, 'David I and Henry I', pp. 3-4; G.W.S. Barrow, 'King David I, Earl Henry and Cumbria', *Transactions of the Cumberland & Westmorland Antiquarian & Archaeological Society* 99 (1999): 117-27; Bartlett, *England under the Norman and Angevin Kings*, pp. 77-85; G.W.S. Barrow, 'The Scots and the north of England' in King (ed.), *Anarchy of King Stephen's Reign*, pp. 231-53.

⁶⁸ *Eulogium*, p. 275 ['May others excuse him. ... I, however, knowing that it is good to confess to you, chose to pray, not to excuse; seeking mercy, not presuming on judgement. ... For he himself chose to accuse, rather than to excuse himself, he chose to beat his breast rather than to thrust it out'].

Notwithstanding, David was not able to renounce his realm.⁶⁹ Instead, Aelred approvingly described him atoning for his sin by subjecting himself entirely to the counsel of religious men: ‘Corpore igitur, non mente, aut voluntate, detentus omnino religiosorum virorum se commisit consilio; et de praeclara Militia Templi Jerosolimitani optimos Fratres secum retinens, eos diebus et noctibus morum suorum fecit esse custodes’.⁷⁰ This subjection to clerical counsel is one of the main leitmotifs of the *Eulogium* and, as we will see, the *Genealogia*, and enabled David to redeem himself: ‘Haec sunt quae me consolantur in dolore meo Jesu bone! non ut dicam non peccavit; sed quod poenituit, quod flevit, quod confessus est’.⁷¹ God punished David, first with the trouble stirred up in the realm by a fraudster, and second, by the untimely death of his son and heir.⁷² Thus spiritually cleansed, David acted only according to the counsel of religious men, paid even more alms, confessed weekly, and awaited his death.

In the final year of his life, David lived a quasi-monastic existence, albeit still in the world: ‘inveni fateor in Rege monachum; claustrum in curia; in palatio monasterii disciplinam. Certis namque horis divinis vacabat officiis, et psalmis et orationibus intendebat; certum itidem tempus pauperum obsequiis deputabat’.⁷³

David’s activities are given in some detail:

Et ut nihil illis ad vitam honestam deesset, etiam hora convenienti honesto alicui operi; id est herbis plantandis, vel surculis a sua radice excisis alieno trunco inserendis, operam dabat. Hora demum legitima sumpto cibo, cum fratribus religiosis, et paucis viris honestioribus, religioso quodam otio

⁶⁹ *Eulogium*, pp. 275-6: ‘Scimus etiam eum ita hoc exhorruisse peccatum, et ad summa virtutum studia aspirasse, ut abrenunciasset regno, sceptrum deposuisset; et in locis Dominicae passionis et resurrectionis, ad spiritalem se militiam contulisset; nisi eum sacerdotum et abbatum consilia, lacrimae pauperum, viduarum gemitus, plebis desolatio, et totius regni sui clamor et ejulatus, revocasset’ [‘We know that he so dreaded this sin, and aspired to the most zealous strivings towards virtues, that he would have renounced the realm and put down the sceptre; and have removed himself to the spiritual militia in the place of the passion and resurrection of the Lord, had he not been recalled by the counsel of priests and abbots, the tears of paupers, the groans of widows, the desolation of the people, and the clamour and lamentation of his whole realm’].

⁷⁰ *Eulogium*, p. 276 [‘Detained, therefore in the body, but not in the mind or will, he committed himself entirely to the counsel of religious men; and retaining with him the best brothers of the Temple Army of Jerusalem, he made them custodians of his morals night and day’].

⁷¹ *Eulogium*, p. 276 [‘These things console me in my sadness, my sweet Jesus! not that I may say he did not sin, but that he repented, that he wept, that he was confessed’].

⁷² *Eulogium*, pp. 276-7.

⁷³ *Eulogium*, p. 278 [‘I own that a monk was to be found in the king; a cloister in the curia; the discipline of the monastery in the palace. For he allotted certain hours to the divine offices, applying himself to both the psalms and prayers; similarly, he allotted a certain time for relief of the poor’].

mentem paululum relaxabat. Sique sole adhuc stante, cum praefunctis consuetum officium persolvisset, lucernali hora completa, cum summo silentio castum petebat cubile, usque ad solis ortum nulli deinceps locuturus.⁷⁴

The reference to horticultural activity underlines the quasi-monastic nature of this stage of David's life, and imbues it with a particularly Cistercian flavour.

Horticultural imagery was commonly used in twelfth-century monastic texts,⁷⁵ and was especially beloved of Cistercians.⁷⁶ Manual work is prescribed in the *Regula Benedicti*,⁷⁷ but by the twelfth century seems to have become somewhat eclipsed by liturgy in traditional Benedictine houses, to the extent that it was 'relegat[ed] ... to almost a token gesture'.⁷⁸ The reinstatement of manual labour was (at least theoretically) a crucial feature of the early Cistercian ethic.⁷⁹ Just as horticultural cultivation brought forth fruit from the land, so could it engender spiritual growth. As Newman states: 'images of cultivation and fruitfulness were common in twelfth-century writings and reflected a new confidence in the

⁷⁴ *Eulogium*, p. 278 ['And so that he might lack nothing for an honest life, he even performed some suitable work at a suitable hour, ie planting herbs, or grafting cuttings taken from their root to an alien trunk. At last, having taken his meal at the appropriate hour, with religious brethren, and a few of the more honourable men, he relaxed his mind a little with some religious repose. And thus, while the sun was still up, having fulfilled the usual office to the <dead>, when dusk had fallen, he made for his chaste bed with the utmost silence, and until sunrise then spoke to no-one'].

⁷⁵ See, for example, Constable, *Reformation of the Twelfth Century*, pp. 138-41.

⁷⁶ Newman, *Boundaries of Charity*, pp. 89-96; T. von Hagel, 'The gardener and his garden: The agronomic imagery of Gueric of Igny in his *Liturgical Sermons*', *Cistercian Studies Quarterly* 36 (2001): 447-56; G. Constable, 'Renewal and reform in religious life', R.L. Benson and G. Constable (eds.), *Renaissance and Renewal in the Twelfth Century* (Oxford, 1982), pp. 37-67, pp. 50-1.

⁷⁷ *Regula Benedicti*, c. 48, pp. 110-11, see p. 119, n. 137, *supra*.

⁷⁸ Burton, *Monastic and Religious Orders*, pp. 159-63; c.f. Lawrence, *Medieval Monasticism*, p. 111; Constable, *Reformation of the Twelfth Century*, p. 190, n. 106. This was not necessarily a symptom of "decline" in monastic observance, but more a matter of interpretation. Peter the Venerable, for example, insisted that manual labour was simply less relevant and a less efficacious expression of monastic piety than meditation, prayer and *lectio divina*, *Ep. 28, The Letters of Peter the Venerable*, ed. G. Constable, 2 vols. (Cambridge, Mass., 1967), 1: 70-1, discussed in Constable, *Reformation of the Twelfth Century*, p. 213.

⁷⁹ Burton, *Monastic and Religious Orders*, pp. 163-5; Constable, *Reformation of the Twelfth Century*, p. 219; C.J. Holdsworth, 'The blessings of work: The Cistercian view', *Studies in Church History* 10 (1973): 59-76; D.N. Bell, 'Is there such a thing as "Cistercian spirituality"?', *Cistercian Studies Quarterly* 33 (1998): 455-71, pp. 459-63. There is much debate as to the early evolution of the Cistercian order, and whether texts such as *Exordium parvum* and *Carta caritatis* – until relatively recently associated with the order in its infancy – are in fact of later provenance. The literature on this issue is vast and occasionally heated. See, for example, D. Knowles, 'The primitive Cistercian documents', in *Great Historical Enterprises*, pp. 199-222; Newman, *Boundaries of Charity*, pp. 16-17; C.H. Berman, *The Cistercian Evolution: The invention of a religious order in the twelfth century* (Philadelphia, 2000) and the reviews of the book by J. Burton in *Journal of Ecclesiastical History* 52 (2001), pp. 720-22, by C. Waddell, entitled 'The Myth of Cistercian Origins: C. H. Berman and the Manuscript Sources', in *Cîteaux: commentarii cistercienses* 51 (2000): 299-386.

possibility of rebirth and renewal for individuals and for religious institutions alike'.⁸⁰ This certainly seems to be the case here. The description of David's gardening is followed by a schedule of quasi-monastic fraternity, contemplation, chastity and silence, itself followed by an assertion that David was thus prepared for death.⁸¹

I suggest that with this passage, Aelred set down a model of David's personal spiritual development, both achieved through and expressed by horticultural activity, in order to offer Henry a pattern for rebirth and renewal of English kingship as an institution. Grafting [*insero*] cuttings from a root [*radix*] on to an alien trunk, David becomes spiritually prepared. Similar terms and imagery are found in Rom. 1:16-17: 'quod si delibatio sancta est et massa et si radix sancta et rami quod si aliqui ex ramis fracti sunt tu autem cum oleaster esses insertus es in illis et socius radicis et pinguidinis olivae factus es'.⁸² Henry himself was to be "grafted" onto the trunk of illustrious Anglo-Saxon royal rulership as set down in the *Genealogia*.

Lest Henry might infer that Aelred was advocating literal withdrawal from royal duties, Aelred quickly returned to David's usefulness and active involvement in the world: 'Quid enim facies, O Scotia desolata? ... Extincta est lucerna tua. ... Defecit ille qui illustrabat te; qui de terra inculta et sterili gratam fecit et uberem'.⁸³ This notion of a king bringing fertility to the land is a standard *topos* of good kingship, which we have already encountered several times, but is here further glossed as a result of David's active policies, and a reiteration that he taught by word and example:

Tu quondam caeterarum mendica terrarum cespite duro famem incolis
ingerebas: nunc caeteris mollior atque fecundior ex tua abundantia

⁸⁰ Newman, *Boundaries of Charity*, p. 89.

⁸¹ *Eulogium*, p. 278: 'O felix anima quam veniens Dominus invenit sic vigilantem! Ideo sic parata intravit cum eo ad nuptias' ['O happy soul, which God, approaching, finds thus vigilant! Therefore, having been thus prepared, it went with Him to the nuptials'].

⁸² ['For if the first fruit be holy, so is the lump also: and if the root be holy, so are the branches. // And if some of the branches be broken, and thou, being a wild olive, art ingrafted in them, and art made partaker of the root, and of the fatness of the olive tree'].

⁸³ *Eulogium*, pp. 278-9 ['What, then, will you do, o desolate Scotland? ... Your light is extinguished. ... For he who illuminated you, he who made the uncultivated and sterile land pleasant and fruitful, has gone'].

vicinarum regionum inopiam allevabas. Ipse te castellis et urbibus decoravit; ipse excelsis turribus extulit: ipse portus tuos peregrinis mercibus fecundavit, et aliorum regnorum divitias tuis deliciis aggregavit. Ipse pretiosis vestibus pallia tua villosa mutavit; et antiquam nuditatem tuam bysso et purpura textit. Ipse barbaros mores tuos Christiana religione composuit. Ipsi tibi pudicitiam conjugalem, quam nesciebas, indixit; et sacerdotes tuos honestiori vita donavit. Ipse te frequentare ecclesiam, et sacrificiis interesse divinis, verbo simul et exemplo persuasit; et presbyteris debitas oblationes et decimas solvendas iudicavit.⁸⁴

Aelred's David continued the comprehensive programme of modernisation, social reform, conversion and church reform which Turgot had described for Margaret.⁸⁵ This picture of continuity seems to concur with the activities of the historical Margaret and David, and may be exemplified by David's 1128 refoundation of Dunfermline, the house established by his mother.⁸⁶ Note that Aelred's list culminates in David's restoration of due respect to priests. Having reiterated and expanded upon David's kingly achievements, Aelred turned to his suitably pious death, for which he was well-prepared, not only in spiritual and sacramental terms, but also renewing his will, that the realm should not be left in disarray.⁸⁷

We see, then, that throughout the *Eulogium*, Aelred was carefully balancing the temporal requirements of David's kingship with their spiritual implications. The virtues which we have come to expect from the earlier discussion of Christian kingship are all present in Aelred's narrative: protection of *pauperes*, humility in exalted office, establishment of peace and unity, firm but fair Solomonic patronage of justice, teaching by word and example, patronage of

⁸⁴ *Eulogium*, p. 279 ['You were formerly a beggar among other lands, with hard sod inflicting hunger on your inhabitants: now, both softer and more fertile, you relieve the poverty of others of neighbouring regions from your abundance. It was he who adorned you with castles and towns; it was he who raised your high towers: it was he who made your ports fertile with foreign merchandise, and gathered for your delights the riches of other kingdoms. It was he who changed your rough mantles into fine attire, and covered your former nakedness with linen and purple. It was he who tamed your wild manners with the Christian religion. It was he who made known conjugal modesty to you, of which you were ignorant; and he gave your priests over towards a more honourable life. It was he who persuaded you, by both word and example, to attend church, and to be present at divine sacrifices; and he adjudged that offerings and tithes were owed to the priests'].

⁸⁵ C.f. William of Malmesbury, who demonstrated David's success in polishing away Scottish barbarian rust with reference to his civilizing initiative, *Gesta regum Anglorum*, pp. 726-7: 'regno potius mox omnes compatriotas triennialium tributorum pensione leuavit qui uellant habitare cultius, amiciri elegantius, pasci accuratius' ['soon after his accession he gave a three-year exemption from the payment of dues to any of his countrymen who was prepared to raise his standard of comfort in housing, of elegance in dress, and of civility in diet'].

⁸⁶ Oram, 'David I and the conquest', p. 12.

the church. David's learning, however, is not as heavily signalled as had been Margaret's, or, indeed, as we will see, as much as in the *Genealogia*. *Mansuetudo* is particularly privileged, as is due deference to the counsel and dignity of priests and monks. Nonetheless, David, like his Old Testament namesake, did not avoid sin, and therefore provided Henry with a salutary example of the potential pitfalls of kingship. David's repentance was absolute, but not sufficient to render him worthy of being treated by Aelred as a saint. He was extremely pious, and worthy of emulation, but not, at this early point, saintly. His, therefore, is a picture of pious rulership that stops short of sanctity. It seems, then, that military violence could be a sticking-point for a would-be saint. The next section, however, will demonstrate that it was desirable in a king, and it is here that we may see disjunction between performance of ideal (lay male) kingship and lay male sanctity.

4.iii *Genealogia: contra rerum sit naturam de bona radice fructus malos pullulare.*⁸⁸

Just as Turgot set down a genealogy for Margaret which suited his literary purposes, so, within the *Genealogia*, Aelred selected from many potential ancestors in order to create a template for Henry's kingship. This is a timely point at which to reiterate that, as noted in the Introduction with regard to all of our sources, Aelred's is a monastic view of rulership, and his preferred kings are therefore those most palatable to his monastic mindset. Nonetheless, these are not by default quasi-monastic kings, and are therefore still instructive. That peacemaking was a key theme of the *Genealogia* has been noted before.⁸⁹ This section aims to interrogate the text a little further, in order to identify the qualities that Aelred chose to privilege as a route towards national reconciliation. Taken together with what has been drawn from the representation of David in the

⁸⁷ *Eulogium*, pp. 280-1.

⁸⁸ PL 195: 716 ['it is contrary to the nature of things for bad fruit to spring from good stock'].

⁸⁹ See, for example, Squire, *Aelred*, p. 81; Newman, *Boundaries of Charity*, pp. 178-81; Freeman, *Narratives*, p. 65; P. Dalton, 'Churchmen and the promotion of peace in King Stephen's reign', *Viator: Medieval and Renaissance Studies* 31 (2000): 79-119, pp. 116-17.

Eulogium, this will allow us to identify where ideal kingship intersects with or diverges from lay piety or sanctity.

In the preface to the *Genealogia*, Aelred urged Henry to remember that the priorities of his earthly kingdom were subservient to those of the heavenly kingdom:

cum videris tantam eorum gloriam morte ac vetustate perisse, eosque pro vitae meritis coeleste praemium quod perire non potest meruisse, discas semper divitiis gloriaeque mundiali praeferre justitiam, ut post vitam temporalem pervenias ad aeternam.⁹⁰

Already we see the themes of justice and wealth, so carefully negotiated by Turgot. Although kingly office is transitory, it can nonetheless be a means to salvation. Aelred wrote, he stated, to enable Henry to live up to the examples of his ancestors:

ut cum videris quanta fuerit antecessorum tuorum probitas, qualis in eis virtus innituerit, qualis splenduerit pietas, agnoscas etiam quam naturale tibi sit abundare divitiis, florere virtutibus, victoriis illustrari, et quod his omnibus praestat, Christiana religione et justitiae praerogativa fulgere.⁹¹

Again we see the Solomonic notion that material wealth is itself manifestation of fitness to rule. The qualities privileged in Aelred's own summary of Henry's ancestors' achievements, then, are *probitas*, *virtus*, *pietas*, which facilitate *divitiae*, *victoriae*, Christian religion and *justitia*. Although there is some overlap here with the model of Margaret's pious rulership, fostering of *iustitia* and *divitiae*, there is additionally *virtus*, which is often translated as virtue, but also denotes 'manliness, manhood, i. e. the sum of all the corporeal or mental excellences of man, strength, vigor; bravery, courage; aptness, capacity; worth,

⁹⁰ PL 195: 716 ['when you have seen that great glory has perished through death and time, and that because of the merits of their lives they earned the heavenly reward which cannot perish, then may you learn always to prefer justice to riches and worldly glory, so that after temporal life you may come to eternity'].

⁹¹ PL 195: 716 ['so that when you have seen how great was the goodness in your ancestors, how great was the *virtus* which glittered within them, how great the piety which shone, you may understand how natural it is for you to abound in riches, to flourish in *virtutes*, to be illustrious with victories, and, which is better than all this, to flourish in the Christian religion and prerogative of justice'].

excellence, virtue'.⁹² As the *virtutes* in which Henry may flourish are immediately followed by the promise of illustrious victories, it seems that *virtus* here suggests manly power. As we will see, manly strength is prominent in the qualities attributed to the *Genealogia*'s kings.

Aelred proceeded to outline how his ancestors' qualities are relevant to Henry,

Est enim ad optimos mores obtinendos maximum incentivum, scire se ab optimis quibusque nobilitatem sanguinis meruisse, cum ingenuum animum semper pudeat in gloriosa progenie degenerem inveniri, et contra rerum sit naturam de bona radice fructus malos pullulare.⁹³

Implicit here is the notion of inherited virtue, the "natural" quality of which is reinforced by use of an agricultural metaphor.⁹⁴ Aelred thus positioned Henry as natural heir to his alleged royal ancestry – to be otherwise would be *contra naturam*. What *kind* of kingship, then, is Aelred promoting in his genealogy?

Most obviously, the *Genealogia* itself is emphatically English, as suggested by its very title.⁹⁵ I have argued that Turgot's Margaret's legacy from her royal Anglo-Saxon ancestors is made still more illustrious via (historically tenuous) Norman links. By contrast, Aelred has William I alone in a Norman hinterland, his only explicit genealogical link to Matilda, wife of David of Scotland, and even that is but briefly mentioned.⁹⁶ No other Norman figure is discussed in any more detail than being mentioned by name, unless they have been described explicitly or implicitly as having come from the English royal line. As has been noted, this English emphasis is understandable, as Henry was 'on the brink of becoming yet another Norman aristocrat imported to rule the conquered English'.⁹⁷ The contrast between Henry's created genealogy and Margaret's reflects the different circumstances from which the texts arose. Whereas

⁹² Lewis and Short, *Latin Dictionary*, p. 1997.

⁹³ PL 195: 716 ['For it is the greatest incentive in the obtaining of excellent *mores*, to know that one has obtained nobility of blood from those who were most excellent, as a noble mind will always be ashamed to be found degenerate in a glorious race, and it is contrary to the nature of things for bad fruit to spring from good stock'].

⁹⁴ On the Cistercian penchant for such imagery, see p. 166, *supra*.

⁹⁵ This is also noted, for example, in Squire, *Aelred*, p. 88; Freeman, *Narratives*, pp. 55-87; R. Ransford, 'A kind of Noah's Ark: Aelred of Rievaulx and national identity', *Religion and National Identity: Studies in Church History* 18 (1982): 137-46, pp. 140-2; Mayeski, 'Secundum naturam'.

⁹⁶ C.f. Table 4 at p. 264, *infra*.

⁹⁷ Mayeski, 'Secundum naturam', p. 221.

Margaret's Anglo-Saxon inheritance was burnished with a Norman lustre. Henry's Norman pedigree did not need to be emphasised. It was his Anglo-Saxon inheritance which was most useful.

Having traced Henry's lineage, through Empress Matilda, Edith-Matilda, David, Margaret, Edward the Exile and Edmund Ironside, to the Wessex royal line, Aelred provided a genealogy typical of West Saxon regnal lists, via Woden to Adam.⁹⁸ Aelred then travelled back down the ancestral line, dwelling in varying detail on the deeds and/or qualities of particular alleged ancestors. The first English kings to be detailed are Ingles and Ine.⁹⁹ Ine renounced his kingdom to become a pilgrim at Rome.¹⁰⁰ Ridyard has argued that pre-Conquest clerical attitudes towards renunciation of kingly office were ambivalent, and Aelred seems to share this ambivalence, as he notes the happy outcome of Ine's renunciation, but does not dwell on it: 'ibique [that is, at Rome] feliciter peregrinans, tandem ad coelestem mansionem felicius conscendit'.¹⁰¹ Ingles is praised at only slightly greater length, for his prowess in subjugating England south of the Humber.¹⁰² There are subsequently thirteen chapters devoted to specific kings (which also mention other figures of note): Ethelwulf, Alfred, Edward the Elder, Athelstan, Edmund, Eadred, Edwin, Edgar (with one chapter also devoted to his sermon to the clergy), Ethelred, Edmund Ironside, Edward the Confessor, and William the Conqueror. This final chapter, however, concentrates more on the families and characters of David and his siblings.

Aelred was not concerned with setting down a transmission of sanctity in the *Genealogia*. Those kings traditionally treated as saints, that is Edward the

⁹⁸ PL 195: 716-17. C.f. the similar genealogies for Alfred in Asser, *De rebus gestis Ælfredi*, pp. 2-4 [p. 67] and for Ethelwulf in *ASC* s.a. 855 A, 3: 45-6 [pp. 66-7], on which see F.P. Magoun, 'King Aethelwulf's biblical ancestors', *Modern Language Review* 46 (1951): 249-50. Magoun suggested that this form of genealogy is based on that in Luke 3: 36-8, and therefore to Luke's genealogy of Christ so that Aethelwulf (and therefore his ancestors) 'by accident or design, but in any case in a pointed way, [is made] a collateral relative of [Christ]', p. 250.

⁹⁹ PL 195: 717.

¹⁰⁰ On kings who renounced their earthly status for forms of the religious life, see C. Stancliffe, 'Kings who opted out', in P. Wormald, D. Bullough, and R. Collins (eds.), *Ideal and Reality in Frankish and Anglo-Saxon Society: Studies presented to J. M. Wallace-Hadrill* (Oxford, 1983), pp. 154-76; Ridyard, 'Monk-kings'; B. Yorke, *Nunneries and the Anglo-Saxon Royal Houses* (London and New York, 2003), pp. 29-30.

¹⁰¹ PL 195: 717 ['After happily sojourning there, at length he ascended even more happily to the heavenly mansion'].

Martyr and Edward the Confessor, are dealt with but cursorily. Of Edward the Martyr, Aelred simply noted that he was saintly by virtue of the *sanctitas* of his life and his martyrdom.¹⁰³ Edward the Confessor's reign is described as peaceful, but little detail is given. His was simply a peace similar to that of Edgar: 'ambulavit viis patris sui Edgari, homo mansuetus et pius, magis pace quam armis regnum protegens, habebat animum irae victorem, avaritiae contemptorem, superbiae expertem'.¹⁰⁴ Having designated Edward as a *rex pacificus*, Aelred did not, however, dwell on how he achieved or maintained peace, but instead turned to Edward's kindness towards the family of Edward the Exile, from whom David and Henry II were descended. He thereby glossed over that Henry was not directly descended from Edward, and instead emphasised affective and patronal links. Edward therefore primarily serves within the narrative to restore the Anglo-Saxon line of kingship after the Danish interregnum, as a bridge between Edgar and Edward the Exile's ancestors.

Those kings to whom Aelred afforded most praise are not saints, but rather those who bore themselves appropriately in relation to the authority of churchmen, (Edmund, Eadred, and especially Alfred and Edgar), and those who fought only in order to protect their people, (Alfred, Edward the Elder, Athelstan, Edmund, Eadred, Edmund Ironside). Before considering these kings, we will briefly note those who were apparently of less interest in Aelred's overall scheme. Partially, of course, their lesser importance may simply reflect that there were fewer written sources available. Nonetheless, the qualities and deeds which Aelred attributed to them are instructive.

Using another agricultural image, Ethelwulf was 'de qua sanctissimi fructus orientur pretiosissima radix'.¹⁰⁵ Whilst he was mindful of the proper relationship between the earthly and spiritual realms, he is chiefly praised for governing with *caritas*, manifested here as protecting *pauperes* and being a

¹⁰² PL 195: 717-18.

¹⁰³ PL 195: 729-30.

¹⁰⁴ PL 195: 734 ['He walked in the ways of his ancestor Edgar, a gentle and devout man, who protected the kingdom by peace more than by arms, conquered wrath, scorned avarice, and was devoid of pride.'].

¹⁰⁵ PL 195: 718 ['a precious root from which came holy fruit'].

generous benefactor to the church.¹⁰⁶ Ethelwulf, then, was a king to be praised for appropriate use of his wealth and power, and accordingly ‘in senectute bona collectus est ad patres suos, regnum certe non amittens sed mutans, temporale deserens et aeternum adipiscens’.¹⁰⁷ Edwin provides a salutary example of inappropriate kingship, despite the good advice of Dunstan.¹⁰⁸ Although Edwin eventually repented of his adultery, he still needed Dunstan’s intercession to free him from the demons who punished him after his death.¹⁰⁹ During the reign of Ethelred, who succeeded his brother Edward the Martyr, the Danes regained much of England. This, Aelred explained, was foretold by Dunstan, and was God’s punishment upon England for Edward the Martyr’s death. Aelred noted Ethelred’s wives and heirs, before explaining his enforced exile from the realm as a result of others’ treachery.¹¹⁰ Upon Swein of Denmark’s death, Ethelred was recalled to England and ‘iterum contra Dacos virtute potens erigitur’, but Cnut, Swein’s son, ‘paternum odium exercere non desiit’.¹¹¹ Although Ethelred merited his own chapter, he is not a shining example of good kingship, but did exhibit valour in the face of foretold retribution upon the whole realm. The best that could be said of him was that he was *rex strenuissimus* even in the face of Danish incursions, that he tried, albeit not always successfully, and that he left an heir.¹¹²

From these kings, then, we see that Aelred valued protecting *pauperes*, being a generous patron of the church, adhering to the counsel of *clerici*, fighting pagans, converting subjects to Christianity, promoting just laws, and providing an heir. Some of these will also feature in the remaining kingly depictions, but can the portraits to which Aelred devoted more attention and/or particular praise shed any further light?

¹⁰⁶ PL 195: 718.

¹⁰⁷ PL 195: 718 [‘he was gathered to his fathers in a good old age, not losing a kingdom but exchanging one, leaving one of time and obtaining one that is eternal’].

¹⁰⁸ PL 195: 725 [‘He did not walk in the ways of his fathers but appeared as a new Herod in that holy line’].

¹⁰⁹ PL 195: 726.

¹¹⁰ PL 195: 730: ‘Quibus [ie the ravaging Danes] cum rex strenuissimus saepius restitisset, prodicione tandem cuorum factus inferior’ [‘When the most valiant king had often resisted them, he was made helpless by the betrayal of his own people’].

¹¹¹ PL 195: 730 [‘rose up again against the Danes, powerful in his strength’; ‘ceased not to carry on his father’s hatred against him’].

¹¹² PL 195: 730.

That Alfred – ‘Anglorum decus, regum gemma, virtutum exemplar’¹¹³ – is an important exemplum may be seen in the space that is devoted to him, namely more than one-fifth of the length of the thirteen chapters. Like David, Alfred was a younger son, and Aelred followed Asser in describing Alfred as a favourite of his father’s, in whom *virtus* was manifest from an early age.¹¹⁴ Aelred’s account of Alfred’s trip to Rome further underlines David’s echoing of Alfred, explicitly invoking the example of the Old Testament David, which had been left implicit in the accounts of the Anglo-Saxon chronicler and Asser: ‘tempus et aetatem regnandi regiae unctionis sacramento praeveniens, sicut quondam Samuel puerum David, ita eum in regem sanctissimus praesul devotissime consecravit’.¹¹⁵ Aelred outlined Alfred’s love of books and learning, in keeping with the now-familiar image of Alfred as scholar.¹¹⁶ This aspect of kingship – so important in Turgot’s Margaret – is, however, less important in the context of the *Genealogia* as a whole than the subsequent account of Alfred’s kingship. He is humble in exalted office and adjusted his demeanour according to his company.¹¹⁷ This list includes an awareness of his position vis-à-vis the church and its officials, which is subsequently developed:

illam maximam regis credidit dignitatem, nullam in ecclesiis Christi habere potestatem. ‘Illa’, inquit, ‘regnantis dignitas si se in regno Christi quae est ecclesia, non regem sed civem cognoscat, si non in sacerdotes legibus dominetur, sed Christi legibus quas promulgaverunt sacerdotes humiliter subjiciatur’.¹¹⁸

To further underline this reverence for priests, Aelred describes Alfred consciously imitating Constantine by refusing to pronounce judgement on

¹¹³ PL 195: 718 [‘that ornament of the English, a jewel among kings, the exemplar of virtues’].

¹¹⁴ PL 195: 718. C.f. Asser, *De rebus gestis Ælfredi*, pp. 7, 19-20 [pp. 69, 74-5].

¹¹⁵ PL 195: 718 [‘Looking ahead to the time and age when he would reign, the holy prelate devoutly consecrated him king with the sacrament of royal unction, as once Samuel did the boy David’]. C.f. *ASC*, s.a. 853 A, 3: 45 [p. 64]; Asser, *De rebus gestis Ælfredi*, p. 7 [p. 69]. On the alleged anointing, see the comments of Keynes and Lapidge in *Alfred the Great*, n. 19, p. 233.

¹¹⁶ See pp. 51, 131, 134-5 *supra*.

¹¹⁷ PL 195: 719: ‘Ita se bonis amabilem, impiis terribilem, ecclesiarum ministris pavidum, amicis et sociis jucundum, pauperibus mitem et largum exhibuit, ut videretur omnium hominum moribus ac naturae congruere, omnibus utilis ac necessarius esse’ [‘He was amiable toward the good, terrible to the impious, respectful toward the ministers of the church, pleasant to his friends and associates, and gentle and generous to the poor. Thus he seemed in accord with the customs and nature of all the people, helpful and necessary to all’].

¹¹⁸ PL 195: 719 [‘he believed that a king’s great dignity had no power at all in the church of Christ. He said, “The dignity of a ruler must recognize that in Christ’s kingdom, which is the church, he is not a king but a citizen. Thus he must not govern priests by his laws but be humbly subject to the laws of Christ that the priests have established”’].

ecclesiastical causes. Alfred's careful adherence to suitable royal *exempla*, Aelred asserts, provoked Satan to inflict the Danish invasions upon the realm, trials which Alfred bore with the patience of Job.¹¹⁹

His persistent patience and faith were rewarded by a vision of St. Cuthbert, in which he assured Alfred of imminent military success and the restoration of kingly authority to Alfred and his line. Significantly, these assurances came after Cuthbert had admonished Alfred to remember the responsibilities of his office:

Qui cum ei de diligendo Deum, de servanda justitia, de misericordia in pauperes, de reverentia in sacerdotibus monita sacra dedisset, ipse iterum adjecit: '....Scias ... te tuosque filios, me patrocinante, si tamen ambulaveritis in viis Domini, totius Angliae monarchiam obtenturos'¹²⁰

Aelred put a lengthy and rousing battle speech into Alfred's mouth, within which is embedded a justification for battle:

Cogitate, qui adversum quos, qua ratione, qua insuper necessitate pugnamus. Christiani contra paganos, pii contra impios, contra superbos, contriti corde et humiles spiritu dimicamus. ... non aliena petimus, sed nostra repetimus. ... ne diripiantur uxores nostrae, ne captiventur filii, ne virgines violentur, ne impii et perversi totam Anglorum nobilitatem ad degenerem transferant servitatem.¹²¹

This was not, in short, a war motivated by greed for land, power or material gain, but was instead an attempt to regain what the pagans had taken, and to forestall pagan atrocities.¹²² Having achieved victory, Alfred ruled in pious peace, fostering learning and justice, relieving *pauperes* and protecting them from

¹¹⁹ PL 195: 719-20.

¹²⁰ PL 195: 720 ['When he had given him holy admonitions about loving God, preserving justice, pitying the poor, and revering priests, he added, "... Know ... that under my patronage you and your sons are to obtain absolute rule over all England, if only you will walk in the ways of the Lord"'].

¹²¹ PL 195: 721 ['Remember against whom we are fighting, the reason for it, the need for it: Christians against pagans, pious men against wicked men, the contrite in heart and humble in spirit against the proud. ...we are not seeking what belongs to others but the return of what is ours. ...we fight lest our wives be stolen, lest our sons be captured, lest our maidens be violated, lest the wicked and perverse bring down the whole of the English nobility to base servitude'].

¹²² On the embodiment of notions of just war within this speech, see J. Bliese, 'The battle rhetoric of Aelred of Rievaulx', *Haskins Society Journal* 1 (1989): 99-107, pp. 104-5. On other sources' versions of this vision, see ed. T. Johnson South, *Historia de Sancto Cuthberto: A History of Saint Cuthbert and a record of his patrimony* (Woodbridge, 2002), pp. 54-59, 90; Colgrave, 'Post-Bedan miracles', pp. 321-2; T. Johnson South, 'Competition for King Alfred's aura in the last century of Anglo-Saxon England', *Albion* 23 (1991): 613-26, pp. 614-5, and J.R.E. Bliese, 'St Cuthbert's and St Neot's help in war: visions and exhortations', *Haskins Society Journal* 7 (1995): 39-62.

oppression, repairing monasteries, bestowing gifts on the church at Rome, and accordingly ‘celebre factum est nomen ejus per universum orbem’.¹²³ Aelred’s Alfred, then, is pious, generous, mindful of the deference due to the church and *clerici*, fights well, but only in order to avert impious depredations, and is a patron of learning and justice. These, of course, are qualities which we have already encountered, and will do so again.

Edward the Elder, to whom the next chapter is devoted, ‘erat autem in scientia litterarum patre minor, sanctitate vero non multum inferior, sed superior potestate’.¹²⁴ Again, we have *sanctitas*, without an overt statement of sanctity in its modern sense. Edward’s kingship was practical and unashamedly military against the impious:

Multo enim latius quam pater regni sui fines dilatavit, urbes et novas condidit, et dirutas renovavit. Impiissimam Dacorum gentem quam pater ejus non expulerat, rebellantem sibi multis contritam praeliis vel fugavit penitus, vel misera servitute compressit.¹²⁵

Gentle and devout, Edward was a patron of justice for those who were not impious, refused to abuse his royal power, and accordingly won the loyalty of Scots, Cumbrians, Welsh, Northumbrians, and Danes.¹²⁶ This description of Edward, replete with *mansuetudo*, *pietas*, *amabilitas*, *affabilitas*, drawing others’ affection, *modestia* and equitable *justitia*, resonates with the qualities associated with Jaeger’s educator/statesman courtier-bishops, and, like them, he successfully blended the contemplative and active in Aelred’s depiction of his kingship. Aelred did not shy away from allowing Edward a sex life, and mentioned his children and wives, although not in detail, before recounting an instance of

¹²³ PL 195: 722 [‘his name became celebrated throughout the whole world’].

¹²⁴ PL 195: 722 [‘was less knowledgeable in letters than his father, not much inferior to him in *sanctitas*, indeed, but greater in power’].

¹²⁵ PL 195: 722-3 [‘He expanded the confines of his kingdom more widely than had his father, built new cities, and rebuilt those ruined. As for the ungodly nation of the Danes, whom his father had not driven off when they rebelled against him, he either put them to a thorough flight, worn out as they were by battles, or subjected them to a wretched servitude’].

¹²⁶ PL 195: 723: ‘vir mansuetus et pius, omnibus amabilis et affabilis, adeo omnium in se provocabat affectum.... Tanta dehinc modestia regebat subditos, tanta justitia inter proximum et proximum judicabat, ut contra veritatem non dico nihil velle, sed nec posse videretur’ [‘a gentle and devout man, pleasant and friendly toward all, drew everyone’s affection to himself. ... He ruled his subjects with such moderation and decided between neighbour and neighbour with such justice that I will not say that he seemed unwilling to do anything contrary to truth but even that he was unable to do it’].

clairvoyance. Edward the Elder, then, was a temporally active king: powerful, territorially expansionist, military, ruling moderately and fostering justice, sexually active, but was nonetheless sufficiently devout, just, and possessed of *regia mansuetudo* to be rewarded with supernatural knowledge of distant events and to be described as possessing *sanctitas*, albeit less than his father.

Athelstan's reign was a continuation of Edward's.¹²⁷ Just as Alfred's piety had been rewarded by St. Cuthbert's patronage, so Athelstan entrusted his military success to another northern saint, John of Beverley, who came to Athelstan in a vision to assure him of his intercession.¹²⁸ Edward's sons, Edmund and Eadred, continued their father's rule, as seen in the genealogy's next two chapters. Edmund was 'homo "simplex et rectus, et timens Deum"'.¹²⁹ He defeated the pagans, and consequently converted the local people to Christianity.¹³⁰ This done, Edmund 'monasteriorum et ecclesiarum maxime curam habuit', and, heeding Dunstan's advice, 'statuenda statuit, et corrigenda correxit'.¹³¹ After Edmund's death, Eadred continued the family tradition of combining military prowess with just rule, ably assisted by the counsel of Dunstan.¹³² Although Eadred takes up little space in the *Genealogia*, it is clear that his was a laudable kingship: 'hujus laudabilem vitam mors pretiosa conclusit. Cum enim ad regem aegrotantem beatus Dunstanus vocaretur, in ipso itinere audivit vocem angelorum in coelo dicentium: "Rex Edredus nunc obdormivit in Domino"'.¹³³

¹²⁷ PL 195: 724: 'ambulavit... in viis patrum suorum... , in subditos gratiam, circa ecclesias devotionem, circa pauperes misericordiam, circa Dei sacerdotes retinens reverentiam. Contra hunc reliquiae Dacorum ... nefandum erigunt caput, sed contriti sunt sub pedibus ejus et redacti in pulverem' ['he walked in the ways of his fathers... He had the same faith in God, favour with his subjects, allegiance to the churches, pity for the poor, and reverence for the clergy. Against him the remaining Danes lifted up their impious heads ..., but they were ground under his feet and reduced to dust'].

¹²⁸ PL 195: 724-5.

¹²⁹ PL 195: 725 ['a man "simple and upright, and God-fearing"'].

¹³⁰ PL 195: 725.

¹³¹ PL 195: 725 ['took special care of monasteries and churches', 'he established what needed establishing and corrected what needed correcting'].

¹³² PL 195: 725: 'ambulavit in viis fratris sui; beati Dunstani consiliis in omnibus obediens, et justissimis legibus subditos regens. Erat enim tantae probitatis, ut rebellantes sibi Northymbros et Scotos facile vicerit, et in pristinam subjectionem sine magno labore redegerit' ['he walked in the ways of his brother. In everything he obeyed the advice of blessed Dunstan, and ruled his subjects by just laws. He was of such prowess that he easily conquered the rebellious Northumbrians and Scots and reduced them to their former subjection without great effort'].

¹³³ PL 195: 725 ['A precious death concluded his praiseworthy life. When blessed Dunstan was called to the sick king, as he was travelling he heard the voice of the angels in heaven saying, "King Edred has now fallen asleep in the Lord"'].

Edgar the Peaceful provided a return to good Christian kingship after the blip of Edwin's rule: 'cunctis praedecessoribus suis felicior, nulli sanctitate inferior, omnibus morum suavitate praestantior, quasi stella matutina in medio nebulae, et quasi luna plena in diebus suis luxit'.¹³⁴ That Edgar was an important ancestor is further suggested by the proportion of the genealogy devoted to him. At almost one-fifth (if his sermon to the clergy is included) of the thirteen chapters, Edgar takes up less space than Alfred, but more than is devoted to Edward the Elder, Athelstan, Edmund, Eadred and Edwin combined. Unlike his ancestors, he subjugated enemies and rebels without recourse to the sword:

Hic enim regnum Anglorum coelesti quadam pace composuit, et multarum linguarum gentes, unius foedere legis conjunxit, unde ei cum Salomone commune vocabulum fuit, ut *Pacificus* quod Salomon interpretatur communi omnium voce diceretur. ...Tanta enim in verbis, in vultu, in moribus, interioris suavitatis indicia praeferebat, ut, Deo cooperante, tota ei insula sine sanguine manus daret, et ad subdendum se ei Scotia, Cumbria, Wallia libens accurreret.¹³⁵

Solomonic kingship does not explicitly feature prominently in the *Genealogia* as a whole, but it is important here. We see here a symbiotic relationship between good rulership and regnal prosperity: unity and successfully enforced justice were underscored even by nature: 'eo namque regnante sol videbatur esse serenior, maris unda pacatior, terra fecundior, et totius regni facies abundantiori decore venustior. In diebus illius non tormenta, non cruces, non exsilium, nec proscriptio'.¹³⁶

This state of political and natural concord allowed Edgar to concentrate on being a generous patron of the church, administering law, protecting *pauperes*

¹³⁴ PL 195: 726 ['{he was} more fortunate than all his predecessors, inferior to none in *sanctitas* and more outstanding for the sweetness of his ways. 'He was like the morning star shining in the dark and like a full moon giving light in its time'].

¹³⁵ PL 195: 726 ['He united the kingdom of the English in a kind of heavenly peace and joined peoples of many languages in a federation under one law. Hence he was called by the same name as Solomon, so that everyone called him 'the Peaceful', which is what "Solomon" means. ...He presented such signs of inner sweetness in his words, his appearance, and his manner, that with the help of God the whole island submitted to him without bloodshed, and Scotland, Cumbria, and Wales came freely to subject themselves to him.'].

¹³⁶ PL 195: 726 ['While he was reigning the sun seemed to be more fair, the waves of the sea more peaceful, the earth more fertile, and the face of the whole kingdom with its abundant beauty lovelier. In his days no one feared tortures, crosses, exile, or proscription'].

from would-be oppressors, and teaching his people, *verbo et exemplo*, as had Margaret: ‘quod ipse discere poterat, subditos docere non solum verbo sed etiam exemplo satagebat’.¹³⁷ His patronage of the church extended to reform, and Aelred gives a version of Edgar’s sermon to the clergy, concluding by again extolling concord of church, people, heaven and nature during Edgar’s reign:

O vere tunc beata Anglorum ecclesia, quam innumerabilium monachorum et virginum adornabat integritas, quam devotio plebium, moderatio militum, aequitas iudicum, terrae fecunditas laetificabat! Exultabat rex beatissimus suis temporibus ordinem suum rerum omnium invenisse naturam, cum homines Deo, terra homini, coelum terrae, justitia, fructu, aerum temperie debitum praestaret officium.¹³⁸

Edgar’s reign was frequently depicted as a golden age in the twelfth century, and, as in the passage above,¹³⁹ he was perceived to have united disparate peoples, which rendered him a particularly suitable exemplar for Henry. His reign was clearly a useful period in which to entrench authority for possession of territories and rights, as evidenced by charters which have been identified by modern scholars as forgeries. Westminster Abbey, for example, forged pre-Conquest charters, some of which were allegedly created during Edgar’s reign, and Osbert of Clare in particular has been identified as a protagonist of these forgeries.¹⁴⁰ It is ‘safer to regard the monks of Westminster as leading exponents, rather than isolated practitioners, of the art of manipulating the Anglo-Saxon past in the twelfth century’,¹⁴¹ and although Edgar’s reign was by no means the only

¹³⁷ PL 195: 727 [‘He was intent on teaching what he himself had learned to his subjects, not by his word alone but also by his example’]. C.f. pp. 138-9, *supra*.

¹³⁸ PL 195: 729 [‘O truly blessed English church then, adorned with the integrity of innumerable monks and virgins and gladdened by the devotion of the people, the sobriety of the soldiers, the impartiality of the judges, and the fruitfulness of the land! The most blessed king rejoiced that in his time his order had found the nature of all things: people discharged the righteousness they owed to God, the earth the fruitfulness it owed to people, and heaven the mild weather it owed to earth’].

¹³⁹ C.f. p. 179, n. 135, *supra*.

¹⁴⁰ P. Chaplais, ‘The Original Charters of Herbert and Gervase, Abbots of Westminster (1121–1157)’, in P.M. Barnes and C.F. Slade (eds.), *A Medieval Miscellany for Doris Mary Stenton*, Pipe Roll Society, n. s. 36 (London, 1962), pp. 89-110. For a succinct account of the historiography on these forgeries, see J. Crick, ‘St Albans, Westminster and some twelfth-century views of the Anglo-Saxon past’, *Anglo-Norman Studies* 25 (2003): 65-83, pp. 67-8.

¹⁴¹ Crick, ‘St Albans, Westminster’, p. 79. See also J. Paxton, ‘Forging communities: Memory and identity in post-Conquest England (The Denis Bethell Prize Essay)’, *Haskins Society Journal*, 10 (2001): 95-109, which discusses a forgery purportedly ratified by Edgar.

one for which forgeries were produced,¹⁴² it is nonetheless fair to suggest that there was monastic nostalgia for his reign. This is exemplified in Eadmer's *Historia novorum*, which opens with a paean to an age in which king, church and realm existed in peaceful Christian harmony.¹⁴³ Essentially, Edgar was a monks' king.¹⁴⁴ Aelred's concentration on Edgar's kingship, then, is in keeping with the predilection of the period for Edgar, but may also reflect that there were more written sources concerning Edgar than some of the other kings in the *Genealogia*. In the context of the qualities singled out for praise within the text, it balances the emphasis elsewhere on violence, albeit appropriate, defensive, divinely-sanctioned violence against pagans.

Edmund Ironside, the nominal subject of the next chapter, however, provides a stronger and more balanced model of military kingship tempered by caution and *simplicitas*: 'Contra hostes leoninae feritatis, erga suos columbinae simplicitatis; quo nemo fortior, sed quo nemo suavior; quo nullus audacior, sed quo nemo cautior; quo in adversis nemo securior, sed quo in prosperis nemo temperantior'.¹⁴⁵ This catalogue of well-balanced opposing qualities is reminiscent of the 'two-way stretch' of Solomonic kingship, which Stephen had lacked.¹⁴⁶ Edmund valiantly regained for the English crown those regions and people that had defected to Cnut. One of Cnut's elders suggested one-to-one

¹⁴² On forgery at Durham, see D. Bates, 'The forged charters of William the Conqueror and Bishop William of St. Calais', in Rollason, Harvey and Prestwich (eds.), *Anglo-Norman Durham*, pp. 111-24.

¹⁴³ Eadmer, *Historia novorum*, p. 3 ['In the reign of that most glorious king, Edgar, while he governed diligently the whole realm of England with righteous laws, Dunstan, Prelate of Canterbury, a man entirely composed of *virtutes*, ordered the whole of Britain by the administration of Christian law. Under his influence and counsel King Edgar shewed himself a devoted servant of God; and, when foreign invaders surged in on every side, with indomitable *virtus* he fought them, conquered them and kept them at bay. England enjoyed peace and happiness throughout the length and breadth of the land so long as she was fortunate enough to have King Edgar and Father Dunstan with her in bodily presence', p. 3].

¹⁴⁴ See also William of Malmesbury, for whom Edgar was 'honor ac delitiae Anglorum' ['the honour and delight of the English'], *Gesta regum Anglorum*, 1: 238-9; c.f. 1: 262-3. Similarly, Henry of Huntingdon, *Historia Anglorum*, pp. 322: 'Edgarus pacificus, rex magnificus, Salamon secundus, cuius tempore numquam exercitus aduenarum uenit in Angliam, cuius dominio reges et principes Anglie sunt subiecti, cuius potentie Scoti etiam colla dedere' ['Edgar the Peacable, the magnificent king, the second Solomon, in whose time a foreign army never came into England, to whose dominion the kings and princes of England were subject, and to whose power even the Scots bent their necks'].

¹⁴⁵ PL 195: 730: ['Against his enemies he had the ferocity of a lion, and toward his own people the *simplicitas* of a dove. No one was braver than he, no one bolder and no one more cautious; no one more confident in adversity, no one more temperate in prosperity'].

¹⁴⁶ Nelson, 'Kings with justice', p. 821, discussed at p. 160, *supra*.

combat, which Cnut and Edmund duly undertook, and their mutual respect for one another led them to agree to dividing the kingdom: ‘cessit enim verbis qui non cesserat gladiis, et oratione flectitur qui armis flecti non poterat’.¹⁴⁷ With Edmund, we see that whereas appropriately motivated and conducted military action is good, peace achieved without recourse to violence, as attributed to Edgar, is better. Edmund was a convenient ancestor to emphasise, as Henry Plantagenet, via Empress Matilda, Edith-Matilda, and Margaret, was directly descended from him. Unfortunately Edmund was treacherously murdered. Cnut avenged him, but nonetheless proceeded, by the council of flatterers, to disinherit Edmund’s heirs. This chapter, then, is as much about Cnut as Edmund Ironside, and depicts both valiant Solomonic kingship tempered by *simplicitas* and potentially valiant kingship corrupted by evil counsel. As the Danish interregnum was an interruption to Aelred’s overall genealogical scheme, Cnut’s demise and the reigns of his sons Harthacnut and Harold Harefoot are summarily dealt with,¹⁴⁸ and, as noted, Edward the Confessor serves as a bridge from Edgar to the Conquest, with Harold briefly interrupting.

The final chapter deals with William I’s assumption of the kingdom that was rightfully his.¹⁴⁹ Rather than following the line from William through Henry I and Empress Matilda, however, or even following a regnal line through William Rufus, Henry I and Stephen, Aelred switched to Edgar Ætheling and his sisters, and thence to Margaret’s sons. Both the Norman and Anglo-Saxon routes would, of course, reach Henry II, but the emphasis here, as throughout, is the Anglo-Saxon connection. It is here that Aelred revealed that he had read what is presumably Turgot’s *Vita Margaretae*.¹⁵⁰ The chapter continues the focus on the Scottish cadet-line, recounting an anecdote which shows Malcolm of Scotland’s quiet confidence and generosity when confronted by a would-be assassin, in which he is far nobler a model than Turgot’s amiable lap-dog.¹⁵¹ Just as Turgot traced Margaret’s line to Edward the Confessor – her grandfather’s half-brother –

¹⁴⁷ PL 195: 732-3 [‘Words accomplished what swords had not, and one who was not persuaded by arms was persuaded by a speech’].

¹⁴⁸ PL 195: 734.

¹⁴⁹ PL 195: 734: ‘Dei iudicio ipsum Haraldum regno simul et vita privavit’ [‘By God’s judgment he deprived Harold at once of his kingdom and of his life’].

¹⁵⁰ PL 195: 735: ‘cujus laudabilem vitam et mortem pretiosam liber ... editus satis insinuat’ [‘[Margaret’s] praiseworthy life and good death a book published ... shows well enough’].

so Edgar of Scotland's peaceful reign is likened to that of Edward – his great-grandfather's half-brother: 'Edgarus ...erat ...cognato suo regi Edwardo per omnia similis'.¹⁵² Although the ties between extended families were not as distant in this period as they might be today, nonetheless a man and his great-grandfather's half-brother would not have been as close as Aelred suggests here. The curt description of Alexander implies that being deferential to men of the church was not enough on its own to make for good kingship.¹⁵³ In contrast, David's patronage and generosity was extended to all:

Erat autem litteratus, et in ordinandis ecclesiis, in reliquiis sanctorum perquirendis, in vestibus sacerdotalibus librisque sacris conficiendis et ordinandis studiosissimus, omnibus advenientibus supra vires liberalissimus; circa pauperes vero ita devotus ut in nulla re magis delectari, quam in eis suscipiendis, lavandis, alendis vestiendisque videretur.¹⁵⁴

This is a different David to that of the *Eulogium*. Arguably, this David's pious rule is but an extension of that of Turgot's Margaret: *litteratus*, responsible for the production of books and priestly vestments, and affectionate direct care for *pauperes*. From David, Aelred turned to the piety of his sister (and Henry II's grandmother), Edith-Matilda, recounting her penchant for kissing leprous feet.¹⁵⁵ He then touched summarily on Edith-Matilda's sister Mary, whose daughter Matilda married King Stephen, and Empress Matilda, daughter to Edith-Matilda and mother to Henry II, and her marriages to the Emperor Henry and Geoffrey of Anjou, before returning to David of Scotland, and then the respective offspring of David and Matilda, the Empress Matilda, Matilda and Stephen, and Earl Henry.¹⁵⁶ So much "hopping" from branch to branch of the genealogical tree is confusing for the modern reader, and may not have been much less so for a twelfth-century reader. Whether deliberately or not, it serves to blur the boundaries between

¹⁵¹ PL 195: 735. C.f. Freeman, *Narratives*, pp. 66-7.

¹⁵² PL 195: 735-6 ['Edgar was ...like his kinsman King Edward in everything'].

¹⁵³ PL 195: 736: 'Porro Alexander clericis et monachis satis humilis et amabilis erat, caeteris subditorum supra modum terribilis, homo magni cordis, ultra vires suas se in omnibus extendens' ['Alexander was humble and loveable enough to clerics and monks, but dreadful beyond measure to the others among his subjects'].

¹⁵⁴ PL 195: 736 ['He was *litteratus* and zealous in regulating the churches, in looking after the relics of the saints, in making and arranging priestly vestments and sacred books. He was most liberal to all those who came to him. He was so devoted to the poor that in nothing did he seem to take more pleasure than in receiving, washing, nourishing, and clothing them'].

¹⁵⁵ PL 195: 736.

¹⁵⁶ PL 195: 736-7.

familial cadet-lines, and Aelred ended this section by admonishing Henry II to be patron and protector to Earl Henry's children, that is, David's grandchildren, Malcolm, William and David, and therefore with the Scottish royal family.¹⁵⁷ Aelred concluded with a wish that Henry should live up to the legacy of his ancestors as outlined in the genealogy.¹⁵⁸

What, then, may we infer from the *Genealogia* with regard to Aelred's ideal of kingship? Although fostering peace within the realm was crucial, violence as a means to achieving peace was seen as a potentially necessary evil for a king.¹⁵⁹ That it did not necessarily jeopardise a ruler's chances of salvation is demonstrated by Aelred's inclusion of military violence in his depictions of Alfred, Edward the Elder, Athelstan, Edmund, Eadred, Ethelred, and Edmund Ironside, all of whom are models of good kingship despite, and even because of, their military action. It is by successfully combining military prowess (appropriately deployed and only when necessary), generous material and spiritual paternal patronage of *pauperes*, and appropriate deference to the church and churchmen, that Henry will exercise a kingship worthy of posterity. Aelred created this model of kingship by largely ignoring Norman ancestors and glossing over potential hurdles to his overall theme, and focused instead on Henry's Anglo-Saxon inheritance, however tenuous it may be, just as Turgot had privileged a tenuous Norman inheritance for Margaret in her genealogy. Both Aelred and Turgot were using similar tactics, albeit with different selection criteria, to achieve the same end, namely a model of rulership founded on a well-established and illustrious ancestry.

Gillingham has argued that by the 1140s, 'the English no longer saw themselves as a subject people oppressed by a Norman elite', and that 'the French connexion was no longer a source of national or ethnic tension'.¹⁶⁰ That Aelred apparently saw no need to acknowledge good qualities which may have been

¹⁵⁷ PL 195: 737-8.

¹⁵⁸ PL 195: 738.

¹⁵⁹ Similarly, as Bliese has pointed out, in the *Genealogia* and the *Relatio de Standardii*, Aelred stressed the 'necessity of battle much more than other [battle] speeches do', 'The battle rhetoric of Aelred', p. 106. On this essentially Augustinian notion of war fought for peace, see Kershaw, 'Rex *pacificus*', p. 185.

¹⁶⁰ Gillingham, *The English in the Twelfth Century*, p. xxi; *idem*, 'Beginnings of English imperialism', p. 4.

transmitted by Norman ancestors corroborates this argument. Turgot may have been countering sneers against Edith-Matilda's allegedly uncouth Anglo-Saxon blood at court, but by the time Aelred wrote the *Genealogia*, an Anglo-Saxon royal inheritance was a desirable commodity – not least, presumably, because of the character, actions and reputation of Edith-Matilda herself. That is not to say, of course, that all was harmonious. On the contrary, by this point, 'after almost a century of profound change, disruption and strife, the need for the sort of social stability that comes from dynastic continuity and fosters closer and more effective assimilation must have been sensed as increasingly urgent in Anglo-Norman England'.¹⁶¹ Aelred's *Genealogia*, therefore, may be seen as providing a solution: by emulating his illustrious Anglo-Saxon forebears, Henry can forge a peaceful unity within the realm, with appropriately motivated warfare if necessary, but ideally with the models of peaceful reconciliation at the forefront.

What can this exploration of the *Genealogia regum Anglorum*, then, tell us of lay male sanctity? The *Genealogia* is instructive in that it sets down those qualities and deeds of kingship to which a pious, effective Christian king should aspire, in addition to and as a means towards achieving reconciliatory peace. We see throughout what we have now come to expect of a king: protecting *pauperes*, being a generous patron of the church, adhering to the counsel of *clerici*, successfully fighting against those who threaten the realm, ensuring his subjects observe Christianity correctly, promoting just laws, and providing an heir, building, whilst being possessed of *mansuetudo*, *pietas*, *amabilitas*, and *affabilitas*. It is possible, however, to see particular emphasis on two points: military activity and obedience to *clerici*. Six of the featured kings are praised for having fought, but only in order to protect their people, namely Alfred, Edward the Elder, Athelstan, Edmund, Eadred, Edmund Ironside. Similarly, six of the kings to whom chapters are devoted are depicted as being suitably deferential to churchmen: Alfred, Athelstan, Edmund, Eadred, Edwin (after an initial impious refusal to be so), and, perhaps most significantly, Edgar.¹⁶² As noted above, the brief characterization of David's kingship in the *Genealogia* is different from that

¹⁶¹ Short, 'Tam Angli quam Franci', p. 168.

¹⁶² Marsha L. Dutton has also noted Aelred's emphasis on the churchmen's counsel, in her conference paper '*Sancto Dunstano Cooperante*: The collaboration of monks and monarchs in the

in the *Eulogium*. A respect for the wise counsel of churchmen, however, as emphasized in the *Genealogia* portraits, is evident. Could it have been this which suggested the conjunction of the two works to Aelred?

The *Genealogia* gives a composite picture of good kingship, and with the *Eulogium*, Aelred added nuance to this picture. The *Genealogia* shows that appropriate exercise of kingship could and should enable Henry to achieve peace, prosperity and unity for his realm and salvation for himself. Obedience to clerical counsel was a particularly important aspect of good kingship, as was military activity – if undertaken for the right reasons and appropriately deployed. Successfully juggling all the requirements of rulership could facilitate salvation, but not necessarily sanctity. The David we see in Aelred's *Eulogium* satisfied all of the criteria but one, namely ensuring that his wars were conducted appropriately. He was exemplary, but not quite good enough to be pushed – yet – into sanctity.

This speaks to our ever-evolving understanding of medieval attitudes to violence. The eleventh and twelfth centuries have been identified as a period in which there were particularly 'creative' changes in ideas about war.¹⁶³ In his study of warfare and sanctity in Anglo-Saxon England, Damon argued that 'by the end of the twelfth century, a hagiographer no longer needed to distance his subject from warfare or even justify a saint's participation in battle'.¹⁶⁴ Aelred's treatment of David, however, suggests that at this point, for Aelred at least, the picture was still ambiguous.¹⁶⁵

This and the previous chapter have argued, then, that royal rulership was not only not necessarily a bar to sanctity, but could itself forge and prove sanctity. The *Genealogia regum Anglorum* confirms the spiritual value of correctly-enacted kingly office, and gives an indication of those aspects that Aelred deemed particularly important. Fostering of learning, justice, and proper religious

historical works of Aelred of Rievaulx', 'The Religious and the Laity Europe c. 1000-1300', University of Leicester, 31 July-3 August, 2003.

¹⁶³ Contamine, *War in the Middle Ages*, p. 270.

¹⁶⁴ Damon, *Soldier Saints and Holy Warriors*, p. 282.

¹⁶⁵ See also Brett, 'Warfare and its restraints'.

observance, generous alms-giving and moderation of temperament are all grist to a would-be saint-maker's mill, but were not an automatic recipe for sanctity, as may be seen by the example of the *christianissimus*, but not saintly, David. We have seen that sexual activity, use of luxury goods and encouragement of mercantile activity did not necessarily preclude sanctity, nor did royal power over others, if properly exercised. Engagement in warfare, however, could present too great an obstacle, and in this respect, arguably Margaret's sanctity was, ultimately, female-gendered, in that there was no expectation that she should engage in military activity.

Chapter 5.

Edward: *et rex et sanctus*.

This final chapter will consider the hagiographical revisions of texts promoting one subject, Edward the Confessor, in the light of the parameters and issues identified in the previous chapters. Edward was not only recognized as a saint, but was even eventually granted papal canonization – at this point a novel and far from prerequisite acknowledgement. Evidently, then, the model of lay sanctity set down for him ultimately conformed with acceptable notions of a good life. The three early *vitae*, however, present rather different Edwards, as each author sought to create the saint that best conformed to his particular priorities. Some of the issues we have already identified are present in Edward's hagiographical texts, and the ways in which the authors wrestled with them suggest that although Edward would eventually become a viable model of lay sanctity, the development of that model was not unproblematic. This chapter will trace three broad themes across the texts, namely the respective depictions of Edward's rulership, his alleged virginity, and his miraculous portfolio. The ways in which his biographers highlighted, downplayed or adapted these themes – in order to present Edward according to their requirements – demonstrate that although lay sanctity was potentially problematic, it nonetheless could be presented as successfully as clerical or monastic sanctity.

5.i The sources.

It is the early Latin *vitae* of Edward the Confessor that will be considered here. The main focus will be Osbert of Clare's *Vita beati Eadwardi regis Anglorum* (hereafter cited as *Vita beati Eadwardi*), and Aelred of Rievaulx's *Vita S. Edwardi regis et confessoris* (hereafter cited as *Vita S. Edwardi*), with reference to the eleventh-century anonymous *Vita Ædwardi regis qui apud Westmonasterium requiescit* (hereafter cited as *Vita Ædwardi*). Occasional reference will also be made to William of Malmesbury's *Gesta regum Anglorum*, which also includes passages on Edward.¹

¹ Barlow argued that William and Osbert both used the Anonymous, but independently of each other, Barlow, *Vita Ædwardi* (1992), p. xxxiv

The anonymous work is an intriguing and much-studied text.² It is extant in a single partially damaged manuscript, BL Harley MS 526, a miscellany dated to c.1100.³ There is still debate as to the date and process of the *vita*'s composition: it has been variously suggested that it was written in two stages, the first part in 1065-6 and the second part in 1067,⁴ as a single piece in 1068-70,⁵ and as a single piece but earlier, perhaps in 1066-7.⁶ Overall, Barlow's model of the two-staged composition is the most convincing. Composed in alternating sections of verse and prose, the *Vita Ædwardi* essentially concerns itself with the interests of Edith – 'cui potissimum nunc hac famulamur descriptione presenti'.⁷ In the first section, according to Barlow's editorial division, Edward is almost marginalized, and the real heroes are his wife Edith, her father Godwin and her brothers. The second part focuses on Edward and his religious life. This marked shift of focus itself argues for Barlow's two-staged composition model.⁸

Unfortunately, the single extant manuscript of the *Vita Ædwardi* is damaged, and Barlow estimated that just under 2500 words are missing.⁹ He has made a largely convincing reconstruction of the missing passages, suggesting that the first lacuna contained a description of Edith and, presumably, of Edward's marriage and married life, and the second contained miracles.¹⁰ Barlow filled the first lacuna with an interpolation of Richard of Cirencester's account of Edith and

² An exhaustive list is neither practical nor necessary here, but in addition to Barlow, *Vita Ædwardi*, see also, for example, *idem*, *Edward the Confessor* (1970; New Haven and London, 1997 edn. cited here); Stafford, *Queen Emma and Queen Edith*; M. Otter, 'Closed Doors: An Epithalamium for Queen Edith, Widow and Virgin', in C.L. Carlson and A.J. Weisl (eds.), *Constructions of Widowhood and Virginitiy in the Middle Ages* (New York, 1999), pp. 63-92.

³ On the manuscript and its history, see Barlow, *Vita Ædwardi* (1992), pp. lxxviii-lxxxii. Barlow tentatively suggested that Harley 526 may have been written at Christ Church, Canterbury, *ibid.*, p. xlv.

⁴ Barlow, *Vita Ædwardi* (1992), pp. xxix-xxxiii.

⁵ E.K. Heningham, 'The Literary Unity, the Date and the Purpose of the Lady Edith's Book, "The Life of King Edward who Rests at Westminster"', *Albion*, 7 (1975), 24-40.

⁶ Stafford, *Queen Emma and Queen Edith*, pp. 40-1.

⁷ Anon., *Vita Ædwardi* (1992), pp. 66-7 ['the principal one whom we chiefly serve in this present account']; c.f. pp. 4-9, 90-1. On the literary form of the work, see Barlow, *Vita Ædwardi* (1992), pp. xxvii-xxviii.

⁸ This is also noted by Victoria Thompson, who has compared the cursory description of Edward's death in the first book, which concludes a decline into impotence and mental illness, with the second book's depiction of Edward's death-bed as 'the stage for a triumphant resurgence of temporal and spiritual power'. V.J. Thompson, 'The understanding of death in England from c. 850 to c.1100' (Dphil. thesis, York University, 2000), p. 203 cited.

⁹ Barlow, *Vita Ædwardi* (1992), p. xl.

her marriage to Edward into the Anonymous's *vita*.¹¹ Although his main source was Aelred's *vita*, Richard "lifted" three passages from a manuscript similar to that which contains the extant *Vita Edwardi*.¹² Additionally, a passage of some 500 words as yet untraced to any extant manuscript treats of Edith and her marriage.¹³ He suggested that the second lacuna may be filled by an interpolation in the Bury St. Edmunds manuscript of John of Worcester's *Chronicon*.¹⁴

The second *vita* was written c. 1138 by Osbert of Clare, prior of Westminster.¹⁵ This is partially based on the latter section of the anonymous work, but downplays the earlier work's emphasis on Edith and her kin, and portrays Edward as saintly. Osbert's *vita* is extant in two manuscripts: BL Additional 36737 and Cambridge Corpus Christi College MS 161. Until the early twentieth century it was known only in the abbreviated form of the latter manuscript, a legendary written in the first half of the thirteenth century.¹⁶ BL Add. 36737 is a *passionale* of late-twelfth or early-thirteenth origin, probably composed for the Cistercian abbey of Hemmerode, in the diocese of Trier.¹⁷ It is this fuller text, edited by Bloch, which will be used here.

Osbert's *Vita beati Ead.* supported the unsuccessful bid for Edward's canonization in c. 1138–9. Having given a copy of his *vita* to the papal legate

¹⁰ Barlow, *Vita Edwardi* (1992), pp. xl-xlii.

¹¹ Barlow, *Vita Edwardi* (1992), pp. xxxix-xl. This Westminster monk, writing in the second half of the fourteenth century, wrote a 'completely derivative' work (the phrase is Barlow's, *Vita Edwardi* (1992), p. xxxix); Richard of Cirencester, *Speculum historiale de gestis regum Angliae*, ed. J.E.B. Mayor, RS 30, 2 vols. (London, 1863-1869).

¹² Barlow, *Vita Edwardi* (1992), p. xxxix highlights pp. 14-18, 18-20 and 122-4 of Anon., *Vita Edwardi*. These passages are indeed remarkably close to Richard's text, *Speculum historiale*, 2: 210-11, 212 and 291-2 respectively. However, as noted by Tyler, in 'Wings incarnadine', p. 101, 'the passage is worth considering, but it must be discussed with care and any conclusions drawn considered as provisional'; c.f. Stafford, *Queen Emma and Queen Edith*, p. 115, n. 107.

¹³ Barlow, *Vita Edwardi* (1992), pp. xxxix-xl, with regard to Richard of Cirencester, *Speculum historiale*, vol. 2, book iv, cap. 11, 221-3. Barlow deduced that this represents just under half of the lacuna, and included it in Anon., *Vita Edwardi* (1992) at pp. 22-5.

¹⁴ Barlow, *Vita Edwardi* (1992), p. xli; see also *idem*, 'The *Vita Edwardi* (Book II); The seven sleepers: Some further evidence and reflections', *Speculum* 40 (1965): 385-97.

¹⁵ On Osbert's eventful and troubled career, see J. Armitage Robinson, 'Westminster in the twelfth century: Osbert of Clare', *The Church Quarterly Review*, 68 (1909), 336-56; repr. as 'A sketch of Osbert's career', in E.W. Williamson (ed.), *The Letters of Osbert of Clare, Prior of Westminster* (1929; repr. Oxford, 1998), pp. 1-20; Ridyard, *Royal Saints*, pp. 16-37; Mason, *Westminster Abbey and its People*, pp. 89-91. Brian Briggs's current doctoral work on Osbert is eagerly awaited.

¹⁶ Bloch, 'La vie', p. 57; Armitage Robinson, 'Osbert's career', p. 17. Although this version of the *vita* is abridged, there are two episodes which do not appear in BL Add. 36737, which correspond to chapters in Aelred, *Vita S. Edwardi*, cc. 769-70, 783-4 [Aelred, *Life*, pp. 81-4, 110-12].

Alberic, Osbert petitioned for Edward's canonization at the papal curia in autumn 1139.¹⁸ Lukewarm support for this canonization bid came from Henry, bishop of Winchester and the chapter of St Paul's. King Stephen's letter, which was apparently drafted by Osbert himself, is the only enthusiastic one.¹⁹ Osbert seems to have impressed Innocent II, but the petition was refused on the grounds that it was insufficiently supported by the testimony of bishops and abbots: it was felt that a saint for the whole realm should have more supporters throughout the realm.²⁰

A second canonization bid, coordinated by Laurence, abbot of Westminster c. 1158–73, was successful. Presumably in response to Innocent II's objection, Laurence provided letters showing more widespread support for Edward's cause than in 1139.²¹ A party was despatched to the papal curia, bearing, in addition to the letters, a book of miracles, probably Osbert's *Vita beati Ead.*, and Edward was duly canonized by Alexander III in February 1161.²²

Aelred of Rievaulx was commissioned by his kinsman Abbot Laurence to write a further *vita*, which was presented on 13 October, 1163 at the translation of Edward's corpse.²³ Aelred's *vita* is based on that of Osbert, with additional elements including those from chronicles.²⁴ Like the *Vita Margaretae* and *Genealogia regum Anglorum*, this text was presented as a "mirror", for Henry, as will be further discussed below.²⁵ It was Aelred's *vita*, rather than either of the

¹⁷ Bloch, 'La vie', p. 57.

¹⁸ Barlow, *Edward the Confessor*, pp. 274-7; Mason, *Westminster Abbey*, p. 39; B.W. Scholz, 'The Canonization of Edward the Confessor', *Speculum*, 36 (1961), 38-60, pp. 39-40.

¹⁹ *Letters of Osbert*, Ep. 16-18, pp. 85-7; Armitage Robinson, 'A sketch of Osbert's career', p. 18.

²⁰ *Letters of Osbert*, Ep. 19, pp. 87-8. On the political factors which may also have influenced Innocent's decision, see Mason, *Westminster Abbey*, p. 302, Barlow, *Edward the Confessor*, p. 276, Scholz, 'Canonization of Edward the Confessor', pp. 47-8.

²¹ Barlow, *Edward the Confessor*, pp. 278-9. Thirteen of the letters are extant, (reproduced in Barlow, *Edward the Confessor*, appendix D, pp. 309-24). The extent of Osbert's involvement in this second bid is uncertain; see Barlow, *Edward the Confessor*, p. 280, n. 6; Armitage Robinson, 'A sketch of Osbert's career', p. 19.

²² Scholz, 'Canonization of Edward the Confessor', p. 50; Barlow, *Edward the Confessor*, p. 280. Alexander's letter is reproduced in Barlow, *Edward the Confessor*, pp. 323-4.

²³ Aelred, *Vita S. Edwardi*, cc. 739-40 [Aelred, *Life*, pp. 17-18]; c.f. Walter Daniel, *Vita Ailredi*, pp. 41-2. The translation was delayed until the king was able to attend, Barlow, *Edward the Confessor*, pp. 281-3; Mason, *Westminster Abbey*, p. 53.

²⁴ Aelred, *Vita S. Edwardi*, c. 740 [Aelred, *Life*, p. 18].

²⁵ Aelred makes this clear at several points in the Prologue, *Vita S. Edwardi*, 737-40 [Aelred, *Life*, pp. 15-16]. That the *vita* was intended as a mirror for Henry has also been noted by most commentators on the text, see, for example, Scholz, 'Canonization', p. 55; M.L. Dutton, 'Ælred,

earlier texts, which was both to enjoy medieval circulation in its own right and be adapted for both subsequent texts and other media.²⁶

These, then, are the sources of which this chapter treats. The Anonymous *vita* was essentially a political tract which arose from Edith's problematic situation, in the wake of her husband's death and the Conquest, Osbert shifted the focus on to Edward, and concentrated on Edward's sanctity, and Aelred was able to build upon Osbert's saintly Edward. I will mainly concentrate on how Osbert and Aelred revised their respective sources. As has been noted by others, the Anonymous, Osbert, and Aelred were each writing with different aims. In this chapter I will not be challenging the orthodox models of their respective aims, but arguing that their revisions of our chosen themes – rulership, virginity, and miraculous activity – contributed to the authors' achieving those aims. Broadly characterized, the Anonymous was concerned with promoting the interests of Godwin and his heirs, Osbert promoted Edward as a saint that concomitantly promoted the interests of Westminster Abbey, the site of his saintly corpse, and Aelred's *vita* was addressed to Henry II as a kind of mirror for princes, with a marked emphasis on peaceful rulership. That the authors were able to use the same subject, Edward, with such different objectives, confirms that lay sanctity – like any other sanctity – could be manipulated and did not simply have to be written as quasi-monastic. Tracing the shifts in our chosen themes affords a useful perspective on lived lay sanctity, and consequently on monastic perceptions of the lay life itself. For our present purposes, Aelred's *vita* is the most fruitful, in that, as will be seen, he was presenting a (saintly) living king to a living king. The ways in which aspects of Edward's rulership and sanctity were rewritten point to

Historian: Two Portraits in Plantagenet Myth', *Cistercian Studies Quarterly*, 28 (1993): 112-44, pp. 118-19; J.E. Lawyer, 'Aelred of Rievaulx's *Life of St. Edward the Confessor*: A medieval ideal of kingship', *Fides et Historia* 31 (1999): 45-65; K. Yohe, 'Ælred's recrafting of the *Life of Edward the Confessor*', *Cistercian Studies Quarterly* 38 (2003): 177-89.

²⁶ G.E. Moore, *The Middle English Verse Life of Edward the Confessor* (Philadelphia, 1942), pp. xli-xlii; P. Binski, *Westminster Abbey and the Plantagenets: Kingship and the Representation of Power 1200-1400* (New Haven, 1995), pp. 56-8. On the nun of Barking's Anglo-Norman verse life of the late twelfth century, for example, see Wogan-Browne, *Saints' Lives and Women's Literary Culture*, pp. 249-56. On the mid thirteenth century *La estoire de Seint Aedward le rei* (generally attributed to Matthew Paris and now Cambridge University Library MS Ee.3.59, printed in *Lives of Edward the Confessor*, ed. H.R. Luard, RS 3 (London, 1858), pp. 25-157, with translation at pp. 161-311, see P. Binski, 'Reflections on *La estoire de Seint Aedward le rei*: Hagiography and kingship in thirteenth-century England', *Journal of Medieval History* 16 (1990):

the tensions between the lay state, good kingship, and sanctity. We turn first to Edward's rulership. Was his sanctity premised on his royal authority, or achieved independently or even in spite of that authority?

5.ii.i Edward as ruler.

As we saw in the studies of Margaret and David, the genealogy with which a figure is provided can be indicative of the flavour of the subsequent text, and this is certainly the case with Edward's *vitae*. The Anonymous did not give Edward a genealogy such as those we have seen thus far, as a preface to Edward's life, character and deeds. Instead, the Anonymous's account of the oath sworn by the realm to Edward while he was still *in utero* is prefaced with a narrative of Godwin's rise to political power.²⁷ In keeping with the imperial nature of Edward's rule throughout the *vita*, the only reference to Edward's ancestry is on the imperially purple sail of a ship, given by Godwin to Edward after his coronation.²⁸ It is here that we see Edward's lineage: the sail depicts the lineage and illustrious battles of the kings of Wessex, although none is mentioned by name.²⁹ Here, then, Edward's lineage is not established in terms of particular ancestors' individual reputation or qualities, but rather of important and illustrious – but nonetheless non-specific – Wessex kingly imperial valour. That the ship is a gift from Godwin is significant: Edward's rulership is possible, desirable and necessary by virtue of his lineage, but it is also intertwined with the fate and patronage of Godwin. This is not to downplay the Anonymous's interest in Edward's lineage: the restoration of the Wessex royal dynasty was indeed fundamentally important. It is true that he did not provide Edward with a genealogical inheritance of individual ancestors' qualities as Turgot was to do for Margaret, but the *Vita Ædwardi* was not – at this stage at least – intended as a

333-50; C. Hahn, 'Proper behaviour for knights and kings: The hagiography of Matthew Paris, monk of St. Albans', *Haskins Society Journal* 2 (1990): 237-48, pp. 244-47.

²⁷ Anon., *Vita Ædwardi* (1992), pp. 8-13.

²⁸ Anon., *Vita Ædwardi* (1992), pp. 20-21. On the imperial form which the Anonymous ascribes to Edward's rule, see Tyler, 'Wings incarnadine', pp. 89-90, 102-3. Lynn Jones has traced the historical Edward's increased iconographical self-identification with imperial German and Byzantine models of rulership, L. Jones, 'From *Anglorum basileus* to Norman Saint: The transformation of Edward the Confessor', *Haskins Society Journal*, 12 (2002): 99-120; c.f. Mason, *Westminster Abbey*, pp. 15-16

²⁹ On the ship's sails, see Tyler, 'Wings incarnadine', pp. 92-3.

hagiographical portrait of Edward. What is of more interest to us is the way in which Osbert and Aelred saw fit to adapt the genealogy of the Anonymous's Edward. The Anonymous's Edward's heritage (and therefore also his claim to rulership), then, is from the outset bound up with Godwin's bounty, does not merit the specification of individual ancestors, and is one of important, but non-specific, imperial military prowess.

Osbert's genealogy for Edward does note particular ancestors, but, in contrast to Turgot in his genealogy of Margaret, which highlighted her royal and noble ancestry, Osbert focused on those of Edward's ancestors who were saintly, noted for monastic patronage, or quasi-monastic. Thus Ethelred serves chiefly as a route to Edgar, 'cenobiorum fundator'.³⁰ Although Edgar is also explicitly royal ('primo in regibus Anglorum monarchiam solus obtinuit'³¹), Osbert immediately moved on to his saintly offspring, Edward the Martyr and Edith, on whose spiritual merits he dwelt in more detail:

ei... gloriosus et felix filius eius Edwardus innocenter postmodum iugulatus dicens successit. Ipso uero in celestibus castris gloria et honore coronato Sanctissima ... uirgo Edeih, Edgari regis filia et gloriosi martiris Edwardi soror atque Adelredi germana, in sancto uirginitatis proposito dotales domino tabulas obtulit et copiosa miraculorum gloria clara in mundo et celebris effulsit.³²

Osbert then turned to St. Edburga of Winchester, Edgar's aunt, about whom he had already composed a *vita*.³³ On his father's side, then, Edward's legacy was holiness, which was itself transmitted via Ethelred (whose rule is little remarked upon) and Edgar, a royal patron of monks. His maternal inheritance is potentially interesting in the light of the orthodox model of lay sanctity needing to be achieved by quasi-monasticism. Having described Emma's brother, Richard II of

³⁰ Osbert, *Vita beati Eadwardi*, p. 69 ['founder of monasteries'].

³¹ Osbert, *Vita beati Eadwardi*, p. 69 ['first held the chief place alone among the kings of the English'].

³² Osbert, *Vita beati Eadwardi*, p. 69 ['his glorious and happy son Edward blamelessly succeeded his father when he died, but afterwards his throat was cut. ...he had been crowned in the heavenly castles with glory and honour ...the most holy virgin Edith, daughter of King Edgar and sister of the glorious martyr Edward and sister to Ethelred, in the holy intention of virginity offered to the Lord her dotal contract, and she shone forth in the world as being distinguished and celebrated for the copious glory of her miracles'].

Normandy (not entirely accurately)³⁴ as the founder of Fécamp, Osbert noted that ‘magis in occulto circumferebat anachoritam quam principem, monachum potius exprimebat quam ducem’.³⁵ Continuing the theme, Osbert passed to Richard II’s son, Robert, who spurned earthly glory: ‘honore paterno sublimatus, ... cunctis fidelibus memorandus terrenum postponens principatum, sepulchrum Christi Ierosolimis adiit et in reditu in Nicea urbe peregrinus obiens, eo sepultus in pace requiescit’.³⁶ Osbert concluded the chapter on Edward’s ancestry by summing up that his inheritance was essentially sanctity: ‘hec ... de generosa eius sanguinis linea dicta sufficient, ut nullus auditor ducat ambiguum opus ei sanctitatis ex diuina etiam gracia naturaliter innatum’.³⁷ Osbert’s Edward’s genealogical heritage is therefore sanctity and respect for the monastic way of life. As we shall see, these qualities sit at ease with Osbert’s subsequent depiction of Edward, and also with his overall aim of promoting Westminster’s interests.

Aelred’s genealogy commences with the most renowned (*famosissimus*) and most Christian (*Christianissimus*) Alfred – absent in the earlier *vitae* – and moved on to Edgar, who, as we have seen in previous chapters, was in our period lauded as a peace-fostering king who presided over a golden age of national harmony.³⁸ Thus, as in the *Genealogia*, Aelred foregrounded that Henry was a product of the Wessex dynasty. Whereas the Anonymous noted Edward’s Wessex pedigree, but non-specifically, and Osbert instead privileged Edward’s saintly or monk-friendly pedigree, Aelred established Edward in his Wessex context. Also as in the *Genealogia*, Aelred’s Edgar is a Solomonic *rex pacificus*. He was renowned, rich, and engendered peace:

³³ Osbert of Clare, *Vita beate et gloriose uirginis Ædurge*, ed. Ridyard, in *Royal Saints*, pp. 259-308. On Edburga see Ridyard, *Royal Saints*, pp. 16-37, and on the likely dating of the *vita*, see pp. 16-17, n. 19.

³⁴ On Fécamp’s early history, see Chibnall, *World of Orderic Vitalis*, pp. 111-12.

³⁵ Osbert, *Vita beati Eadwardi*, p. 69 [‘he secretly bore himself more as an anchorite than a prince, and he seemed more a monk than a duke’].

³⁶ Osbert, *Vita beati Eadwardi*, pp. 69-70 [‘having been raised to the paternal honour, ... a man who was renowned by all the faithful, deferring his earthly principate, approached the tomb of Christ of Jerusalem and, dying a pilgrim during his return in the town of Nicea, buried in that place, he rests in peace’].

³⁷ Osbert, *Vita beati Eadwardi*, p. 70 [‘<what I have> said on the noble line of his blood should suffice that no listener should have any doubt that work of sanctity was naturally innate in him from divine grace’].

³⁸ Aelred, *Vita S. Edwardi*, cc. 740-1.

in regem tandem Edgarum omnium [that is, his predecessors] felicitas simul et sanctitas videtur esse transfusa, qui omnes sicut sanctitate ita et honore vicit et gloria. In hujus ortu referuntur angeli cecinisse, et Angliae pacem ejus temporibus promississe. Quocirca tum pro coelesti oraculo, tum pro ipsius effectu oraculi, commune cum Salomone sortitus est nomen, pacificum regni illius statum re simul et nomine.³⁹

Edward's father Ethrelred was most vigorous (*strenuissimus*),⁴⁰ and his maternal grandfather, Richard of Normandy was most noble (*nobilissimus*).⁴¹

Like Osbert, Aelred highlighted Edward's maternal legacy via the dukes of Normandy, but unlike Osbert, Aelred focused on their holiness rather than their fondness for monks and the monastic life, and instead simply rendered them generally most glorious (*gloriosissimus*): 'laudabilis eorum vita et mors nihilominus pretiosa declarat'.⁴² Again, this sets the tone for the subsequent *vita*: although Aelred's Edward was indeed a friend to monks, the keynote of his rulership was Solomonic peace, through which his sanctity was both expressed and achieved.

Already, then, we see three different Edwards: the Anonymous's Edward, king and reliant on Godwin; Osbert's Edward, saint and friend to monks; Aelred's Edward, saint and heir to peace-making rulership. That one man could be all three is testament to the flexibility of his legend, and also therefore, to the plasticity of lay sanctity. This is not to say, however, that each author started entirely from scratch. Rather, each highlighted or elaborated upon qualities and episodes which best suited their requirements. Although one of Aelred's main concerns was the fostering of peace, he had not entirely invented Edward as *rex pacificus*. This aspect of Edward's rulership figures in all three *vitae*, and we turn now to the way in which it evolved.

³⁹ Aelred, *Vita S. Edwardi*, c. 741 ['the happiness and sanctity of all was poured into Edgar, who surpassed them all in holiness as well as honour and glory. Angels are said to have sung at his birth, and to have promised peace in his time to England. On account of this celestial oracle and of the effect of that oracle, having been given by all the name of Solomon, he established peace of the reign in both affairs and name'].

⁴⁰ Aelred, *Vita S. Edwardi*, c. 741.

⁴¹ Aelred, *Vita S. Edwardi*, c. 741.

⁴² Aelred, *Vita S. Edwardi*, c. 741 ['revealed as no less valuable on account of their laudable life and death'].

5.ii.ii Edward as *rex pacificus*.

From the very outset, the Anonymous positioned Edward in the tradition of peaceful, Solomonic kingship, likening Edward's rule to that of Solomon after the Davidian wars,

...secula ...
 aurea mox Anglis enituere suis;
 ut post bella Dauid pax succedens Salomonis
 Lethæo gemitus pressit in amne graues,
 undantesque suo diffudit prodiga regi
 diuitias cornu Copia munifico.⁴³

How Edward achieved Solomonic peace was not elaborated upon, but was apparently rather a side-effect of his very presence:

Procul, hoc uiuo, tanto duce, rege, patrono,
 hosticus absistat terror et ira tumens.⁴⁴

The Muse soon turned from Edward to Godwin's heirs, however, and attributed England's happy fate to them in addition to Edward.⁴⁵ Edward is again the source

⁴³ Anon., *Vita Ædwardi* (1992), pp. 6-7 ['A golden age shone for his English race, // As after David's wars came Solomon and peace, // Which drowned the grievous moans in Lethe's stream, // And Plenty poured profusely for her king // Abundant riches from a bounteous horn']. On the Vergilian resonances of this passage, see Tyler, 'Wings incarnadine', p. 85. See also Anon., *Vita Ædwardi* (1992), pp. 18-19, where the Anonymous again describes Edward's rule in terms of Solomonic peace: 'uideretur innocuari in eo illud donatium diuini muneris, quo post bellicosum Dauid regnum terrores compescuit preliorum, et succedenti filio eius Salomoni in solio glorię pacis exhibuit regnum, ut penitus extinctis omnibus contrariis motibus in mansuetudine uiueret, suos cum benignitate regeret, et uniuersa mundi gloria et diuitiis abundantius cunctis terrarum regibus exuberaret' ['there seemed to have been renewed in him that grant of heavenly favour, by which David, after a martial reign, repressed the horrors of war, and presented to his son Solomon, who followed him on the throne of glory, a rule of peace, so that, with all counter-movements completely destroyed he lived in gentleness, ruled his people with kindness, and overflowed more abundantly in the general glory and riches of the world than all the other kings of the earth'].

⁴⁴ Anon., *Vita Ædwardi* (1992), pp. 6-7 ['when this leader, patron, king was there, // The dreadful anger of the foe withdraws'].

⁴⁵ Anon., *Vita Ædwardi* (1992), pp. 6-7:

uelut Elisii fons unicus irrigat orbem,
 progenitis ex se fluminibus quattuor,
 fetibus ut uariis fecudent uiscera terre,
 ac foueant proprio condita plura sinu,
 sustinet Anglorum pietas sic celica regnum,
 hoc duce progenitis pignoribus quattuor

['just as one Elysian spring can throw // Four streams to irrigate the world, implant // The entrails of the earth with various fruits, // And foster many treasures in their folds, // So heavenly goodness holds the English realm // High with four children bred from this great earl']. See also pp. 26-7, where Godwin's offspring are again streams responsible for England's peace. Similarly, for example, it is Godwin, not Edward, who is described as a father to the nation: Anon., *Vita*

of peace as the Anonymous recounted the oath sworn by the realm to Edward while he was still *in utero*, which proleptically established the future king as ruling peacefully:

Natus ... puer dignus premonstratur patrie sacramento, qui quandoque paterni regni sullimaretur solio, et precedentium tempestatum turbinem sic suo sereno sedaret moderamine, ut pro pacis optentu omnis illa hostilis uastitas | et incursio excederet memorie.⁴⁶

Without suggesting what Edward may have done to earn the rejoicing and fealty of his people, the Anonymous simply stated that ‘passim... applauditur ei tam in seruitutis quam in obauditionis sponsione fideli. Laudatur a cunctis’.⁴⁷ Similarly, foreign *potentes* offered him joyful support and fealty.⁴⁸ For his part, Edward responded by sending unprecedentedly generous gifts.⁴⁹ It seems, then, that peace, fealty and acknowledgment were simply automatically bestowed upon him at his succession. There is no reason given for that bestowal – which strikes a marked contrast with Einhard’s depiction of Charlemagne’s achievement of national and international fealty and consequent generous gift-giving, which is prefaced by accounts of Charlemagne’s vigorous offensive and defensive military exploits.⁵⁰

The Anonymous’s labelling of Edward as a peaceful, Solomonic ruler, however, is undermined by his inclusion of Edward’s military ambitions. Describing the hostilities of 1051-2, the Anonymous recounted that Edward raised a military force against Godwin, although he stopped short of actual conflict,

Ædwardi (1992), pp. 10-11, 14-15, 40-43, 46-7. This has also been noted by Thompson, who stated that ‘the living Edward, while a paradigm of virtue, is no better than a Christian king should be, and is rivalled in piety by his wife..., and in authority by the king-maker Godwin’, ‘Understanding of death’, p. 197.

⁴⁶ Anon., *Vita Ædwardi* (1992), pp. 12-13 [‘the boy then born was declared ... by the oath of the people to be worthy to be raised at some time to the throne of his ancestral kingdom and by his serene rule so to still the tempest of preceding storms that under the spreading veil of peace all the destruction and assault worked by the foe should pass from men’s memory’].

⁴⁷ Anon., *Vita Ædwardi* (1992), pp. 14-15 [‘Everywhere he was acclaimed with loyal undertakings of submission and obedience... there was rejoicing by all’].

⁴⁸ Anon., *Vita Ædwardi* (1992), pp. 14-17.

⁴⁹ On the imperial implications of this gift-giving upon Edward’s reign, see Tyler, ‘Wings incarnadine’, p. 89.

⁵⁰ Einhard, *Vita Karoli Magni*, cc. 5-16, ed. G.H. Pertz, *Scriptores rerum germanicarum in usus scholarum ex Monumentis Germaniae historicis separatim editi* (Hannover, 1863), pp. 1-34, pp. 6-17 [Einhard and Notker the Stammerer, *Two Lives of Charlemagne*, trans. L. Thorpe (Harmondsworth, 1969), pp. 51-90, pp. 59-71].

partially due to mercy towards Godwin, and partially due to the relative strengths of their respective armies, as the king's forces were depleted due to the flight of the cowardly Robert of Jumièges.⁵¹ Similarly, in 1065, Edward did not shy from trying to raise a force against rebels in Northumbria, who sought to oust Tostig, Godwin's son, appointed Earl of Northumbria by Edward.⁵² His attempts were unsuccessful, however, which sorrowed him greatly and, according to the first book, was the cause of his mental decline.⁵³ As discussed in Chapter 3, military activity seems to have been a site of tension between the imperatives of lay rulership and sanctity. As a good king, Edward would be expected to quell insurrection, with violence if necessary. As a saint, however, such activity was more problematic, and indeed was written out of the subsequent *vitae*. However unsuccessful Edward's military ambitions may have been (and the fact that one attempted skirmish was directly against none other than Godwin rendered its depiction still more problematic for the Anonymous), their inclusion nonetheless here made Edward neither unambiguously peaceful nor a ruler who only engaged in war in order to defend peace, as was to be advocated by Aelred in the *Genealogia*.

William of Malmesbury expressed some surprise at the peace of Edward's reign – which he felt was all the more surprising as Edward himself was so *simplex* and gentle (*se mansuete ageret*) that he was scarcely fit to rule, and even mocked by some.⁵⁴ *Simplicitas* did not necessarily have the negative connotations

⁵¹ Anon., *Vita Edwardi* (1992), pp. 42-5. On the hostilities of 1051-2, and the events that led to them, see Barlow, *Edward the Confessor*, pp. 104-6, 108-26. On the antipathy between Robert – erstwhile Abbot of Jumièges, Bishop of London from 1044, and Archbishop of Canterbury from 1051 – and Godwin, see Anon., *Vita Edwardi* (1992), p. 29, n. 60, and pp. 30-7; Barlow, *Edward the Confessor*, pp. 104-17; Lawyer, 'Aelred of Rievaulx's *Life of St. Edward*', p. 48; J.L. Grassi, 'The *Vita Edwardi Regis*: The hagiographer as insider', *Anglo-Norman Studies* 26 (2004 for 2003): 87-102, pp. 90-2.

⁵² See Anon., *Vita Edwardi* (1992), pp. 76-81; Barlow, *Edward the Confessor*, pp. 234-9; Barlow, *Godwins*, pp. 83-5.

⁵³ Anon., *Vita Edwardi* (1992), pp. 80-1.

⁵⁴ William of Malmesbury, *Gesta regum Anglorum*, 1: 348-9: 'uir propter morum simplicitatem parum imperio idoneus, sed Deo deuotus ideoque ab eo directus. Denique eo regnante nullus tumultus domesticus qui non cito comprimeretur, nullum bellum forinsecus, omnia domi forisque quieta, omnia tranquilla; quod eo magis stupendum, quia ita se mansuete ageret ut nec uiles homunculos uerbo ledere nosset' ['<he was> a man of such simple mores that he was hardly fit to rule, but he was devoted to God and therefore guided by him. Thus during his reign there was no domestic strife that was not soon checked, no foreign war; all was quiet at home and abroad, all tranquil; which was more to be marvelled at, as he bore himself with such *mansuetudo* that he could not bring himself to verbally wound even the lowest of men'].

it carries today, and indeed was one of the cornerstones of reformed monasticism – especially Cistercian – in the twelfth century. Apparently, then, William too saw the inconsistency in the Anonymous’s depiction of Edward’s peaceful rulership, but did not try to resolve it.

Osbert’s Edward, like the Anonymous’s, is described as being joyfully received into the realm and gaining national and international fealty, again with reference to Solomonic peace after the Davidian wars, before any justification for such joy, fealty or peace is established.⁵⁵ Similarly, he concludes the chapter by comparing Edward’s rule to that of Solomon:

In cuius regni principio tanta pacis resplenduit gracia ut Salomonis regnum post terrores Dauiticorum appareret preliorum, et, sedatis bellorum incendiis, in mansuetudine uiueret et uniuersa mundi gloria pre ceteris terrarum regibus copiosus habundaret.⁵⁶

Whereas, however, for the Anonymous it was apparently Edward’s very presence which engendered peace, Osbert does provide some justification, albeit after his description of the fealty itself by setting up a thread for a subsequent chapter to pick up, which fleshes out Edward’s peacemaking: ‘sola Dacia effera et superba

⁵⁵ Osbert, *Vita beati Eadwardi*, p. 73: ‘Mittuntur post illum duces regni et pontifices religiosi, festiuoque omnium tripudio adducitur, . . . uicina . . . regna suo confederantur imperio, eiusque perfrui desiderant amicitia et dilectione sublimari graciosa. Imperator igitur Romanorum Henricus . . . ad connectendas in inuicem fidei dexterarum legatos dirigit et sibi suisque pacem et amicitiam postulat et impertit. Henricus etiam rex Francorum, carnis ei et sanguinis uicinitate propinquus, fedus cum illo indissolubile pepigit, et manibus plaudens de tanti principis gloria medullitus exultauit. Ceteri quoque principes in circuitu per litteras et legatos ad illum ueniunt seque suaque tuicioni et presidio eius commitunt’ [‘Dukes of the realm and religious pontiffs are sent after him [Edward], and he is led with the festive and solemn jubilation of all. . . the neighbouring realms on all sides are confederated to his command, and desire to fully enjoy his friendship and to be elevated to his gracious delight. Therefore Henry, emperor of the Romans, . . . sends skillful legates to mutually join together their hands in faith and demands and offers his peace and friendship to him and his. Also Henry, King of the French, closely related to him in flesh and blood, pledged and indestructable treaty with him, and exulted the glory of such princes to his very marrow with applauding hands. And also other princes from all around approach him with letters and ambassadors, and they entrust themselves to his defence and protection’].

⁵⁶ Osbert, *Vita beati Eadwardi*, p. 73 [‘At the beginning of whose reign, such grace of peace shone that the kingdom of Solomon appeared after the terrors of the Davidian battles, and, the fires of wars having been calmed, he lived in gentleness and abounded in all the glory of the world compared to other kings of rich lands’]. Osbert’s Edward himself sees his rule in Solomonic terms: see *infra*.

adhuc spirabat iniquitatis rabiem et ... exercere suum tempore oportuno prestolabatur furorem'.⁵⁷

Osbert's *vita*'s first supernatural episode in which Edward is directly involved picks up on this, as Edward sees in the spirit ('uidit in spiritu')⁵⁸ the downfall of the obstinate King of Denmark. During a service at Westminster, Edward suddenly broke out into immoderate loud laughter, surprisingly at odds with his usual demeanour. When pressed, he revealed that he had seen Svein of Denmark preparing a military expedition against England. Unfortunately for Svein, but fortunately for Edward and England, Svein slipped as he embarked the ship, fell into the sea and drowned ('miserabiliter exspirauit').⁵⁹ His demise, Edward explained, was by the 'just judgement of God' ('iusto Dei iudicio'), 'ut et plebs mea ab infausta pernitie sit immunis et libera, et tota Dacia ab homicidii liberetur offensa'.⁶⁰ Legates are sent to check the veracity of this vision, and find that Svein had indeed died thus. This was, of course, an impressive sign to Edward's peers that he was a powerful enemy:

timor magnus super uniuersas per circuitum nationes irruit, et ad uenerationem hominis Dei regis Eadwardi omnium animos excitauit. ... Ceterarum tyranni et potentes insularum pacem cum ipso faciunt tantique triumphatoris.⁶¹

Finally, we are shown how and why others are convinced to offer fealty and peace. It is not, however, through any specific actions of his own, but is rather conferred upon him by divine and public approbation. His virtue here is essentially passive.

Thus the favour in which Edward was held by God was manifested both in God's smiting of an enemy of Edward and England, and in God's revealing that smiting to Edward himself. God's kindly patronage of Edward, then, could

⁵⁷ Osbert, *Vita beati Eadwardi*, p. 73 ['only savage and arrogant Denmark still breathed the madness of wickedness, and waited for an opportune time at which to exercise its fury'].

⁵⁸ Osbert, *Vita beati Eadwardi*, p. 75.

⁵⁹ Osbert, *Vita beati Eadwardi*, pp. 75-6.

⁶⁰ Osbert, *Vita beati Eadwardi*, p. 76 ['that my people should be immune and free from unfortunate destruction, and that all of Denmark might be free from the offence of homicide'].

provide explanation and justification of the peace which England was to enjoy under Edward – and a salient warning to any who might be tempted to threaten that peace. For Osbert, there was no need to mention Edward’s military ambitions, and therefore no need to thus undermine his notion of Edward as *rex pacificus*. Notwithstanding, Edward’s fostering of peace was still somewhat passive: while the Anonymous’s Edward had Godwin and his heirs to fight and quell troublesome elements, Osbert’s Edward had God to perform such duties.

It is in the context of God watching over Edward’s realm, however, that his magnates’ fears over the likely consequences of his proposed pilgrimage to Rome may be seen:

pontifices et duces et ceteri sapientes regni, memores malorum que sub aliis regibus pertulerant, in huius absentia hec iterum uentura formidabant. Inuitos ergo et renitentes se tanto principe et tam pio patrie patre carere, proclamabant quia sedatum nouiter regnum aliqua hostilitate turbandum aut regem in uia aliquo incommodo metuebant periturum.⁶²

This confirms his rulership to be needed, an important factor, as we saw in the study of Stephen: Edward is unanimously held to be an effective guardian of peace. His was not an active fostering of peace. Aelred’s Edward, however, was more directly responsible for the peace of his reign.

Aelred gave more justification than had the Anonymous or Osbert for Edward’s joyful reception as king at home and abroad. His version of the *in utero* oath was quasi-miraculous, evidenced by the reversal of the natural order of fealty to divine intervention, and that everybody realised even at the time that this foretold great things of the embryonic king:

⁶¹ Osbert, *Vita beati Eadwardi*, pp. 76-7 [‘great fear rushed in to all nations on either side, and stirred up all minds to veneration of the man of God, Edward. ... Tyrants and potentates of other lands make peace with him <and acknowledge the domination> of so great a king’].

⁶² Osbert, *Vita beati Eadwardi*, p. 78 [‘the pontiffs, dukes and other wise men of the realm, remembering the bad things which they had suffered under other kings, feared that all these things would come again in his absence. They therefore declared that they were unwilling and resistant to do without such a prince and such a dutiful father of the country, because they feared that the recently pacified kingdom might be disturbed by some hostility or that the king would perish through meeting something unfortunate *en route*’].

scirent omnes in totius regni consolationem regem futurum, quem ab ipso Deo plebe nesciente quid fecerit, nullus dubitaret electum.⁶³

Moreover, Aelred described Edward's character and demeanour during his exile in Normandy as that of a good-king-in-waiting, fully earning the affection within which he was held by all who knew him. He was an exemplary child – 'immunis tamen ab his vitiis quibus vel aetas illa vel hominum genus illud implicari solet'⁶⁴ – and thus, already displaying the *benevolentia* of a good ruler that we have noted in previous chapters, earning his peers' affection: 'mira benevolentia officiisque gratiois omnium sibi coetaneorum conciliaret affectum'.⁶⁵ This picture of nascent good rulership is completed by noting that Edward was an assiduous church-goer and friend of monks.⁶⁶

Having established that Edward was a good ruler-in-waiting, Aelred elaborated upon the deplorable state into which the realm had fallen under Danish rule,⁶⁷ thus insisting more strongly than had Osbert the notion that a peace-fostering king was necessary. Edward, meanwhile, exhibited persistent faith and patience in the face of his adversities: 'Edwardus omni humano destitutus auxilio, vivebat exsul patriae sed non iustitiae, regni non fidei, honoris non virtutis.'⁶⁸ He obediently entrusted his fate to God, who duly delivered him his realm.⁶⁹

That Edward was the man for the job is confirmed by his childhood demeanour and patience in the face of adversity, and that his succession was right was confirmed by the practical effects which the Edwardian peace had on the realm. His reception in Aelred's version of events, then, is simply a fulfillment of

⁶³ Aelred, *Vita S. Edwardi*, c. 742 ['all knew that this king would be a comfort to the whole kingdom, and no one doubted that, although the people knew not what was happening, he had been chosen by God himself', Aelred, *Life*, p. 23].

⁶⁴ Aelred, *Vita S. Edwardi*, c. 742 ['immune from the vices with which that age or that kind of man are wont to be entangled'].

⁶⁵ Aelred, *Vita S. Edwardi*, c. 742 ['with his wonderful benevolence and gracious helpfulness he won the affection of his peers'].

⁶⁶ Aelred, *Vita S. Edwardi*, c. 742 [Aelred, *Life*, p. 24].

⁶⁷ Aelred, *Vita S. Edwardi*, cc. 742-4 [Aelred, *Life*, pp. 25-7].

⁶⁸ Aelred, *Vita S. Edwardi*, c. 744 ['Edward, destitute of all human assistance, lived exiled from his homeland, but not from justice, from his realm but not from his faith, from his honour [ie the title of his position] but not his *virtus*']. On *honor* in the sense of high office, see J.L. Nelson, 'Kingship and royal government', in R. McKitterick (ed.), *The New Cambridge Medieval History, Vol. II, c. 700-c. 900* (Cambridge, 1995), pp. 383-430, p. 427.

⁶⁹ Aelred, *Vita S. Edwardi*, c. 744 [Aelred, *Life*, pp. 27-8].

that which all had known for some time was right, and which his bearing in the interim confirmed that he deserved: ‘beatum Edwardum cui necdum nato tota insula fidem fecerat, in regem elegerunt, quem cum summo honore maximoque omnium tripudio receptum in Angliam’.⁷⁰ Edward was not simply the best candidate, his succession was a restoration of the right order of things, as was proven by the restored harmony between nature and man:

amissam reciperet in Edwardo populus pacem, proceres gloriam, ecclesia libertatem. Tunc elevatus est sol et luna stetit in ordine suo, quando Edwardo gloria et honore coronato, sacerdotes sapientia et sanctitate fulgebant, monasteria omni religione pollebant, clerus in officio suo, populus stabat in gradu suo; videbatur etiam terra fecundior, aer salubrior, sol serenior, maris unda pacatior, quoniam diu rege pacifico regnante, in uno vinculo pacis omnia convenirent, ut nihil pestilentiosum esset in aere, nihil in mari tempestuosum, in terra nihil infecundum, nihil inordinatum in clero, nihil in plebe tumultuosum.⁷¹

It was news of this remarkable harmony, peace and prosperity that caused other nations to pledge allegiance to Edward. Aelred, then, not only highlighted Edward’s peace-fostering kingship more strongly than had the Anonymous or Osbert, he also contextualized it, so when at this point he likened Edward to Solomon, it was apparently with far greater justification and more solid foundation: ‘Sic beato Edwardo noscitur convenire, quod de Salomone sacra Scriptura commemorat: “Cuncti reges terrae desiderabant videre faciem ejus, et audire sapientiam illius”’.⁷² Lest the message should have been not entirely clear, Aelred also retained Osbert’s account of Edward’s vision of Svein’s death.⁷³

⁷⁰ Aelred, *Vita S. Edwardi*, c. 744 [‘the blessed Edward, to whom the whole island had made allegiance before his birth, they elected as king, and received in England with the greatest honour and universal rejoicing’].

⁷¹ Aelred, *Vita S. Edwardi*, c. 745 [‘in Edward, the people regained lost peace, the nobles honour, the church liberty. Then the sun and moon stood raised in their order, after Edward was crowned with glory and honour, priests shone with wisdom and holiness, monasteries flourished with all religion, the clergy in their office, the people stood firm in their place. It seemed that even the land was more fecund, the air more salubrious, the sun more serene, the waves of the sea more peaceful, for when a king reigns in peace for a long time, all comes together in a binding of peace, and there is nothing pestilent in the air, nothing tempestuous in the sea, nothing infertile in the earth, nothing disorderly in the clergy, nothing tumultuous in the people’].

⁷² Aelred, *Vita S. Edwardi*, c. 745 [‘It was thus said of the blessed Edward as Scripture said of Solomon: “All the kings of the earth desired to see his face and hear his wisdom”’, Aelred, *Life*, p. 29].

⁷³ Aelred, *Vita S. Edwardi*, cc. 748-9 [Aelred, *Life*, pp. 37-9].

We see, then, that Edward as Solomonic *rex pacificus* featured in all of the *vitae*, but became more fully rounded with each rewrite. This is undoubtedly partly attributable to the fact that each successive author could address any perceived inconsistencies in previous texts. Additionally, however, each author simply focused on what best fitted into his overall schema: the Anonymous wanted to portray Edward's rule as peaceful, but had no particular interest in attributing that peace directly to Edward; Osbert inserted a supernatural element into the achievement of peace, thus establishing Edward's sanctity and that God was on his side, but had no particular interest in demonstrating the nitty-gritty of Edward's peaceful rulership; Aelred set down how Edward's character and the chaos of the Danish rule conjoined to make him the right man at the right time, as well as the practical effects of his rulership, and addressed the text to a man who was to emulate his character and who had come to the throne after the realm had experienced a similar period of less than peaceful rule.

Solomonic kingship in the anonymous *Vita Aedwardi* has been noted by other scholars. Barlow, for example, saw this largely in terms of peaceful kingship, as 'in the eleventh century, the name was not particularly associated with wisdom'.⁷⁴ There are also, however, other aspects of Solomonic kingship which we have encountered in previous chapters present in the texts concerned with Edward. We turn now to consider the educative aspect of Solomonic kingship which was so key to Alfred's rule and subsequent depictions of Alfred, and important in Turgot's representation of Margaret.

5.ii.iii *Rex philosophicus* or man of action?

The Anonymous seems little concerned with showing Edward educating his people or fostering learning, as Asser had depicted Alfred. Nor does he preserve any vignettes of Edward's own education or erudition as would be set down for Margaret of Scotland. Indeed it is Edith who is depicted as learned, and Edith who is described educating others, namely young boys reared at court: 'quid... tacite transibimus, quanto studio pueros, qui ex ipsius regis genere

⁷⁴ Barlow, *Edward the Confessor*, p. 192.

dicebantur, enutrierit, docuerit, ornauerit et omnem maternum affectum in eis effuderit?'.⁷⁵ Thus the education that the childless Edith bestowed upon her foster-sons is more maternally affectionate than Margaret's cruel-to-be-kind approach to the education of her biological children.

Edward, however, was given to the less cerebral – and manlier – pastime of hunting. With peace restored, the Anonymous's Edward was able to live 'in securitate et quiete, plurimumque temporis exigebat circa saltus et siluas in uenationum iocunditate'.⁷⁶ This love of the hunt is elaborated upon, with no hint of disapproval, or notion that such pastimes might be incompatible with the pious life about to be ascribed to Edward: 'Diuinis ... expeditus officiis, quibus libenter cotidiana intendebat deuotione, iocundabatur plurimum coram se allatis accipitribus uel huius generis auibus, uel certe delectabatur applausibus multurom motuum canibus'.⁷⁷ Hunting was an important part of a noble lay male's experience, providing not only the opportunity to learn and practice military skills, but also a space for male-bonding.⁷⁸ It was also itself a signifier of manliness, as may be seen in Asser's repeated insistence that Alfred was a keen hunter,⁷⁹ as counterpoint to what could have been construed as the weak, sickly rulership of a 'pious "wimp"'.⁸⁰ Intrinsically bound up with expectations of a noble layman, hunting was frowned upon for and by clerics, and sat ill at ease

⁷⁵ Anon., *Vita Æwardi* (1992), pp. 22-5, pp. 24-5 cited ['why should we pass over in silence how zealously she reared, educated, adorned and showered with motherly love those boys who were said to be of royal stock?']. This is in the passage interpolated by Barlow from Richard of Cirencester.

⁷⁶ Anon., *Vita Æwardi* (1992), pp. 60-3 ['in security and quietude, and spent much of his time in the glades and woods in the pleasures of hunting'].

⁷⁷ Anon., *Vita Æwardi* (1992), pp. 62-3 ['After divine services, to which he freely directed his attention daily, he took much pleasure in hawks and other birds of that kind which were brought before him, and was delighted by the baying and scrambling of the hounds']; see also pp. 78-9. That hunting was of the world, however, is acknowledged in the Anonymous's comment that 'His et talibus interdum deducebat diem, et in his tantummodo ex natura uidebatur aliquam mundi captare delectionem' ['in these and such like activities he sometimes spent the day, and it was in these alone that he seemed naturally inclined to snatch some worldly pleasure'].

⁷⁸ M. Bennett, 'Military masculinity in England and Northern France c. 1050-c. 1225', in Hadley (ed.), *Masculinity in Medieval Europe*, pp. 71-100, pp. 73-4.

⁷⁹ Airlie, 'Anxiety of sanctity', p. 393.

⁸⁰ This is Alfred Smyth's controversial characterization of Asser's Alfred, on which see Nelson, 'Monks, secular men and masculinity', pp. 136-7.

with sanctity.⁸¹ Here again, then, we have tension between expectations of a good king and of a saint.

That Edward's penchant for hunting did not impinge on the Anonymous's representation of his piety is suggested by the fact that the passage in which Edward is described as delighted by hawk and hound⁸² is followed by an assertion that Edward, 'deo uoluntarie deditus in squalore mundi angelum uiuebat'.⁸³ He was assiduous in his Christian duties, was a generous patron to abbots, religious and monks, fostered strict monastic discipline within the realm, meekly attended religious services,⁸⁴ and bestowed generous alms on *pauperes*.⁸⁵ The preface to the vision of the Seven Sleepers (that is, in its *Bury Chronicon* form) suggests that his involvement in secular activities did not overly distract him from higher matters:

Quamuis Eadwardus rex secularibus curis multum esset occupatus, abiectis tamen plerumque noxiis honoribus diuinorum studiorum erat indagator feruidus. Unde rex regum multa ei archana reuelauit, et nonnulla de futuris... insinuauit.⁸⁶

Nevertheless, his love of the hunt clearly makes him more a man of worldly action than of cerebral studies, and for the Anonymous, it was Edith, not Edward, who was to be praised for learning and teaching..

Similarly, William of Malmesbury did not focus on Edward as ruler-teacher. Indeed for William, Edward was essentially *simplex*.⁸⁷ As noted above, this term did not necessarily have negative connotations, but that William did not intend this entirely positively is suggested by his comment that although Edward

⁸¹ Airlie, 'Anxiety of sanctity', pp. 392-3. On the intense anxiety which engaging in this fundamentally lay male activity could induce, see Nelson, 'Monks, secular men and masculinity', pp. 121-42, pp. 130-1.

⁸² See p. 206, n. 77, *supra*.

⁸³ Anon., *Vita Ædwardi* (1992), pp. 62-3 ['voluntarily devoted to God, lived as an angel in the squalor of the world'].

⁸⁴ Anon., *Vita Ædwardi* (1992), pp. 62-3.

⁸⁵ Anon., *Vita Ædwardi* (1992), pp. 64-5.

⁸⁶ Anon., *Vita Ædwardi* (1992), pp. 102-3 ['Although King Edward was very much involved in secular affairs, he often cast aside harmful dignities and eagerly pursued divine studies. As a result, the King of kings... revealed to him many hidden matters, including some still in the future'].

⁸⁷ c.f. p. 199, *supra*.

might appear to some as idle (*deses*) or *simplex*, at least his ministers were effective.⁸⁸ William's Edward also loved to hunt,⁸⁹ and that he was apparently open to accusations of idleness suggests Edward's example was not necessarily one to be lauded. Neither Osbert nor Aelred dwelt upon Edward's military ambitions or his love of hunting, thereby, perhaps, rendering him less manly a king, but also removing one of the aspects of rulership which we have identified as problematic in the representation of sanctity. To what extent do they create a more cerebral version of Edward to replace the hunting and fighting figure?

The preamble to Osbert's *vita* seems to set the scene for Edward as a *rex philosophicus*, but this initial promise is not particularly fulfilled in the *vita* itself. Several references and allusions suggest that Edward's sanctity is intrinsically bound up with his rulership, and that the *rex philosophicus* model will be important in Osbert's construction of Edward. In his introductory letter to Alberic of Ostia, presented with the *vita*, Osbert pointed directly to four aspects of Edward. First, he was a ruler of men, a distinguished and great king: 'dominus ... et princeps ... rex insignis Eadwardus'.⁹⁰ Second, he was holy, and that holiness was proven by miracles: 'celestibus mundo miraculis tociens ostensus, dignus est, attestantibus signis, ... cuius copiosa apud Deum merita coronantur in celis'.⁹¹ Thus in one brief sentence Edward is king (underlined by his titles) and saint (attested by his miracles). Having exhorted Alberic to read the *vita* and support Edward's cause, Osbert reiterated Edward's royal status: '[v]ocat te ... celitus ad suum christus Dei Eadwardus obsequium'.⁹² He immediately proceeded to a third attribute, that Edward was a virgin, which has rendered his corpse incorruptible: '... species integritatis adhuc hodie ut confidimus ostendit in carne quanta

⁸⁸ William of Malmesbury, *Gesta regum Anglorum*, 1: 348-9: 'quanuis uel deses uel simplex putaretur, habebat comites qui eum ex humili in altum conantum erigerent' ['idle or innocent though he might appear, he had ministers who could second his efforts to rise higher in the world'].

⁸⁹ William of Malmesbury, *Gesta regum Anglorum*, 1: 348-9, 404-7.

⁹⁰ Osbert, *Vita beati Eadwardi*, p. 65 ['lord ... and prince... the distinguished King Edward'].

⁹¹ Osbert, *Vita beati Eadwardi*, p. 65 '[he] has been shown by heavenly miracles to the world as worthy, as confirmed by signs... whose abundant merits are crowned in Heaven in the presence of God'].

⁹² Osbert, *Vita beati Eadwardi*, p. 66 ['Edward, the anointed of God calls you ... from heaven to his obedience'].

virginitatis titulos mentis coluerit puritate'.⁹³ Finally, in the very next sentence, Osbert wrote that Edward was a patron of justice and fostered good behaviour: '[e]uis temporibus exaltatum est solium iustitie, ita ut uitia hunc experirentur iudicem et mores generosi inter domesticos prouisorem'.⁹⁴ Thus in the letter, Osbert's direct descriptions of Edward emphasise his status as king (by use of titles, reference to his anointing, and to his patronage of justice and good morals) and as saint (by his post-mortem spiritual and corporeal fates, and his supernatural powers). Additionally, immediately before these direct descriptions of Edward, Osbert apparently alluded to a rulership topos which we have encountered in previous chapters, namely ruler as illuminator of his people. In his letter to Alberic, Osbert's first sentence after the flattery topoi asks, 'Respice, ergo, pater pie, respice pietatis intuitu ecclesiam nostram, et super candelabrum erige que diutius latuit in puluere lucernam nostram'.⁹⁵ This seems to be a reference to the Sermon on the Mount. Indeed Aelred was to base his sermon at the 1163 translation of Edward's corpse on Luke 11:33,⁹⁶ part of Luke's account of the Sermon.⁹⁷ As noted in previous chapters, Kempshall has pointed to an Irish motif

⁹³ Osbert, *Vita beati Eadwardi*, p. 66 ['{his} appearance of integrity as we are sure still today shows in the flesh with how much purity of mind he cultivated the titles of virginity'].

⁹⁴ Osbert, *Vita beati Eadwardi*, p. 66 ['the seat of justice was exalted during his times, so that vices found him as a judge and so that noble manners found him as their supervisor amongst their domestics'].

⁹⁵ Osbert, *Vita beati Eadwardi*, p. 65 ['Look, therefore, o dutiful father, look upon our church with a gaze of pity, and raise up onto a candlestick our light, which has long been hidden in the dust'].

⁹⁶ 'nemo lucernam accendit et in abscondito ponit neque sub modio sed supra candelabrum ut qui ingrediuntur lumen videant' ['No man lighteth a candle, and putteth it in a hidden place, nor under a bushel; but upon a candlestick, that they that come in, may see the light']. C.f. Matthew 5:14-16, Mark 4:21, Luke 8:16.

⁹⁷ Walter Daniel, *Vita Ailredi*, p. 41. That this allusion continued to be used with regard to Edward is suggested by the opening of a motet in Edward's honour of c. 1300, extant in Oxford, New College, MS 362 and believed to be from Canterbury or Westminster: 'Civitas nusquam conditur // que supra montem excelsum ponitur // neque lucerna rutilans accenditur // et absconditur sub modio // set in sublimi candelabro figitur // tribuat ut lucem caliginoso populo. // Quoniam qui caret lumine // nescit quo tendat itinere // an si vadat utiliter // aut si deviet nequiter. // Sicque patent rutilant // Edwardi nec latitant // vite mores et dogmata // quamplurima. // Plebi carenti lumine vere // salutis prebuit lucem sapientie // atque clemencie. // Et de talentis sibi commissis a Domino // veluti famulus optimus // respondet in centuplo. // Et ideo sibi conceditur gloria // quo nunquam deficiet leticia // per infinita secula' ['Nowhere is a city founded which is placed on top of a high mountain, nor is a shining lamp enkindled and concealed beneath a measure of corn; rather it is set in a lofty candelabrum to shed light on a darkened populace. For whoever lacks light knows not the direction of his journey, nor whether he progresses usefully or deviates wretchedly. And likewise the conduct and very many doctrines of Edward's life are visible and shine, and they are not kept from plain view. To the common people lacking the true light of salvation he held forth the light of wisdom and clemency. And to the talents entrusted him by the Lord, he responded a hundred-fold, just as the good servant. Therefore glory is accorded him, for whom joy will never be absent for ages without end']. I am most grateful to Lisa Colton for this reference, text and translation.

according to which ‘a lantern on a lampstand signifies the ruler, its flame the light of learning’.⁹⁸

The Prologue continues this image of Edward as *rex philosophicus*. Edward’s status as wise king is reinforced by Osbert’s assertion in the Prologue that he fulfilled Plato’s prediction ‘beatam ...fore rem publicam si uel reges philosopharentur, uel philosophi regnarent’.⁹⁹ Whereas the Anonymous designated Edward as another Solomon in the opening part of his *vita*, for Osbert, he was instead another David:

Inuestigator quippe factus est sapientie, ‘et quesuit illam sibi sponsam assumere, et amator factus est forme illius’ Hec est speciosa Abisag in cuius sinu noster iste David requieuit, noster desiderabilis, noster manu fortis: inter cuius amplexus senio confectus incalcuit et salutis in illa delitias inuenit.¹⁰⁰

This could be interpreted as a reference to Edward’s celibacy.¹⁰¹ However it should be noted that Jerome interpreted this biblical passage in terms of David embracing and being warmed and renewed by Wisdom.¹⁰² The notion that this is the intended suggestion here is strengthened by the first sentence of the passage

⁹⁸ Kempshall, ‘No bishop, no king’, p. 109.

⁹⁹ Osbert, *Vita beati Eadwardi*, p. 67 [‘that a republic will be prosperous if either kings philosophize or philosophers rule’]. Bloch suggested that Osbert may have encountered Plato’s *Republic* via Boethius or Alcuin, Bloch, ‘La vie’, p. 67, n. 2. William of Malmesbury had also encountered this aphorism, c.f. *Gesta regum Anglorum*, 1: 710-1, 800-801, which the editors trace to Lactantius or Jerome, p. 710, n. 1.

¹⁰⁰ Osbert, *Vita beati Eadwardi*, p. 67, [‘For he was made an investigator of wisdom, “and searched for a wife to take for himself, and he became a lover of her beauty”. This is the beautiful Abisag, in whose bosom our David rested, our desirable one, our man of strong hand; in whose embraces, although worn out by old age he grew hot again and discovered the delights of salvation in her’].

¹⁰¹ C.f. 1 Kings 1: 1-4: ‘et rex David senuerat habebatque aetatis plurimos dies cumque operiretur vestibibus non calefiebat // dixerunt ergo ei servi sui quaeramus domino nostro regi adulescentulam virginem et stet coram rege et foveat eum dormiatque in sinu tuo et calefaciat dominum nostrum regem // quaesierunt igitur adulescentulam speciosam in omnibus finibus Israhel et invenerunt Abisag Sunamitin et adduxerunt eam ad regem // erat autem puella pulchra nimis dormiebatque cum rege et ministrabat ei rex vero non cognovit eam’ [‘Now king David was old, and advanced in years: and when he was covered with clothes, he was not warm. // His servants therefore said to him: Let us seek for our lord the king, a young virgin, and let her stand before the king, and cherish him, and sleep in his bosom, and warm our lord the king. // So they sought a beautiful young woman in all the coasts of Israel, and they found Abisag a Sunamitess, and brought her to the king. // And the damsel was exceeding beautiful, and she slept with the king: and served him, but the king did not know her’]. See also 1 Kings 1:15.

¹⁰² Jerome, *Ep. 52*, in *Select Letters of St. Jerome*, trans. F.A. Wright, (London, 1933), pp. 191-9. It seems that Osbert had indeed read Jerome’s letters, Armitage Robinson, ‘A sketch of Osbert’s career’, p. 6.

(‘Inuestigator ...’) which links Osbert’s reference to Edward in relation to Plato’s model and the David/Abishag allusion, and is derived from Wis. 8:2.¹⁰³ Here then, it seems, Edward is placed in the tradition of wise, if not explicitly Solomonic, kings.

A little later in the prologue, Osbert highlighted Edward’s royal status again, with reference to his coronation and unction.¹⁰⁴ This is immediately followed by a description of Edward as God-fearing judge: ‘cum causam in populo discuteret multimodam, imminentem capiti diuino semper iudicio metuebat uindictam’.¹⁰⁵ The prologue ends with a hope that ‘sanctus[...] rex Eadwardus’¹⁰⁶ may temper Osbert’s lyre (in the context of a tortuous lyre/melody metaphor), before ‘Incipit uita beati ac gloriosi regis Eadwardi’.¹⁰⁷ To sum up, in Osbert’s epistle and prologue, Edward is primarily a king, and is humble and lacks avarice,¹⁰⁸ but exercises philosophical rule and fair-minded justice.

The scene is apparently set, then, for Osbert’s Edward complying with the model of the righteous, wise and instructing king which was notably absent in the Anonymous’s *vita*, but in fact instruction plays no significant part in his representation in the *vita* itself. This omission may be explained at two levels. At a prosaic level, expectations of a king’s erudition had changed drastically in the seventy years or so between the Anonymous’s and Osbert’s *vitae*.¹⁰⁹ From the evidence of the epistle and prologue, as discussed above, Osbert presumably recognised the hagiographical merit of describing Edward as a *rex philosophicus*,

¹⁰³ ‘hanc amavi et exquisivi a iuventute mea et quaesivi sponsam mihi adsumere et amator factus sum formae illius’ [‘her [Wisdom] have I loved, and have sought her out from my youth, and have desired to take her for my spouse, and I became a lover of her beauty’].

¹⁰⁴ Osbert, *Vita beati Eadwardi*, p. 68 [‘Princeps ... Eadwardus Christus regis nostri signatus caractere et tau uiuificantem litteram gestans in fronte sceptrum gestauit et diadema regium in Anglorum dispositissima Dei ordinatione preparatum’ [‘the prince Edward having been marked with the character of Christ our King, and carrying the life-restoring letter *tau* on the forehead, bears the sceptre and royal diadem having been prepared in England by the most orderly ordination of God’].

¹⁰⁵ Osbert, *Vita beati Eadwardi*, p. 68 [‘when he was discussing a case of the people which had many ramifications, he always feared imminent vengeance hanging over his head by divine judgement’].

¹⁰⁶ Osbert, *Vita beati Eadwardi*, p. 68 [‘holy king Edward’].

¹⁰⁷ Osbert, *Vita beati Eadwardi*, p. 69 [‘Here begins the *vita* of the blessed and glorious King Edward’].

¹⁰⁸ This quality is discussed below.

¹⁰⁹ C.f. pp. 51-2, *supra*.

but quite simply could not make the historical Edward – an eleventh-century king – fit these new twelfth-century expectations. Osbert's Edward is neither dazzlingly erudite nor, as had been the Anonymous's, fond of hunting, but there is no particular concern to fill the gap with other pursuits. Having stated that Edward was wise, Osbert did not feel the need to illustrate that wisdom within his account of Edward's life. As will be discussed further below, this is not inconsistent with his overall objective in the *vita* as a whole.

Aelred's solution to the disjunction between the twelfth-century ideal of an educated king and the eleventh-century reality of a less-educated king was characteristically resourceful. His Edward does not preside over education or instruction as had Margaret, for example, and does not therefore teach in the Gregorian sense of *verbo et exemplo*, as we saw Margaret and Anselm doing. Instead, he is himself simply an example, as Aelred explicitly stated at several points in the *vita*. In the prologue to his *vita*, for example, Aelred stated that saints provide a pedagogic example:

Nihil enim magis ad aemulationem perfectionis animum humanum provocat et accendit, quam quorumlibet perfectorum legere vel audire virtutes, mores addiscere, gloriam aestimare; cum impossibile sibi nullus debeat arbitrari, quod alium fecisse cognoverit; nec possit haesitare de praemio si bene vixerit, legerit assecutum. Hinc est quod Dominus ac Salvator noster ... inter multos infirmos quosdam voluit esse perfectos, quorum industria alii traherentur ad fidem, vel ad mores optimos incitarentur.¹¹⁰

His Edward, then, was to be a teaching one, and he proceeded to outline the nature of his sanctity, by setting him in the context of previous saintly kings:

de sanctitate regum suorum Anglia gloriatur, quorum alii coronati martyrio, de terreno ad coeleste regnum migraverunt; alii exsilium patriae praeferentes, mori pro Christo peregre delegerunt; nonnulli posito

¹¹⁰ Aelred, *Vita S. Edwardi*, c. 737 ['Nothing more easily provokes and incites the human spirit to the imitation of perfection than reading or hearing about the *virtutes* of perfect people, to learn their *mores*, and to savour their renown. None ought to claim that something which he knows another to have achieved is impossible for himself: nor, if someone has lived well, can he hesitate about the reward, if he reads that it has been attained. That is why our Lord and Saviour ... wished there to be, among so many frail ones, a number of the perfect, by whose industry others might be incited to the faith, or drawn towards the best mores', Aelred, *Life*, p. 15]

diademate, disciplinis se monasticis subdiderunt; quidam in justitia et sanctitate regnantes, prodesse subditis quam praeesse maluerunt.¹¹¹

Edward, he stated, was in this last category, and Aelred explicitly held his Edward up as an exemplar of just rulership: ‘Imitanda enim est tanti regis tanta justitia.’¹¹² We see, then, that even if Aelred’s Edward was not preaching or teaching by word, he was himself an educational tool. This sets him in the tradition of exemplary sanctity and kingship, but has in this instance a further layer of relevance.

By underlining Edward’s position as Henry II’s ancestor, Aelred gave Henry a solid foundation for his kingship. At the outset Aelred stated that Henry should adopt Edward as an exemplar, which would earn him not only the benefits of a good life, but also Edward’s personal protection: ‘ejus te sedulo protectioni committas, imitari quoque satagas ejus sanctitatem, ut aeternam cum eo obtineas felicitatem’.¹¹³ Edward’s failure to unambiguously designate an heir had left the realm vulnerable to hostile invasion, and a series of dynastic misfortunes and contested successions had further ruptured national peace, but by emulating Edward, Henry could effectively become Edward’s direct heir, enjoying his direct patronage. With this proposed spiritual relationship, Henry could unassailably establish and justify his claim to the throne. If Edward is a saint, he is able to become a saintly patron; if he offers his saintly patronage to the current king, he confirms him as his heir.

We see, then, that the notion of ruler as wise instructor was present in Edward’s early *vitae*, but, perhaps contrary to what we might have expected from our earlier case-studies, was not dwelt upon to the same extent as his pacific rulership. Notwithstanding, Edward’s biographers were still able – albeit with some difficulty and necessary ingenuity – to manipulate this aspect of his

¹¹¹ Aelred, *Vita S. Edwardi*, cc. 737-8 [‘England can ... glory in her saintly kings, of whom some were crowned by martyrdom, and rose from an earthly to a heavenly reign; others chose exile from their homeland, and preferred to die as pilgrims for Christ; several renounced their crowns and put themselves under monastic discipline; others reigned with justice and holiness and chose to serve rather than to lord over others’, Aelred, *Life*, pp. 15-16].

¹¹² Aelred, *Vita S. Edwardi*, c. 738 [‘such justice of such a great king deserves imitation’, Aelred, *Life*, p. 16].

¹¹³ Aelred, *Vita S. Edwardi*, cc. 739-40 [‘commit yourself to his careful protection, be sure to imitate his holiness as well, in order to achieve eternal happiness with him’, Aelred, *Life*, p. 16].

rulership according to their priorities, further corroborating the notion that lay sanctity was not entirely intractable. One further aspect of Solomonic rulership which also demonstrates this is attitudes towards wealth, which with the increased emphasis on imposing communal rather than personal possession of worldly goods upon monastic and clerical communities, was a spiritual achilles' heel for the laity.

5.ii.iv *Regalium ornamentorum pompa.*

For the Anonymous, it was Edith who was concerned with riches, pomp and display, and Edward was naturally inclined to shun such things, but rightly persuaded to just the right degree of pomp by his wife: 'Quam sollicitam uero se circa eundem regem, super talibus nichil curantem, regis cultibus parandum prebuerit, quis estimare, quis dicere poterit?'.¹¹⁴ Solomon was again invoked, but not here in his pacific guise:

cum priscis Anglorum regibus antea moris non fuerit lauciorum cultibus uestimentorum uti preter sagos auro supra paratos et huiusmodi uestes secundum morem gentis, hec a principio sue coniunctionis talibus eum ex suo ipsius opere uel studio redimiuit ornamentis, ut uix ipse Salomon in omni gloria sua ita indutus putari posset.¹¹⁵

That Edward's natural inclinations shunned such pomp, but that he acquiesced to Edith's solicitude is reiterated:

Ipsa ... regalium ornamentorum pompa qua ex officio regie uxoris sue ambiebatur, tacite et temporaliter, utique satis expresse dictum sit, nulla animi delectatione utebatur, et non curaret quicquam si non tanto sumptu illi amministrarentur. Officiositatem tamen ipsius regine gratam in talibus ducebat, et quibusdam familiarioribus sedulitatem eius in plurimas gratias cum quadam mentis benignitate annotabat.¹¹⁶

¹¹⁴ Anon., *Vita Ædwardi* (1992), pp. 22-5 ['Who can reckon, who can recount, her solicitude in providing the king, who took no interest in such matters, with royal finery?'].

¹¹⁵ Anon., *Vita Ædwardi* (1992), pp. 24-5 ['whereas it had not been the custom for earlier English kings in bygone days to wear clothes of great splendour, apart from cloaks and robes adorned at the top with gold in the national style, Edith, from the very beginning of her marriage, clad him in raiments either embroidered by herself or of her choice, and of such a kind that it could not be thought that even Solomon in all his glory was ever thus arrayed'].

¹¹⁶ Anon., *Vita Ædwardi* (1992), pp. 62-5 ['it was quietly, and only for the occasion – in any case, it should be distinctly said, with no delight of spirit – that he displayed the pomp of royal finery in which the queen obligingly arrayed him. And he would not have cared at all if it had been provided at far less cost. He was, however, grateful for the queen's readiness to serve in these

Here, then, we see a concern with promoting royal dignity and splendour by means of costly trappings similar to that noted in Turgot's *Vita Margaretae*, and in keeping with our current understanding of an association of queens with such concerns.¹¹⁷ Turgot overcame potential objections to Margaret's conspicuous consumption with reference to Esther, but the Anonymous managed to both have his cake and eat it by insisting upon Edward's personal disdain for such fripperies whilst also praising Edith for her *officiositas* in such matters. Elizabeth Tyler's analysis of the Anonymous's depictions of and attitudes towards wealth argues that he was seeking to set Edward in a Solomonic tradition: if Edward had wealth, it was because God had seen fit to bestow it upon him.¹¹⁸ Tyler noted that the contrast between the public presentations of Edward and of his predecessors is an example of foreign influences on Edward's rulership within the anonymous *vita*. Such influences would traditionally be frowned upon, as in Einhard's depiction of Charlemagne's preference for Frankish attire, but whereas 'Charlemagne seems to present an ideal of restrained ostentation which Edward has breached, ... the Anonymous displaces this transgression onto Edith and then weaves it into his praise of her as a good wife'.¹¹⁹

This ambivalence to wealth may indeed be defused by the reference to Solomon in this passage.¹²⁰ Asser had invoked the example of Solomon with regard to Alfred, by noting that Solomon, 'despecta omni praesenti gloria et divitiis, sapientiam a Deo deposcit, et etiam utramque invenit, sapientiam scilicet et praesentam gloriam'.¹²¹ Just as Edward was likened to Solomon in his peace-engendering gift-giving at the start of his reign, so here his deployment of wealth is cast in a positive light: 'the figure of Solomon may work to remind the reader

matters, and with a certain benignity of feeling, he would remark on her assiduity most appreciatively to his familiars'].

¹¹⁷ Stafford, *Queen Emma and Queen Edith*, pp. 115-16; *eadem*, 'Queens and treasure in the early middle ages', in Tyler (ed.), *Treasure in the Medieval West*, pp. 61-82, pp. 73-4; J. Carmi Parsons, 'Damned if she didn't and damned when she did: Bodies, babies, and bastards in the lives of two Queens of France', in Wheeler and Carmi Parsons (eds.), *Eleanor of Aquitaine*, pp. 265-99, pp. 279-80.

¹¹⁸ Tyler, 'Wings incarnadine'.

¹¹⁹ Tyler, 'Wings incarnadine', pp. 101-3, with reference to Einhard, *Vita Karoli Magni*, c. 23, p. 23 [pp. 77-8]; p. 102 cited.

¹²⁰ Tyler, 'Wings incarnadine', pp. 103-5.

that wealth is a sign of wisdom and God's favour'.¹²² In the Anonymous's depiction of Edward's deployment of riches and finery, then, we see an ambivalence towards wealth, and what seems to be an attempt to both justify it and prove that Edward's very possession of wealth itself connotes his good rulership.¹²³

William's Edward successfully fulfilled the demands of his position vis-à-vis display while showing due disdain for luxury, without much need for authorial comment:

in cibis et potibus regalis luxus immunis; in precipuis festiuitatibus, quauis amiciretur uestibus auro intextis quas regina sumptuosissime elaborauerat, ita temperans erat ut nec maiestati suae deesset nec tamen supercilium attolleret, magis Dei de his munificentiam quam mundialem gloriam mente uersans.¹²⁴

Clearly for William, this was a less problematic aspect of Edward's rulership than his *simplicitas*.

Osbert, however, presumably saw some potential jarring between Edward's ostentatious use of regalia and his sanctity, as he saw fit to insist that he was not avaricious, and compared favourably to King Midas' greedy behaviour: 'Hoc sancti reges et iusti non faciunt, qui cum Christi pauperibus spiritu sunt pauperes eisque substantias dispergunt locupletes'.¹²⁵ In spite of the riches and temptations of his royal status, 'ewangelista Christi nudus animo fieri non

¹²¹ Asser, *De rebus gestis Ælfredi*, p. 61 ['having come to despise all renown and wealth of this world, sought wisdom from God, and thereby achieved both (namely wisdom and renown in this world)', p. 92].

¹²² Tyler, 'Wings incarnadine', p. 105.

¹²³ With, that is, the important caveat that the first passage concerned with Edith's insistence on royal pomp is from Barlow's interpolation of Richard of Cirencester, and therefore needs to be treated with caution, as Tyler has also noted, 'Wings incarnadine', pp. 100-5.

¹²⁴ William of Malmesbury, *Gesta regum Anglorum*, 1: 404-5 ['in eating and drinking he was immune to royal luxury. On high festivals, although he wore robes interwoven with gold which the queen had most sumptuously worked for him, he showed moderation, neither falling short of his royal majesty nor yet displaying superciliousness, his mind being set much more on God's generosity in this regard than on worldly glory'].

¹²⁵ Osbert, *Vita beati Eadwardi*, p. 67 ['Holy and just kings do not do this, who with the poor of Christ are paupers in spirit and distribute opulent riches to them'].

erubuit'.¹²⁶ Osbert referred throughout to Edward's royal position and its associated ceremonial pomp and regalia. Osbert's account of Edith's concern for Edward's appearance is far more muted than that of the Anonymous (as transmitted through Richard of Cirencester): 'eum... a principio sue desponsionis [regina egregia] diuersis in opere redimiuit ornamentis. Quod pro consuetudine regum magis amplectabatur, quam pro delicate uite qualibet occidua uoluptate'.¹²⁷ The Anonymous had sought to resolve the problem of praising Edith despite what was clearly a controversial concern for splendour. Osbert had no need to praise her unduly, and could therefore displace responsibility for Edward's sumptuous appearance onto Edith, without compromising Edward's sanctity.

Like the Anonymous's, Osbert's Edward embodied a Solomonic and symbiotic relationship between fitness to rule and riches – a notion which Osbert placed in Edward's own mouth:

post plures annos ad regnum paternum redii, et, eo sine aliquo preliorum labore potitus, sicut amabilis quondam Deo Salomon tanta pace et rerum opulentia quanta hodie uidetis abundaui. Nullus enim antecedentium regum coequari michi potuit in gloria et diuitiis, neque, ut assolet, ex opulentia subrepsit contemptus anime superbientis.¹²⁸

It is with Aelred's attitude to Edward's display of wealth that we see a real attempt to not only address the tension but even turn it to hagiographical advantage. Aelred insisted that just as poverty does not automatically confer sanctity, so riches do not necessarily debar anyone from sanctity.¹²⁹ Instead, showing proper disdain for them – even while using them – can itself be a marker of sanctity and worthy of emulation: 'mirari dulce est in tot diuitiis et deliciis tanta

¹²⁶ Osbert, *Vita beati Eadwardi*, p. 67 ['this evangelist of Christ did not blush to be made naked in spirit'].

¹²⁷ Osbert, *Vita beati Eadwardi*, p. 75 ['from the beginning of their marriage [the excellent queen] arrayed him in many kinds of embroidered robes. This service he accepted more on account of royal custom than for any perishable desire for a luxurious life'].

¹²⁸ Osbert, *Vita beati Eadwardi*, p. 78 ['after many years I returned to my paternal kingdom, and possessed it without the labour of any battle, just as the amiable Solomon once lovable to God, so peacefully, I was rich in such power of substance as you see today. None indeed, of the preceding kings were able to equal me in glory or riches, nor, as it is usual, did contempt creep into my soul because of riches'].

¹²⁹ Aelred, *Vita S. Edwardi*, c. 739 'Neque enim ex sui ipsius natura vel paupertas praestat, vel adimunt diuitiae sanctitatem' ['Poverty in itself does not produce holiness, any more than riches acquire it', Aelred, *Life*, p. 19].

continentia'.¹³⁰ At the start of the *vita*, Aelred listed wealthy but nonetheless spiritually healthy scriptural precedents, namely Abraham, Joseph, Job and David,¹³¹ before concluding 'Nemo proinde miretur si Edwardus noster et rex dicatur et sanctus'.¹³² Clearly there was a tension between the imperatives of sanctity and the possession of wealth, but Aelred turned this around and made it a means of demonstrating Edward's sanctity: 'quem cernimus et in divitiis egenum, et in deliciis sobrium, in purpura humilem, et sub corona aurea saeculi contemptorem.'¹³³

Rather than trying to downplay or displace Edward's display of royal pomp, Aelred presented instead a king whose head is not turned by luxuries: 'cum esset rex sublimis solio, auro decoratus et ostro, erat tamen pater orphanorum et iudex viduarum'.¹³⁴ Like David of Scotland, he adapted himself to the needs of his company, and was duly deferential to priests, and observed moderation at all times.¹³⁵ The chapter concludes that 'praeterea supra humanum modum pecuniae contemptor, nec in earum amissione tristior, nec in adeptione videbatur hilarior'.¹³⁶

Aelred illustrated this theme with a newly-recorded miracle, in which Edward pretends not to notice a servant's pilfering until the servant is about to be caught, at which point he warns him and covers his tracks.¹³⁷ This miracle not only demonstrates Edward's true disdain for wealth, it also echoes a similar incident in Odo of Cluny's *vita* of Gerald of Aurillac, and hence alludes to another

¹³⁰ Aelred, *Vita S. Edwardi*, c. 738 ['it is sweet to marvel at his continence in the midst of such riches and delights', Aelred, *Life*, p. 16].

¹³¹ Aelred, *Vita S. Edwardi*, c. 739-40 [Aelred, *Life*, p. 19].

¹³² Aelred, *Vita S. Edwardi*, c. 740 ['therefore no-one should wonder if our Edward is called both king and saint', Aelred, *Life*, p. 19].

¹³³ Aelred, *Vita S. Edwardi*, c. 740 ['we will see that he was frugal amidst riches, and sober amidst delights, humble in the purple, and contemptuous of the world though wearing the golden crown', Aelred, *Life*, pp. 19-20].

¹³⁴ Aelred, *Vita S. Edwardi*, c. 745 ['although the king was exalted on his throne, decked with purple and gold, he was nonetheless a father for the orphan and a champion for the widow', Aelred, *Life*, p. 30].

¹³⁵ Aelred, *Vita S. Edwardi*, cc. 745-6.

¹³⁶ Aelred, *Vita S. Edwardi*, c. 746 ['he was, moreover, contemptuous – beyond the usual way of people – to money, seeming neither distressed at its loss nor glad at its acquisition'].

¹³⁷ Aelred, *Vita S. Edwardi*, c. 746 [Aelred, *Life*, pp. 32-3].

model of lay sanctity.¹³⁸ I have not been able to trace any evidence or secondary comment on this similarity, but that Edward's 1163 translation date – and consequently his feast – would fall on Gerald's feast day (13 October) may possibly suggest that Gerald's example seemed pertinent to Aelred.¹³⁹

Aelred revisited the theme of pomp and wealth in his account of the vision of the Seven Sleepers. He professed to marvel that Edward was blessed with the gift of prophecy, in light of the fact that Edward clearly used and enjoyed all the pomp and trappings of kingship:

Non satis admirari possum quaenam fuerit causa quod eo tempore quo cultu regio clarior, quo procerum circumfusus comitatu severior, quo lautioribus epulis intuentium aestimatione videbatur effusior, abundantiore spiritualium revelationum gratiam meruerit.¹⁴⁰

Clearly, here Aelred was giving voice to concerns which had been problematic in the Anonymous's and Osbert's *vitae*, and which were still current. Having vouched for Edward's appropriate use of wealth earlier in the *vita*, as outlined above, Aelred now answered such concerns by insisting that Edward should not be judged by outward appearances:

sed nimirum homo in facie, Deus autem videt in corde. Portabat certe gladium, sed pro officio; utebatur regalibus, sed pro sacramento; multo stipatus milite incedebat, sed pro necessitate; sublimis in convivio residebat, sed pro consuetudine. Felix qui his omnibus sic usus est ut non sit abusus, corpus tradens terrenis et coelestibus spiritum miscens.¹⁴¹

¹³⁸ Odo of Cluny, *De Vita Sancti Geraldii Auriliacensis Comitis*, PL 133: 639-704, cc. 657-8 ['The Life of Saint Gerald of Aurillac', trans. G. Sitwell, in Noble and Head (eds.), *Soldiers of Christ*, pp. 295-362, p. 315].

¹³⁹ This may, however, be but coincidence: despite the considerable and fruitful historiographical interest in Gerald of Aurillac, the *Vita Geraldii* is extant in just a few French manuscripts, and there is no evidence of knowledge of it in England, Nelson, 'Monks, secular men and masculinity', p. 137; *eadem*, 'Review article: Waiting for Alfred' *Early Medieval Europe* 7 (1998): 115-24, p. 122.

¹⁴⁰ Aelred, *Vita S. Edwardi*, c. 767 ['I am lost in admiration as I ponder why he should merit a greater gift of spiritual insight at a time when he was more ostentatious in his royal authority, more authoritarian when surrounded by his nobles, more generous (as those who attended deemed) in lavish banquets', Aelred, *Life*, p. 77].

¹⁴¹ Aelred, *Vita S. Edwardi*, c. 767 ['but man looks at appearances, God however sees into the heart. Certainly he carried a sword, but on account of office. He made use of regalia, but on account of his oath. He walked about accompanied by a numerous guard, but on account of necessity. He took the first place at banquets, but out of custom. He was happy to be able to use all these things without abusing them, handing over his body to earthly things while mixing his spirit with heavenly things', Aelred, *Life*, p. 77].

Aelred, therefore, acknowledged the potential spiritual danger of wealth, and that Edward was open to criticism on account of his use of it, but converted these negative points into a positive, by making Edward's attitude to wealth itself a manifestation of holiness. Yet again, then, we see tensions between Edward's position in lay society and his representation as a saint being tweaked and, ultimately, resolved. In this last instance, an apparent obstacle to sanctity itself evolved into a route to sanctity.

Thus far we have seen how Edward's biographers handled the potentially sticky issues of military activity, authority over others, and wealth. As noted in Chapter 1, sexual activity was increasingly being seen as a marker of the lay life in our period, and Edward's alleged virginity would become a major component of his hagiographical reputation. We turn now, therefore, to how the representations of his virginity evolved.

5.iii Edward: *virginitatis domicilium*.

The political consequences of Edward's failure to leave an uncontested heir are well-known. As noted in Chapter 1, providing the realm with such an heir was important for a good king,¹⁴² and here again we have tension between the imperatives of good kingship and sanctity. As we have seen with Margaret and Waltheof, having been sexually active was not necessarily inimical to sanctity. It was, however, potentially contentious. Later medieval depictions of Edward focused on his virginity as a locus of his sanctity, tantamount to a living martyrdom.¹⁴³ This was not, however, the case in his earlier legends. Here again we see a potentially problematic aspect of the lay life being reworked to concur with each hagiographer's aims.

Essentially, for the Anonymous, the virginity was Edith's, and rendered her spiritually fecund. By definition – if, that is, he was not to be an adulterous

¹⁴² C.f. pp. 50, 174, *supra*.

¹⁴³ Thus, for example, the mid thirteenth century *La estoire de Seint Aedward le rei* (see pp. 192-3, n. 26, *supra*); c.f. J. Huntington, 'Edward the celibate, Edward the saint: Virginity in the construction of Edward the Confessor', in A. Bernau, R. Evans, and S. Salih (eds.), *Medieval*

husband – Edward would also therefore be sexually inactive, and it was this potential for being written as sexually inactive that would be manipulated in subsequent versions of his story. The Anonymous’s account of Brihtwald’s vision seems to set the scene for Edward’s celibacy. Brihtwald, bishop of Wiltshire, having bewailed the desolation of the realm, fell asleep and in a vision saw St Peter consecrate a seemly man as king, and ‘celibem ei uitam designare’.¹⁴⁴ When the king asked the apostle how the realm would fare, he was reassured: ‘regnum ... Anglorum est dei; post te prouidit sibi regem ad placitum sui’.¹⁴⁵ The phrase *celebs uita* is problematic. *Celebs* can imply celibate – either as a virgin or having abandoned sexual activity – or chastely monogamous.¹⁴⁶ Indeed, the Anonymous himself used the term of Edith’s brother Tostig’s marriage: ‘preter eandem regie stirpis uxorem suam omnium abdicans uoluptatem, celebs moderatius corporis et oris sui prudenter regere consuetudinem’.¹⁴⁷

Brihtwald’s vision, then, is ambiguous with regard to Edward’s purported virginity, and *celebs uita* might suggest bachelorhood, sexually active and monogamous marriage or celibacy, either consciously spiritually motivated or not. In the second part of the *Vita Ædwardi*, Edward is described as having been ‘ad regnum non tam ab hominibus quam ... diuinitus est consecratus. Cuius consecrationis dignitatem sancta conseruans castimoniam, omnem uitam agebat

Virginities (Cardiff, 2003), pp. 119-39, p. 131. It was this aspect of Edward’s sanctity which was to prove particularly appealing to Richard II, see Lewis, ‘Becoming a virgin king’.

¹⁴⁴ Anon., *Vita Ædwardi* (1992), p. 14 [‘assign him a celibate life’]. A classic study of different types of “martyrdom” is Stancliffe, ‘Red, white and blue martyrdom’.

¹⁴⁵ Anon., *Vita Ædwardi* (1992), pp. 14-15 [‘the kingdom of the English belongs to God; and after you He has provided for himself a king according to His will’].

¹⁴⁶ The primary definition is ‘unmarried, single’; Lewis and Short, *Latin Dictionary*, p. 262; see Barlow, *Edward the Confessor*, p. 218, n. 8. However, Latham defines it as ‘celibate’; ed. R.E. Latham, *Dictionary of Medieval Latin from British Sources*, (London, 1975), fasc. II: C (1981), p. 237. Aldhelm, for example, used words associated with *virginitas* or *castitas* more frequently than those with *celebs*. The latter appears in the prose *De virginitate* just five times, according to the index of *Aldhelmi Opera*, ed. R. Ehwald, MGH Auctores Antiquissimi, 15 (Munich, 1984). On two instances it could refer to virgins and/or chaste individuals (XXV, p. 260; XLV, p. 298); on the remaining three, he appears to use it synonymously with *virgines* (X, p. 239, XVIII, p. 247; XXI, p. 252). I am indebted to Emma Pettit for drawing my attention to this text and her assistance with it. *Castitas* and *virginitas* (and associated vernacular terms) are similarly ambiguous; see D. Elliott, *Spiritual Marriage: Sexual Abstinence in Medieval Wedlock* (Princeton, 1993), pp. 5-6; K. Coyne Kelly and M. Leslie, ‘Introduction: The Epistemology of Virginity’, in *eadem* (eds.), *Menacing Virgins: Representing Virginity in the Middle Ages and Renaissance*, (London, 1999), pp. 15-25, pp. 16-17; K. Coyne Kelly, *Performing Virginity and Testing Chastity in the Middle Ages* (London, 2000), pp. 3-7. See also Isidore, *Etymologiae*, 10.34.

deo dicatam in uera innocentia',¹⁴⁸ which seems to reinforce the notion of sexual purity. Pierre J. Payer has argued that for moral philosophers and theologians, *castitas* 'is invariably associated with the rational control of lust'.¹⁴⁹ However he also pointed to a continued ambiguity on the exact definition and usage of terms such as *castitas*, *continentia* and *pudicitia* in the thirteenth century.¹⁵⁰

In Richard of Cirencester's version of the Anonymous, the chastity described is essentially Edith's, inculcated by her education at Wilton, and rendering her the perfect match for Edward: 'Christus Edwardo, inspirans ei ab ipsa infancia castitatis amorem, odium uiciorum, uirtutis affectum. Decebat enim tantum regem talis sponsa, cuius singula describere merita nequaquam ex nostra sufficimus copia'.¹⁵¹ Edward is depicted as enthusiastically embracing the match: 'Nam ad dictum matrimonium contrahendum Edwardus eo cicius consensit quo se sciebat... Godwini consilio et auxilio ius suum hereditarium in Anglia securius possidere'.¹⁵² In the light of the celibacy and/or chastity alluded to in the account of Brihtwald's vision, this passage may be suggesting that Edith and Edward are celibate by mutual choice and inclination. Although Edith is described as returning to the king's bedchamber after her repudiation,¹⁵³ for the most part, she is described as Edward's daughter or mother.¹⁵⁴

¹⁴⁷ Anon., *Vita Æwardi* (1992), pp. 50-1 ['He renounced desire for all women except his wife of royal stock, and he governed the use of his body and tongue chastely, with more restraint, and wisely'].

¹⁴⁸ Anon., *Vita Æwardi* (1992), pp. 90-3 ['consecrated to the kingdom less by men than ... by Heaven. He preserved with holy chasteness the dignity of his consecration, and lived his whole life dedicated to God in true innocence'].

¹⁴⁹ P.J. Payer, *The Bridling of Desire: Views of Sex in the Later Middle Ages* (Toronto, 1993), p. 138.

¹⁵⁰ Payer, *Bridling of Desire*, pp. 154-5. He suggested that "'continence" [eventually] lost out to "chastity" as the preferred term for the virtue covering sexual matters', partially because of the notion of restraint usually associated with the term.

¹⁵¹ Anon., *Vita Æwardi* (1992), pp. 22-3 ['Christ had indeed prepared her for His beloved Edward, kindling in her from very childhood the love of chastity, the hatred of vice, and the desire for virtue. Such a bride - whose every virtue it is completely beyond our ability to describe - was therefore entirely suitable for this great king'].

¹⁵² Anon., *Vita Æwardi* (1992), pp. 24-5 ['Edward agreed all the more readily to contract this marriage because he knew that with the advice and help of ... Godwin he would have a firmer hold on his hereditary rights in England'].

¹⁵³ Anon., *Vita Æwardi* (1992), pp. 44-5.

¹⁵⁴ Anon., *Vita Æwardi* (1992), pp. 24-5, 90-1, 122-3. On the implications of this, see Barlow, *Edward the Confessor*, pp. 299-300; Stafford, *Queen Emma and Queen Edith*, p. 47.

Monika Otter's study corroborates the notion that in the *Vita Æwardi*, such virginity as there is, is primarily Edith's. She argued that the epithalamium, which ostensibly celebrates Wilton, is a paean to Edith as a spiritual mother, whose power is intrinsically linked with the prosperity of the realm.¹⁵⁵ Thus Edith's barrenness is presented as spiritually motivated chastity which produces spiritual fecundity. To this end, the Anonymous hints that the marriage was chaste by mutual agreement. We see, then, that while the *Vita Æwardi* does not overtly articulate the story of a mutually chosen and spiritually motivated celibate marriage, it nonetheless can be seen as suggesting one.

Virginity, then, could be read in different ways, and that the Anonymous sought to suggest what was not universally believed may be inferred from William of Malmesbury's comments on Edward's alleged *castitas*. William noted that their marriage was known to be non-sexual, but refused to decide whether for spiritual or political reasons:

Nuptam sibi rex hac arte tractabat, ut nec thoro amoueret nec uirili more cognosceret; quod an familiae illius odio, quod prudenter dissimulabat pro tempore, an amore castitatis fecerit, pro certo compertum non habeo. Illud celeberrime fertur, numquam illum cuiusquam mulieris contubernio pudicitiam lesisse.¹⁵⁶

Osbert situated the virginity with Edward, but was, I suggest, less concerned with Edward's virginity as a lived state than with the miraculous powers his virginal corpse could promise. Barlow stated that 'Osbert of Clare ... produced the first full-blown account of the chaste marriage.'¹⁵⁷ Osbert certainly did wrest chastity from Edith and situated it - and its concomitant spiritual value - with Edward. Nonetheless, his is in fact still not a 'full-blown account of the chaste marriage'. On the contrary, in the *Vita beati Eadwardi*, Edward's virginity in marriage is little dwelt upon compared to his physical integrity in death.

¹⁵⁵ Otter, 'Closed Doors', pp. 63-92, discussing Anon., *Vita Æwardi*, pp. 72-5.

¹⁵⁶ William of Malmesbury, *Gesta regum Anglorum*, 1: 353-5 ['The king's policy with her was neither to remove her from his bed nor to know her in a virile manner; whether he did this out of hatred for her family, which he prudently concealed to suit the time, or whether from a love of chastity, I have not discovered for certain. One thing is most well-known, that he never violated his modesty in concubinage with any woman'].

As noted above, Osbert's prologue stated that Edward was a virgin, which had rendered his corpse incorruptible: '...species integritatis adhuc hodie ut confidimus ostendit in carne quanta uirginitatis titulos mentis coluerit puritate'.¹⁵⁸ The incorruption of Edward's corpse had been discovered in 1102, as recounted by Osbert,¹⁵⁹ and is associated throughout his text with Edward's virginity.

Osbert's account of Brihtwald's vision is essentially the same as that of the Anonymous.¹⁶⁰ His account of Edward's marriage, however, differs.¹⁶¹ Osbert stated that 'Dei mater et uirgo semper in corde, semper eius uersabatur in ore: qui, uirginitatis factus domicilium, formam uirginalem sibimet ipsi protulit ad exemplum'.¹⁶² Edward, however, was urged to marry. Osbert briefly portrayed the marriage as an assault on Edward's chastity perpetrated by others: 'intenderunt...quidam ut naufragium incideret eius pudicitia'.¹⁶³ Both Osbert and his Edward, however, quickly seem reconciled to the choice of Edith, as Osbert immediately proceeded to extol her virtues (although not as much as in Richard of Cirencester's account), and we are told that, 'misericors Deus, qui beatum confessorum suum Alexium in uirginitate seruauit, omnibus diebus uite sue, ut confidimus, sanctum regem Eadwardum in carnis puritate custodiuit'.¹⁶⁴ As in the Anonymous's *Vita Ædwardi*, Edith is described as Edward's daughter – 'obsecuta est illi tamquam filia regina egregia eumque a principio sue desponsionis diuersis in opere redimiuit ornamentis'¹⁶⁵ – and safeguarded the secrecy of their chaste marriage: 'ipsa uero regis castimoniam reticere quam nouerat, nec consilium

¹⁵⁷ Barlow, *Vita Ædwardi* (1992), p. lxxiv.

¹⁵⁸ Osbert, *Vita beati Eadwardi*, p. 66 ['[his] appearance of integrity as we are sure still today shows in the flesh with how much purity of mind he cultivated the titles of virginity'].

¹⁵⁹ Osbert, *Vita beati Eadwardi*, pp. 121-3.

¹⁶⁰ Osbert, *Vita beati Eadwardi*, p. 72. See Barlow, *Vita Ædwardi* (1992), appendix A, pp. 128-9.

¹⁶¹ With, that is, the now-familiar caveat that we only have the Anonymous's account in a fourteenth-century copy, if we accept Barlow's argument.

¹⁶² Osbert, *Vita beati Eadwardi*, p. 74 ['the virgin mother of God dwelt always in [Edward's] heart, always on his lips. Having become an abode of virginity, he held up the virginal way of life as a model for himself'].

¹⁶³ Osbert, *Vita beati Eadwardi*, p. 74 ['some men ... strove that his modesty should be shipwrecked'].

¹⁶⁴ Osbert, *Vita beati Eadwardi*, p. 75 ['merciful God, who preserved his blessed confessor Alexius a virgin, kept ... St Edward the king all the days of his life in the purity of the flesh', Barlow's translation in Anon., *Vita Ædwardi* (1962), p. 15].

¹⁶⁵ Osbert, *Vita beati Eadwardi*, p. 75 ['the excellent queen served him as a daughter, and from the beginning of their marriage arrayed him in many kinds of embroidered robes', Barlow's translation in Anon., *Vita Ædwardi* (1962), p. 15]; she is also 'sister' at Osbert, *Vita beati Eadwardi*, pp. 110-11.

effundere quod sciebat'.¹⁶⁶ Osbert concluded this passage with a reminder that 'caro usque hodie in urna perseuerat incorrupta',¹⁶⁷ before turning to Edward's first vision within the narrative.

After this passage, Edward's chastity is barely touched upon until those passages which deal with his death and postmortem career. Immediately before the account of Edward's miraculous cure of a young woman also recounted in the *Vita Ædwardi*, Osbert, like the Anonymous and with very similar wording, recalls Brihtwald's vision and Edward's subsequent chastity: 'diuina administrante gracia consecratus. Dignitas uero tante consecrationis semper in dies capiebat augmentum, quam iugis castimonia comitabatur ad gloriam, ne per licitam quoque carnis copulam uerteret ad ruinam'.¹⁶⁸ Osbert rendered Edward's *castimonia* more explicitly non-sexual than had the Anonymous, by emphasizing that sexual relations with Edith would have been licit. Osbert placed two further references to a chaste marriage with Edith rather than Edward. As Edward sickened, his patronage of Westminster was taken over on his behalf by Edith, 'quam habebat ex specie, cuius secreta uir dei non nouit in carne'.¹⁶⁹ Similarly, during the account of Edward's death, Edith is described as 'cui dum lege licuisset nulla corruptio carnalis inherebat'.¹⁷⁰ These last two examples, however, are at the point of Edward's death and thus, I suggest, more associated with Edward's corpse than his living body.

What, then, can we say about the portrayal of Edward's virginity in Osbert's *Vita beati Eadwardi*? 'Having become an abode of virginity' [*uirginitatis factus domicilium*] is an intriguing phrase: how does one "become" virginal? Is it not

¹⁶⁶ Osbert, *Vita beati Eadwardi*, p. 75 ['she preserved the secret of the king's chasteness of which she had learned, and kept those counsels that she knew', Barlow's translation in Anon., *Vita Ædwardi* (1962), p. 15].

¹⁶⁷ Osbert, *Vita beati Eadwardi*, p. 75 ['even today [Edward's] flesh remains in an urn entirely incorrupt'].

¹⁶⁸ Osbert, *Vita beati Eadwardi*, pp. 92-3 [['Edward was] consecrated by the administration of divine grace. Indeed the dignity of this great consecration always increased day by day, which perpetual chasteness accompanied, leading him to glory, lest through legitimate joining of the flesh he should veer towards ruin'].

¹⁶⁹ Osbert, *Vita beati Eadwardi*, p. 105 ['whom he had possessed only in appearance and whose secrets this man of God did not know in the flesh', Barlow's translation in Anon., *Vita Ædwardi* (1992), pp. 112-13].

¹⁷⁰ Osbert, *Vita beati Eadwardi*, p. 110 ['she in whom no corruption of the flesh inhered, even though it would have been permitted by law'].

rather a state that is maintained or lost, rather than achieved? This is further complicated by how a male virgin might be identified, in the absence of signs such as a no-longer intact hymen, or pregnancy.¹⁷¹ Additionally there is a semantic problem: how appropriate is it to effectively label a man *virgo*? Recent studies have suggested that virginity was not necessarily an absolute physical status, once lost never to be regained, but was instead ‘something which [could] be experienced or assumed, and regained regardless of one’s actual physical status’.¹⁷² Thus, for example, medieval queens could be represented as virginal even after marriage and childbirth.¹⁷³ A king’s failure to father children made him vulnerable to charges of being unmanly, impotent, infertile, and certainly having failed to provide his realm with an heir, but could be written as deliberately chosen virginity, and therefore be proof of heroic masculinity.¹⁷⁴ I suggest that although Edward’s alleged virginity was in and of itself a key element of his sanctity in the later middle ages, in the texts with which we are concerned here, it was rather a convenient means to an end.

Osbert developed the notion of mutually chosen celibacy suggested by the Anonymous, and expanded on the frequently ambiguous comments of the earlier work. However there is an important qualification: Edward’s virginity is for the most part important to Osbert only in relation to the incorrupt corpse, revealed in 1102. His account of this provides the denouement of Osbert’s *vita*, and is flagged at several points throughout the text. With but a few exceptions, wherever Edward’s chastity is mentioned or alluded to, it is in connection to his dying, death and/or the incorruption of his corpse. Even the account of his marriage is concluded with a reference to his corpse. At one point Osbert missed what would seem to be an ideal opportunity to underline Edward’s lived virginity, as he described Edward’s subjects’ horror at his proposed pilgrimage to Rome: they feared that the king might die or meet some injury *en route*, depriving the realm of

¹⁷¹ C.f. J.H. Arnold, ‘The Labour of continence: Masculinity and clerical virginity’, in Bernau, Evans and Salih (eds.), *Medieval Virginites*, pp. 102-18, p. 103.

¹⁷² Lewis, ‘Richard II’, p. 88. See also Wogan-Browne, *Saints’ Lives and Women’s Literary Culture*, pp. 42, 45-6, 132, 140.

¹⁷³ J.L. Chamberlayne, ‘Crowns and Virgins: Queenmaking During the Wars of the Roses’, in K. J. Lewis, N.J. Menuge and K.M. Phillips (eds.) *Young Medieval Women* (Stroud, 1999), pp. 47-68, see esp. pp. 55-7, 60, 61-2; A. Orchard, ‘The literary background to the *Encomium Emmae Reginae*’, *Journal of Medieval Latin* 11 (2001): 156-83, p. 175.

¹⁷⁴ Lewis, ‘Richard II’, p. 91-4.

royal heirs.¹⁷⁵ Although Osbert had previously mentioned the secrecy of the king and queen's chastity, it is surprising that he did not take this opportunity to comment again on the spiritual value of Edward's chastity. It is less surprising, however, if we see that Osbert was quite simply not interested in Edward the man as virgin. Instead, his interest was in Edward the virgin corpse.

This corroborates Barlow's model of the impetus behind the development of Edward's cult in the 1130s, culminating in Osbert's *vita* and the first canonization bid. Barlow saw this as a fundamentally Westminster-based process, and specifically Osbert-driven.¹⁷⁶ During a period of exile from Westminster, Osbert wrote a letter of self-justification to Abbot Herbert, in which he bewailed the material state of Westminster Abbey, referring to,

sacrarium ruinas aedium, inedias domesticorum, domos conquassatas, tecturas reparandas, retractas seniorum dapes, diminutas thesaurorum opes, muros et moenia confractos et diruta, et fratrum necessaria absque discretione per manus alienas sine te male consumpta.¹⁷⁷

This was not, it seems, mere hyperbole on Osbert's part; indeed all was not well with the material fabric and financial position of the abbey.¹⁷⁸ Osbert's inventiveness in his determination to secure the rights and prestige of Westminster is seen in his part in the forgery of charters identified as the 'Westminster forgeries'.¹⁷⁹ Similarly, the material advantages of Edward's virginity and saintly corpse would have been desirable, to say nothing of the added prestige they would confer – perhaps even more welcome in the light of the hostility existing at this time between Westminster Abbey and St Paul's in London.¹⁸⁰

¹⁷⁵ Osbert, *Vita beati Eadwardi*, p. 78.

¹⁷⁶ Barlow, *Edward the Confessor*, pp. 272-6.

¹⁷⁷ *Letters of Osbert*, Ep. 2, p. 51 ['the dilapidation of the church, the starving of the servants, the ruin of the monastic buildings, roofs out of repair, meals of the seniors cut down, the resources of the treasury diminished, walls and battlements broken and ruined, all that the brethren needed indiscreetly wasted by alien hands without your knowledge', trans. Armitage Robinson, 'Osbert's career', p. 5]. Armitage Robinson placed this letter before 1123, p. 9; c.f. Osbert's complaint about violent despoilers of the abbey's property; *Vita beati Eadwardi*, p. 105.

¹⁷⁸ Mason, *Westminster Abbey*, pp. 33-6.

¹⁷⁹ Chaplais, 'The Original Charters of Herbert and Gervase'.

¹⁸⁰ Scholz, 'Canonization of Edward the Confessor', pp. 40-1.

Having seen, then, the possible advantages of Osbert's highlighting Edward as a saintly corpse, let us return to one other aspect of Edward's virginity: it is static. Neither tested nor actively maintained, it just is. This must be placed in the context of medieval perceptions of virginity. Much work is still to be done on medieval representations of virginity, especially of male virginity. One needs to be aware of the danger of analyzing different genres or genders according to a uniform template. However, two models of virginity recently proposed are apposite here. Kathleen Coyne Kelly has shown that whereas female virginity is assaulted by violence or the threat thereof, male virginity is assayed, often by seduction.¹⁸¹ Further, Sarah Salih has shown that virginity 'cannot be self-evident, but must be constituted performatively'.¹⁸²

Osbert's Edward does not conform to either of these models. The only suggestion of struggle in the chastity of Osbert's Edward occurs in a description of Edward in an account of a miraculous cure: 'rex uero cotidianum Deo in turture et columba offerens sacrificium, castitatis scilicet et innocentie prebens imitantibus documentum'.¹⁸³ Admittedly, there is here a suggestion of personal sacrifice, but it is as nothing compared to the struggles of Gerald of Aurillac, the saintly noble layman we have already encountered *en passant*. Gerald's virginity is constructed as being achieved through a mixture of divine assistance and personal determination, in spite of the Devil's anger that Gerald had avoided the shipwreck of his modesty [*naufragium pudoris*]: 'Libidinem ..., quae ad decipiendum genus hominum, vel maxima, vel prima est ejus virtus, instanter illi suggerebat'.¹⁸⁴ Gerald almost succumbed, after a lengthy struggle, to the charms of a girl brought before him by the Devil. Fortunately, God intervened and

¹⁸¹ Coyne Kelly, *Performing Virginity*, especially pp. 91-118; see also *eadem*, 'Menaced Masculinity and Imperiled Virginity in the *Morte Darthur*', in Coyne Kelly and Leslie (eds.), *Menacing Virgins*, pp. 97-114, pp. 99-100 and M. Burnett McInerney, 'Rhetoric, Power and Integrity in the Passion of the Virgin Martyr', in the same volume, pp. 50-70. Arnold has made the important point that while this gendered distinction may be seen, it is not without exception, 'Labour of continence', p. 109.

¹⁸² S. Salih, 'Performing Virginity: Sex and Violence in the *Katherine Group*', in Carlson and Weisl (eds.), *Constructions of Widowhood and Virginity*, pp. 95-112, p. 100.

¹⁸³ Osbert, *Vita beati Eadwardi*, p. 95 ['the king, offering a daily sacrifice to God in the dove and the turtle-dove, furnishing an example of chastity and of innocence to those who imitated him']. This renders more explicit the Anonymous's simpler 'the king, of dove-like purity', Anon., *Vita Eadwardi* (1992), p. 94.

¹⁸⁴ Odo of Cluny, *Vita Geraldi*, c. 648 ['He constantly suggested lust to him ..., for that is his greatest and first *virtus* in ensnaring mankind', p. 304].

rendered the girl hideously deformed to Gerald's eyes just as he was about to take her.¹⁸⁵ Later, the 'quantopere enim carnis obscoenitatem exhorruerit, per hoc animadverti potest, quod nocturnam illusionem sine moerore nullatenus incurbat'.¹⁸⁶ That nocturnal illusions were incurred at all imbues Gerald's chastity with a sense of struggle: it is not presented as a *fait accompli*, but is performative and actively maintained.

William of Malmesbury's *Vita Wulfstani*, written in the second quarter of the twelfth century, also depicts struggle and danger in the attempted shipwreck of a saint's modesty [*naufragium pudoris*].¹⁸⁷ A local girl set out to tempt him, with dancing, lewd gestures and come-hither looks. Eventually she was almost successful: 'qui uerbis et tactui non cesserat, infractiori gestu totus resolutus in amorem anhelabat', but came to his senses and fled into some prickly bushes.¹⁸⁸ A miraculous cloud descended upon him and cooled his ardour, after which he was so free from lustful thoughts that he was not even troubled by a wet dream [*turbulenta eluuias*].¹⁸⁹ Even so, Wulfstan's chastity [*castimoniam*] was still explicitly maintained: 'eius integritatem in se alacriter exsequi, corruptionem in aliis acriter insequi'.¹⁹⁰

By contrast, in the *Vita beati Eadwardi*, Edward's celibacy is neither explicitly threatened nor maintained by struggle. Instead it is simply presented as a *fait accompli*: 'having become an abode of virginity (*uirginitatis factus domicilium*)'.¹⁹¹ Whilst the phrase suggests that Edward did achieve a spiritually useful virginal status, no account is given of his achieving that state. Osbert makes a brief gesture towards presenting Edward's celibacy as assayed, as he

¹⁸⁵ *Vita Geraldi*, c. 648 [p. 304].

¹⁸⁶ *Vita Geraldi*, c. 662 ['the horror he felt for carnal obscenity may be judged from the fact that he never incurred a nocturnal illusion without grief', p. 319]. C.f. pp. 162-3, *supra*.

¹⁸⁷ William of Malmesbury, *Vita Wulfstani*, ed. and trans. M. Winterbottom and R.M. Thomson, *William of Malmesbury: Saints Lives, Lives of SS. Wulfstan, Dunstan, Patrick, Benignus and Indract* (Oxford, 2002), pp. 7-155, pp. 18-19. As noted by this text's editors, William also used this phrase with regard to nuns wearing fine clothes to attract lovers, with reference to H. Farmer, 'William of Malmesbury's *Commentary on Lamentations*', *Studia Monastica* 4 (1962): 283-311, p. 296, n. 38.

¹⁸⁸ William of Malmesbury, *Vita Wulfstani*, pp. 18-19 ['Though he had not yielded to her words and touch, he was so affected by her alluring gestures that he gave himself over wholly to love'].

¹⁸⁹ William of Malmesbury, *Vita Wulfstani*, pp. 18-21.

¹⁹⁰ William of Malmesbury, *Vita Wulfstani*, pp. 30-1 ['whose integrity he eagerly maintained in himself, and whose corruption in others he eagerly reproached'].

describes Edward's subjects intending the shipwreck of his chastity, but from the very next sentence, we see that the plan was not dastardly: 'de secunda que lateri regis adhereat persona decernitur, ut sponsa tanto digna sponso inter filias principum requiratur. Reperitur tamen in eadem gente una et sola, nulli inferior, ceteris superior'.¹⁹²

This is not to say, though, that virginity was not important to Osbert. On the contrary, it was a concept dear to his heart.¹⁹³ The swift move in *Vita beati Eadwardi*, from potentially shipwrecked chastity to reconciliation to a suitable marriage, contrasts with an analogous situation in Osbert's *vita* of Ethelbert, eighth-century king of East Anglia.¹⁹⁴ As Ethelbert's magnates urged him to marry, Osbert dwelt in far more detail on Ethelbert's internal dilemma and reluctance to forsake virginity, before his eventual acceptance of the match.¹⁹⁵ For Edward, however, no such internal dilemma is depicted. Virginity simply defined Edward's body as a site of saintly power. Westminster Abbey, in turn, became a locus of saintly power. Osbert's *vita*, then, seems to be part of the trend outlined by Ridyard, by which post-Conquest authors adopted pre-Conquest Anglo-Saxon saints to further the interests of specific religious communities.¹⁹⁶ Osbert in particular seems to have written *vitae* to this end, perhaps expressing gratitude to those houses with which he had 'a significant personal connection'.¹⁹⁷ The virginity of Osbert's Edward is situated in his corpse, and nuanced to further

¹⁹¹ Osbert, *Vita beati Eadwardi*, p. 74, see p. 224, n. 162, *supra*.

¹⁹² Osbert, *Vita beati Eadwardi*, pp. 74-5 ['it was decreed concerning the second person who should cleave to the side of the king, that a spouse worthy of such a great husband should be looked for among the daughters of the princes. One alone was found in that people, inferior to none, superior to all', Barlow's translation in Anon., *Vita Ædwardi* (1962), p. 14].

¹⁹³ See, for example, his letter to Adelidis, abbess of Barking, on the armour of chastity and the virtues of the saintly virgins; *Letters of Osbert*, Ep. 42, pp. 153-79 [trans. V. Morton, *Guidance for Women in Twelfth-century Convents* (Cambridge, 2003), pp. 21-49]. See also the prologue on virginity in his *Vita Edburge* in Ridyard, *Royal Saints*, pp. 259-308, p. 263. On his devotion to the Virgin and St. Anne, and his role in the revival of the Feast of the Immaculate Conception, see Armitage Robinson, 'A sketch of Osbert's career', pp. 11-14; Morton, *Guidance for Women*, p. 17.

¹⁹⁴ The *vita* is partially incorporated into Richard of Cirencester, *Speculum historiale*, 1: 262-94. I am grateful to Brian Briggs for pointing out this reference to me. On Richard's treatment of the text, see R. Bartlett, 'Rewriting Saints' Lives: The Case of Gerald of Wales', *Speculum*, 58 (1983), 598-613, 601, n. 14.

¹⁹⁵ Richard of Cirencester, *Speculum historiale*, 1: 266-7, 270-5; discussed by Bartlett, 'Rewriting Saints' Lives', pp. 602-3, 607. I was gratified to see that Bartlett highlights an increased focus on the dangers and trials of marriage in Gerald of Wales's rewriting of Osbert's *vita* of Ethelbert, similar to that about to be proposed for Aelred's *vita* here. I hope to be able to develop elsewhere the rewriting of virginity in *vitae* other than Edward's.

¹⁹⁶ Ridyard, 'Condigna veneratio'.

Westminster's interests. The virginity of a dead virgin is stable. To find an Edward whose virginity is lived and performative, we need to turn to Aelred.

It was Aelred who developed the notion of Edward's lived virginity as a vulnerable, performative, consciously chosen spiritual commitment, which would feature so strongly in subsequent versions of Edward's legend. In his preface, Aelred's first comment on Edward after the modesty *topoi* is:

reperio hominem supra hominem, hominem qui in diebus suis placuit Deo et inventus est justus, qui concepto semine salutari, nec tricesimo sexagesimove contentus, ad virginitatis centesimum fructum perfectionis aemulator ascendit.¹⁹⁸

In his description of Edward's virtuous adolescence in exile in Normandy, he noted that 'agebat ... corpore castus'.¹⁹⁹ This is followed by the chapter dealing with Brihtwald's vision. The vision itself is recounted in much the same way as by the Anonymous and Osbert: 'monita salutis adjecit, praecipueque caelibem vitam commendans'.²⁰⁰ Although there is the same potential ambiguity about the exact meaning of *celebs* as outlined above, the intensifier *praecipue* draws attention to the value of a celibate life.

Aelred's treatment of Edward's vow to make a pilgrimage to Rome eliminates the ambiguity of Osbert's account noted above. Not only did Aelred insert the vow itself, during the period within his narrative of Edward's exile,²⁰¹ he also removed the suggestion that the king's subjects anticipated heirs to the kingdom which Osbert included in *Vita beati Eadwardi*. It is Aelred's treatment of Edward's marriage, however, that shows the most marked change in the representation of his chastity. Here, for the first time, we get a sense of Edward's chastity being fragile when his nobles suggest he should marry: 'stupet rex

¹⁹⁷ Ridyard, *Royal Saints*, p. 21.

¹⁹⁸ Aelred, *Vita S. Edwardi*, cc. 739-40 ['I found here someone more than man: someone who 'in his days pleased God and was found righteous', who, after the salvific seed had been conceived, not satisfied with the thirty or sixtyfold return, ambitiously rose to the hundredfold harvest of virginity', Aelred, *Life*, p. 17]; c.f. Matt. 13:8, 23. This formula was popular in medieval treatments of virginity; see Payer, *Bridling of Desire*, pp. 175-7.

¹⁹⁹ Aelred, *Vita S. Edwardi*, c. 742 ['he kept his body chaste'].

²⁰⁰ Aelred, *Vita S. Edwardi*, c. 743 ['[the apostle] gave [Edward] counsels of salvation, particularly commending the celibate life'].

thesauro metuens suo, qui in vase fictili reconditus, facile poterat calore dissolvi'.²⁰² This motif of fragile virginity was to be applied in stronger terms in treatises addressed to women. Aelred himself expanded upon a similar reference to 2 Corinthians 4:7 in *De Institutis Inclusarum* by explicating Ecclesiasticus 34:9, introducing the notion that heat might threaten the 'treasure', but is necessary to prove its worth:

Cogita semper quam preciosam thesaurum in quam fragili portas uasculo *Qui non est temptatus, non est probatus*. Virginitatis aurum est, cella fornax, conflator diabolus, ignis temptacio. Caro uirginis, uas luteum est, in quo aurum reconditur ut probetur. Quod si igne uehemenciori crepuerit, aurum effunditur, nec uas ulterius a quolibet artifice reparatur.²⁰³

Here the notions discussed above - that virginity is both fragile and performative, proven through being tested - are encapsulated. Aelred stopped short of making Edward's virginity as persistently vulnerable as in texts addressed to women, but it is still notably more fragile than that presented by Osbert. Unlike Osbert, Aelred dwelt on Edward's dilemma: 'Sed quid ageret? si obstinatius obniteretur, timebat ne propositi sui proderetur dulce secretum: si suadentibus praeberet assensum, naufragium pudicitiae formidabat'.²⁰⁴ Aelred's courtiers were correspondingly more insistent than Osbert's: 'opportune et importune insistentibus'.²⁰⁵ The threatened 'shipwreck' seems far more alarming to Aelred's Edward than to Osbert's, and closer to those of Gerald and Wulfstan. This is reinforced by the impassioned prayer Aelred puts into Edward's mouth:

²⁰¹ Aelred, *Vita S. Edwardi*, c. 744 [Aelred, *Life*, p. 28].

²⁰² Aelred, *Vita S. Edwardi*, c. 747 ['the king was aghast, frightened about the treasure which he kept in an earthen vessel, fearing that it could easily be destroyed by heat'].

²⁰³ 'The "De Institutis Inclusarum" of Aelred of Rievaulx', ed. C.H. Talbot, *Analecta sacri ordinis Cisterciensis*, 7 (1951), 167-217, 189 ['Bear in mind always what a precious treasure you bear in how fragile a vessel ... 'The man who has not been tested is not accepted.' Virginity is the gold, the cell is the crucible, the devil is the assayer, temptation is the fire. The virgin's flesh is the earthenware vessel in which the gold is put to be tested. If it is broken by the intensity of the heat the gold is spilt and no craftsman can put the vessel together again', trans. M.P. Macpherson, 'A Rule of Life for a Recluse', in *Aelred of Rievaulx: Treatises & Pastoral Prayer*, ed. M. Basil Pennington (Kalamazoo, 1971), pp. 41-102, p. 63]. Other examples are discussed by B. Newman, 'Flaws in the Golden Bowl: Gender and Spiritual Formation in the Twelfth Century', *Traditio* 45 (1990), 111-46, 123-5.

²⁰⁴ Aelred, *Vita S. Edwardi*, c. 747 ['but what to do? If he refused more stubbornly, he was afraid lest the sweet secret of his resolve might be betrayed: if he agreed to their pressure, he dreaded the shipwreck of his modesty', Aelred, *Life*, p. 34].

Jesu bone, tua quondam misericordia tres pueros in flammis Chaldaicas illaesos servavit. Per te Joseph ...cum titulo castitatis evasit. Admirabilis Suzannae constantia tua virtute de impudicis presbyteris triumphavit. Sanctae Judith castitas singularis, quae inter regias dapes et infecundos calices Holofemis nec laedi potuit nec tentari, ... urbem exemit obsidioni. Et quod excellit his omnibus, tu unicam illam spem mundi dulcissimam dominam meam, matrem tuam, et conjugem esse voluisti et virginem, nec conjugii sacramentum castitatis solvit signaculum. ... Tu ergo, ... succurrite, quatenus sic maritale suscipiam sacramentum ut pudicitiae periculum non incurram²⁰⁶

As in Richard of Cirencester's account, the childhood education of Aelred's Edith rendered her a worthy helpmeet for Edward: 'hanc dilecto suo Christus praeparaverat Edwardo, inspirans ei ab ipsa infantia castitatis amorem, odium vitiorum, virtutis affectum'.²⁰⁷ Here, for the first time in Edward's hagiography, we have the explicitly mutually chosen chaste marriage which was to feature in subsequent versions of his story:

convenientibus igitur in unum, rex et regina de castitate servanda paciscuntur Fit illa conjux mente, non carne; ille nomine maritus, non opere. Perseverat inter eos sine actu conjugali conjugalis affectus, et sine defloratione virginitatis castae dilectionis amplexus. Diligit ille sed non corrumpitur, diligitur illa nec tangitur, et quasi nova quaedam Abisac regem calefacit amore, nec dissolvit libidine, mulcet obsequiis, sed desiderii non emollit.²⁰⁸

²⁰⁵ Aelred, *Vita S. Edwardi*, c. 747 ['they insisted, in season and out of season', Aelred, *Life*, p. 34].

²⁰⁶ Aelred, *Vita S. Edwardi*, c. 747 ['O Good Jesu, your mercy once preserved three boys unscathed in the Babylonian furnace. By your aid Joseph kept his chastity ... The noble Susannah, supported by your aid, vindicated her virtue against the libidinous priests. Holy Judith preserved the city from siege through her singular chastity, which was neither shaken nor even tempted among the royal banquets and brimming cups of Holophernes ... And far above all these, you willed ... your Mother, to be both spouse and virgin, nor did the sacrament of matrimony bring an end to her virginity ... Come to my aid, therefore ... help me to undertake the sacrament of marriage in such a way as not to endanger my modesty.' Aelred, *Life*, p. 34].

²⁰⁷ Aelred, *Vita S. Edwardi*, c. 747 ['she it was that Christ prepared for his beloved Edward, inspiring her from childhood with a desire for chastity, hatred of vices and love of virtue', Aelred, *Life*, p. 35].

²⁰⁸ Aelred, *Vita S. Edwardi*, c. 748 ['the king and queen, once united, agreed to preserve their chastity [*castitate*] ... She became a wife in heart, but not in flesh: he a husband in name, not in deed. Their conjugal affection remained, without the conjugal act, as did the embraces of a chaste love without the defloration of her virginity. He loved, but was not corrupted; she was beloved but not touched, and like a second Abishag warmed the king with her love but did not dissipate him with lust; she was a delight to his will, but he did not soften in his desires']. Edith is not daughter, sister or mother at this point, as in the earlier *vitae*, but she is 'sister or daughter' at Edward's deathbed; Aelred, *Vita S. Edwardi*, cc 774–5 [Aelred, *Life*, pp. 93–4].

Aelred further insisted that their chastity was spiritually rather than politically motivated.²⁰⁹ He made the link between Edward's celibacy and his visionary powers more explicit than had the Anonymous and Osbert:

praebet certe regiae castitati testimonium puritas mentis, quae ab omni faece vitii pulsantis eliquata, et longe posita quasi praesentia contemplari et futura potuit quasi prae oculis sita cognoscere sicut sequens capitulum declarat.²¹⁰

Aelred's Edward, then, is a virgin in life, not just in death as in Osbert's *vita*. Aelred attributed not only Edward's visionary powers but also his miraculous healing powers partially to his chastity:

'Beatus vir qui inventus est sine macula, et qui post aurum non abiit, nec speravit in pecuniae thesauris'. 'Inventus sane sine macula' ob privilegium castitatis. 'Post aurum non abiit', quod potius dispersit; 'nec speravit in thesauris', quos in Dei opere non tam minuit quam consumpsit. ... Fecit enim mirabilia in vita sua, reddens caecis visum, et claudis gressum, fugans febres, et paralyticos sanans et diversas hominum valitudines curans.²¹¹

Aelred also introduced the miracle of the ring, in which Edward gave his ring to a pilgrim, who transpired to be John the Evangelist, who held Edward 'ob meritum castitatis summa dilectione', thus emphasizing both Edward's devotion to John and Edward's chastity.²¹² The introduction of John as a spiritual patron

²⁰⁹ Aelred, *Vita S. Edwardi*, c. 748 [Aelred, *Life*, p. 36], presumably rebutting suggestions such as that made by William of Malmesbury, see p. 223, n.156, *supra*.

²¹⁰ Aelred, *Vita S. Edwardi*, c. 746 ['sure witness to the king's chastity is borne by his pure mind, for, drained of all the dregs of pulsating vice, and detached, it could regard present things and know future things, more or less as if they were placed before his eyes, as the following chapter will declare']. The notion that detachment from worldly things conferred visions is reiterated, without an explicit reference to chastity, at Aelred, *Vita S. Edwardi*, c. 760 [Aelred, *Life*, p. 59].

²¹¹ Aelred, *Vita S. Edwardi*, c. 754 ["happy the man who is found without stain, who goes not after gold nor places his trust in a well-filled treasury". He was "found without stain" because of the privilege of his chastity. He "went not after gold" but rather gave it away. He "put no trust in his treasury" since he did not so much diminish as extinguish them in God's cause ... He has done wonderful things in his lifetime, restoring sight to the blind, steps to the lame; dispersing fevers, healing the paralytic and curing the different ills of mankind', Aelred, *Life*, p. 47]. This connection is made again: 'he was particularly distinguished by the special grace of giving sight to the blind, because, as it was believed, of his inner purity. As his unusual chastity [*munditia*] kept the gaze of his heart clear, just so did he dispel darkness from the outward eyes of others'; Aelred, *Vita S. Edwardi*, c. 762 [Aelred, *Life*, p. 64].

²¹² Aelred, *Vita St Ed.*, cc. 769-70, c. 770 ['in great affection for the sake of his chastity', Aelred, *Life*, pp. 81-4, p. 84]. Although this episode is included in the abbreviated Cambridge manuscript of Osbert's *Vita beati Eadwardi*, it is generally held to be an addition of Aelred's; see Bloch, 'La vie', pp. 58-60; Barlow, *Vita Ædwardi* (1992), p. xxxviii, n. 107; Binski, *Westminster Abbey*, p.

and exemplar is, as pointed out by Marsha L. Dutton, in accordance with a devotion to the evangelist apparent elsewhere in Aelred's works,²¹³ but notwithstanding, it also serves to underline Edward's virginity more than Osbert had done.

Upon Edward's death, therefore, references to his virginity are an extension of those within the narrative of his lifetime. When we hear, for example, that 'nudati corporis gloria auxit admirationem quod niveo candore coruscans ita resplenduit, ut virginitatis illius decus etiam incredulos latere non posset',²¹⁴ this is in the context of Edward's lived virginity. In Aelred's *vita*, Edward is a virgin king, whose virginity is assayed but maintained, and demonstrated to have conferred saintly powers in life, which sets the scene for his posthumous career as a virginal and saintly corpse.²¹⁵

Essentially, then, to the Anonymous, Edward was Edith's husband; to Osbert, he was a virginal saintly corpse; to Aelred he was a virginal king in life, then saintly virginal corpse. The Anonymous's motivation in attributing celibacy to Edith is obvious: without deliberately chosen and spiritually fruitful celibacy, her childless marriage to Edward simply had disastrous consequences for the Anglo-Saxon realm. Osbert's emphasis is also understandable: by insisting upon the miraculous potential of Edward's virginal corpse, he could promote Westminster as a locus of sanctity. Aelred's motivation for elaborating upon Edward's virginity, however, is more puzzling. If he was holding up Edward as an example for Henry II to follow, was he suggesting that Henry himself should abstain from sex? This would seem unlikely in any advice to a king – for whom providing legitimate heirs was a primary task – but still more so, surely, in the wake of the troubled successions which England had experienced over the

55; L. Lipscomb, 'A Distinct Legend of the Ring in the *Life of Edward the Confessor*', *Medieval Perspectives* 6 (1992), 45-57, pp. 46-8; Dutton, 'Ælred, Historian', pp. 125, 133-5.

²¹³ Dutton, 'Ælred, Historian', p. 135; c.f. *De Institutis*, ed. Talbot, pp. 196-7, 205 ['A Rule of Life', trans. MacPherson, pp. 73-4, 86-7].

²¹⁴ Aelred, *Vita S. Edwardi*, c. 776 ['the glory of the stripped body increased their amazement, for it shone so glitteringly with snowy whiteness that the splendour of his virginity could not escape even the most incredulous'].

²¹⁵ See the emphasis on the connection of his virginity with his saintly posthumous power at Aelred, *Vita St Ed.*, c. 775 [Aelred, *Life*, p. 96]; c. 780 [Aelred, *Life*, p. 105]; c. 782 [Aelred, *Life*, p. 108].

previous few generations.²¹⁶ Smyth's controversial epithet of 'pious wimp' for Alfred might more appropriately be applied to Edward, and one can only wonder at how the infamously energetic Henry would have received a work espousing such a model.

Lewis has recently noted a similar conundrum with regard to the virginal Edmund of East Anglia who was presented as a saintly exemplar for Henry VI.²¹⁷ She suggested that the emphasis on Edmund's virginity may be explained by 'the importance of sexual temperance to a king's identity': Henry was being urged towards chastity within marriage – in the sense of licit marital sex – rather than virginity.²¹⁸ It is possible that Aelred's insistence on Edward's spiritually-motivated virginity served a similar function. This is a tempting theory: Henry was, after all, not known for his sexual fidelity, and had an infamous long-term affair with Rosamund Clifford. I have not, however, been able to find reference to his adultery as early as 1163.²¹⁹ That he and Eleanor of Aquitaine were not yet entirely at loggerheads is implied by the fact that they continued to have children until 1166.²²⁰ Whilst of course it is entirely possible – perhaps even likely – that he was conducting his sex life both within and outwith marriage in such a way that Aelred would have disapproved enough to effectively present him with an exhortation to (marital) chastity, this must remain conjecture for now. I suggest, however, that the conundrum may be resolved by considering an explicit conjunct to Edward's celibacy which Aelred emphasised in his *vita*, namely that it was this that conferred upon him his miraculous visionary and healing powers. In an attempt to answer this apparently puzzling development in Edward's legend, we turn now to consider some of Edward's miracles.

²¹⁶ Moreover, Aelred was presumably pragmatic enough to realise the probable futility of advocating celibacy to an Anglo-Norman king, c.f. pp. 50-1, *supra*.

²¹⁷ Lewis, 'Ideals of kingly masculinity', pp. 166.

²¹⁸ Lewis, 'Ideals of kingly masculinity', p. 166.

²¹⁹ Writing (after our period) of events of the mid-1170s, Gerald of Wales referred vaguely to Henry's earlier secret adultery, describing Henry as 'qui adulter antea fuerat occultus, effectus postea manifestus', *De instructione principis*, Bk. 2, ch. 4, in *Giraldi Cambrensis Opera*, ed. G.F. Warner, RS 21.8, p. 165 ['he who was before an adulterer in secret, and was afterwards manifestly such', trans. Stevenson, *Church Historians*, pp. 131-241, p. 143]. Such vagueness, and in a later author, does not, unfortunately, provide strong enough evidence of adultery in the 1160s.

²²⁰ On this dating, see A.W. Lewis, 'The birth and childhood of King John: Some revisions', in Wheeler and Carmi Parsons (eds.), *Eleanor of Aquitaine*, pp. 159-75.

5.iv.i Edward the miracle-worker.

Barlow stated of the anonymous *vita* that ‘the miracles are unremarkable and could have appeared in any saint’s life of the period’.²²¹ Nonetheless, however unremarkable they may be, the way in which they were added to and revised can still yield useful information about the development of Edward’s cult and expectations of sanctity in general.

Table 5 sets down the evolution of the miraculous cures and/or visions over the three *vita*, concluding with Aelred’s *vita*, which contained twenty-six such episodes.²²² Two miraculous cures and one vision are extant in the Harley manuscript of the anonymous *vita*. These are the cures of the scrofulous woman and a blind man on All Saints’ Eve,²²³ and the vision of the green tree.²²⁴ A third cure is prefaced similarly to the following cure in Osbert’s *vita*, and Barlow has interpolated three cures and one vision from other sources. These are the cures of a blind man of Lincoln,²²⁵ Wulfwi Spillecorn,²²⁶ and four blind beggars,²²⁷ and the vision of the Seven Sleepers.²²⁸ The anonymous *vita* ends with a clear assertion of Edward’s sanctity:

Reuelatum ... sanctum adhuc uiuentem in mundo, ad eius quoque tumbam propitia deitas his signis reuelat sanctum uiuere secum in celo, cum obtentu eiusdem ibi illuminantur ceci, in gressum solidantur claudi, infirmi curantur, merentes consolatione dei reperantur.²²⁹

The Anonymous did not, however, record any of these posthumous signs, although, as Barlow noted,²³⁰ this may simply have been setting the scene for appendices of posthumous miracles.²³¹

²²¹ Barlow, *Edward the Confessor*, p. 260.

²²² See p. 265, *infra*.

²²³ Anon., *Vita Æwardi* (1992), pp. 92-5, pp. 94-7 respectively.

²²⁴ Anon., *Vita Æwardi* (1992), pp. 116-19.

²²⁵ Anon., *Vita Æwardi* (1992), pp. 96-7.

²²⁶ Anon., *Vita Æwardi* (1992), pp. 96-101.

²²⁷ Anon., *Vita Æwardi* (1992), pp. 100-3.

²²⁸ Anon., *Vita Æwardi* (1992), pp. 102-11.

²²⁹ Anon., *Vita Æwardi* (1992), pp. 126-7 [‘Having revealed him as a saint while still living in the world... at his tomb likewise merciful God reveals by these signs that he lives with him as a saint in heaven. For at the tomb through him the blind receive their sight, the lame are made to walk, the sick are healed, the sorrowing are refreshed by the comfort of God’].

²³⁰ Barlow, *Vita Æwardi* (1992), p. xlii.

William of Malmesbury largely followed the Anonymous's miraculous and visionary portfolio.²³² Assuming that Barlow's reconstruction is correct, the miraculous episodes added by Osbert move attention firmly to Westminster.²³³ Osbert included five Westminster miracles in his account of Edward's lifetime which are not present in the extant Anonymous, and four out of the five added posthumous miracles are also Westminster-related.²³⁴ These are Edward's vision of Svein's death, which is set in Westminster during Pentecost celebrations,²³⁵ and Ulsinus' vision in which St. Peter urges Edward to restore Westminster,²³⁶ the first of Edward's cures to be recounted, which has the king humbly carrying Gillomichael the cripple from the royal palace to the altar at Westminster,²³⁷ and the joint vision of Edward and Leofric which is seen at Westminster's altar.²³⁸ The posthumous miracles – the cures of Ralph the cripple,²³⁹ the seven blind men,²⁴⁰ and a blind man,²⁴¹ and the episode in which Edward lends his supernatural support to Bishop Wulfstan of Worcester as he is about to be deposed²⁴² – are all at Westminster (as, of course, is the 1102 opening of Edward's tomb²⁴³). There is but one non-Westminster miracle, in which Edward appears in a vision to an abbot whom he instructs to assure Harold of his imminent victory at Stamford Bridge against Harold Hardrada and Tostig.²⁴⁴

Aelred largely followed Osbert in his relation of Edward's miracles, but inserted another instance of prophecy, relating to Godwin's sons,²⁴⁵ the death of

²³¹ C.f. Eadmer's appendix of miracles associated with Anselm, written some time after he had completed the *Vita Anselmi*.

²³² William of Malmesbury, *Gesta regum Anglorum*, 1: 407-15.

²³³ This is also noted by Barlow, 'The *Vita Ædwardi* (Book II)', p. 385, *idem*, *Vita Ædwardi* (1992), p. xxxvi, *idem*, *Edward the Confessor*, p. 261; Jones, 'From *Anglorum basileus* to Norman saint', p. 119.

²³⁴ C.f. Barlow, *Vita Ædwardi* (1992), p. xxxvi.

²³⁵ Osbert, *Vita beati Eadwardi*, pp. 75-7.

²³⁶ Osbert, *Vita beati Eadwardi*, pp. 80-2.

²³⁷ Osbert, *Vita beati Eadwardi*, pp. 82-3. Two chapters follow this, which do not treat of Edward's supernatural powers, but instead relate, respectively, the miraculous original dedication of Westminster, pp. 83-6, and communication between Edward and the papacy, pp. 87-91.

²³⁸ Osbert, *Vita beati Eadwardi*, pp. 91-2.

²³⁹ Osbert, *Vita beati Eadwardi*, pp. 112-13.

²⁴⁰ Osbert, *Vita beati Eadwardi*, pp. 113-14.

²⁴¹ Osbert, *Vita beati Eadwardi*, p. 116.

²⁴² Osbert, *Vita beati Eadwardi*, pp. 116-20.

²⁴³ Osbert, *Vita beati Eadwardi*, pp. 121-3.

²⁴⁴ Osbert, *Vita beati Eadwardi*, pp. 114-15.

²⁴⁵ Aelred, *Vita S. Edwardi*, cc. 765-6 [Aelred, *Life*, pp. 72-3].

Godwin, which is presented as a kind of divinely sponsored death by ordeal,²⁴⁶ and a validation from John the Evangelist²⁴⁷ into the account of Edward's lifetime, and added five posthumous miracles. These feature a girl who scoffed at Edward's cult, was duly punished, but eventually cured,²⁴⁸ and the cures of Osbert,²⁴⁹ a knight,²⁵⁰ a nun,²⁵¹ and a monk.²⁵²

That nine out of the ten supernatural episodes added by Osbert are Westminster-based chimes well with Osbert's now-familiar concern to establish a Westminster cult. How, though, can Edward's miracles explain the puzzling development of Edward's virginity in a *speculum* addressed to a king? The ways in which the authors depicted the relationship between his alleged virginity and his miraculous activities is instructive, and it is possible to glimpse them attempting to mitigate the tensions between expectations of a good king and those of an effective saint.

5.iv.ii *Per eum plurima Christus operatur magnalia.*²⁵³

The first miracle recounted by the Anonymous is the cure of a young woman who suffered from a terrible infection in her throat and glands, whose misery was heightened by her failure to provide her husband with an heir. Having been advised in a vision, she went to Edward to be cured, and 'rex audito non dedignatur infirmo adesse sexui. Erat dulcissimeꝑ mentis et cunctis poscentibus plurime affabilitatis'.²⁵⁴ He washed his hands, and anointed the woman's face, whereupon he expelled pus, blood and worms. The fortunate woman was cured not only of her glandular disease, but also of her barrenness, and, restored to beauty, became pregnant and subsequently 'uixit cunctis cohabitantibus non iniocunda'.²⁵⁵

²⁴⁶ Aelred, *Vita S. Edwardi*, cc. 766-7 [Aelred, *Life*, pp. 74-5].

²⁴⁷ Aelred, *Vita S. Edwardi*, cc. 769-70 [Aelred, *Life*, pp. 81-4].

²⁴⁸ Aelred, *Vita S. Edwardi*, cc. 783-4 [Aelred, *Life*, pp. 110-2].

²⁴⁹ Aelred, *Vita S. Edwardi*, cc. 784-6 [Aelred, *Life*, pp. 113-15].

²⁵⁰ Aelred, *Vita S. Edwardi*, cc. 786-7 [Aelred, *Life*, pp. 116-17].

²⁵¹ Aelred, *Vita S. Edwardi*, cc. 787-8 [Aelred, *Life*, pp. 118-19].

²⁵² Aelred, *Vita S. Edwardi*, cc. 788-90 [Aelred, *Life*, pp. 120-2].

²⁵³ Osbert, *Vita beati Eadwardi*, p. 81 ['through him Christ worked many great things'].

²⁵⁴ Anon., *Vita Ædwardi* (1992), pp. 92-3 ['when the king heard of it he did not disdain to help the weaker sex. He had the sweetest nature, and was most affable to all suitors'].

²⁵⁵ Anon., *Vita Ædwardi* (1992), pp. 94-5 ['lived not unhappily with all around her'].

When Edward's thaumaturgic activity has been considered by scholars, it is usually in the context of and/or with reference to the so-called Royal Touch, and focused on this miracle. In his landmark study of the Royal Touch, Marc Bloch traced the custom of monarchs curing scrofula, also known as *morbis regius*, the King's Evil, by touch into the eighteenth century.²⁵⁶ Barlow convincingly challenged Bloch's model,²⁵⁷ but it continues to be assumed – or at least potentially implied – that the Royal Touch in England has its roots in Edward's early hagiographical literature.²⁵⁸ I considered the early hagiographers' representations of the cure on which Bloch's attribution is based (that of the scrofulous woman) in a conference paper,²⁵⁹ and hope to return to the subject at a later date. My preliminary examination of the respective accounts of the cure, however, suggests that the evidence is ambiguous, but more likely to support the idea that whether Edward deployed the Royal Touch was not of particular interest to the authors under consideration here, but was instead retrospectively applied after our period. The accounts of this miracle vary little in the three *vitae*. Of more interest here, however, is how this miracle was situated in the Anonymous's and Osbert's *vitae*.

The cure of the scrofulous woman was the first miraculous activity recounted by the Anonymous, and is prefaced by an assertion that Edward, with *castimonia*, lived dedicated to God in *innocentia*. As noted above, such terms

²⁵⁶ M. Bloch, *Les rois thaumaturges: étude sur le caractère surnaturel attribué à la puissance royale, particulièrement en France et en Angleterre* (Paris/Strasbourg, 1924; repr. Paris, 1961), published as *The Royal Touch: Sacred monarchy and scrofula in England and France*, trans. J.E. Anderson (London, 1973). For the later period, see also K. Thomas, *Religion and the Decline of Magic Studies in popular beliefs in sixteenth and seventeenth century England* (London, 1971; 1997 edn.), pp. 177, 192-8, 200-6: 'When the coffin of Edward the Confessor was discovered in February 1685 many bystanders took away little bits, under the impression that they would have the power to cure the Evil', p. 197.

²⁵⁷ F. Barlow, 'The King's Evil', *English Historical Review* 95 (1980), pp. 3-27.

²⁵⁸ Thus, for example, Vauchez: 'In England the cult of ...Edward the Confessor... took on a national dimension in the twelfth century when the Plantagenets sought to establish the idea, borrowed from France, of a sacred and thaumaturgic monarchy', Vauchez, 'The saint', p. 322. References are occasionally ambiguous, as they are potentially distanced by such phrases as 'According to Bloch', but do not suggest whether the commentator agrees or disagrees with Bloch's model; see, for example, Jones, 'From *Anglorum basileus* to Norman saint', p. 115; Klaniczay, *Holy Rulers*, p. 5. This is not, of course, universal: Colin Morris, for example, suggested that the cures of Robert the Pious and Edward the Confessor were possibly a function of their personal sanctity, *Papal Monarchy*, p. 228.

²⁵⁹ 'Touched by your presence: How royal was the "royal touch" in twelfth-century English *vitae*?', Leeds I.M.C., 17 July 2003.

were ambiguous at this stage.²⁶⁰ It is noteworthy, however, that immediately after this assertion, Edward – known to be childless, and to politically catastrophic effect – miraculously renders a young woman fertile. Just as the Anonymous suggested in the epithalamium an alternative fecundity for Edith, so, with this miracle, he created for Edward a kind of substitute fertility, which leads into his other miraculous activity.

As noted above, the first of Edward's miracles in Osbert's *vita* is not that of the scrofulous woman, but that of Gillomichael the cripple, which is part of the Westminster cluster of activity.²⁶¹ The position of this first cure underlines the connection with Westminster and Peter – Westminster's saintly patron – as it appears after Osbert's account of Pope Leo's approbation of Edward as king, which was confirmed by a vision in which St. Peter instructed Edward, via a hermit, to become patron to Westminster.²⁶² Gillomichael's cure is given a still stronger Westminster connection by his assertion that it was none other than St. Peter who commanded him to go to Edward to seek a cure. For Osbert, it was more important to privilege Westminster and Westminster connections than to create a quasi-fertility for Edward. Aelred largely followed Osbert's sequence of supernatural events at this stage, but the way in which he rewrote some of Edward's other miraculous activities may provide the key to resolving the tension between the expectations of a good king – especially Henry, to whom Aelred's *vita* was addressed – and of Edward, a childless saint to whom virginity was attributed.

Many of Edward's cures were of blind people – a specialization which was by no means unique, of course,²⁶³ but which Aelred nonetheless highlighted as significant. As already noted, Osbert had referred to the topos of a ruler illuminating his people in his letter to Alberic, with reference to Luke 11:33,²⁶⁴

²⁶⁰ C.f. p. 222, n. 150, *supra*.

²⁶¹ Osbert, *Vita beati Eadwardi*, pp. 82-3; c.f. p. 238, *supra*.

²⁶² Osbert, *Vita beati Eadwardi*, pp. 79-82.

²⁶³ See, for example, the miracles of Æbbe and Margaret, discussed by Bartlett at pp. xxiii, xxxviii-xxxix.

²⁶⁴ 'nemo lucernam accendit et in abscondito ponit neque sub modio sed supra candelabrum ut qui ingrediuntur lumen videant' ['No man lighteth a candle, and putteth it in a hidden place, nor under a bushel; but upon a candlestick, that they that come in, may see the light']. Cf. Matthew 5:14-16, Mark 4:21, Luke 8:16. C.f. p. 209, *supra*.

but little developed the notion. As illustrated in the section on Edward's virginity, Osbert's concern was to promote Westminster's interests, and he did this by making Edward a saintly corpse, therefore by extension making Westminster itself a locus of sanctity. Notwithstanding, there was sufficient emphasis on light, blindness and sight for Aelred to pick up on it as a leitmotiv, as may be characterized by his choice of scriptural passage on which the topos was based as the sermon for Edward's 1163 translation.²⁶⁵ Just as Osbert's Edward was a light, so is Aelred's: 'qui quasi stella matutina in medio nebulae, et quasi luna plena in diebus suis luxit'.²⁶⁶

Moreover, Aelred privileged Edward's giving sight to the blind at several points. He explicitly attributed Edward's clairvoyancy to his chastity:

Praebet certe regiae castitati testimonium puritas mentis, quae ab omni faece vitii pulsantis eliquata, et longe posita quasi praesentia contemplari et futura potuit quasi prae oculis sita cognoscere sicut sequens capitulum declarat.²⁶⁷

Throughout, as Aelred referred to Edward's miraculous cures, he privileged curing the blind. Thus, for example, he prefaced Edward's first cure: 'Fecit enim mirabilia in vita sua, reddens caecis visum, et claudis gressum, fugans febres, et paralyticos sanans et diversas hominum valitudines curans'.²⁶⁸ Similarly, as Aelred opened the second book of his *vita*, which catalogues Edward's posthumous miracles, he referred to: 'vis enim quae latebat in membris erupit in miraculis, quoniam dum caecis visum, claudis gressum, infirmis sanitatem

²⁶⁵ Again, this was not unique, see J. Crook, *The Architectural Setting of the Cult of Saints in the Early Christian West, c. 300-1200* (Oxford, 2000), p. 34.

²⁶⁶ Aelred, *Vita S. Edwardi*, c. 738 ['that brilliant luminary the glorious King Edward shone like the morning star in a cloudy sky, like the moon at its full all his days': Aelred, *Life*, p. 16].

²⁶⁷ Aelred, *Vita S. Edwardi*, c. 748 ['sure witness to the king's chastity is borne by his pure mind, for, drained of all the dregs of pulsating vice, and detached, it could regard present things and know future things, more or less as if they were placed before his eyes' Aelred, *Life*, p. 36].

²⁶⁸ Aelred, *Vita S. Edwardi*, c. 754 ['He has done wonderful things in his lifetime, restoring sight to the blind, steps to the lame; dispersing fevers, healing the paralytic and curing the different ills of mankind', Aelred, *Life*, p. 47]. C.f. also, after the episode involving the plundering servant, Aelred, *Vita S. Edwardi*, c. 746: 'ego quod caecos illuminavit, quod curavit claudos, quod ab adversa valitudine multos eripuit, huic ejus simplicitati et patientiae aestimo postponendum' ['I believe that that he gave sight to the blind, cured the lame, delivered many from the adversity of sickness, is less important than his simplicity and tolerance', Aelred, *Life*, pp. 32-3]. On the importance of *simplicitas* in Aelred's *vita*, and in this miracle specifically, see Yohe, 'Ælred's recrafting of the *Life*', p. 187.

restituit'.²⁶⁹ Clearly Aelred considered healing the blind to be Edward's speciality. He prefaced the account of the blind man on All Saints' Eve thus:

Hoc praecipue munus curationum licet plenius per Dei Spiritum rex Christianissimus habuisset, in illuminandis tamen caecis speciali gratia praefulgebat, ob interioris, ut creditur, hominis puritatem, ut cui munditia singularis defaecaverat cordis obtutus, ipse in aliis exteriorum propelleret tenebras oculorum.²⁷⁰

We see, then, that Edward's specialisation in curing the blind and his access to prophecy and clairvoyancy stem from his clean purity. Aelred elaborated further on this connection between Edward's speciality cure and his sanctity in his conclusion to the account of the miraculous healing of the three blind men and the one-eyed man:

Haec de caecis quibus visum restituit, interim scripsisse sufficiat, ut in hoc ultimo miraculo quo de lucernis septem, fecimus mentionem, regem sanctum septiformi Spiritus sancti gratia doceamus esse repletum; cui spiritus timoris Domini, depulsis superbiae tenebris, humilitatis oculum reseravit; cui infidelitatis caecitate deteresa, fidei lumen spiritus pietatis infudit; quem spiritus scientiae, fugata caligine falsitatis, lumine veritatis illustravit; quem spiritus fortitudinis cunctis tam corporalibus quam spiritualibus reddidit hostibus fortiolem; qui tenebris ignorantiae pulsus, per spiritum consilii lumen discretionis obtinuit; quem de terrenis ad coelestia, de corporalibus ad spiritualia, de nocte mundi hujus ad contemplationem coelestium luminum spiritus transtulit intellectus; quem propheticae lucis gratia, et divinorum cognitione consiliorum spiritus sapientiae muneravit. Merito proinde luce septemplici exteriores hominum oculos depulsa caecitate perfudit, qui septem oculorum lumine qui in agro coelesti visi sunt interius illustrari promeruit.²⁷¹

²⁶⁹ Aelred, *Vita S. Edwardi*, c. 775 ['the power which remained in his limbs erupted into miracles, ... as he restored sight to the blind, walking to the lame and health to the sick', Aelred, *Life*, p. 96].

²⁷⁰ Aelred, *Vita S. Edwardi*, c. 762 ['While it was the gift of healing that our most Christian king received in special abundance from the Spirit of God, he was particularly distinguished by the special grace of giving sight to the blind, because, as it was believed, of his inner purity. As his singular cleanness kept the gaze of his heart clear, just so did he dispel darkness from the outward eyes of others', Aelred, *Life*, p. 64].

²⁷¹ Aelred, *Vita S. Edwardi*, c. 765 ['I have written enough for the moment about the blind being restored to sight, so let this last tale of the miracle of seven lights make us mindful that the holy king was filled with the grace of the sevenfold spirit. The spirit of the fear of the Lord opened his eyes to humility and drove away the blindness of unbelief and poured the light of faith into him; the spirit of knowledge drove away the darkness of error and made him shine with the light of truth; the spirit of fortitude made him stronger than all his enemies both temporal and spiritual; the spirit of counsel dispelled clouds of ignorance and gave him the light of discernment; the spirit of understanding brought him from earthly things to heavenly, from physical to spiritual, from the night of this world to the contemplation of the lights of heaven; and the spirit of wisdom fortified him with the grace of prophetic insight and knowledge of the divine will. It was in short fitting that he filled the outward eyes of men with a sevenfold light, driving out their darkness, for he had

In Aelred's *vita*, then, we finally see the notion of a ruler illuminating his people – a notion which was absent in the Anonymous's *vita*, and promised but not delivered in Osbert's. This quality was not only an aspect of his rulership and of his lived sanctity, but was also itself a means of propagating his sanctity: 'Ita septem lucernae ex virorum quatuor fronte lucentes, Edwardum nostrum clariorem cunctis saeculis reddiderunt'.²⁷² That it continued after his earthly rulership is stated in Aelred's preface to Edward's posthumous cure of six blind men and a one-eyed man: 'Diximus beatum Edwardum specialem in illuminandis caecis dum adviveret habuisse virtutem, hanc ei gratiam morte interveniente non esse subtractam sequens capitulum declarabit'.²⁷³

It is this that enables us to make sense of the apparently confusing implications of a text which lauded virginity being presented as a model to a king, whose job description should surely entail procreation. Edward's virginity per se was not a quality to be directly emulated by Henry. It was rather a means to an end, namely creating Edward as an illuminating ruler, leading his people to light. It was this that Henry was to emulate, which was but another aspect of the peaceful rulership for which he was to strive. This suggestion is corroborated by the authors' successive treatments of Edward's deathbed vision of the Green Tree.

5.iv.iii The vision of the Green Tree.

All three *vitae* include Edward's deathbed vision, in which two monks he had known in Normandy appear to him, and foretell a period of divine punishment for the realm, and when Edward presses them for a silver lining, they reply:

Arbor quaelibet viridis a suo trunco decisa ad trium jugerum spatium a radice propria separetur, quae cum nulla manu hominis cogente, nulla urgente necessitate, ad suum truncum reversa in antiquam radicem sese

deserved to be inwardly enlightened by the seven lights which are seen in the expanse of the heavens', Aelred, *Life*, pp. 70-1].

²⁷² Aelred, *Vita S. Edwardi*, c. 765 ['Thus seven lights shining on the brows of four men, rendered our Edward more brightly shining for all generations'].

²⁷³ Aelred, *Vita S. Edwardi*, c. 777 ['We have described how the blessed Edward had a special power to enlighten the blind while he was yet alive, and the following chapter will show that the intervention of death had not deprived him of it.', Aelred, *Life*, p. 98].

receperit, resumptoque succo rursus floruerit et fructum fecerit, tunc sperandum est aliquod in hac tribulatione solatium, et de ea quam praediximus adversitate remedium.²⁷⁴

The vision itself is much the same in all the treatments,²⁷⁵ but the authors' interpretations of it differ. For the Anonymous, Osbert and William, the potential remedy offered by the vision was an impossibility, therefore England was doomed to divine punishment without an end in sight.²⁷⁶ Aelred, however, stated that the end was in fact in sight, in the person of Henry II – the cornerstone of the English and Norman lines:

Arbor haec regnum Anglorum significat, decorum gloria, divitiis deliciisque fecundum, excellentia regiae dignitatis sublime. Radix ex qua totus honor iste processit regium semen fuit, quod ab Alfredo ... ad sanctum Edwardum descendit. *Abscisa est arbor a trunco*, quando regnum a genere regali divisum, ad aliud semen translatum est. ... *Accessit ad radicem arbor*, quando gloriosus rex Henricus ... abnepem Edwardi Mathildem duxit uxorem, semen regum Normannorum et Anglorum conjungens, et interveniente opere conjugali de duobus unum faciens. *Floruit sane arbor*, quando de utroque semine imperatrix Mathildis processit. *At tunc fructum fecit*, quando de ipsa noster Henricus velut lucifer matutinus exoriens, quasi lapis angularis utrumque populum copulavit.²⁷⁷

This picks up on Aelred's reference in the prologue to Henry as the cornerstone (*lapis angularis*) of the English and Normans.²⁷⁸ The theme of reconciliation

²⁷⁴ Aelred, *Vita S. Edwardi*, c. 773 ['A certain green tree was cut from its stump and removed three furlongs from its own roots; when it returns to its stump, with no hand of man to urge, or necessity to drive, and sets itself on its ancient root, when the sap flows again, and it blossoms once more and produces fruit, then there will be some hope of comfort in this sorrow, and a remedy for the disaster we have predicted'].

²⁷⁵ Anon., *Vita Ædwardi* (1992), pp. 118-19; Osbert, *Vita beati Eadwardi*, p. 108.

²⁷⁶ Anon., *Vita Ædwardi* (1992), pp. 118ff; Osbert, *Vita beati Eadwardi*, pp. 108-10; William of Malmesbury, *Gesta regum Anglorum*, 1: 414-17. See also Barlow, *Vita Ædwardi* (1992), pp. 131-2; Barlow, 'The *Vita Ædwardi* (Book II)', p. 391; E. Mason, 'St Wulfstan's staff: A legend and its uses', *Medium Aevum* 53 (1984): 157-79, p. 161.

²⁷⁷ Aelred, *Vita S. Edwardi*, cc. 773-4 ['The tree symbolises the Kingdom of England, resplendent in glory, fecund with riches and delights, eminent in the exalted dignity of royalty. The root from which all this honour derives was the royal seed, which descends from Alfred ... to Saint Edward. ... The tree was 'cut from its stump' when the kingdom was taken from the royal family and given to another seed. ... The tree 'returns to its stump' when the glorious King Henry... took for his wife Matilda, the great-niece of Edward. ... thus joining the English and Norman lines and by the consummation of his marriage joined the two [lines] into one. The tree 'blossomed' when the Empress Matilda was born from the two lines, and it 'bore fruit' when from her arose our own Henry, like the morning star, like the corner stone joining together the two nations', Aelred, *Life*, p. 91].

²⁷⁸ Aelred, *Vita S. Edwardi*, cc. 738-9 [Aelred, *Life*, p. 16].

within Aelred's *vita* has been noted before,²⁷⁹ but I suggest that Aelred was also recrafting Edward's miracles to further bolster his point. This notion is embodied in the preamble to the first posthumous miracle which he introduced into Edward's *vita*, which placed Edward in a tradition of an Old Testament-, New Testament-, and Christ-endorsed, peaceful mission to the people. The miracle itself concerns a servant who scoffs at Edward, and is consequently paralysed, taken to Edward's tomb, duly forgiven and cured. This is all prefaced thus:

Sanctissimus Eliseus propheta a pueris plus quadraginta derisus, sua maledictione ultus injuriam, universos bestiis tradidit puniendos. Magum impiissimum Helymam apostolos blasphemantem beatus Paulus subita caecitate damnavit. Injuriam igitur sanctis suis illatam in se redundare Christus declarat: *Qui vos, inquit, audit me audit, et qui vos spernit me spernit*. Hoc in suo Dominus Jesus ostendit Edwardo, ejus detrahentes sanctitati cum magna severitate puniens, obsequentes ei beneficiorum collatione remunerans.²⁸⁰

With this reference to Elisha,²⁸¹ Aelred provided an Old Testament justification for Edward's smiting of the scoffing girl. He then referenced the New Testament, with the reference to Elymas, the Jewish sorcerer who tried to thwart the attempts of Peter and Barnabas to convert a proconsul to Christianity. Peter duly cursed Elymas with blindness.²⁸² The final part refers to Christ's conferral of the power of healing onto the apostles after which he enjoined them to go out into the world on a mission of peace, preaching and healing.²⁸³ This passage, then, melds Old Testament smiting, New Testament smiting, and Christ backing Edward's saintly authority, in the context of an explicitly peaceful mission. Yet again, we see Aelred successfully manipulating Edward's legend to better promote his overall message.

²⁷⁹ See, for example, Squire, *Aelred*, p. 88; Dutton, 'Ælred, historian', p. 117; Lawyer, 'Aelred of Rievaulx's *Life of St. Edward*'. On Aelred's general concern with peace-making, see Dalton, 'Churchmen and the promotion of peace', especially 109-18.

²⁸⁰ Aelred, *Vita S. Edwardi*, c. 783: ['The holy prophet Elisha was mocked by more than forty little boys, and avenging his wrong with a curse, abandoned the whole lot to be punished by bears. Saint Peter condemned the impious magician Elymas to sudden blindness, because he had blasphemed the apostles. Christ himself declares that an injury to one of his saints redounds onto himself, for he said 'He who hears you hears me, and he who rejects you rejects me.' This too the Lord Jesus shows to his Edward, punishing with great strictness those who detract from his sanctity, and rewarding with many benefits those who revere him', Aelred, *Life*, p. 110].

²⁸¹ 2 Kings 2: 23-4.

²⁸² Acts 13: 6-12.

²⁸³ Luke 9:1-2.

5.v Conclusions.

This chapter, then, has traced aspects of Edward's hagiographical legend, focusing on the ways in which the authors wrestled with the tensions between a lay life and the imperatives of sanctity. That they clearly felt the need to justify certain aspects confirms that a saintly lay life was indeed problematic.

The nature of Edward's rulership shifted across the hundred years or so over which *vitae* were written, according to varying agendas. Military and hunting activity – so important to noble laymen, and, in the former case, advocated so strongly for good kingship in Aelred's *Genealogia*, but spiritually problematic in his representation of David – were downplayed by Osbert and Aelred, and therefore did not impinge on Edward's sanctity in their *vitae*. Edward was not an overtly learned ruler, and did not explicitly teach, as had Anselm and Margaret, but as Aelred addressed his *vita* to Henry as a *speculum*, Edward himself became a pedagogic tool. Edward's conspicuous consumption also received careful authorial attention, confirming that deployment and display of regalia and luxurious goods proved problematic: this was expected of a king but difficult – but not impossible – to negotiate for a saint. Edward's alleged virginity, so crucial to later representations of Edward as saint, is of particular interest at this early stage in his legend. Although sexual activity has not been particularly problematic in our other case-studies, the lack of evidence of it (that is, the lack of heirs) in the case of Edward was. Each of our authors wrote Edward's childlessness to best suit his own agenda, which presented a knotty problem of historical interpretation: if Aelred presented Edward as an exemplar to Henry, why did he write Edward's childlessness as saintly performative virginity? I have argued that Aelred's treatment of Edward's miraculous activity suggests an answer to this problem, namely that Henry was not to emulate Edward's virginity, but was urged to foster peace and reconciliation, as had Edward's miracles, which were conferred as a result of his virginity.

Was Edward, therefore, able to become a saint because the historical Edward was not a “real man”, or at least not a “real layman”? Although distance

from sexual activity and wealth or luxury goods might seem to situate Edward as not-lay, I suggest that it instead reinforces his status as a lay saint. By this time, a monk theoretically did not have contact with sex or personal wealth, so distance from them was simply part of his chosen status, rather than personal *virtus*. This is not to say that monastic or clerical distance from sex or money could not be written as a saintly struggle. That laymen were expected to engage in such activities, however, made a layman's non-engagement more remarkable. A pauper's abstention from food, for example, could be attributed to his poverty as much as to any spiritual motivation, whereas a rich man's fast is instead a choice. That Edward was seen – and officially acknowledged – to be a saint confirms that a lay male life could be saintly in England in our period, and it could be the very aspects of lay life which were deemed to be most problematic that could facilitate and manifest sanctity. Military violence, however, is the one activity intrinsically associated with lay male life that seems to have still been intractable.

That the Anonymous, Osbert and Aelred all presented different versions of Edward proves that his story was as malleable and useful as that of any other saint – lay or otherwise. The popularity of Aelred's *vita* in manuscripts and as a source for later interpretations of Edward's story suggests a degree of success in neutralizing the problems presented by lay sanctity. Nonetheless, that Edward's cult did not continue to enjoy widespread popularity may suggest that we should conclude that those problems had not been incontrovertibly or even satisfactorily neutralized.

Conclusion and future directions

My main concern in this thesis has been with lay male sanctity, which had been little explored for early twelfth century England, partly because there were few examples, and partly because those that did exist have been dismissed as atypical lay saints. When I embarked on the project, I aimed to explore the grey areas between piety and sanctity, and to test the notion that a lay saint at this point could only become saintly by being quasi-monastic. Whereas these overall objectives remained the same throughout my research, it soon became clear that the paths toward them would be different from those I had anticipated. The problems encountered, and the new shape and emphases that the thesis took on are themselves instructive in understanding the subject.

It is axiomatic that no author writes in an ideological or cultural vacuum, and as I sought to tease out aspects of lay sanctity as set down by my chosen authors, it became apparent that these texts were inextricably embedded in the social, cultural, spiritual, political and ideological fallouts of a number of disruptions and renegotiated relationships which affected north-western Europe as a whole and/or England specifically, which had converged to create a particularly fascinating intellectual and cultural climate. Unsurprisingly, therefore, my research took me into historiographical areas into which I could only briefly venture without losing sight of the primary focus of lay sanctity, but suggested a number of avenues for future research which can build upon my findings here. To conclude this thesis, I will briefly outline how the study was reshaped, recapitulate the most prominent concerns and aims revealed by my readings of the sources, and suggest how those readings may be pushed in other directions, not necessarily concerned with lay sanctity, to shed further light on our general understanding of the period.

I originally intended to investigate lay male sanctity in Waltheof, David, and Edward, which would bear comparison with Margaret's female sanctity, Anselm's ecclesiastical sanctity, and Stephen's non-saintly royal rulership. It soon became clear, however, that David's sanctity was a later construct, and that for Orderic, Waltheof's sanctity was not predicated on his life but on his death. They were still valuable to my overall project, however, in that they offered male models of pious but

not yet saintly royal rulership and of noble sanctity via martyrdom respectively. The way in which Margaret's sanctity differed from my early expectations was particularly instructive. Although Turgot described Margaret's involvement in what are recognized as female and/or queenly roles, he also dwelt on aspects of rulership beyond those roles. By approaching Margaret as a lay saint rather than as a woman or queen, I was able to discern aspects of saintly lay rulership which would be applicable to men or women. Rather than acting as a direct female comparison, therefore, intriguingly, the chapter on Margaret evolved into a study of aspects of male sanctity. During the course of my thesis, then, the parameters with which I had started out were redefined. This redefinition itself helped me better to open up lay male sanctity as a subject.

Eadmer's depiction of Anselm confirmed that sanctity could be expressed via the functions of rulership in a monastic and ecclesiastical context, but even here they were problematic and rendered the subject open to charges of ambition. Eadmer sought to overcome this by depicting Anselm's rulership according to acceptable models of authority – especially concentrating on his role as educator, and by demonstrating God's approval of Anselm with careful reportage of miraculous episodes. Orderic positioned Waltheof in an established tradition of martyr-saints. As a martyr-saint, Waltheof did not need to have lived sanctity ascribed to him. Orderic's interest in Waltheof lay instead in his innocence, and consequent posthumous miraculous activity. Orderic's depiction of Ansold, however, suggests that Orderic could see the spiritual value of a lived lay life. Common to his depictions of both Ansold and Waltheof is adherence to the counsel of *clerici*. If anyone's reign could have been written as a trial and therefore, perhaps, as a form of living martyrdom, beset by enemies, it was Stephen's, but even his apologist did not attempt this. Instead, Stephen's was an overly affable rulership, which lacked the severity which was held to be necessary in order to maintain peace for the realm. The *Gesta Stephani* is therefore instructive, in that we may see not only the qualities Stephen's apologist admired – such as affability, generosity, military bravery, humility, and discretion – and therefore emphasised, but also those which he conceded to be lacking – most notably, consistency and, when necessary, severity. The inclusion of Stephen, therefore, reveals the common ground between expectations of good royal rulership and those of lay sanctity in a royal ruler. Still more importantly, the *Gesta Stephani*

demonstrates the fundamental importance of maintenance of the peace in good rulership, which is also fundamental in my interpretations of the depictions of Margaret, David and Edward.

Turgot's Margaret demonstrates that it was possible for sanctity to be manifested by the functions of royal rulership, and there is an emphasis on her role as educator, as also noted in the discussion of Anselm. Far from being mere consort, Margaret was a very active ruler, performing aspects of rulership traditionally associated with king, not consort (not only convening councils but presiding over them, encouraging trade, "taming" predatory lords), in addition to those traditionally associated with queens (such as responsibility for bolstering the royal dignity with rich garments and regalia). Surprisingly, wealth and sexual activity were not problematic. On the contrary, Margaret's attitude towards her wealth was one of the markers of her good rulership. The ways in which she deployed her authority, displayed her wealth, and encouraged others' consumption of luxury goods may be read as part of a civilizing process, which tamed the "barbarous" Scottish nation. In Margaret, then, we saw aspects of lay sanctity which could be ascribed to female *and* male subjects.

The one aspect of royal rulership with which Margaret did not become involved was masculine-gendered, namely military violence. Her son David's rulership as presented in the texts was in many ways in extension of hers, but for the military activity he oversaw, which was seen by many as excessively violent and therefore blotted his spiritual copybook in the eyes of some, including Aelred, who apparently admired him in all other respects. In his *Genealogia regum Anglorum*, Aelred presented Henry Plantagenet with a series of models of Anglo-Saxon kingship, which betrays a concern with maintaining peace by limiting excessive military violence, and exemplifies the importance of the "two-way stretch" in a ruler, as well as the need for good counsel, also noted in the discussion of Stephen as seen in the *Gesta Stephani*.

It is with Edward that we were able to see most clearly some of the tensions between a lay life and sanctity being worked out, by dint of the survival of three sources written within a relatively short timespan. His military activity, including his

penchant for hunting, were written out of his legend by Osbert and Aelred, and therefore presented no hagiographical problem. Aelred finally successfully refracted Edward's conspicuous consumption into a manifestation of his sanctity, and glossed over the lack of any evidence of Edward's erudition – not expected of an Anglo-Saxon king to the same extent as it had become of an Anglo-Norman king – by describing Edward himself as a pedagogic tool rather than as actively educating within his own lifetime. There remained the knotty problem of Edward's alleged virginity. That Edward's legend was to focus on this virginity might seem to place this aspect of his story firmly outwith his status as a layman, who was expected to render the conjugal debt, and as a king, who was expected to provide the realm with an heir. I have argued, however, that when considered in the context of his miraculous activity, Edward's virginity may be seen as a means to his fostering of peace, and therefore needs to be considered as part of his lay functions as king. Deliberately chosen virginity was simply not a practical option for a historical king who wished to secure safe succession and therefore regnal continuity. After the fact, however, the historical accident of his childlessness could be written to suit the textual creation of a saint.

In the absence of evidence of miracles or supernatural activity, it is very difficult – and at times impossible – to identify the point at which exemplary piety segues into sanctity, as much, perhaps, for medieval observers as for modern ones. Fundamental to my readings of these texts was an awareness that the boundaries between the expectations of *monachi*, *clerici*, and *laici* were not as impermeable as some of the medieval rhetoric – or indeed modern scholarship – implies. This fuzziness is exacerbated in the case of those who wielded authority, and especially of kings. My lay saints, then, exist in an ideological area of several layers of shifting boundaries. Common to all the depictions of lay piety and sanctity discussed here – to some degree and in different ways – is a concern with somehow taming the laity, be it by the education or “civilization” of others within the text, by limiting predatory lordship, extolling adherence to the counsel of *clerici*, or by fostering reconciliation between disparate factions. This concern is not surprising, in the light of the social and cultural upheavals experienced by north-western Europe as a whole and by England specifically, and these depictions of lay sanctity may therefore be seen as part of a wider attempt on the part of *clerici*, in the sense of *litterati*, to re-establish

their vision of order onto society, shaping it to a mode of behaviour acceptable to the monastic or clerical authors. It is in this wider context that my readings of my chosen texts may most profitably be pushed further in future research.

Whereas Nelson identified marriage as more problematic than violence in the resolving the tensions between expectations of a saintly life and those of a lay life in Odo's depiction of Gerald,¹ it seems that violence was more problematic to our authors. A focus on peace, and an intrinsic association of peace with kingship was, of course, not exclusive to the twelfth century or to England.² These were, however, prominent concerns, as may be seen in the large body of research which treats of attitudes to military violence and peace-keeping in England in this period.³ Some of these studies have examined the ways in which saints and sanctity were deployed in the promotion of peace,⁴ but there is still much to be done. One of the ways in which hagiographical and military historical studies for this period could be further advanced is by consideration of the implications of studies which have focused on gender.

Throughout this thesis, issues of gender theory have been touched upon, without being dwelt upon, as my main concern was sanctity rather than gender. I suggest, however, that my readings of the sources considered here could now fruitfully be deployed in the light of recent work on gender. Whereas our understanding of high status medieval women has been enhanced by gendered readings, high status lay males have received relatively little academic attention

¹ Nelson, 'Monks, secular men and masculinity', p. 126.

² Thus, for example, Fouracre and Gerberding on Merovingian kings: 'Peace could be broken in two ways: from without, i.e. by the invasion of foreigners, or from within, i.e. by internal disputes of all sorts, ranging from local vendettas to larger-scale civil wars. And here we have the two basic political responsibilities of their kings: to keep foreign peoples out, usually by conquering them, and to settle internal disputes, usually through a judicial system, but if need be also with armies', *Late Merovingian France*, p. 2.

³ In addition to the works cited in the main body of this thesis, see, for example, C. Holdsworth, 'War and peace in the twelfth century: The reign of Stephen reconsidered', in *War and Peace in the Middle Ages* ed. B.P McGuire (Copenhagen, 1987), pp. 67-93; M. Strickland, *War and Chivalry: The conduct and perception of war in England and Normandy, 1066-1217* (Cambridge, 1996); S. J. Speight, 'Violence and the creation of socio-political order in post-conquest Yorkshire', in G. Halsall (ed.), *Violence and Society in the Early Medieval Society* (Woodbridge, 1998), pp. 157-74.

⁴ See especially P. Dalton, 'Civil war and ecclesiastical peace', which usefully compares the ways in which English churchmen in our period deployed sanctity with the methods used in tenth-century France during the Peace of God movement.

informed by gender studies.⁵ Initially this was an understandable reaction to the erstwhile ‘emphasis on “hegemonic” males’.⁶ Just as there has been a move towards exploring masculinity or male sanctity as constructed rather than treating either as normative, however, so there is an emerging appreciation of the value of gendered analyses of high status laymen.⁷ If masculinity, male sanctity and high status lay masculinity may be seen as overlapping in the manner of a venn diagram, this thesis sits at the intersection and therefore contributes to reaching a better understanding of all three fields.

McNamara situated the so-called *Herrenfrage*, a masculine identity crisis, in the early twelfth century.⁸ As a result of this identity crisis, the twelfth and thirteenth centuries saw a ‘concerted effort to synthesize the values of the cloister and the values of the parish’.⁹ Murray has observed that the twelfth and thirteenth centuries saw a clerical and monastic redefinition of the relationship between celibacy and masculinity, whereby the deliberate choice of renouncing sexual activity – one of the primary markers of masculinity¹⁰ – itself became a marker of superior virility:

a monk’s battle for chastity proved not only his spiritual prowess but also his masculinity. The monk had the sexual virility that was a marker of manhood but he transcended and conquered lust in a way that enhanced his masculinity.¹¹

⁵ On queens, in addition to the many insightful works cited in chapter 3, see also, for example, J.A. McNamara, ‘*Imitatio Helanae*: Sainthood as an attribute of queenship’, in S. Sticca (ed.), *Saints: Studies in hagiography* (Binghamton, N.Y., 1996), pp. 51-80; J. Carmi Parsons, *Eleanor of Castile: Queen and society in thirteenth-century England* (New York, 1998); Chamberlayne, ‘Crowns and Virgins’; Wheeler and Carmi Parsons (eds.), *Eleanor of Aquitaine*; H.E. Maurer, *Margaret of Anjou: Queenship and power in late medieval England* (Woodbridge, 2003); J.L. Laynesmith, *The Last Medieval Queens: English queenship 1445-1503* (Oxford, 2004), see pp. 4-8 for a useful historiographical survey. That royal and high status males are yet to be fully explored by gendered readings has also been noted by Lewis, in ‘Ideals of kingly masculinity’, p. 158, and W. M. Ormrod, ‘Monarchy, martyrdom and masculinity: England in the later middle ages’, in Cullum and Lewis (eds.), *Holiness and Masculinity*, pp. 174-91, p. 174.

⁶ Lees, ‘Introduction’, *Medieval Masculinities*, p. xv, a label she associates with ‘the kings, princes, lawmakers, and so forth’.

⁷ In addition to Lewis, ‘Ideals of kingly masculinity’, and Ormrod, ‘Monarchy, martyrdom and masculinity’, see also Lewis, ‘Becoming a virgin king’, Christie, ‘Self-mastery and submission’.

⁸ McNamara, ‘The *Herrenfrage*’, p. 3.

⁹ Murray, ‘Masculinizing religious life’, p. 25.

¹⁰ See V.L. Bullough, ‘On being male in the Middle Ages’, in Lees (ed.), *Medieval Masculinities*, pp. 31-46, pp. 38-41, 43; McNamara, ‘The *Herrenfrage*’, pp. 5, 8.

¹¹ Murray, ‘Masculinizing religious life’, p. 37

This is interesting in the context of my interpretation of Edward. Edward has been considered in terms of gender in later medieval representation,¹² but his early hagiographical legends have been subjected to little gendered analysis. His story was ultimately able to provide the raw material for a model of virginal sanctity because of his failure to provide evidence of his sexual virility, in the form of an heir. Does this somehow render him hyper-masculine? Similarly, it has been argued that victims of decapitation – identified as an emasculating punishment – could in fact be posthumously written as remasculinized.¹³ How does Orderic's Waltheof fit in with this model? Waltheof is traditionally treated as a political saint, but what can a better understanding of how his masculinity is depicted add to our perception of his cult and its proponents?¹⁴

The source which calls most urgently for further treatment, however, is the *Vita Margaretae*. It is a rich and complex text which has yet to be given the academic attention it deserves.¹⁵ In many ways, Turgot's Margaret performed most of the functions of royal rulership, and both her rulership and her sanctity are fascinating. One of the areas which could be most fruitfully explored is the gendered nature of her performance of royal rulership. As I argued in chapter 3, this does not seem to lie exclusively within the paradigms which have been identified for medieval queens. Recent research into later medieval royal rulership may provide a useful starting point for better understanding Turgot's Margaret. Ormrod has usefully distinguished between monarchy – which he defined as 'the *system* of governance by a single individual' – and kingship – defined 'in terms of the *exercise* of monarchy by the individual who happened to hold the title of ruler', arguing that, 'while the *exercise* of monarchy in England has ... tended to be the preserve of males, the principles that underpinned the *system* of monarchy continued to represent the institution as genuinely transcending gender'.¹⁶ Margaret has been considered as a queen, a

¹² Lewis, 'Becoming a virgin king'.

¹³ Christie, 'Self-mastery and submission', pp. 151-4.

¹⁴ I have been unable to consult Brian Briggs's Masters thesis on Waltheof (St. Andrews), which may address this aspect of Waltheof's cult.

¹⁵ This point has also recently been made by Pauline Stafford in her review of Huneycutt, *Matilda*, in *English Historical Review* 119 (2004): 981-3, p. 982.

¹⁶ Ormrod, 'Monarchy, martyrdom and masculinity', *passim*, p. 175 cited. His conclusion, at p. 186, chimes well with my reading of Margaret's rulership: 'specifically because there *was* an acknowledged element of gender identity within the range of functions and qualities associated with the performance of monarchy, the actual distribution and effective delivery of those elements in the job specification

mother, and an exemplar by scholars. My reading of her as a lay saint has suggested new ways of looking at her, which, I propose, can now profitably be pushed further still.

I do not suggest, therefore, that everything that can be said on lay male sanctity in twelfth-century England has been said in this thesis. I hope, however, to have shown that it did exist, and that to simply dismiss it as atypical, or to subsume it into other models of sanctity, is to miss an opportunity better to understand our sources. The very ambiguity of category boundaries allowed authors to manipulate their sources in order to present their subjects according to their specific priorities, suggesting that however potentially problematic aspects of it were, lay sanctity could nonetheless serve a purpose. With this thesis, I hope to have opened up both the sources and lay sanctity as a concept, that we can develop a still deeper appreciation of the hopes and ambitions of the authors of this period.

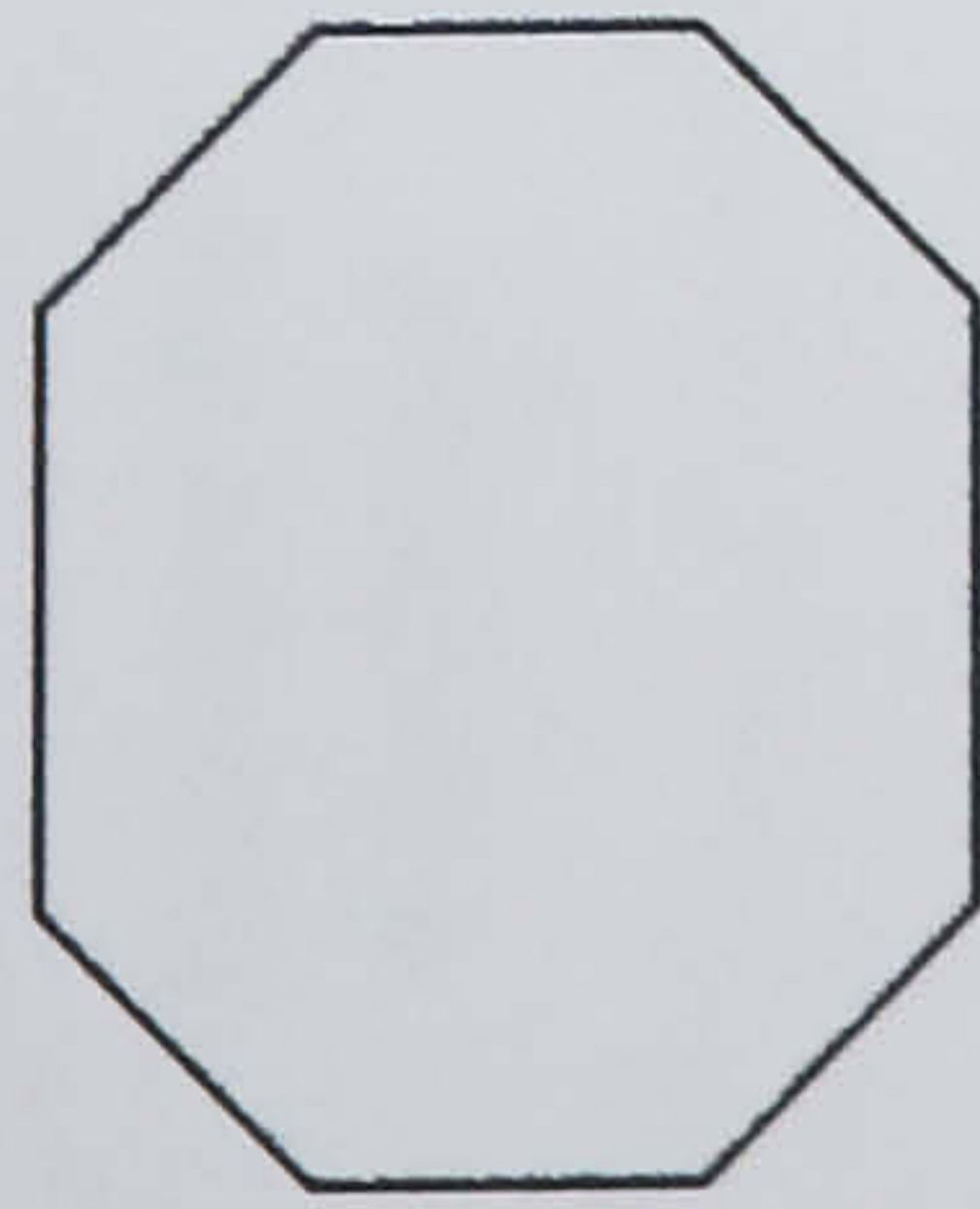
could become contested between kings and queens and, in the process, challenge some of the wider gender norms of contemporary society’.

Table 1: Relationships between texts, authors and subjects.

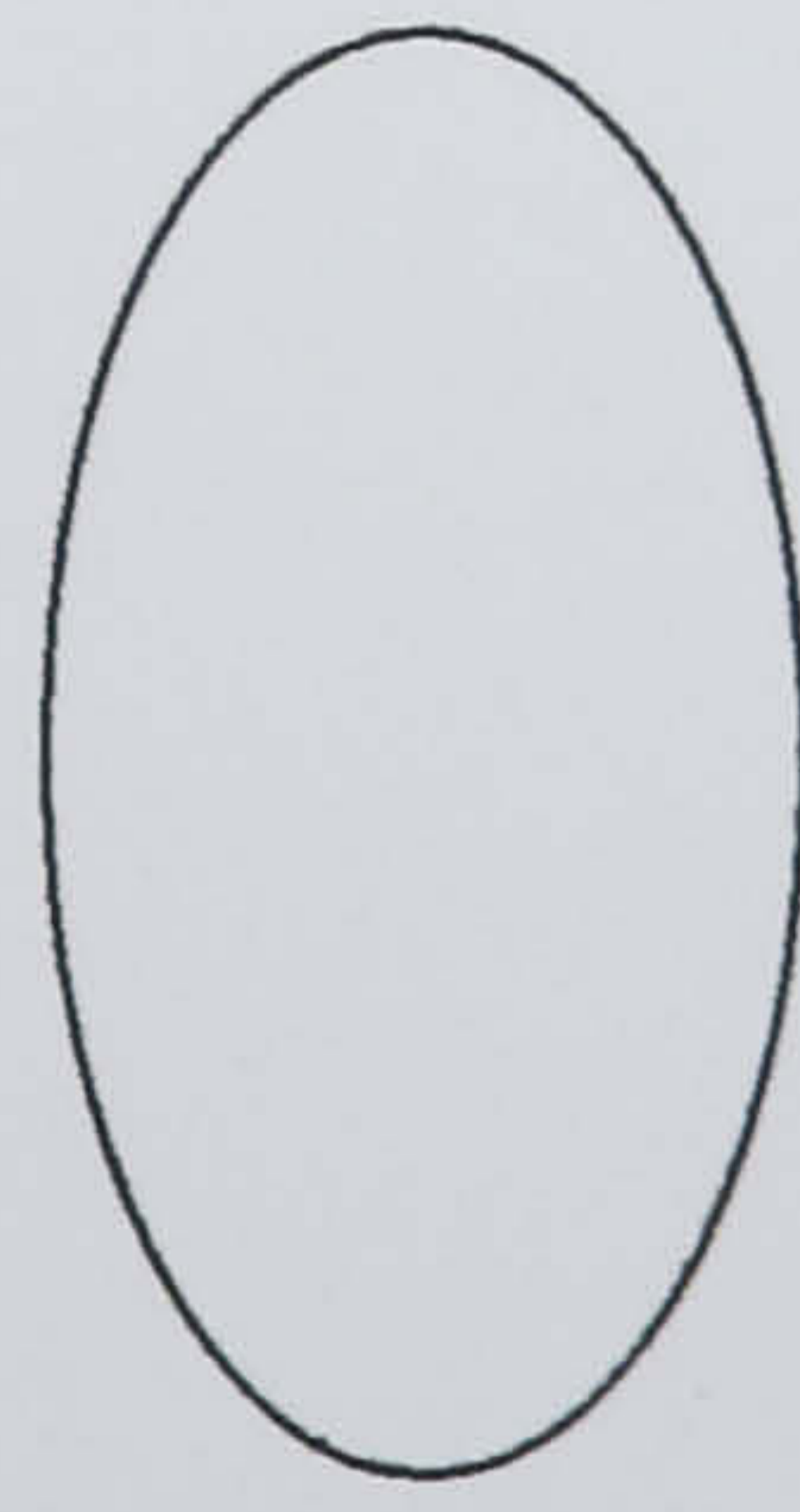
Key:



Text



Author



Subject



Denotes authorship of a text



Denotes textual influence



Denotes a blood relationship



Denotes another relationship (specified in text box)

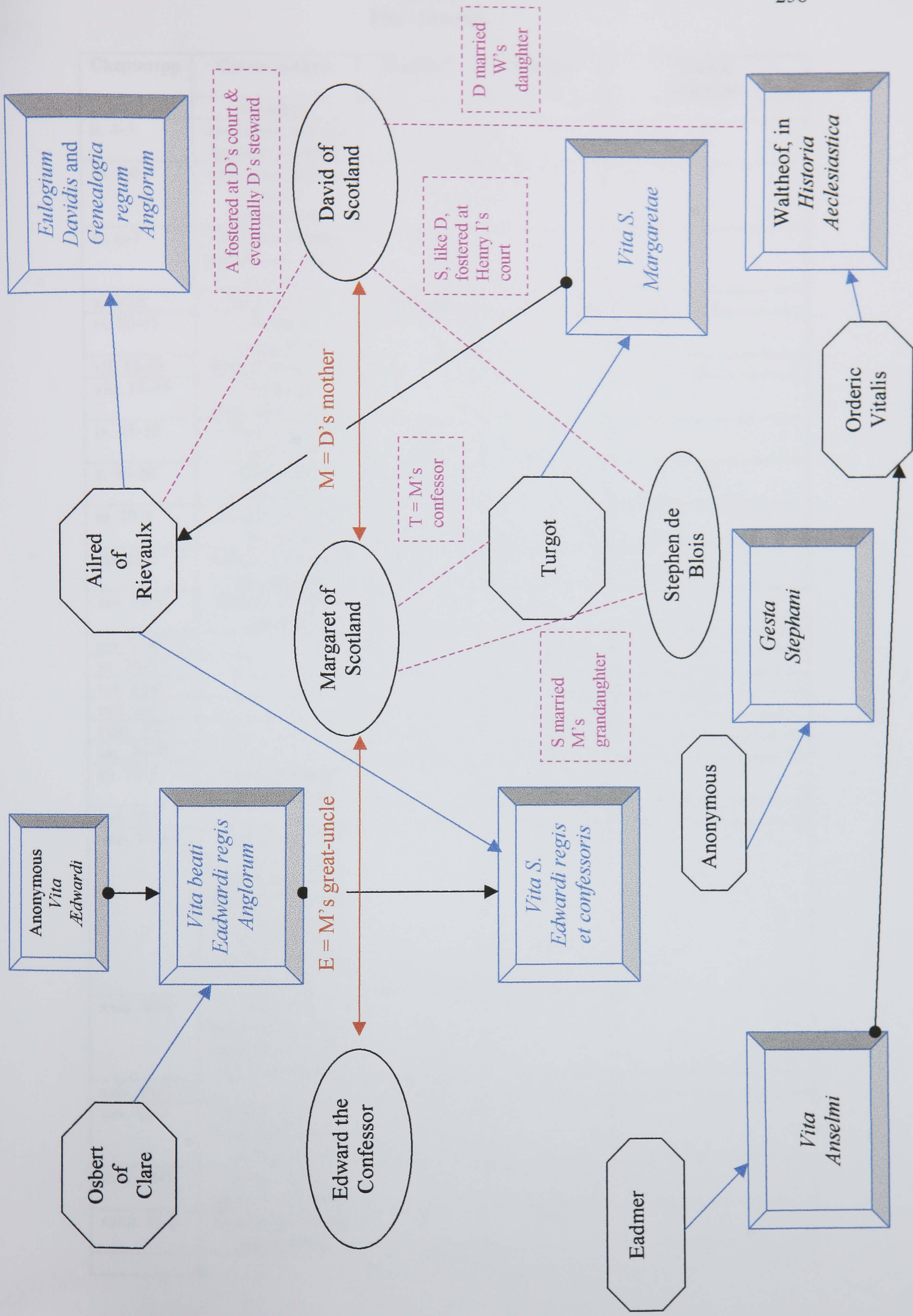


Table 2:
Vita Anselmi.

Chapter/pp	Career context	Conflict?	Miracle	Vision/ visitation
i. 3-4	Parentage			
ii. 4-5	Just before teenage desire to be monk			✓
iii. 5-6	Illness granted ⇒ resolve strengthened	✓	✓	
iv. 6-7	Leaves homeland; abandons & refinds vocation	✓	✓	
v. 8-10	Career choice	✓ (internal)		
vi. 10-11	Monastic profession			
vii. 11-13	Promotion to prior			✓
viii. 13-15	Teaching/ counselling others			
ix. 15-16	Converts hostile underlings	✓		
x. 16-20	Nurtures & educates	✓		✓
xi. 20-1	Anselm's teaching methods			
xii. 21-2	Asks to be relieved of priorship			
xiii. 22-3	Cares for healthy and sick			
xiv. 23-4			✓	
xv. 24-5			✓	
xvi. 25-6				✓
xvii. 26-7			✓	
xviii. 27-8			✓	
xix. 28-32		✓	✓	
xx. 32-5	Letter to Lanzo (counselling)			
xxi. 35-6				✓
xxii. 37-40	Methods so good that he was renowned in & beyond Normandy (including England) & attracted many new recruits			
xxiii. 40-1	Horror of possessions, which were thrust on him by his position			
xxiv. 41-2			✓	
xxv. 42-3	People flock to Anselm for advice, devil envious;			✓
xxvi. 44-5	Promotion to abbacy; reluctance			
xxvii. 45-6	Conduct in secular proceedings	✓	[✓]	

Table 2:
Vita Anselmi.

Chapter/pp	Career context	Conflict?	Miracle	Vision/visitation
xxviii. 46-8	Care of guests and brethren		[✓]	
xxix. 48-50	Trip to England	Implicit		
xxx. 50-54				
xxxi. 54-7	Instructs all according to needs; reputation in England – even William impressed			
xxxii. 57-9	Just 2 examples of how God appeared to many to approve of Anselm		✓	✓
xxxiii. 59-60	Moderation of self-discipline when necessary			
xxxiv. 60-1			✓	
xxxv. 61-2	Eadmer could have related many more supernatural signs but forbears		[✓]	
Book II				
i. 63-4	Begged by English nobles to come to sort out William II			
ii. 64-5	Promotion to archbishopric; reluctant	✓		
iii. 65-6	Others confident in his favour with God		✓	
iv. 66-7	Consecration			
v. 67	William turns against Anselm	✓		
vi. 67-68		✓	✓	
vii. 68-9	Presses the king re abuses in the church	✓		
viii. 69-71	Anselm & his men oppressed by king & his men	✓		
ix. 72	Helps all who come to him			
x. 72-3	Anselm's studies			
xi. 74-8	His discourse			
xii. 79-80	Reproved by some for being too gentle & monkish	✓		
xiii. 80-1	Hates secular business	✓		
xiv. 81-4	Greedy cheating "supporters" & character attacks	✓		
xv. 84-5	Avoids sin			
xvi. 85-87	Trial at Rockingham	✓		

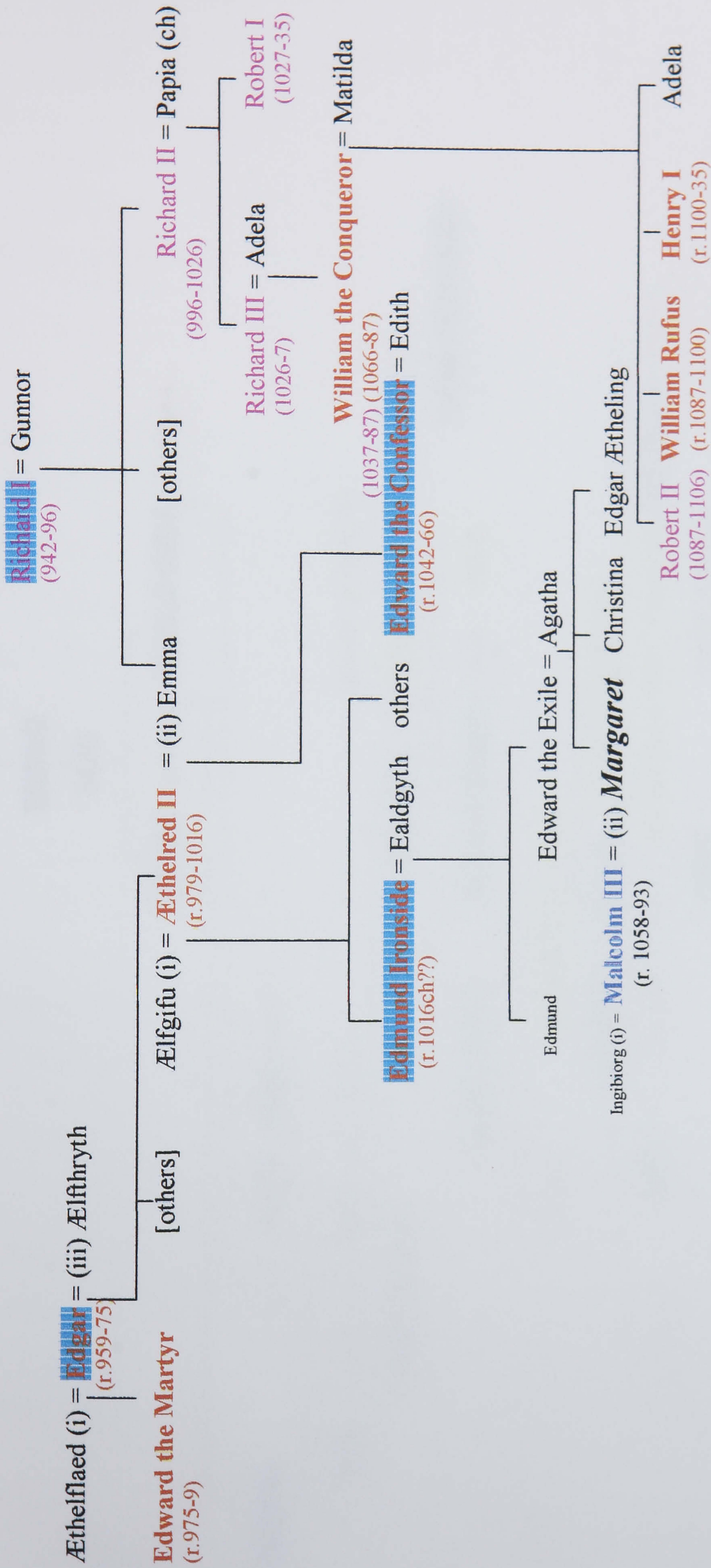
Table 2:
Vita Anselmi.

Chapter/pp	Career context	Conflict?	Miracle	Vision/ visitation
xvii. 88-9	Dispute renewed; seeks permission to go to Rome	✓		
xviii. 89-90	Hare			
xix. 90-1	Bird			
xx. 91-3	Leaves for Rome	✓		
xxi. 93-4	Exile			
xxii. 98	King's man humiliates Anselm	✓		
xxiii. 98-9			✓	
xxiv. 99-100			✓	
xxv. 100-2	People flock to him at St Bertin & St Omer			
xxvi. 102	...& everywhere else on journey			
xxvii. 103	Lyons: Pope supports him			
xxviii. 103- 4	Incognito at Susa	[✓]		
xxix. 104-6	At Rome: pope & people support Anselm			
xxx. 107	Finishes <i>Cur Deus Homo</i>			
xxxi. 107-9			✓	
xxxii. 109- 10			✓	
xxxiii. 110- 12	Even pagans revere him			
xxxiv. 112- 13	Council at Bari			
xxxv. 113- 14	Anselm stays longer at Rome	✓		
xxxvi. 114	Englishmen revere him even above the pope			
xxxvii. 114- 15	Would-be enemies won over by his fearsome demeanour			
xxviii. 115	Council at Rome			
xxxix. 116- 17	Return to Lyons; honoured & loved			
xl. 117-18			✓	
xli. 119			✓	
xlii. 120-1			✓	
xliii. 121-2			✓	
xliv. 122	Writes <i>De conceptu virginali</i>			
xlv. 122	Anselm steadfast in praying for William			✓
xlvi. 123-4	Abbot of Cluny states William is damned			✓ implicit

Table 2:
Vita Anselmi.

Chapter/pp	Career context	Conflict?	Miracle	Vision/ visitation
xlvi. 124				✓
xlvi. 125-6			✓	
xlix. 126-7	William's death confirmed; new king & barons want Anselm to return			
l. 127-8	Henry persecutes Anselm for 2½ years, and tells him to go to Rome	✓		
li. 128-30		✓		✓
lii. 130	William's man issues ultimatum	✓		
liii. 131-2			✓	
liv. 132	Henry despoils Anselm's possessions; negotiations for 1½ years	✓		
lv. 132-3	Personal anecdote re Eadmer's acquisition of relic			
lvi. 134	Henry and Anselm reconciled			
lvii. 134-6			✓	
lviii. 136-7			✓	
lix. 137	Henry falls in with Anselm's wishes			
lx. 137-8			✓	
lxi. 138			✓	
lxii. 138-9	Henry's victory in Normandy attributed to his new concord with Anselm		[✓]	
lxiii. 139-40	Anselm resumes official duties in England; Henry makes concessions			
lxiv. 140-1	Anselm ill; writing.			
lxv. 141	Anselm weakens			
lxvi. 141-3	Anselm dies			
lxvii. 143-4			✓	
lxviii. 144-6			✓	✓ 'many visions' could also be recounted
lxix. 146-7			✓	
lxx. 147-8			✓	
lxxi. 148-9	Eadmer's authorities for <i>Vita Anselmi</i>			
lxxii. 150-1	Anselm approved <i>Vita Anselmi</i> but then changed his mind			

Table 3: Turgot's genealogy for Margaret.



Key.

Ancestor of note for Turgot

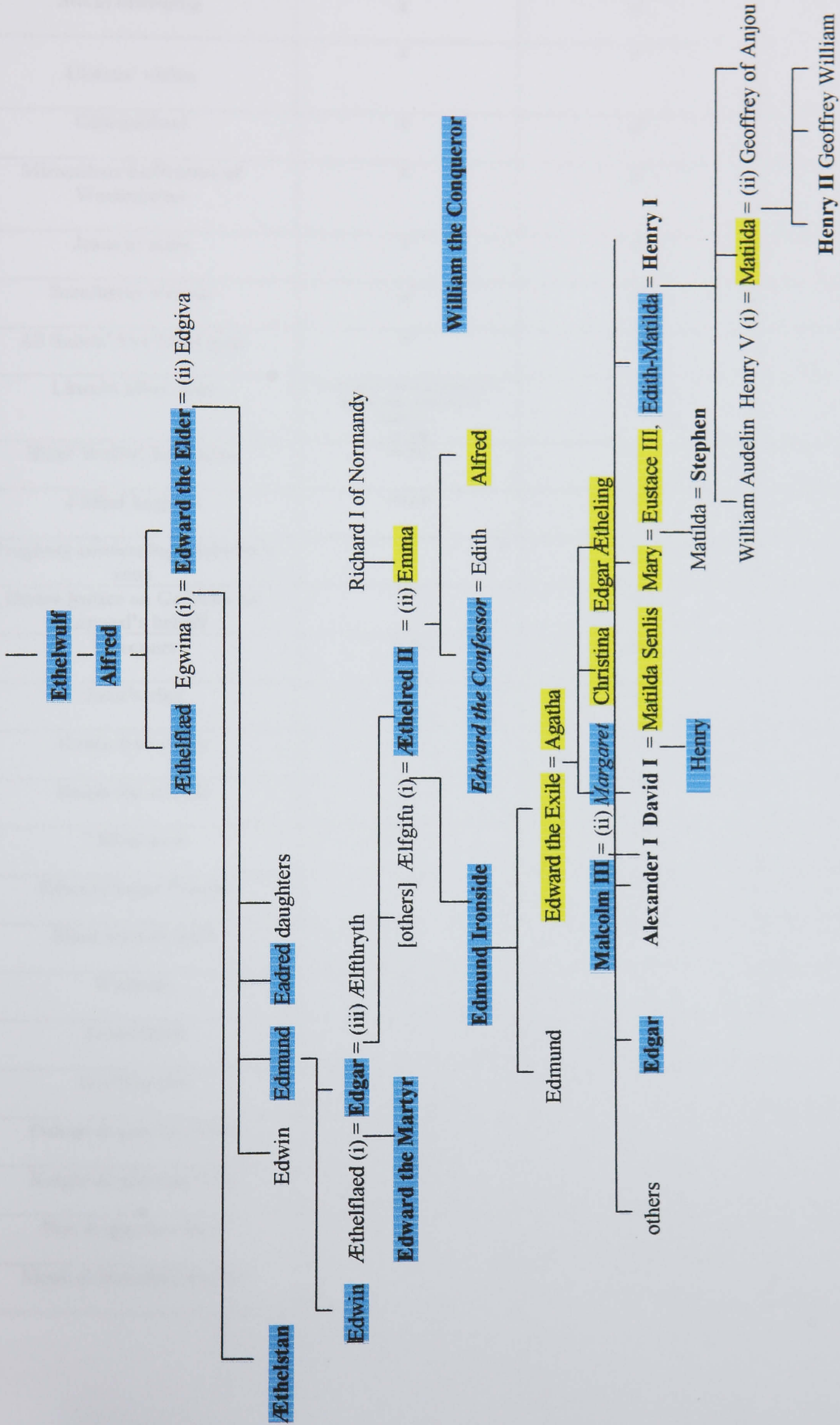
Duke of Normandy

King of England

King of Scotland

Table 4: Aelred's genealogy for David and Henry II.

West Saxon/mythical/Christian genealogy



Key:

King

Named but not "fleshed out" by Aelred

Details of life/character given by Aelred

Table 5: Miraculous episodes in Edward's *vitae*.

	Anonymous	Osbert	Aelred
Swein drowning	X	✓	✓
Ulsinus' vision	X	✓	✓
Gillomichael	X	✓	✓
Miraculous dedication of Westminster	X	✓	✓
Jesus at mass	X	✓	✓
Scrofulous woman	✓	✓	✓
All Saints' Eve blind man	✓	✓	✓
Lincoln blind man	In the same way it happened to a certain man of the city of Lincoln... <i>ms gap</i>	✓	✓
Blind Wulfwi Spillecorn	<i>ms gap</i>	✓	✓
4 blind beggars	<i>ms gap</i>	✓	✓
Prophecy concerning Godwine's sons	X	X	✓
Divine justice on Godwine on Edward's behalf	X	X	✓
7 sleepers	<i>ms gap</i>	✓	✓
John's ring	X	X	✓
Green tree vision	✓	✓	✓
Ralph the cripple	X	✓	✓
7 blind men	X	✓	✓
Edward helps Harold	X	✓	✓
Blind man at tomb	X	✓	✓
Wulfstan	X	✓	✓
Translation	X	✓	✓
Scoffing girl	X	X	✓
Osbert & quartan fever	X	X	✓
Knight & quartan fever	X	X	✓
Nun & quartan fever	X	X	✓
Monk & threefold disease	X	X	✓

Bibliography.

Primary sources.

- Aldhelm. *Aldhelmi Opera*. Ed. R. Ehwald. MGH, Auctores Antiquissimi. 15. 1984.
- Anselm. *S. Anselmi Cantuariensis Archiepiscopi Opera Omnia*. Ed. F.S. Schmitt. 6 vols. Edinburgh, 1946-61.
- Anselm. *The Letters of Saint Anselm of Canterbury*. Trans. W. Fröhlich. 3 vols. Cistercian Studies series, 96, 97, 142. Kalamazoo, 1990, 1993, 1994.
- Asser. *Asser's Life of King Alfred together with the Annals of Saint Neots erroneously ascribed to Asser*. Ed. W.H. Stevenson. Oxford, 1959; 1998 repr. Pp. 1-95.
- Asser. *Alfred the Great: Asser's Life of King Alfred and other contemporary sources*. Trans. S. Keynes and M. Lapidge. Harmondsworth, 1983. Pp. 67-110.
- Augustine. *Sermones*. PL 38.
- Augustine. 'Sermons on selected lessons of the New Testament'. Trans. R.G. MacMullen. Ed. P. Schaff. *St Augustine: Sermon on the Mount, Harmony of the Gospels, Homilies on the Gospels*. NPNF 1/6.
- Augustine. *De natura et origine animae*. PL 44: 475-548.
- Augustine. *St Augustine: Anti-Pelagian writings*. Trans. P. Holmes, R.E. Wallis and B.B. Warfield. NPNF 1/5: 310-71.
- Augustine. *De civitate Dei*. Ed. B. Dombart and A. Kalb. Corpus Christianorum Series Latina, 2 vols., 47 and 48. Turnhout, 1955.
- Augustine. *St. Augustin's City of God and Christian Doctrine*. Trans. M. Dods. NPNF 1/2: 1-511.
- Barlow, F., trans. *The Life of King Edward Who Rests at Westminster: Attributed to a Monk of Saint-Bertin*. London, 1962; Oxford, 1992.
- Bartlett, R., ed. *The Miracles of Saint Æbbe of Coldingham and Saint Margaret of Scotland*. Oxford, 2003.
- Barrow, G.W.S., ed. *The Charters of David I*. Woodbridge, 1999.
- Bede. *Bede's Ecclesiastical History of the English People*. Ed. and trans. B. Colgrave and R.A.B. Mynors. Oxford, 1969.
- Bede. *Vita Cuthberti*. Ed. and trans. B. Colgrave. *Two Lives of Saint Cuthbert*. Cambridge etc., 1940; 1985 edn. Pp. 141-307.
- Bede. 'Epistola ad Ecgberctum antistitem'. *Opera Historica*. Ed. J.E. King. Cambridge, Mass., 1930. Pp. 446-89.
- Benedict. *Regula Benedicti*. Ed. and trans. J. McCann. *The Rule of Saint Benedict*. London, 1972 edn.
- Bower, Walter. *Scotichronicon*. Ed. D.E.R. Watt. 9 vols. Edinburgh, 1987-97.
- van Caenegem, R.C., ed. *English Lawsuits from William I to Richard I*. 2 vols. Seldon Society, 106, 107. London, 1990-1.
- Cambrai, Gerard of. *Acta synodi Atrebatensis in Manichaeos*. PL 142: 1269-1312.
- Campbell, A., trans. *Encomium Emmae Reginae*. Camden 3rd ser., 72. London, 1949.
- Cirencester, Richard of. *Speculum historiale de gestis regum Angliae*. Ed. J.E.B. Mayor. RS 30, 2 vols. London, 1863-1869.
- Clairvaux, Bernard of. *Opera omnia*. Ed. J. Mabillon. 2 vols. Paris, 1839.
- Clairvaux, Bernard of. *Saint Bernard: On consideration*. Trans. G. Lewis. Oxford, 1908.
- Clairvaux, Bernard of. *On the Song of Songs*. Trans. K. Walsh. 4 vols. Cistercian Fathers 4, 7, 31, 40. Kalamazoo, 1971-1980.
- Clare, Osbert of. 'La vie de S. Édouard le Confesseur par Osbert de Clare'. Ed. M.

- Bloch. *Analecta Bollandiana*, 41 (1923): 5-131.
- Clare, Osbert of. *The Letters of Osbert of Clare, Prior of Westminster*. Ed. E.W. Williamson. Oxford, 1998.
- Cluny, Odo of. *De Vita Sancti Geraldii Auriliacensis Comitum*. PL 133: 639-704.
- Cluny, Odo of. 'The *Life of Saint Gerald of Aurillac*'. Trans. G. Sitwell. Ed. Noble and Head. *Soldiers of Christ*. Pp. 295-362.
- Daniel, Walter. *The Life of Ailred of Rievaulx by Walter Daniel*. Trans. F.M. Powicke. London, 1950.
- Dumville, D. and Keynes, S., eds. *The Anglo Saxon Chronicle: A collaborative edition*. 17 vols. Vols. 1, 3-8, 10, 17 published to date. Cambridge, 1983-2004.
- Durand, Guillaume. *Rationale divinarum officiorum*. Eds. A. Davril and T.M. Thibodeau. *Corpus Christianorum Continuatio Medievalis*, 140. Turnhout, 1995.
- Durham, Symeon of. *Libellus de Exordio atque procursu istius, hoc est Dunhelmensis, ecclesie: Tract on the origins and progress of this the church of Durham*. Trans. D. Rollason. Oxford: Clarendon, 2000.
- Durham, Symeon of. *Symeonis Monachi opera omnia*. Ed. T. Arnold. 2 vols. RS 75.
- Eadmer. *The Life of St Anselm, Archbishop of Canterbury, by Eadmer*. Ed. and trans. R.W. Southern. London, etc., 1962; Oxford, 1996 edn.
- Eadmer. *Historia Novorum in Anglia*, ed. M. Rule. RS 81. London, 1884. pp. 1-302.
- Eadmer. *Eadmer's History of Recent Events in England: Historia Novorum in Anglia*. Trans. G. Bosanquet. London, 1964.
- Edwards, E., ed. *Chronicon monasterii de Hyda iuxta Wintoniam. Liber Monasterii de Hyda*. RS 45. London, 1886. Pp. 283-321.
- Einhard. *Vita Karoli Magni*. Ed. G.H. Pertz. *Scriptores rerum germanicarum in usus scholarum ex Monumentis Germaniae historicis separatim editi*. Hannover, 1863. Pp. 1-34.
- Einhard. *Two Lives of Charlemagne*. Trans. L. Thorpe. Harmondsworth, 1969. Pp. 51-90
- Felix. *Felix's Life of St. Guthlac*. Ed. B. Colgrave. Cambridge, 1956; 2nd edn., 1985.
- Finlay, A., trans. *Fagrskinna: A catalogue of the kings of Norway. A translation with introduction and notes*. Leiden and Boston, 2004.
- fitzNeale, Richard. *Dialogus de Scaccario* Trans. C. Johnson. London, 1950.
- Fleury, Abbo of. *Apologeticus ad Hugonem et Rodbertum reges Francorum*. PL 139: 461-72.
- Floreffe, Hugh of. *The Life of Yvette, Recluse of Huy, by Hugh of Floreffe*. Trans. J.A. McNamara. Toronto, 2000.
- Fordun, John of. *Chronica gentis Scotorum*. Ed. W. F. Skene. Trans. F.J.H. Skene. *Historians of Scotland*, 1 and 4. 2 vols. 1871-2.
- Fowler, J.T., ed. *Historia monasterii Selebiensis in Anglia. The Coucher Book of Selby*. 2 vols. *Yorkshire Archaeological Record Series*, 10 and 13, 1: 1-54.
- Gratian. *Decretum, Decreti secunda pars*. Ed. A. Friedberg. *Corpus Iuris Canonici*. 2 vols. Leipzig, 1922.
- Gregory the Great. *MGH Epistolarum*. Ed. P. Ewald and L.M. Hartmann. 2 vols. Berlin, 1891.
- Gregory the Great. *Homilia in Hiezechihalem Prophetam*. Ed. M. Adriaen. *Corpus Christianorum series Latina*, 142. Turnhout, 1971.
- Gregory the Great. *Pastoral Care*. Trans. H. Davis. *Ancient Christian Writers: The works of the Fathers in translation*, 11. New York, 1950.
- Gregory the Great. *Regula pastoralis*. PL 77: 13-128.

- Hartvic. 'Life of King Stephen of Hungary'. Trans. N. Berend. *Medieval Hagiography: An Anthology*. Ed. T. Head. New York and London, 2000. Pp. 375-98.
- Harvengt, Phillip of. *De institutione clericorum*. PL 203: 665-1206.
- Head, T., ed. *Medieval Hagiography: An Anthology*. New York and London, 2000.
- Hodgett, G.A.J., ed. *The Cartulary of Holy Trinity Aldgate*. London, 1971.
- Hodgson Hinde, J., ed. *Symeonis Dunelmensis Opera et Collectanae*. Surtees Society 51 (1868).
- Howlett, R., ed. *De Gestis Regis Stephani*, in *Chronicles of the Reigns of Stephen, Henry II and Richard I*. RS 82. 4 vols.
- Huntingdon, Henry of. *Historia Anglorum: The History of the English People*. Trans. D. Greenway. Oxford, 1996.
- Jerome. *Select Letters of St. Jerome*. Trans. F.A. Wright. London, 1933.
- Johnson South, T., ed. *Historia de Sancto Cuthberto: A History of Saint Cuthbert and a record of his patrimony*. Woodbridge, 2002.
- Kendrick T., et al., eds. *Evangeliorum Quattuor: Codex Lindisfarnensis*. 2 vols. Olten and Lausanne, 1956-60.
- Losinga, Herbert of. *Epistolae Herberti de Losinga, primi episcopi Norwicensis, Osberti de Clara et Elmeri, prioris Cantuariensis*. Ed. R. Anstruther. Brussels and London, 1846.
- Luard, H.R., ed. *Lives of Edward the Confessor*. RS 3. London, 1858.
- McNamara, J.A., Halborg, J.E., and Whatley, E.G., ed. and trans. *Sainted Women of the Dark Ages*. Durham and London, 1992.
- Malmesbury, William of. *Gesta pontificum Anglorum*. Ed. N.E.S.A. Hamilton. RS 52. London, 1870.
- Malmesbury, William of. *The Deeds of the Bishops of England (Gesta pontificum Anglorum)*. Trans. D. Prest. Woodbridge, 2002.
- Malmesbury, William of. *Gesta Regum Anglorum: The history of the English Kings*. Ed. and trans. R.A.B. Mynors, R.M. Thomson and M. Winterbottom. 2 vols. Oxford, 1998-99.
- Malmesbury, William of. *Historia Novella: The Contemporary History*. Trans. K.R. Potter. Ed. E. King. Oxford, 1998.
- Malmesbury, William of. *Vita Wulfstani*. Ed. and trans. M. Winterbottom and R.M. Thomson. *William of Malmesbury: Saints Lives, Lives of SS. Wulfstan, Dunstan, Patrick, Benignus and Indract*. Oxford, 2002. Pp. 7-155.
- Map, Walter. *De nugis curialium: Courtiers' trifles*. Ed. and trans. M.R. James, C.N.L. Brooke and R.A.B. Mynors. Oxford, 1983.
- Maurus, Rabanus. *De institutione clericorum*. Ed. A. Knoepfler. Munich, 1900.
- Metcalfe, W.M., ed. *Pinkerton's Lives of the Scottish Saints*. 2 vols. Paisley, 1889.
- Metcalfe, W.M., trans. *Ancient Lives of Scottish Saints*. Paisley, 1895.
- Moore, G.E., ed. *The Middle English Verse Life of Edward the Confessor*. Philadelphia, 1942.
- Morton, V., trans. *Guidance for Women in Twelfth-century Convents*. Cambridge, 2003.
- Noble, T.F.X., and Head, T., eds. *Soldiers of Christ: Saints and saints' lives from Late Antiquity and the Early Middle Ages*. London, 1995.
- Norman Anonymous. 'De consecratione pontificum et regum'. Ed. H. Böhmer. MGH Libelli de Lite, 3: 662-79.
- Orleans, Jonas of. *De institutione laicali*. PL 106: 121-280.
- Peter the Venerable. *The Letters of Peter the Venerable*. Ed. G. Constable. 2 vols.

- Cambridge, Mass., 1967.
- Potter, K.R., ed. and trans. *Gesta Stephani*. Oxford, 1976.
- Pseudo-Clement. 'Epistula ad Iacobum'. Ed. B. Rehm. *Die Pseudoklementinen. II: Rekogntionen in Rufins Übersetzung*. Die Griechischen Christlichen Schriftsteller der ersten Jahrhundert, 51. Berlin, 1965. Pp. 375-87.
- Rievaulx, Aelred of. 'Eulogium Davidis regis Scotorum'. Ed. Metcalfe. *Lives of the Scottish Saints*. 2: 269-85.
- Rievaulx, Aelred of. *De genealogia regum Angliae, et regis David Scotiae*. PL 195: 716-38
- Rievaulx, Aelred of. 'The "De Institutis Inclusarum" of Aelred of Rievaulx', ed. C.H. Talbot. *Analecta sacri ordinis Cisterciensis*, 7 (1951), 167-217.
- Rievaulx, Aelred of. *Speculum caritatis*. PL 195: 539-46.
- Rievaulx, Aelred of. *Aelred of Rievaulx: Treatises & Pastoral Prayer*. Ed. M.B. Pennington. Kalamazoo, 1971. Pp. 41-102.
- Rievaulx, Aelred of. *The Mirror of Charity*. Trans. E. Connor. Cistercian Fathers, 17. Kalamazoo, 1990.
- Rievaulx, Aelred of. *Vita S. Edwardi regis et confessoris*, PL 195: 757-90.
- Rome, Clement of. *The Epistles of St. Clement of Rome and St. Ignatius of Antioch*. Trans. J.A. Kleist. Westminster, Md., 1946.
- Rudolf. *Vitae Leobae abbatis Biscofesheimensis*. MGH Scriptorum 15.i: 118-31.
- Rudolf. *Vitae Leobae*. Trans. C.H. Talbot. *Soldiers of Christ*. Eds. Noble and Head. Pp. 255-77.
- Salisbury, John of. *The Letters*. Eds. W.J. Miller, H.E. Butler and C.N.L. Brooke. 2 vols. Oxford, 1955-79.
- Salisbury, John of. *Historia pontificalis*. Trans. M. Chibnall. London, 1956.
- Salisbury, John of. *Policraticus*. Ed. C.C.I. Webb. 2 vols. Oxford, 1909.
- Salisbury, John of. *The Statesman's Book of John of Salisbury*. Trans. J. Dickinson. New York, 1963.
- Scottus, Sedulius. *Liber de rectoribus christianis*. Ed. S. Hellman. Munich, 1906. Pp. 19-91.
- Scottus, Sedulius. *On Christian Rulers and The Poems*. Trans. E.G. Doyle. Binghamton, 1983.
- Severus, Sulpicius. *Vie de Saint Martin*. Ed. J. Fontaine. 3 vols. Sources Chretiennes, 133-135. Vol. 1. Paris, 1967.
- Severus, Sulpicius. 'The works of Sulpitius Severus'. Trans. A. Roberts. *Sulpitius Severus, Vincent of Lerins, John Cassian*. Eds. H. Wace and P. Schaff. NPNF 2/11: 3-17.
- Seville, Isidore of. *Etymologiarum sive originum*. Ed. W.M. Lindsay. 2 vols. Oxford, 1911.
- Stevenson, J., trans. *The Church Historians of England*. 8 vols. London, 1853-8.
- Swanton, M., trans. *The Anglo-Saxon Chronicles*. London, 1996, 2000 edn.
- Talbot, C.H., trans. *The Life of Christina of Markyate: A twelfth century recluse*. Oxford, 1959.
- Tanner, N.P., trans. and ed. *Decrees of the Ecumenical Councils*. 2 vols. London and Washington D.C., 1990.
- Tertullian. *De exhortatione castitatis*. Eds. C. Moreschini and J.-C. Fredouille. *Exhortation a la Chasteté*. Sources Chrétiennes, 319. Paris, 1985.
- Tertullian. *Tertullian: Treatises on Marriage and remarriage*. Trans. W. P. le Saint. Westminster, Md., 1956.
- Tertullian. *De praescriptione haereticorum*. Ed. J.N. Bakhuizen van den Brink. Haag,

- 1946.
- Tertullian. *The Prescriptions against the Heretics*. Trans. S.L. Greenslade. *Early Latin Theology: Library of Christian Classics V*. Philadelphia, 1954. Pp. 19-64.
- Tours, Gregory of. *Historia Francorum*. Eds. W. Arndt and Br. Krusch. *Gregorii Turonensis Opera*. MGH, Scriptores rerum Merovingicarum. Vol. 1. Hanover, 1885.
- Tours, Gregory of. *The History of the Franks*. Trans. L. Thorpe. Harmondsworth, 1974.
- Turgot. *Vita Margaretae*. Ed. Metcalfe. *Pinkerton's Lives of the Scottish Saints*. 2: 159-82.
- Twysden, R. *Historiae Anglicanae Decem Scriptores*. London, 1652.
- Tynemouth, John of, Capgrave, John, and Worde, Wynkyn de. *Nova Legenda Angliae*. Ed. C. Horstman. 2 vols. Oxford, 1901.
- Vitalis, Orderic. *The Ecclesiastical History of Orderic Vitalis*. Ed. and trans. M. Chibnall. 6 vols. Oxford, 1969-1980.
- Wales, Gerald of. 'De instructione principis'. Ed. G.F. Warner. *Giraldi Cambrensis Opera*. RS 21.8.
- Whatley, E.G., ed. and trans. *The Saint of London: The life and miracles of St. Erkenwald*. Binghamton, N.Y., 1989.
- Worcester John of. *The Chronicle of John of Worcester*. 3 vols. *Volume III: The Annals from 1067 to 1140 with the Gloucester interpolations and the continuation to 1141*. Trans. P. McGurk. Oxford, 1998. *Volume II: The Annals from 450-1066*. Eds. R.R. Darlington and P. McGurk. Trans. J. Bray and P. McGurk. Oxford, 1995.

Secondary sources

- Abels, R. *Alfred the Great: Kingship and culture in Anglo-Saxon England*. London and New York, 1998.
- Aird, W.M. 'An absent friend: the career of Bishop William of St Calais'. *Anglo-Norman Durham*. Eds. Rollason, Harvey and Prestwich. Pp. 283-97.
- Aird, W.M. 'Northern England or Southern Scotland? The Anglo-Scottish border in the eleventh and twelfth centuries and the problem of perspective'. *Government, Religion and Society in Northern England 1000-1700*. Ed. J.C. Appleby and P. Dalton. Stroud, 1997. Pp.27-39.
- Airlie, S. 'The anxiety of sanctity: St Gerald of Aurillac and his maker'. *Journal of Ecclesiastical History* 43 (1992): 372-95.
- Alexander, D.D. 2000. 'Hermits, hagiography, and popular culture: A comparative study of Durham Cathedral Priory's hermits in the twelfth century'. Unpublished PhD thesis, University of London.
- Anderson, M.O. *Kings and Kingship in Early Scotland*. Edinburgh, 1973.
- Armitage Robinson, J. 'A sketch of Osbert's career'. *The Letters of Osbert of Clare, Prior of Westminster*. Ed. E.W. Williamson. Oxford, 1998). Pp. 1-20.
- Arnold, J.H. 'The Labour of continence: Masculinity and clerical virginity'. *Medieval Virginites*. Ed. A. Bernau, R. Evans and S. Salih. Cardiff, 2003. Pp. 102-18.
- Astell, A.W. (ed.). *Lay Sanctity, Medieval and Modern: A search for models*. Notre Dame, 2000.

- Baker, D. "A Nursery of saints": St Margaret of Scotland reconsidered'. *Medieval Women*. Ed. D. Baker. Studies in Church History, Subsidia, 1. Oxford, 1978. Pp. 119-41.
- Baldwin, J.W. *Masters, Princes and Merchants: The social views of Peter the Chanter and his circle*. Princeton, 1970. 2 vols.
- Baldwin, J.W. 'Masters at Paris from 1179 to 1215: A social perspective'. *Renaissance and Renewal in the Twelfth Century*. Ed. R.L. Benson and G. Constable. Oxford, 1982;1985 edn. Pp. 138-172.
- Barlow, F. 'The *Vita Æwardi* (Book II); The seven sleepers: Some further evidence and reflections'. *Speculum* 40 (1965): 385-97.
- Barlow, F. *The English Church, 1066-1154*. London and New York, 1979.
- Barlow, F. 'The King's Evil'. *English Historical Review* 95 (1980): 3-27.
- Barlow, F. *Thomas Becket*. London, 1986.
- Barlow, F. *Edward the Confessor*. New Haven and London, 1997 edn.
- Barlow, F. *The Godwins: The rise and fall of a noble dynasty*. Harlow, 2002.
- Barratt, A. 'Small Latin? The post-conquest learning of English religious women'. *Anglo-Latin and its Heritage: Essays in honour of A. G. Rigg*. Ed. S. Echard and G.R. Wieland. Turnhout, 2001. Pp. 51-65.
- Barrell, A.D.M. *Medieval Scotland*. Cambridge, 2000.
- Barrow, G.W.S. *The Kingdom of the Scots: Government, church and society from the eleventh to the fourteenth century*. London, 1973.
- Barrow, G.W.S. 'The royal house and the religious orders'. *Kingdom of the Scots*. Pp. 165-87.
- Barrow, G.W.S. 'King David I, Earl Henry and Cumbria'. *Transactions of the Cumberland & Westmorland Antiquarian & Archaeological Society* 99 (1999): 117-27.
- Barrow, G.W.S. 'Scots and the north of England'. *Anarchy of King Stephen's Reign*. Ed. King. Pp. 231-53.
- Barrow, G.W.S. 'David I of Scotland: The balance of new and old'. *Scotland and its Neighbours*. Pp. 45-65.
- Barrow, G.W.S. 'Benedictines, Tironensians and Cistercians'. *Kingdom of the Scots*. Pp. 188-211.
- Barrow, G.W.S. 'Kingship in Medieval England and Scotland'. *Scotland and its Neighbours*. Pp. 23-44.
- Barrow, G.W.S. *Scotland and its Neighbours in the Middle Ages*. London, 1992.
- Bartlett, R. 'Rewriting Saints' Lives: The Case of Gerald of Wales'. *Speculum* 58 (1983): 598-613.
- Bartlett, R. 'The Hagiography of Angevin England'. *Thirteenth Century England* 5 (1993): 37-52.
- Bartlett, R. 'Cults of Irish, Scottish and Welsh Saints in Twelfth-Century England'. *Britain and Ireland, 900-1300: Insular Responses to Medieval European Change*. Ed. B. Smith. Cambridge, 1999. Pp. 67-86.
- Bartlett, R. *England under the Norman and Angevin Kings, 1075-1225*. Oxford, 2000.
- Bartlett, R. 'Medieval and modern concepts of race and ethnicity'. *Journal of Medieval and Early Modern Studies* 31 (2001): 39-55.
- Bates, D. 'The forged charters of William the Conqueror and Bishop William of St. Calais'. *Anglo-Norman Durham*. Ed. Rollason, Harvey and Prestwich. Pp. 111-24.
- Bates, D. *William the Conqueror*. Stroud, 2001.

- Bates, D. 'The House of Normandy, 1066-1154'. *The Kings and Queens of England*. Ed. W.M. Ormrod. Stroud, 2001. Pp. 45-70.
- Bates, D. 'Kingship, government, and political life to c. 1160'. *The Twelfth and Thirteenth Centuries, 1066-c.1280*. Ed. B. Harvey. Oxford, 2001. Pp. 69-98.
- Baumstein, P. 'Benedictine education: Principles of Anselm's patronage'. *American Benedictine Review* 43 (1992): 3-11.
- Beeler, J. *Warfare in England, 1066-1189*. Ithaca, N.Y., 1966.
- Bell, D.N. 'Is there such a thing as "Cistercian spirituality"?' *Cistercian Studies Quarterly* 33 (1998): 455-71.
- Bennett, M. 'Military masculinity in England and Northern France c. 1050-c. 1225'. *Masculinity in Medieval Europe*. Ed. Hadley. Pp. 71-100.
- Beresford, M. *New Towns of the Middle Ages: Town plantation in England, Wales and Gascony*. London, 1967.
- Berman, C.H. *The Cistercian Evolution: The invention of a religious order in the twelfth century*. Philadelphia, 2000.
- Bernau, A., Evans, R., and Salih, S. (eds.). *Medieval Virginites*. Cardiff, 2003.
- Bethel, D. 'Richard of Belmeis and the foundation of St. Osyth's'. *Trans. Essex Archaeol. Soc.*, 3rd ser., 2 (1970): 299-328.
- Binski, P. 'Reflections on *La estoire de Seint Aedward le rei*: Hagiography and kingship in thirteenth-century England'. *Journal of Medieval History* 16 (1990): 333-50.
- Binski, P. *Westminster Abbey and the Plantagenets: Kingship and the Representation of Power 1200-1400*. New Haven, 1995.
- Bishop, E. 'On the origin of the Prymer'. *Liturgica Historica: Papers on the liturgy and religious life of the Western Church*. Oxford, 1918. Pp. 211-37.
- Bisson, T.N. 'The "feudal revolution"'. *Past and Present* 142 (1994): 6-42.
- Bisson, T. 'Medieval lordship'. *Speculum* 70 (1995): 743-59.
- Bliese, J. 'The battle rhetoric of Aelred of Rievaulx'. *Haskins Society Journal* 1 (1989): 99-107.
- Bliese, J.R.E. 'St Cuthbert's and St Neot's help in war: Visions and exhortations'. *Haskins Society Journal* 7 (1995): 39-62.
- Bloch, M. *The Royal Touch: Sacred monarchy and scrofula in England and France*. Trans. J.E. Anderson. London, 1973.
- Blumenfeld-Kosinski, R. and Szell, T. (eds.). *Images of Sainthood in Medieval Europe*. Ithaca and London, 1991.
- Boardman, S. 'Late Medieval Scotland and the Matter of Britain'. *Scottish History: The power of the past*. Ed. E.J. Cowan and R.J. Finlay. Edinburgh, 2002. Pp. 47-72.
- Bradbury, J. 'The early years of the reign of Stephen, 1135-9'. *England in the Twelfth Century: Proceedings of the 1988 Harlaxton Symposium*. Ed. D. Williams. Woodbridge, 1990. Pp. 17-30.
- Bredero, A.H. *Bernard of Clairvaux: Between cult and history*. Trans. R. Bruinsma. Edinburgh, 1996.
- Brett, M. 'Warfare and its restraints in England 1066-1154'. *Miscellanea del Centro di studi medioevali 13: Militia Christi e Crociata nei secoli XI-XIII: atti della undecima Settimana internazionale di studio, Mendola, 28 agosto-1 settembre 1989* (1992): 129-44.
- Brooke, C.N.L. 'Gregorian reform in action: clerical marriage in England, 1050-1200'. *The Cambridge Historical Journal* 12 (1956): 1-21.

- Brooke, C.N.L. 'King David I of Scotland as a connoisseur of the religious orders'. *Mediaevalia Christiana: XIe-XIIIe siècles: hommage à Raymonde Foreville de ses amis, ses collègues et ses anciens élèves*. Ed. C.E. Viola. Paris, 1989. Pp. 320-34.
- Brown, P. 'The rise and function of the holy man in Late Antiquity'. *Society and the Holy in Late Antiquity*. London, 1982. Pp. 103-52.
- Brown, P. *The Rise of Western Christendom: Triumph and diversity*. Oxford, 1996.
- Brundage, J.A. *Medieval Canon Law*. London, 1995.
- Bryce, W.M. 'Saint Margaret of Scotland and her chapel in the castle of Edinburgh'. *The Book of the Old Edinburgh Club* 5 (1913): 1-66.
- Bullough, V.L. 'On being male in the Middle Ages'. *Medieval Masculinities*. Ed. Lees. Pp. 31-46.
- Burnett McInerney, M. 'Rhetoric, Power and Integrity in the Passion of the Virgin Martyr'. *Menacing Virgins*. Ed. Coyne Kelly and Leslie. Pp. 50-70.
- Burton, J. *Monastic and Religious Orders in Britain, 1000-1300*. Cambridge, 1994.
- Burton, J. 'Selby Abbey and its twelfth century historian'. *Learning and Literacy in Medieval England and Abroad*. Ed. S. Rees Jones. Turnhout, 2003. Pp. 49-68.
- Burton, J. Review of Berman, *The Cistercian Evolution*. *Journal of Ecclesiastical History* 52 (2001): 720-22.
- Campbell, E. 'Separating the saints from the boys: Sainthood and masculinity in the Old French *Vie de Saint Alexis*'. *French Studies* 57 (2003): 447-62.
- Campbell, J. 'Some twelfth-century views of the Anglo-Saxon past'. *Essays in Anglo-Saxon History*. London and Ronceverte, 1986. Pp. 209-28.
- Campbell, J., John, E., and Wormald, P. *The Anglo-Saxons*. London, etc., 1991 edn.
- Carlson, C.L. and Weisl, A.J. (eds.). *Constructions of Widowhood and Virginity in the Middle Ages*. New York, 1999.
- Carmi Parsons, J. 'Family, sex, and power: The rhythms of medieval queenship'. *Medieval Queenship*. Pp. 1-11.
- Carmi Parsons, J. (ed.). *Medieval Queenship*. Stroud, 1994.
- Carmi Parsons, J. *Eleanor of Castile: Queen and society in thirteenth-century England*. New York, 1998.
- Carmi Parsons, J. 'Damned if she didn't and damned when she did: Bodies, babies, and bastards in the lives of two Queens of France'. *Eleanor of Aquitaine*. Ed. Wheeler and Carmi Parsons. Pp. 265-99.
- Carpenter, J. 'Julette of Huy, recluse and mother (1158-1228): Children and mothering in the saintly life'. *Power of the Weak: Studies on medieval women*. Ed. J. Carpenter and S. MacLean. Urbana and Chicago, 1995. Pp. 57-93.
- Cazelles, B. 'Introduction'. *Images of Sainthood*. Ed. Blumenfeld-Kosinski and Szell. Pp. 1-17.
- Chamberlayne, J.L. 'Crowns and Virgins: Queenmaking During the Wars of the Roses'. *Young Medieval Women*. Ed. K J. Lewis, N.J. Menuge and K.M. Phillips. Stroud, 1999. Pp. 47-68.
- Chaney, W.A. *The Cult of Kingship in Anglo-Saxon England*. Manchester, 1970.
- Chaplais, P. 'The Original Charters of Herbert and Gervase, Abbots of Westminster (1121-1157)'. *A Medieval Miscellany for Doris Mary Stenton*. Ed. P.M. Barnes and C.F. Slade. Pipe Roll Society, n.s. 36. London, 1962. Pp. 89-110.
- Chibnall, M. 'From Bec to Canterbury: Anselm and monastic privilege'. *Anselm Studies: An occasional journal* 1 (1983): 23-44.
- Chibnall, M. *Anglo-Norman England, 1066-1166*. Oxford, 1986.

- Chibnall, M. *The Empress Matilda: Queen Consort, Queen Mother and Lady of the English*. Oxford, 1991; 1993 edn.
- Chibnall, M. *The World of Orderic Vitalis: Norman monks and Norman knights*. Woodbridge, 1984; 1996 edn.
- Christie, E. 'Self-mastery and submission: Holiness and masculinity in the Lives of Anglo-Saxon martyr-kings'. *Holiness and Masculinity*. Eds. Cullum and Lewis. Pp. 143-57.
- Clanchy, M.T. *From Memory to Written Record: England 1066-1307*. Oxford, 1979; 1993 edn.
- Clanchy, M.T. *Abelard: A medieval life*. Oxford, 1997; 1999 edn.
- Clark Bartlett, A. 'Miraculous literacy and textual communities in Hildegard of Bingen's *Scivias*'. *Mystics Quarterly* 18 (1992): 43-55.
- Colgrave, B. 'The Post-Bedan miracles and translations of St Cuthbert'. *The Early Cultures of North-West Europe: H. M. Chadwick memorial studies*. Eds. C. Fox and B. Dickins. Cambridge, 1950. Pp. 307-32.
- Colledge, E. and Marler, J.C. "'Céphalogie": A recurring theme in classical and mediaeval lore'. *Traditio* 37 (1981): 411-26.
- Congar, Y.M.J. *Lay People in the Church: A study for the theology of the laity*. Trans. D. Attwater. London, 1957; 1959 edn.
- Congar, Y. 'Laïc et laïcat'. *Dictionnaire de spiritualité: Ascétique et mystique doctrine et histoire*. Paris, 1976. 9: 79-93.
- Constable, G. *Medieval Monasticism: A select bibliography*. Toronto, 1976.
- Constable, G. *Three Studies in Medieval Religious and Social Thought*. Cambridge, 1995.
- Constable, G. 'Renewal and reform in religious life'. *Renaissance and Renewal in the Twelfth Century*. Ed. R.L. Benson and G. Constable. Oxford, 1982. Pp. 37-67.
- Constable, G. *The Reformation of the Twelfth Century*. Cambridge, 1996; 1998 edn.
- Contamine, P. *War in the Middle Ages*. Trans. M. Jones. Oxford, 1984; 1986 edn.
- Cooper, A. "'The feet of those that bark shall be cut off": Timorous historians and the personality of Henry I'. *Anglo-Norman Studies* 23 (2001 for 2000): 47-67.
- Cowdrey, H.E.J. 'Bishop Ermenfrid of Sion and the penitential ordinance following the Battle of Hastings'. *Journal of Ecclesiastical History* 20 (1969): 225-42.
- Cox, R.J. *A Study of the Juridic Status of Laymen in the Writing of the Medieval Canonists*. Washington, D.C., 1959.
- Coyne Kelly, K. and Leslie, M. (eds.), *Menacing Virgins: Representing Virginité in the Middle Ages and Renaissance*, (London, 1999),
- Coyne Kelly, K. 'Menaced Masculinity and Imperiled Virginité in the *Morte Darthur*'. *Menacing Virgins*. Ed. Coyne Kelly and Leslie. Pp. 97-114.
- Coyne Kelly, K. *Performing Virginité and Testing Chastity in the Middle Ages* London, 2000.
- Crick, J. 'St Albans, Westminster and some twelfth-century views of the Anglo-Saxon past'. *Anglo-Norman Studies* 25 (2003): 65-83.
- Crook, J. *The Architectural Setting of the Cult of Saints in the Early Christian West, c. 300-1200*. Oxford., 2000.
- Crouch, D. *The Reign of King Stephen, 1135-1154*. Harlow, 2000.
- Crouch, D. 'The troubled deathbeds of Henry I's servants: Death, confession and secular conduct in the twelfth century'. *Albion* 34 (2002): 24-36.
- Cubitt, C. 'Review article: The tenth-century Benedictine reform in England'. *Early Medieval Europe* 6 (1997): 77-94.

- Cubitt, C. 'Sites and sanctity: Revisiting the cult of murdered and martyred Anglo-Saxon royal saints'. *Early Medieval Europe* 9 (2000): 53-83.
- Cubitt, C. 'Virginity and misogyny in tenth- and eleventh-century England'. *Gender & History* 12 (2000): 1-32.
- Cullum, P.H. and Lewis, K.J. (eds.). *Holiness and Masculinity in the Middle Ages*. Cardiff, 2004.
- Dalton, P. 'Scottish influence on Durham, 1066-1214'. *Anglo-Norman Durham*. Eds. Rollason, Harvey and Prestwich. Pp. 339-52.
- Dalton, P. 'Churchmen and the promotion of peace in King Stephen's reign'. *Viator: Medieval and Renaissance Studies* 31 (2000): 79-119.
- Dalton, P. 'Civil war and ecclesiastical peace in the reign of King Stephen'. *War and Society in Medieval and Early Modern Britain*. Ed. D. Dunn. Liverpool, 2000. Pp. 53-75.
- Damian-Grint, P. *The New Historians of the Twelfth-Century Renaissance: Inventing vernacular authority*. Woodbridge, 1999.
- Damon, J.E. *Soldier Saints and Holy Warriors: Warfare and sanctity in the literature of early England*. Aldershot, 2003.
- David, C.W. 'The claim of King Henry I to be called learned'. *Anniversary Essays in Mediaeval History by Students of Charles Homer Haskins*. Boston and New York, 1929. Pp. 45-56.
- Davis, R.H.C. *King Stephen: 1135-1154*. London, 1967.
- Deshman, R. 'Benedictus monarcha et monachus: Early medieval ruler theology and the Anglo-Saxon reform'. *Frühmittelalterliche Studien* 22 (1988): 204-40.
- Dickinson, W.C., Donaldson, G., and Milne, I.A. (eds.). *A Source Book of Scottish History*. 3 vols. 2nd edn. London, 1958.
- Dodwell, C.R. *Anglo-Saxon Art: A New Perspective*. Manchester, 1982.
- Donaldson, G. 'Bishops' sees before the reign of David I'. *Scottish Church History*. Edinburgh, 1985. Pp. 11-24.
- Duggan, A.J. (ed.). *Queens and Queenship in Medieval Europe*. Woodbridge, 1997.
- Duncan, A.A.M. *Scotland: The making of a kingdom*. Edinburgh, 1975.
- Dutton, M.L. 'Ælred, Historian: Two Portraits in Plantagenet Myth'. *Cistercian Studies Quarterly* 28 (1993): 112-44.
- Dutton, M.L. 'Ælred of Rievaulx on friendship, chastity, and sex: The sources'. *Cistercian Studies Quarterly* 29 (1994): 121-196.
- Elkins, S.K. *Holy Women of Twelfth-Century England*. Chapel Hill and London, 1988.
- Elliott, D. *Spiritual Marriage: Sexual Abstinence in Medieval Wedlock*. Princeton, 1993.
- Elliott, D. 'Pollution, illusion and masculine disarray: Nocturnal emissions and sexual anxiety in the middle ages'. *Fallen Bodies: Pollution, sexuality and demonology in the middle ages*. Philadelphia, 1999. Pp. 14-34.
- Evans, G.R. 'Anselm and keeping order in the real world'. *Saint Anselm: His origins and influence*. Ed. J.R. Fortin. Lewiston, N.Y., 2001. Pp. 3-25.
- Farmer, D. *The Oxford Dictionary of Saints*. 4th edn. Oxford, 1997.
- Farmer, H. 'William of Malmesbury's Commentary on Lamentations'. *Studia Monastica* 4 (1962): 283-311.
- Fell, C. 'Edward king and martyr and the Anglo-Saxon hagiographic tradition'. Ed. D. Hill. *Ethelred the Unready: Papers from the millenary conference*. British Archaeological Reports, British ser., 59. London, 1978. Pp. 1-13.
- Fenster, T. 'Preface: Why men?'. Ed. Lees. *Medieval Masculinities*. Pp. ix-xiii.

- Fletcher, R. *Bloodfeud: Murder and revenge in Anglo-Saxon England*. London, 2002.
- Folz, R. *Les saints rois du Moyen Âge en Occident (VI^e-XIII^e siècles)*. Subsidia Hagiographica 68. Brussels, 1984.
- Fontaine, J. 'The practice of Christian life: the birth of the laity'. *Christian Spirituality: Origins to the twelfth century*. Ed. B. McGinn and J. Meyendorff. London, 1986. Pp. 453-91.
- Foot, S. *Veiled Women II: Female religious communities in England, 871-1066*. Aldershot, 2000.
- Forster, R.H. 'Turgot, prior of Durham'. *Journal of the British Archaeological Association* 63 (1907): 32-40.
- Fouracre, P., and Gerberding, R.A. *Late Merovingian France: History and hagiography, 640-720*. Manchester and New York, 1996.
- Fouracre, P. 'Space, culture and kingdoms in early medieval Europe'. *The Medieval World*. Ed. P. Linehan and J.L. Nelson. London and New York, 2001. Pp. 366-80.
- Frank, R.M. 'An etymology of ΑΓΙΟΣ in a work of Caesarius of Arles'. *Traditio* 8 (1952): 387-9.
- Freeman, E. *Narratives of a New Order: Cistercian historical writing in England, 1150-1220*. Medieval Church Studies 2. Turnhout, 2001.
- Gabel, L.C. *Benefit of Clergy in England in the Later Middle Ages*. New York, 1969 edn.
- Galbraith, V.H. 'The literacy of the English medieval kings'. *Kings and Chroniclers: Essays in English Medieval History* (London, 1983. Pp. 78-111.
- Gameson, R. 'The Gospels of Margaret of Scotland and the literacy of an eleventh-century queen'. *Women and the Book: Assessing the visual evidence*. Ed. L. Smith and J.H.M. Taylor. London and Toronto, 1997. Pp. 149-71.
- Gaposchkin, M.C. 'Boniface VII, Philip the Fair, and the sanctity of Louis IX'. *Journal of Medieval History* 29 (2003): 1-26.
- Gillingham, J. 'The beginnings of English imperialism'. *The English in the Twelfth Century*. Pp. 3-17.
- Gillingham, J. 'The context and purposes of Geoffrey of Monmouth's History of the Kings of Britain'. *The English in the Twelfth Century*. Pp. 19-39.
- Gillingham, J. 'Henry of Huntingdon and the twelfth century revival of the English nation'. *The English in the Twelfth Century*. Pp. 123-44.
- Gillingham, J. *The English in the Twelfth Century: Imperialism, national identity and political values*. Woodbridge, 2000.
- Gillingham, J. 'Civilizing the English? The English Histories of William of Malmesbury and David Hume'. *Historical Research* 74 (2001): 17-43.
- Gillingham, J. 'From *civilitas* to civility: Codes of manners in medieval and early modern England'. *TRHS* 12 (2002): 267-89.
- Glidden, A. 'Aelred the historian: The Account of the Battle of the Standard'. *Erudition at God's Service*. Ed. J.R. Sommerfeldt. Studies in Medieval Cistercian History, 11. Kalamazoo, 1987. Pp. 175-84.
- Goodich, M. *Vita perfecta: The ideal of sainthood in the thirteenth century*. Stuttgart, 1982.
- Gransden, A. *Historical Writing in England, c. 550 to c. 1307*. London, 1974.
- Grassi, J.L. 'The *Vita Æwardi Regis*: The hagiographer as insider'. *Anglo-Norman Studies* 26 (2004 for 2003): 87-102.

- Green, J.A. 'Anglo-Scottish relations, 1066-1174'. *England and her Neighbours, 1066-1453: Essays in honour of Pierre Chaplais*. Ed. M. Jones and M. Vale. London, 1989. Pp. 53-72.
- Green, J.A. 'David I and Henry I'. *Scottish Historical Review* 75 (1996): 1-19.
- Grundmann, H. 'Die Frauen und die Literatur im Mittelalter'. *Ausgewählte Aufsätze*. 3 vols. MGH Schriften, 25. Stuttgart, 1978.
- Grundmann, H. 'Litteratus-illiteratus. Der Wandel einer Bildungsnorm vom Altertum zum Mittelalter'. *Ausgewählte Aufsätze*. 3 vols. MGH Schriften, 25. Stuttgart, 1978.
- Haahr, J.G. 'The concept of kingship in William of Malmesbury's *Gesta Regum* and *Historia Novella*'. *Mediaeval Studies* 38 (1976): 351-71.
- Hadley, D.M. (ed.). *Masculinity in Medieval Europe*. London, 1999.
- von Hagel, T. 'The gardener and his garden: The agronomic imagery of Gueric of Igny in his *Liturgical Sermons*'. *Cistercian Studies Quarterly* 36 (2001): 447-56.
- Hahn, C. 'Proper behaviour for knights and kings: The hagiography of Matthew Paris, monk of St. Albans'. *Haskins Society Journal* 2 (1990): 237-48.
- Hamesse, J. 'The image of sanctity in medieval preaching as a means of sanctification'. *Models of Holiness in Medieval Sermons: Proceedings of the International Symposium (Kalamazoo, 4-7 May, 1995)*. Ed. B. Mayne Kienzle, E. Wilks Dolnikowski, R. Drage Hale, D. Pryds, and A.T. Thayer. Textes et Études du Moyen Age, 5. Louvain-la-Neuve, 1996. Pp. 127-39.
- Harvey, B. (ed.). *The Twelfth and Thirteenth Centuries, 1066-c.1280*. Oxford, 2001.
- Hayward, P.A. 'Sanctity and Lordship in Twelfth-Century England: Saint Albans, Durham, and the Cult of Saint Oswine, King and Martyr'. *Viator: Medieval and Renaissance Studies* 30 (1999): 105-44.
- Hayward, P.A. 'Translation-narratives in post-Conquest hagiography and English resistance to the Norman Conquest'. *Anglo-Norman Studies* 21 (1999): 67-93.
- Hayward, P.A. 'An absent father: Eadmer, Goscelin and the cult of St Peter, the first abbot of St Augustine's Abbey, Canterbury'. *Journal of Medieval History* 29 (2003): 201-18.
- Head, T. *Hagiography and the Cult of Saints: The diocese of Orléans, 800-1200*. Cambridge etc., 1990.
- Head, T., and Landes, R. (eds.). *The Peace of God: Social violence and religious response in France around the year 1000*. Ithaca and London, 1992.
- Heningham, E.K. 'The Literary Unity, the Date and the Purpose of the Lady Edith's Book, "The Life of King Edward who Rests at Westminster"'. *Albion* 7 (1975): 24-40.
- Hirata, Y. 'St Anselm and two clerks of Thomas Becket'. Ed. Luscombe and Evans. *Anselm: Aosta, Bec and Canterbury*. Pp. 323-33.
- Holdsworth, C.J. 'The blessings of work: The Cistercian view'. *Studies in Church History* 10 (1973): 59-76.
- Holdsworth, C. 'War and peace in the twelfth century: The reign of Stephen reconsidered'. *War and Peace in the Middle Ages*. Ed. B.P. McGuire. Copenhagen, 1987. Pp. 67-93.
- Holdsworth, C. 'Peacemaking in the twelfth century'. *Anglo-Norman Studies* (1997 for 1996): 1-17.
- Hollister, C.W. 'The rise of administrative kingship: Henry I'. *American Historical Review* 83 (1978): 868-91.

- Hollister, C.W. 'Henry I and the invisible transformation of medieval England'. *Monarchy, Magnates and Institutions*. Pp. 303-15.
- Hollister, C.W. *Monarchy, Magnates and Institutions in the Anglo-Norman World*. London and Ronceverte, 1986.
- Hollister, C.W. 'Royal acts of mutilation: The case against Henry I'. *Monarchy, Magnates, and Institutions*. Pp. 291-301.
- Hooper, N. 'Edgar the Ætheling: Anglo-Saxon prince, rebel and crusader'. *Anglo-Saxon England* 14 (1985): 197-214.
- Hopkins, J. *A Companion to the Study of St. Anselm*. Minneapolis and London, 1972.
- Hoste, A. *Bibliotheca Aelrediana: A survey of the manuscripts, old catalogues, editions and studies concerning St. Aelred of Rievaulx*. Instrumenta Patristica 2. Steenbrugge, 1962.
- Huneycutt, L.L. 'Images of queenship in the high middle ages'. *Haskins Society Journal* 1 (1989): 61-71.
- Huneycutt, L.L. 'The idea of the perfect princess: The *Life of St Margaret* in the reign of Matilda II (1100-1118)'. *Anglo-Norman Studies* 12 (1990 for 1989): 81-97.
- Huneycutt, L.L. 'Female succession and the language of power in the writings of twelfth-century churchmen'. *Medieval Queenship*. Ed. Carmi Parsons. Pp. 189-201.
- Huneycutt, L.L. 'Intercession and the high-medieval queen: The Esther topos'. *Power of the Weak*. Ed. Carpenter and MacLean. Pp. 126-46.
- Huneycutt, L.L. "'Proclaiming her dignity abroad": The literary and artistic network of Matilda of Scotland, Queen of England 1100-1118'. *The Cultural Patronage of Medieval Women*. Ed. J. Hall McCash. Athens, Ga. and London, 1996. Pp. 155-74.
- Huneycutt, L.L. *Matilda of Scotland: A study in medieval queenship*. Woodbridge, 2003.
- Huntington, J. 'Edward the celibate, Edward the saint: Virginity in the construction of Edward the Confessor'. *Medieval Virginites*. Ed. Bernau, Evans, and Salih. Cardiff, 2003. Pp. 119-39.
- Jaeger, C.S. *The Origins of Courtliness: Civilizing trends and the formation of courtly ideals, 939-1210*. Philadelphia, 1985.
- Jaeger, C.S. 'Courtliness and social change'. *Cultures of Power: Lordship, status, and process in twelfth-century Europe*. Ed. T.N. Bisson. Philadelphia, 1995. Pp. 287-309.
- John, E. 'The return of the Vikings'. *The Anglo-Saxons*. Ed. Campbell, John and Wormald. Pp. 192-213.
- John, E. 'The end of Anglo-Saxon England'. *The Anglo-Saxons*. Ed. Campbell, John and Wormald. Pp. 214-239.
- Johnson South, T. 'Competition for King Alfred's aura in the last century of Anglo-Saxon England'. *Albion* 23 (1991): 613-26.
- Jones, K. *Women Saints: Lives of faith and courage*. New York, 1999.
- Jones, L. 'From *Anglorum basileus* to Norman Saint: the Transformation of Edward the Confessor'. *Haskins Society Journal* 12 (2002): 99-120.
- Kantorowicz, E. *The King's Two Bodies: A study in medieval political theology*. Princeton, 1957, 1997 edn.
- Kapelle, W.E. *The Norman Conquest of the North: The region and its transformation, 1000-1135*. Chapel Hill, 1979.

- Kempshall, M. 'No bishop, no king: The ministerial ideology of kingship and Asser's *Res Gestae Aelfredi*'. *Belief and Culture in the Middle Ages: Studies presented to Henry Mayr-Harting*. Ed. R. Gameson and H. Leyser. Oxford and New York, 2001. Pp. 106-27.
- Kershaw, P.J.E. 1998. 'Rex pacificus: Studies in royal peacemaking and the image of the peacemaking king in the Early Medieval West'. Unpublished PhD thesis, University of London.
- Keynes, S. 'Royal government and the written word in late Anglo-Saxon England'. *The Uses of Literacy in Early Mediaeval Europe*. Ed. R. McKitterick. Cambridge, 1992 edn. Pp. 226-57.
- Keynes, S. 'The cult of King Alfred the Great'. *Anglo-Saxon England* 28 (1999): 225-356.
- Kieckhefer, R. 'Holiness and the culture of devotion: Remarks on some late medieval male saints'. Ed. Blumenfeld-Kosinski and Szell. *Images of Sainthood*. Pp. 288-305.
- King, E. 'The Anarchy of King Stephen's reign'. *TRHS* 5th ser., 34 (1984): 133-53.
- King, E. (ed.). *The Anarchy of King Stephen's Reign*. Oxford, 1994.
- Klaniczay, G. 'From sacral kingship to self-representation: Hungarian and European royal saints in the 11th-13th centuries'. *Continuity and Change: A symposium*. Ed. E. Vestergaard. Odense, 1986. Pp. 61-86.
- Klaniczay, G. *Holy Rulers and Blessed Princesses: Dynastic cults in Central Europe*. Trans. É. Pálmai. Cambridge, 2002.
- Knowles, D. *The Monastic Order in England: A history of its development from the times of Saint Dunstan to the Fourth Lateran Council, 943-1216*. Cambridge, 1940.
- Knowles, D. *Saints and Scholars: Twenty-five medieval portraits*. Cambridge, 1963.
- Knowles, D. *Great Historical Enterprises: Problems in monastic history*. London etc., 1964.
- Lapidge, M. 'Anglo-Latin literature'. *Anglo-Latin Literature, 600-899*. London and Rio Grande, 1986. Pp. 1-35.
- Lapidge, M. 'The saintly life in Anglo-Saxon England'. *The Cambridge Companion to Old English Literature*. Ed. M. Lapidge and M. Godden. Cambridge, 1991. Pp. 243-63.
- Lapidge, M. and Love, R.C. 'The Latin hagiography of England and Wales (600-1550)'. Ed. Philippart. *Hagiographies*. 3: 203-325.
- Latham, R.E. (ed.). *Dictionary of Medieval Latin from British Sources*. London, 1975-.
- Lawrence, C.H. *Medieval Monasticism: Forms of religious life in Western Europe in the Middle Ages*. London, 1984.
- Lawson, M.K. *Cnut: The Danes in England in the early eleventh century*. London and New York, 1993.
- Lawyer, J.E. 'Aelred of Rievaulx's *Life of St. Edward the Confessor*: A medieval ideal of kingship'. *Fides et Historia* 31 (1999): 45-65.
- Laynesmith, J.L. *The Last Medieval Queens: English queenship 1445-1503*. Oxford, 2004.
- Lea, H.C. *History of Sacerdotal Celibacy in the Christian Church*. 2 vols. 3rd edn., London, 1907.
- Lees, C.A. (ed.). *Medieval Masculinities: Regarding men in the middle ages*. Minneapolis and London, 1994.

- Le Goff, J. *The Birth of Purgatory*. Trans. A. Goldhammer. Chicago, 1984, 1986 edn.
- Lewis, A.W. 'The birth and childhood of King John: Some revisions'. *Eleanor of Aquitaine*. Ed. Wheeler and Carmi Parsons. Pp. 159-75.
- Lewis, K.J. *The Cult of St. Katherine of Alexandria in Late Medieval England*. Woodbridge, 2000.
- Lewis, K.J. 'Gender and sanctity in the middle ages'. *Gender & History* 12 (2000): 735-44.
- Lewis, K.J. 'Becoming a virgin king: Richard II and Edward the Confessor'. *Gender and Holiness*. Ed. Riches and Salih. Pp. 86-100.
- Lewis, K.J. 'Edmund of East Anglia, Henry VI and ideals of kingly masculinity'. *Holiness and Masculinity*. Ed. Cullum and Lewis. Pp. 158-173.
- Lewis, C.T. and Short, C. (eds.). *A Latin Dictionary*. Oxford, 1879.
- Leyser, C. 'Custom, truth, and gender in eleventh-century reform'. Ed. R.N. Swanson. *Gender and Christian Religion: Studies in Church History* 34 (1998): 75-91.
- Leyser, C. 'Masculinity in flux: Nocturnal emission and the limits of celibacy in the early middle ages'. *Masculinity in Medieval Europe*. Ed. Hadley. Pp. 103-20.
- Leyser, H. *Hermits and the New Monasticism: A study of religious communities in Western Europe, 1000-1150*. London, 1984.
- Leyser, K.J. *Rule and Conflict in an Early Medieval Society: Ottonian Saxony*. London, 1979.
- Leyser, K.J. 'The Anglo-Norman succession, 1120-25'. *Anglo-Norman Studies* 13 (1991 for 1990): 225-41.
- Leyser, K.J. 'The Ottonians and Wessex'. *Communications and Power in Medieval Europe: The Carolingian and Ottonian Centuries*. Ed. T. Reuter. London and Rio Grande, 1994. Pp. 73-104.
- Liddell, H.G., and Scott, R. (ed.), and Jones, H.S. (rev.). *A Greek-English Lexicon*. Oxford, 1940 edn.
- Lifshitz, F. 'Beyond positivism and genre: "Hagiographical" texts as historical narrative'. *Viator: Medieval and Renaissance Studies* 25 (1994): 95-113.
- Linehan, P., and Nelson, J.L. (eds.). *The Medieval World*. London and New York, 2001.
- Lipscomb, L. 'A Distinct Legend of the Ring in the *Life of Edward the Confessor*'. *Medieval Perspectives* 6 (1992): 45-57.
- LoPrete, K.A. 'The Anglo-Norman card of Adela of Blois'. *Albion* (22) 1990: 569-89.
- Luscombe, D.E., and Evans, G.R. (eds.). *Anselm: Aosta, Bec and Canterbury. Papers in commemoration of the nine-hundredth anniversary of Anselm's enthronement as Archbishop, 25 September 1093*. Sheffield, 1996.
- McKenna, J.W. 'Popular canonisation as political propaganda: The cult of Archbishop Scrope'. *Speculum* 45 (1970): 608-23.
- McKitterick, R. 'Perceptions of justice in Western Europe in the ninth and tenth centuries'. *La Giustizia Nell'alto Medioevo (Secoli ix-xi): Settimane di Studio del Centro Italiano do Studi Sull' alto Medioevo* 44 (1997): 1075-1102.
- McLaughlin, M. *Consorting with Saints: Prayer for the dead in Early Medieval France*. Ithaca and London, 1994.
- McNamara, J.A., and Wemple, S.F. 'Sanctity and power: The dual pursuit of medieval women'. *Becoming Visible: Women in European History*. Ed. R. Bridenthal and C. Koonz. 2nd edn. Boston, 1987. Pp. 132-51.
- McNamara, J.A. 'The *Herrenfrage*: The restructuring of the gender system, 1050-1150'. *Medieval Masculinities*. Ed. Lees. Pp. 3-29.

- McNamara, J.A. 'Imitatio Helanae: Sainthood as an attribute of queenship'. *Saints: Studies in hagiography*. Ed. S. Sticca. Binghamton, N.Y., 1996. Pp. 51-80.
- Magoun, F.P. 'King Aethelwulf's biblical ancestors'. *Modern Language Review* 46 (1951): 249-50.
- Mason, E. 'St Wulfstan's staff: A legend and its uses'. *Medium Aevum* 53 (1984): 157-79.
- Mason, E. *Westminster Abbey and its People, c. 1050-c. 1216*. Woodbridge, 1996.
- Matthew, D. 'Durham and the Anglo-Norman world'. *Anglo-Norman Durham*. Ed. Rollason, Harvey and Prestwich. Pp. 1-22.
- Matthew, D. *King Stephen*. London and New York, 2002.
- Maurer, H.E. *Margaret of Anjou: Queenship and power in late medieval England*. Woodbridge, 2003.
- Mayeski, M.A. 'Secundum naturam: The inheritance of virtue in Aelred's *Genealogy of the English Kings*'. *Cistercian Studies Quarterly* 37 (2002): 221-8.
- Menzies, L. *St. Margaret Queen of Scotland*. Felinfach, 1992.
- Miller, M.C. *The Bishop's Palace: Architecture and authority in medieval Italy*. Ithaca and London, 2000.
- Mills, R. 'The signification of the tonsure'. *Holiness and Masculinity*. Ed. Cullum and Lewis. Pp. 109-26.
- Mooney, C.M. (ed.). *Gendered Voices: Medieval saints and their interpreters*. Philadelphia, 1999.
- Moore, R.I. 'Family, community, and cult on the eve of the Gregorian reform'. *TRHS* 5th ser. 30 (1980): 49-69.
- Moore, R.I. 'Between Sanctity and Superstition: Saints and their Miracles in the Age of Revolution'. Ed. M. Rubin. *The Work of Jacques Le Goff, and the Challenges of Medieval History*. Woodbridge, 1997. Pp. 63-75.
- Moore, R.I. *The First European Revolution, c. 970-1215*. Oxford, 2000.
- Morris, C. *The Papal Monarchy: The Western Church from 1050 to 1250*. Oxford, 1991 edn.
- du Moustier, B. 'Surius, Lawrence'. *New Catholic Encyclopedia*. 13: 820-1.
- Mulder-Bakker, A.B. 'The invention of saintliness: Texts and contexts'. *The Invention of Saintliness*. Routledge Studies in Medieval Religion and Culture, 2. London, 2002. Pp. 3-23.
- Murray, J. 'Men's bodies, men's minds: Seminal emissions and sexual anxiety in the middle ages'. *Annual Review of Sex Research* 8 (1997): 1-26.
- Murray, J., (ed.). *Conflicted Identities and Multiple Masculinities: Men in the medieval West*. New York and London, 1999.
- Murray, J. "'The law of sin that is in my members": The problem of male embodiment'. *Gender and Holiness*. Ed. Riches and Salih. Pp. 9-22.
- Murray, J. 'Masculinizing religious life: Sexual prowess, the battle for chastity and monastic identity'. *Holiness and Masculinity*. Ed. Cullum and Lewis. Pp. 24-42.
- Neil, S.C., and Weber, H.-R. (eds.). *The Layman in Christian History: A project of the Department on the Laity of the World Council of Churches*. London, 1963.
- Nelson, J. 'Royal saints and early medieval kingship'. *Studies in Church History* 10 (1973): 39-44.
- Nelson, J.L. 'Kingship and royal government'. *The New Cambridge Medieval History, Vol. II, c. 700-c. 900*. Ed. R. McKitterick. Cambridge, 1995. Pp. 383-430.

- Nelson, J.L. 'Family, gender and sexuality in the middle ages'. *Companion to Historiography*. Ed. M. Bentley. London and New York, 1997. Pp. 153-176.
- Nelson, J.L. 'Kings with justice, kings without justice: An early medieval paradox'. *La Giustizia Nell'alto Medioevo (Secoli ix-xi): Settimane di Studio del Centro Italiano do Studi Sull' alto Medioevo* 44 (1997): 797-823.
- Nelson, J.L. 'Monks, secular men and masculinity, c. 900'. *Masculinity in Medieval Europe*. Ed. Hadley. Pp. 121-42.
- Nelson, J.L. 'Early medieval rites of queen-making and the shaping of medieval queenship'. *Queens and Queenship*. Ed. Duggan. Pp. 301-15.
- Nelson, J.L. 'Review article: Waiting for Alfred'. *Early Medieval Europe* 7 (1998): 115-24.
- Nelson, J.L. 'Rulers and government'. *The New Cambridge Medieval History, Vol. III: c.900-c.1024*. Ed. T. Reuter. Cambridge, 1999. Pp. 95-129.
- Nelson, J.L. 'Gender, memory and social power'. *Gender and History* 12 (2000): 722-34.
- The New Catholic Encyclopedia*. Washington D.C., 1967.
- Newman, B. *Sister of Wisdom: St. Hildegard's theology of the feminine*. Berkeley, 1987.
- Newman, B. 'Flaws in the Golden Bowl: Gender and Spiritual Formation in the Twelfth Century'. *Traditio* 45 (1990): 111-46.
- Newman, M.G. *The Boundaries of Charity: Cistercian culture and ecclesiastical reform, 1098-1180*. Stanford, 1996.
- O'Brien, E.L. 2001. 'The cult of St Edward the Confessor: 1066-1399'. Unpublished DPhil. thesis, University of Oxford.
- Oram, R. 'David I and the Scottish conquest and colonisation of Moray'. *Northern Scotland* 19 (1999): 1-19.
- Oram, R. (ed.). *The Kings and Queens of Scotland*. Stroud, 2001.
- Orchard, A. 'The literary background to the *Encomium Emmae Reginae*'. *Journal of Medieval Latin* 11 (2001): 156-83.
- Ormrod, W. M. 'Monarchy, martyrdom and masculinity: England in the later middle ages'. *Holiness and Masculinity*. Ed. Cullum and Lewis. Pp. 174-91.
- Otter, M. 'Closed Doors: An Epithalamium for Queen Edith, Widow and Virgin'. *Constructions of Widowhood and Virginitiy*. Ed. Carlson and Weisl. Pp. 63-92.
- The Oxford English Dictionary*. Oxford, 1991 edn.
- Paxton, J. 'Forging communities: Memory and identity in post-Conquest England (The Denis Bethell Prize Essay)'. *Haskins Society Journal* 10 (2001): 95-109.
- Payer, P.J. *The Bridling of Desire: Views of Sex in the Later Middle Ages*. Toronto, 1993.
- Peebles, B.M. 'Bible, IV'. *New Catholic Encyclopedia*. 2: 441-3.
- Pettit, E. 'Holiness and masculinity in Aldhelm's *Opus Geminatum De virginitate*'. *Holiness and Masculinity*. Ed. Cullum and Lewis. Pp. 8-23.
- Philippart, G. (ed.). *Hagiographies: Histoire internationale de la littérature hagiographique latine et vernaculaire en Occident des origines à 1550*. 3 vols. Turnhout, 1994-2001.
- Pollock, F. and Maitland, F.W. *The History of English Law Before the Time of Edward I*. Cambridge, 1968 edn.
- Poole, A.L. *From Domesday Book to Magna Carta, 1087-1216*. Oxford, 955 edn.
- Ransford, R. 'A kind of Noah's Ark: Aelred of Rievaulx and national identity'. *Religion and National Identity: Studies in Church History* 18 (1982): 137-46.

- Remensnyder, A. 'Pollution, purity, and peace: An aspect of social reform between the late tenth century and 1076'. *Peace of God*. Ed. Head and Landes. Pp. 280-307.
- Riches, S.J., and Salih, S. (eds.). *Gender and Holiness: Men, women and saints in late medieval Europe*. London and New York, 2002.
- Ridyard, S. J. *The Royal Saints of Anglo-Saxon England: A study of West Saxon and East Anglian cults*. Cambridge, 1988.
- Ridyard, S.J. 'Monk-kings and the Anglo-Saxon hagiographic tradition'. *Haskins Society Journal* 6 (1994): 13-27.
- Ritchie, R.L.G. *The Normans in Scotland*. Edinburgh, 1954.
- Roche, P. 'Bollandists'. *New Catholic Encyclopedia*. 2: 648-9.
- Rollason, D.W. 'The cults of murdered royal saints in Anglo-Saxon England'. *Anglo-Saxon England* 11 (1983): 1-22.
- Rollason, D., Harvey, M., and Prestwich, M. (eds.). *Anglo-Norman Durham, 1093-1193*. Woodbridge, 1994.
- Rosenwein, B.H. 'Feudal War and Monastic Peace: Cluniac Liturgy as Ritual Aggression'. *Viator: Medieval and Renaissance Studies* 2 (1971): 129-57.
- Rubinstein, J. 'St Anselm's influence on Guibert of Nogent'. *Anselm: Aosta, Bec and Canterbury*. Ed. Luscombe and Evans. Pp. 296-309.
- Rubenstein, J. 'Liturgy against history: The competing visions of Lanfranc and Eadmer of Canterbury'. *Speculum* 74 (1999): 279-309.
- Ruud, M. 'Episcopal reluctance: Lanfranc's resignation reconsidered'. *Albion* 2 (1987): 163-75.
- Ruud, M. "'Unworthy Servants": The rhetoric of resignation at Canterbury, 1070-1170'. *Journal of Religious History* 22 (1998): 1-13.
- Russell, J.C. 'The canonization of opposition to the king in Angevin England'. *Anniversary Essays in Medieval History by Students of Charles Homer Haskins: Presented on his completion of forty years of teaching*. Ed. C.H. Taylor. Boston and New York, 1929. Pp. 279-90.
- Salih, S. 'Performing Virginitly: Sex and Violence in the *Katherine Group*'. *Constructions of Widowhood and Virginitly*. Ed. Carlson and Weisl. Pp. 95-112.
- Scholz, B.W. 'The Canonization of Edward the Confessor'. *Speculum* 36 (1961): 38-60
- Scott, F.S. 'Earl Waltheof of Northumbria'. *Archaeologia Aeliana* 4th ser., 30 (1952): 149-215
- Sennett, R. *Flesh and Stone: The body and the city in Western Civilization*. London, 1994.
- Short, I. 'Tam Angli quam Franci: Self-definition in Anglo-Norman England'. *Anglo-Norman Studies* 18 (1995): 153-75.
- Skinner, M.S. 'Lay sanctity and church reform in early medieval France'. *Lay Sanctity*. Ed. Astell. Pp. 27-45.
- Southern, R.W. 'The church of the Dark Ages, 600-1000'. *The Layman in Christian History*. Ed. Neill and Weber. Pp. 88-110.
- Southern, R.W. *Saint Anselm and his Biographer: A Study of Monastic Life and Thought, 1059-c.1130*. Cambridge, 1963.
- Southern, R.W. 'King Henry I'. *Medieval Humanism and Other Studies*. Oxford, 1970. Pp. 206-33.
- Southern, R.W. 'Aspects of the European tradition of historical writing: 4. The sense of the past'. *TRHS* 5th ser. 23 (1973): 243-63.

- Southern, R.W. 'Sally Vaughn's Anselm: An examination of the foundations'. *Albion* 20 (1988): 181-204.
- Southern, R.W. *Saint Anselm: A portrait in a landscape*. Cambridge, 1990.
- Southern, R.W. 'St Anselm at Canterbury: His mission of reconciliation'. *Anselm: Aosta, Bec and Canterbury*. Ed. Luscombe and Evans. Pp. 17-35.
- Southern, R.W. *Scholastic Humanism and the Unification of Europe, Volume II: The heroic age*. Oxford, 2001.
- Sparks, H.F.D. 'Jerome as biblical scholar'. *The Cambridge History of the Bible Vol. I: From the beginnings to St. Jerome*. Ed. P.R. Ackroyd and C.F. Evans. Cambridge, 1970. Pp. 510-40.
- Speight, S. J. 'Violence and the creation of socio-political order in post-conquest Yorkshire'. *Violence and Society in the Early Medieval Society*. Ed. Halsall. Woodbridge, 1998. Pp. 157-74.
- Spiegel, G.M. 'History, historicism, and the social logic of the text in the Middle Ages'. *Speculum* 65 (1990): 59-86.
- Spiegel, G.M. *The Past as Text: The theory and practice of medieval historiography*. Baltimore and London, 1997.
- Spiegel, G.M. 'Towards a theory of the middle ground'. *The Past as Text*. Pp. 44-56.
- Squire, A. 'Aelred and King David'. *Collectanea ordinis Cisterciensium Reformatorum* 22 (1960): 356-77.
- Squire, A. *Aelred of Rievaulx: A study*. London, 1981 edn.
- Stafford, P. 'The portrayal of royal women in England, mid-tenth to mid-twelfth centuries'. *Medieval Queenship*. Ed. Carmi Parsons. Pp. 143-67.
- Stafford, P. 'Emma: The powers of the queen in the eleventh century'. *Queens and Queenship*. Ed. Duggan. Pp. 3-26.
- Stafford, P. *Queen Emma and Queen Edith: Queenship and Women's Power in Eleventh-Century England*. Oxford, 1997.
- Stafford, P. 'Queens, nunneries and reforming churchmen: Gender, religious status and reform in tenth- and eleventh-century England'. *Past and Present* 163 (1999): 3-35.
- Stafford, P. 'Queens and treasure in the early middle ages'. *Treasure in the Medieval West*. Ed. Tyler. Pp. 61-82.
- Stafford, P. 'Powerful women in the early middle ages: Queens and abbesses'. *The Medieval World*. Ed. Linehan and Nelson. Pp. 398-415.
- Stafford, P. Review of Huneycutt, *Matilda*. *English Historical Review* 119 (2004): 981-3.
- Stancliffe, C. 'Red, white and blue martyrdom'. *Ireland in Early Mediaeval Europe. Studies in memory of Kathleen Hughes*. Ed. D. Dumville. Cambridge, 1982. Pp. 21-46.
- Stancliffe, C. *St. Martin and his hagiographer: History and miracle in Sulpicius Severus*. Oxford and New York, 1983.
- Stancliffe, C. 'Kings who opted out'. *Ideal and Reality in Frankish and Anglo-Saxon Society: Studies presented to J. M. Wallace-Hadrill*. Ed. P. Wormald, D. Bullough, and R. Collins. Oxford, 1983. Pp. 154-76.
- Staunton, M. 'Eadmer's *Vita Anselmi*: A reinterpretation'. *Journal of Medieval History* 23 (1997): 1-14.
- Staunton, M. 'Trial and inspiration in the *Lives* of Anselm and Thomas Becket'. *Anselm: Aosta, Bec and Canterbury*. Ed. Luscombe and Evans. Pp. 310-22.
- Stenton, F.M. *Anglo-Saxon England*. Oxford, 1971 edn.

- Strickland, M. *War and Chivalry: The conduct and perception of war in England and Normandy, 1066-1217*. Cambridge, 1996.
- Stringer, K.J. *The Reign of Stephen: Kingship, Warfare and Government in twelfth-century England*. London, 1993.
- Stringer, K. 'King David I (1124-53): the Scottish occupation of Northern England'. *Medieval History* 4 (1994): 51-61.
- Struand, S. 'The dominion of gender: Women's fortune in the high Middle Ages'. *Becoming Visible: Women in European History*. Ed. R. Bridenthal and C. Koonz. 2nd edn. Boston, 1987. Pp. p. 153-72
- Summerson, H. 'Kingship, government, and political life, c.1160-c.1280'. *The Twelfth and Thirteenth Centuries*. Ed. Harvey. Pp. 201-240.
- Tanner, H.J. 'Queenship: Office, custom, or ad hoc? The case of Queen Matilda III of England (1135-1152)'. Ed. Wheeler and Carmi Parsons. *Eleanor of Aquitaine*. Pp. 133-58.
- Taylor, A. "'A second Ajax: Peter Abelard and the violence of dialectic'. *The Tongue of the Fathers: Gender and ideology in medieval Latin*. Ed. D. Townsend and A. Taylor. Philadelphia, 1998. Pp. 14-34.
- Thacker, A. 'Kings, saints, and monasteries in pre-Viking Mercia'. *Midland History* 10 (1985): 1-25.
- Thacker, A. '*Membra disjecta*: The division of the body and the diffusion of the cult'. *Oswald: Northumbrian king to European saint*. Ed. C. Stancliffe and E. Cambridge. Stamford, 1996 edn. Pp. 97-127.
- Theilmann, J.M. 'Political canonization and political symbolism in medieval England'. *Journal of British Studies* 29 (1990): 241-66.
- Thiry-Stassin, M. 'L'hagiographie en Anglo-Normand'. *Hagiographies*. Ed. Philippart. I: 407-28.
- Thomas, H.M. *The English and the Normans: Ethnic hostility, assimilation, and identity, 1066-c.1220*. Oxford, 2003.
- Thomas, K. *Religion and the Decline of Magic Studies in popular beliefs in sixteenth and seventeenth century England*. London, 1997 edn.
- Thompson, J.W. *The Literacy of the Laity in the Middle Ages*. New York, 1960.
- Thompson, K. 'Affairs of State: the illegitimate children of Henry I'. *Journal of Medieval History* 29 (2003): 129-51.
- Thompson, V.J. 2000. 'The understanding of death in England from c. 850 to c.1100'. Unpublished Dphil. thesis, University of York University.
- Tibbetts Schulenburg, J. 'Sexism and the celestial gynaeceum – from 500 to 1200'. *Journal of Medieval History* 4 (1978): 117-33.
- Tibbetts Schulenburg, J. 'Female sanctity: public and private roles, ca. 500-1100'. Ed. M. Erler and M. Kowaleski. *Women and Power in the Middle Ages*. Athens, Ga., 1988. Pp. 102-25.
- Tibbetts Schulenburg, J. *Forgetful of their Sex: Female sanctity and society ca. 500-1100*. Chicago, 1998.
- Turner, R.V. 'King John's concept of royal authority'. *History of Political Thought* 17 (1996): 157-78.
- Tyler, E.M. (ed.). *Treasure in the Medieval West*. Woodbridge, 2000.
- Tyler, E.M. "'When Wings Incarnadine with Gold are Spread": The *Vita Ædwardi Regis* and the Display of Treasure at the Court of Edward the Confessor'. *Treasure in the Medieval West*. Woodbridge, 2000. Pp. 83-107.
- Vaillancourt, J.-G. *Papal Power: A study of Vatican control over lay catholic elites*. Berkeley, 1980.

- Vaucher, A. 'The saint'. *The Medieval World*. Ed. J. Le Goff. Trans. L.G. Cochrane. London, 1990. Pp. 313-45.
- Vaucher, A. 'Lay people's sanctity in Western Europe: Evolution of a pattern (twelfth and thirteenth centuries)'. *Images of Sainthood*. Ed. Blumenfeld-Kosinski and Szell. Pp. 21-32.
- Vaucher, A. *The Laity in the Middle Ages: Religious beliefs and devotional practices*. Ed. D.E. Bornstein and trans. M.J. Schneider. Notre Dame and London, 1993.
- Vaucher, A. *Sainthood in the Later Middle Ages*. Trans. J. Birrell. Cambridge, 1997.
- Vaughn, S.N. 'St Anselm of Canterbury: Reluctant archbishop?'. *Albion* 6 (1974): 240-50.
- Vaughn, S.N. *Anselm of Bec and Robert of Meulan: The innocence of the dove and the wisdom of the serpent*. Berkeley and London, 1987.
- Vaughn, 'Eadmer's *Historia Novorum*: A reinterpretation'. *Anglo-Norman Studies* 10 (1988 for 1987): 259-89.
- Vaughn, S.N. 'Anselm: Saint and statesman'. *Albion* 20 (1988): 205-220.
- Vaughn, S.N. 'Among These Authors are the Men of Bec: Historical writing among the monks of Bec'. *Essays in Medieval Studies* 17 (2000): 1-18.
- Venarde, B.L. *Women's Monasticism and Medieval Society: Nunneries in France and England, 890-1215*. Ithaca and London, 1997.
- Waddell, C. 'The Myth of Cistercian Origins: C. H. Berman and the Manuscript Sources'. *Cîteaux: commentarii cistercienses* 51 (2000): 299-386.
- Walker, S. 'Political saints in later medieval England'. *The McFarlane Legacy: Studies in late medieval politics and society*. Ed. R.H. Britnell and A.J. Pollard. Stroud and New York, 1995. Pp. 77-106.
- Walker Bynum, C. *Docere verbo et exemplo: An aspect of twelfth-century spirituality*. Harvard Theological Review, 31. Missoula, Mont., 1979.
- Walker Bynum, C. 'Jesus as mother and abbot as mother: some themes in twelfth-century Cistercian writing'. *Jesus as Mother: Studies in the Spirituality of the High Middle Ages*. Berkeley, 1982. Pp. 110-69.
- Wall, V. 'Malcolm III and the foundation of Durham Cathedral'. *Anglo-Norman Durham*. Ed. Rollason, Harvey, and Prestwich. Woodbridge, 1994. Pp. 325-37.
- Wall, V. 'Queen Margaret of Scotland (1070-93): Burying the past, enshrining the future'. *Queens and Queenship*. Ed. Duggan. Pp. 27-38.
- Wallace-Hadrill, J.M. *Early Germanic Kingship in England and on the Continent*. Oxford, 1971.
- Warren, W.L. *Henry II*. New Haven and London, 2000 edn.
- Wasyliw, P.H. 'The pious infant: Developments in popular piety during the high middle ages'. *Lay Sanctity*. Ed. Astell. Pp. 105-115.
- Watkins, C. 'The cult of Earl Waltheof at Crowland'. *Hagiographica* 3 (1996): 95-111.
- Weiler, B. 'The *rex renitens* and the medieval idea of kingship, ca. 900- ca. 1250'. *Viator: Medieval and Renaissance Studies* 31 (2000): 1-42.
- Weiler, B. 'Kingship, usurpation and propaganda in twelfth-century Europe: The case of Stephen'. *Anglo-Norman Studies* 23 (2001 for 2000): 299-326.
- Weinstein, D. and Bell, R.M. *Saints & Society: The two worlds of Western Christendom, 1000-1700*. Chicago, 1986 edn.
- Wheeler, B., and Carmi Parsons, J. (eds.). *Eleanor of Aquitaine: Lord and lady*. New York and Basingstoke, 2002.

- White, G.J. 'The Myth of the Anarchy'. *Anglo-Norman Studies* 22 (2000 for 1999): 323-37
- White, G.J. *Restoration and Reform, 1153-1165: Recovery from Civil War in England*. Cambridge, 2000.
- Williams, G. 'The Ancient Church, A.D. 30-313'. *The Layman in Christian History*. Eds. Neill and Weber. London, 1963. Pp. 28-56.
- Wilson, A.J. *St. Margaret, Queen of Scotland*. Edinburgh, 1993.
- Winroth, A. *The Making of Gratian's Decretum*. Cambridge, 2000.
- Winstead, K.A. *Virgin Martyrs: Legends of Sainthood in Late Medieval England*. Ithaca, 1997.
- Wogan-Browne, J. *Saints' Lives and Women's Literary Culture c.1150-1300: Virginity and its authorizations*. Oxford, 2001.
- Wormald, C.P. 'The uses of literacy in Anglo-Saxon England and its neighbours'. *TRHS*, 5th ser., 27 (1977): 95-114.
- Wormald, P. '*Lex scripta* and *Verbum Regis*: Legislation and Germanic kingship, from Euric to Cnut'. *Early Medieval Kingship*. Ed. I. Wood and P. Sawyer. Leeds, 1977. Pp. 105-38.
- Wormald, P. 'Celtic and Anglo-Saxon kingship: Some further thoughts'. Ed. P.E. Szarmach and V. Darrow Oggins. *Sources of Anglo-Saxon Culture*. Studies in Medieval Culture. Kalamazoo, 1986. Pp. 151-83.
- Wormald, P. *The Making of English Law: King Alfred to the twelfth century. Volume I: Legislation and its limits*. Oxford, 1999.
- Yohe, K. 'Ælred's recrafting of the *Life of Edward the Confessor*'. *Cistercian Studies Quarterly* 38 (2003): 177-89.
- Yorke, B. *Nunneries and the Anglo-Saxon Royal Houses*. London and New York, 2003.