

Rituals of Royalty:
Prescription, Politics and Practice in English
Coronation and Royal Funeral Rituals
c. 1327 to c. 1485

by

Joel Francis Burden

A thesis submitted for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy in Medieval
Studies

University of York
Centre for Medieval Studies
December 1999

Abstract

While the past three decades have witnessed an explosion in the study of ritual culture within a series of academic disciplines, the fruits of this research have so far made little mark on the study of English royal rituals in the later middle ages. This thesis offers a more theoretically informed empirical analysis of English coronation and royal funeral rituals in the period c.1327 to c. 1485. It is argued that royal rituals need to be viewed as situated cultural occasions which were produced and consumed within discrete performative spaces and temporal contexts. It follows therefore that the analysis of function and meaning within rituals ought to be located more narrowly within the immediate contextual environments in which rituals were devised, prescribed and performed.

In Chapter One of the thesis I provide an overview of the historiography of late medieval coronation and royal funeral rituals, and I offer an extended analysis of some more theoretical approaches to the study of ritual within non-historical disciplines. Part 1 of the thesis consists of two chapters which examine different dimensions of the relationship linking textual prescription and performative practice in royal ritual. Chapter Two seeks to problematise some prevalent historical perceptions concerning the textual authority and prescriptive reach of liturgical ritual *ordines*, and it argues that these texts were situated, partisan and not fully comprehensive in their scope. Chapter Three argues that historians need to pay greater attention to the way in which meaning in ritual was conveyed through visual media. This chapter examines the importance of the visibility of royal ritual both in terms of its operation within ritual performance and its impact outside of the parameters of ritual culture. More broadly, it also explores the relationship linking the visual character of ritual to the growing textualisation of procedure. Part 2 of the thesis consists of four chapters in the form of case studies which examine the relationship of politics and ritual practice. These chapters explore some examples of the varying political uses which coronation and royal funeral rituals served within their immediate performative contexts. On the basis of these studies it is argued that royal rituals ought to be seen as dynamic and generative aspects of late medieval political culture.

**For God's sake, let us sit upon the ground
And tell sad stories of the death of kings.**
(Shakespeare, *Richard II*, III (ii): 155-6)

Contents

<i>List of Figures</i>	vi
<i>List of Abbreviations</i>	ix
<i>Acknowledgements</i>	xi
Chapter One: Introduction	
(I) Introduction	1
(II) Historiography	4
(III) Theory and History	10
(IV) Methodology	24
Part 1: Prescription and Practice	30
Chapter Two: Texts and Contexts	
(I) Introduction	32
(II) <i>Ordo</i> for the Coronation of the King	32
(III) <i>Ordo</i> for the Funeral of the King	50
Chapter Three: Visual Representation	
(I) Introduction	72
(II) Regalia	74
(III) Heraldic Display	92
Part 2: Politics and Practice	114
Chapter Four: The Funeral of Edward II (1327)	
(I) Introduction	116
(II) Contexts	117
(III) Analysis	123
(IV) Interpretation	131
Chapter Five: The Funeral of Richard II (1400)	
(I) Introduction	137
(II) Contexts	138
(III) Analysis	145
(IV) Interpretation	154
(V) Epilogue	158

Chapter Six: The Coronation of Richard II (1377)	
(I) Introduction	164
(II) Contexts	165
(III) Analysis	177
(IV) Interpretation	189
Chapter Seven: The Coronation of Katherine of Valois (1421)	
(I) Introduction	195
(II) Contexts	196
(III) Analysis	201
(IV) Interpretation	218
Chapter Eight: General Conclusions	221
<i>Appendix</i>	232
<i>Bibliography</i>	236
<i>Figures</i>	264

List of Figures

1. Antiquarian drawing of the opened tomb of Edward I in 1774. London, Society of Antiquaries of London.
2. Drawing of the funeral hearse of Abbot Islip of Westminster (d. 1532). London, Westminster Abbey, Obituary Roll of Abbot Islip.
3. Illumination of a funeral hearse of Anne of Brittany (d. 1514). The Hague, Rijksmuseum Meermanno-Westreenianum, MS 10 C 12, fol. 40.
4. Illumination of a funeral hearse of Anne of Brittany (d. 1514). The Hague, Rijksmuseum Meermanno-Westreenianum, MS 10 C 12, fol. 42v.
5. Restored funeral effigy head of Edward III. London, Westminster Abbey.
6. Restored funeral effigy head of Anne of Bohemia. London, Westminster Abbey.
7. Restored funeral effigy of Katherine of Valois. London, Westminster Abbey.
8. Unrestored funeral effigy of Henry VII before damage sustained in World War II. Photographed for W.H. St. John Hope (*Archaeologia*, 1907).
9. Illumination of the coronation of the king. London, Westminster Abbey, MS 37 (*Westminster Missal*), fol. 206.
10. Illumination of the coronation of the king. Pamplona, Archivo General de Navarra, MS 197 (*Pamplona Coronation Order*), fol. 3.
11. Illumination of the coronation of the king. London, Westminster Abbey, MS 38 (*Liber Regalis*), fol. 1v.
12. Illumination of the coronation of the king and queen together (full). London, Westminster Abbey, MS 38 (*Liber Regalis*), fol. 20.
13. Illumination of the coronation of the king and queen together (detail). London, Westminster Abbey, MS 38 (*Liber Regalis*), fol. 20.
14. Illumination of the funeral of the king. London, Westminster Abbey, MS 38 (*Liber Regalis*), fol. 33v.
15. Illumination of the funeral of the king. London, Westminster Abbey, MS 37 (*Westminster Missal*), fol. 224.
16. Illumination of the funeral of the king. Pamplona, Archivo General de Navarra, MS 197 (*Pamplona Coronation Order*), fol. 22v.
17. Illumination of the coronation of the queen. London, Westminster Abbey, MS 38 (*Liber Regalis*), fol. 29.
18. Illumination of the coronation of the queen. London, Westminster Abbey, MS 37 (*Westminster Missal*), fol. 221.
19. Illumination of the coronation of the queen. Pamplona, Archivo General de Navarra, MS 197 (*Pamplona Coronation Order*), fol. 19.
20. Double tomb effigies of Richard II and Anne of Bohemia. London, Westminster Abbey.

21. Double tomb effigies of Richard II and Anne of Bohemia (*in situ*). London, Westminster Abbey.
22. Antiquarian drawing of the tomb effigy of Edward III in Westminster Abbey.
23. Tomb and effigy of Edward III. London, Westminster Abbey.
24. Tomb and effigy of Henry III. London, Westminster Abbey.
25. Antiquarian drawing of the tomb effigy of Philippa of Hainault in Westminster Abbey.
26. Tomb effigy of Philippa of Hainault (detail). London, Westminster Abbey.
27. Tomb effigy of Eleanor of Castile. London, Westminster Abbey.
28. Tomb effigies of Henry IV and Joan of Navarre. Canterbury, Canterbury Cathedral.
29. Panel painting of Richard II. London, Westminster Abbey.
30. Antiquarian drawing of six statues of kings from the south wall of Westminster Great Hall. Executed by John Carter in 1784. London, Westminster City Archives, Box 58.
31. First great seal of Henry III (1218).
32. Second great seal of Henry III (1259).
33. Coronation of St. Edward the Confessor. Manchester, Chetham's Library, MS 6712 (*Flores Historiarum*), fol. 298.
34. Coronation of St. Edward the Confessor. Watercolour of a lost mural in the Painted Chamber in Westminster Palace, painted by C. A. Stothard in 1819. London, Society of Antiquaries of London.
35. Second great seal of Edward III (1327).
36. Fourth great seal of Edward III (1340).
37. Back view of the Wilton Diptych. London, The National Gallery.
38. Stained glass window of Richard II and St. John the Baptist. Winchester, Winchester College Chapel.
39. Front view of the Wilton Diptych. London, The National Gallery.
40. Drawing of a lost wall mural formerly at the east end of St. Stephen's Chapel in Westminster Palace. Executed by Richard Smirke in c. 1800. London, Society of Antiquaries of London.
41. Drawing of lost paintings of SS Eustace and Mercurius from the piers of St. Stephen's Chapel in Westminster Palace. Executed for J.T. Smith, *Antiquities of Westminster* (London, 1807). London, Westminster City Archives, Box 57.
42. Drawing of painted shields of arms from St. Stephen's Chapel in Westminster Palace. Executed in 1804 for J.T. Smith, *Antiquities of Westminster* (London, 1807). London, Westminster City Archives, Box 57.
43. Impaled arms of Henry VII and Elizabeth of York on their double tomb. London, Westminster Abbey.
44. Tomb effigy of Henry III (detail). London, Westminster Abbey.
45. Tomb effigy of Eleanor of Castile (detail). London, Westminster Abbey.
46. Statues of Richard II and Henry IV on a carved choir screen. York, York Minster.

47. The shrine of St. Edward the Confessor and the chantry chapel of Henry V. London, Westminster Abbey.
48. Illumination of St. Katherine disputing with the heathen clerks. New York, The Cloisters, *Belles Heures de Jean de Berry*, fol. 16.
49. Illumination of St. Katherine's corpse being transported to Mount Sinai by angels. New York, The Cloisters, *Belles Heures de Jean de Berry*, fol. 20.
50. Illumination of St. Katherine with angels breaking the wheel. New York, The Cloisters, *Belles Heures de Jean de Berry*, fol. 18v.
51. Statues of the duchess of Burgundy and St. Katherine carved by Claus Sluter. Dijon, Portal to the Chartreuse de Champol.
52. Illumination showing St. Katherine presenting Henry VI to the Virgin and Child. London, BL, Cotton MS Domitian A xvii, fol. 75.
53. Statue of St. Katherine. Courtrai, chapel of the count of Flanders.
54. Illumination showing the crowned figure of St. Katherine amongst the heavenly host of All Saints. New York, The Cloisters, *Belles Heures de Jean de Berry*, fol. 218.

List of Abbreviations

<i>BIHR</i>	<i>Bulletin of the Institute of Historical Research.</i>
<i>BJRL</i>	<i>Bulletin of the John Rylands Library.</i>
BL	British Library.
<i>CA</i>	<i>Chronicon Angliae</i> , ed. E.M. Thompson, RS, 64 (1874).
<i>CCR</i>	<i>Calendar of Close Rolls.</i>
<i>CChR</i>	<i>Calendar of Charter Rolls.</i>
<i>CJH</i>	<i>Canadian Journal of History.</i>
CS	Camden Society.
C&YS	Canterbury and York Society.
<i>ECR</i>	<i>English Coronation Records</i> , ed. & trans. L.G. Wickham Legg (London, 1901).
EETS	Early English Texts Society.
<i>EHR</i>	<i>English Historical Review.</i>
fig.	figure.
<i>Foedera</i>	<i>Foedera, Conventiones, Literae et Cujuscunq̄ue Generis Acta Publica</i> , ed. T. Rymer (The Hague, 1740). 1967 reprint.
<i>Foedera</i> , RC edn.	<i>Foedera, Conventiones, Literae et Cujuscunq̄ue Generis Acta Publica</i> , ed. T. Rymer, Record Commission edn., 3 vols. in 6 parts (London, 1816-30).
<i>GSLH</i>	<i>Guildhall Studies in London History.</i>
<i>HA</i>	<i>Historia Anglicana</i> , ed. H.T. Riley, 2 vols., RS, 28 (1857).
HBS	Henry Bradshaw Society.
<i>HR</i>	<i>Historical Research.</i>
<i>ISSCMB</i>	<i>International Society for the Study of Church Monuments Bulletin.</i>
<i>JBAA</i>	<i>Journal of the British Archaeological Association.</i>
<i>JBS</i>	<i>Journal of British Studies.</i>
<i>JWCI</i>	<i>Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes.</i>
<i>JMH</i>	<i>Journal of Medieval History.</i>
<i>JMRS</i>	<i>Journal of Medieval and Renaissance Studies.</i>
<i>JTS</i>	<i>Journal of Theological Studies.</i>
<i>LRC</i>	<i>Liber Regie Capelle: A Manuscript in the Biblioteca Publica, Evora</i> , ed. W. Ullmann, HBS, 92 (1959).
<i>NED</i>	<i>A New English Dictionary on Historical Principles</i> , eds. J.A.H. Murray, H. Bradley, W.A. Craigie & C.T. Onions, 10 vols. in 13 (Oxford, 1933).
<i>NMS</i>	<i>Nottingham Medieval Studies.</i>
<i>P&P</i>	<i>Past and Present.</i>
PRO	Public Record Office.

RC	Record Commission.
<i>RP</i>	<i>Rotuli Parliamentorum</i> , 6 vols. (London, 1783).
RS	Rolls Series.
Seld.Soc.	Seldon Society.
Surt.Soc.	Surtees Society.
<i>TMBS</i>	<i>Transactions of the Monumental Brass Society</i> .
<i>TRHS</i>	<i>Transactions of the Royal Historical Society</i> .
WA	Westminster Abbey.
WAM	Westminster Abbey Muniments.

Acknowledgements

Thankfully, writing this thesis has not proved to be too solitary an experience. Indeed, there are many people whose assistance, encouragement and support I would like to acknowledge. My biggest thanks must go to my partner Charlotte Carpenter who has offered many bright ideas and much sympathy, but most of all has reminded me that there is a life outside of medieval studies. Also a very big thank you to my parents who have remained unflagging in their support and encouragement. I would particularly like to thank my two supervisors Professor Mark Ormrod and Professor Richard Marks for their guidance and their enthusiasm. I would also like to acknowledge the crucial role played by the Department of History at the University of York which provided me with two years of funding when no other funding was available. I am also very grateful to the British Academy for funding the final part of my registration period.

A number of individuals have helped me in specific ways in terms of developing my ideas and conducting my research. In no particular order, I would like to thank Professor J.R.S. Phillips, Dr. Klaus van Eickels, Dr. Nicolas Offenstadt, Dr. Katherine Lewis, Dr. Joanna Chamberlayne and Señor David Alegria. I would also like to thank the following people who in different ways have been very helpful to me during my time at York: Mrs Louise Harrison, Mr. Peter Rycraft, Professor Felicity Riddy, Professor David Smith, Miss Pamela Hartshorne, Dr. Christian Turner and Mr. Fergus Collins. Finally, I would like to offer a very big thank you to the many members of the research community at the Centre for Medieval Studies who have helped me along in subtle ways and made it all such a pleasant experience.

Chapter One: Introduction

(I) Introduction

This thesis examines English royal ritual culture in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, focusing specifically upon the rituals of coronation and funeral. Ritual culture is an aspect of late medieval kingship which has generated a relatively rich seam of surviving prescriptive, narrative and administrative evidence. Rituals literally caught the eye of contemporary observers (as was intended), and they have continued to attract the attention of medieval historians, particularly because they provide interesting and colourful filler material within the ever popular genre of historical biography. However, despite the emergence of *cultural history* in recent decades and the considerable influence this has exercised on the study of urban rituals, there has been relatively little attempt by political historians to undertake any re-analysis of the rituals of kingship. In part, this situation is perhaps explained by the traditional tendency within the historical discipline to view patterns of change over time as the definitive object of historical investigation. Accordingly, the study of ritual has been discouraged by a prevalent perception that the prescribed character of ritual practice meant that it was essentially a fixed feature within the changing world of politics. It is a key contention of this thesis that ritual in fact manifested a dynamic quality which enabled it to operate as a generative aspect of the fabric of politics.

This thesis seeks to problematise the study of late medieval royal ritual by drawing upon an extremely rich and largely untapped corpus of theoretical scholarship on ritual which has been generated within non-historical disciplines. In the process, it is hoped that the thesis will also offer something back to critical theorists by providing a study which is strongly rooted in a closely analysed historical context, and which gives careful attention to the processes through which rituals developed over time. Traditionally, critical theorists have tended to define ritual as a concrete entity that can be viewed in isolation from the contexts in which it occurs. In their attempts to determine the structure, function and meaning of ritualized behaviour in a more formalist manner, theorists have commonly abstracted such ritualized behaviour from the performative environment in which it is empirically observed, and through which its functions and meanings are constituted. Ritual has been constructed within theoretical discourse as a 'category' of social behaviour, and

therefore as an entity that exists within a kind of ‘virtual’ reality which is impervious to the particularizing influences of space and time. This theoretical perspective contrasts sharply with the perspective of historians, who are naturally inclined to view rituals as lived events, and therefore as occasions which must necessarily be situated within an ‘actual’ context in the past.

Recently, however, theorists have begun to modify their analytical approaches through a recognition that ritual ought to be interpreted as a ‘situated’ reproduction of behaviour. Rather than viewing ritual as a substantive entity in itself, theorists have begun to accept that ritual should be regarded as a ‘way of acting’ within a given type of situation. In essence, this recognition of the importance of understanding ‘context’ has the effect of moving the disciplinary priorities of theorists and historians much closer together.¹ As the theorist Tomas Gerholm observes:

...we could say that for understanding the historical development of a ritual, it is just as important to understand its social setting as to construct a symbolic system of which the ritual is a manifestation.²

It is a central contention of this thesis that the historical analysis of ritual culture in the past should become more responsive to modes of interpretation which are themselves informed by an appreciation of the work of modern critical theorists. However, an appreciation of critical theory should not in itself threaten or supplant traditional empiricist approaches to historical analysis, as it is only by paying rigorous attention to the particulars of contextual detailing that historians are afforded an opportunity to measure the historical appropriateness or validity of a given analytical approach. Only through a theoretically informed empirical examination of the form and context of any particular performed ritual is it really possible to situate that ritual activity in relation to the broader patterns of its contemporary political culture.

The historian of late medieval royal ritual is offered a rich array of ceremonial occasions to examine. The lives of medieval kings and queens were framed within a series of intersecting ritual cycles. Elaborate ceremonies marked the staging points within the

¹ See G.M. Spiegel, “History, Historicism, and the Social Logic of the Text in the Middle Ages,” *Speculum*, 65, pt. 1 (1990): 59-86. In this seminal article, Spiegel seeks to map a continued role for medieval history within a postmodern academic environment. Spiegel’s discussion of texts as “situated uses of language” (pp. 77-8) has greatly influenced my analogous discussion of rituals at this juncture.

² T. Gerholm, “On Ritual: A Post-Modernist View,” *Ethnos*, 3-4 (1988): 201.

life-cycle of a king: birth, baptism, knighting, marriage, death and funeral were all ritualized. Additionally, the ritual cycle of a reign was framed by the ceremonies of coronation and funeral, whilst the cycle of the royal year was filled with a mixed variety of fixed and occasional ritualized activities that included pilgrimages, royal progressions, formal entries into towns, tournaments and rituals associated with the major religious feasts. Queens operated within the same ritual environment as kings, although they were also the focus of discrete ceremonies of their own such as ‘churaching’ after childbirth.³

Clearly it is beyond the scope of this thesis to attempt any comprehensive analysis of the entire ritual culture of late medieval English kingship. Consequently, my research focuses upon two types of complex ritual arrangement: coronation and funeral. These two ceremonies were contextually linked through their normative location at the margins of reigns, as well as thematically linked through their symbolic negotiation of the passage of royal succession. The issues and realities of royal succession were the subject of much controversy during the later middle ages, making coronations and funerals interesting case studies for exploring the interface of ritual and politics. As will become clearer in Part One, there are also a number of source-based reasons why it is sensible to examine the rituals of coronation and funeral together.

The large chronological scope of this thesis together with the wealth of the material to be examined has occasioned a concentration of analysis on the rituals of kingship. However, it is clearly artificial to draw overly concrete distinctions between rituals focused around kings and equivalent rituals focused around queens. While the occasioning of queens’ coronations and funerals was different from that of kings (they were not explicitly linked to royal succession), there were nevertheless manifold similarities between the two sets of rituals in terms of their form and content, as well as their intersection with contextual politics. Consequently, while I have chosen to focus my research upon the rituals of kingship, I have nevertheless allowed the rituals of queenship to permeate the thesis in places and, in the final chapter, to take centre stage.

The remainder of Chapter One of this thesis is divided into three sections. The section below provides a brief overview of the historiography of coronation and funeral

³ See K. Staniland, “Royal Entry into the World,” in D. Williams (ed.), *England in the Fifteenth Century: Proceedings of the 1986 Harlaxton Symposium* (Woodbridge, 1987), pp. 297-313. More generally on the rituals of queenship, see J.C. Parsons, “Ritual and Symbol in the English Queenship to 1500,” in L. Fradenberg (ed.), *Women and Sovereignty* (Edinburgh, 1991), pp. 60-77; J.L. Chamberlayne, “English Queenship 1445-1503” (D.Phil diss., University of York, 1999).

rituals in the later middle ages. This historiography should in no sense be regarded as a definitive survey of historical writing on royal ritual. Instead, it has been my aim simply to sketch a broad outline of some of the more important patterns in historical research in this area. The historiography section is therefore supplemented by extensive historiographical referencing at appropriate places throughout the remainder of the thesis. The historiography section is followed by a more extended section that surveys the writings of critical theorists on ritual. This section addresses the issues of what ritual is, what ritual does, and how it does what it does. Additionally, I have attempted in the final sub-section of this section to examine the theoretical bases for viewing royal ritual as a dynamic aspect of politics. The final section of Chapter One takes the form of a methodology. This section examines some of the benefits and the problems of applying theoretical analyses to historical evidence. *Furthermore, it explains the rationale behind the structural organisation of the rest of the thesis.*

(II) Historiography

Scholarly historical interest in the English coronation service first developed in the early nineteenth century,⁴ and by the turn of the twentieth century was flourishing under the aegis of the Henry Bradshaw Society.⁵ It was an aim of the Henry Bradshaw Society to make available through publication an array of English coronation sources. However, the Bradshaw scholars were influenced in their choice of material for publication, and in some of their academic approaches to that material, by a High Anglicanism which emanated from the nineteenth-century Oxford Movement.⁶ The sources published by the Henry Bradshaw Society were predominantly prescriptive ritual texts in the form of liturgical *ordines*. In the

⁴ T. Taylor, *The Glory of Regality: An Historical Treatise of the Anointing and Crowning of the Kings and Queens of England* (London, 1820); T.C. Banks, *An Historical Account of the Ancient and Modern Forms, Pageantry and Ceremony, of the Coronations of the Kings of England* (London, 1820).

⁵ J. Wickham Legg (ed.), *Missale Ad Usus Ecclesie Westmonasteriensis*, 3 vols., HBS, 1, 5 & 12 (1891-7); idem (ed.), *Three Coronation Orders*, HBS, 19 (London, 1900); E.S. Dewick (ed.), *The Coronation Book of Charles V of France*, HBS, 16 (London, 1899). An explosion of interest in coronation at this time was occasioned by the coronation of Edward VII in 1902. See also L.G. Wickham Legg (ed. & trans.), *English Coronation Records* (London, 1901); H.A. Wilson, "The Coronation Orders," *JTS*, 2 (1901): 481-504; F.C. Eeles, *The English Coronation Service: Its History and Teaching* (Oxford, 1902); D. Maclean, *The Great Solemnity of the Coronation of the King and Queen of England* (London, 1902).

⁶ D.J. Sturdy, "'Continuity' Versus 'Change': Historians and the English Coronations of the Medieval and Early Modern Periods," in J.M. Bak (ed.), *Coronations: Medieval and Early Modern Monarchic Ritual* (Berkeley, 1990), pp. 228-45.

wake of the Bradshaw Society publications scholarly interest in coronations continued for a long time to focus on ritual prescription rather than ritual practice. Additionally, the obvious liturgical bent of the published *ordines* rather encouraged the many non-liturgical aspects of coronation ritual to be overlooked.⁷ Nevertheless, other contemporary scholars were not entirely immune to the bias of the Bradshaw scholars, and the group was certainly criticized for being too parochial in its outlook, for underplaying the degree of historical change evident within the coronation service, and for over-emphasizing the importance of the more sacerdotal aspects of coronation.⁸

Historical interest in royal funerals did not really develop until the twentieth century. Interestingly, the Bradshaw group were not particularly interested in analysing funeral *ordines* even though some of these texts were actually juxtaposed with coronation *ordines* within medieval manuscripts. In large part, this situation is probably explained by the essentially non-liturgical character of royal funeral *ordines*, these being primarily concerned with specifying the preparatory details for royal funerals. Nevertheless, two groundbreaking articles by William St. John Hope in *Archaeologia* did help to establish historical interest in English royal funerals. The ostensible subject of Hope's first article was the collection of royal funeral effigies preserved at Westminster Abbey. However, in reality, the article was far more expansive in its subject matter, marshalling a wealth of administrative and narrative evidence to chart the general development of the funeral ceremony as a whole.⁹ Significantly, Hope's findings were centred upon surviving records of actual performed ceremonies rather than the evidence of prescriptive texts. Hope's second article dealt with the funeral, tomb and chantry chapel of Henry V in Westminster Abbey.¹⁰ This article was highly original in giving equal status to both the funeral and the tomb of the king as essentially consecutive elements within a single ritualized commemorative process.

A resurgence of interest in English coronation occurred in the middle decades of the

⁷ Elsewhere, there was considerable antiquarian interest in the exercise of certain formal offices within the coronation ceremony. See G. Woods Wollaston, *Coronation Claims* (London, 1910); J.H. Round, *The King's Serjeants and the Officers of State with their Coronation Services* (London, 1911).

⁸ H. Thurston, *The Coronation Ceremonial* (London, 1902).

⁹ W.H. St. John Hope, "On the Funeral Effigies of the Kings and Queens of England, with Special Reference to those in the Abbey Church of Westminster," *Archaeologia*, 60 (1907): 517-70.

¹⁰ Idem, "The Funeral, Monument and Chantry Chapel of King Henry the Fifth," *Archaeologia*, 65 (1913-14): 129-86.

twentieth century through the work of constitutional historians. These historians were the first really to explore the political nature of coronation ritual, particularly in relation to an involved constitutional debate which came to focus somewhat narrowly on the implications of the fourth clause of the coronation oath of 1308.¹¹ In contrast with the Bradshaw group, the constitutional historians of coronation tended to emphasize moments of change rather than themes of continuity. In this sense, certain coronations were perceived to be of interest because they reflected and embodied key aspects of the constitutional state of the realm at particular moments of crisis. However, the constitutional historians were not interested in coronations as ritual occasions. Instead, their interests were legalistic and focused on defining the contractual obligations which hedged the exercise of late medieval English kingship. Consequently, although they examined certain discrete aspects of coronation ritual in great detail, they were not inclined to study coronations as cultural phenomena. Although the constitutional historians convincingly challenged some of the more overblown notions of ‘priestly’ kingship advanced by the members of the Bradshaw group, they were themselves guilty of moving too far in the opposite direction. Most strikingly, they failed to give due regard to the ground-breaking approaches and findings of the French historian Marc Bloch. Bloch’s work on the royal ritual of touching for scrofula showed that the ‘thaumaturgical’ powers of monarchy could not be too readily dismissed as an entirely anachronistic aspect of late medieval kingship.¹²

In the wider European context, coronation studies were dominated during the middle decades of the twentieth century by the work of three German historians: Percy Schramm, Walter Ullmann and Ernst Kantorowicz.¹³ In English terms, the best known of these three historians was Percy Schramm, whose *A History of the English Coronation* was translated

¹¹ See L.B. Wilkinson, “The Coronation Oath of Edward II,” in J.G. Edwards, V.H. Galbraith & E.F. Jacob (eds.), *Essays in Honour of James Tait* (Manchester, 1933), pp. 405-16; H.G. Richardson & G.O. Sayles, “Early Coronation Records,” *BIHR*, 13 (1935-6): 139-45; idem, “Early Coronation Records: The Coronation of Edward II,” *BIHR*, 16 (1938-9): 1-11; idem, “The English Coronation Oath,” *TRHS*, fourth series, 23 (1941): 129-58; Wilkinson, “The Coronation Oath of Edward II and the Statute of York,” *Speculum*, 19 (1944): 445-69; idem, *Constitutional History of Medieval England, 1216-1399*, 3 vols. (London, 1948-58), II: 85-111; Richardson, “The English Coronation Oath,” *Speculum*, 24 (1949): 44-75; Wilkinson, “Notes on the Coronation Records of the Fourteenth Century,” *EHR*, 70 (1955): 581-591; R.S. Hoyt, “The English Coronation Oath of 1308: The Background of ‘Les leys et les custumes’,” *Traditio*, 11 (1955): 235-58; idem, “The Coronation Oath of 1308,” *EHR*, 71 (1956): 353-83; Richardson, “The Coronation in Medieval England: The Evolution of the Office and the Oath,” *Traditio*, 16 (1960): 111-202.

¹² M. Bloch, *The Royal Touch: Sacred Kingship and Scrofula in England and France*, trans. J.E. Anderson (Montreal & London, 1973). See also F. Barlow, “The King’s Evil,” *EHR*, 95 (1980): 3-27.

¹³ On European historiography, see J.M. Bak, “Introduction,” in idem (ed.), *Coronations*, pp. 1-15.

into English in 1937.¹⁴ Schramm's interest in the 'symbolology of kingship' encouraged him to study royal regalia. He believed that coronations functioned primarily as ritualized arena in which rulers were invested with regalia, and in which the regalia was interpreted allegorically by contemporary observers.¹⁵ Walter Ullmann's work on royal ritual was primarily juristic in orientation, reflecting his interest in medieval political thought.¹⁶ His avowedly empiricist bent allied him to the English constitutional historians, although he also edited a fifteenth-century customal containing prescriptive ritual texts for the Henry Bradshaw Society.¹⁷ Ullmann's work refocused attention away from the contractual oath-taking element of coronation and towards the more theocratic implications of anointment. In particular, he was the first historian to initiate serious debate on the 'discovery' and usage of the coronation oil of St. Thomas Becket at the end of the fourteenth century.¹⁸ Ernst Kantorowicz's *The King's Two Bodies* analysed a large corpus of juristic and legal evidence in order to chart the evolution of a 'political theology' of medieval kingship from the 'Christ-centred' kingship of late Antiquity to the 'man-centred' kingship of the Renaissance.¹⁹ As an aspect of this study Kantorowicz became interested in the representation of kingship in a variety of ritual spheres, and he became the first historian to examine coronation and funeral rituals together within a single thematic framework.

Kantorowicz's work was of particular importance in re-establishing academic interest in royal funerals. His highly innovatory analysis of the function of the funeral effigy placed the interpretation of royal funeral ritual into the wider political context of 'succession'. Ralph Giesey's seminal study of royal funeral practices in Renaissance France further developed some of Kantorowicz's theoretical ideas within a more empirical framework.²⁰

¹⁴ P.E. Schramm, *A History of the English Coronation*, trans. L.G. Wickham Legg (Oxford, 1937).

¹⁵ J.M. Bak, "Medieval Symbolology of the State: Percy E. Schramm's Contributions," *Viator*, 4 (1973): 33-64.

¹⁶ F. Oakley, "Celestial Hierarchies Revisited: Walter Ullmann's Vision of Medieval Politics," *P&P*, 60 (1975): 3-48.

¹⁷ W. Ullmann (ed.), *Liber Regie Capelle: A Manuscript in the Biblioteca Publica, Evora*, HBS, 92 (London, 1959).

¹⁸ Idem, "Thomas Becket's Miraculous Oil," *JTS*, 8 (1957): 129-33. See also J.W. McKenna, "The Coronation Oil of the Yorkist Kings," *EHR*, 82 (1967): 102-4; T.A. Sandquist, "The Holy Oil of St. Thomas of Canterbury," in idem & M.R. Powicke (eds.), *Essays in Medieval History Presented to Bertie Wilkinson* (Toronto, 1969), pp. 330-44.

¹⁹ E.H. Kantorowicz, *The King's Two Bodies: A Study in Mediaeval Political Theology* (Princeton, 1957).

²⁰ R.E. Giesey, *The Royal Funeral Ceremony in Renaissance France* (Geneva, 1960).

Through his interpretation of the political symbolism of funeral ritual, Giesey became the first historian properly to examine royal funeral as a complex ritual process or sequence of elementary rituals. Furthermore, Giesey's examination of more peripheral areas of funeral ritual was complemented by the attention he paid to the roles and motivations of the various participant groups. Indeed, Giesey implicitly suggested that it was through the dramatization of social hierarchy and political cohesion within royal inauguration rituals that the late medieval French 'state' achieved definition as a corporate entity.²¹ However, although Giesey recognized that the development of particular ritualized features of royal funeral were prompted by contextual politics, he did not really examine the role of ritual as an aspect of politics in itself.²²

The revolution in the historical discipline which began in the late 1960s led to the relative marginalisation of political ritual as a topic of historical research. However, the subsequent emergence of cultural history heralded a revival of interest in the study of ritual, particularly in the field of continental urban history.²³ More recently still, there has been renewed acceptance amongst many historians that the study of royal ritual has a relevance for political history. Academic attention has focused on several diverse areas of royal ritual in recent years, including formal entries into towns,²⁴ chivalric tournaments,²⁵ and court

²¹ See idem, "Models of Rulership," in S. Wilentz (ed.), *Rites of Power: Symbolism, Ritual and Politics Since the Middle Ages* (Philadelphia, 1985), pp. 41-64.

²² However, see E.A.R. Brown, "The Ceremonial of Royal Succession in Capetian France: The Double Funeral of Louis X," *Traditio*, 34 (1978): 227-71; idem, "The Ceremonial of Royal Succession in Capetian France: The Funeral of Philip V," *Speculum*, 55 (1980): 266-93.

²³ R.C. Trexler, "Ritual Behaviour in Renaissance Florence: The Setting," *Medievalia et Humanistica: Studies in Medieval and Renaissance Culture*, New Series, 4 (1973): 125-44; idem, *Public Life in Renaissance Florence* (New York, 1980); E. Muir, *Civic Ritual in Renaissance Venice* (Princeton, 1981). For a pioneering essay on English civic ritual, see C. Phythian-Adams, "Ceremony and the Citizen: The Communal Year at Coventry 1450-1550," in P. Clark & P. Slack (eds.), *Crisis and Order in English Towns, 1500-1700* (London, 1972), pp. 57-85. For more recent work on civic ritual, see M. James, "Ritual, Drama and the Social Body in the Late Medieval English Town," *P&P*, 98 (1983): 3-29; B.A. Hanawalt & K.L. Reyerson (eds.), *City and Spectacle in Medieval Europe* (Minnesota, 1994); G. Rosser, "Myth, Image and Social Process in the English Medieval Town," *Urban History*, 23 (1996): 5-25.

²⁴ G. Kipling, "Richard II's 'Sumptuous Pageants' and the Idea of the Civic Triumph," in D.M. Bergeron (ed.), *Pageantry in the Shakespearean Theater* (Athens, Georgia, 1985), pp. 83-103; idem, *Enter the King: Theatre, Liturgy, and Ritual in Medieval Civic Triumph* (Oxford, 1998); R. Osburg, "The Jesse Tree in the 1432 London Entry of Henry VI: Messianic Kingship and the Rule of Justice," *JMRS*, 16 (1986): 213-32; L.M. Bryant, *The King and the City in the Parisian Royal Entry Ceremony: Politics, Ritual and Art in the Renaissance* (Geneva, 1986); idem, "Configurations of the Community in Late Medieval Spectacles: Paris and London during the Dual Monarchy," in Hanawalt & Reyerson (eds.), *City and Spectacle*, pp. 3-33.

²⁵ J. Vale, *Edward III and Chivalry: Chivalric Society and its Context, 1270-1350* (Woodbridge, 1982).

ceremonial.²⁶ Fuelled by the development of new interpretative approaches, historians are also renewing historical interest in coronation and are taking this field of ritual studies in all sorts of new directions. Several articles discussing coronation within the wider spectrum of royal ritual culture have appeared in more recent years,²⁷ whilst an important collection of essays specifically on coronation has pioneered analysis through approaches as diverse as the study of gesture, music and architecture.²⁸ The emergence of social and cultural history has also fuelled the development of interest in the medieval culture of death. As part of this wider process, historians have begun to focus in recent years on studying some quite varied aspects and examples of English royal funeral practice.²⁹ Here, a notable feature of recent scholarship has been the bridging of the disciplinary divide that has traditionally separated the study of funeral ritual and the study of sepulchral architecture.³⁰ In particular, art historians have opened up more historicist approaches to the analysis of tomb culture by exploring the tension in sepulchral representation between a forward-looking concern to negotiate the passage of salvation in the afterlife, and a backward-looking concern to communicate a 'this life' image of social identity and status.³¹

²⁶ W. Paravicini, "The Court of the Dukes of Burgundy: A Model for Europe?" in R.G. Asch & A.M. Birke (eds.), *Princes, Patronage and the Nobility: The Court at the Beginning of the Modern Age* (Oxford, 1991), pp. 69-102.

²⁷ T.F. Ruiz, "Unsacred Monarchy: The Kings of Castile in the Late Middle Ages," Wilentz (ed.), *Rites of Power*, pp. 109-44; D. Cannadine, "Introduction: The Divine Rite of Kings," in idem, & S. Price (eds.), *Rituals of Royalty: Power and Ceremony in Traditional Societies* (Cambridge, 1987), pp. 1-19; R.E. Giesey "Inaugural Aspects of French Royal Ceremonials," in Bak (ed.), *Coronations*, pp. 35-45.

²⁸ Bak (ed.), *Coronations*.

²⁹ A.F. Sutton & L. Visser-Fuchs, with P.W. Hammond (eds. & trans.), *The Reburial of Richard Duke of York, 21-30 July 1476*, The Richard III Society (London, 1996); J. Loach, "The Function of Ceremonial in the Reign of Henry VIII," *P&P*, 142 (1994): 43-68; P.G. Lindley, "Ritual, Regicide and Representation: The Murder of Edward II and the Origin of the Royal Funeral Effigy in England," in idem, *Gothic to Renaissance: Essays on Sculpture in England* (Stamford, 1995), pp. 47-72; P. Strohm, "Reburying Richard: Ceremony and Symbolic Relegitimation," in idem, *England's Empty Throne: Usurpation and the Language of Legitimation, 1399-1422* (New Haven & London, 1998), pp. 101-27.

³⁰ P. Binski, *Medieval Death: Ritual and Representation* (London, 1996); N. Llewellyn, *The Art of Death: Visual Culture in the English Death Ritual, c.1500-c.1800* (London, 1991).

³¹ A. Martindale, "Patron and Masters," *Studies in Church History*, 28 (1992): 143-78; Binski, *Medieval Death*, pp. 70-122.

(III) Theory and History

Introduction

What it means to define ritual has become increasingly less clear to ritual theorists over the course of recent years. Indeed, it must be questioned whether it is either possible or important to arrive at a universally acceptable definition of what ritual is.³² Where theorists have sought to define ritual, their definitions have tended to be constituted either in terms of a delineation of the external characteristics which ritual activity is perceived to manifest, or alternatively in terms of a determination of the cultural functions which ritual activity is understood to perform. The following two sub-sections focus upon each of these modes of definition in turn. The third sub-section examines more closely the nature and characteristics of symbolism as the mechanism that enables ritual to do what it does. Finally, a fourth sub-section examines the implications for the study of political history of the interpretation of ritual as a dynamic form of behaviour. Here it is suggested that ritual should be treated as a 'generative' aspect of political culture in its own right, rather than merely as a mechanism that is 'reflective' of a political situation beyond its own parameters.

What is Ritual?

Anthropologists and other ritual theorists have sought to define ritual activity in terms of its external characteristics. Considerable agreement exists that ritual is constituted and characterized as an activity through its deployment of a series of recognizable distinguishing features. However, whilst all ritual activity manifests a combination of these characteristic features, the configurations in which they appear vary markedly according to the 'type' of ritual discussed. Unsurprisingly, this homogeneous situation is reflected in the formulation of distinct, though overlapping, definitions of ritual activity within secondary scholarship. For David Kertzer, ritual is a formal, highly structured type of activity, usually organized into standardized sequences, and often enacted at special places and times which are themselves endowed with symbolic resonances. Since ritual performances are usually repetitive, they also tend to be conservative and, in some cases,

³² D.I. Kertzer, *Ritual, Politics and Power* (New Haven & London, 1988), p. 8. "Ritual is an analytical category that helps us to deal with the chaos of human experience and put it into a coherent framework. There is thus no right or wrong definition of ritual, but only one that is more or less useful in helping us understand the world in which we live."

redundant in their function and meaning. Kertzer particularly places emphasis on the importance of symbolism to ritual, identifying its presence as the key characteristic which distinguishes ritual from custom.³³ For Don Handelman, rituals (or to use his term, ‘public events’) usually exhibit the following characteristics: formality; a programmatic outline; a tendency to be replicated; direction; intentionality; function; symbolism; and a connection to the wider world.³⁴ Other characteristics of ritual activity which are frequently cited by ritual theorists include its cultural familiarity;³⁵ its employment of restricted codes of communication and specialist categories of personnel;³⁶ its deployment of activity-specific artifacts, texts and costumes;³⁷ its requirement for particular preparatory states of mind;³⁸ its incorporation of unique configurations of spectator-participants,³⁹ and its tendency to establish a primacy of gestures over words.⁴⁰

The identification of differing combinations of ritual characteristics in relation to differing examples of ritual activity has encouraged theorists to distinguish and define an ever-multiplying series of homologous sub-categories or ‘types’ of ritual. Thus, for example, Sally Moore and Barbara Myerhoff in their introduction to an influential collection of essays have sought to define a distinction between secular and religious ritual.⁴¹ Meanwhile, on a more functional level, Don Handelman has identified a distinction between rituals which ‘model’ and rituals which ‘mirror’ behaviour.⁴²

³³ Ibid., p. 9.

³⁴ D. Handelman, *Models and Mirrors: Towards an Anthropology of Public Events* (Cambridge, 1990), pp. 11-12.

³⁵ M. Bloch, “The Ritual of the Royal Bath in Madagascar,” in Cannadine & Price (eds.), *Rituals of Royalty*, pp. 296-7, emphasizes the importance of familiarity in terms of a local-centre dynamic. Meanwhile, Rosser, “Myth, Image and Social Process,” pp. 5-25, emphasizes its importance in terms of a past-present dynamic.

³⁶ C. Bell, *Ritual Theory, Ritual Practice* (Oxford, 1992), p. 204.

³⁷ Ibid., p. 204.

³⁸ Ibid., p. 205.

³⁹ Ibid., p. 205.

⁴⁰ D. Parkin, “Ritual as Spatial Direction and Bodily Division,” in D de Coppet (ed.), *Understanding Rituals* (London & New York, 1992), pp. 17-8.

⁴¹ S.F. Moore & B.G. Myerhoff, “Introduction: Secular Ritual, Forms and Meanings,” in idem (eds.), *Secular Ritual* (Assen, 1977), pp. 3-24.

⁴² Handelman, *Models and Mirrors*.

Handelman's ideas are usefully critiqued by the historian Edward Muir in his own division of royal ritual into the functional categories of 'representing' and 'enacting' rituals.⁴³

These and other criteria for categorizing ritual activities constitute useful strategies for the analysis of ritual. In particular, the encouragement of narrower analytical perspectives can serve to illuminate the existence of a macro-micro dynamic within the structure of many ritual occasions. For example, it can be argued that a coronation ought not to be viewed as an 'elementary' or basic ritual in itself, but instead as a 'complex' or composite set of ritual arrangements that is composed of a sequence of elementary rituals.⁴⁴ While it is certainly valid to de-construct complex ritual arrangements down to their component ritual elements, there does remain a requirement to rationalize this approach with broader and more holistic perspectives. Historians of ritual need to examine how complex ritual arrangements work as entire activities, and how they are constituted and consumed as situated cultural occasions. After all, there is always a danger that the narrower the definition of ritual, the less value the definition will hold as a practical tool of analysis.

In summary, ritual seems to be a way of behaving which can never be precisely or satisfactorily defined in terms of its external characteristics. However, in many respects, this recognition may be more liberating than constraining within the context of a historically based analysis of ritual culture. Instead of asking 'what is ritual?', it is perhaps more pertinent to ask 'what does ritual do within a given situation?' and 'how does ritual do what it does?'

What does ritual do?

Attempting to determine the function of ritual has perhaps been the central preoccupation of twentieth-century ritual analysis. In large part, modern theories on the social function of ritual derive from the pioneering work of Emile Durkheim.⁴⁵ In his *The Elementary Forms of the Religious Life*, Durkheim argued that ritual operates as a harmonizing mechanism within religious life, promoting a sense of social solidarity between

⁴³ E. Muir, *Ritual in Early Modern Europe* (Cambridge, 1997), pp. 4-6, 247-8.

⁴⁴ My ideas and terminology on this point have benefited greatly from some generous advice given to me in a private correspondence by Dr. Klaus Van Eickels at the University of Bamberg.

⁴⁵ E. Durkheim, *The Elementary Forms of the Religious Life*, trans. J.W. Swain (New York, 1965). Originally published in 1915.

worshippers. Throughout the twentieth century, Durkheim's ideas have enjoyed considerable currency well beyond the parameters of his immediate topic of religion. In particular, they have influenced the evolution of several distinct theoretical interpretations of the function of ritual, each of these broadly identifying ritual as a mechanism for the coercive maintenance of 'social control'.⁴⁶

The interpretation of ritual as a mechanism for the maintenance of social control assumes that ritual operates primarily to serve the interests of dominant social groups, communicating a partisan construction of social reality to a dominated and unempowered majority within society. Several broad assumptions are clearly inherent within this interpretation of ritual function. Firstly, all permutations of social control theory tend to be premised on the assumption that social tension is in some sense inherent to society, and consequently that dominant groups within society must act in order to maintain their dominance. According to this view, ritual emerges as something that has become necessary to society by virtue of being able to perform the trick of representing an impression of

⁴⁶ Bell, *Ritual Theory*, pp. 171-77, outlines four broad post-Durkheim theses concerning the function of ritual as a mechanism of social control: (1) The 'social solidarity' thesis argues that ritual works to promote consensus within society. Some disagreement exists over the extent to which the social consensus constituted through ritual is actually real or merely apparent. Marxists tend to argue that since stratified societies are inherently conflictual (with conflict embedded in social structure), ritual acts as a mechanism for engendering a symbolic rather than a real social consensus, though one which artificially encourages a short-term popular enthusiasm for the *status quo*. See Kertzer, *Ritual*, pp. 38-9; Bell, *Ritual Theory*, pp. 35-7. Kertzer has further nuanced the Marxist perspective to argue that ritual can create an experience of solidarity in the absence of any consensus. See Kertzer, *Ritual*, pp. 67-9. (2) The 'channelling of conflict' thesis focuses on how ritual engages with and averts an inherent threat of social conflict within society. In distinction from more Marxist perspectives, this thesis views the resolution of social conflict (through a ritualized reaffirmation of unity) as real rather than merely symbolic. See Bell, *Ritual Theory*, p. 35. Max Gluckman's interpretation of ritual as a 'safety valve' mechanism for the release of social tensions has partially informed Phythian-Adams's analysis of the function of ritual in late medieval towns. See M. Gluckman, *Order and Rebellion in Tribal Africa* (Glencoe, 1963), pp. 110-36; Phythian-Adams, "Ceremony and the Citizen," pp. 57-85. Meanwhile, Victor Turner's work in this area examines how ritual orchestrates the interplay of values and emotions. He argues that through its deployment of potent symbols within a charged emotional environment, ritual affords its participants a cathartic experience of *communitas* which "converts the obligatory into the desirable." See V. Turner, *Forest of Symbols: Aspects of Ndembu Ritual* (Ithaca, 1967), p. 30. (3) The 'repression' thesis argues from a more psychological perspective that ritual is a mechanism which socially controls and diffuses an instinctive human tendency to resolve problems through aggression and violence. See Bell, *Ritual Theory*, pp. 173-5. (4) The 'definition of reality' thesis focuses on the cognitive dimensions of ritual. It is distinguished from the preceding theses through its concern with the way in which ritual 'defines' social values and facilitates their internalization. Ritual is viewed not as a mechanism of social control, but as a mechanism for structuring perceptions. It "helps to define as authoritative certain ways of seeing society," and through this process it draws attention both towards and away from the way things really are. See S. Lukes, "Political Ritual and Social Integration," *Sociology: Journal of the British Sociological Association*, 9 (1975): 301-2. Nevertheless, the issue of social control does retain some importance within this thesis, since the ability to define what constitutes 'reality' is itself a disguised form of social control.

harmony “within a social context of disharmony”.⁴⁷ Secondly, the emphasis on the communicative function of ritual within social control theory often tends to encourage the assumption that ritual is expressive or mimetic rather than affective or generative. In essence, the social messages conveyed through ritual are perceived to be merely reflections, re-articulations and symbolizations of a pre-existing social logic, rather than productive or instrumental manifestations of a newly shaped social reality. Finally, since ritual is often assumed to be a reflective mechanism, it follows that ritual is also seen to contain a definable locus of social agency and a logic of purpose which operates in the interests of the social agent. These views in turn imply a further assumption that ritual must manifest a directionality of meaning which will always flow from the active agent-participant to the passive recipient-spectator.⁴⁸

The association of ritual with social control has been articulated specifically in relation to the dynamics of belief, ideology and legitimation.⁴⁹ Ritual has traditionally been understood as an expression, and therefore an elucidation, of belief.⁵⁰ However, whilst it can be shown that the central symbols of belief evoke communal recognition and response within ritual, it is nevertheless apparent that a communal understanding of these symbols is absent.⁵¹ In essence, the creation of social consensus through ritual activity is manifested in terms of a sharing of the aesthetics of symbolism rather than a sharing of the meanings of symbolism.⁵² Indeed, the assumption that ritual functions simply to communicate belief should perhaps be revised to suggest that the efficacy of ritual actually depends on its ability to obfuscate the fundamentals of belief, despite creating the ‘impression’ of doing precisely the opposite.⁵³ Certainly, it can be shown that a firm grasp of the tenets of belief

⁴⁷ Muir, *Ritual*, p. 230.

⁴⁸ This assumption tends to inform ‘performance theory’ analyses of ritual. See Bell, *Ritual Theory*, pp. 37-43 for a critical discussion of performance theory.

⁴⁹ *Ibid.*, pp. 182-96.

⁵⁰ See *ibid.*, pp. 19-20, for discussion of an implicit analogy within much historiography between belief and ritual on the one hand, and thought and action on the other. This approach tends to assume that action (or ritual) cannot logically occur without the prior existence of thought (or belief).

⁵¹ J.W. Fernandez, “Symbolic Consensus in a Fang Reformatory Cult,” *American Anthropologist*, 67 (1965): 902-29.

⁵² For Fernandez this is the difference between social consensus (agreement on the appropriateness of the act) and cultural consensus (agreement on the meaning of the act). See *ibid.*, p. 923.

⁵³ Bell, *Ritual Theory*, p. 183.

does not tend to filter far down the intellectual hierarchy within society, and indeed remains predominantly in the hands of an elite cadre of ritual specialists. Conversely however, a firm knowledge of the external shape of ritual may well be evident amongst those ritual actors who have a quite limited grasp of the belief systems that ritual supposedly elucidates.⁵⁴ Two general conclusions can be drawn here. Firstly, ritual activities tend to be more stable in form than the belief systems which they purport to be validating. Secondly, belief is itself constituted through the practice of ritual, or, to put this another way, ritual actually precedes a belief system which is itself invented through ritual practice.⁵⁵ As is recognized by Kertzer, this re-evaluation of the relationship between ritual and belief is fundamental to an understanding of the functioning of ritual within the arena of politics:

Ritual can serve political organizations by producing bonds of solidarity without requiring uniformity of belief.⁵⁶

Ultimately, the creation of political harmony relies more upon a collective *experience* of community through ritual, than it does upon any intrinsic sharing of beliefs between ritual participants.

Another closely related debate concerns whether ritual can be interpreted as a mechanism for the ‘ideological conditioning’ of society.⁵⁷ On balance, it seems highly doubtful that ritual provides an effective means for the inculcation of political ideology. Rather than internalizing the dominant ideological values which seemingly are embedded within ritual activity, subordinate ritual actors may merely ‘consent’ to these values through their active participation.⁵⁸ In one sense, this point tends to re-emphasize the effectiveness

⁵⁴ Ibid., p. 185

⁵⁵ This point was implicitly recognized by Durkheim when he stated that “ritual is a means by which we express our social dependence; what is important in ritual is our common participation and emotional involvement, not the specific rationalizations by which we account for the rites.” Quoted in Kertzer, *Ritual*, p. 67.

⁵⁶ Ibid.

⁵⁷ Bell, *Ritual Theory*, p. 187.

⁵⁸ Ibid., pp. 189-90, which draws particularly on J.G. Merquior, *The Veil and the Mask: Essays on Culture and Ideology* (London, 1979). J.B. Thompson, *Studies in the Theory of Ideology* (Berkeley, 1984), p. 63, suggests that people consent to a dominant ideology simply for the lack of a coherent better ideology to consent to.

of ritual as an instrument of politics, by suggesting that ritual can subtly coerce people to acquiesce in a political system which stands in ideological opposition to the social values to which they subscribe. In another sense, however, this point also underlines the limitations of ritual as an instrument of politics, since the necessity for consent within ritual activity implies that the operation of social control through ritual is in some sense a negotiated process.⁵⁹ In essence, at the very point at which subordinate ritual participants acquiesce in a political system that may not serve their best interests, they simultaneously become empowered through their act of consent, and in so doing, inject an element of contingency into the socially controlling dynamic of the ritual process.

Since the relationship of ritual and ideology is primarily definable in terms of the giving of consent rather than the internalization of belief, it follows that any truly effective inculcation of ideology can only take place within relatively restricted social circles. Unsurprisingly, belief in a dominant ideology tends to be closely related to patterns of vested interest. Those closest to the source of power are also those most liable to rationalize their social identity and position in terms of a belief in the existing system. Arguably, this situation may suggest that the operation of ritual as a mechanism of social control is characterized by an intrinsic functional blindness. Although the communication of dominant ideological perspectives may appear to be the intended function of ritual from the viewpoint of an organizing political elite, in reality the practical purpose and most evident effect of ritual performance is the reinforcement of dominant ideological perspectives amongst the elite themselves.⁶⁰

Legitimation through ritual constitutes a third dimension to the social control theory of ritual function. This approach views ritual as a mechanism which is deployed within a particular type of social or political context in order to mediate a changing of status or a transference of authority. As Tomas Gerholm explains:

...ritual realizes a public redefinition of the initiand's status. The public focussing of attention on this redefinition is an effective measure. It works on all of those present: they see that others see. But most of all it works on the person himself who is undergoing the ritual and knowing

⁵⁹ Bell, *Ritual Theory*, p. 190.

⁶⁰ Ibid., p. 190, "...ideologies are not primarily for the consumption of the exploited classes, but for the internal self-understanding of the class producing the ideology." And paraphrasing Merquior, *Veil and Mask*, pp. 27-9, "...ideology is a veil that hides a group from itself, not a mask that threatens and dupes a subordinate group."

the others to be watching. A ritual makes a message 'heavy' and a pledge demanding, for it is not only an individual redefinition of the situation but a collective one. It is therefore more convincing and more 'real'. There is authority in the very numbers of a ritual's participant observers.⁶¹

Max Weber outlined three criteria whose presence he saw as essential to the effective operation of a legitimation process.⁶² According to Weber legitimating activities should (1) conform to the dictates of tradition and custom, (2) present an appearance of legality, and (3) emphasize the charisma of leadership.⁶³ In general, ritual activities associated with inauguration tend to conform in their external appearances to each of the criteria delineated by Weber.⁶⁴ However, it is important to recognize that the power of ritual as a mechanism for legitimating authority resides in its representation of normative appearances rather than in its safeguarding of normative principles. Historically, there has been a natural tendency amongst usurping regimes to appropriate traditional ritual practices in order to buttress and sanction an often dubious moral entitlement to the *de facto* exercise of political authority. In this context, the apparent conservatism of ritual practices tends to veil a reality in which ritual traditions are not static, but continually reproduced. The 'invention' of ritual tradition within an inherited framework of canonical practice acts to distinguish a new regime from its predecessor in power, while at the same time ensuring that the implied legitimacy of neither regime is compromised through the process of power transferal.⁶⁵

The manipulation of appearances also influences the representation of charismatic leadership within inauguration rituals. The acquisition and maintenance of charismatic leadership is normally represented in ritual through the symbolic objectification of a

⁶¹ Gerholm, "On Ritual," p. 201.

⁶² H.H. Gerth & C Wright Mills (eds.), *Max Weber* (London, 1970), pp. 77-9.

⁶³ On charisma, see C. Geertz, "Centers, Kings and Charisma: Reflections on the Symbolics of Power," in J. Ben-David & T.N. Clark (eds.), *Culture and its Creators: Essays in Honour of Edward Shils* (Chicago & London, 1977), pp. 150-71.

⁶⁴ Weber's legitimation model is critiqued in relation to coronation ritual by Sturdy, "'Continuity' Versus 'Change'," pp. 238-44.

⁶⁵ See Bell, *Ritual Theory*, pp. 120-4; E. Hobsbawn & T. Ranger (eds.), *The Invention of Tradition* (Cambridge, 1983); M. Bloch, "Introduction," in idem (ed.), *Political Language and Oratory in Traditional Society* (New York, 1975), pp. 1-28. According to Bell (p. 120), "...ritual 'invents' tradition in order to afford a sense of legitimized continuity with the past and to experience tradition as fixed. In the fixity of ritual's structure lies the prestige of tradition and in this prestige lies its power."

leader's identity in purely institutional terms. Essentially, legitimating activities de-personalize the fallible authority of individual office-holders through a lodging of their authority in an infallible office.⁶⁶ On the one hand, the representation of a distinction between an office and its incumbent facilitates the maintenance of political stability even in situations where the political incumbent is ineffectual. On the other hand, in a situation where a political incumbent is perceived to be entirely incapable or unworthy of exercising authority, the primary attachment of that authority to an institution rather than to an individual provides some scope for the incumbent's removal and replacement.

In summary, it has not been the intention of this critical discussion to deny that ritual performance is closely associated with the issue of social control. On the contrary, there exists considerable evidence to suggest just such a connection. However, it does seem clear that the delineation of a straightforward functional relationship linking social control theory to the performance of ritual is too problematic to be fully acceptable. In particular, it is notable that the practice of ritual involves a veiled but important functional distinction between the things that ritual is supposed to do and the things that it really does. This is what Michel Foucault was alluding to when he wrote:

People know what they do and they know why they do what they do, but they do not know what what they are doing does.⁶⁷

Bearing this point in mind, it is perhaps useful at this juncture to move attention away from the issue of *what* ritual does, and instead address the issue of *how* ritual does what it does.

How does ritual do what it does?

Historical interpretations of the performance of political rituals depend to a great extent upon the interpretation of the symbols deployed within such rituals.⁶⁸ Accordingly, the concept of the symbol is central to any discussion of how political ritual works. Clifford Geertz defined the symbol as "any object, act, event, quality or relation which serves as a

⁶⁶ Kertzer, *Ritual*, pp. 24-5. See Kantorowicz, *King's Two Bodies*, for a broader discussion of the dual *persona* of kingship.

⁶⁷ Bell, *Ritual Theory*, p. 108, citing H.L. Dreyfus & P. Rabinow, *Michel Foucault: Beyond Structuralism and Hermeneutics* (Chicago, 1982), p. 187.

⁶⁸ Kertzer, *Ritual*, p. 2. "To understand the political process...it is necessary to understand how the symbolic enters into politics, how political actors consciously and unconsciously manipulate symbols and how this symbolic dimension relates to the material bases of political power."

vehicle for a conception,” with the conception in turn constituting the meaning of the symbol.⁶⁹ In politics (and therefore political ritual), symbolism acts as the mechanism through which complex and abstract ideas can be constituted in a tangible and intelligible form.⁷⁰ Clearly, the meanings expressed through symbolism are much larger in their compass than the symbols or symbolic actions through which they are articulated. In this sense, it can be said that symbols condense the meanings which they communicate through the very process of making those meanings more readily comprehensible.⁷¹ Significantly, the condensed nature of symbolism can foster a performative environment in which disputes over seemingly trivial procedural matters take on symbolic resonances that far outweigh the superficial importance of the issues contested. At the imperial coronation of Charles V at Bologna in 1530, a dispute broke out over the seating arrangements for the rival ambassadors of Ferrara, Genoa and Siena. In this case, the issue at stake which led to an unseemly brawl in the coronation church was clearly not the outward issue of which ambassador enjoyed the best view of proceedings, but rather the underlying issue of which Italian state enjoyed the closest relationship with the emperor.⁷²

It often tends to be assumed that symbols are deliberately deployed within rituals to communicate to a targeted audience a series of discrete, prescribed messages with readily decipherable meanings. While this view represents a reasonable assessment of the intentional function of ritual symbolism from the perspective of an organizing elite, it is nevertheless fairly limited as an assessment of how ritual symbolism actually works in practice. In reality, the power of symbols does not simply emanate from their ability to condense complex ideas into a more comprehensible form; it also derives from the intrinsic multivocality of their symbolic meanings. In essence, symbols manifest an inherent flexibility in relation to their interpretation which allows them to mean different things to

⁶⁹ C. Geertz, “Religion as a Cultural System,” in M. Banton (ed.), *Anthropological Approaches to the Study of Religion* (London, 1966), p. 5.

⁷⁰ M. Walzer, “On the Role of Symbolism in Political Thought,” *Political Science Quarterly*, 82 (1967): 194. “The State is invisible; it must be personified before it can be seen, symbolized before it can be loved, imagined before it can be conceived.”

⁷¹ Kertzer, *Ritual*, p. 11. “The symbol...somehow embodies and brings together diverse ideas. At a subconscious and hence more powerful, level, these various ideas are not just simultaneously elicited but also interact with one another so that they become associated together in the individual’s mind.”

⁷² *Ibid.*, p. 31, citing T. Bernardi, “Analisi di una Cerimonia Pubblica. L’Incoronazione di Carlo V a Bologna,” *Quaderni Storici*, 61 (1986): 185.

different groups of people. This multivocality itself points to a third and final property of symbols, the ambiguity of their meaning.⁷³ Although symbols generate a multiplicity of meanings through their interpretation, they do not in fact possess any intrinsic or definitive meaning of their own. Ritual creates the appearance of being governed by a harmonious scheme of intentional meaning; yet, paradoxically, it really constitutes an arena for the free and limitless play of subjective, interpretative meanings.⁷⁴

Ritual as a locus for the deployment of political symbolism emerges from this discussion of the properties of symbols as “an arena of contradictory and contested perspectives.”⁷⁵ A negotiated conflict between different social groups is manifested within ritual through engagements over the meanings of shared symbols. Significantly, however, this conflict remains veiled from the individual ritual participant, for whom the ubiquity of shared symbols as focal points for negotiated conflict is translated into the experience of ritual as ordered, coherent and inclusive.⁷⁶ Ritual is capable of affording its participants an experience of *communitas* precisely because it appeals to a common emotional attachment to resonant symbols without explicitly confronting the absence of any real consensus on what those symbols mean.

The instability of symbolic meaning is related not only to differences of social perspective, but also to the passage of time. It has already been mentioned that the ‘invention of tradition’ is a recognized ritual strategy associated with the process of legitimation. Here, a manipulation of the collective political memory is orchestrated through the appropriation of familiar, derivative symbols, and the subsequent reproduction of these symbols within new ritual configurations. The invention of tradition relies on the fact that audiences will invariably misrecognize innovations as being prescribed by the authority of past practice. This misrecognition occurs because the innovatory potential of ritual practice is disguised by the pervading impression of ‘familiarity’ communicated to

⁷³ Kertzer, *Ritual*, p. 11.

⁷⁴ These points are analogous to Jacques Derrida’s post-structuralist interpretation of the production of meaning in language. See J. Derrida, “Structure, Sign and Play in the Discourse of the Human Sciences,” in idem, *Writing and Difference*, trans. A. Bass (Chicago, 1978), pp. 278-93. For discussion in relation to ritual, see Bell, *Ritual Theory*, pp. 104-7.

⁷⁵ Parkin, “Ritual,” p. 13. See also Gerholm, “On Ritual,” pp. 190-203.

⁷⁶ Bell, *Ritual Theory*, pp. 190-1.

the ritual participant through the deployment of highly derivative symbols.⁷⁷ Paradoxically, whilst it is arguable (and is argued here) that the form and meaning of rituals can only be interpreted in relation to their specific temporal context, the reproduction of familiar symbols within ritual practice will actually promote a false sense of a ritual's timelessness, and thus its removedness from the dynamic tide of history.⁷⁸

Ritual as Politics

As is increasingly recognized by urban historians, the nature of medieval political society is not to be understood in terms of a play of tensions between neatly delineated corporate social groups, but rather in terms of "the *social relationship* that links individuals to each other and to groups."⁷⁹ This 'symbolic interactionist' perspective defines society as a process rather than as a structure, with ritualization serving as one of several behavioural contexts in which social relationships are mediated and social identities are constructed.⁸⁰

The symbolic interactionist interpretation of society has two particularly important implications for the historical analysis of ritual. Firstly, since society is viewed as a process not as a structure, the meaning of any social action is necessarily influenced by the spatial, temporal and social situations within which it is experienced. It is important that the historian recognizes that the form of a ritualized act is separable from the meaning of an ritualized act: meanings are plural and situated rather than singular and prescribed. The social significations which individuals and groups attach to any experience of a ritual are neither wholly prescribed by prior experiences of the ritual (whether experienced personally or filtered through knowledge) nor entirely rooted in the present circumstances of the ritual

⁷⁷ Rosser, "Myth, Image and Social Progress," pp. 6-7, makes the important point that symbolic meaning cannot merely be reduced to the communicable ideology of a dominant elite, since meaning is mediated through symbols which themselves derive from far larger cultural systems. See also Muir, *Ritual*, pp. 231-2; Bloch, "The Royal Bath," pp. 296-7.

⁷⁸ B. Myerhoff, "A Death in Due Time: Construction of Self and Culture in Ritual Drama," in J.J. MacAloon (ed.), *Rite, Drama, Festival, Spectacle: Rehearsals Toward a Theory of Cultural Performance* (Philadelphia, 1984), p. 152. "By stating enduring and underlying patterns...ritual connects past, present and future, abrogating history and time."

⁷⁹ R.F.E. Weissman, "Reconstructing Renaissance Sociology: The 'Chicago School' and the Study of Renaissance Society," in R.C. Trexler (ed.), *Persons in Groups: Social Behaviour as Identity Formation in Medieval and Renaissance Europe* (Birmingham, New York, 1985), p. 40.

⁸⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 42. "Identity, or...the self, is not the product of Marxist power relations, dominant groups, or functional needs. Nor is the 'self' an aggregation of personal *attributes* such as age, level of wealth, or occupation. The self is located in its *relations* and only emerges in its relations with others. The self is less a structure or a static collection of qualities than it is the intersection of one's key interactions."

performance. In practical terms, this means that an historian wishing to assess the politics of a ritual activity should privilege neither the evidence of the prescribed form of the ritual nor the evidence of its actual performance, but should instead attempt to rationalize both sets of evidence within his or her analysis.

Equally, the social significations which an individual extracts from the experience of a ritual will be influenced by the particular configuration of 'social worlds' through which that individual has moved and is moving.⁸¹ Although *patterns* of meaning are constituted through collective affiliations to common social worlds, the outlines of these patterns do not necessarily correlate with the traditional outlines of competing social 'classes' as envisioned within a structuralist view of society. In attempting to address where perceived meanings are located, the historian must be wary of assuming that people's perspectives are simply determined by the coordinates of their locus within any super-imposed social structure.

Secondly, symbolic interactionist approaches suggest that ritual as a context for social interaction ought to be viewed as a generative aspect of political culture. The generative potential of ritual can usefully be illustrated on a micro level with reference to Roy Rappaport's discussion of the ritualized act of kneeling. Rappaport argued that kneeling not only communicates the notion of subordination, it actually produces a subordinated body:

The molding of the body within a highly structured environment does not simply express inner states. Rather, it primarily acts to restructure bodies in the very doing of the acts themselves. Hence, required kneeling does not merely *communicate* subordination to the kneeler. For all intents and purposes, kneeling produces a subordinated kneeler in and through the act itself.⁸²

From an historical perspective, any assessment of the role of a ritual within the framework of its contemporary politics would seem to depend on the identification of its longer-term impact. Ritualization may produce a subordinated kneeler whenever a kneeler kneels, but

⁸¹ Ibid. "The interactions that form society constitute networks of relations. During interaction, individuals exchange and interpret symbols and interpret the meaning of their interaction with the world. Shared interaction networks and shared meanings derived from common or similar interactions constitute common social worlds."

⁸² Bell, *Ritual Theory*, pp. 99-100, citing R.A. Rappaport, *Ecology, Meaning and Religion* (Richmond, California, 1979), p. 200.

is a recognition of this point significant if the reshaping of social reality is merely transitory, and if the inner perspective of the kneeler is itself unaffected by the connotations of his or her act? In the past, historians have implicitly discounted the idea of 'ritual as politics' precisely because ritual performances have not seemed to alter the pre-existing political landscape in an obviously tangible way.⁸³ However, through the integration into historical analysis of a more theoretically informed understanding of how ritualization works, it is possible for the historian to acquire a more subtle appreciation of the role of ritual as a generative and dynamic element within the fabric of politics.

According to this view, it can be argued that the manner in which ritualization operates to mould the body rather than the mind is actually an integral aspect of its efficacy and utility as an instrument of politics. On the one hand, the 'impression' of social consensus which ritual participants collectively experience through ritualization is not predicated upon the direction of their individual inner perspectives. Consequently, it does not matter with regard to the general success of the occasion whether these perspectives are either broadly supportive or broadly resistant to the wider implications of the ritual process. It is a strength of ritualization that by merely demanding the physical complicity of its participants it is able to defuse the potentially damaging effects of more residual resistances amongst these participants without requiring any recourse to the real resolution of these resistances. On the other hand, ritualization generates a situation in which a more active expression of resistance can never be ambivalent, but must always force the detractor into a position of outright opposition. Returning to the example of kneeling, anything less than non-attendance or an outright refusal to kneel will be tantamount to an individual's full symbolic endorsement of everything that kneeling represents, since as Kertzer pointedly observes: "...no man can argue on his knees."⁸⁴ Alternatively, however, any refusal to comply will force conflict out into the open, in the process constructing the non-participant as an anti-social person whilst investing the majority in society with a moral obligation to respond with severity to this act of non-compliance.

⁸³ On a purely practical level, it is difficult to prove that a ritual such as coronation contributed any concrete additional attributes to the authority of a medieval king. Bloch, *Royal Touch*, pp. 128-30, indicates that even the power of the royal touch cannot be explicitly linked to anointment in coronation.

⁸⁴ Kertzer, *Ritual*, p. 97.

(IV) Methodology

The application of ritual theory to a historical study of late medieval royal ritual is in no sense a straightforward process. There are really two basic problems here. Firstly, ritual theories in general have not been developed with a historical view in mind; indeed, this might be regarded as a major deficiency in much theoretical analysis.⁸⁵ Critical theory frequently fails to give attention to developments in ritual practice over time; additionally, it is often weak in terms of its exploration of and emphasis upon the importance of performative context. These perceived shortcomings in the theoretical analysis of ritual derive to a great extent from the methodological approach to evidence gathering which tends to be favoured by theorists. As a generalisation, it is true to say that theorists have tended to work mainly from anthropological evidence which has been drawn from the empirical observation of rituals within modern primitive societies. Contrastingly, since medieval historians cannot explicitly observe the rituals they study, they instead rely upon a refracted view of ritual which is mediated through a variety of different types of source material, most of it textual. While the textualisation of ritual practices *may* be treated as an issue of secondary or no importance by ritual theorists, it *must* be treated as an issue of fundamental importance by ritual historians. Nevertheless, it must be admitted that medieval historians have often failed to ask sufficiently rigorous questions of the sources they utilise in the study of rituals.

The second problem in a sense derives from the first, and concerns differences in the types of issues which historians and theorists are able to address. The historical analysis of ritual is dependent upon the survival of an eclectic but ultimately limited range of historical sources. Furthermore, historians are often prone in an almost unconscious manner to exercise preferences in their utilisation of available sources; for instance, they tend to favour detailed, prescriptive textual evidence over narrative textual evidence or any form of visual evidence. The issue of source selectivity will be returned to later, but at this juncture it needs to be stressed that aside from such selectivity there still remains a whole range of types of ritual evidence which are simply unavailable for historical analysis because they were not recorded by contemporaries, or because contemporary records have not survived. Unfortunately, the issues which surviving sources allow historians to address are not always the same issues as those which have generated the most debate amongst

⁸⁵ See Gerholm, "On Ritual," p. 200.

theorists. This means that in some circumstances it is simply not possible for historians to analyse in an empirical fashion issues which can readily be explored on a more theoretical plane. Here, a very obvious case in point is analysis of the way in which ritual meanings were consumed by ritual audiences.

The manner of the consumption of ritual by ritual audiences is at the heart of an extensive debate amongst theorists over the nature and mechanisms of ritual meaning.⁸⁶ Indeed, the whole of the preceding discussion of what ritual does and how ritual does what it does is contingent upon the underlying assumption that ritual necessarily impacts on an audience or audiences. Given the centrality within theoretical debate of the assumption of the existence of a ritual audience, it is particularly frustrating that audience is an issue that is largely inaccessible to analysis within the historical study of ritual. At best, the historian is confronted with a few isolated textual responses to ritual performances which are preserved mostly in the form of descriptive narrative records.⁸⁷ While these accounts sometimes purport to offer a sense of general reaction to witnessed events, it remains difficult to escape the feeling that they really constitute quite subjective and idiosyncratic personal responses to proceedings.

There are various reasons why the few contemporary writings which touch on the issue of ritual audience cannot be taken to offer self-evidently representative views. In the first place, the attitudes of writers and their readership were unlikely to be representative of those of the whole of society; indeed, they were more likely to reflect a relatively narrow social view. This point is important because if coronations and funerals are defined in the widest sense as complex ritual arrangements, then it becomes virtually impossible to place any realistic limit on the social profile of their audience-participants.

A recognition of the social inclusiveness of ritual points to a second reason why contemporary writings must be treated with great caution in terms of their representation of audience reaction. Historians have not always appreciated the extent to which these texts are misleading in the way in which the breadth of their narrative coverage places the reader in an artificially privileged position as a refracted ritual audience. While audiences at the

⁸⁶ On the consumption of cultural practices, see M. de Certeau, *The Practice of Everyday Life*, trans. F. Rendall (Berkeley, 1984), pp. xi-xxiv, 30-42.

⁸⁷ Although see R. Voaden, "Out of the Mouths of Babes: Authority in *Pearl* and in Narratives of the Child King Richard," in P.J.P. Goldberg & F.J. Riddy (eds.), *Youth in the Middle Ages* (forthcoming), for a possible example of ritual performance acting as a model for a literary text.

reading of a text or the performance of a play might reasonably be expected to have experienced each in its entirety, this is unlikely to have been the case with the complex royal rituals of coronation and funeral. In a semi-literate and pre-television era, most peoples' experience of royal ritual would have been in terms of verbal reportage. Even those present on the day itself would invariably have experienced only a segment of the whole ceremony at first hand. If it is accepted that coronations and funerals were environments where there existed a lack of equilibrium in the quality and character of individual experiences of ritual, then it becomes very difficult to make any sort of generalisation about the nature of the consumed meanings that emanated from different parts of the whole.

Of course, it should be stressed as a corollary to this discussion that textual records are certainly not devoid of historical value in relation to issues of audience. They can reveal a great deal about the external characteristics of audiences in terms of their size, social profile and spatial positioning. Furthermore, it should not be supposed that a total disjunction will necessarily occur between actual and reported responses to ritual performance, since an argument in favour of the plurality of ritual meanings does not imply that meanings were therefore unstructured or entirely random. Nevertheless, it is paradoxically the case that while a conception of audience may be at the heart of theoretical debate on ritual, the development of more theorized historical approaches to the analysis of audience leads inexorably to the conclusion that audience is not an issue which the medieval historian is sufficiently well equipped to address.

This extended discussion on the problems of analysing ritual audience within a historical context underlies my decision to focus this thesis on issues relating to the production of ritual. The principal aim of Part One of this thesis is to problematise a historical understanding of where authority was located in the production of late medieval royal ritual. In pursuing this aim it is implicitly assumed that rituals do and did exhibit a basic directionality in terms of their structure and meaning which flowed from identifiable ritual producers to identifiable ritual consumers. In certain respects, this assumption places my analysis within the broader parameters of social control theories on ritual. However, as suggested in the preceding paragraph, I take the view that it cannot be assumed that the identification of patterns of intentional meaning within ritual practices provides any concrete indication of the way in which meanings were actually consumed in relation to

those same ritual practices.⁸⁸

Analysis in Part One of the thesis begins with an extended examination of the prescriptive scope of ritual *ordines*. In general, these texts have been rather blithely accepted by historians at face value, and an assumption still persists to some extent that they self-evidently represent the tangible location of procedural and jurisdictional authority in past ritual practice. Theoretical analysis is helpful at this juncture because it provides a basis for challenging historical assumptions concerning the centrality of texts in relation to ritual practice. In particular, it raises serious doubts about whether prescriptions on ritual practices need necessarily have been encoded in textual form in order for them to have exercised real and recognised authority.

My approach to the study of *ordines* stresses the importance of scrutinising the inscriptive provenance of ritual texts, and gaining an understanding of the institutional environment in which these texts were compiled and revised. It stresses the need for the historian to abandon preconceptions concerning what was or was not important within the wider framework of ritual practice, and then ask searching questions about why particular sources tend to stress some aspects of ritual practices but not others. In my analysis, prescriptive *ordines* are interpreted as evidence for only one of several competing views on the production of ritual. *Ordines* are interpreted as active rather than passive ritual texts whose periodic revisions were not so much reflections of accepted developments in royal ritual as strategic textual bids to support and maintain a series of disputed rights and privileges. Finally, my analysis suggests that *ordines* were not only limited in their prescriptive scope, but they were also unable to convey adequately a sense of the visual dimensions of ritual performance. This point is important because it has been argued by theorists that ritual is actually experienced on multi-sensory levels, and that its meaning for participants is lodged in the deployment of familiar symbols and gestures as much as it is in the use of particular configurations of words.

Chapter Three in Part One attempts to re-assess the role and importance of visual representation within late medieval royal rituals, and then to relate the findings of this study back to a more general re-appraisal of the impact of textualisation on the development of royal rituals and their historical study. My analysis begins with an examination of the

⁸⁸ See Gerholm, "On Ritual," p. 201. "Even if we consider rituals as basically open to varying interpretations, it is of course still true that certain interpretations can be the favored ones and the ones publically instilled. One can...manipulate a ritual so that a certain interpretation is furthered. But this does not automatically guarantee that the participants or the observers will actually *experience* the ritual as a legitimation."

influence exercised on the visual culture of late fourteenth-century kingship by the incorporation of textual prescriptions on the aesthetic appearance and display of particular items of royal regalia into contemporary versions of coronation and funeral *ordines*. My findings not only raise serious questions concerning the effective authority of *ordines* in controlling the formal imagery of kingship, they also suggest the existence of developed, alternative systems of royal representation which did not derive their authority from textualisation. My analysis continues with an examination of the development of an important area of visual representation within fifteenth-century royal ritual. This shift forwards in time-frame is dictated by the availability of textual evidence. Changes in the form and character of fifteenth-century textual evidence are themselves a central point of discussion within this section of the chapter. My analysis explores the fragmentation of prescriptive authority which is manifested in the survival of a diverse range of ritual texts which seem in different ways to have fed into the actual production of ritual. It is argued that discernible differences in the emphases and contents of these texts reflect the play of different sets of priorities and agenda amongst the various institutional groups which exercised interests in the production of royal rituals.

The principal aim of Part Two of this thesis is to problematise an understanding of the relationship of ritual performances to the immediate political contexts in which they occurred. It is the central contention of my analysis that ritual should be regarded as a dynamic way of behaving, and therefore that it should be interpreted contextually as an aspect of the fabric of its contemporary politics. Significantly, my analysis of ritual as politics is influenced by symbolic interactionist approaches to the historical study of behaviour. Accordingly, I take the view that the meaning of a ritual action cannot be understood in terms of an identification of pervading ritual structures, but instead it should be interpreted in relation to the discrete spatial, temporal and social situations in which the ritual is both produced and experienced. In practical terms, my analytical perspective suggests that there are no hard and fast rules which determine how particular types of ritual are political. While it can be said that all late medieval royal rituals manifested a political potential, each of these rituals must be interpreted and understood on its own terms.

My conceptual approach to the study of political rituals clearly dictates the adoption of a case study methodology. The decision to examine four case studies is based on a desire to offer a balanced discussion of two funerals and two coronations. Obviously, my choice of which four royal ritual occasions to examine is necessarily subjective. In part,

my decisions have been made on the straightforward basis of the availability of evidence. However, I have also chosen to concentrate my study on the fourteenth century in order to balance my greater emphasis on the discussion of fifteenth-century ritual evidence in Part One of the thesis. Finally, it should be noted that my choice of case studies has been made with the aim of demonstrating the diversity of the political dimensions of royal ritual practice. Consequently, I do not intend to rationalise the evidence and arguments presented in Part Two of the thesis in order to offer a neat or coherent final assessment of the political character of royal ritual.

Part 1

Prescription and Practice

The fullest account of the coronation of Henry IV on 13 October 1399 is preserved in the anonymous *Annales Ricardi Secundi et Henrici Quarti*, a text compiled at the abbey of St. Albans during the first decade of the fifteenth century.¹ Significantly, midway through the *Annales* account, just as the action enters Westminster Abbey, the chronicler interrupts his narrative description of the coronation celebrations to make the following statement:

From this point onward I have transcribed the manner and form of a king's coronation hitherto used, just as you may learn in the books of Westminster and those of the archbishop of Canterbury which swear to know the customs that ought to be observed in so great a solemn rite.²

Clearly, the monastic compiler eschewed the option of providing a historical account of the actual performed coronation rite and preferred simply to offer a condensed summary of the prescribed form of a coronation service as it is outlined in the fourth recension of the liturgical coronation *ordo*. The chronicler's deferral to the authority of a prescriptive text is frustrating for any historian wishing to recover an impression of actual procedure at Henry IV's coronation. However, the *Annales* account of the coronation of Henry IV does remain of considerable historical interest for two reasons. Firstly, the chronicler's deferral to a prescriptive text indicates that by the early fifteenth century a situation had arisen in

¹ H.T. Riley (ed.), "Annales Ricardi Secundi et Henrici Quarti," in *Johannis de Trokelowe et Anon Chronica et Annales*, RS, 28 (1866), pp. 291-300. Recent scholarship has challenged the traditional identification of Thomas Walsingham as author of the chronicle text. See J. Clark, "Intellectual Life at the Abbey of St. Albans and the Nature of Monastic Learning in England, c. 1350 to c. 1440" (D.Phil diss., University of Oxford, 1997), pp. 156-8.

² "Annales," p. 292, "Et quia locus hic exigit, describam modum et formam Coronationis regiæ, hactenus usitata, prout in libris comperi Westmonasterii et Archiepiscopi Cantuariensis; quia juvat scire consuetudines in tanta solemnitate debite faciendas." Translation taken from T.A. Sandquist, "English Coronations, 1399-1483" (Ph.D diss., University of Toronto, 1962), p. 152.

which certain types of text were perceived to be repositories of specialist ritual knowledge. These texts were liturgical in orientation and were associated with those religious institutions and personages most intimately linked to the actual performance of coronations. Secondly, and conversely, the inclusion within the wider *Annales* account of much information which is extraneous to prescriptive liturgical texts indicates the considerable gulf that existed between the prescriptive scope of formal texts and the actual realities of ritual practice.

My aim in this part of the thesis is to problematise a historical understanding of the importance of prescriptive texts as ritual evidence. Although historians have long recognised the unreliability of *ordines* as evidence for the actual performance of rituals, an assumption has lingered that *ordines* do at least encode something of the philosophy of ritual in terms of its function and meaning. Accordingly, historians have long chosen to cleave to an interpretative approach that privileges the evidence of *ordines* as some sort of ritual gold standard against which all other relevant evidence can properly be tested. My intention is not to deny the importance of *ordines* as historical sources, but rather to qualify an understanding of the scope and utility of these texts. This involves not only developing a keener appreciation of some of the limitations of *ordines* as sources for the analysis of royal ritual, but also opening up new avenues for historical research that utilise these sources. By seeking to move beyond a resigned acceptance that ritual practice frequently did not adhere to textual prescription, it will become possible to develop a far more nuanced understanding of what ‘prescription’ really meant in the context of late medieval coronations and funerals.

Chapter Two

Texts and Contexts

(I) Introduction

This chapter examines the fullest surviving versions of two prescriptive liturgical texts, *Ordo secundum quem Rex debet coronari* and *De Exequiis regalibus cum ipsos ex hoc seculo migrare*. The fullest version of the former text is the late fourteenth-century ‘Litlyngton *Ordo*’ version of the English coronation order. The fullest version of the latter text exists in a single copy preserved in the mid-fifteenth century *Liber Regie Capelle*, a Latin custumal compiled under the auspices of the dean of the royal chapel. These two prescriptive texts will be discussed in turn in the following two sections. In each case, discussion will begin with a brief examination of the form and provenance of the manuscript sources. A second sub-section will then summarise the contents of the two texts. Finally, a third sub-section will offer an analysis of each text in terms of its prescriptive scope.

(II) *Ordo* for the Coronation of the King

Manuscript Sources

The Litlyngton *Ordo* is the name commonly applied to the final medieval version of the fourth recension of the English coronation order.¹ The Litlyngton *Ordo* survives in numerous manuscript copies dating from the fifteenth century and later. However, the earliest surviving copies of the *ordo* are found in three illuminated manuscripts which appear to have been compiled at Westminster Abbey during the abbacy of Nicholas Litlyngton (1362-86).² In fact, only one of these three manuscripts can be linked

¹ However, other designations include the *Liber Regalis* version (distinct from the *Liber Regalis* manuscript, for which see below n. 2), the long-rubric version, and the fourth version of the fourth recension.

² Westminster Abbey MS 37 (The Westminster Missal), published in *Missale*, II: 673-733; Westminster Abbey MS 38 (*Liber Regalis*), published in W.H. Bliss (ed.), *Liber Regalis* (London, 1870), and also published with a translation in *ECR*, pp. 81-130; Pamplona, Archivo General de Navarra MS 197 (Pamplona Coronation Order), published in F. Idoate, “Un Ceremonial de Coronación de los Reyes de Inglaterra,” *Hispania Sacra*, 6 (1953): 158-80, and also in idem (ed.), *Ceremonial de la Coronación, Unción y Exequias de los Reyes de Inglaterra* (Pamplona, undated). The illuminations in all three manuscripts are discussed in L.F. Sandler, *Gothic Manuscripts 1285-1385: A Survey of Manuscripts Illuminated in the British Isles* 5, 2 vols. (Oxford, 1986), II: 172-5, 177-80. For a list of other manuscripts containing copies of the Litlyngton

indisputably to Westminster Abbey. This Westminster copy of the Litlyngton *Ordo* is bound in a lavish missal which was produced for Abbot Litlyngton in 1383-4, and which he donated to the abbey on his death.³ The Westminster Missal is also the only one of the three manuscripts which can firmly be dated, and it provides a *terminus ad quem* for the compilation of the *ordo* as a whole. A *terminus a quo* for the compilation is provided by an internal textual reference to the responsibility of two dukes to carry the king's sceptre and rod in the coronation procession to Westminster Abbey.⁴ The creation of two of Edward III's sons as dukes of Clarence and Lancaster in November 1362 was the earliest occasion on which there were simultaneously two dukes within the ranks of the English nobility.⁵

The known provenance of the Westminster Missal is the key evidence which links the other two early copies of the Litlyngton *Ordo* to Westminster Abbey. Although it is not known how or why the Pamplona Coronation Book arrived in Navarre, textual analysis has shown that the text of the manuscript is copied either directly from the text of the Litlyngton *Ordo* in the Westminster Missal, or from another source which was common to both manuscripts.⁶ Furthermore, analysis of the illuminations in both manuscripts indicates that they were executed by the same artistic hands, which are in turn identifiable with a Westminster school of illumination.⁷ The copy of the Litlyngton *Ordo* preserved in the *Liber Regalis* manuscript differs marginally from the other two contemporary copies of the

Ordo, see P.E. Schramm, "Ordines-Studien III: Die Krönung in England vom 10. Jh. bis zur Neuzeit," *Archiv für Urkundenforschung*, 15 (1938): 344-5, supplemented by Sandquist, "English Coronations," appendix 1, pp. 350-3. Westminster Abbey clearly possessed other manuscript copies of indeterminate coronation *ordines* at this period. See J. Wickham Legg, "On an Inventory of the Vestry in Westminster Abbey, taken in 1388," *Archaeologia*, 52 (1890): 233-4.

³ See Legg, "Inventory in Westminster Abbey," p. 233; M.R. James & J Armitage Robinson (eds.), *The Manuscripts of Westminster Abbey*, Notes and Documents Relating to Westminster Abbey, 1 (Cambridge, 1909), pp. 7-8. Confusingly, the Westminster Missal is sometimes referred to as the 'Litlyngton Missal'.

⁴ *Missale*, II: 679.

⁵ Richardson, "Coronation in Medieval England," pp. 149-50, argues for a most likely compilation date of the very late 1360s or early 1370s.

⁶ *LRC*, p. 23, n. 1.

⁷ Sandler, *Gothic Manuscripts*, I: 36-7, II: 179-80.

ordo in terms of its text, and more significantly in terms of its illumination.⁸ The fact that the manuscript remains preserved at Westminster Abbey is perhaps itself persuasive evidence that it has always been there.⁹ However, at the very least, *Liber Regalis* appears to have been at the abbey since the fifteenth century, when a marginal cursive hand brought the text into line with the form of the Litlyngton *Ordo* preserved in the Westminster Missal.¹⁰

The Text

The Litlyngton *Ordo* is best understood as a compilation of coronation texts that can be divided into four parts. The first and easily the longest part consists of the service for the coronation of the king. The second part consists of the service for the coronation of the queen on the same day as the coronation of the king. The third part follows on directly from the second part and is concerned mainly with the form of the post-coronation mass and the arrangements for exiting Westminster Abbey. The fourth and final part consists of the service for the coronation of the queen alone. In all three of the Westminster Abbey group of manuscripts a very short text detailing the arrangements for the funeral of a king follows after these coronation texts.¹¹

The liturgical prescriptions for the coronation ceremony are prefaced in the Litlyngton *Ordo* by a long introductory rubric which outlines the preparations and events to take place

⁸ Ibid., II: 177-9. The illuminations in the *Liber Regalis* have been at the centre of a long-running art historical debate over the impact of Bohemian influences on English art. The case for Bohemian influences was made by M. Rickert, *The Reconstructed Carmelite Missal* (Chicago, 1952), pp. 76-80. It has been convincingly refuted by A. Simpson, "The Connections Between English and Bohemian Painting During the Second Half of the Fourteenth Century," *Outstanding Theses from the Courtauld Institute of Art* (New York & London, 1984), pp. 147-60. Simpson characterizes the unusual figurative style in the illuminations as vernacular and points out (p. 148) close similarities between the decorative borders in the *Liber Regalis* and those in the Westminster Missal. However, P. Binski, "The *Liber Regalis*: Its Date and European Context," in D. Gordon, L. Monnas & C. Elam, eds., *The Regal Image of Richard II and the Wilton Diptych* (London, 1997), pp. 233-46, has recently restated the case for Bohemian influences.

⁹ It is not mentioned in the 1388 inventory. However, see Simpson, "English and Bohemian Painting," p. 148.

¹⁰ Sandquist, "English Coronations," pp. 16-17. Significantly, the *Liber Regalis* text rather than the Westminster Missal text is the source of the copy of the Litlyngton *Ordo* preserved in the *Liber Regie Capelle*. This would suggest that *Liber Regalis* was readily accessible to the royal court in the mid-fifteenth century. See *LRC*, pp. 22-3.

¹¹ See below pp. 50-71.

prior to the arrival of the king at Westminster Abbey.¹² The rubric begins by giving instructions for the construction of a stage over the crossing of the church. The prerogative right of the archbishop of Canterbury to crown the king is outlined and it is instructed that the king should ride bareheaded through London from the Tower to Westminster Palace on the day prior to his coronation. The rubric continues with a long passage concerning the spiritual preparations that the king should undertake on the eve of his coronation and indicates the sole right of the abbot of Westminster to act as his instructor. A shorter passage details the washing and dressing of the king on the morning of his coronation and then gives brief and somewhat enigmatic instructions for the ‘secular election’ and ‘secular enthronement’ of the king by the magnates and prelates of the realm in Westminster Hall.¹³ The longest section of the introductory rubric details the ordering of the royal procession from Westminster Hall to the coronation stage within the abbey. In this passage, particular attention is paid to establishing the correct exercise of the coronation offices associated with carrying various pieces of the royal regalia into the abbey. Finally, the introductory rubric concludes with a brief description of the act of recognition performed shortly after the king’s arrival on the raised stage.¹⁴ In this act, the king stands by his raised throne in full view of the people, while the archbishop addresses:

the people at the four sides of the stage, inquiring their will and consent about the consecration of the said king.¹⁵

The giving of consent is reported to have been customary.

¹² *ECR*, pp. 81-5, 112-16. Except where indicated, subsequent citations are from the text of the Litlyngton *Ordo* published and translated in *ECR* from the *Liber Regalis* manuscript.

¹³ Richardson, “Coronation in Medieval England,” pp. 145-6, and Sandquist, “English Coronations,” pp. 330-1, both note the considerable discrepancy between textual prescription and records of practice for this aspect of coronation ceremonial.

¹⁴ *ECR*, pp. 85, 116. BL, Harleian MS 561, fol. 27a, places the act of recognition after the king’s oblation, the first prayer and the sermon. This is interesting since historians have noted that the coronation service starts somewhat abruptly in the Litlyngton *Ordo*. See Sandquist, “English Coronations,” p. 40. Two marginal revisions of the Litlyngton *Ordo* found in *Liber Regie Capelle* involve the introduction of liturgical prayers before the acclamation. See *LRC*, pp. 24-7.

¹⁵ *ECR*, pp. 85, 116. The phrasing of the act of recognition appears to have differed at each coronation between 1377 and 1429. Meanwhile, no act of recognition is recorded for the coronations of Edward IV and Richard III, perhaps because an equivalent ritual had already formed part of earlier ‘accession ceremonies’. See Sandquist, “English Coronations,” pp. 331-2. In 1377, the act of recognition followed the oath, an arrangement which historians have interpreted as evidence of a diminution of the elective principle. See Schramm, *English Coronation*, pp. 170-1.

The Litlyngton *Ordo* prescribes that the act of recognition should be followed by the anthem *Firmetur manus tua*. The king should offer a pall and a pound of gold as an oblation at the high altar, and then the archbishop should say a prayer over the now prostrate king before the delivery of a sermon by a designated bishop. At this point it is instructed that the archbishop should administer the coronation oath. The swearing of the oath is a part of the ceremony which is recorded in some detail in the Litlyngton *Ordo*. The four clauses of the coronation oath are recounted in full along with the individual responses to each clause.¹⁶ The oath is followed by the admonition of the bishops, requesting that the king grant and conserve the privileges of the Church and protect it from its enemies.¹⁷ Finally, the king is instructed to confirm his promises by swearing publicly on the high altar that he will uphold them.

The administration of the coronation oath is followed by a long series of hymns and prayers preparatory to the consecration of the king. These hymns and prayers reference Biblical precedents for the anointment of kings and express a desire that the benefits of peace, justice and christian faith should accrue to the people through the grace of the Lord and the qualities of the king. Finally, in a consecratory preface, the archbishop is instructed to ask for the blessing and sanctification of the king through anointing. The Litlyngton *Ordo* prescribes that the anointment of the king should take place under a canopy (*pallio*) before the high altar.¹⁸ Prior to anointment, the king is to divest all his clothing except his silken tunic and shirt, which ought to incorporate specially designed openings bound together by silver loops. The archbishop should undo these openings and then anoint the king's hands with holy oil while reciting the formula *Ungantur manus late*. Having further

¹⁶ *ECR*, pp. 87-8, 117. The Litlyngton *Ordo* follows the four-clause formula of the Latin 'liturgical' oath of 1308, rather than the three-clause formula of the French 'record' oath that was actually sworn by Edward II in 1308 and later by Edward III in 1327. See below p. 42, n. 49, on the sources for the oaths. For the voluminous debate on the form, function and constitutional implications of the 1308 coronation oath, see above p. 6, n. 11.

¹⁷ *ECR*, pp. 88, 117. The admonition of the bishops is sometimes described as an innovation of the Litlyngton *Ordo*, although it is mentioned in Cambridge University Library, MS MM III, 21, fol. 197b, which Wilkinson ascribes to the coronation of Edward III in 1327. There is no record of the actual performance of the admonition prior to the coronation of Richard III in 1483. See Sandquist, "English Coronations," pp. 334-5.

¹⁸ *ECR*, pp. 91-2, 118. No mention is made of the king's stance, although the *ordo* for the coronation of the queen on the same day as the king indicates that she should kneel at the altar during the performance of unction. See *ECR*, pp. 101, 123. An early fourteenth-century French version of the fourth recension suggests the king should receive unction whilst seated in his chair within the sanctuary. See *Three Coronation Orders*, p. 122. Meanwhile, the official *Processus* account of the coronation of Richard II indicates that the king was anointed at the step of his chair. See *ECR*, pp. 147, 166.

recited a psalm and prayer, the archbishop should proceed to anoint the king with holy oil on the breast, between the shoulders, on the shoulders and on both elbows, as well as on the head in the sign of the cross. The king is then to be anointed on the head for a second time using chrism, after which the abbot of Westminster should refasten the king's robes.¹⁹ Finally, after two further prayers, the king is to be dressed in a *colobium sindonis*, and a linen coif (*amictus*) is to be placed over his head in order to protect the place in which he has been anointed. The latter should not be removed until a special ceremony on the eighth day after the coronation.²⁰

According to the Litlyngton *Ordo*, the performance of unction is followed by the investiture of the king with the regalia. The place of the investiture is not explicitly stated, but other instructions seem to imply that the king should be invested in the sanctuary space before the high altar.²¹ The length of the Litlyngton *Ordo*'s prescriptions concerning the investiture reflects the complexity of this aspect of the coronation service. Firstly, it is prescribed that the archbishop should bless the regalia and that the abbot of Westminster should clothe the king in his coronation vestments. These comprise the "long tunic reaching to the [king's] feet, wrought with golden figures before and behind," the buskins and the spurs.²² Next, the sword of state should be blessed by the archbishop and girded about the king in symbolism of his investment with the whole kingdom which he is to rule

¹⁹ *ECR*, pp. 91-3, 118-9. The holy oil or 'oil of catechumens' used in the first anointment consisted of olive oil. The chrism used for the second anointment consisted of a compound of olive oil and balm. It was the oil used by the Church for the most sacred purposes: confirmation, ordaining priest and consecrating bishops. Above all else, it was the use of chrism which lent a sacred character to the consecration of a king. Only the kings of France shared the privilege of anointment with chrism, and indeed, the fortuitous discovery by Edward II of a 'miraculous oil' given to St. Thomas Becket by the Virgin may have represented a bid by the English monarchy to match the illustrious pedigree of the French coronation oil used since the anointing of Clovis. See: J. Wickham Legg, "The Sacring of the English Kings," *Archaeological Journal*, 51 (1894): 28-42. For the later history of the oil of St. Thomas, see references above p. 7, n. 18, & below p. 138, n. 5.

²⁰ *ECR*, pp. 94, 119. The *colobium sindonis* was an undergarment shaped like an ecclesiastical dalmatic. BL, Harleian MS 561, fol. 32a and BL, Arundel MS 149, fol. 12b (two fifteenth-century copies of the Litlyngton *Ordo*), both suggest that the *colobium sindonis* should be removed at the same time as the coif. See Sandquist, "English Coronations," pp. 48-9.

²¹ The king is explicitly placed at the high altar for the divesting of his robes immediately prior to unction. There is no indication of any further movement made by the king until after the completion of the investiture. Towards the end of the investiture the king is explicitly located at the altar (with no mention of movement) for the oblation of the sword. Additionally, it is noted that the regalia should be placed upon the high altar in preparation for the investiture.

²² *ECR*, pp. 94, 119. The investiture of the spurs was possibly performed by a secular noble. This is clearly specified in the much later Coronation Order of Charles I. See *ibid.*, p. 260. It is also specified in the contemporary French coronation *ordo* of Charles V. See *Coronation Book of Charles V*, p. 21 & plate 9.

faithfully. The king is then to be vested in the *armillas* representing sincerity and wisdom, and the square mantle (*pallium quadrum*) woven with golden eagles, which symbolized the fact that:

the four corners of the world are subject to the power of God, and that no man can happily reign upon Earth who has not received his authority from Heaven.²³

It is next instructed that the archbishop should crown the king, having previously blessed “the crown of the faithful,” sprinkled it with holy water and censed it.²⁴ The Litlyngton *Ordo* also gives instructions for the blessing of the coronation ring “of kingly dignity,” and for the investiture of the ring by the archbishop with the formula *Accipe regie dignitatis anulum*.²⁵ The king is then instructed to offer the sword of state in oblation at the high altar, whereupon it is immediately to be redeemed by the greatest of the attending earls for the price of the sword.²⁶ After the oblation of the sword of state, the king is first invested with the gloves, and then the royal sceptre is placed in his right hand. At the delivery of the sceptre the archbishop is instructed to recite the formula:

Receive the sceptre, the sign of kingly power, the rod of the kingdom, the rod of virtue, that you may rightly govern yourself and defend the Holy Church and christian people committed by God into your charge...²⁷

Finally, the king is to be invested with the golden rod surmounted with a golden dove, which he is to receive in his left hand. This is to be delivered with the formula *Accipe uirgam uirtutis*, which describes the rod as representing the virtue and equity with which

²³ *ECR*, pp. 95, 120, 261. The *armillas* hung around the neck and down to the elbows like a stole.

²⁴ *Ibid.*, pp. 96, 120, 261. The prayer *Deus tuorum corona* said in blessing over the crown likens the precious stones of the crown to the multitude of precious virtues (*multiplici preciosarum uirtutum*).

²⁵ *Ibid.*, pp. 97, 121, 262. This describes the ring as the seal of orthodox faith (*catholice fidei signaculum*) and the king as author and establisher of Christianity and the christian faith (*auctor ac stabilitor christianitatis et christiane fidei*).

²⁶ The earl is required to carry the naked sword before the king for the remainder of the service. Westminster Abbey exercised no custodial rights over the sword of state which was redeemed by the chamberlain after the completion of the coronation celebrations. See Sandquist, “English Coronations,” p. 50, n. 91.

²⁷ *ECR*, pp. 97, 121, 263. “Accipe septrum regie potestatis insigne: uirgam scilicet regni rectam, uirgam uirtutis, qua teipsum bene regas, sanctam ecclesiam populumque uidelicet christianum tibi a deo commissum regia uirtute ab improbis defendas...” On the iconography of the sceptre, see below pp. 79-90.

the king is to repress the proud and elevate the lowly.²⁸

After the completion of the investiture of the king, the Litlyngton *Ordo* instructs the king to kiss the bishops, who with some of the nobles should then lead the king to his enthronement on the raised stage. While the choir sings the *Te Deum laudamus*, the archbishop should recite the formula *Sta et retine*.²⁹ Finally, the nobles are required to perform homage to the enthroned king before standing around the throne and extending their hands as a sign of fealty to the king and crown.³⁰ Enthronement and the offering of homage complete the service for the coronation of the king.

The Litlyngton *Ordo* outlines the service for the coronation of the queen on the same day as the king in a separate text which follows the prescribed service for the coronation of the king. Appended to these instructions for the coronation of the queen are further general prescriptions relating to the celebration of mass and the arrangements for exiting the abbey church. According to the Litlyngton *Ordo*, in the case of the joint coronation of a king and queen, the service for the anointment and investiture of the queen should follow immediately upon the enthronement of the king.³¹ The prescriptions for this service are much shorter than those for the coronation of the king, although the two services are generally similar in form.³²

It is instructed that the queen should be dressed in a tunic and robe of plain purple and wear her hair loose to her shoulders under a jewelled golden circlet. The queen's procession should follow that of the king, and in likewise she should walk under a silk canopy and be led by three nobles carrying her regalia.³³ The queen is instructed to remain seated on a faldstool to the left of the high altar throughout most of the service for the

²⁸ *ECR*, pp. 98, 121, 263. On the iconography of the rod, see below pp. 79-90.

²⁹ *ECR*, pp. 99, 121.

³⁰ The performance of homage as part of the coronation service appears to have occurred only in 1377 and 1413. See Sandquist, "English Coronations," pp. 336-7.

³¹ No double coronations occurred between 1308 and 1483. An account of the latter coronation implies that Richard III and Anne Neville were anointed and invested at the same time, rather than consecutively as instructed in the Litlyngton *Ordo*. See *ECR*, pp. 193-7. However, this account conflicts with the official account given in the 'Little Device' of Richard III. See A.F. Sutton & P.W. Hammond (eds. & trans.), *The Coronation of Richard III: The Extant Documents* (Gloucester & New York, 1983), pp. 213-27.

³² However the queen is neither acclaimed nor required to swear an oath.

³³ *ECR*, pp. 100, 122. An ivory rod surmounted with a golden dove (*uirgam eburneam in cuius summitate est aurea columba*), a small gilt sceptre surmounted with a gilt dove (*paruum septrum deauratum in cuius summitate est columba deaurata*), and a crown.

coronation of the king. After the investiture and enthronement of the king, the queen is required to lie prostrate at the altar step while the archbishop recites the prayer *Deus qui solus habes immortalitatem*. She is then instructed to rise to her knees in order to be anointed with holy oil on the head and breast in the sign of the cross.³⁴ To protect the place of anointing, the queen's head is to be covered with a linen coif which should afterwards be burnt.³⁵ Following the anointment, the archbishop is then instructed to invest the queen with her coronation ring, which is said to protect her against the "infection of heresy" and bring barbarous nations to the knowledge of the truth.³⁶ Afterwards the archbishop is instructed to bless the crown and place it on the queen's head reciting the formula *Accipe coronam glorie*. Finally, following a further prayer, the queen is to be invested with the sceptre in her right hand and the rod in her left hand.³⁷ At the completion of her investiture the queen is to be led by two bishops to her throne at the left-hand side of the king's throne on the raised stage. This throne should be a little lower than the throne of the king. Prior to taking her seat, the queen should "bow to the king, honouring, as is right, his majesty."³⁸

The Litlyngton *Ordo* specifies that during the mass which follows the completion of the coronation rites, the king and queen should receive the book of the Gospels to kiss at the reading of the creed, and at the offertory the king should make the oblation of bread and wine himself "after the example of Melchizedek."³⁹ The king is also required to offer a mark of gold and the queen to make an unspecified oblation. It is instructed that the king and queen should receive communion in both kinds and that they should each drink from the same stone chalice "as a sign of unity."⁴⁰ After the mass, the king and queen are to be

³⁴ *ECR*, pp. 101, 123. As with the king, the queen's tunic should be designed to open easily. After anointment it is to be closed by a noblewoman "who is always to attend on the queen".

³⁵ This would suggest that the queen was anointed with chrism (as instructed in the *ordo* for the coronation of the queen alone), rather than with the oil of catechumens instructed in the *ordo* for the coronation of the queen on the same day as the king. If the distinction is deliberate, then it is certainly puzzling. See below p. 41, n. 43.

³⁶ *ECR*, pp. 101, 110-11, 123, 130, 267.

³⁷ *Ibid.*, pp. 101, 111, 123, 268. The prayer which follows the crowning likens the gold and pearls of the crown to the gold of wisdom and the pearls of virtue. The queen is invested solely with the sceptre in the *ordo* for the coronation of the queen alone. See below p. 41, n. 43.

³⁸ *Ibid.*, pp. 101, 124. "...regi inclinabit eius maiestatem ut decet adorando."

³⁹ *Ibid.*, pp. 103, 125.

⁴⁰ *Ibid.*, pp. 105-6, 126. It is the responsibility of the abbot of Westminster or his deputy to administer the wine.

led to the shrine of St. Edward behind the high altar, where the celebrant bishop should remove their crowns and the great chamberlain should divest the king of the rest of his regalia down to his tunic and shirt. The king is then to be vested in a new set of robes, while new crowns are to be placed on the heads of the king and queen.⁴¹ Finally, it is instructed that the king and queen should process back through the choir of the abbey to the royal palace, retaining only their sceptres from the official regalia.⁴² At this point the prescriptions relating to the coronation of a king end abruptly with a short exposition on the privileges of Westminster Abbey and a very incomplete list of some of the formal offices to be performed at the coronation banquet. Meanwhile, the text of the Litlyngton *Ordo* is itself completed with the brief and separate *ordo* for the coronation of the queen alone.⁴³

Analysis

Any analysis of the Litlyngton *Ordo* needs to locate the text within a pre-existing and well-established textual tradition of coronation *ordines*. It is generally accepted that the *ordo* for the coronation of the king passed through four recensions during the middle ages, with the earliest recension dating from the late Anglo-Saxon period. The fourth and final medieval recension of the coronation *ordo* is associated with the coronation of Edward II in 1308. From a liturgical perspective, the fourth recension is very different from the third recension of the early twelfth century.⁴⁴ However, Richardson has argued that very few important alterations were made to the liturgy of the coronation *ordo* in 1307-8, as the new fourth recension of the *ordo* in fact adhered closely to prescriptions preserved in an already existing 'directory' for the coronation of a king which he dated to 1273.⁴⁵ If Richardson's

⁴¹ Ibid., pp. 106-7, 127.

⁴² Ibid., pp. 107, 128. These were to be returned to the Abbey "...immediately after breakfast, when the king has gone to his chamber." The reference to breakfast relates to the post-coronation banquet at which the king would literally break his fast.

⁴³ Ibid., pp. 108-12, 128-30. This *ordo* corresponds in most essentials to the discussed *ordo* for the coronation of the queen together with the king. However, there are two significant points of difference. In the service for the coronation of the queen together with the king, the queen is anointed with holy oil and invested with a rod. In the service for the coronation of the queen alone, the anointment is done with chrism and there is no investiture of the rod.

⁴⁴ On the third recension, see J. Brückmann, "The Ordines of the Third Recension of the Medieval English Coronation Order," in Sandquist & Powicke (eds.), *Essays Presented to Bertie Wilkinson*, pp. 99-115.

⁴⁵ Richardson, "Coronation in Medieval England," pp. 136-42, 190-202. Richardson argued that the directory of 1273 survives as the *ordo* for the coronation of a king in the early fifteenth-century compilation known as *Forma et modus*. It was previously supposed that the text in *Forma et modus* simply derived from the

assessment is correct, then the revolutionary aspect of the fourth recension of 1308 was not its liturgy so much as other non-liturgical elements of the prescribed ceremony, notably the revised and expanded coronation oath.⁴⁶

During the fourteenth century, the fourth recension of the coronation *ordo* was extensively copied and in some instances revised. Although historians have been unanimous in the opinion that three or four different versions of the fourth recension were compiled in this period, there has been some disagreement over the precise designation and chronology of the various versions.⁴⁷ Indeed, the only real certainty is that the Litlyngton *Ordo* represents the fullest and final fourteenth-century version of the fourth recension text.⁴⁸ Analysis of the first version of the fourth recension (the coronation *ordo* of 1308) indicates that the decision to revise the existing third recension of the coronation *ordo* was a public and political decision.⁴⁹ A parliament was summoned to meet at Northampton in October 1307 with the express purpose of making arrangements for the coronation of Edward II. Additionally, a number of the revisions in the coronation *ordo* of 1308 clearly address issues that were particular to the political circumstances and environment of Edward's accession.⁵⁰

The prescriptive authority of the first version of the fourth recension is suggested by the fact that the text of the *ordo* circulated widely both in Latin and in a French

Litlyngton *Ordo* text (it is certainly influenced by it). See Schramm, *English Coronation*, p. 88. The text of *Forma et modus* is published in *ECR*, pp. 172-90. See Sandquist, "English Coronations," appendix 2, pp. 354-8, for a list of surviving manuscript copies of *Forma et modus*.

⁴⁶ For secondary debate, see above p. 6, n. 11.

⁴⁷ See Richardson, "Coronation in Medieval England," pp. 136-50. It should be noted that Richardson's conclusions differ from his own earlier statements in idem & Sayles, "Early Coronation Records," *BIHR*, 13 (1935-6): 133-9. The most recent contribution to debate is A. Hughes, "The Origins and Descent of the Fourth Recension of the English Coronation," in Bak (ed.), *Coronations*, pp. 197-216.

⁴⁸ However, see *LRC*, pp. 22-42, for discussion of some important marginal additions and revisions made to the copy of the Litlyngton *Ordo* contained in this mid-fifteenth century manuscript.

⁴⁹ PRO, C 57/1, printed in *Foedera*, RC edn., II (i): 33-6. This so-called 'coronation roll of Edward II' preserves the 'liturgical' oath of 1308. See Richardson & Sayles, "Early Coronation Records," *BIHR*, 13 (1935-6): 131-2. Attached to the close roll is an official memorandum which includes the 'record' version of the oath which was actually sworn by Edward II, plus a statement concerning the performance of coronation services. See F. Palgrave (ed.), *The Parliamentary Writs and Writs of Summons...*, 2 vols. in 4, RC (London, 1827-34), II (ii): appendix, pp. 10-11; *Foedera*, RC edn., II (i): 36; *CCR 1307-13*, p. 53.

⁵⁰ Richardson, "Coronation in Medieval England," pp. 139-41.

translation.⁵¹ Nevertheless, it is clear that during the first half of the fourteenth century at least two further revisions were made to the text of the coronation *ordo* prior to the final revision of the text as the Litlyngton *Ordo*. The first of these revisions survives in just one manuscript of a post-1327 date. The revised text is in French, although this is presumably a translation of an original Latin text that is now lost.⁵² The second revision survives in two closely related manuscripts which have been discussed at some length by Bertie Wilkinson.⁵³ This version of the coronation *ordo* clearly predates the Litlyngton *Ordo* revision, as the latter text relies on it for the intrusion of the ‘admonition of the clergy’ into the coronation liturgy.⁵⁴

A clear evolution of the fourth recension text can be traced through the various fourteenth-century revisions of the coronation *ordo*, indicating that at every stage of revision the textual revisers had access to recent earlier versions of the *ordo* text. Evidence of this evolution is significant as only the Litlyngton *Ordo* amongst the various fourteenth-century revisions of the coronation *ordo* of 1308 enjoyed a wide circulation. The obvious implication here is that all of the various revisions were the work of a single corpus of textual revisers. The known provenance of surviving manuscripts, together with internal evidence within the texts themselves, indicates that this ongoing process of revision was located within the monastic community at Westminster Abbey.

Westminster Abbey’s role in the production of coronation manuscripts has already been discussed in relation to the late fourteenth-century group of Westminster manuscripts

⁵¹ See Wilkinson, “Coronation Records,” pp. 582, n. 2, 586, n. 1, for lists of manuscript copies. For the French translation of the coronation *ordo* of 1308, see *Three Coronation Orders*, pp. 39-49. See also Richardson & Sayles, “Early Coronation Records,” *BIHR*, 13 (1935-6): 137.

⁵² PRO, C 49/Roll 11, published in *Three Coronation Orders*, pp. 121-4. Richardson & Sayles, “Early Coronation Records,” *BIHR*, 13 (1935-6): 137-8, identify this revised text with Edward III’s coronation. See also Richardson, “Coronation in Medieval England,” p. 142.

⁵³ Cambridge University Library, MS MM III, 21, fols. 196v to 210, and BL, Lansdowne MS 451, fols. 96v to 110v. The Cambridge text is published in W. Maskell (ed.), *Monumenta Ritualia Ecclesiae Anglicanae*, 3 vols. (London, 1846-7), III: 3-48. For discussion, see Wilkinson, “Coronation Records,” pp. 591-8. Richardson, “Coronation in Medieval England,” p. 146, was only aware of the existence of the Cambridge manuscript.

⁵⁴ Only the Cambridge MS includes the act of admonition. See Wilkinson, “Coronation Records,” p. 593. Also, see *ibid.*, p. 591, n. 3, for the suggestion that the *ordo* preserved in fifteenth-century BL, Harleian MS 561 (which corresponds very closely to the Litlyngton *Ordo* text), represents a point of intersection between the third and fourth versions of the fourth recension. However, see Hughes, “Origins and Descent,” pp. 201-2.

that contain copies of the Litlyngton *Ordo*.⁵⁵ Additionally, it is clear from comments in *Annales Ricardi Secundi et Henrici Quarti* and other texts that Westminster Abbey was already perceived to serve as a repository of specialist knowledge on the liturgical aspects of coronation ritual by the beginning of the fifteenth century.⁵⁶ What remains open to debate is the extent to which liturgical *ordines* exercised an authoritative status in relation to the actual organisation and performance of coronations. Additionally, allied to this issue, there exists a requirement to address the question of precisely why the fourth recension underwent such frequent revision at Westminster Abbey during the first three quarters of the fourteenth century.

Perhaps because the revision of the coronation *ordo* in 1307-8 was so clearly a political act, historians have generally chosen to ascribe the subsequent revisions of the fourth recension to other specific coronation occasions.⁵⁷ In support of this view, it is to be noted that fourteenth-century coronations were certainly contentious occasions in terms of their political and constitutional dimensions. Constitutional considerations helped to shape the individual character of performed coronations, thereby creating an environment in which particular symbolic acts might take on heightened political significance. In 1327, for example, Edward III was told that he would not be crowned king if he refused to swear the additional clause added to the coronation oath of 1308.⁵⁸ However, notwithstanding this evidence, it remains questionable whether an argument about the political relevance of coronations ought to be conflated with an argument about the status of liturgical texts as official records of ritual performances. In reality, there are serious grounds for doubting whether the post-1308 revisions of the coronation *ordo* should be located within the immediate performative context of any individual coronation. Indeed, in the case of 1327, a pre-coronation association seems decidedly unlikely given that Edward III's coronation

⁵⁵ See above pp. 32-4.

⁵⁶ "Annales," p. 292. See above pp. 30-1. Additionally, the scribe responsible for compiling BL, Harleian MS 561 recorded that this was done "...secundum cronicas et registra in abbathia Westymonasterii inventa."

⁵⁷ For example, see Schramm, *English Coronation*, pp. 76-89; Wilkinson, "Coronation Records," pp. 591-8; Sandquist, "English Coronations," pp. 14-15.

⁵⁸ BL, Cotton MS Faustina B v, fol. 49 (*Historia Roffensis*). See Richardson, "The English Coronation Oath," *Speculum*, 24 (1949): 65; Wilkinson, "Coronation Records," p. 591. The oath sworn in 1327 was formally recorded on the close roll. See *CCR 1327-30*, p. 100.

was not only unexpected, but was also organised and executed with notable haste.⁵⁹

The biggest problem with the argument that the coronation *ordo* was revised for individual coronations is the existence of evidence showing that a considerable gulf separated the specifications of textual prescription and the realities of coronation practice throughout the fourteenth century.⁶⁰ The inability of *ordines* to control coronation practice at all effectively means that the ‘prescriptive’ status that is routinely credited to these texts needs to be reassessed. Indeed, historians have been willing to accept that liturgical *ordines* are highly unreliable indicators of what actually happened at particular coronations. Nevertheless, the assumption has persisted that *ordines* at least encoded the general character of constitutional debate on issues of kingship at these key moments of royal accession.

By the early modern period, the Litlyngton *Ordo* had come to exercise an almost canonical authority over just about all matters on which it offered comment, though even sixteenth-century rulers were prepared to tamper with prescribed traditions when this suited their political priorities.⁶¹ By contrast, in the fourteenth century, the textual authority of the Litlyngton *Ordo* and other versions of the fourth recension encompassed only the liturgical aspects of coronations. Clearly, the expanded rubrics of the Litlyngton *Ordo* did describe some of the wider, non-liturgical dimensions of coronation ritual. Indeed, these aspects of coronation ritual were textualised within the *ordo* tradition for the very first time. In these cases, however, the rubrics in the Litlyngton *Ordo* were not simply imposing procedure where it had previously been entirely absent.

Many non-liturgical aspects of coronation ritual had long been regulated in their form, and in some instances these procedures had already become textualised. For example, fourteenth-century procedure relating to the adjudication of claims to perform formal offices at coronations was developed with reference to a surviving official written record of the distribution of offices at the coronation of Queen Eleanor of Provence in 1236. Clearly, the nascent textual authority of *ordines* must be understood in the context of a wider picture in which there existed a variety of other influences shaping coronation

⁵⁹ On the circumstances surrounding Edward III’s coronation, see C. Valente, “The Deposition and Abdication of Edward II,” *EHR*, 103 (1998): 852-81.

⁶⁰ See Sandquist, “English Coronations,” pp. 85-146, on the coronation of Richard II.

⁶¹ See *ECR*, pp. xxx, 240-1, for Henry VIII’s proposed alteration of the coronation oath.

practice. Indeed, the survival of government memoranda for the coronation of Edward II, and the enrollment in the chancery of an ‘official’ record of the coronation of Richard II, both seem to indicate that the crown was in fact engaged in a process of textualising procedure which in some senses paralleled the textualisation of the coronation liturgy in *ordines*.⁶² In summary, it seems clear that coronation performance was influenced by the existence of a whole *mélange* of textualised and non-textualised prescriptions, all of which were in practice susceptible to modifications that responded to the contextual demands generated by distinct coronation occasions.

The fact that the Litlyngton *Ordo* cannot straightforwardly be regarded as an authoritative ritual text raises a further series of questions over the extent to which it can be regarded as a neutral ritual text. Significantly, analysis of the revised aspects of the coronation *ordo* seems to indicate that the process of textual revision responded in some part to the dictates of a discernable monastic agenda. The existence of such an agenda is most obvious in relation to the emergence of a series of prescriptive rubrics in the fourth recension concerning the issue of custodial rights over the coronation regalia. Although Westminster Abbey had claimed custody of the regalia with a varying degree of success since at least the early thirteenth century, its enjoyment of custodial privileges was upset as a result of the 1303 great robbery of the abbey treasury housed in the crypt below the chapter house.⁶³ The regalia appears to have been returned to the possession of the monks of Westminster immediately following the coronation of Edward II in 1308.⁶⁴ However, by the mid-fourteenth century, much of the regalia was being stored at the Tower of London, while the crowns kept at the treasury in the cloister of the abbey (the pyx chapel)

⁶² For 1308, see above p. 42, n. 49. See below p. 180, n. 83, for references relating to the *Processus* account of the coronation of Richard II. The coronation rolls of Henry IV and Henry V deal purely with the allocation of coronation services. See PRO, C 57/2 and PRO, C 57/3. Incomplete extracts of the former are published in *Foedera*, III (iv): 163-4; G.J. Townsend, *History of the Great Chamberlainship of England* (London, 1934), pp. 91-2. The latter remains unpublished.

⁶³ Richardson, “Coronation in Medieval England,” pp. 192-4. Edward I’s coronation crown was removed from storage in the abbey crypt to the Tower of London following the 1303 robbery. See H. Cole (ed.), *Documents Illustrative of English History in the Thirteenth and Fourteenth Centuries* (London, 1844), p. 277; T.F. Tout, *Chapters in the Administrative History of Mediaeval England*, 6 vols. (Manchester, 1920-33), II: 53-8. On regalia, see below pp. 74-92.

⁶⁴ Richardson & Sayles, “Early Coronation Records: The Coronation of Edward II,” pp. 6, 10.

were in the custody of the king's treasurer rather than that of the monks.⁶⁵

It is against this context that an explicit claim to custody of the coronation robes and communion vessels was introduced into the first revision of the 1308 coronation *ordo*.⁶⁶ An attempt to associate the various coronation 'ornaments' with St. Edward the Confessor was a notable feature of the custodial claim within this revised *ordo*.⁶⁷ The custodial theme is further elaborated in the Litlyngton *Ordo* where a new rubric was inserted at the end of the third section of the text which amounted to a forthright assertion of the integrity of the various rights and privileges of the monks.⁶⁸ In particular, it was claimed that Westminster Abbey enjoyed special prerogative rights to the custody of the regalia, and that these rights were supported not only by papal bulls and royal charters, but also by "old custom always observed."⁶⁹ The elaborate arrangements for stripping the king of his vestments within the shrine chapel of St. Edward prior to departure from the abbey were possibly 'invented' with the express purpose of ensuring that the abbey retained possession of these vestments.⁷⁰ Meanwhile, the arrangements for returning the sceptres to the abbey after the coronation banquet were also carefully detailed in the revised text.

In reality, the bold assurance with which the claims of Westminster Abbey are advanced in the Litlyngton *Ordo* must be set against evidence that the whole procedure of the king's disrobing at the end of the coronation mass was simply ignored at the coronation of Richard II in 1377.⁷¹ Indeed, it seems sensible to interpret the great stress placed in the *ordo* text on the established nature of Westminster Abbey's rights and privileges, as

⁶⁵ *ECR*, pp. 79-80: an inventory of the regalia made by the treasurer William Edington on 28 November 1356. However, a monastic inventory of 1359 indicates that much of the regalia was once again in the possession of the abbey by this date. See J.A. Robinson (ed.), *The History of Westminster Abbey by John Flete*, Notes and Documents Relating to Westminster Abbey, 2 (Cambridge, 1909), pp. 18-21, 71.

⁶⁶ *Three Coronation Orders*, p. 123.

⁶⁷ In 1335 Edward III confirmed a forged charter in the abbey's possession which was purportedly granted to the monastic community by Edward the Confessor. This charter made reference to St. Edward's supposed gift of his crown and regalia to the abbey. See *CChR 1327-41*, p. 330. For more detailed discussion, see D.A. Carpenter, "The Burial of King Henry III, the 'Regalia' and Royal Ideology," in *idem*, *The Reign of Henry III* (London & Rio Grande, 1996), pp. 448-56, especially pp. 454-5.

⁶⁸ *ECR*, pp. 106-8, 127-8. See above p. 41.

⁶⁹ *Ibid.*, pp. 107, 128.

⁷⁰ Of course, the abbot also claimed the right to vest the king in his coronation robes at the beginning of the investiture phase of the coronation service. See above p. 37.

⁷¹ See below p. 147, n. 45.

evidence that such claims responded to monastic aspirations more than they reflected widely accepted arrangements.

Conclusions

The identification of the various revisions of the fourth recension *ordo* with Westminster Abbey largely eliminates any need to ascribe these texts to particular coronation occasions. On this point, it is important to distinguish a recognition of the ‘prescriptive’ quality of these *ordines* from a secondary assumption that they therefore constituted ‘official’ texts linked to particular coronation performances. By implication, this distinction frees the historian from over-reliance on *ordines* when assessing what really mattered within coronation practice. As will be seen in Part Two of this thesis, those aspects of a coronation which were best suited to contextual political manipulation were also those least adequately prescribed in the Litlyngton *Ordo*.

Naturally enough, the various revisions of the fourth recension did absorb some of the broader resonances which emanated from the political environment in which they were compiled. Not only do these environmental details allow the historian to put tentative revision dates on the different versions of the *ordo* text, they also facilitate the type of study of coronation *ordines* so favoured by the earlier constitutional historians. However, while some wider contextual details are inevitably embedded in the various revised texts of the coronation *ordo*, it remains doubtful whether the revision process was ever directly inspired by political considerations on any occasion other than 1307-8. Instead, the revisions tend more obviously to articulate a particularised *monastic agenda*, suggesting that the spur to revise was perhaps shaped primarily by the vicissitudes of Westminster Abbey’s experiences and fortunes in relation to the crown. Significantly, it cannot simply be assumed that the dynamics of such experiences were necessarily determined by the cycle of coronation performances. Indeed, evidence relating to the custody of the coronation regalia suggests that this may not have been the case. At best, it might be said that the expectation of a coronation in the near future would perhaps have produced a more fertile inscriptive environment in which existing *ordines* were more likely to be dusted down and re-examined.

It must be borne in mind when discussing the prescriptive aspect of the Litlyngton *Ordo* that considerable constraints were imposed on the evolution of the fourth recension text by the instinctively reverential attitude that the revisers held towards this long-

established textual tradition. In short, the process of textual revision was characterised by the accumulation of new detailing far more than it was by the expurgation of old detailing. Indeed, the Litlyngton *Ordo* might well have been characterised as a thoroughly old-fashioned text at the very same moment as it could have been described as newfangled. As Richardson remarks, the Litlyngton *Ordo* is really:

...a monumental and disorderly pastiche, revered by later generations for its antiquity and apparent authority rather than for its fitness or felicity.⁷²

The fundamental inflexibility of the *ordo* explains why discrepancies are so easily identified whenever versions of the text are compared with narrative accounts of actual coronation practice. None of this is to deny that the coronation *ordo* exercised an important and practical prescriptive function within the performative context of coronations. Instead, it is simply to acknowledge that the designers of coronations did not feel themselves hidebound to follow precisely the specifications laid down in liturgical *ordines*.

The perceived authority of the Litlyngton *Ordo* in all matters concerning coronation ritual increased steadily after the fourteenth century. In part, this situation can doubtless be explained by the expansion of the rubrics in this version of the *ordo*. Not only did expanded rubrics lend the Litlyngton *Ordo* the character of a more practical ritual text, they also created the impression of a far more holistic set of textual prescriptions through their intrusion into a number of the non-liturgical areas of coronation ritual. At the same time, however, the evolving authority enjoyed by the Litlyngton *Ordo* is also explicable in terms of the general power of textualisation. Quite simply, the authority of prescribed practice came to replace the authority of past performed practice. Over time coronations came to conform more closely with the specifications laid down in textual prescriptions, as seen for example in the earliest recorded performance of the ‘admonition of the clergy’ at the coronation of Richard III and Anne Neville in 1483.⁷³

In terms of ritual practice, the price of textualisation was the development of an environment in which rituals became increasingly fixed in their form, as well as progressively less sensitive in their performance to contextual influences. Additionally, the

⁷² Richardson, “Coronation in Medieval England,” p. 148.

⁷³ See above p. 36, n. 17.

traditional core rituals of the coronation ceremony became ever more redundant as a result of textualisation, thereby creating a situation in which those ritual activities previously viewed as more peripheral aspects of coronation practice came increasingly to occupy a central role as the preferred contexts for political expression.

(III) Ordo for the Funeral of the King

Manuscript Sources

The *ordo* for the funeral of the king survives in only one medieval recension. The earliest known version of this text is appended to the copies of the Litlyngton *Ordo* preserved in the late fourteenth-century Westminster Abbey group of manuscripts.⁷⁴ This coincidence of manuscript sources will be discussed at greater length shortly.⁷⁵ The funeral *ordo* preserved in the Westminster manuscripts is a very short text which is entirely concerned with outlining the preparatory arrangements for a royal funeral, particularly in respect of the aesthetic presentation of the corpse.⁷⁶ A much fuller version of the funeral *ordo* dating from the mid-fifteenth century survives in a single manuscript now in Portugal known as *Liber Regie Capelle*.⁷⁷

Liber Regie Capelle is essentially a custumal of the English royal chapel. It comprises a variety of self-contained texts which outline the composition of the royal chapel, the daily liturgical responsibilities of the chaplains, and the prescribed form of a series of occasional royal rituals with which the chapel was involved. The circumstances of the manuscript's production have been reconstructed by the editor of *Liber Regie Capelle* from a prefatory dedication in the text.⁷⁸ *Liber Regie Capelle* was compiled under the auspices of William Say, dean of the royal chapel, at the special request of Count Alvaro Vaz d'Almada, a Portuguese nobleman who had attained a degree of prominence

⁷⁴ See above p. 32, n. 2.

⁷⁵ See below pp. 64-5.

⁷⁶ For published editions of the text, see *Missale*, II: 734-5; Idoate (ed.), "Ceremonial de Coronación," pp. 179-80.

⁷⁷ *LRC*, pp. 111-15.

⁷⁸ *Ibid.*, pp. 10-11.

at the English royal court.⁷⁹ Alvaro intended to give the manuscript as a gift to his king, Alfonso V, but the count died before being afforded an opportunity to do so. As d'Almada died only a few months after the accession of Alfonso V, the production of *Liber Regie Capelle* can confidently be dated to the period 1448-9.⁸⁰

To date, historical interest in *Liber Regie Capelle* has centred rather exclusively on the annotated version of the Litlyngton *Ordo* coronation text preserved in the manuscript.⁸¹ Nevertheless, it is arguable that the text of the royal funeral *ordo* in *Liber Regie Capelle* is actually of somewhat greater historical interest. Strictly speaking, this funeral text does not constitute a new recension of the *ordo* for the funeral of a king, as the original late fourteenth-century *ordo* text is incorporated in its entirety into the fuller mid-fifteenth-century version. However, although the opening passage of the *Liber Regie Capelle* text is a verbatim transcription of the whole of the earlier Westminster text, this passage comprises barely a quarter of the *ordo*'s total length.

The new instructions contained in the *Liber Regie Capelle* text are concerned with the preparation of the funeral hearse and the sepulchral church, the spatial arrangement of the mourners and officiating clergy at the office of the dead, the ordering of the masses, the scale of the oblations of gold cloths on the day of burial, and the arrangements for offering the king's chivalric 'achievements' at his tomb. Additionally, the text provides the earliest recorded prescriptions for the use of a funeral effigy, as well as instructions for the suitable procession of the royal corpse between the place of death and the place of burial.

The Text

The funeral *ordo* preserved in *Liber Regie Capelle* opens with instructions for the treatment and preparation of the royal cadaver. The chamberlains of the royal household are ordered to wash and rub spices into the dead body of the anointed king, before wrapping the corpse in waxed linen cloth so that only the face and beard are left exposed. The text warns the chamberlains to beware of the brains and entrails of the king, before passing to a detailed

⁷⁹ Ibid., p. 10. D'Almada was created a knight of the Garter in July 1445 and was also created duke of Avranches by Henry VI around the same time.

⁸⁰ Ibid., pp. 10-11.

⁸¹ Ullmann's introduction to the *Liber Regie Capelle* text devotes twenty-two pages to the coronation *ordo* compared to a mere eight pages devoted to all of the other contents of the manuscript combined.

description of how the corpse ought to be dressed.⁸² It is instructed that the dead king is to be garbed in a full length tunic over which the royal *pallium* should be placed. Each finger and thumb of the king's hands should be individually sewn into the linen cloth and the hands are to be placed in gloves embroidered with gold thread. The king's beard is to be neatly arranged on his chest and his face is to be covered with a silk handkerchief.

Next there follows precise instructions concerning the correct display of items of regalia on the dressed corpse of the king. The royal crown or diadem is to be placed on the king's head and a golden or gilded ring is to be put on the middle finger of his right hand. The king is to hold in his right hand a gilded ball (*pila*) surmounted by a long rod with the sign of the Lord's cross on top.⁸³ A gilded sceptre (*septrum*) extending to the level of the king's left ear is to be placed in the king's left hand.⁸⁴ Finally, the legs and feet of the corpse are to be dressed in silk stockings and sandals. Adorned in such a manner, the royal corpse should reverently be delivered by the bishops and magnates of the kingdom to the king's chosen place of burial.⁸⁵ This instruction concludes *De Exequiis regalibus* as it is recorded in all surviving late medieval manuscripts other than in the version preserved in *Liber Regie Capelle*.

Having described the appropriate preparation of the royal corpse, the funeral *ordo* provides further instructions for the suitable preparation and arrangement of the sepulchral church. Prior to the funeral service, a large wooden hearse reaching up to the roof of the church is to be constructed by a skilled carpenter at a place between the choir and the high altar. It is prescribed that during the performance of the obsequies the royal corpse should be lying within the hearse on a bier covered with cloth of gold. The whole structure of the

⁸² *LRC*, p. 111. The health risk posed by decaying royal corpses is illustrated by the story that a royal servant died after inhaling foul-smelling fumes that were given off during an ill-conceived and long overdue attempt to disembowel and embalm the corpse of Henry I (d. 1135). See A. Erlande-Brandenburg, *Le Roi est Mort: Étude sur les Funerailles, les Sepultures et les Tombeaux des Rois de France jusqu'à la Fin du XIII^{ème} Siècle* (Geneva, 1975), p. 15. See also E.A.R. Brown, "Death and the Human Body in the Later Middle Ages: The Legislation of Boniface VIII on the Division of the Corpse," *Viator*, 12 (1981): 221-70.

⁸³ *LRC*, p. 111. "...et in dextra manu sua ponetur pila rotunda deaurata, in qua uirga deaurata erit fixa a manu ipsius usque ad pectus protensa, in cuius uirge summitate erit signum dominice crucis, quod super pectus eiusdem principis honeste debet collocari."

⁸⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 112. "In sinistra uero manu septrum deauratum habebit usque ad aurem sinistram decenter protensum."

⁸⁵ *Ibid.* The specifications of the funeral *ordo* concerning the visual appearance of the royal corpse accord well with the reported appearance of the corpse of Edward I at the opening of the king's tomb. See J. Ayloffe, "An Account of the Body of King Edward the First, as it Appeared on Opening his Tomb in the Year 1774," *Archaeologia*, 3 (1775): 380-4, and fig. 1 below.

hearse should be adorned with candles and wax tapers, and it should be enclosed entirely within wooden barriers.⁸⁶ These barriers are to be hung with black cloth in the same manner as is the rest of the burial church.⁸⁷

The funeral *ordo* also provides detailed instructions for the spatial arrangement of the mourners at the obsequies performed on the eve of the king's interment. The wooden barriers which are instructed to be placed around the hearse seem to have served the important purpose of separating the attendant mourners into distinct groups. It is specified that an inner circle of mourners should consist of the queen and other noblewomen.⁸⁸ These female mourners were presumably meant to stand within the barriers immediately adjacent to the hearse.⁸⁹ An outer circle of mourners is expected to be composed of lords of the royal blood and other royal kinsmen all with mournful faces. Finally, a miscellaneous third group of mourners should stand outside these two circles and consist of nobles and other people holding two hundred torches while lamenting and mourning the

⁸⁶ *LRC*, p. 112. See fig. 2. This contemporary drawing from the Islip Roll of the hearse of John Islip, abbot of Westminster (d. 1532) gives a good general impression of the appearance of a funeral hearse. Islip's hearse did not house an effigy. See also figs 3 & 4. These illuminations depict two of the hearses used in the funeral of Anne of Brittany (d. 1514), successively queen to Charles VIII and Louis XII of France.

⁸⁷ *LRC*, p. 112. See W. Dolben (ed.), "The Manner of Burienge Great Persons in Ancient Tymes," *Archaeologia*, 1 (1770): 347, for a series of late medieval prescriptions which relate to heraldic display within funerary churches. It is specified that twelve scutcheons of arms should be set on the barriers within and without the funeral hearse, and thirty-six heraldic pencils should be displayed amongst the lights on the hearse. Scutcheons should also be displayed on each pillar of the church and in the four parts of the church. Additionally, the banners of the Trinity, the Virgin, St. George and another banner appropriate to the deceased person should be "...set above in iiii partes of the saide hers and his standard alsoo." See figs. 3-4, for visual depictions of some of these features. Although not mentioned in the *Liber Regie Capelle* text, the practice of displaying four religious banners at the corners of a royal hearse is known from accounts of the funerals of various English kings. For Henry V, see H.T. Riley (ed.), *Historia Anglicana*, 2 vols., RS, 28 (1863-4), II: 345-6; College of Arms, MS M 14, fol. 29, both printed in Hope, "The Funeral, Monument and Chantry Chapel," pp. 132-3, 185, 133-4. For Edward IV, see T. Astle (ed.), "An Extract Relating to the Burial of King Edward IV," *Archaeologia*, 1 (1770): 350; J. Gairdner (ed.), *Letters and Papers Illustrative of the Reigns of Richard III and Henry VII*, 2 vols., RS, 24 (1861-3), I: 5.

⁸⁸ *LRC*, p. 112. Significantly, no prescriptive provision is made for the attendance of the new king at his predecessor's funeral. In the fourteenth century, it seems to have been accepted practice that a new king could attend the funeral obsequies. Edward III and Henry IV certainly attended their predecessor's funerals, while Richard II's probable non-attendance of Edward III's funeral might be accounted for by the boy-king's youth. In fourteenth-century France, royal attendance at a king's funeral appears to have formed an important aspect of the succession process. See Brown, "Double Funeral of Louis X," pp. 227-71. Nevertheless, by the later fifteenth-century, French funeral practice had evolved such that a new king's attendance at the funeral of his predecessor was prohibited. See Giesey, *Royal Funeral Ceremony*, pp. 41-9. In England, fifteenth-century kings also tended to stay away from predecessor's funerals, although there is no evidence of any formal ruling on this practice.

⁸⁹ See fig. 2. Accounts of the burial of Edward IV refer to the chief mourners standing "within the herse." See "Burial of King Edward IV," pp. 351, 352; *Letters and Papers*, I: 6, 8.

death of the king. All three groups of mourners are instructed to dress in black hooded robes made from velvet.⁹⁰

The funeral text specifies that the clerical mourners at the obsequies for a king should be seated in the choir of the sepulchral church, placing them further from the hearse than many of the secular mourners. The senior officiating cleric ought to be an archbishop, who should sit either in his seat below the choir or in a seat towards the right corner of the altar. The bishops are instructed to sit in the upper stalls of the choir wearing surplices with furred hoods, whilst the clerics of the royal chapel are required to sit in the lower stalls. The *ordo* instructs the attendant ecclesiastics to remove their mitres or black hats during readings made by the archbishop. Additionally, these clerics are required to cense the royal corpse during the singing of the psalm *Benedictus*. After the completion of the obsequies the archbishop and the other clerics could expect to be served wine and spices.⁹¹

The funeral text specifies that a vigil should be kept over the royal corpse throughout the night preceding the dead king's interment.⁹² On the actual day of the burial at least three masses ought to be celebrated, the first to the Virgin, the second to the Trinity and the third a requiem mass.⁹³ At each of these masses there are to be made oblations of gold cloths.⁹⁴ It is recommended that the senior royal mourners should offer sixteen, twenty-four and thirty gold cloths at each respective mass. The other attendant lords and relatives of the king might offer similar oblations, the number of the cloths given being determined by the rank of the individual mourner.⁹⁵

The *ordo* also indicates that during the celebration of the requiem mass a knight

⁹⁰ *LRC*, p. 112. However, the clergy are instructed to wear gowns of black cloth.

⁹¹ *Ibid.*, pp. 112-13.

⁹² *Ibid.*, p. 113. See "Burial of King Edward IV," pp. 352-3; *Letters and Papers*, I: 8.

⁹³ *LRC*, p. 113. In 1483, the celebration of masses and the offering of oblations continued over many days between the death and burial of the king. See "Burial of King Edward IV," pp. 349-50; *Letters and Papers*, I: 4-5.

⁹⁴ In 1483, a mass penny was offered at each mass by a senior noble. The offering of gold cloths occurred at the end of the requiem mass. See "Burial of King Edward IV," pp. 353, 354-5; *Letters and Papers*, I: 8-9, 10.

⁹⁵ *LRC*, p. 113. There survives an account in the 1422-3 sacrist's roll of Westminster Abbey pertaining to the oblation of 222 gold cloths on the vigil and day of Henry V's funeral. The dowager queen Joan of Navarre who acted as principle mourner at the funeral offered twenty-four cloths. Other large oblations were made on behalf of Henry's absent widow and son. See Hope, "Funeral, Monument and Chantry Chapel," pp. 139-40, 186.

mounted on the dead king's horse and dressed in his livery and arms should approach the altar step of the burial church and humbly offer up the royal horse and arms along with the king's standard as an oblation.⁹⁶ At the end of the requiem mass a second knight mounted on another richly caparisoned royal horse is instructed to enter the church carrying an escutcheon bearing the heraldic arms of the dead king. This escutcheon is to be carried in a transverse position "...as if to say *he is dead*."⁹⁷ The knight is to place this escutcheon at the foot of the king's tomb, whereupon an attendant lord of the royal blood is required to seize it up with the bottom of the escutcheon now properly pointing downwards "...as if to say *the king lives*."⁹⁸ As the text indicates, the ritualized surrender and re-acquisition of the royal arms were intended to convey visually the notion that the accession of a new king was already accomplished. This section of the *ordo* text concludes with the injunction that alms should be distributed and food solemnly partaken by the mourners prior to their departure in peace.

The concluding section of the funerary prescriptions in *Liber Regie Capelle* forms a corollary to the preceding instructions concerning the performance of the funeral service. This section offers additional prescriptions that are to be followed in the event of a king dying at a distance from his designated place of burial. In this event, the body of the king is to be wrapped in his tightest fitting clothes and placed in a coffin. This should be well sealed with wax and also if necessary with lead.⁹⁹ Over the coffin there should be placed

⁹⁶ *LRC*, p. 113.

⁹⁷ *Ibid.*, pp. 113-4. "...portans scutum de dictis armis regiis, puncto eiusdem scuti et armorum eleuato superius et armis transuersis, quasi diceret *Consummatum est*."

⁹⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 114. "Et ipsum scutum sic transuersum ibidem dimittit ad pedes sepulcri regii. Quod scutum statim accipit aliquis dominus uel miles alius de sanguine Regis, et ipsum scutum eleuando transponit et punctum uertendo inferius deprimit, quasi diceret *Vivit rex*, uidelicet heres et successor Regis iam premortui." The textual prescriptions relating to the oblation of the king's heraldic achievements differs from the description of this action at the funeral of Edward IV in 1483. On the latter occasion, arrangements were more complex. Various royal heralds presented different parts of the royal achievements to designated nobles, who in turn offered the achievements at the altar. After each offering the archbishop of York (who officiated at the requiem mass) returned the achievements to the designated heralds. Only one knight entered on horseback during the service. This knight, Sir William Parr, was presented at the church door to various heralds and pursuivants by the master of the horse, Sir John Cheney. Parr rode bareheaded but fully armoured to the entrance of the choir, where he dismounted and surrendered the horse to the deacon in readiness for the offering. See "Burial of King Edward IV," p. 354; *Letters and Papers*, I: 9-10.

⁹⁹ *LRC*, p. 114. The corpses of both Henry IV and Henry V were enclosed in lead casings. For Henry IV, see J.H. Spry, "A Brief Account of the Examination of the Tomb of King Henry IV, in the Cathedral of Canterbury, August 21, 1832," *Archaeologia*, 26 (1836): 440-5. For Henry V, see Hope, "Funeral, Monument and Chantry Chapel," pp. 129-30, 184, 134. See below pp. 137-63, for the treatment of the corpse of Richard II in 1400.

a white cloth made of satin damask onto which a red cross made of velvet is to be sewn. The text instructs that the coffin and its pall should be placed on a funeral car draped in black cloth, and that on top of the cloth there should be placed a funeral effigy of the king depicting him in good health. The effigy is to be adorned with royal regalia in the same manner as earlier instructed for the corpse itself.¹⁰⁰

It is also prescribed that the funeral car should be led to the sepulchral church by six or seven horses caparisoned in the royal arms, and that it should be escorted by a multitude of lords and other mourners all clad in black.¹⁰¹ At all times the funeral car should be immediately surrounded by twenty-four valets of the crown each carrying lighted torches.¹⁰² Furthermore, it is instructed that at every place where the cortege stops for the night, the royal coffin is to be rested within a suitable church and obsequies are to be celebrated for the dead king. In recognition of this service, each such church should receive objects and a covering for its altar, and also a chalice. Lastly, it is expected that in every locality the people will process to meet the funeral cortege dressed in black robes and carrying lighted torches.¹⁰³

Analysis

The development of a prescriptive manuscript tradition for royal funeral ritual is a difficult phenomenon to explain, as is the comparative lateness of this development. Questions need to be asked about why the funeral *ordo* took the form that it did, and also about why it first emerged at Westminster Abbey in conjunction with the late fourteenth-century Litlington *Ordo* revision of the coronation order.

¹⁰⁰ *LRC*, p. 114. On funeral effigies, see Hope, "Funeral Effigies," pp. 517-70; A. Harvey & R. Mortimer (eds.), *The Funeral Effigies of Westminster Abbey* (Woodbridge, 1994). See figs. 5-8, for surviving examples of royal funeral effigies from the later middle ages. It is not clear that the deployment of funeral effigies in England was linked to any contemporary notion of the dual character of kingship as has been argued with regard to French royal funeral practice. See Kantorowicz, *King's Two Bodies*, pp. 409-37; Giesey, *Royal Funeral Ceremony*, pp. 177-92. See below pp. 126-30, for fuller discussion and further references.

¹⁰¹ *LRC*, p. 114. See Hope, "Funeral, Monument and Chantry Chapel," pp. 135-6, for discussion of the horses' trappers at the funeral of Henry V. As with coronations, the ordering of processions was a matter of considerable importance and was duly noted by contemporary commentators. For the funeral of Henry V, see College of Arms, MS M 14, fol. 29, printed in Hope, "Funeral, Monument and Chantry Chapel," pp. 133-4. For the funeral of Edward IV, see "Burial of King Edward IV," pp. 350-2; *Letters and Papers*, I: 5-6, 7.

¹⁰² *LRC*, p. 114.

¹⁰³ *Ibid.*, pp. 114-5.

Although a prescriptive textual tradition for royal funerals did not emerge until the later fourteenth century, the solidification of ritualised practices at royal funerals can be traced back at least as far as the late twelfth century. On the death of Henry the ‘Young King’ in 1183, and again six years later on the death of Henry II, the corpses of English kings were displayed in death dressed in royal robes and regalia.¹⁰⁴ The ritualisation of royal funeral practice continued to develop through the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, and was reflected for example in the custom of interring kings in their coronation robes.¹⁰⁵

Additionally, the character of royal funerals was also affected in this period by two consecutive constitutional developments concerning the dating of accession. In 1272, Edward I’s accession to the throne was dated from the day following the burial of Henry III, rather than from the day of his own coronation as had previously been the custom. However, this arrangement proved unsatisfactory, so in 1307 the accession of Edward II was dated from the day following Edward I’s death.¹⁰⁶ These constitutional changes had both direct and indirect effects on the ritual status of royal funeral. Firstly, the constitutional experiment of 1272 forged a powerful connection linking the act of burial to the moment of accession. Although this connection had no basis in law after 1272, the notion that funeral served as an appropriate arena for the symbolic transference of royal authority became embedded in funeral ritual. It was reflected, for example, in the ritualised surrender and recovery of the king’s heraldic achievements during the requiem mass performed prior to the interment of the king.¹⁰⁷ Secondly, an important result of the re-dating of royal accession in 1307 was the elimination of a formal period of *interregnum* separating reigns. In ritual terms, this caused the easing of a traditional pressure to stage royal funerals and coronations with the maximum possible haste. After 1307, the average interval of time separating the death and burial of English kings increased dramatically, in the process creating considerable scope for the development of far greater elaboration in

¹⁰⁴ Erlande-Brandenburg, *Le Roi est Mort*, pp. 15-17; Hope, “Funeral Effigies,” pp. 523-4.

¹⁰⁵ See below pp. 76, 128-30.

¹⁰⁶ See Schramm, *English Coronation*, pp. 166-7.

¹⁰⁷ See above pp. 54-5. In early sixteenth-century French royal funeral practice there developed an elaborately ritualized fiction that the dead king continued to reign until he was literally interred in the ground. See Giesey, *Royal Funeral Ceremony*, pp. 1-19, 177-92.

ritual practice.¹⁰⁸

If royal funeral ceremonial was becoming more complex in the fourteenth century, then it is also arguable that there existed an increased need for the establishment of ritual clarity through the textualisation of procedure. When Edward III died in 1377, almost fifty years had passed since the previous funeral of an English king.¹⁰⁹ Clearly, if royal funerals were performed this infrequently, then knowledge of the ritual procedures to be followed would probably not have been within the easy reach of living memory.¹¹⁰ Nevertheless, while practical requirements are an appealing explanation for the emergence of a funeral *ordo* in the later fourteenth century, there are also reasons for believing that this is not an altogether satisfactory hypothesis.

A particular problem with this explanation is the highly selective nature of the ritual coverage in *De Exequiis regalibus*. The earliest version of the funeral *ordo* made no attempt to prescribe anything other than the arrangements for the visual presentation of the royal corpse. Indeed, the term ‘*ordo*’ is really a misnomer, as the funeral text has no liturgical content whatsoever. In all probability, the absence of a prescribed liturgy reflected the generic character of this dimension of royal obsequies. In theory, at least, the funeral liturgy was intended to be socially inclusive, distinguishing only between those within and without the body of the Holy Church.¹¹¹ This situation reflected the Christian tenet that the living and the dead were all equal in the eyes of God. From a liturgical perspective, it is doubtful whether the funerals of kings and queens exhibited any profound differences from the funerals of members of other elite social groups. Instead, royal status

¹⁰⁸ An average interval of 52 days lapsed between the deaths and burials of the six English kings who died natural deaths between 1307 and 1509.

¹⁰⁹ However, funerals and/or obsequies were staged for two English queens, the captive King John II of France and the Black Prince in the period 1358-76.

¹¹⁰ This problem is articulated in the introductory remarks of a contemporary narrative account of the funeral of Charles VI of France in 1422: “And his obsequies were very noble considering the great altercations there were and the diverse opinions on the manner in which they should be done. Because, in this time there were few people who remembered how it was customary, in times past, to carry the kings of France to the grave, and in what order the people should proceed, each according to his rank. Because the event does not occur often, and nothing concerning it is found in writing, for this reason I will make here mention of that which was done, in order to give an example when this event shall occur again.” See “Cérémonial de l’inhumation de Charles VI,” published and translated in Giesey, *Royal Funeral Ceremony*, pp. 99, 198. On this English sponsored funeral, see Y. Grandeau, “La mort et les obsèques de Charles VI,” *Bulletin philologique et historique (jusqu’à 1610) du comité des travaux historiques et scientifiques* (1970): 133-86.

¹¹¹ See: R.C. Finucane, “Sacred Corpse, Profane Carrion: Social Ideals and Death Rituals in the Later Middle Ages,” in J. Whaley (ed.), *Mirrors of Mortality: Studies in the Social History of Death* (London, 1981), pp. 40-60.

was expressed and articulated outside of the strictures of the funeral liturgy, in terms of the visual dimensions, scale and cost of funeral ritual, and also in terms of the politics of royal burial space.¹¹²

The preparation and dressing of the royal corpse in readiness for display were aspects of royal funeral ritual which distinguished the funeral of a king from the funerals of members of other leading groups in society. However, it must be recognised that these were not the only non-liturgical feature of royal funerals which contributed to the construction of a 'royal' identity for the deceased king. The *ordo* text does not give conscious expression to the ways in which a hierarchic conception of society was articulated through gradations in the scale of ritual display. Yet, this was clearly an important consideration in the design of rituals such as funerals which on their most basic level were universal social experiences. In 1364, for example, two hundred and fifty torches were reportedly lit at St. Paul's Cathedral in London for the celebration of obsequies for John II of France.¹¹³ Meanwhile, Richard II envisaged the use of no fewer than four hearses in the funeral celebrations which he prescribed in his will of April 1399.¹¹⁴ Another means of articulating royal status was through the display of royal arms or the arms of royal saints at a king's funeral. Once again, this practice is not mentioned in the fourteenth-century funeral *ordo*, although it is prescribed in the later *Liber Regie*

¹¹² On burial space generally, see Finucane, "Sacred Corpse, Profane Carrion," pp. 40-60; Binski, *Medieval Death*, pp. 70-92; C. Wilson, "The Medieval Monuments," in P. Collinson, N. Ramsey & M. Sparks (eds.), *A History of Canterbury Cathedral* (Oxford, 1995), pp. 451-510. On royal burial space in France, see Erlande-Brandenburg, *Le Roi est Mort*, pp. 49-72; G.S. Wright, "A Royal Tomb Programme in the Reign of St. Louis," *Art Bulletin*, 57 (1974): 224-43; E.M. Hallam, "Royal Burial and the Cult of Kingship in France and England, 1060-1330," *JMH*, 8 (1982): 368-74; idem, "Philip the Fair and the Cult of Saint Louis," *Studies in Church History*, 18 (1982): 201-14; Brown, "Death and the Human Body," pp. 221-70; idem, "The Prince is Father of the King: The Character and Childhood of Philip the Fair of France," *Medieval Studies*, 49 (1987): 312-13.

¹¹³ H. Géraud (ed.), "Chronicle of Jean de Venette," in *Chronique Latine de Guillaume de Nangis avec les Continuations*, 2 vols. (Paris, 1843), II: 339. This number compares favourably with the one hundred and twenty torches used at both the funeral of Henry IV and the re-interment of Richard II in 1413. See F. Devon (ed.), *Issues of the Exchequer: King Henry III to King Henry VI* (London, 1837), pp. 326-7. However, some four hundred esquires carrying torches were recorded at the funeral of Edward III on 5 July 1377. See PRO, E159/154, Brevia Directa Baronibus, Easter term, cited in N. Saul, *Richard II* (New Haven & London, 1997), p. 23.

¹¹⁴ See J. Nichol (ed.), *A Collection of all the Wills...of the Kings and Queens of England* (London, 1780), pp. 192-4, printed in translation in J. Harvey, *The Plantagenets* (New York, 1959), pp. 222-3. *Issues of the Exchequer*, pp. 265-6, records a payment of £41 8s 10d to the wax chandler Roger Elys for supplying four hearses with wax lights for the funeral of Queen Anne of Bohemia in August 1394.

Capelle version of the funeral text.¹¹⁵ In reality, heraldic display was a feature of ritual practice at least as early as the funeral of Edward II in 1327, when gilt lions wearing mantles displaying the royal arms of England were placed on the king's hearse.¹¹⁶ Meanwhile, Edward III's funeral was responsible for establishing a formal itinerary for the celebration of royal obsequies. A requiem mass was sung over Edward's corpse at St. Paul's prior to the final interment of the king at Westminster Abbey. No version of the funeral *ordo* expresses any notion of there being a generally accepted route for a royal funeral cortege. Nonetheless, the celebration of obsequies at St. Paul's was expressly demanded in the will of Richard II, and this procedure was duly followed at Richard's funeral in 1400, as well as at the funerals of Henry V in 1422, Henry VI in 1471 and Henry VII in 1509.¹¹⁷

The value of the funeral *ordo* as a practical manual was undoubtedly limited by its focus upon a single aspect of ceremonial (the preparation and dressing of the corpse) for which procedure was long-established and possibly widely-known.¹¹⁸ Additionally, however, it is also noteworthy that the funeral text was rather conservative in its prescriptions, for example eliding discussion of fourteenth-century innovations in ritual practice which related to the physical representation of a dead king. The *ordo* makes no reference to the introduction of the funeral effigy into royal funeral practice, although arguably textual guidelines would have had practical value in this instance. The political

¹¹⁵ See above pp. 54-5.

¹¹⁶ See below pp. 121-3. At the funeral of Edward III in 1377 a knight was specially employed to carry the king's banner and coat of arms. See PRO, E 159/154, cited in Saul, *Richard II*, p. 23. Heraldic considerations were also very prominent in the prescriptions for the Black Prince's funeral recorded in his will of June 1376. See *Collection of Wills*, p. 68. Meanwhile, see *Issues of the Exchequer*, pp. 325-6, for an account relating to the supply of ninety heraldic banners bearing the arms of all the kings of Christendom and other nobles, and fifty heraldic "gytons", all for the funeral of Henry IV at Canterbury on 18 June 1413. The same banners were re-used several months later at the reburial of Richard II in Westminster Abbey (*ibid.*, p. 325).

¹¹⁷ *Collection of Wills*, p. 192. On Richard's funeral, see below pp. 140-5. On 1422, see Hope, "Funeral, Monument and Chantry Chapel," pp. 129-45, especially pp. 131-2. On 1471, see *Issues of the Exchequer*, p. 495. On 1509, see John Leland, *De Rebus Britannicis Collectanea*, ed. T. Hearne, 6 vols. (London, 1774), IV: 303-9. In both 1400 and 1471, royal corpses were taken to St. Paul's but not on to Westminster Abbey for burial. In 1483, there were no obsequies for Edward IV at St. Paul's. This is surprising as the king died at Westminster and his corpse passed through London en route to Windsor. See "Burial of King Edward IV," p. 352; *Letters and Papers*, I: 7.

¹¹⁸ See Ayloffe, "Body of King Edward the First," pp. 380-4. The appearance of Edward I's dressed corpse at the opening of his tomb in 1774 (fig. 1) accorded with prescriptions for dressing a royal corpse preserved in the much later text of the funeral *ordo*.

circumstances which led to the invention of the funeral effigy device for the funeral of Edward II will be discussed later in this thesis.¹¹⁹ However, it should be noted at this juncture, that the usage of a funeral effigy in the funeral of Edward III indicates that this device quickly became an established and accepted feature of royal funeral ritual (fig. 5).¹²⁰ As this development is not reflected in the roughly contemporary text of *De Exequiis regalibus*, it therefore seems probable that the funeral *ordo* was already somewhat outmoded as a practical prescriptive manual at the very point at which it first emerged.

So far, I have somewhat negatively interpreted the emergence of the funeral *ordo* in terms of its inadequate coverage of an increasingly complex area of royal ritual. However, it is possible to develop a more positive understanding of the emergence of the funeral *ordo* by exploring the inscriptive environment in which the *ordo* first emerged. It has already been noted that the earliest surviving copies of *De Exequiis regalibus* are preserved in the same set of late fourteenth-century Westminster Abbey manuscripts as the earliest copies of the Litlington *Ordo* coronation text. This linkage of the funeral *ordo* to Westminster Abbey suggests that it might also be regarded as a Westminster Abbey text. Unfortunately, such an hypothesis cannot categorically be proven one way or the other. Indeed, it is particularly frustrating that the text makes no explicit reference to Westminster Abbey or any other religious institution. Nevertheless, there are grounds for arguing that the very selectivity of the funeral text may itself have responded to the discrete concerns of a discernable monastic agenda. In order to understand this more fully, it is necessary to make an assessment of the compilation date of the funeral *ordo*, and then relate this date to wider patterns in royal burial at Westminster Abbey.

Since the earliest copies of the funeral *ordo* are appended to the earliest copies of the Litlington *Ordo*, it seems likely that the compilation date of the two texts was broadly similar. The compilation date of the Litlington *Ordo* can be fixed with a fair degree of certainty within the period 1362 to 1384.¹²¹ If *De Exequiis regalibus* is tentatively dated to the same period, then this places its compilation within a key transitional period in the fortunes of Westminster Abbey. By the mid-fourteenth century, Westminster Abbey had

¹¹⁹ See below pp. 131-6.

¹²⁰ See P. Lindley, "Edward III," in Harvey & Mortimer (eds.), *Funeral Effigies*, pp. 31-4. An effigy was also deployed at the funeral of Queen Anne of Bohemia in 1394. See *ibid.*, pp. 37-9.

¹²¹ See above pp. 32-3.

secured an undisputed status as the coronation church of English kings. However, at the same time, the abbey's aspirations to be recognised as the official mausoleum of the English monarchy remained unrealised.

During the later thirteenth century, Westminster Abbey had become the favoured burial church of the Plantagenet dynasty. This was a direct result of the Henry III's twin interests in rebuilding the fabric of the monastic church and in promoting the cult of St. Edward the Confessor.¹²² Henry III (d. 1272), Edward I (d. 1307) and Edward's first queen, Eleanor of Castile (d. 1290), were all buried in the shrine chapel of St. Edward within the abbey church.¹²³ Furthermore, in this same period, Westminster Abbey was also favoured as a burial church by leading members of collateral branches of the royal family, including Henry III's second son, Edmund, earl of Lancaster (d. 1296), and the king's half-brother, William de Valence (d. 1296).¹²⁴

In the first half of the fourteenth century the abbey continued to attract occasional burials of lesser-ranking members of the royal family.¹²⁵ However, in general, the privileged position which the abbey had recently enjoyed in relation to royal burials deteriorated during this period. Perhaps the greatest single blow was the burial of Edward II at Gloucester Abbey in 1327. The Westminster monks were unsuccessful in an attempt to secure the reburial of Edward's body at Westminster Abbey, and they were forced to watch enviously as Gloucester's fortunes waxed (possibly under the influence of royal patronage) during the middle decades of Edward III's reign.¹²⁶ An equally serious challenge to the privileges of Westminster Abbey was posed by the development of a fashion for female royal burial at the church of the Friars Minor at Newgate in London. The friary church was founded by Edward I's second queen, Margaret of France, who was duly buried

¹²² P. Binski, *Westminster Abbey and the Plantagenets: Kingship and the Representation of Power, 1200-1400* (New Haven & London, 1995), pp. 10-89.

¹²³ *Ibid.*, pp. 90-112

¹²⁴ *Ibid.*, pp. 112-20. To be added to this group are: Henry III's infant daughter, Katherine (d. 1257); several of Edward I's infant sons; Edmund of Lancaster's first wife, Aveline de Forz (d. 1273, but tomb dated c. 1290-5); and William de Valence's infant children, Margaret (d. 1276) and John (d. 1277). Contrastingly, burial in the French royal mausoleum at the abbey of Saint-Denis was strictly limited to kings and queens (*ibid.*, p. 93).

¹²⁵ *Ibid.*, pp. 118-9, 177-80. Aymer de Valence, earl of Pembroke (d. 1324), and Edward II's second son, John of Eltham, earl of Cornwall (d. 1336).

¹²⁶ D. Welander, *The History, Art and Architecture of Gloucester Cathedral* (Stroud, 1991), pp. 141-50. Also, see below pp. 125, n. 38 & 135-6.

there at her death in 1318. Margaret's example was later followed by Edward II's queen, Isabella of France (d. 1358), Isabella's daughter, Queen Joan of Scotland (d. 1368), and Edward III's eldest daughter, Isabel, countess of Bedford (d. 1369).¹²⁷

A revival in the royal fortunes of Westminster Abbey was signalled by the decisions of Edward III (d. 1377) and Queen Philippa of Hainault (d. 1369) to seek burial within the abbey "...amongst our noble ancestors, kings of England."¹²⁸ Indeed, the closing years of the fourteenth century were to become something of a golden age in the history of Westminster Abbey, as the monks benefited from the very extensive and wide-ranging royal patronage of Richard II.¹²⁹ Nevertheless, during the suggested compilation period of the funeral *ordo*, the privileged position of Westminster Abbey as a royal mausoleum was unlikely to have seemed very secure. Although Edward III was eventually buried in St. Edward's chapel, the king's commitment to burial at Westminster was hardly unswerving over the course of his long reign. In 1338, Edward had even entered into a formal undertaking to be buried near the shrine of the three kings at Cologne.¹³⁰ Westminster Abbey was never a leading recipient of Edward and Philippa's royal patronage, and it is notable that the king's heir, Edward, the Black Prince (d. 1376), pointedly eschewed the choice of Westminster as his place of burial.¹³¹

Arguably, the compilation of a prescriptive funeral text at Westminster Abbey during the 1360s or 1370s should be viewed as an expression of Westminster's pretensions to be recognised as the principal dynastic mausoleum of the English monarchy. This was a time in which the fortunes and prospects of the abbey were again on the rise after a long period of rather negligible royal patronage. Consequently, it was also a time when recognition of

¹²⁷ Binski, *Westminster Abbey*, p. 176. See J. Tait (ed.), *Chronica Johannis de Reading et Anonymi Cantuariensis* (Manchester, 1914), pp. 128-9, for a contemporary suggestion that Queen Isabella was seduced into burial at the church of the Friars Minor in Newgate instead of Westminster Abbey even though the former church was unconsecrated at the time of her death. See also F.D. Blackley, "Isabella of France, Queen of England 1308-1358, and the Late Medieval Cult of the Dead," *CJH*, 14 (1980): 28.

¹²⁸ *Collection of Wills*, p. 60, "...inter clare memorie progenitores nostros reges Anglie regalem eligimus sepulturam."

¹²⁹ See N. Saul, "Richard II and Westminster Abbey," in W.J. Blair & B. Golding (eds.), *The Cloister and the World: Essays in Medieval History in Honour of Barbara Harvey* (Oxford, 1996), pp. 196-218.

¹³⁰ W.M. Ormrod, "The Personal Religion of Edward III," *Speculum*, 64 (1989): 860, n. 68, 872. Edward ultimately declined the option of burial at Cologne in 1359. See below p. 95, n. 68.

¹³¹ See *ibid.*, pp. 853-62, 872-6, for Edward III's patronage. See *Collection of Wills*, p. 66, for the Black Prince's will. On his tomb at Canterbury, see Wilson, "Medieval Monuments," pp. 494-8.

Westminster's rights and privileges in the performance of funeral ritual would have benefited from the cloak of authority lent to monastic claims by the textualisation of ritual procedure. In the late 1490s, Westminster Abbey explicitly advertised itself as the official burial place of English kings in the context of a three-way dispute over custody of Henry VI's remains.¹³² Clearly, in the fourteenth century, the monks of Westminster were less prepared to make claims in such an overt manner. It is notable, for example, that the funeral text does not attempt to locate the prescribed obsequies for a king at any particular location.¹³³ Nevertheless, it should be emphasized that the mere act of compiling a funeral *ordo* was itself a revealing indicator of Westminster Abbey's self-image regarding its institutional expertise in funeral matters. Even if the *ordo* is viewed as a purely practical text, its emergence at Westminster would imply that the abbey expected to exercise substantial responsibilities in the ritual activities described.

The emergence of the funeral *ordo* specifically as an adjunct to the Litlington *Ordo* is also significant, particularly as the latter was a dynamic text which in a forthright manner advanced the contested claims of Westminster Abbey to a series of ritual rights and privileges.¹³⁴ This juxtaposing of a more opaque funeral text with a more obviously partisan coronation text, enabled the funeral *ordo* obliquely to articulate Westminster's jurisdictional aspirations regarding the staging of royal funerals. Additionally, on this point, it is notable that one of the most revealing characteristics of the funeral *ordo* is the extremely limited scope of its prescriptive injunctions. Whilst the *ordo* can have had little practical value as a holistic guide to ritual performance, the text did focus upon the one area of funeral ritual which clearly intersected with the vested interests and avowed expertise of Westminster Abbey in matters concerning regalia. The example of Edward II's funeral indicates that discrete items of coronation regalia continued to be deployed in royal funeral ritual during the early fourteenth century. However, at Edward's funeral it was the Great Wardrobe, rather than Westminster Abbey, which dispatched the coronation regalia to Gloucester and afterwards accounted for its return on the completion of the funeral

¹³² See P.S.J. Grosjean (ed.), *Henrici VI Angliae Regis Miracula Postuma: Ex Codice Musei Britannici Regio 13 c. VIII*, Société des Bollandistes (Brussels, 1935), pp. 180-94. See also B.P. Wolffe, *Henry VI* (London, 1981), pp. 356-8; W.H. St. John Hope, *Windsor Castle: An Architectural History*, 3 vols. (London, 1913), II: 478-80.

¹³³ Instead the *ordo* text merely instructs that the king should be taken to his chosen place of burial. See *Missale*, II: 735, "...ad locum quem pro sua sepultura eligerit."

¹³⁴ See above pp. 48-50.

celebrations.¹³⁵ If Westminster Abbey was excluded from involvement in Edward II's funeral, then perhaps this acted as a spur to the monastic community to stake a claim in the performance of future royal funerals through the promotion of a role for itself as the custodian of canonical writing on funerary ritual procedures.

While the earliest version of the funeral *ordo* can be characterised as a Westminster Abbey text, it should be recognised that the abbey failed in the longer term to secure any formal control over royal funerals, just as it also failed to gain actual possession of a great number of late medieval royal corpses.¹³⁶ Nevertheless, it is interesting to observe that the fourteenth-century funeral text was incorporated wholesale into the much expanded framework of the fifteenth-century *ordo* preserved in *Liber Regie Capelle*. This arrangement illustrates the perceived authority of the earlier Westminster text, and additionally, it serves as evidence of the wider circulation of the *ordo* beyond the confines of the abbey. All the same, it is striking that no explicit connection is apparent which links the expanded fifteenth-century version of the funeral *ordo* to the monastic community at Westminster Abbey. There is nothing about the known provenance of the sole surviving manuscript copy of the *ordo* that would suggest any connection with Westminster Abbey. Furthermore, there are no internal references within the expanded section of the text that would obviously have had a special bearing on the rights and privileges of the Westminster monks.

It has already been noted that the one surviving copy of the full version of the funeral *ordo* exists in a manuscript closely associated with the English royal chapel. However, Walter Ullmann argued that the various texts within *Liber Regie Capelle* were not compiled specifically for the production of Count Alvaro Vaz d'Almada's presentation-copy manuscript of c.1449. Instead, he argued that these texts were probably drawn from a now lost set of official ordinances for the royal chapel.¹³⁷ Ullmann's argument is supported by the prescriptions for the churching of a queen and the baptism of a prince, where a close correlation exists between the relevant texts in *Liber Regie Capelle* and similar texts

¹³⁵ See below pp. 122-3.

¹³⁶ Amongst fifteenth-century kings and queens, only Henry V (d.1422), Katherine of Valois (d.1437), Anne Neville (d. 1485), Elizabeth of York (d. 1503) and Henry VII (d. 1509) were buried in Westminster Abbey. Richard II (d. 1400) was belatedly reburied in his empty Westminster tomb in 1413. See below pp. 158-63. In 1498, Henry VII recognised Westminster's claims over the remains of Henry VI (d. 1471), but the king's body nevertheless stayed at St. George's Chapel, Windsor. See references cited above p. 64, n. 132.

¹³⁷ *LRC*, pp. 5-7.

preserved in the household ordinances of Henry VII, issued in 1493.¹³⁸ However, in the case of the funeral prescriptions, it is notable that the long version of the funeral *ordo* preserved in *Liber Regie Capelle* did not resurface in any other late medieval manuscript text. In the household ordinances of 1493, for example, the funeral *ordo* was recorded in the short Latin version that appears in the late fourteenth-century Westminster manuscripts.¹³⁹ An English narrative account of the funeral of Edward IV in 1483 describes a series of ritual actions which correspond broadly with prescriptions in the *Liber Regie Capelle* version of the *ordo*.¹⁴⁰ However, the prescriptions which preface the narrative simply comprise a revised English version of the Westminster funeral text, in this case modified to take account of the use of a funeral effigy, and also somewhat amplified to take account of the increasingly heraldic character of royal funerals.¹⁴¹

The breadth of coverage of the funeral prescriptions contained in *Liber Regie Capelle* represents the key point of difference between this text and the earlier Westminster Abbey version of the funeral *ordo*. Indeed, it is notable that in a number of respects, the expanded fifteenth-century version of the funeral *ordo* resembles the type of ritual text contained in continental ‘ceremony books’ of the same period.¹⁴² First of all, the text is fairly comprehensive in its prescriptive scope and offers a reasonably well balanced overview of the various stages of the ritual process. In this respect, the *Liber Regie Capelle* text not only differs from the earlier version of the funeral *ordo* with its obviously restricted prescriptive scope, but it also differs from the Litlyngton *Ordo* version of the coronation *ordo* which (despite having a broad prescriptive scope) is noticeably uneven in its ritual coverage. Secondly, the expanded version of the funeral *ordo* remains a thoroughly secular text. Although the revised *ordo* was very possibly compiled within the royal chapel, it is

¹³⁸ LRC, pp. 21, 67-73. For the 1493 ordinances, see *A Collection of Ordinances and Regulations for the Government of the Royal Household made in Divers Reigns*, Society of Antiquaries (London, 1790), pp. 125-6; R. Grose & T. Astle (eds.), *Antiquarian Repertory*, 4 vols. (London, 1807), I: 304-6. See A.R. Myers, *The Household of Edward IV: The Black Book and the Ordinance of 1478* (Manchester, 1959), for an earlier series of household ordinances dating from the reigns of Henry VI and Edward IV.

¹³⁹ *Ordinances and Regulations*, pp. 129-30; *Antiquarian Repertory*, I: 310-11. Instructions in English have been appended to the end of this text relating to the making of the funeral hearse and the form of the trappers covering the horses used in the funeral cortege.

¹⁴⁰ The text has been published from two slightly different manuscript versions. See “Burial of King Edward IV,” pp. 349-55; *Letters and Papers*, I: 4-10.

¹⁴¹ “Burial of King Edward IV,” pp. 348-9; *Letters and Papers*, I: 3-4.

¹⁴² See Muir, *Ritual*, pp. 240-1.

devoid of any liturgical content, and its prescriptions are directed at ritual actors amongst the laity as much as amongst the clergy. Finally, it is notable that the expanded version of the funeral *ordo* is very concerned with prescribing the logistical and aesthetic dimensions of funeral ritual through injunctions relating to movements, locations, forms of dress and appropriate oblations. The *ordo*, for example, offers very precise guidelines on the spatial arrangement of the mourners standing around the funeral hearse. In this respect, the funeral text is akin to contemporary ritual ‘protocols’ in its detailed attention to those actions and behaviours which served to delineate the differing status of the miscellaneous participants in ritualised activities.¹⁴³

The various points of similarity between the fifteenth-century funeral text and the type of ritual texts found in contemporary ceremony books suggest that the textual function of the funeral *ordo* underwent evolution after its initial compilation in the fourteenth century. Whereas the Westminster *ordo* has the character of a partisan text concerned with advancing discrete institutional claims, the *ordo* preserved in *Liber Regie Capelle* seems a more balanced and inclusive text. In this sense, the fifteenth-century *ordo* is more obviously dominated by a practical concern with establishing a basis for the ordered conduct of behaviour, in a context where there inevitably existed a potential for political instability which was linked to the temporary suspension of the active exercise of royal authority.

A reference to the funerary responsibilities of the royal chapel within the expanded text of the funeral *ordo* helps to explain the inclusion of the *ordo* in *Liber Regie Capelle*. Nevertheless, the presence of this single textual reference is hardly conclusive grounds for supposing that the expanded text of the *ordo* was actually compiled within the royal chapel. While the known provenance of the only surviving copy of the *ordo* points to just such a conclusion, the prescriptive relevance of the text indisputably ranged well beyond the narrower ritual interests of the royal chapel to embrace the wider ritual interests of the royal household as a whole.¹⁴⁴

¹⁴³ See R.C. Trexler, *The Libro Cerimoniale of the Florentine Republic* (Geneva, 1978), p. 62, on the ritualized reception of foreign ambassadors at Florence. “The systematic mode of ceremonial perception presumed that the title or dignity of each visitor determined a fixed behavior by the receptionists and a fixed gift. The quality of each *persona* and not his intentional or internal attitude, was what mattered: the visitor could not demand more nor the commune give less.”

¹⁴⁴ See C. Given-Wilson, *The Royal Household and the King's Affinity: Service, Politics and Finance in England 1360-1413* (New Haven & London, 1986), on the structure and role of the late medieval royal household.

The example of Edward III's funeral suggests that it was accepted practice for the existing household of a dead king to be charged with the responsibility for organising the king's funeral. Edward's household remained in existence for a full month after his death in June 1377, and the considerable expenses charged to the Wardrobe and Great Wardrobe departments in connection with the funeral celebrations were attributed retrospectively to the final year of account for Edward's reign.¹⁴⁵ Internal evidence in the *ordo* text emphasizes that the role of the royal household at the funeral of a king entailed the performance of a range of specific responsibilities. For example, the king's chamberlains were entrusted with the preparation of the royal corpse for public display, while twenty-four gentlemen of the royal household were required to walk beside the king's funeral carriage in the royal cortege carrying lighted torches.¹⁴⁶ A surviving narrative account of the funeral of Edward IV very much reinforces an impression of extensive household involvement in royal funeral practice. In this case, the text specifically names a host of individual members of Edward's household in connection with the performance of a range of responsibilities that extended over the whole course of the king's obsequies.¹⁴⁷

The extremely limited circulation of the funeral prescriptions in *Liber Regie Capelle* is particularly surprising given the relevance of these prescriptions to a wide cross-section of the usual participants in royal funerals. Indeed, the issue of circulation is perhaps the key evidence supporting the traditional view that the funeral *ordo* was revised specifically within the narrower confines of the royal chapel.¹⁴⁸ The composition of the propagandist *Gesta Henrici Quinti* by a member of the royal chapel in c. 1416-7, indicates that the chapel was perfectly capable of acting as a royal writing house during the mid-Lancastrian period.¹⁴⁹ Significantly, *Gesta Henrici Quinti* also enjoyed a very restricted circulation and made little discernable impact on later writing on Henry V. While the mutual obscurity of these texts was probably a matter of coincidence, it is nevertheless tempting to suggest that the royal chapel may have been rather inept at launching its writings into the wider circles

¹⁴⁵ PRO, E 361/5 rot. 18; PRO, E 361/4 rot. 26. See Tout, *Chapters*, III: 329. The funeral expenses recorded in the Wardrobe account amounted to £791 5s 1½d.

¹⁴⁶ *LRC*, pp. 111, 114.

¹⁴⁷ "Burial of King Edward IV," pp. 350-4; *Letters and Papers*, I: 5-10.

¹⁴⁸ *LRC*, pp. 5-7.

¹⁴⁹ F. Taylor & J.S. Roskell (eds.), *Gesta Henrici Quinti* (Oxford, 1975), pp. xviii-xxviii. See also C.T. Allmand, *Henry V* (London, 1992), pp. 409-10.

of political culture.

A second possible reason for the limited circulation of the revised funeral *ordo* was a shift during the fifteenth century in the location of responsibility for the organisation of royal funerals. A surviving administrative account pertaining to the reburial of Richard, duke of York, in 1476, demonstrates that responsibility for the financing of royal funerals did remain at least partially within the purview of the treasurer of the royal household.¹⁵⁰ However, narrative accounts of fifteenth-century royal funerals indicate that these occasions became progressively more heraldic in emphasis, and in consequence, increasingly dominated in their actual performance by the marshalling activities of royal heralds. Not only are most surviving narrative accounts of fifteenth-century royal funerals preserved in heraldic collections, but the proportion of surviving accounts preserved in these collections can also be shown to have increased over the course of the century.

Of the various surviving accounts of the funeral of Henry V in 1422, the fullest is given in a contemporary manuscript preserved amongst the records of the College of Arms.¹⁵¹ However, this heraldic description is balanced by the survival of a number of other non-heraldic narrative accounts of Henry's funeral in contemporary English and French chronicles.¹⁵² The distribution of narrative records for the funeral of Henry V contrasts the situation regarding the quasi-royal reburial of Richard, duke of York. In the latter case, all of the several distinct surviving accounts of the funeral are preserved within collections of heraldic manuscripts.¹⁵³ Of course, the later provenance of manuscripts is no sure indication of the original authorship of the texts they contain. However, analysis of the textual content of these narrative records of royal funerals indicates that they are generally constructed in a manner that is entirely appropriate to the interests of heralds. Accordingly, the heraldic account of the funeral of Henry V is infused with concerns regarding the precise manner in which the king's coffin and effigy were displayed on his funeral carriage. It records details of the heraldry displayed on the banners, escutcheons and horses' trappers at the funeral, and indicates the state of dress of the officers performing

¹⁵⁰ PRO, E 101/412/3, published in *Reburial of Richard Duke of York*, pp. 37-40.

¹⁵¹ College of Arms, MS M 14, fol. 29, published in Hope, "Funeral, Monument and Chantry Chapel," pp. 133-4.

¹⁵² See *ibid.*, pp. 129-35, 184-5; Allmand, *Henry V*, pp. 174-8.

¹⁵³ The various sources are collected and translated in *Reburial of Richard Duke of York*.

particular designated duties. Finally, the account pays great attention to the operation of precedence and privileges within the funeral celebrations, particularly where this is reflected in terms of the organisation of space.¹⁵⁴

Arguably, the type of detailing found in heraldic accounts of fifteenth-century royal funerals suggests that these accounts ought to be regarded as pseudo-prescriptive texts, compiled with some consciousness of a requirement to give guidance in the performance of future royal funerals. If this is the case, then the limited circulation of the funeral *ordo* preserved in *Liber Regie Capelle* might reflect the emergence of a new situation in the mid-fifteenth century, whereby the authority of the royal household in the organisation of royal funerals was to some extent superseded by the nascent expertise of the community of royal heralds.¹⁵⁵

Conclusions

The textual histories of funeral and coronations *ordines* are linked together in a number of different ways. The performance of each ceremony touched directly on the interests of Westminster Abbey, and consequently the monks took an active hand in the production and promulgation of prescriptive records for each ceremony, even juxtaposing these records within a series of Westminster compiled manuscripts. However, despite these points of intersection between the *ordo* texts, the history of the funeral *ordo* was quite distinct from the history of the coronation *ordo*. In the first place, the emergence of the funeral *ordo* constituted the establishment of a new textual tradition in the late fourteenth century. On the one hand, this meant that the text was automatically less constrained by the type of prescriptive baggage from the past which hedged the development of the coronation *ordo*. On the other hand, however, if the funeral *ordo* could be comparatively free and flexible in terms of its textual content, it was also much less clearly imbued with any recognised ritual authority at its point of inscription. Secondly, the funeral text was initially much more limited in its prescriptive scope than the coronation *ordo*. It dealt with a rather narrow aspect of funeral ritual and one which could hardly have been considered innovatory at the time when the *ordo* was compiled. The narrowness of the interests and expertise represented in the fourteenth-century version of the text tends further to support the

¹⁵⁴ Hope, "Funeral, Monument and Chantry Chapel," pp. 133-4.

¹⁵⁵ The rising importance of the College of Arms was reflected in its receipt of a charter of incorporation from Richard III in 1484.

ascribing of the *ordo*'s authorship to the monks of Westminster.

Given the inadequate scope of the prescriptions preserved in the earliest version of the funeral *ordo*, it is perhaps unsurprising that royal funerals generated a variety of alternative strands of prescriptive writing during the fifteenth century. The *Liber Regie Capelle* funeral text might be viewed as a rather late attempt to provide a more inclusive overview of the whole ceremony. However, even this text appears highly limited in its heraldic detailing when compared with other contemporary writing on royal funerals.¹⁵⁶ The range of writing on funeral practice in the fifteenth century might suggest that the character of funeral ritual underwent rapid and major change during this period. However, as will be seen later, this hypothesis is at best only partly true.¹⁵⁷ Nevertheless, this range of writing does indicate two things. Firstly, royal funerals were clearly an environment in which there co-existed a number of interested parties who each chose to stake jurisdictional claims to the exercise of ritual rights and privileges through the textualisation of these claims. Secondly, the production of an array of different ritual texts for fifteenth-century royal funerals suggests that there existed a lack of consensus over where authority was ultimately located in the arrangement of royal funerals. At the same time, however, the original Westminster text of the funeral *ordo* (despite its inadequacy) clearly did acquire authority over time as can be seen by its incorporation into a number of quite different later fifteenth-century writings on royal funerals.

¹⁵⁶ See below pp. 101-10.

¹⁵⁷ See below pp. 111-13.

Chapter Three

Visual Representation

(I) Introduction

In Chapter Two I have examined the textualisation of royal ritual practices in the later middle ages, and analysed this process in terms of Westminster Abbey's self-image as the ritual centre point of English kingship. In this chapter, I will examine prescriptive *ordines* in conjunction with other types of ritual evidence in order to explore some of the visual dimensions of coronation and funeral ritual.¹ However, before proceeding any further with this analysis, it is useful to discuss some conceptual issues which help to illustrate why visual representation is an important area of study for the historian seeking to understand the role and impact of royal ritual within late medieval political culture.

Amos Rapoport's work on the interaction of ritualised behaviour and the built environment provides a useful theoretical model for exploring the importance of the visual dimensions of ritual.² Rapoport isolates 'meaning' as the mechanism which links systems of activities to systems of settings. The constitution of meaning within a particular setting is mediated through the sensory dimensions of the setting. These sensory dimensions are themselves manifested in terms of a variety of visual (and aural) cues or props which help to orientate the behaviour of people who enter the setting:

...activities and settings are linked through meaning, in other words...the principal mechanism that links an activity and a setting is *meaning*. The cues in settings, if they are noticed and understood, act as mnemonics - they remind those entering the setting of the situation it defines, of which

¹ The study of the visual dimensions of English kingship has become increasingly popular in the field of Tudor history. See S. Anglo, *Images of Tudor Kingship* (London, 1992); idem, *Spectacle, Pageantry and Early Tudor Policy* (Oxford, 1969); D. Howarth, *Images of Rule: Art and Politics in the English Renaissance, 1485-1649* (Basingstoke, 1997); J.N. King, *Tudor Royal Iconography: Literature and Art in an Age of Religious Crisis* (Princeton, 1989); G. Kipling, *The Triumph of Honour: Burgundian Origins of the Elizabethan Renaissance* (Leiden, 1977); R.C. Strong, *The Cult of Elizabeth: Elizabethan Portraiture and Pageantry* (1977). For royal iconography in late medieval France, see C. Beaune, *The Birth of an Ideology: Myths and Symbols of Nation in Late Medieval France*, trans. S.R. Huston & ed. F.L. Cheyette (Berkeley & Los Angeles, 1991); A.D. Hedeman, *The Royal Image: Illustrations of the Grandes Chroniques de France, 1274-1422* (Berkeley, 1991).

² A. Rapoport, "Systems of Activities and Systems of Settings," in S. Kent (ed.), *Domestic Architecture and the Use of Space: An Interdisciplinary Cross-Cultural Study* (Cambridge, 1990), pp. 9-20.

rules apply and hence of how to act.³

Rapoport argues that the most important elements defining a behavioural setting are temporary 'semi-fixed-feature' cues such as the objects which furnish a space. These semi-fixed-feature cues carry more powerful connotations than permanent 'fixed-feature' cues such as the architecture which frames a setting. This argument does not deny that architectural boundaries are able to influence the constitution of meaning, but it does seek to qualify an understanding of the importance of the built environment by emphasizing two related points. Firstly, ritual settings can transcend the physical boundaries of architecture, while secondly, a whole sequence of ritual settings can occur within a single architectural frame. Rapoport's final point is that the constitution of meaning within a given setting is further nuanced by the presence of a series of transient 'non-fixed-feature' cues. An obvious example of non-fixed-feature cues would be the presence and behaviour of other people within a shared physical space.

While Rapoport's analysis is framed within a language of archaeological debate, it nevertheless has important implications for the historical study of ritual behaviour. It is interesting that Rapoport links the production of meaning in ritual to the process through which a range of visual and other stimuli prompt ritual participants into particular actions and responses. Implicitly, this analysis interprets the experience of ritual as something which occurs on multi-sensory levels. In other words, the meanings that participants derive from their ritual experiences are as liable to be shaped by the things that they see as by the words that they hear spoken.

It is particularly important that historians should appreciate the multi-sensory levels on which rituals were experienced and acquired meaning for audiences, since there exists a tendency for these dimensions of ritual to be disguised in the type of textual sources which historians generally use. Since ritual is a highly ephemeral type of activity, it is perhaps inevitable that the study of rituals in the past should be heavily dependent upon the fortuitous survival of textual records. However, it must be recognised that the mediation of ritual knowledge through texts of one sort or another has a distorting effect on historical impressions of past ritual practices. In particular, it is often the case that textual records are constructed in a way which encourages a privileging of the importance of the spoken word over other aural and visual dimensions of ritual performance. Indeed, it is a paradoxical

³ Ibid., p. 12.

truth that even those historians interested in the visual aspects of rituals must ‘envisage’ these occasions through the refracting medium of words rather than directly through the faculty of sight.

The medium of the spoken word will always seem more precise in its deployment of intentional meaning than the visual medium of the image. However, while prescriptive texts may seem more definitive in their treatment of words than in their treatment of actions and images, it is nevertheless the case that the fourteenth-century coronation and funeral *ordines* provide a wealth of information about the nonverbal aspects of these rituals. The rubrics of the Litlyngton *Ordo* provide a particularly rich impression of the visual and spatial dimensions of coronation performance. Meanwhile, both the shorter and the longer versions of the funeral *ordo* might fairly be regarded more as visual than as verbal texts; a situation which goes some way towards explaining why previously they have not generated a great deal of historical interest.

Once the ‘visuality’ of textual prescriptions is recognised, it becomes important to question whether these prescriptive texts exercised any effective authority in shaping the visual dimensions of royal ritual practice. The following sections of this chapter examine in greater detail some aspects of the relationship linking the textual prescriptions of *ordines* to the non-verbal, and specifically visual, dimensions of royal rituals. Of course, in assessing the effect of textualisation on the visual dimensions of ritual practice, consideration needs to be given to the non-neutral character of ritual texts as discussed in the previous chapter. In particular, it is important to qualify a historical understanding of the ‘prescriptive’ aspect of *ordines* by acknowledging the existence of competing traditions of royal representation which were capable of influencing the visual character of ritual performance. Examples of these alternative representational systems will enter into the discussion of the two thematic case studies which follow.

(II) Regalia

Introduction

This first case study addresses the important issue of how the textualisation of certain visual aspects of ritual practice relates to evidence of royal representation within the wider parameters of visual culture. Discussion will focus on the visual representation of certain discrete items of royal regalia. There are several reasons why the visual representation of regalia is an interesting case study to examine. First of all, it is clear that regalia exercised

an important role outside of ritual as an identifying badge of kingship. In this capacity, regalia forged a powerful link between coronation ritual and the popular image of kingship within the wider public domain. Secondly, as already discussed, Westminster Abbey developed a particular custodial interest in the regalia which came to be reflected in formal writing on coronation and funeral ritual at the abbey. In this respect, the *ordines* compiled at Westminster Abbey in the later fourteenth century devoted great attention to prescribing the correct positioning and appearance of the regalia, and additionally emphasized its importance by outlining the symbolic associations attached to each individual item of regalia.

Background

The royal regalia can be defined as those items used in the consecration and investiture of a king and/or queen at a coronation.⁴ Strictly speaking, the term should be understood to encompass both the vestments worn and the objects received by the king and queen during these parts of the ceremony. However, the regalia is often understood to include certain other objects, such as the chalice and paten used by the king and queen in the coronation mass and the ampulla used to hold the consecration oil. A particular problem in terms of both defining and analysing the regalia is the fact that kings frequently possessed multiple sets of regalia items. In 1356, for example, Edward III possessed four crowns, three sceptres surmounted with doves, and two sceptres surmounted with crosses, according to an inventory drawn up by the outgoing Treasurer, William Edington, bishop of Winchester.⁵ These figures only relate to items of regalia in the custody of the crown, and therefore they do not exclude the possibility that further pieces of regalia also existed at this time in the custody of Westminster Abbey.

⁴ An historiography of regalia ought to include the following: W. Jones, *Crowns and Coronations: A History of Regalia* (London, 1898); *ECR*, pp. xxxix-liv; M.R. Holmes, "The Crowns of England," *Archaeologia*, 86 (1937): 73-90; idem, "New Light on St. Edward's Crown," *Archaeologia*, 97 (1959): 213-23; A.J. Collins, *Jewels and Plate of Elizabeth I* (London, 1955); P.E. Schramm, *Sphaire, Globus und Reichsapfel* (Stuttgart, 1958); E.F. Twining, *A History of the Crown Jewels of Europe* (London, 1960); idem, *European Regalia* (London, 1967); M.R. Holmes & H.D.W. Sitwell, *The English Regalia: Their History, Custody and Display* (London, 1972); C. Blair, *The History of the Coronation Regalia in the Jewel House of the Tower of London* (London, 1998). See Carpenter, "Burial of King Henry III," pp. 427-61, for the best contextualised contribution to debate on the medieval regalia. Also useful is *Coronation of Richard III*, pp. 228-44. See A.F. Sutton, "The Coronation Robes of Richard III and Queen Anne Neville," *Costume*, 13 (1979): 8-16, on the important (though often neglected) issue of coronation vestments.

⁵*ECR*, pp. 79-80.

Evidence for the existence of several competing sets of regalia requires that historians should be able to distinguish the ‘coronation regalia’ from other alternative sets of regalia. However, as David Carpenter has shown in his work on the regalia in the thirteenth century, this type of distinction can be overly crude.⁶ The thirteenth century witnessed the first development of a notion of the inalienability of the coronation regalia. Henry III probably inherited at least part of his coronation regalia of 1220 from his father John, and additionally, the king passed on his own “great royal crown” to his son Edward I at his death in 1272.⁷ However, evidence also indicates that between 1183 and 1327, the corpses of all English kings were buried adorned in items of regalia. Additionally, at least three of these kings were buried with some objects and vestments used at their coronations, namely Henry the Young King in 1183, Richard I in 1199, and Edward II in 1327.⁸ Carpenter argues (with some caveats) that this procedure was probably also observed in the burial of Henry III.⁹

By the fifteenth century the practice of burying kings adorned in regalia had ceased to be observed.¹⁰ At the same time, the inalienability of the coronation regalia was increasingly emphasized by adjectival association with St. Edward the Confessor. Westminster Abbey had certainly been able to claim possession of a crown, sceptre and pallium of St. Edward since the removal of these items from the Confessor’s tomb in 1102.¹¹ Indeed, a contemporary account of the coronation of Henry III in 1220 reports that

⁶ Carpenter, “Burial of King Henry III,” pp. 427-61.

⁷ *ECR*, pp. 54-6, for the regalia in 1220. See Carpenter, “Burial of King Henry III,” pp. 451, 444-8, on Henry’s crown. Edward I still possessed his coronation crown in 1303. See *ibid.*, p. 455.

⁸ On the Angevin kings, see Hope, “Funeral Effigies,” pp. 523-5; Erlande-Brandenburg, *Le Roi est Mort*, pp. 15-17. On Edward II, see below pp. 121-3.

⁹ Carpenter, “Burial of King Henry III,” pp. 432-3.

¹⁰ The condition of Edward III’s corpse at burial is not clear from surviving sources and there is no record of the king’s tomb having ever been opened for inspection. Reports on the openings of the tombs of Richard II, Henry IV and Henry VI, all indicate that the corpses of these kings were not adorned with *regalia*. See A.P. Stanley, “On an Examination of the Tombs of Richard II and Henry III in Westminster Abbey,” *Archaeologia*, 45 (1880): 309-22; Spry, “Tomb of King Henry IV,” pp. 440-5; W.H. St. John Hope, “The Discovery of the Remains of King Henry VI in St. George’s Chapel, Windsor Castle,” *Archaeologia*, 62 (1910-1): 533-42.

¹¹ See Carpenter, “Burial of King Henry III,” p. 449. See J.E.B. Mayor (ed.), *Ricardi de Cirencestria Speculum Historiale de Gestis Regum Angliae*, 2 vols., RS, 30 (1863-9), II: 324-5, for the story of the additional removal of St. Edward’s ring at the re-opening of the Confessor’s tomb in 1163.

the king was crowned with the “diadem of the most saintly King Edward.”¹² Meanwhile, by 1359, when the regalia in the abbey’s possession was inventoried for the first time, the number of items for which a connection to St. Edward was claimed had increased dramatically.¹³ As I have discussed already, this trend was also reflected in the first of the revised texts of the fourth recension of the coronation *ordo*, where a whole array of regalia items were described as “royal ornaments of Saint Edward.”¹⁴

By the late fourteenth century the cumulative effect of the developments described above was the creation of a situation in which there existed a set of regalia which could clearly be designated as ‘coronation regalia’. This regalia was associated with St. Edward the Confessor and it was usually kept in the custody of Westminster Abbey. However, as has previously been discussed, the rubrics of the Litlington *Ordo* reveal the presence of an anxiety within the monastic community at Westminster that the abbey’s enjoyment of custodial rights should be closely guarded.¹⁵ This is particularly well illustrated in the prescriptions pertaining to the physical removal of the regalia from the abbey’s confines immediately before and after the coronation service.

The inalienability of the coronation regalia combined with its acquisition of associations with the cult of the Confessor possibly lent the regalia a pseudo-sacral status that it had lacked in earlier periods. Indeed, the increasingly iconic importance of the regalia in the late fourteenth century was reflected in the interests and behaviour of Richard II. In the 1390s, the king received a treatise on the history of the regalia which was composed by the Westminster monk, Walter of Sudbury.¹⁶ Meanwhile, the gold and ruby ring which Richard gave to the shrine of St. Edward in November 1388 was perhaps

¹² W. Stubbs (ed.), *Memoriale Fratris Walteri de Coventria*, 2 vols., RS, 58 (1872-3), II: 244. Translation from Carpenter, “Burial of King Henry III,” p. 448. See also *Calendar of Liberate Rolls, 1240-5*, p. 120, for a payment for the gilding and repair of St. Edward’s sceptre in 1242.

¹³ *History of Westminster Abbey* by John Flete, pp. 18-21, 71.

¹⁴ *Three Coronation Orders*, p. 123, “ornaments reaux de Saint Edward.” See above p. 47. Also Carpenter, “Burial of King Henry III,” p. 455.

¹⁵ See above p. 48.

¹⁶ *Ricardi de Cirencestria Speculum Historiale*, II: 26-39. See P.J. Eberle, “Richard II and the Literary Arts,” in A. Goodman & J.L. Gillespie (eds.), *Richard II: The Art of Kingship* (Oxford, 1999), pp. 239-40. Also see *ibid.*, pp. 234, 238-9 for discussion of BL, Cotton MS Nero D. vi, a collection of historical records compiled for Richard II after 1386 which includes (fols. 65 to 71) a copy of the record of the court of claims for the king’s coronation together with a description of the ceremony. On the illuminations in this manuscript, see Sandler, *Gothic Manuscripts*, II: 175.

intended to form a part of the regalia. Richard certainly made reference to his own coronation in his letter donating the ring to Westminster Abbey, and he was careful to stipulate conditions under which he might be allowed temporarily to remove the ring from the abbey's custody.¹⁷ In 1390, Richard explicitly contributed to the regalia by giving the abbey a pair of red velvet coronation shoes which had been blessed by the pope. The gift of these shoes was in replacement of a coronation shoe which had been lost at Richard's coronation in 1377.¹⁸ Finally, the depth of the king's fascination with the regalia is revealed in the story preserved in a Westminster continuation of Higden's *Polychronicon* that Richard paid a nocturnal visit to Westminster Abbey in the company of the titular king of Armenia in January 1386, in order to view the regalia laid out by candlelight.¹⁹

Whilst the coronation regalia existed in a tangible sense as a set of objects and vestments housed within Westminster Abbey, it also existed less tangibly as a system of symbols which were displayed visually in a variety of royal contexts. Regalia acted as a formal iconography for the office of king, thereby ensuring that the visual representation of regalia served to demarcate kings from other individuals and groups within society. Significantly, regalia as an iconographical badge of kingship was not king-specific, but instead constructed an impersonal image of the institutional identity of the king and the formal attributes of the kingly office. In this capacity, the power of regalia as a visual symbol derived from the symbolic connotations attached to actual items of regalia within coronation ritual. That much of this symbolism had an ancient pedigree is evidenced by the texts of the liturgical prayers that were read at the investiture of the king in the coronation service. However, the scope of this symbolism certainly expanded during the fifteenth century, and by the sixteenth century there even existed a treatise which attributed specific royal virtues to each of the twelve stones contained in the coronation crown.²⁰

Clearly, it was a complex relationship which linked the physical items of regalia used

¹⁷ L.C. Hector & B.F. Harvey (eds.), *The Westminster Chronicle (1381-1394)* (Oxford, 1982), pp. 372-3. See N. Saul, "Richard II and Westminster Abbey," p. 205; *Coronation of Richard III*, pp. 238-9. See also below p. 147, n. 44.

¹⁸ *Westminster Chronicle*, pp. 414-17. For further references see below p. 184, n. 100.

¹⁹ *Westminster Chronicle*, pp. 154-7. *Ibid.*, pp. 88-91, records that French envoys to the king of Scots were permitted to view the regalia at Westminster in 1384. See also *ibid.*, pp. 130-3.

²⁰ BL, Additional MS 4814, fols. 59a to 59b, entitled 'The Kings Crowne with the Twelve Stones therein'. See *Coronation of Richard III*, pp. 243-4, for an example of the confusing attribution of different symbolisms to the same item of regalia.

in coronation to the textual prescriptions for the investiture of these items given in *ordines*, and to the visual representation of these same items of regalia within the broader parameters of royal iconography. On the one hand, the visual imaging of regalia commonly occurred outside the context of ritual performance, and therefore it hardly needed to adhere to prescriptive injunctions concerning the regalia's 'correct' appearance. Yet, on the other hand, the image of royal authority which was connoted through the incorporation of regalia into visual depictions of kings undoubtedly derived its power directly from the ritual associations which the regalia manifested. Of course, from a historical perspective it is impossible to know the *actual* appearance of the coronation regalia in the possession of Westminster Abbey. However, in the remainder of this section, an attempt will be made to compare the representation of the regalia's appearance as it is textually constructed in the coronation and funeral *ordines* with evidence of the visual depiction of regalia within a variety of areas of royal imagery. Due to considerations of space, my analysis will take the form of a case study focusing on the two hand-held items of regalia, the sceptre and the rod.

The Sceptre and the Rod

The use of regalia within English coronation ritual is traceable to the tenth century, while its use in funeral ritual is traceable to the later twelfth century. Nevertheless, it was only in the later fourteenth century with the compilation of the Litlyngton *Ordo* version of the coronation *ordo* that formal descriptions first emerged regarding the aesthetic appearance of the hand-held items of regalia.²¹ The funeral *ordo* preserved in the earliest manuscript copies of the Litlyngton *Ordo* likewise contains descriptions of the appearance and spatial positioning of these and other items of regalia on the king's corpse.

According to the Litlyngton *Ordo*, the king is to be invested at his coronation with a sceptre in his right hand and a rod in his left hand. The sceptre is described as golden and surmounted with a small cross.²² In Walsingham's broadly contemporary description of the coronation of Richard II, the sceptre placed in the king's gloved hand is described as "a

²¹ Hoveden's early thirteenth-century account of the coronation of Richard I in 1189 provides the earliest reference to the hands in which the sceptre and rod were held at a coronation. See *ECR*, pp. 49, 52, "Deinde tradidit ei archiepiscopus ceptrum Regale in manu dextra et uirgam regalem in sinistra."

²² *ECR*, pp. 97, 121, "...quod quidem septrum aureum est in cuius summitate crux parua."

round golden globe having on top the sign of the cross.”²³ The coronation text describes the rod placed in the king’s left hand as made of gold and surmounted with a golden dove.²⁴

These descriptions of the hand-held items of regalia contained in the Litlyngton *Ordo* are to be compared with descriptions of the same items of regalia preserved in the earliest version of the funeral *ordo*. The funeral text describes the object held in the king’s right hand as a golden ball surmounted by a long rod and cross.²⁵ Confusingly, although this description appears generally to match the description of the sceptre in the coronation text, it is nevertheless quite explicit in referring to the object placed in the king’s right hand as a ‘ball’ (*pila*) rather than a ‘sceptre’ (*sceptrum*). To add to the confusion, the term ‘sceptre’ is used in the funeral text to describe the long gilded object placed in the king’s left hand.²⁶ Significantly, this funeral sceptre is described as gilded rather than golden, and no reference is made to the presence of a dove within its design.

Clearly, the evidence within prescriptive texts for the appearance and spatial positioning of the hand-held items of regalia is somewhat confused. This situation is explicable both in terms of the inadequacy of physical descriptions within the texts, and also in terms of the absence of a precise medieval terminology for regalia. The term ‘sceptre’ is particularly problematic and has been at the root of considerable confusion surrounding the hand-held items of regalia. In a specific sense, the term sceptre was usually applied to the orb-like object held in the king’s right hand. However, the term ‘orb’ was not used until the sixteenth century, and the orb as an independent piece of regalia did not emerge until 1661, when a mistake was made at the restoration of the regalia after the Commonwealth.²⁷ It is clear from the funeral text that the sceptre was sometimes referred to as a ‘ball’ from the late fourteenth century onwards. Additionally, it is clear that the term sceptre was also applied in a general sense to any hand-held item of regalia, and therefore might be used to describe the item of regalia otherwise referred to as a rod or verge. This

²³ *HA*, I: 336, “...consurrexit de rotundo globo aureo...et habebat in summitate signum crucis.” Also E.M. Thompson (ed.), *Chronicon Angliae*, RS, 64 (1874), p. 159.

²⁴ *ECR*, pp. 98, 121, “Que quidem uirga aurea est habens in summitate columbam auream.”

²⁵ *Missale*, II: 734-5, “Et in dextra manu sua ponetur pila rotunda deaurata in qua uirga deaurata erit fixa a manu ipsius usque ad pectus protensa in cuius uirge summitate erit signum dominice crucis.”

²⁶ *Ibid*, II: 734-5, “In sinistra uero manu sceptrum deauratum habebit usque ad aurem sinistram decenter protensum..”

²⁷ *ECR*, pp. li-lii.

general application of the term sceptre is apparent not only in the text of the funeral *ordo*, but also in a royal inventory of regalia drawn up in 1356. This inventory lists the *ceptres* in Edward III's possession as consisting of two gilt *ceptres* and one short *ceptre*, each with doves on top, and two short golden *ceptres*, each with crosses on top.²⁸

Despite these confusions in the evidence, it does remain possible to posit a basic textual blueprint for the appearance and spatial positioning of the hand-held items of regalia. Accordingly, the king ought to have held in his right hand a golden sceptre, meaning a golden ball out of which emerged a long rod surmounted by a small cross. Meanwhile, in his left hand, the king ought to have held a rod or verge, meaning a long golden or gilded rod which was possibly surmounted with a golden dove. It is in these senses that I will be referring to the sceptre and rod in the remainder of this discussion.

It is difficult to draw firm conclusions about the extent to which coronation and funeral practice adhered to textual prescriptions on the appearance and spatial positioning of the hand-held items of regalia. Narrative accounts of particular ceremonies are usually imprecise in their descriptions of these details. Where fuller descriptions occur, such as in the *Annales* account of the coronation of Henry IV in 1399, it is often apparent that such descriptions have been lifted directly from an *ordo* text.²⁹ Better evidence is a description of the appearance of the corpse of Edward I at the opening of the king's tomb in 1774. On this occasion it was discovered that Edward was buried in 1307 clutching in his left hand a rod which measured around five feet in length and was surmounted with a white enamel bird. In his right hand, the king held a rod-like sceptre which incorporated a small ball at its base and which was surmounted with a small cross (fig. 1).³⁰ The appearance and spatial positioning of Edward I's burial regalia seem to have been broadly consistent with prescriptions subsequently recorded in the late fourteenth-century text of the funeral *ordo*.

²⁸ Ibid., p. 80. This evidence would seem to contradict the assertion of Sutton and Hammond that "the 'sceptre' is most unlikely to refer to the king's rod with the dove, which as the king's rod, or 'virga regia' is always from a very early date very carefully differentiated in descriptions of coronations from the former." See *Coronation of Richard III*, p. 235.

²⁹ "Annales," p. 296. See above pp. 30-1, for discussion of this source. Walsingham's account of the investiture at the coronation of Richard II is similarly dependent upon a version of the fourth recension coronation *ordo*. See *CA*, p. 159; *HA*, I: 335, discussed in Sandquist, "English Coronations," p. 94.

³⁰ Ayloffe, "Body of King Edward the First," pp. 376-413. However, Edward's burial sceptre lacked a pronounced ball or globe at its base. No accounts pertaining to Edward I's burial survive, although when the regalia was inspected in 1774 the crown was pronounced to be cheaply made ("of tin, or latton") and "of inferior workmanship." See *ibid.*, p. 384.

However, by way of a contrast, two of the fullest narrative sources for the funeral of Henry V in 1422, indicate that the textually prescribed positioning of the sceptre and rod were reversed in terms of the regalia displayed on Henry's funeral effigy.³¹

Analysis is on a somewhat firmer footing when comparing the textual prescriptions of *ordines* with surviving examples of the visual representation of kings where they are shown holding items of regalia. As it has been argued earlier that the Litlyngton *Ordo* and the first version of the funeral *ordo* were both Westminster Abbey texts, it is therefore instructive to examine examples of the visual representation of kings which can themselves be located within a fourteenth-century Westminster Abbey context. In fact, it is possible to identify three distinct areas of royal representation which fit this criterion: firstly, the illuminations accompanying the earlier manuscript copies of the Litlyngton *Ordo* and the funeral *ordo* texts; secondly, the royal tomb effigies in the shrine chapel of St. Edward the Confessor in Westminster Abbey; and finally, the monumental panel-painting of Richard II which also remains preserved at Westminster Abbey.

There are the seven illuminations showing representations of the coronations or funerals of kings contained in the late fourteenth-century Westminster Missal, *Liber Regalis* and Pamplona Coronation Order manuscripts. Significantly, none of these illuminations conform entirely in their visual depiction of regalia with the descriptions of the coronation regalia given in the texts which they accompany.³² The illuminations depicting the coronation of the king in the Westminster Missal and the Pamplona Coronation Order show the figure of a king holding a rod surmounted with a floriated finial in his right hand (figs. 9-10). In neither illumination is the king shown to be holding a sceptre. The equivalent illumination in *Liber Regalis* represents the king holding no items of regalia whatsoever, although he is clearly shown to be both crowned and enthroned (fig. 11). Uniquely, *Liber Regalis* also contains an illumination accompanying the text for the coronation of the king and queen together (figs. 12-13). In this illumination, the king is shown seated on a throne raised higher than that of his queen, an arrangement which is clearly specified in the accompanying text. The illumination represents the king holding two pieces of regalia; a long rod with a floriated finial is held in the king's right hand, and a long-stem sceptre is held in his left hand. The appearance of the sceptre corresponds

³¹ Hope, "Funeral, Monument and Chantry Chapel," pp. 130, 133, 184.

³² See above pp. 32-4, for discussion of these manuscripts.

closely with the detailed description of the sceptre given in the funeral *ordo*. However, the king is shown to hold this sceptre in his left hand rather than in his right hand as is specified in the coronation text. Additionally, it is to be noted that the rod surmounted with a floriated finial (which the king ‘incorrectly’ holds in his right hand) bears little resemblance to the rod surmounted with a dove described in the same coronation *ordo* text.

All three illuminations depicting the funeral of the king show the king holding a long rod surmounted with a floriated finial. In the *Liber Regalis* illumination the king holds the rod in his right hand (fig. 14), but this positioning is reversed in the Westminster Missal and the Pamplona Coronation Order illuminations (figs. 15-16). The *Liber Regalis* illumination shows the king holding a long-stemmed sceptre in his left hand. Although the sceptre is placed in the ‘wrong’ hand, its appearance conforms closely with the description contained in the accompanying text. The two other illuminations depicting the funeral of the king both show the sceptre ‘correctly’ held in the king’s right hand. However, in each case, the stem and cross of the sceptre are surmounted with a figure of Christ to form an arrangement that is unlike anything described in any surviving prescriptive text.

In summary, none of the three sets of coronation and funeral illuminations illustrates accurately the texts which they accompany. Only in one manuscript (*Liber Regalis*) does the appearance of the king’s sceptre clearly conform to textual prescriptions. In more than half of its appearances the sceptre is shown in the ‘wrong’ hand, and often it is not shown at all. The appearance of the king’s rod never conforms to textual prescriptions; it is always shown to be topped with a floriated finial rather than with a dove. In more than half of its appearances the rod is shown in the ‘wrong’ hand and in one case it is not shown at all. The extent of the discrepancy between textual prescriptions and their accompanying illuminations is particularly striking, and can only suggest that illuminators paid little attention to textual blueprints in the execution of their work.³³

³³ These disparities are further borne out in the four illuminations showing the coronation of the queen. In the text for the coronation of the queen alone, it is simply specified that the queen should receive a sceptre in her right hand. However, the fuller description given in the *ordo* for the coronation of the king and queen together, instructs that the queen should receive a small gilt sceptre topped with a gilt dove in her right hand (*paruum septrum deauratum in cuius summitate est columba deaurata*), and an ivory rod surmounted with a golden dove in her left hand (*uirgam eburneam in cuius summitate est aurea columba*). See *ECR*, pp. 100, 101, 122, 123. See above p. 41, n. 43, for discussion of the difference between the two texts for a queen’s coronation. The two *Liber Regalis* illuminations showing the coronation of the queen (in one case with the king) depict the queen holding no items of regalia whatsoever (figs. 12 & 17). The illuminations showing the coronation of the queen alone contained in the Westminster Missal and the Pamplona Coronation Order, both show the queen holding a single rod topped with a floriated finial, in one instance in her left hand and

The effects of several centuries of damage to the tombs of late medieval kings make it difficult to judge the precise original appearance of the regalia depicted on royal tomb effigies. Nevertheless, it is usually possible to determine the spatial positioning of the regalia, and sometimes more general comments can be made concerning the regalia's appearance. Although the regalia is now completely lost from the double-tomb of Richard II and Anne of Bohemia in Westminster Abbey, its positioning can be reconstructed from the surviving contract for the casting of the effigies and other metal components of the tomb (figs. 20-1). The indentured contract drawn up with the London coppersmiths Nicholas Broker and Godfrey Prest in April 1395, states that the king and queen should be:

lying on their backs, crowned, with their right hands joined, sceptres in their left hands, and a ball and cross between them.³⁴

The two 'sceptres' should presumably be interpreted as types of rod, although it is interesting that it was not deemed necessary to specify the form of these sceptres in the contract. The placing of the ball between the monarchs constituted a quite unique aesthetic arrangement.

While the physical location of Richard II's tomb within Westminster Abbey meant that its design could feasibly have been influenced by ritual considerations outlined in the abbey's recently revised *ordines*, there is in fact little evidence to support such a view. Indeed, the example of Richard II's tomb is particularly interesting since it can be shown that the king took a direct personal interest in his tomb's aesthetic design. Richard favoured conventional forms in the design of his tomb chest as well as in his choice of gilt-copper as an effigy material. However, although the decision to display regalia about the effigy was a standard iconographical conceit, there is no evidence to suggest that the king's attitude towards the detailing of the regalia's display was influenced by any concept of

in the other instance in her right hand (figs. 18-19).

³⁴ PRO, E 101/473/7; *Foedera*, III (iv): 106: "Deux ymages de coper & laton endorrez, coronez, ajonauntz & cloisauntz ensemble lour meyns dextres, & tenantz septres en lour meyns senestres, & un ball ovesque un' crosse parentre les dites ymages." Translation quoted from R.A. Brown, H.M. Colvin & A.J. Taylor (eds.), *A History of the King's Works: The Middle Ages*, 2 vols. (London, 1963), I: 487. See also J.J.G. Alexander & P. Binski (eds.), *Age of Chivalry: Art in Plantagenet England 1200-1400*, Royal Academy of Arts (London, 1987), pp. 393-4, no. 446.

ritual propriety on his part.³⁵

A wider analysis of surviving royal effigies re-enforces an impression that the detailing of regalia on effigies did not conform to a predetermined textual blueprint. Edward III is shown on his tomb effigy clutching in either hand the broken-off stems of two rod-like objects (figs. 22-3). It seems likely that the iconography of Edward's tomb effigy was designed to echo that of the neighbouring late thirteenth-century effigy of Henry III (fig. 24). The regalia does not survive for the effigy of Henry III, but the positioning of the king's hands seems to indicate that the effigy must have held two straight pieces of regalia.³⁶ The effigy of Philippa of Hainault, commissioned in the late 1360s, shows the queen clasping the cord of her mantle in her left hand and with a broken off right hand positioned so as to hold a rod (figs. 25-6). Likewise, this arrangement echoes that found on the neighbouring late thirteenth-century effigy of Eleanor of Castile (fig. 27).³⁷ Clearly, the royal tombs at Westminster Abbey are inter-linked with one another through a series of aesthetic continuities which include among other things the representation of regalia. However, if it is possible to identify a prescriptive system for the visual representation of regalia on tombs, then this prescriptive system clearly antedated and remained separate from the textually constructed image of visual propriety found in the Litlington *Ordo* and Westminster funeral *ordo* texts.

Outside of Westminster Abbey, the mid-fourteenth-century effigy of Edward II at Gloucester Abbey shows the king holding a ball in his left hand and the stem of a rod in his right hand, thereby reversing the disposition specified in prescriptive texts.³⁸ Meanwhile, at Canterbury Cathedral, traces of supports on the now damaged early to mid-fifteenth-

³⁵ E. Scheifele, "Richard II and the Visual Arts," in Goodman & Gillespie (eds.), *Richard II*, p. 263, makes a bizarre and wholly incorrect assertion that the inclusion of regalia on the tomb effigy representation of Richard II was "exceptional".

³⁶ Binski, *Westminster Abbey*, p. 110, describes these as a sceptre and rod. However, it must be noted that Binski defines the sceptre as a type of straight floriated rod, and therefore as something distinct from an 'orb', which he in turn defines as a ball surmounted by a rod and cross. Unlike Henry III's effigy, the effigy of Edward III lacks a crown.

³⁷ Eleanor's effigy clasps the cord of her mantle in her left hand. A groove in her now empty right hand and holes for a support on her right shoulder seem to indicate that some sort of rod was originally held. No regalia is indicated in Dugdale's drawing of Eleanor's effigy on her now lost viscera tomb in Lincoln Cathedral (BL, Loan MS 38, fol. 98v), which is surprising given the otherwise close similarity between the effigies. However, Eleanor's effigy at Westminster Abbey does correspond with the image of the queen bearing a single rod in her right hand which is found on her seal. See H.S. Kingsford, "Some English Medieval Seal-Engravers," *Archaeological Journal*, 97 (1940): plate 11.

³⁸ See Welander, *Gloucester Cathedral*, pp. 141-50.

century double-tomb effigies of Henry IV and Joan of Navarre, show that the queen held a rod-like piece of regalia in her right hand, while the king held a long piece of regalia in his left hand and the cords of his mantle in his right hand (fig. 28).³⁹

The large panel-painting of Richard II which hangs in the nave of Westminster Abbey is the final example of a late fourteenth-century visual representation of a king that can be linked to Westminster Abbey (fig. 29).⁴⁰ Interestingly, the positioning of the sceptre and rod in the painting complies with the formula outlined in the coronation and funeral texts. However, while the appearance of the sceptre accords closely with textual prescriptions, the rod is once again floriated rather than topped with a dove. Dating from a roughly similar period to the panel-painting is the monumental cycle of thirteen carved kings that were commissioned by Richard II for display in niches on the interior and exterior of Westminster Great Hall.⁴¹ The Westminster kings are a problematic group, with only the earlier series of six interior statues surviving in any state of preservation. Nevertheless, a pre-restoration engraving of the statues published in 1784 shows two kings holding the ball-shaped bases of sceptres in their left hands, while five kings appear to hold the bases of swords or rods in their right hands (fig. 30).⁴² It is important to note that the Westminster kings were a royal commission essentially unconnected to Westminster Abbey. However, they do show that royal representation within an exclusively royal context was no more likely to adhere to a prescriptive textual formula than equivalent representation within Westminster Abbey itself.

It is useful to draw together the findings of this extended comparative analysis of late fourteenth-century textual prescriptions and contemporary visual representations of the ritualised appearance of the king. The picture which emerges is one of considerable

³⁹ See Wilson, "Medieval Monuments," p. 501.

⁴⁰ Binski, *Westminster Abbey*, p. 203, dates the painting to the 1390s. Also see S.C. Cockerell, "André Beauneveu and the Portrait of Richard II at Westminster," *Burlington Magazine*, 10 (1906): 126-7; M. Rickert, *Painting in Britain: The Middle Ages* (Harmondsworth, 1954), pp. 175-6; E.W. Tristram, *English Wall Painting in the Fourteenth Century* (London, 1955), pp. 196-8; Simpson, *English and Bohemian Painting*, pp. 175-7; F. Hepburn, *Portraits of the Later Plantagenets* (Woodbridge, 1986), pp. 13-26; Alexander & Binski (eds.), *Age of Chivalry*, pp. 517-18, no. 713; J.J.G. Alexander, "The Portrait of Richard II in Westminster Abbey," in Gordon, Monas & Elam (eds.), *Regal Image of Richard II*, pp. 197-206.

⁴¹ J. Cherry & N. Stratford, *Westminster Kings and the Medieval Palace at Westminster*, British Museum Occasional Paper, 115 (London, 1995) pp. 68-72. The statues were commissioned in two groups in 1385 and 1398.

⁴² Westminster City Archives, Box 58.

discrepancy between prescription and representation, suggesting that ritual formulae exercised a very limited direct influence on the wider currents of royal imagery. The discrepancies which have been observed are particularly striking in three respects. Firstly, while kings were frequently represented holding a sceptre and rod, the positioning of these items of regalia in the hands of the king was most often shown in reverse of the formula prescribed in the textual *ordines*. Secondly, a significant proportion of the discussed examples depicted the king with only a single piece of regalia which might be either a sceptre or a rod. Finally, and most striking of all, no single example can be identified from the late fourteenth century of the representation of the rod or verge surmounted with a dove. In every case where the appearance of the rod is apparent, it is shown with some type of floriated finial.

My examination of the appearance and disposition of the hand-held items of regalia in late fourteenth-century images of kings, indicates that the visual representation of regalia was not prescribed by the textual specifications which governed its use in ceremony. However, my examination also indicates that discrepancies between textual prescriptions and visual representations were not entirely random in character, but instead adhered to a number of discernable though broad patterns. The implication of this second finding is that the visual imaging of kingship responded in a general way to the existence of an alternative prescriptive template. On closer analysis, this alternative template can be identified as the image of the king which appeared on the obverse of the Great Seal of England.⁴³

Throughout the medieval period the obverse of the Great Seal showed a frontal image of the king enthroned in Majesty, and the reverse of the seal showed an armorial image of the king riding on horseback. While the armorial image (which was also typical of many aristocratic seals) emphasized the king's place within a wider military milieu, the image on the obverse of the Great Seal emphasized the more unique character of the kingly office. In 1259, Henry III orchestrated the redesign of the Great Seal as a preliminary to his sealing of the Treaty of Paris with Louis IX of France.⁴⁴ Previously, the obverse of the Great Seal had shown a frontal image of the crowned king seated on a bench, holding a sword in his right hand and an orb-like sceptre with a foliated stem and a cross in his left hand (fig.

⁴³ See A.B. Wyon & A. Wyon, *The Great Seals of England* (London, 1887).

⁴⁴ Binski, *Westminster Abbey*, pp. 84-5.

31).⁴⁵ This iconographical image of the king was dramatically altered for the new seal of 1259 (fig. 32).⁴⁶ The new design showed Henry seated on a throne rather than a bench, while the crouched lions at the king's feet became rampant lions supporting the king's throne. More significantly, the new royal image altered the appearance (though not the disposition) of the hand-held items of regalia. According to the new arrangements the king continued to hold an orb-like sceptre in his left hand, but in his right hand the traditional sword was replaced by a long-stem rod surmounted with a bird.⁴⁷

The image of the enthroned king displayed on the obverse of Great Seals never entirely conformed to the representational blueprint suggested in the prescriptive texts of *ordines*. Here, a particularly striking point of difference was in the disposition of the hand-held items of regalia. Surviving impressions of the Great Seal always show the disposition of the sceptre and rod in a reversed format to that specified in *ordines*. Significantly, heraldic evidence suggests that this discrepancy cannot be excused on the basis that the engraved metal matrices of Great Seals would have carried an image that corresponded to textual formulae (the matrices and their impressions being reversed from one another). Surviving wax impressions of Great Seals always show the correct quartering of the heraldic arms of France and England, thereby indicating that it was the impressions of seals rather than the engraved images on seal matrices that were important in this context.⁴⁸

Hoveden's isolated description of the investiture of Richard I in 1189 may indicate the existence of a fixed formula for the receipt of the sceptre and rod at a much earlier date than is otherwise suggested by the compilation date of the Litlington *Ordo*.⁴⁹ However, if Henry III's introduction of the rod into the Great Seal design exploited a contemporary

⁴⁵ Wyon & Wyon, *Great Seals*, pp. 21-2, no. 41, plate 6.

⁴⁶ It is worth stressing that the initial *raison d'être* for the introduction of a new Great Seal was a formal change in the style of the king's title (reflected in the seal's textual legend), rather than a formal change in the iconography of the king's image. See Binski, *Westminster Abbey*, p. 84.

⁴⁷ Wyon & Wyon, *Great Seals*, pp. 22-3, no. 43, plate 7; T.A. Heslop, "The Virgin Mary's Regalia and 12th Century English Seals," in A. Borg & A. Martindale (eds.), *The Vanishing Past: Studies of Medieval Art, Liturgy and Metrology Presented to Christopher Hohler*, British Archaeological Reports, Supplementary series, 111 (1981), p. 53-62; Binski, *Westminster Abbey*, p. 84.

⁴⁸ The new design adopted for Henry IV's second Great Seal in 1408 may have appeared to result in an incorrect quartering of the royal arms on seal impressions. However, in this instance, the royal arms are deliberately shown reversed because they are displayed on the reverse side of a banner (ie. the staff of the banner is shown on the right not the conventional left-hand side). See Wyon & Wyon, *Great Seals*, pp. 43-4, 45-6, no. 73, plate. 12.

⁴⁹ *ECR*, pp. 49, 52. See above p. 81 & below pp. 129-30, for evidence relating to the burial of Edward I.

imagery of coronation ritual, then it did so in a manner which was also tailored to fit with older and longer-established traditions of royal representation on Great Seals. Indeed, the tradition of placing of the sceptre in the left hand of the king can be traced back to royal seals of the late Saxon period.

The second key point of difference between the representational image of the king on the obverse of Great Seals and the ritual image of the king prescribed in textual *ordines* relates to the appearance of the royal rod. As has already been mentioned, a long-stem rod topped with a bird was incorporated into the imagery of the Great Seal in 1259.⁵⁰ The design of the rod borrowed directly from the rod shown on the Great Seal of St. Edward the Confessor, and it is probably no coincidence that Henry III's incorporation of the rod into the design of his own second Great Seal occurred at the height of his devotion to the cult of the Confessor.⁵¹ The visual depiction of a rod surmounted with a dove occurs in the context of several thirteenth-century images of St. Edward the Confessor. It can be seen for example in the illumination depicting the Confessor's coronation contained in the earliest surviving version of the *Flores Historiarum*, a manuscript which was illuminated at Westminster in the 1250s (fig. 33).⁵² Meanwhile, Henry III underlined his personal interest in the rod when in the 1260s he ordered the decoration of the royal bedchamber in Westminster Palace with painted images which included a coronation scene showing St. Edward holding a rod with a dove (fig. 34).⁵³

After the introduction of the rod with the dove into the royal iconography of the Great Seal, there followed a period in which there was reasonably close correlation between the royal image displayed on the obverse of the Great Seal, and the ritual image of the king as it was later prescribed in the fourteenth-century texts of coronation and funeral *ordines*.

⁵⁰ However, several twelfth-century Great Seals show a bird on the cross of the orb-like sceptre. See Wyon & Wyon, *Great Seals*, pp. 10-13, 15, nos. 19, 23, 25, 27, 30, 32, plates. 3-5.

⁵¹ See Binski, *Westminster Abbey*, pp. 10-120, for wider discussion of Henry III's personal identification with the Confessor and the manifestation of his devotion to the Saxon royal saint in terms of the rebuilding of Westminster Abbey. The association of St. Edward with the image of the dove is further evidenced by the appearance of five birds or martlets on the heraldic arms retrospectively attributed to the royal saint. The introduction of the dove motif into the design of the royal rod may also have responded to the design of the Capetian royal sceptre which incorporated a golden hand of Charlemagne.

⁵² Chetham's Library, MS 6712/BL, Loan MS 94, fol. 115v. See Alexander & Binski (eds.), *Age of Chivalry*, p. 348, no. 446; Binski, *Westminster Abbey*, pp. 126-8.

⁵³ See P. Binski, *The Painted Chamber at Westminster*, Society of Antiquaries, Occasional Paper, 9 (London, 1986), pp. 38-40.

Crucially, however, this period of close correlation only lasted until 1327, and therefore it ended somewhat prior to the generally accepted composition date of the Litlyngton *Ordo* (c. 1362-84). In 1327, the design for the second Great Seal of Edward III was altered to show an image of the enthroned king holding a rod with a floriated finial (fig. 35).⁵⁴ The public character of this image change was attested by the exhibition of a white wax impression of the new Great Seal in London during the autumn of 1327.⁵⁵ After this date the royal rod was always shown with a floriated finial in visual representations of kings, while the motif of the bird simply disappeared from the formal iconography of English kingship (fig. 36).⁵⁶ Clearly, this finding indicates that the description of the rod's appearance contained in the Litlyngton *Ordo* text was already old-fashioned and visually outmoded at the point at which the *ordo* was compiled. If it can be accepted that the Litlyngton *Ordo* provides reliable evidence for the *actual* appearance of the coronation regalia (a view partly buttressed by the evidence of the inventories of 1356 and 1359), then by the late fourteenth century this official ritual regalia was clearly out of step with the depiction of the regalia within the wider imagery of kingship.⁵⁷

Conclusions

Two specific findings emerge from my analysis of the appearance and disposition of the

⁵⁴ Wyon & Wyon, *Great Seals*, p. 29, no. 53, plate 8; Alexander & Binski (eds.), *Age of Chivalry*, p. 494, no. 670. This seal was used between October 1327 and February 1340. In stylistic terms, the switch to a floriated rod on the second Great Seal partly reflected the influence of contemporary French taste. However, the representation of the rod with a floriated finial also had a pedigree within the more general iconography of English kingship. Henry III, for example, holds a floriated rod in Matthew Paris's illustration of the king in his *Historia Anglorum* of c. 1250. Even St. Edward is invested with a floriated rod in a coronation scene depicted in the mid-thirteenth-century *La Estoire de Seint Aedward le Rei*, which was illuminated by artists who are thought to have worked in English royal circles. See Binski, *Westminster Abbey*, pp. 4 (plate 4), 57-63, 127 (plate 127).

⁵⁵ A.H. Thomas (ed.), *Calendar of Plea and Memoranda Rolls of the City of London, 1323-64* (Cambridge 1926), pp. 32-3.

⁵⁶ Wyon & Wyon, *Great Seals*, pp. 35-6, no. 61, plate 10. Interestingly, Edward III's first seal of absence (used briefly between July 1338 and February 1340) did revive the motif of the rod surmounted with a dove. See Wyon & Wyon, *Great Seals*, pp. 30-1, no. 55, plate 9. In this instance, it may have been felt that the dove emblem had a particular relevance to the 'English' parts of Edward's domains. On Edward's first and second Great Seals the king's French heritage had been emphasized through the incorporation into the design of the seals of two fleur-de-lis framing the figure of the enthroned king. By contrast, on each side of the throne depicted on the first seal of absence there appeared three English lions *passant guardant in pale*. See W.M. Ormrod, "A Problem of Precedence: Edward III, the Double Monarchy, and the Royal Style" (forthcoming), for evidence that Edward sometimes altered the wording of his royal style according to a French or English readership context.

⁵⁷ On the inventories, see above pp. 75, n. 5, & 77, n. 13.

sceptre and rod. Firstly, the fourteenth century witnessed the replacement in royal iconography of the rod surmounted with a dove by a rod surmounted with a floriated finial. Interestingly, the evidence of inventories does suggest that the rod with a dove retained its place amongst the regalia; a situation which perhaps reflected a growing opinion that the coronation regalia ought to be considered inalienable. Nevertheless, even if kings continued to be invested at their coronations with a rod surmounted with a dove, it must still be recognized that from a wider public perspective the office of kingship was no longer visualized in terms of this particular item of regalia. Secondly, my analysis also suggests that late medieval artists producing images of kings were generally unconcerned about, or unaware of, the existence of any prescriptive ritual formulae concerning the positioning of the sceptre and rod in the king's hands. In both cases, these discrepancies between prescription and representation occur not only in the context of images purporting to show coronation and funeral scenes, but also in the context of imagery which was connected to Westminster Abbey, and in many cases directly commissioned by the crown.

The very pervasiveness of the frontal image of an enthroned and crowned king holding a sceptre and a rod is indicative of the resonance of this image within the visual culture of kingship. Yet this coronation image was not primarily mediated through prescriptive ritual texts. Instead, it seems probable that the more flexible imaging of regalia evident in visual representations of kings was pre-eminently influenced by the contemporary standards that were set by the crown itself, and were disseminated by the crown through media such as seals and, later, coinage.⁵⁸ In turn, the aesthetic priorities displayed by the crown were shaped themselves by political considerations and the influences of contemporary tastes and styles, much more than they were influenced by the fossilized prescriptions found in ritual texts.

This study of the visual representation of regalia suggests that prescriptive *ordines* propounded only one of several valid contemporary interpretations of ritual imagery. Just as it cannot be assumed that textual prescriptions automatically determined the aesthetics of regalia imagery, neither can it be assumed that regalia had to be viewed within a ritual setting in order for it to acquire meaning. The inclusion of regalia in visual depictions of kings lent a formality to royal imaging which was synonymous with the attributes of the kingly office. In this sense, representations of regalia acted as visual signifiers of the

⁵⁸ On coinage, see J.W. McKenna, "Henry VI and the Dual Monarchy: Aspects of Royal Political Propaganda, 1422-32," *JWCI*, 28 (1965): 146-51.

institutional character of the king. Ultimately, what mattered in the eyes of a wider public audience was the presence or absence of regalia, rather than the precise details of its appearance, combination or disposition.⁵⁹ Indeed, the fundamental importance of regalia as an iconography of kingship is reflected in the fact that regalia was rarely represented in isolation from the figure of the king.

As an institutional iconography the regalia was devoid of any sense of personal or dynastic identity. This dynastic neutrality meant it was ideally suited to the visual conveying of a sense of royal continuity, while at the same time neatly avoiding all references to any familial discontinuities.⁶⁰ However, increasingly through the fifteenth century there developed areas of ritual kingship in which the celebration of dynasty was positively encouraged, and this process was itself accompanied by the proliferation in ritual of an altogether different corpus of royal symbols.

(III) Heraldic Display

Introduction

This section analyses the nature and function of heraldic imagery in late medieval royal rituals, and additionally examines the changing character of ritual record-keeping in the fifteenth century. While it is clear that heraldry was regarded as an important and serious aspect of royal imagery in the later middle ages, there is nevertheless a virtual absence of references to heraldic display in prescriptive ritual texts dating from before the fifteenth century. This paradoxical situation suggests that heraldic imagery represents an interesting

⁵⁹ See below Chapters 4 & 5, for detailed discussion of the respective presence and absence of regalia at the funerals of Edward II and Richard II.

⁶⁰ See the late medieval genre of monumental cycles of kings such as the carved Westminster Kings of the 1390s (fig. 30), the cycle of kings in the west window of Canterbury Cathedral (1396-1411), and the early to mid-fifteenth-century cycle of kings carved on the choir screen of York Minster (fig. 46). In each case the personal identity of individual kings represented within the cycles is secondary to the importance of their role as kings within an overall scheme. Identification of kings tends to be possible only when labelling accompanies the images or when it is possible to re-construct the original ordering of the images. The chronological juxtaposing of kings emphasizes the theme of continuous royal succession, tacitly passing over the significance of any dynastic breaks caused by depositions or extinctions of the direct male line. Within these monumental cycles, disparate groups of kings are unified through their exercise of a common royal office and are lent a collective institutional identity through their display of the corporate insignia of kingship (the regalia). On Canterbury, see B. Rackham, *The Ancient Glass of Canterbury Cathedral* (London, 1949), pp. 118-35. On York, see C. Norton, "Richard II and York Minster," in S. Rees Jones (ed.), *The Government of Medieval York: Essays in Commemoration of the 1396 Royal Charter* (York, 1997), pp. 83-5; L. Stone, *Sculpture in Britain: The Middle Ages*, second edn. (Harmondsworth, 1972), p. 220. On the Westminster kings, see Cherry & Stratford, *Westminster Kings*, pp. 68-72.

case study for examining the interface of prescription and practice in royal ritual culture. It offers the historian a further opportunity to explore the vested interests that operated just beneath the surface of ritual texts. Moreover, this study enables the historian to throw a clearer light on the general status of prescriptive texts in relation to visual display.

Patterns of Heraldic Display

My definition of 'heraldic imagery' covers a wide area ranging from the representation of the royal arms, through the deployment of personal badges, to the display of the attributed arms of royal saints. In some cases it also includes the representation of images of saints where these occurred within a discernibly heraldic context. A proper history of heraldic imagery in the later middle ages is well beyond the scope of this thesis. However, there are a number of general points to be made which will help elucidate subsequent discussion of the role of heraldic imagery in the performance of royal rituals.

First of all, it is important to recognise that heraldry was as much an integral aspect of the formal imagery of kingship as the representation of other iconographical insignia of royal office such as the regalia. The key difference was that heraldic imagery tended to identify the king as the leading member of a wider social milieu, while the representation of regalia tended to emphasize the apartness of the king by directing attention towards the more unique attributes of royal identity. Secondly, it should be recognised that while the effectiveness of heraldry as a medium of expression depended upon its development of a reverence for exactness and precision, this in no sense precluded heraldic display from being both dynamic and flexible. On this point an important distinction needs to be drawn between the content of heraldic imagery and the context of heraldic display. The ensuing examination of the deployment of heraldic imagery during the later fourteenth century reveals the extent to which a very limited pool of images could be utilized in a remarkably varied range of combinations, media and spaces.

When Edward III formally quartered the arms of France and England in 1340, he was articulating a dynastic claim to the French throne which he had inherited through his mother. This alteration of the royal arms underlined the fact that the institutional identity of the king was inextricably bound up with the more immediate priorities of the royal dynasty. In the mid 1390s, the royal arms were temporarily altered once again when Richard II impaled the quartered arms of France and England with the arms of St. Edward the Confessor (fig. 37). This exceptional act has often been taken as evidence of Richard

II's strong personal devotion to the cult of the Confessor. Indeed, Paul Binski has even suggested that Richard's impalement of the royal arms symbolised a chaste marriage between the heirless king and the celibate saint.⁶¹

However, in reality, Richard's devotion to St. Edward was perhaps as much a reflection of his dynastic sensibilities as his devotional inclinations. While the degree of Richard's enthusiasm for the cult of St. Edward was certainly unusual, the general character of his devotion towards the confessor-king was not only conventional in terms of the established patterns of Plantagenet royal piety, it was also entirely in keeping with the preoccupations of other European monarchs with the worship of their sainted ancestors.⁶² Ironically, it seems likely that the public profile of Richard II's devotion to St. Edward has actually obscured the king's more deeply felt personal devotion to the cult of St. John the Baptist.⁶³ Significantly, while Richard prayed for the intercession of both saints in his will of 1399, it was the protection of St. John the Baptist rather than St. Edward which the king invoked on his tomb epitaph:

O merciful Christ to whom he [Richard] was devoted, save him through
the prayers of the Baptist who presented him.⁶⁴

Richard is shown kneeling before the Baptist in a window at Winchester College that is dateable to the early 1390s (fig. 38), while it was a tableau of St. John the Baptist in the Wilderness which greeted Richard at the climax of his ceremonial reception into London in 1392.⁶⁵ It is also St. John the Baptist who is shown presenting the kneeling figure of

⁶¹ Binski, *Westminster Abbey*, p. 200. Armorial impalements are usually associated with marriage.

⁶² See *ibid.*, pp. 52-89, on the development of the cult of the Confessor at Westminster Abbey under the aegis of Henry III. On Richard II's piety, see Saul, *Richard II*, pp. 293-326. See Beaune, *Birth of an Ideology*, for French royal devotion to the cults of dynastic saints.

⁶³ Richard's devotion to St. John the Baptist may have been associated with the fact that his birthday fell on the Feast of the Baptism of Christ (6 January).

⁶⁴ "O clemens Christe - cui devotus fuit iste; Votis Baptiste salves quem pretulit iste." Translation quoted from D. Gordon (ed.), *Making and Meaning: The Wilton Diptych*, The National Gallery (London, 1993), p. 61. The full inscription is printed in *Royal Commission on Historical Monuments, England*, 1, Westminster Abbey (London, 1924), p. 31.

⁶⁵ Alexander & Binski (eds.), *Age of Chivalry*, p. 475, no. 613; T. Wright (ed.), *Political Songs and Poems Relating to English History*, 2 vols., RS, 14 (1859-61), I: 294-5. See Gordon (ed.), *Making and Meaning*, pp. 55-7, for other examples of the king's devotion to the Baptist.

Richard II to the Virgin and Child in the Wilton Diptych (fig. 39).⁶⁶ This latter scene is resonant of a now lost wall mural from St. Stephen's Chapel in Westminster Palace which showed Edward III and his sons being presented to the Virgin and Child by Edward's patron St. George (fig. 40).⁶⁷ In each of these royal scenes the act of presentation is indicated by the directed gaze and the physical touch of the intercessor saint.⁶⁸

Richard II's impalement of the royal arms with the arms of St. Edward the Confessor illustrates how considerations of royal piety could be framed within a heraldic context. However, while this was an extreme example, the more general process of juxtaposing the arms of kings and saints can at least be traced back to the mid-thirteenth century at Westminster Palace and Westminster Abbey.⁶⁹ In the late fourteenth century, for example, Edward III's devotion to the cult of St. George was expressed through the representation of the alternating arms of the king and the saint on the marble pediment of Edward's tomb (fig. 23). Significantly, the representation of figurative images of saints also occurred within contexts which can be characterised as essentially heraldic. For example, the depiction of military saints was an integral aspect of the decorative scheme executed at St. Stephen's Chapel during the 1350s.⁷⁰ The mural paintings of SS Eustace and Mercurius on the north wall of the chapel depicted these saints in military attire (fig. 41). The painted shields of arms above the wall arcading interspersed the arms of SS Edward and Edmund with those of Edward III, his children and members of his nobility (fig. 42). Meanwhile,

⁶⁶ Gordon (ed), *Making and Meaning*, pp. 55-7.

⁶⁷ See Cherry & Stratford, *Westminster Kings*, pp. 28-49, especially pp. 44-8; Binski, *Westminster Abbey*, pp. 182-85; Alexander & Binski (eds.), *Age of Chivalry*, pp. 499-500, no. 681.

⁶⁸ The parallels between these two scenes have not previously been remarked upon. Both scenes exploit the iconography of the Adoration of the Magi. This was explicit in the St. Stephen's chapel mural where the devotional postures of Edward III and his sons echoed the actions of the Magi depicted in an adjacent upper scene towards which the king's gaze was directed. In the Wilton Diptych the kneeling figure of Richard II is implicitly depicted as a pseudo-Magi in the company of the saint-kings Edward and Edmund. The image of a single kneeling king was an artistic convention in depictions of the Adoration of the Magi and could also be seen in the upper Magi mural at St. Stephen's Chapel. See Gordon (ed), *Making and Meaning*, p. 57. The interest of both Edward III and Richard II in the cult of the Three Kings at Cologne is well attested. On Edward III, see Ormrod, "Personal Religion," pp. 860, n. 68, 872. Also see above p. 63, n. 130. Richard II's contacts with the archbishop and dean of Cologne occurred in the context of his imperial ambitions during 1397. See C. Given-Wilson (trans. & ed.), *Chronicles of the Revolution 1397-1400: The Reign of Richard II* (Manchester, 1993), p. 70, n. 1. Interestingly, in 1395, Richard paid for the enlargement of the crown of one of the Magi in the St. Stephen's Chapel mural. See G. Matthew, *The Court of Richard II* (London, 1968), pp. 12-13 & n. 5.

⁶⁹ Binski, *Painted Chamber*, pp. 41-2; idem, *Westminster Abbey*, pp. 76-80.

⁷⁰ See above n. 67 for references.

the figures of St. George, Edward III and five of his sons were all shown dressed in armour and heraldic surcoats in the mural on the northern half of the eastern altar wall (fig. 40).

The St. Stephen's Chapel murals offer a good illustration of the differing dimensions of royal heraldic representation. On the one hand the appearance of aristocratic arms in the company of the royal arms emphasized Edward III's membership of a wider military and social milieu. Indeed, the king's sponsorship of a notion of chivalric community which was centred around a collective devotion to St. George was embodied in his foundation of the Order of the Garter.⁷¹ Equally however, this emphasis on a horizontal and fraternal type of heraldic community was overlaid with an alternative and perhaps even greater emphasis on a vertical type of heraldic community that was centred around a consciousness of dynasty. The heraldry of Edward III's tomb represented the king at the centre of a familial community that was expressed through the presence in the tomb chest arcading of twelve gilt-metal figurines of Edward's children, each heraldically denoted by an accompanying shield (fig. 23).⁷²

In theory, the identification of individual family members on Edward III's tomb and in the St. Stephens's Chapel mural was made possible through the differencing of the royal arms that were attributed to each depicted figure.⁷³ Increasingly however, the designation of personal identity within the confining framework of dynastic representation came to be supplemented by the designation of personal identity through the deployment of badges. An obvious early example of a personal heraldic badge was the ostrich feathers badge used by the Black Prince.⁷⁴ Clearly, the deployment of personal badges carried connotations that were quite different from those communicated through the representation of more formal types of imagery such as the regalia, or overtly dynastic types of imagery such as the royal arms.

Richard II was the first English king to make extensive use of a heraldic badge in the

⁷¹ See Vale, *Edward III and Chivalry*, pp. 76-91. This sense of chivalric community is also communicated through the imagery of the Sir Hugh Hastings brass in Elsing parish church, Norfolk. See Alexander & Binski (eds.), *Age of Chivalry*, pp. 497-8, no. 678.

⁷² Binski, *Westminster Abbey*, pp. 198-99. Six figures and four accompanying shields survive on the south ambulatory side of the tomb chest. See also J. Evans, "Edmund of Langley and his Tomb," *Archaeologia*, 46 (1881): 297-328.

⁷³ In the surviving antiquarian drawing of the St. Stephen's Chapel mural, only the Black Prince is clearly shown to be wearing a cadency label on his heraldic surcoat (fig. 40).

⁷⁴ See below pp. 99-100.

form of the collared and chained white hart. The use of badges is often narrowly associated with the practice of retaining affinities, and Richard II was certainly criticised by his contemporary detractors because of the activities of his liveried retinue of Cheshiremen.⁷⁵ However, an examination of the contexts in which the white hart badge was deployed indicates the great versatility and scope of this type of personal heraldic emblem. Richard II's badge was not only distributed to his retainers, it was also incorporated into the decorative schemes of a whole panoply of royal works which ranged in scale from public building projects such as the refurbishment of Westminster Hall to the manufacture of intimate and personal artifacts such as the Wilton Diptych (figs. 37, 39). Richard II's extensive use of the white hart badge emphasized his close personal links to people, objects, buildings and places. Significantly, the king's choice of this badge was not predicated by choices that had previously been made by his father and grandfather, although it has been suggested that the badge was used by Richard's mother, Joan of Kent.⁷⁶

In the fifteenth century badges increasingly came to transcend personal lifetime associations and become heritable within dynasties. One of the earliest examples of the inheritability of badges is the Lancastrian double 'S' collar which was first used as a livery by John of Gaunt before being widely utilised by his son Henry IV.⁷⁷ Two other badges used by Henry IV (the white swan and the antelope) were associated with the family of his first wife Mary de Bohun. Both badges were used extensively by Henry V and appear as decorative features on the frieze of the king's mid-fifteenth-century chantry chapel at Westminster Abbey.⁷⁸ Meanwhile, in the late fifteenth century the spotted and horned antelope was attributed as a heraldic badge to Henry VI, while the swan badge appeared on

⁷⁵ "Annales," p. 239, translated in Given-Wilson (ed. & trans.), *Chronicles of the Revolution*, p. 77.

⁷⁶ G.B. Stow (ed.), *Historia Vitae et Regni Ricardi Secundi* (Philadelphia, 1977), p. 132, asserts that Richard first distributed the white hart badge at the Smithfield tournament in 1390. Meanwhile, "Annales," p. 190, states that Richard wore the badge on his breast at his wedding to Isabelle of France in 1396 as the livery of the king of England. It is possible that the king's choice of the badge derived from a pun on the French spelling of his name 'Richart'. See Gordon (ed), *Making and Meaning*, p. 49.

⁷⁷ See D. Fletcher, "The Lancastrian Collar of Esses: Its Origins and Transformations down the Centuries," in J.L. Gillespie (ed.), *The Age of Richard II* (Stroud, 1997), pp. 191-204. On the eagle badge that was associated with the 'S' collar, see C. Wilson, "The Tomb of Henry IV and the Holy Oil of St. Thomas of Canterbury," in P. Crossley & E. Fernie (eds.), *Medieval Architecture and its Intellectual Context: Studies in Honour of Peter Kidson* (London, 1990), pp. 181-90.

⁷⁸ Hope, "Funeral, Monument and Chantry Chapel," pp. 153-3.

the seal of Henry's son, Edward, prince of Wales (d. 1471).⁷⁹

If heraldic badges acquired a more dynastic flavour in the fifteenth century, then this development doubtless responded to an equivalent erosion in the dynastic character of the royal arms. As the English throne passed back and forth between candidates from rival collateral branches of the family of Edward III, each successful candidate assumed the undifferenced royal arms by right of tenure of royal office rather than by right of hereditary descent. This point is well illustrated by the situation at the accession of Edward IV in 1461, when only the male members of the York family began to use the royal arms with appropriate differencing labels.⁸⁰ Edward's eldest sister and three of his daughters all continued to use the heraldic arms of York which incorporated the arms of Mortimer and de Burgh.⁸¹ This distinction between royal and dynastic arms was never more starkly stated than on the double tomb chest of Henry VII and Elizabeth of York in Westminster Abbey, where the royal arms of the king are shown impaled with the dynastic arms of the queen (fig. 43).

Fourteenth-Century Records

An examination of fourteenth-century prescriptive textual evidence for late medieval coronations and funerals conveys a misleading impression of ceremonies that were devoid of heraldic imagery. Neither the Litlington *Ordo* version of the coronation order nor the shorter Westminster version of the funeral *ordo* makes any reference whatsoever to the role of heralds, heraldic activity or heraldic display in the performance of royal rituals. This situation is certainly intriguing since concerns with the visual construction of social status are clearly present in the coronation text, articulated for example in specifications concerning the colour and design of ritual clothing and the differing elevations of the king and queen's thrones.

⁷⁹ On Henry VI, see E. Hodnett, *English Woodcuts 1480-1535* (Oxford, 1973), p. 46. Also see below p. 213. On Prince Edward, see J.H. & R.V. Pinches, *The Royal Heraldry of England* (London, 1974), p. 100.

⁸⁰ An exception here is Edward's third sister, Margaret, duchess of Burgundy (d. 1503), who followed male practice in using the quartered arms of France and England. See C. Weightman, *Margaret of York, Duchess of Burgundy 1446-1503* (Gloucester, 1989), jacket illustration & plate 29.

⁸¹ The arms of Edward's sister Anne, duchess of Exeter (d. 1476) are displayed on her Garter stall plate in St. George's Chapel. The three daughters of Edward IV for whom arms can be attributed were Queen Elizabeth of York (d. 1503), Cicely, Viscountess Wells (d. 1507) and Catherine, countess of Devon (d. 1527). They each used the arms: *Quarterly, 1st, quarterly, France modern and England; 2nd and 3rd, de Burgh; and 4th, Mortimer*. See Pinches & Pinches, *Royal Heraldry of England*, pp. 107-8, 118-9, 134.

The fuller fifteenth-century version of the funeral *ordo* is more forthcoming in describing the heraldic character of royal funerals, although it too makes no explicit reference to the role of heralds. The expanded section of the text describes the oblation of the king's horse, armour and standard during the celebration of the requiem mass on the day of the king's interment. The *ordo* specifies that this oblation should be performed by a knight dressed in the king's arms and surcoat, and additionally it states that the king's horse should also be covered in a trapper displaying his arms. Later, a second knight carrying the dead king's emblazoned shield is required to enter the sepulchral church riding another horse trapped in the royal arms. Meanwhile, the six or seven horses that draw the king's funeral carriage in his cortege are required by the textual prescriptions to be wholly covered in trappers displaying the arms of the king.⁸²

Other fourteenth-century sources of evidence provide some confirmation for the deployment of heraldic imagery in royal funeral rituals of the period. In general, the type of narrative accounts found in monastic chronicles provide relatively little information about heraldic display. Although the horizons of narrative commentary were beginning to widen beyond the liturgical core of royal rituals by the later fourteenth century, nothing survives from this period which is comparable to Walsingham's detailed description of the funeral of Henry V in 1422, when the chronicler described:

banners...borne about the body of the dead man, containing the arms of St. George, of England and France, and images of the Holy Trinity and of St. Mary.⁸³

It has already been mentioned that governmental records suggesting the official orchestration of heraldic display at royal funerals can be traced as far back to the funerals of Edward II and Edward III.⁸⁴ Meanwhile, in 1376, Edward III's heir, the Black Prince had included detailed specifications in his will regarding the display of his heraldic achievements during the procession of his cortege through Canterbury en route to a final resting place within the cathedral. These testamentary prescriptions specified that ahead

⁸² *LRC*, pp. 113-14. See above p. 56.

⁸³ *HA*, II: 345-6. "...vexilla insuper, circa corpus dicti defuncti ferebantur, arma Sancti Georgii, Angliae, et Franciae, ac imaginum Sanctae Trinitatis, Sanctae Mariae, continentur." Translation taken from Hope, "Funeral, Monument and Chantry Chapel," p. 132.

⁸⁴ See above p. 60, n. 116.

of the body in the procession were to go:

two destriers covered with our arms and two armed men in our arms and in our helms...that is to say, one for war with our full quartered arms and the other for peace with our badges of ostrich plumes...⁸⁵

After the funeral the Black Prince's achievements were suspended above his tomb in the Trinity Chapel, and they have survived in a relatively intact state to the present day.⁸⁶

The practice of hanging heraldic achievements over tombs was one manifestation of a broader pattern of representation which witnessed the widespread intrusion of heraldic imagery into sacred spaces. The presence of heraldry as a decorative motif in the architecture and fittings of churches is well illustrated with reference to Westminster Abbey. As early as the 1250s, Henry III's rebuilding campaign at Westminster Abbey involved the use of heraldic schemes in stone, glass and tiles as decorative features within the new monastic church.⁸⁷ Meanwhile, the tombs commissioned for Henry III and Eleanor of Castile by Edward I during the 1290s were amongst the first English royal tombs to incorporate heraldic elements. The gilt-metal base-plate and head cushion of the effigy of Henry III is diapered with a pattern of individual lions *passant guardant* within diamond shaped lozenges (fig. 44). Similarly, the gilt-metal base-plate and head cushion of Eleanor of Castile's effigy is diapered with an alternating design of English lions and Castilian castles (fig. 45), while the arcades of the queen's tomb chest display the alternating arms of Ponthieu (her dowry), England, and Castile-León.⁸⁸

⁸⁵ *Collection of Wills*, p. 68, "deux destres coverts de nos armes et deus homes armes en nos armes et en nos heaumes...c'est assavoir, l'un pur la guerre de nos armes entiers quartelles, et l'autre pur la paix de nos bages des plumes d'ostruce..." Translation taken from Alexander & Binski (eds.), *Age of Chivalry*, p. 479.

⁸⁶ See Alexander & Binski (eds.), *Age of Chivalry*, pp. 479-81, nos. 626-33; Wilson, "Medieval Monuments," pp. 497-8 & plate 118; J. Arnold, "The Jupon or Coat-Armour of the Black Prince in Canterbury Cathedral," *Church Monuments*, 8 (1993): 12-24. Parts of the funeral achievements of Henry V also remain preserved at Westminster Abbey. Additionally, see R.A. Griffiths, *The Reign of King Henry VI* (London, 1981), plate 39, for a late sixteenth-century drawing of the lost royal tomb of Henry VI at St. George's Chapel, Windsor, which shows the king's effigy crowned and clad in armour (including a buckled sword) with his achievements hanging over the tomb.

⁸⁷ Binski, *Westminster Abbey*, pp. 76-86.

⁸⁸ *Ibid.*, pp. 107-10. Eleanor's arms also appeared on the tomb chest of the queen's entrails tomb at Lincoln Cathedral and on the various 'Eleanor Crosses' which marked the route of the queen's cortege to Westminster Abbey. See Alexander & Binski (eds.), *Age of Chivalry*, pp. 361-6, nos. 368-79; E.M. Hallam, "The Eleanor Crosses and Royal Burial Customs," in D. Parsons (ed.), *Eleanor of Castile 1290-1990* (Stamford, 1991), pp. 9-18.

During the late fourteenth century, and particularly during the reign of Richard II, royal heraldry proliferated throughout the eastern end of the monastic church at Westminster. Aside from the presence of an array of heraldic imagery on Richard's double tomb, the quartered royal arms of France and England and the arms of St. Edward the Confessor were also carved either side of the entrance into the chapel of Our Lady of the Pew.⁸⁹ Within this chapel the white hart badge of Richard II was painted on the right wall above the altar, while a second hart was painted on a wall in the elevated 'royal pew' at the south-western corner of south transept.⁹⁰ Records of Richard II's bequests to the Abbey indicate that he gave the monastic community banners of St. Edmund, St. Edward and the Holy Roman Emperor. Meanwhile, in 1389, the king presented the shrine chapel of St. Edward with a complete set of vestments that included a chasuble embroidered with (among other things) the royal arms of the king and queen, and figures of the Virgin, St. Edward, St. Edmund and St. John the Baptist.⁹¹

Fifteenth-Century Records

Records of royal rituals in the fifteenth-century contain an increased amount of information relating to heraldic display. Undoubtedly, this situation reflects the emergence and survival of new types of historical source material as much as it reflects *more fundamental changes* in the actual character of performed rituals. Amongst these new types of records dating from the fifteenth century are a series of descriptive accounts of discrete royal rituals which blend together some previously distinct characteristics of narrative and prescriptive writing on ritual practices. The funerals of Henry V, Edward IV and Henry VII, all generated accounts of funeral procedure which obviously were not intended to form part of any wider narrative history of each king's reign.⁹² These accounts appear to have been compiled by

⁸⁹ Gordon (ed.), *Making and Meaning*, p. 62. On Richard's tomb, see Binski, *Westminster Abbey*, pp. 199-202.

⁹⁰ Gordon (ed.), *Making and Meaning*, p. 62; Binski, *Westminster Abbey*, p. 203; Tristram, *English Wall Painting*, p. 201.

⁹¹ *CChR 1341-1417*, p. 311. See Saul, "Richard II and Westminster Abbey," pp. 201-2; idem, *Richard II*, p. 312. Also Gordon (ed.), *Making and Meaning*, p. 61.

⁹² See College of Arms, MS M 14, which is a heraldic collection containing accounts of the funerals of Henry V and Henry VII. Hope, "Funeral, Monument and Chantry Chapel," pp. 133-4, published the Henry V material. For the funeral of Henry VII, see Leland, *Collectanea*, IV: 303-9; Anglo, *Images of Tudor Kingship*, pp. 100-2.

royal heralds and they survive within heraldic collections preserved at the College of Arms.⁹³ In all probability, these self-contained accounts of particular royal funerals were intended to serve a semi-prescriptive purpose as points of textual reference which might be referred to in the arrangement of future royal funerals.

The surviving heraldic account of the funeral of Henry V in 1422 gives a good impression of the general character and concerns of this type of fifteenth-century ritual record.⁹⁴ While the textual narrative covers the whole period of Henry's funeral celebrations, it preserves a particularly detailed record of the form of Henry's hearse and the ordering of his funeral cortege. The hearse was drawn by five horses which were trapped in the arms of England (two horses), St. George, St. Edmund and St. Edward.⁹⁵ Attached to its frame were three large banners: the two at the front corners of the hearse displayed images of the Trinity and the Virgin, while the single banner at the back of the hearse displayed the image of St. George. Ahead of the hearse an earl and several knights rode horses with trappers of black velvet which displayed a scutcheon of arms on each quarter. These men carried Henry's heraldic achievements which included the king's standard and his two shields displaying respectively the arms of England and the arms of France.⁹⁶

A detailed surviving account of the funeral of Edward IV in 1483 offers more explicit evidence of the importance of heraldic considerations in ritual practice and ritual record-keeping.⁹⁷ It seems probable that the text utilised an official government memorandum concerning Edward's funeral, since the narrative exhibits a quite pedantic concern to provide full lists of the names of attendant mourners and officiating clerics at a number of

⁹³ College of Arms, MS R 36, fols 87-88, is an interesting example of an early sixteenth-century heraldic compilation made expressly for the use of officers of arms. It contains a series of formal descriptions of the hearses used at the funerals and/or obsequies of Henry V, Richard, earl of Salisbury (1463), Richard, duke of York (1463), and Henry VII. See *Reburial of Richard Duke of York*, pp. 34-5.

⁹⁴ Hope, "Funeral, Monument and Chantry Chapel," pp. 133-4.

⁹⁵ See *ibid.*, pp. 135-7, for discussion of some problems in the evidence here.

⁹⁶ See *ibid.*, pp. 185-6, 135-6, for a printed account of particulars supplied by the Great Wardrobe for the funeral of Henry V. These included twenty-seven scutcheons of the king's arms; seven scutcheons of the arms of St. George; two trappers of the arms of SS Edward and Edmund; a tunic of the king's arms, eight banners of the king's arms; sixteen banners of the arms of SS Edward and Edmund; a shield of the king's arms; and six crests for horses with the arms of St. George.

⁹⁷ "Burial of King Edward IV," pp. 348-55; *Letters and Papers*, I: 3-10. See College of Arms, Arundel MS 51, for a less detailed contemporary account of the funeral written in French.

different points in the described proceedings. In a manner somewhat reminiscent of the funeral *ordo* preserved in *Liber Regie Capelle*, the Edward IV text records the spatial arrangement of the mourners in the immediate vicinity of the king's hearse. Additionally, the text also records the precise itinerary of the funeral cortege during its journey from Westminster to Windsor. As with the earlier account of the funeral of Henry V, the display of heraldic imagery around the hearse is carefully noted and the appearance of the coffin, effigy and hearse are described in considerable detail.⁹⁸

The fullest section of the narrative is reserved for a description of the complex procedures that were followed at the oblation of Edward IV's funeral achievements during the requiem mass on the day of interment. According to the text, each of the attendant officers of arms was given discrete responsibilities pertaining either to the oblation of a particular part of the king's achievements, or to the formal reception at the church door of the king's man-at-arms mounted on the king's horse. This section of the narrative is infused with typically heraldic concerns over issues such as the correct ordering of precedence:

Likewise in forme Clarencieux and Norrey kinges of armes received the shilde, and at offering tyme presented it to the lord Maltravers and to the vicecounte Barkley. But ther was a question whether the sonne and heier of an erle should go above a vicounte.⁹⁹

Significantly, the prescriptive credentials of the account of the funeral of Edward IV were greatly enhanced by the prefacing of the main textual narrative with a translated and amplified copy of the text of the Westminster version of the funeral *ordo*.¹⁰⁰ This explicit juxtaposing of prescription and practice lends to the Edward IV narrative a somewhat ambiguous status in relation to future ritual practice. On the one hand, the juxtaposing of these texts suggests that funerary practice might supersede and go beyond the limiting constraints of existing prescriptions. However, on the other hand, this juxtaposition also

⁹⁸ The sources agree that three of the four banners placed around the hearse showed images of the Trinity, the Virgin and St. George. "Burial of King Edward IV," p. 350, has the fourth banner as St. Gilbert ("Seint Gelbard"). However, *Letters and Papers*, I: 5, has the fourth banner as St. Edward.

⁹⁹ *Letters and Papers*, I: 9.

¹⁰⁰ "Burial of King Edward IV," pp. 348-9; *Letters and Papers*, I: 3-4. The main narrative section of the account of Edward's funeral begins: "But when that noble king, Edward the iiiii, was deceased at Westminster in his palais..." Ibid., p. 4.

indicates that the freer play of ritual practice still required some element of validation in terms of the prior existence and accepted authority of a prescribed standard form of ritual behaviour.

All of the evidence so far discussed has related to heraldic display in the context of fifteenth-century royal funeral practice. However, there is much evidence to suggest that heraldic display also contributed in an important way to the visual character of coronations. The earliest evidence for the deployment of heraldry in coronation rituals is found in the narrative accounts of coronations preserved in the new breed of secular chronicles which emerged in the early fifteenth century. The pre-eminence of urban over monastic chronicle writing in the fifteenth century resulted in profound differences in the manner of the reporting of rituals. London chronicles and the various *Brut* continuations form the main historical sources for many of the elaborate royal rituals of the early to mid-Lancastrian period.¹⁰¹ Significantly, these chronicles were mostly uninterested in the more liturgical dimensions of coronations which had tended to be stressed in the monastic narratives of earlier centuries.¹⁰² Instead, these narrative sources show a predilection for recording the details of more secular aspects of coronation practice such as the processions and the banquets which framed the rituals performed within Westminster Abbey.

In a number of instances, the accounts of royal rituals preserved in fifteenth-century urban chronicles appear to derive their information from some sort of ritual programme which presumably would have been generated within official circles. In particular, narrative accounts of post-coronation banquets tend to be characterized by the recording of highly detailed information concerning seating plans, menus and the design of the 'soteltes' served at the end of each course of food. Soteltes will be discussed in greater detail in a later chapter, but it is worth stating that soteltes were elaborate tableaux which were sculptured from sugar paste and then painted and gilded.¹⁰³ The elaborateness of sotelte designs varied enormously from coronation to coronation, but at their most

¹⁰¹ For the complex inter-relationship of the various *Brut* continuations and the London chronicles, see A. Gransden, *Historical Writing in England, Vol. II: c. 1307 to the Early Sixteenth Century* (London, 1982), pp. 220-48; C.L. Kingsford (ed.), *Chronicles of London* (Oxford, 1905), pp. v-xlvi; idem, *English Historical Literature in the Fifteenth Century* (Oxford, 1913), pp. 70-139.

¹⁰² An exception is the account of the coronation of Henry VI given in J. Gairdner (ed.), *Historical Collections of a Citizen of London in the Fifteenth Century*, CS, new series, 17 (1876), pp. 164-70. The account provides a detailed description of the order of service in Westminster Abbey, although it contains no liturgical information besides the incipits to a couple of Latin prayers and formulae.

¹⁰³ See below Chapter 7.

sophisticated they could articulate complicated notions of royal identity that were nevertheless anchored within a sharply contemporary political context.

At the English coronation of Henry VI on 6 November 1429 a *sotelte* was served at the end of each of the three courses of food.¹⁰⁴ The first *sotelte* showed the two figures of St. Edward the Confessor and St. Louis wearing their coats of arms and holding between them the figure of Henry VI who was also wearing his coat of arms. An accompanying text proclaimed “*beholde ii parfyght kynges vnder one cote armour,*” while beneath the feet of the kings was written a ballad asserting Henry’s dual descent from the two royal saints and proclaiming him as the “*inherytour of the flour delyce.*”¹⁰⁵ The second *sotelte* showed the two figures of Henry V and the Emperor Sigismund wearing mantles of the Order of the Garter, while the figure of Henry VI knelt before them also dressed in Garter insignia. A ballad “*takkyd*” beside the figure of Henry VI lauded his father and the emperor for their joint defence of the Church and their suppression of heresy, and urged the young Henry to follow this good example.¹⁰⁶ The third *sotelte* showed the figure of the Virgin seated with the Christ Child on her lap and a crown in each hand. On either side of the Virgin knelt figures of St. George and St. Denis in the act of presenting Henry VI. The figure of the young king held a ballad which invoked the Virgin’s blessing and protection, and asserted that Henry was:

Borne by dyscent and tytylle ryght
Justely to raygne in Ingelonde and yn Fraunce.¹⁰⁷

¹⁰⁴ Robert Fabyan, *The New Chronicles of England and France*, ed. H. Ellis (London, 1811), pp. 599-601; N.H. Nicolas & E. Tyrrell (eds.), *A Chronicle of London, from 1089 to 1489* (London, 1827), pp. 168-9; *Historical Collections*, pp. 164-70; A.H. Thomas & I.D. Thornley (eds.), *The Great Chronicle of London* (London, 1938), pp. 152-4. The accounts differ on a few minor details.

¹⁰⁵ Fabyan, p. 600. See also *A Chronicle of London*, p. 168; *Historical Collections*, p. 169; *Great Chronicle*, p. 152. This *sotelte* bears comparison with an illuminated genealogy of Henry VI depicting the king as heir to the thrones of France and England through his double descent from St. Louis. See McKenna, “Henry VI and the Dual Monarchy,” pp. 151-5. The theme of Henry VI’s descent from SS Edward and Louis was re-utilized in the pageantry laid on in London for Henry VI’s triumphant entry into the city in 1432. See Osburg, “London Entry of Henry VI,” pp. 213-32; Bryant, “Configurations of the Community,” pp. 3-33, especially 18-23.

¹⁰⁶ Fabyan, p. 600. See also *A Chronicle of London*, p. 169; *Historical Collections*, p. 169; *Great Chronicle*, p. 153. See Allmand, *Henry V*, pp. 233-56, on the relationship between Henry V and the Emperor Sigismund.

¹⁰⁷ *Historical Collections*, p. 170. Fabyan, p. 601, *A Chronicle of London*, p. 169, and *Great Chronicle*, p. 154, all suggest that the Virgin held only one crown.

Aside from the deployment of heraldic imagery within these more complex visual tableaux, several of the food dishes in each course incorporated more straightforward heraldic motifs in their design. These included boars heads in a golden castle, a red chained and collared antelope, leopards and fleur-de-lis, ostrich feathers and even a jelly “wryten and notyd” with the *Te Deum laudamus*.¹⁰⁸

The employment of heraldic imagery in coronation processions is clearly attested to in a series of sources pertaining to the joint coronation of Richard III and Anne Neville on 6 July 1483. A contemporary narrative account of Richard III’s coronation indicates that the procession to Westminster Abbey was headed by heralds “in their rich coates,” while the Garter King of Arms occupied a privileged position in the processional order alongside the mayor of London and the Gentleman Usher of the Privy Chamber.¹⁰⁹ Meanwhile, the *Little Device* of Richard III also indicates the participation of heralds in the coronation processions, although it does not otherwise provide any details about heraldic display beyond a vague and general statement that there rode behind the king:

vii coursours...all trapped in rich and dyvers trappers and with a spar’
coursoure led in hand trappid with a trapper of the Kinges armys.¹¹⁰

The *Little Device* is a text which was specially drawn up for use at the coronation of Richard III, and was then subsequently adapted for use at the coronation of Henry VII on 30 October 1485.¹¹¹ The absence of heraldic detailing in these two versions of the text contrasts with the very careful attention paid to other visual aspects of the coronation ritual such as the precise appearance of the king and queen’s clothing at different moments in the ritual proceedings. Indeed, this alternative visual focus suggests that the author of the *Little Device* conceived of the ritualised transformation in Richard III’s royal status as being

¹⁰⁸ Fabyan, pp. 599-601.

¹⁰⁹ Bodleian, Ashmolean MS 863, pp. 439-40, printed in *ECR*, pp. 195-6. See *Coronation of Richard III*, pp. 254-82, on other narrative descriptions of the coronation.

¹¹⁰ BL, Additional MS 18669, printed in *Coronation of Richard III*, pp. 213-27. Quotation on p. 213.

¹¹¹ See BL, Egerton MS 985, printed in *ECR*, pp. 219-39, for the *Little Device* for the coronation of Henry VII.

articulated primarily in terms of visual hierarchies of colours and materials.¹¹² If there is an emphasis in the *Little Device* on the transformative aspect of coronation ritual, then this reflects the text's location within the parameters of older prescriptive traditions. The form of the *Little Device* was clearly influenced by the late fourteenth-century Litlyngton *Ordo* text, as well as the abridged early fifteenth-century form of the *ordo* known as *Forma et Modus*. However, the *Little Device* also differs from earlier prescriptive texts both in terms of the attention it devotes to the activities of the coronation vigil, and also more generally in terms of its specificity to a particular coronation occasion.

While the texts of the two *Little Devices* seem to suggest the limited importance (and indeed presence) of heraldic display in late fifteenth-century coronation rituals, this impression is overturned by the evidence of a set of detailed administrative accounts relating to coronations of both Richard III with Anne Neville in 1483, and Henry VII in 1485. These accounts pertain to the business of the Great Wardrobe which was the division of the royal household responsible for the procuring, manufacture and supply of materials and finished goods for all manner of rituals and other royal occasions.¹¹³ The fortuitous survival of these accounts allows the historian a unique insight into the material culture of coronation rituals in a way which is not nearly so possible for royal funeral rituals in the period prior to the sixteenth century.¹¹⁴

The Great Wardrobe accounts for the coronation of Richard III are vague about the heraldic detailing of trappers for horses, although it is clear that at least one trapper was embroidered with heraldic devices in the form of "ostricheffeders of gold with rolles and

¹¹² ECR, pp. 213-14, 215-16, 226. Great Wardrobe records for the delivery of cloth for making ceremonial gowns for the coronations of Henry IV, Edward IV and Richard III, all suggest the existence of a loose hierarchical scheme of ritual colours. Purple was reserved for the king, whilst the noble and household attendants wore scarlet. Lower ranking secular functionaries such as minstrels, bargemen, grooms and pages wore red, whilst clerics wore black. See *Coronation of Richard III*, pp. 91-189.

¹¹³ PRO, LC 9/50. See *Coronation of Richard III*, pp. 91-189, for the accounts for the coronation of Richard III. See ECR, pp. 198-218, for the accounts for the coronation of Henry VII.

¹¹⁴ The fullest set of pre-Tudor administrative accounts relating to a royal funeral are probably those for the funeral of Henry V published in Hope, "Funeral, Monument and Chantry Chapel," pp. 185-6, 135-6. See PRO, MS LC 2/1, relating to the funeral of Arthur, Prince of Wales, at Worcester in 1502, for the fullest early Tudor set of accounts for a royal funeral. Additionally, see PRO, E 101/417/4 for accounts relating to the supply of trumpet banners for the funerals of Arthur and also his mother, Elizabeth of York (d. 1503). See PRO, LC 2/2 for the funeral of Henry VIII in 1547. For the funeral of Edward VI, see PRO, LC 2/41, published in *Archaeologia*, 12 (1776): 334-96. For discussion on early Tudor royal funerals, see Anglo, *Images of Tudor Kingship*, pp. 99-106; Loach, "The Function of Ceremonial," pp. 56-68.

reasons.”¹¹⁵ Nevertheless, the accounts do record the manufacture and delivery of a wide variety of other items of heraldic interest. Foremost amongst these were a series of standards and banners which the records of delivery suggest were intended for the actual day of the coronation. There are some internal confusions within the accounts and it remains somewhat unclear whether all of the six standards and nineteen banners supplied to the king during the period of account were intended for use at the coronation. It is possible that some of these items were used only at the investiture of the prince of Wales at York on 8 September 1483.¹¹⁶ However, the probability must be that most of the listed standards and banners were used in the coronation ceremony and then simply re-cycled for use at the investiture of the prince of Wales.¹¹⁷

The six silk-fringed sarcenet standards were of two types: two were beaten with white lions and four were beaten with “the bore and the kynges worde.”¹¹⁸ Five of the sarcenet banners displayed the king’s arms,¹¹⁹ two sets of four banners displayed images of the Virgin and the arms of St. Edward, three banners showed an image of the Trinity, two banners displayed the arms of St. George and one banner showed the arms of St. Cuthbert.¹²⁰ The Great Wardrobe accounts also record the supply of around twenty-five coats of arms beaten with the king’s arms for heralds, fifty-three sarcenet trumpet banners beaten with the royal arms, seven hundred and forty buckram ‘pensels’ (a vertically hung

¹¹⁵ *Coronation of Richard III*, pp. 136, 143.

¹¹⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 182. For the investiture of the prince of Wales the Great Wardrobe supplied (among other things) four standards of the white boar and banners of SS Cuthbert, Edward and George, the Trinity and the Virgin. It also supplied thirteen thousand “quynysans of fustyane with bores,” which were presumably a type of heraldic device distributed to supporters. See R. Horrox & P.W. Hammond (eds.), *British Library Harleian Manuscript 433*, 4 vols. (Upminster & London, 1979-83), II: 42.

¹¹⁷ See *Issues of the Exchequer*, pp. 325-6, for the re-use of banners supplied for the funeral of Henry IV at Canterbury in June 1413 at the reburial service for Richard II at Westminster Abbey later the same year.

¹¹⁸ *Coronation of Richard III*, p. 133. Three banners and a pennon of the white lion were made for the hearse of Richard, duke of York in 1463. See PRO, E 361/6, m. 53-53d, printed in translation in *Reburial of Richard Duke of York*, p. 33.

¹¹⁹ See *Coronation of Richard III*, p. 182, where a total of seven banners displaying the royal arms is mentioned. However, elsewhere in the account a figure of five banners seems to be suggested, and this number fits better with a total figure of nineteen banners.

¹²⁰ St. Cuthbert was something of an interloper into the company of an otherwise highly conventional set of royal saints. It might be speculated that the representation of this popular northern saint was a political gesture designed to appeal to Richard III’s northern supporters in London. C. Ross, *Richard III* (London, 1981), pp. 128-37, does not include the saint amongst those for whom Richard expressed strong personal devotion.

pennon) painted with boars,¹²¹ three hundred and fifty tartarin pensels “beten with the kynges bagyes,”¹²² and thirteen thousand boars “maade and wroght uppon fustian called conysaunces.”¹²³

The detailed nature of the Great Wardrobe accounts for the coronation of Henry VII make possible a tentative reconstruction of the visual appearance of the eight trappers (including the king’s trapper) which covered the royal horses paraded in the pre-coronation procession through London:

1. A trapper for the king made from large quantities of crimson damask cloth of gold and a small quantity of purple velvet.¹²⁴
2. A trapper of St. George made from white cloth of gold with crimson velvet used to make the cross.¹²⁵
3. A trapper embroidered with the arms of St. Edward.¹²⁶
4. A trapper embroidered with the arms of St. Edmund.¹²⁷
5. A trapper embroidered with the arms of Cadwallader.¹²⁸
6. A trapper of blue velvet bordered with green and white cloth of gold and embroidered in crimson velvet with 102 red roses and an unspecified number of red dragons. The roses and the feet of the dragons wrought in Venice gold.¹²⁹
7. A trapper of purple velvet embroidered with 102 portcullises.¹³⁰
8. A trapper embroidered with falcons.¹³¹

¹²¹ *Coronation of Richard III*, p. 182. The transcribed account reads 340 rather than 740. However, the figure 740 is consistently mentioned everywhere else in the account.

¹²² *Ibid.*, p. 174.

¹²³ *Ibid.*, p. 182. Presumably these were badges of livery to be worn on clothing.

¹²⁴ *ECR*, pp. 201-2, 206.

¹²⁵ *Ibid.*, pp. 201, 204.

¹²⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 210.

¹²⁷ *Ibid.*

¹²⁸ *Ibid.*

¹²⁹ *Ibid.*, pp. 203-4, 210.

¹³⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 209.

¹³¹ *Ibid.*, p. 210.

The imagery deployed on these trappers at the coronation of Henry VII provides a good indication of the richness and diversity of heraldic display at this type of royal occasion. The presence of the arms of SS George, Edward and Edmund was unremarkable given that the representation of each of these saints had a long and established pedigree within royal ritual culture in England.¹³² By contrast, the inclusion of the arms of Cadwallader was without precedent and doubtless constituted a symbolic assertion of the notion of Henry Tudor's ancient British ancestry.¹³³ This trapper was later worn on Sir Robert Dymmok's horse when he issued the challenge as the king's champion during the coronation banquet which followed the celebrations in Westminster Abbey.¹³⁴ The red dragon badge also enjoyed a British pedigree. Henry had presented a red dragon standard at St. Paul's Cathedral on his entry into London after his victory at Bosworth.¹³⁵ More significantly, Henry created a new pursuivant called *Rougedragon* at the ceremony for the creation of knights of the Bath on the evening prior to the procession through London.¹³⁶ The red rose badge was more personally associated with Henry VII, most obviously in terms of the 'union' of the red and white roses in celebration of the king's marriage to Elizabeth of York.¹³⁷ The presence of the portcullis and falcon badges on the final two trappers can be interpreted in terms of dynastic associations. The portcullis was the badge of Henry's mother, Margaret Beaufort, and was soon to enter the mainstream of Tudor royal iconography.¹³⁸ Meanwhile, the falcon badge was closely associated with the preceding

¹³² Several weeks earlier, the standard of St. George had been one of three that Henry VII had offered at St. Paul's Cathedral at the culmination of his entry ceremony into London after Bosworth. The other two standards were "...a red ffyry dragon upon whyte and green sarcenet," and "a baner of tarteron bett wyth a Dun Cowe." See *Great Chronicle*, pp. 238-9.

¹³³ See Anglo, *Images of Tudor Kingship*, pp. 40-60.

¹³⁴ S. Anglo, "The Foundation of the Tudor Dynasty: The Coronation and Marriage of Henry VII," *Guildhall Miscellany*, 2 (1960): 8.

¹³⁵ *Great Chronicle*, pp. 238-9. See above n. 132.

¹³⁶ Anglo, "Foundation of the Tudor Dynasty," p. 7. The red dragon had been used as a badge by Henry's grandfather, father and uncle. Idem, *Images of Tudor Kingship*, pp. 56-8, associates the image of the red dragon with the dragon prophesy popularized by Geoffrey of Monmouth. Additionally, the red dragon enjoyed a pedigree as a Welsh or 'British' emblem having been used by Owen Glendower on his standard and also on his seal. However, dragon imagery had also been used by Edward IV, notably in his *Rubius Draco* genealogy.

¹³⁷ Anglo, *Images of Tudor Kingship*, pp. 74-85, argues that the red rose was not a major Lancastrian emblem before Henry VII.

¹³⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 35 & n. 32. Henry created a portcullis pursuivant early in his reign.

Yorkist dynasty (particularly in conjunction with the fetterlock badge), but may also have carried resonances of descent from Edward III.¹³⁹

Conclusions

Prescriptive liturgical texts construct the ritual image of kingship pre-eminently in terms of the display of regalia. This emphasis upon a formal or institutional iconography of kingship served to buttress the claims of the Westminster monks to act as the custodians and investors of the sacred ornaments of St. Edward. However, if the regalia operated as a formal (as well as wide-reaching) iconography of royal office, it nevertheless comprised only one of the several strands of royal imagery that were deployed within coronation and funeral ritual practice. While the ritualised uses of heraldic imagery were barely mentioned in prescriptive *ordines*, the evidence of administrative, narrative and visual source materials suggests that the use of heraldic imagery was both prominent and meaningful within the actual performance of rituals.

Heraldic imagery was neither used in a random manner nor was it merely deployed in more marginal contexts. It was plural and multifarious in its construction of royal identity, and hence it proved capable of expressing a number of different aspects of the institutional, the dynastic and the personal character of kingship. Representational patterns can clearly be discerned when records of heraldic display are compared with one another, and it seems likely that the heraldic dimensions of ritual performances were choreographed from at least the early fifteenth century. Indeed, in the case of funeral practice, it is arguable that a new type of prescriptive text emerged in the course of the fifteenth century which was expressly intended to aid the work of heralds in their organisation of royal funerals. This suggestion in turn lends weight to the argument already advanced in the previous chapter that ritual culture was not shaped by the existence of a single pervading prescriptive system, but rather that it evolved within an environment characterised by the co-existence and interaction of plural prescriptive systems.

The proliferation of references to heraldic imagery in certain fifteenth-century records poses a question over whether this development merely reflects the differing textual priorities of a new breed of ritual record keepers, or whether it actually reflects some more profound and real changes during this period in the character of visual representation in

¹³⁹ The falcon badge was attributed to Edward III as a heraldic supporter during the fifteenth century. See Pinches & Pinches, *Royal Heraldry of England*, p. 54.

royal ritual. On balance, there is probably some truth in both explanations. Early descriptions of heraldic display, such as that contained in the heraldic account of the funeral of Henry V, describe practices that appear to have been fully developed at the time of writing. Additionally, isolated pieces of evidence, such as the Black Prince's will, make it obvious that heraldic display within ritual had a pre-textual history which extended back to at least the fourteenth century. Nevertheless, despite this evidence, it does seem probable that the emergence of heraldic writings on fifteenth-century rituals both responded and contributed to an increase in the importance of heraldic display as a visual dimension of ritual practice. The textual recording of heraldic imagery involved both the creation of new areas of ritual expertise and the invention of new frameworks of ritual tradition.

Oddly enough, the visual representation of coronations in later fifteenth-century manuscript illuminations provides an interesting example of the generative power of textual inscription. Several illuminations which are dateable to this period show the image of a king or queen enthroned on a canopied seat hung with the royal arms.¹⁴⁰ While it would be unwise to regard these illuminations as offering accurate depictions of actual performed events, they do indicate that the intrusion of heraldry into ritualised spaces was regarded as a quite normal aspect of artistic representation. Heraldic imagery does not feature in equivalent fourteenth or early fifteenth-century images of coronations, so it can perhaps be inferred that the presence of heraldic imagery was in some sense considered less cardinal or consequential at these earlier periods.

On a wider level, it is important to consider how fifteenth-century developments in the recording of royal rituals have impacted upon general historical perspectives on royal ritual culture. The notable decline in emphasis within ritual texts on the precise recording of spoken or sung words has sometimes been too readily equated with a more general decline in the standards of record keeping. Equally, the increased emphasis within ritual texts on the recording of visual display and spatial arrangement has too often been taken as an indication of the growing superficiality and redundancy of ritual practice. Each of these assessments is in some part informed by the conditioned prejudices of historians who

¹⁴⁰ See BL, Harleian MS 4380, fol. 186 (Froissart's *Chroniques de France et d'Angleterre*), showing the coronation of Henry IV. This illumination of c. 1460-80 also shows royal attendants seated on the dais steps holding a crowned shield of the royal arms, as well as a sword and helm; BL, Cotton MS Julius E iv, Art. 6, fols. 2, 23 (*The Pageant of the Birth, Life and Death of Richard Beauchamp, Earl of Warwick*), dateable to c. 1485-90, showing the coronations of Joan of Navarre and of Henry VI as king of England; Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, MS 83 fol. 205, showing the coronation of Henry VI as king of France.

are predisposed to value the currency of words over the currency of all other forms of evidence. Clearly, it is important not to mistake the identification of a number of developing trends in the visual representation of royal identity with a cruder notion of the general devaluation of meaning in ritual culture. This point seems particularly pertinent when it is considered that a high degree of change within fifteenth-century ritual culture was perhaps more apparent than real, and in part reflected some fairly basic shifts in record keeping practices and in the loci of ritual expertise. In the next Part of this thesis I wish to suggest that the political meaningfulness of ritual behaviour remained very much alive throughout the later middle ages, and that in many cases it was articulated as much through the visual as through the aural dimensions of performance.

Part 2

Politics and Practice

In Chapter One of this thesis ritual is defined as a formal and rigidly prescribed way of acting within a given situation. This definition assumes that any ritual will necessarily generate a notion of *there being a 'correct' way in which the ritual should be performed*. In Part One of the thesis, I have examined ritual prescription in terms of a relationship linking the institutional location of ritual knowledge and expertise to wider cultural developments which encouraged the textualisation of ritual procedure. On the one hand, this study has tended to support the commonly held view that late medieval royal rituals were highly structured and formulaic forms of behaviour. On the other hand, however, this study has also indicated that royal rituals allowed considerable scope for the freer play of behaviour on particular ritual occasions, and for the innovation and evolution of new ritual forms over the course of time. Additionally, it has also been noted that while textualisation may broadly have exercised a fossilising influence on ritual procedures, the actual process of textualisation nevertheless invariably lagged behind the current performed state of the ritual being prescribed. Consequently, it is the dynamic aspect of royal ritual practice which will be explored in Part Two of this thesis through a close contextual analysis of four distinct royal ritual occasions.

What is the logic which engineers the dynamism of ritualised behaviour and ensures that no two ritual occasions are ever identical? The first point to be made is that rituals do not exist as the completed works of a single author. Instead, they evolve over the course of time, acquiring structure and form through a slow process of accretion. This means that the causes of addition and change to ritual structures must be sought in the particular circumstances and contexts of actual ritual performances. In other words, the evolution of ritual is patently and inescapably an historical issue.

Secondly, and following on from the first point, it is important when analysing

innovation within a discrete historical context to draw a distinction between the ‘purpose’ and the ‘uses’ of a ritual.¹ The purpose of a ritual can be identified as the logic which justifies the ritual’s occurrence at that particular juncture. The purpose of a ritual is therefore the thing that the ritual purports to do (if the ritual is instrumental in character), or which it symbolises having been done (if the ritual is symbolic in character). By this definition, the purpose of coronation ritual can be characterised as the actual or the symbolic negotiation of a rite of passage for the king from a state of ‘not king’ to a state of ‘now king’.

Significantly, however, it is possible to identify a great many changes in the structure and form of ritual practices over time which cannot obviously be linked to discernible shifts of perspective on the purposes of rituals. These changes therefore should be characterized as serving non-ritual ends. They occur as a result of factors located within the discrete context in which a ritual is performed, or to put this another way, they occur because of the non-ritual ‘uses’ that the ritual serves. Ultimately, so long as rituals continue to have uses within the social and/or political contexts in which they occur, then they will continue to be maintained even when they have become largely redundant of purpose. Here, we return once again to the comments of Tomas Gerholm:

...we could say that for understanding the historical development of a ritual, it is just as important to understand its social setting as to construct a symbolic system of which the ritual is a manifestation.²

In the following chapters, four late medieval coronations and funerals are examined for evidence of the contextual political uses of these ritual occasions. The fundamental argument that links all of these separate studies is that royal rituals ought not to be regarded as activities which occurred outside of the sphere of politics, but rather they should be regarded as examples of activities which constitute “...the continuation of politics by other means.”³

¹ See Gerholm, “On Ritual,” pp. 200-1, who neatly summarises and extends a critical approach first developed in the work of Maurice Bloch. See M. Bloch, *From Blessing to Violence: History and Ideology in the Circumcision Ritual of the Merina of Madagascar* (Cambridge, 1986).

² Gerholm, “On Ritual,” p. 201.

³ Rosser, “Myth, Image and Social Process,” p. 17.

Chapter Four

The Funeral of Edward II (1327)

(I) Introduction

The funeral of Edward II at the Benedictine Abbey of St. Peter, Gloucester, on 20 December 1327, was staged within a public gaze that contrasted with the secrecy which had earlier surrounded the captivity and death of the king.¹ Those historians who have discussed the subject of Edward II's funeral have tended to highlight the innovatory elements of this ritual occasion. In particular, it has been noted that the administrative records for the funeral provide the earliest explicit evidence for the use of a funeral effigy within royal ritual practice.² In the following discussion it will be argued that historical interest in the innovatory aspects of Edward II's funeral has obscured the extent to which these innovations occurred within an otherwise conventional ritual framework.

Edward II's peculiar status in death as a dead *deposed* king, together with the unusual circumstances in which he was buried, combined to create a highly unorthodox ritual environment for a royal burial. What is particularly striking about Edward II's funeral is the extent to which the tenor of the visual imagery employed on this occasion was at variance with the actual political realities on the ground. Whilst the introduction of innovatory elements into the funeral ritual responded to the peculiarities of the performative situation, the purpose which these innovatory elements served was precisely to obscure these peculiarities through the representation of a fictional impression of political normality. In order to appreciate why this was the case, it is first necessary to explore the political contexts and personal circumstances of Edward II's deposition, captivity and death.

¹ The best general introduction to the events of 1326-7 remains M. McKisack, *The Fourteenth Century, 1307-1399*, (Oxford, 1959), pp. 83-95. More detailed general discussion is found in N. Fryde, *The Tyranny and Fall of Edward II, 1321-1326* (Cambridge, 1979), pp. 195-206.

² Hope, "Funeral Effigies," pp. 526-8, raises the possibility of the use of a funeral effigy at the funeral of Henry III in 1272. Subsequent commentators have rejected Hope's hypothesis. See Giesey, *Royal Funeral Ceremony*, p. 81; J. Litten, "The Funeral Effigy: Its Function and Purpose," in Harvey & Mortimer (eds.), *Funeral Effigies*, pp. 4-5; Lindley, "Ritual, Regicide and Representation," pp. 100-1.

(II) Contexts

Deposition

The rapidity with which the regime of Edward II collapsed in the face of Queen Isabella and Roger Mortimer's invasion of late 1326 was indicative of the level of opposition felt towards Edward's government amongst the leading groups within the realm. A new royal regime was swiftly established under the ostensible leadership of Edward and Isabella's fifteen-year-old son, the future Edward III, but the process of converting *ade facto* authority into a permanent alternative form of government did not prove straightforward. One of the biggest obstacles facing the new regime was the absence of known precedents in English history for the removal of a king. Clearly, opposition to Edward II remained widespread within the political community as the deposition assembly opened at Westminster on 7 January 1327. However, there was considerable division amongst those involved in the deposition process over what action ought to be taken, and how that action ought to proceed.³

The events of January 1327 can be divided into two fairly distinct phases.⁴ The first phase took place on the 12 and 13 January and was centred in and around the parliamentary assembly which had gathered at Westminster. This phase culminated in the adjudged 'deposition' of Edward II and the appointment of Prince Edward to rule in his stead. The grounds for deposing Edward were recited in a series of articles of deposition which probably formed the focus of parliamentary discussion on 13 January.⁵ Three bishops delivered homiletic speeches exploring the moral authority of the people in deposing an ineffective king. At the conclusion of these speeches Archbishop Reynolds announced in French that by unanimous consent Prince Edward would replace his father as king, and this announcement was greeted with loud acclamation by the people there present.⁶

The parliamentary proceedings of 12 and 13 January resulted in an agreement to

³ Valente, "Deposition and Abdication," pp. 852-81.

⁴ *Ibid.*, pp. 853-62.

⁵ *Ibid.*, pp. 856-58. Some uncertainty surrounds the composition date of the articles and the precise role which they played within the deposition proceedings. The form of the articles is known only from their subsequent citation in a dispute involving Bishop Orleton in 1333-4. See R.M. Haines, *Archbishop John Stratford: Political Revolutionary and Champion of the Liberties of the English Church, ca. 1275/80-1348* (Toronto, 1986), pp. 183-4.

⁶ Valente, "Deposition and Abdication," pp. 858-60. There is some disagreement in the sources over the occasion and order of the episcopal speeches.

depose Edward II. However, it seems likely that the general desire to invoke a collective moral authority and to apportion responsibility for political action, encouraged the employment of a rhetoric of consent within the political community which veiled a truer picture of disagreement and division. Sources are generally opaque on the issue of opposition, but a few references are revealing nonetheless. According to the *Historia Roffensis*, Archbishop Melton of York and the bishops of London and Carlisle refused to endorse the actions of the parliamentary assembly by swearing an oath at the Guildhall in London. Meanwhile, the bishop of Rochester only agreed to swear the same oath under carefully stipulated conditions.⁷ The general attitude of the prelates and magnates to the deposition of Edward II is characterized in the *Historia Roffensis* as being full of prevarication and indecision, such that the momentum of the deposition was maintained to a notable extent by the more vociferous, though extra-parliamentary, activities of the Londoners.⁸

Discord within the political community over the process of the deposition must explain the otherwise unwarranted development of a second phase to Edward II's removal from royal office. Following the formal announcement of Edward II's deposition in the parliamentary assembly of 13 January, a representative delegation was despatched from the assembly to the captive king at Kenilworth. Logically, the purpose of the meeting which took place at Kenilworth on about 20 or 21 January 1327, ought simply to have been to notify the king of his deposition and to enact the formal renouncement of homage. However, all of the main sources for the Kenilworth meeting actually amplify its importance by describing it as the occasion of Edward II's 'abdication'. In the process, they represent this event as the centrepiece in the whole story of Edward II's dethronement, implicitly eroding any authority attached to the earlier parliamentary 'deposition' of the king in London.

Whatever really happened at Kenilworth on 20 or 21 January, it is clear that there had quickly evolved an official desire to represent the king's removal from office as a

⁷ Haines, *Stratford*, pp. 186-7; McKisack, *Fourteenth Century*, pp. 88-9, 92-93.

⁸ Haines, *Stratford*, p. 181, citing the *Historia Roffensis*, discusses the vacillation displayed by those gathered in parliament on 12 January when Orleton twice posed the question "Did they wish Edward or his son to rule over them?" See also Valente, "Deposition and Abdication," pp. 855-6. For the role of London, see M. McKisack, "London and the Succession to the Crown during the Middle Ages," in R.W. Hunt, W.A. Pantin & R.W. Southern (eds.), *Studies in Medieval History Presented to F.M. Powicke* (Oxford, 1948), pp. 81-3.

‘voluntary’ act of abdication. The most telling evidence in this respect is provided by the inverted chronology of the *Forma deposicionis Regis Edwardi Anglie post Conquestum Secundi*, which Claire Valente has argued ought to be viewed as an official record of proceedings equivalent to the ‘Record and Process’ of 1399.⁹ It is notable that this otherwise impeccably informed source diverges from all other main sources for January 1327 by placing Edward II’s abdication at Kenilworth *before* the formal “depriving” of the king from government at the parliamentary assembly.¹⁰ The implication here is that the *Forma* was compiled with the clear intention of rewriting political history so as to represent the deposition of Edward II in a less revolutionary light.

Other evidence seems to suggest that the process of converting Edward II’s deposition into an act of abdication began immediately after the parliamentary events of 12 and 13 January. Interestingly, the articles of deposition which probably formed the basis of discussion on 13 January were not widely circulated or publicly proclaimed.¹¹ Meanwhile, although Edward III was acclaimed king on 13 January, no royal documents were issued in his name until 24 January, and his regnal year was not judged to have started until 25 January.¹² Finally, the first proclamation of Edward III’s reign, dated 30 January 1327, unambiguously stated the new official line that Edward II had abdicated voluntarily.

...the Lord Edward, lately king of England, of his good will, and by the common council and consent of the prelates, earls, and barons, and other nobles, and all the community of the realm, has given up the government of the realm, and has granted and wishes that the government of the said realm should fall upon the Lord Edward, his eldest son and heir, and that he should reign and be crowned king...¹³

⁹ Cambridge, Trinity College, MS R.5 41. See Valente, “Deposition and Abdication,” pp. 871-5

¹⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 873. Significantly, the *Forma* does not employ the term ‘deposition’, instead referring to the events of 13 January as concerning the ‘deprivation’ of government from Edward II, or more commonly, the ‘substitution’ of Edward III for his father.

¹¹ W.M. Ormrod, *The Reign of Edward III: Crown and Political Society in England 1327-1377* (New Haven & London, 1990), p. 45.

¹² Valente, “Deposition and Abdication,” p. 870; C.R. Cheney (ed.), *Handbook of Dates for Students of English History* (Cambridge, 1996), p. 20.

¹³ *Foedera*, II (ii): 683. Translation taken from Ormrod, *Edward III*, p. ix.

Captivity and Death

The circumstances of Edward II's captivity and death have been the subject of considerable historical interest.¹⁴ Until April 1327, Edward was held at Kenilworth Castle in the custody of his cousin Henry, earl of Lancaster. At this point the deposed king was removed to the custody of Thomas Berkeley and John Maltravers at Berkeley Castle, where he remained imprisoned until his death on 21 September 1327. During this latter period Edward II seems fleetingly to have been released from captivity during an insurrection led by his former confessor, Thomas Dunheved. While some doubts persist over the issue of whether Edward was ever successfully recaptured after the Dunheved conspiracy, most historians still accept the truth of the official fourteenth-century line that the man who died at Berkeley Castle on 21 September 1327 was indeed Edward II.¹⁵

Undoubtedly, the temporary success of the Dunheved conspiracy underlined the potential danger which the deposed king posed to Isabella and Mortimer's regime. While contemporary chroniclers were unaware of Edward's temporary escape, their descriptions of the king's captivity did refer to his enforced perambulations around the countryside at the behest of his gaolers. Significantly, these perambulations were explained as a deliberate attempt to disguise Edward's whereabouts since:

...they [the gaolers] were afraid of certain persons coming to him to effect his release.¹⁶

Edward II's imprisonment coincided with and contributed to a more general climate of political unrest within the kingdom. Active resistance on the part of Edward II's Despenser supporters had continued in South Wales as late as March 1327, while a conspiracy to free the deposed king was also foiled in Buckinghamshire.¹⁷ Resistance to enforced service in a campaign against the Scots played a role in provoking the Dunheved rising, while the *Historia Roffensis* mentions a series of outbreaks of urban unrest around

¹⁴ The fullest account remains T.F. Tout, "The Captivity and Death of Edward of Carnarvon," *BJRL*, 6 (1921-22): 69-114.

¹⁵ See G.P. Cuttino & T.W. Lyman, "Where is Edward II?" *Speculum*, 53 (1978): 522-44.

¹⁶ E.M. Thompson (ed.), *Adae Murimuth, Continuatio Chronicarum Robertus de Avesbury de Gesta Mirabilibus Regis Edwardi Tertii*, RS, 93 (1889), p. 52. Translation taken from Tout, "Captivity and Death," p. 86.

¹⁷ Fryde, *Tyranny and Fall*, p. 202.

this time, including major disturbances at Canterbury in mid-March and at Rochester in June.¹⁸ The abject failure of the Scottish campaign of summer 1327 discredited the moral authority of a new royal regime which had previously made much of Edward II's military failures. Furthermore, the financial security previously enjoyed by the new government was eroded through expenditure on the unsuccessful Scottish campaign. This situation necessitated the summoning of a parliament in the early autumn of 1327 in which the government faced criticism of its poor performance as it sought to levy new subsidies to meet an escalating Scottish threat.¹⁹

Adam Murimuth's account of Edward II's perambulations paints a convincing picture of a climate of rumour and unrest in the summer of 1327 in which anti-government conspiracies might be imagined as much as realized.²⁰ Against this disturbed background, an order was probably issued for the murder of Edward II at Berkeley Castle by an increasingly unpopular, insecure and nervous government. The immediate occasion of Edward's death coincided with news of another rising in Wales in late summer 1327. It is known that Mortimer was appraised of this new Welsh conspiracy under the leadership of Sir Rhys ap Gruffydd in a letter sent to him by William Shalford, his deputy in Wales, on 7 September 1327. Shalford warned Mortimer that the plot aimed to release Edward II and advised that Mortimer devise a "suitable remedy" to meet this threat.²¹ In late September 1327 it was officially pronounced to the parliamentary assembly gathered at Lincoln that Edward II had died at Berkeley Castle on the 21 September of natural causes. However, perhaps unsurprisingly, contemporary chroniclers widely assumed that Edward II had in fact been murdered.²²

Funeral

Narrative descriptions of the treatment of Edward II's corpse after death are almost entirely lacking. However, surviving government accounts provide relatively detailed information

¹⁸ Haines, *Stratford*, pp. 190-1.

¹⁹ R. Nicholson, *Edward III and the Scots: The Formative Years of a Military Career, 1327-1335* (Oxford, 1965), pp. 15-41; Fryde, *Tyranny and Fall*, pp. 209-14.

²⁰ Murimuth, p. 52.

²¹ Tout, "Captivity and Death," pp. 89-90.

²² *Ibid.*, pp. 86-92. See also Gransden, *Historical Writing II*, pp. 38-42.

concerning the care of Edward's corpse during the three months separating his death and burial, as well as further details relating to the supply and carriage of various paraphernalia from the Great Wardrobe in London to Gloucester Abbey for use at the king's funeral. Edward II's body was eviscerated and embalmed at Berkeley, and his heart was placed in a specially manufactured silver casket that would eventually be interred with the body of Queen Isabella at the Grey Friars' Church, London, in 1358.²³ The embalmed corpse remained in the custody of Thomas Berkeley and John Maltravers at Berkeley Castle for a full month after the death of the king. According to Murimuth, the royal corpse was viewed during this period by various local notables who came from Bristol and Gloucester.²⁴ On 21 October, the royal corpse was delivered into the custody of the Benedictine Abbey of St. Peter in Gloucester. Here it remained for a further two months prior to the eventual interment of the king at the abbey in the presence of Edward III and Queen Isabella.

Edward II's funeral on 20 December 1327 was a splendid affair. The main source of evidence for this occasion is provided by the surviving enrolled and particular accounts for the supply and carriage of various items from the Great Wardrobe in London for use at the funeral in Gloucester.²⁵ Edward II's corpse was interred in the linen coif, shirt, tunic and gloves worn by the king on the day of his coronation in 1308. A wooden funeral effigy made in likeness of the dead king was specially manufactured for the funeral ritual and was adorned with a copper crown that was also made for the occasion.²⁶ A further set of items drawn from the robes and regalia that Edward II had used at his coronation were supplied to Gloucester for the funeral but were returned to the Great Wardrobe afterwards. These consisted of a mantle, tunic, dalmatic and girdle, pairs of buskins, sandals and spurs, a cap of estate, a second crown of silver-gilt, a sceptre and regal (rod), two silver-gilt fleurons and

²³ S.A. Moore, "Documents Relating to the Death and Burial of King Edward II," *Archaeologia*, 50 (1887): 226; F.D. Blackley, "The Tomb of Isabella of France, Wife of Edward II of England," *ISSCMB*, 8 (1983): 161.

²⁴ Murimuth, pp. 54-5. Murimuth reports that the corpse could only be viewed superficially (*superficialiter conspexissent*).

²⁵ PRO, E 361/3 and E 101/383/3.

²⁶ PRO, E 101/383/3, m.6. "Item cuidam magistro cindentis et formanti quamdam ymaginem de ligno ad similitudinem dicti domini Regis Edwardi defuncti ex convencionem in grosso, xl s. Item in una corona de cupro pro eadem ymagine empta cum factura et deauracione eiusdem, vii s. viii d."

a silver-gilt ring.²⁷

The coffin, perhaps with the effigy, was placed in an elaborate hearse which incorporated a prominent display of royal heraldry. Four great gilt lions provided by the king's painter stood at each side of the hearse wearing mantles displaying the royal arms of England. Royal leopards were also emblazoned in gilt on the harnesses of the horses and these animals wore special gilded coverings. There were charges for the use of gold leaf to decorate four standards and twenty pennants for the funeral although it is not clear what was depicted on these items. In addition to the four gilded lions, the hearse also incorporated four standing figures of the evangelists. Outside of the hearse there stood eight figures of angels holding golden censers and a further two figures of lions rampant.²⁸ Clearly there was an expectation that the obsequies and funeral rituals for the dead king would be well attended by mourners, since charges were made for the manufacture of barriers out of four great pieces of oak to resist the pressure of crowds gathering around the royal corpse.²⁹

(III) Analysis

Introduction

Historical analysis of the funeral of Edward II tends to highlight those aspects of the occasion which appear to have been unusual or innovatory. However, in the following discussion, it will be argued that interest in the innovatory aspects of Edward II's funeral has obscured the extent to which these innovations occurred within an otherwise conventional ritual framework. Clearly, the most innovative aspect of proceedings was the deployment of a specially manufactured funeral effigy in preference to the display of Edward's corpse. However, before discussing the funeral effigy device in more detail, it is useful to analyse briefly two further peculiarities associated with Edward II's funeral: the three-month delay which separated the death and interment of the king, and the choice of Gloucester Abbey as a royal burial church.

²⁷ PRO, E 361/3, r. 8.

²⁸ PRO, E 101/383/3. See Tout, "Captivity and Death," pp. 94-5; Moore, "Death and Burial," p. 221.

²⁹ PRO, E 101/624/14, printed in Moore, "Death and Burial," p. 226. "Et in iiii magnis lignis de quercu aptis ad sarrandis ad barras factis pro claustrura circa corpus Regis ad resistendam oppressionem populi irruentis..."

Timing and Location

The three-month interval which lapsed between the death and burial of Edward II was not exceptional by the standards of fourteenth-century English royalty.³⁰ The reasons for delaying the king's funeral rituals are not made clear in the surviving sources, but it should not be presumed that the delay was evidence of government neglect or lack of interest. The probable cause of the postponement was to allow time for Edward III and Queen Isabella to attend the funeral in person.³¹ As noted by Tout, the government was preoccupied during the autumn of 1327 with the Lincoln parliament and the peace negotiations with the Scots. Furthermore, the geographical dispersion of the relevant organs of government at this juncture may have inhibited the efficiency with which the various ritual arrangements could be made.³² What does seem clear is that the delay was utilized as an opportunity to organize a more splendid ritual occasion.

Government accounts concerning the care of Edward II's corpse survive for the whole period between the king's death and burial, indicating that the unusual selection of Gloucester as a burial site was made with full government knowledge and approval. Furthermore, these accounts also indicate that the obsequies performed over the dead king during the two months the body remained unburied at Gloucester were organized, directed and financed by the royal administration.³³ The choice of Gloucester Abbey as the burial church for Edward II is difficult to interpret. There is no evidence to suggest that Edward II had any great personal interest in the Benedictine abbey. Indeed, the king's religious tastes veered more towards the mendicant orders, as illustrated in his patronage of the

³⁰ The bodies of Edward I, John of Eltham, Isabella of France, Philippa of Hainault, Edward the Black Prince and John of Gaunt each remained unburied for equivalent or longer periods of time.

³¹ Ormrod, "Personal Religion," pp. 867-8, remarks on Edward III's assiduous attendance of the funerals of his friends and relatives. Brown, "Double Funeral of Louis X," pp. 227-71, argues that within French royal ritual tradition it was essential that a new king attend the funeral of his predecessor. This symbolic convention would have been familiar to the French Isabella.

³² Tout, "Captivity and Death," p. 94. The court and council were variously located in Yorkshire, Lincolnshire and Nottinghamshire, the Wardrobe and Exchequer had recently been moved to York, while the Great Wardrobe remained in London.

³³ PRO, E 101/383/1 and E 101/624/14, printed in Moore, "Death and Burial," pp. 223-6. For a clearly false image of government neglect and monastic initiative, see W.H. Hart (ed.), *Historia et Cartularium Monasterii Sancti Petri Gloucestriae*, 3 vols., RS, 33 (1863-7), I: 44-5. This late fourteenth-century text suggests that Gloucester Abbey was the only local institution prepared to receive the corpse. See Tout, "Captivity and Death," pp. 92-4.

Dominican friary at King's Langley, Hertfordshire.³⁴ Additionally, it is unclear whether Edward II had ever specified his preferred burial place. In the absence of other evidence it must be presumed that Gloucester Abbey was chosen at the behest of the new royal government as the most suitable place of burial within a close radius of Berkeley Castle.

The choice of Gloucester Abbey as Edward II's burial site might be interpreted as symptomatic of a symbolic campaign to de-legitimise Edward's kingship. Such a view supposes that Edward II really ought to have been buried at Westminster Abbey after the fashion of his two immediate royal predecessors. A tradition of royal burial at Westminster Abbey had certainly developed by the early fourteenth century, but it remains doubtful whether the abbey enjoyed formal privileges in this respect.³⁵ The earliest clear indication that Westminster Abbey was regarded formally as a royal dynastic mausoleum comes only with a reference in the will of Edward III to the burial of the king "amongst our illustrious ancestors kings of England".³⁶ On a personal level, Edward II may have had good reasons for not desiring burial at Westminster Abbey since he had enjoyed notably bad relations with the monastic house over the course of his reign.³⁷ Indeed, in subsequent years the abbey was unsuccessful in its attempts to secure a transfer of Edward II's remains to Westminster.³⁸ Significantly, it must be borne in mind that Gloucester Abbey was not in itself an altogether unworthy church for a royal burial. The abbey already housed the tomb of William the Conqueror's eldest son, Robert Curthose, duke of Normandy. Additionally, it had witnessed the sole post-Conquest coronation not to be staged in Westminster Abbey, when the young Henry III was crowned at Gloucester in 1216. Edward's body was interred in a highly prestigious position within the abbey church on the north side of the high altar. Here, within a very few years of the king's interment, an elaborately canopied and exquisitely carved tomb was raised over Edward II's burial place. The tomb was carved

³⁴ Franciscan representatives were excluded from the delegation that met Edward II at Kenilworth in January 1327 because of the king's great love for the order. See Fryde, *Tyranny and Fall*, p. 199. For King's Langley, see Evans, "Edmund of Langley and his Tomb," pp. 300-2; Brown, Colvin & Taylor (eds.), *King's Works: The Middle Ages*, II: 970-7. See below pp. 147-8, n. 49, on Richard II and King's Langley.

³⁵ See above pp. 62-3.

³⁶ Binski, *Westminster Abbey*, p. 92. Of course, even Edward III had earlier in his reign expressed an intention to be buried elsewhere. See Ormrod, "Personal Religion," p. 860, n. 68. Also see above pp. 63, n. 130, & 95, n. 68.

³⁷ Gransden, *Historical Writing II*, pp. 17-22.

³⁸ WAM, 20344. I owe this reference to a personal correspondence from Professor J.R.S. Phillips.

from the alabaster which was then highly fashionable as a material for the tombs of the social elite.³⁹

The Funeral Effigy

The precise role performed by a funeral effigy at the funeral of Edward II remains a matter for conjecture, since the surviving administrative sources which pertain to the effigy are concerned with its manufacture rather than its use. Nevertheless, evidence for later royal funeral practice suggests that the effigy would have been placed above the king's coffin within the funeral hearse, and that the effigy would have been painted and adorned with royal robes and regalia.⁴⁰ The Great Wardrobe accounts do at least make it clear that the copper crown provided for the funeral of Edward II was intended to adorn the funeral effigy.⁴¹ Furthermore, the internal arrangement of the surviving accounts separates the four items not returned to the Great Wardrobe after the funeral from the remainder of the robes and regalia that were supplied.⁴² This division would seem to lend support to a thesis that the Great Wardrobe supplied robes and regalia for two distinct functions. Firstly, it supplied certain items on a permanent basis to adorn an embalmed corpse which could probably no longer be shown in public by the time of the funeral.⁴³ Secondly, it supplied other items on a temporary basis with the probable intention that these should be used to adorn the specially manufactured wooden effigy of Edward II on the actual day of the funeral.

Analysis of the surviving funeral effigy of Edward III indicates that the effigy head incorporated a cast of the dead king's death mask, presumably in order to achieve some

³⁹ Welander, *Gloucester Cathedral*, pp. 147-50.

⁴⁰ The earliest prescriptive reference to the use of a funeral effigy can only be dated to 1449. See *LRC*, p. 114. Evidence for the use of effigies at the funerals of Edward III and Henry V is summarized in Hope, "Funeral Effigies," pp. 531-2; *idem*, "The Funeral, Monument and Chantry Chapel of King Henry the Fifth," *Archaeologia*, 65 (1913-14): 129-45. Traces of paint and material fibres were revealed in conservation work on the surviving effigy of Edward III. See P. Lindley, "Edward III," pp. 31-4.

⁴¹ PRO, E 101/383/3, m.6.

⁴² PRO, E 361/3, r. 8. See also Hope, "Funeral Effigies," p. 531.

⁴³ Hope, "Funeral Effigies," p. 531. Due to the rigidity of the corpse some of the vestments were slit open in order for them to be placed on the corpse before being resealed together. On royal embalming and bodily decay, see Brown, "Death and the Human Body," pp. 221-70.

measure of facial likeness within the design (fig. 5).⁴⁴ Unfortunately, the description of Edward II's effigy as being *ad similitudinem* the dead king does not allow an assessment to be made about the extent of the effigy's 'likeness' to the king. Clearly, the emergence of likeness as an aspect of funeral effigy design was an important point of departure in terms of the history of portraiture.⁴⁵ However, on a purely functional level, the invention of the funeral effigy device merely provided an improved means of displaying the regally adorned corpse of a newly dead king at his funeral. In this sense, any emphasis on achieving facial likeness in the effigy design was merely an expression of the contemporary understanding of the effigy's role as acting as a surrogate corpse.

Of course the aesthetic interchangeability of effigies and corpses should not be over-exaggerated. Each possessed an aesthetic potential which was sufficiently distinct to ensure that the one was unlikely to be mistaken for the other. Indeed, the extent of this distinctiveness encouraged an occasional reversion in ritual practice back to a preference for the showing of corpses. As will be discussed in relation to the funeral of Richard II, the decision to display the king's corpse instead of an effigy representation of the dead king involved a range of political as well as biological considerations. Nevertheless, regardless of evidence for variations in ritual practice, it remains significant that corpses and effigies were always mutually exclusive visual entities within royal funeral practice. The fifteenth-century version of the funeral *ordo* preserved in *Liber Regie Capelle* explicitly states that the occasion for the use of a funeral effigy was when the actual corpse of the king had been encoffined, and that in these circumstances the effigy should be placed over "the enclosed corpse of the king".⁴⁶ Whichever form of visual representation was preferred at a royal funeral, the underlying ritual function of the visible corpse or effigy was the same: it served as a lifelike-deathlike mannequin of the dead king on which the robes and regalia of kingship could be displayed.

If emphasis is placed on the function rather than the form of the funeral effigy in 1327, then an impression emerges that Edward II's funeral was in many respects fairly

⁴⁴ Lindley, "Ritual, Regicide and Representation," pp. 108-10.

⁴⁵ R.P. Howgrave-Graham, "Royal Portraits in Effigy: Some New Discoveries in Westminster Abbey," *Journal of the Royal Society of Arts*, 150 (1953): 465-74; idem, "The Earlier Royal Funeral Effigies: New Light on Portraiture in Westminster Abbey," *Archaeologia*, 98 (1961): 159-69. More generally on portraiture, see A. Martindale, *Heroes, Ancestors, Relatives and the Birth of the Portrait* (The Hague, 1988).

⁴⁶ *LRC*, p. 114. "...Regis effigiem super corpus Regis sic inclusum...".

orthodox in character. The aesthetic resonances of both the effigy and the encoffined corpse of the king were entirely in keeping with well-established traditions within English royal funeral practice. Indeed, it is possible to trace during the century and a half preceding the funeral of Edward II the emergence of two distinct but related aesthetic traditions which informed the imagery deployed in 1327.⁴⁷ First of all, it became standard practice following the death of a king for his corpse to be placed on public display dressed in royal robes and adorned with items of regalia. Due to obvious problems associated with bodily decomposition, procedures for the displaying of royal corpses varied according to the contextual circumstances in which different kings died and were buried. The bodies of Henry II (d. 1189), John (d. 1216) and Henry III (d. 1272) were buried within days of their deaths, making it possible for the corpses of each king to be shown dressed in royal robes as they were carried to their respective burial churches.⁴⁸ In the case of a longer time lag separating the death and burial of a king, the royal corpse seems not to have been displayed. On the death of Richard I in 1199, coronation robes and regalia were clearly available for display since it is recorded that Richard's body was interred wearing coronation insignia.⁴⁹ However, it remains unclear whether in the absence of a visible body on this occasion any items of regalia were placed on public display as part of the funeral procession. Records of the funeral of Edward I in 1307 give no impression of the visual dimensions of this occasion, although a three-month delay in the staging of the funeral would probably have precluded the showing of Edward's corpse.

Secondly, it became standard practice for kings' corpses to be interred in their tombs wearing robes associated with the day of their coronation.⁵⁰ The earliest recorded instance of burial in coronation robes relates to the funeral of Henry the Young King in 1183. According to Ralph of Diceto, the corpse of the Young King was buried wearing the linen

⁴⁷ For more detailed discussion, see Hope, "Funeral Effigies," pp. 523-30; Hallam, "Royal Burial and the Cult of Kingship," pp. 359-80; Erlande-Brandenburg, *Le Roi est Mort*, pp. 15-17.

⁴⁸ For Henry II, see W. Stubbs (ed.), *Gesta Regis Henrici Secundi Benedicti Abbatis*, 2 vols., RS, 49 (1867), II: 71. For John, see H.G. Hewlett (ed.), *Rogeri de Wendover Liber Qui Dicitur Flores Historiarum*, 3 vols., RS, 84 (1886-9), II: 195. For Henry III, see H.R. Luard (ed.), "Chronicon Thomae Wykes," in *Annales Monastici*, 5 vols., RS, 36 (1864-9), IV: 252.

⁴⁹ H.R. Luard (ed.), "Annales Monasterii de Wintonia," in *Annales Monastici*, II: 71.

⁵⁰ See Carpenter, "Burial of King Henry III," pp. 430-36.

robes in which he had been anointed with chrism at his coronation in 1170.⁵¹ Significantly, no other clear reference to royal burial in consecration robes can be found prior to the burial of Edward II in 1327 wearing the vestments in which he was “anointed on the day of his coronation.”⁵² Whilst it is not certain that a tradition of interment in consecration robes was maintained in the thirteenth century, royal corpses were certainly dressed and adorned in their tombs with the more splendid outer garments and regalia associated with coronation. The Annals of Winchester record that Richard I was interred in 1199 wearing the crown and other insignia worn by the king at his second coronation in 1194.⁵³ Meanwhile, David Carpenter has argued convincingly that the rod, dalmatic, mantle, gold brooch, stockings and shoes which were permanently handed over by the Keeper of the Wardrobe for the burial of Henry III in 1272 were similar if not identical to those used at the king’s second coronation in 1220.⁵⁴

A record of the appearance of Edward I’s corpse at the opening of his tomb in 1774 indicates that the king was also interred with robes and regalia which were similar to those used in the coronation service (fig. 1). The king’s corpse was tightly bound in waxed linen cloth which was then dressed in “a dalmatic...of red silk damask” wrapped around with a stole decorated with glass and beads. These inner layers were overlaid with:

the royal mantle, or pall, of rich crimson sattin, fastened on the left shoulder [Edward’s right shoulder] with a magnificent fibula [brooch] of metal gilt with gold.

Edward also wore a light metal crown reckoned to be of “inferior workmanship”. He held

⁵¹ “Ymagines Historiarum,” in W. Stubbs (ed.), *Radulfi de Diceto Decani Landoniensis Opera Historica*, 2 vols., RS, 68 (1876), II: 20. See also H.R. Luard (ed.), *Matthaei Parisiensis, Monachi Sancti Albani, Chronica Majora*, 7 vols., RS, 57 (1872-83), II: 319.

⁵² PRO, E 361/3, r. 8, “...fuit unctus die Coronacionis sue,” printed in Hope, “Funeral Effigies,” p. 531.

⁵³ “Annales Monasterii de Wintonia,” II: 71.

⁵⁴ Carpenter, “Burial of King Henry III,” pp. 428-31, citing PRO, E 372/116, m. 1d. The purbeck marble tomb effigy of John at Worcester Cathedral represents the king dressed in coronation robes and adorned with coronation regalia. However, at the opening of John’s tomb in 1797 his corpse was described as being cloaked in a long robe of crimson damask with a “monk’s cowl” worn over the head and a sword placed in the king’s hand. See V. Green, *An Account of the Discovery of the Body of King John, in the Cathedral Church of Worcester, July 17th 1797* (London and Worcester, 1797), pp. 4-6. Carpenter, “Burial of King Henry III,” pp. 435-6, speculates that the monk’s cowl might be interpreted as a coronation coif. The appearance of a sword rather than a rod on the effigy and within the tomb is explained by the fact that John’s death in 1216 pre-dated mid-thirteenth century changes in royal iconography. See *ibid.*, pp. 438-42; Binski, *Westminster Abbey*, pp. 84-6. Also above pp. 87-8. For John’s tomb see Binski, *Westminster Abbey*, p. 110.

in his left hand a five foot long rod surmounted with a white enamel dove and in his right hand a rod-like sceptre surmounted with a copper gilt cross of “most elegant workmanship”.⁵⁵

The imaging of a king in death involved the juxtaposing of the physical body of the dead king with the insignia which symbolised the institution or office of kingship. This display of a dead king in the formal guise of his kingship dramatized a notion that the individual identity of a king was subsumed within the character of his kingly office.⁵⁶ Clearly, the association connecting the individual king to the public persona of kingship was rooted in the act of anointment within coronation. Until 1272, this act of consecration was regarded as the formal moment of a king’s accession, while the termination of a reign was reckoned to occur only with the actual burial of the deceased king.⁵⁷ The formal displaying of the king’s corpse within funeral ritual articulated to a wider public audience the real political importance of the king’s death. Equally, however, the non-visible appearance of the royal corpse within its coffin testified on a deeper and more enduring level to the permanence of a king’s institutional character. The re-utilization of actual coronation robes and regalia as a fitting raiment for a dead king forged an indelible link between the sacral, status-altering nature of coronation within a king’s lifetime, and a sense of the abiding institutional identity of a king in the hereafter.⁵⁸ Only with the emergence of a new and more powerful sense of the inalienability of the coronation regalia in the later thirteenth century did it become the practice to manufacture facsimile regalia for royal burials, and later still, to cease using regalia in royal burials altogether.⁵⁹

⁵⁵ Ayloffe, “Body of King Edward the First,” pp. 380-4. The dressed corpse was wrapped in an outer layer of linen cloth with the head covered by a separate face-cloth.

⁵⁶ Medieval notions of the dual character of kingship are explored in Kantorowicz, *King’s Two Bodies*.

⁵⁷ Schramm, *English Coronation*, pp. 166-7.

⁵⁸ The burial of kings in royal robes and regalia was not restricted to England in the thirteenth century. For surviving grave materials from the Castilian royal tombs at Las Huelgas, see C. Herrero Carretero, *Museo de Telas Medievales: Monasterio de Santa María la Real de Huelgas* (Patrimonio Nacional, Madrid, 1988). The particular linkage of this practice to consecrated status is suggested by the burial of two thirteenth-century archbishops of York in their pontificals. See H.G. Ramm, “The Tombs of Archbishop Walter de Gray (1216-55) and Godfrey de Ludham (1258-65) in York Minster, and their Contents,” *Archaeologia*, 103 (1971): 101-48.

⁵⁹ Carpenter, “Burial of King Henry III,” pp. 446-54.

(IV) Interpretation

A re-assessment of the funeral of Edward II based upon an examination of administrative documents suggests that the arrangements for the occasion constructed a ritualized image of political normality. The scale and cost of the funeral arrangements for Edward II were entirely appropriate for a king, while the organisational responsibility for the obsequies and funerary rituals was shouldered by the royal government.⁶⁰ The status of the leading mourners and the liberal display of royal imagery around the funeral hearse amplified a sense of this being a royal occasion. Furthermore, the public display of the formal insignia of kingship on and around a wooden representation of Edward II clearly invited comparison with the conventional ritual practice of displaying the corpse of a dead king. Finally, the recorded interment of Edward II in the robes that he had worn for his anointment in 1308 emphasized the irrevocability of consecrated royal status, and further suggested that the image of normality pervading the funeral arrangements was not simply restricted to public and visible aspects of the occasion.

Whilst the ritual arrangements for the funeral of Edward II projected an impression of ritual normality, in reality the funeral was staged within a highly irregular political context. In general, the burial of a king was the prelude to the coronation of a royal successor. However, in 1327, the chronology of these events was reversed so that Edward III was already eleven months crowned by the time he attended his father's funeral. Furthermore, Edward II's deposition in January 1327 meant that he was technically no longer a king at the point of his death. Ritual practice had no established procedures for dealing with these unusual circumstances and a simple recourse to tried and tested procedures would have been readily understandable if Edward II's funeral had been a hurried affair in a similar vein to his son's coronation.⁶¹ In reality, of course, Edward II's funeral was organised within a relatively leisurely time frame, and it manifested a notable degree of innovation in terms of the invention of new ritual traditions.

The three-month delay in the staging of Edward II's funeral would certainly have precluded the public displaying of Edward's corpse, even though it had been eviscerated and embalmed. The often repeated theory that the corpse was not shown at the funeral due

⁶⁰ PRO, E 101/383/2, records a total sum of £351 14s 10d received by the Great Wardrobe for the funeral arrangements. See Ormrod, "Personal Religion," p. 870, n. 120.

⁶¹ CCR, 1327-30, p. 100. See also Richardson, "The English Coronation Oath," *Speculum*, 24 (1949): 65.

to official concerns over the presence of visible signs of violence on the body must be doubted in the light of Murimuth's assertion that the corpse had been placed on public display at Berkeley Castle in the immediate aftermath of Edward's death.⁶² Whatever the truth of the matter, there were certainly persuasive reasons in 1327 why it might have been both convenient and desirable not to show the king's corpse.

Since Edward II was a dead *deposed* king, a considerable degree of ambiguity shrouded the issue of what status ought to be afforded to the king in death. Potentially, any ritual requirement to show Edward's corpse might be awkward in terms of the symbolic resonances that would be generated by such an action. Since royal corpses conventionally acted as mannequins for displaying the institutional insignia of kingship, the visible presence or absence of this insignia would inevitably constitute a very explicit visual statement on the nature of Edward II's royal identity within political memory. The obvious solution to this problem would have been to have avoided providing a visual image of the dead king at the funeral on the not unreasonable grounds that the corpse was in an unfit state to be shown. In the event, the unusual circumstances of Edward II's deposition and death actually created a pressure *for* the display of the dead king. This pressure was sufficiently strong to ensure that the unavailability of a showable corpse itself presented a problem to the new royal government; one which necessitated the invention of an alternative means by which a tangible and physical image of Edward II could be shown at the funeral.

An explanation for the invention of the funeral effigy which is favoured by Phillip Lindley, emphasizes the role of a physical likeness of the king in verifying the reality of Edward's death, and thereby dispelling politically destabilizing rumours concerning the king's possible survival.⁶³ Certainly there is evidence to suggest that there existed at least some culture of rumour concerning the survival of Edward II, though as with Richard II, this seems to have been entirely unaffected by the staging of a large public funeral.⁶⁴ The rebellion of the earl of Kent, which represents the best known example of an insurrection

⁶² Murimuth, pp. 54-5.

⁶³ Lindley, "Ritual, Regicide and Representation," p. 107.

⁶⁴ See Strohm, "Reburying Richard," pp. 106-11.

in favour of Edward II, occurred a long time after the funeral of the king in 1330.⁶⁵

The main problem with Lindley's theory is that while the deployment of a funeral effigy may have formed part of a deliberate government attempt to assert that Edward was properly dead, this does not really explain why such care was taken to ensure that Edward was constructed as a king within the funeral imagery deployed at Gloucester. The overt presence of this royal imagery was the key factor which distinguishes the display of Edward II's effigy in 1327 from the later public display of the corpses of other dead deposed kings such as Richard II, Henry VI and Richard III.⁶⁶ Furthermore, this imagery also marked out the treatment of Edward II's remains from the treatment meted out in death to his reviled associates, the Despensers. When the two Despensers were executed at Bristol and Hereford in the autumn of 1326, they were each required as a sign of their treason to wear a coat displaying the Despenser arms hung reversed.⁶⁷ This treatment of the Despensers clearly indicates that the power attached to the manipulation of symbolism as an expression of status was readily appreciated by the orchestrators of publicly staged events in the early fourteenth century.

The most likely explanation for the prominent display of royal imagery at the funeral of Edward II is the existence of a conscious desire within the minority government of Edward III to represent the death and burial of Edward II as being part of a normal passage of royal succession. In this sense, the symbolic overtones of the funeral were entirely in keeping with the already well-established government policy of repackaging the deposition of Edward II as an act of voluntary abdication. Rather than viewing the funeral of Edward II as an embarrassing but necessary public event which ought to be banished to a remote locality, the government of Edward III actually utilized the funeral as an opportunity to cement the position of the new king in a political environment in which there existed increasing evidence of hostility towards the ruling regime.⁶⁸ In essence, Edward II's funeral was conceived of as the occasion for a ritualized re-legitimation of the dead deposed king

⁶⁵ Haines, *Stratford*, pp. 210-11. A strong probability exists that Kent's rebellion actually originated in a deliberate and cynical piece of entrapment orchestrated from the very centre of the royal government by Roger Mortimer, earl of March.

⁶⁶ On Richard II, see below pp. 140-5. On Henry VI, see Wolffe, *Henry VI*, p. 347. On Richard III, see Ross, *Richard III*, p. 225.

⁶⁷ Fryde, *Tyranny and Fall*, pp. 190, 192-3.

⁶⁸ See McKisack, *Fourteenth Century*, p. 100; G.A. Holmes, "The Rebellion of the Earl of Lancaster, 1328-9," *BIHR*, 28 (1955): 84-9.

as a posthumous buttress to the dynastic legitimacy of his young reigning son.

The rehabilitation of Edward II within official political memory only became possible with the deposed king's death, since this event removed at a stroke any residual constitutional improprieties concerning the position and authority of the new king. Although the manner of Edward III's accession was highly irregular and legally dubious, it did at least conform with a generally recognised order of succession.⁶⁹ Indeed, once Edward II was officially dead, it actually became in the interests of Edward III to rehabilitate the political memory of his father, regardless of the inconvenient fact that Edward II's kingship had been artificially and publicly terminated. In essence, the death of Edward II liberated Edward III from the awkwardness of a situation in which the father was deemed unfit to rule, yet the rights of the son remained entirely dependent upon a recognition of the latter's paternity.

Just as it was in the interests of Edward III to emphasize retrospectively the legitimate authority of his deposed father, so also was it in the interests of the widowed Queen Isabella. Clearly, Isabella enjoyed an independent royal status as a princess of France, and a natural personal influence in government as the mother of Edward III. Nevertheless, any claim which Isabella might have made to exercise real political authority within a regency government in England would have relied primarily upon her status as a widowed queen. The source of female royal authority in the later middle ages requires further investigation which lies beyond the scope of this thesis, but it is certainly intriguing with regard to the later example of the uncrowned Joan of Kent, that royal motherhood alone seems not to have been a sufficient basis for gaining access to power within a royal minority government.⁷⁰ Given this argument, it is unsurprising to note that the character of Isabella's later piety and the details of her own funerary arrangements clearly constructed the queen's

⁶⁹ Although Le Baker's unreliable assertion that Edward II was threatened with the disinheritance of his dynasty at the Kenilworth confrontation of 20 or 21 January 1327 does at least suggest that the succession rights of Edward III were not entirely beyond challenge. See E.M. Thompson (ed.), *Chronicon Galfridi le Baker de Swynbroke* (Oxford, 1889), p. 28.

⁷⁰ Of course the opportunities presented to Joan may have been inhibited by the fallout from Isabella's period of government. On Joan, see W.M. Ormrod, "In Bed with Joan of Kent: The King's Mother and the Rebels in 1381" (forthcoming). Also see below pp. 191-2. For some important new approaches to the study of medieval queens, see Chamberlayne, "English Queenship."

marital status as an absolutely central aspect of her self-identity.⁷¹

The organisation of a splendid funeral for Edward II may also have served as a concession to the sensibilities of the leading clerics of the realm. Bishops occupied an exceptionally important position as power brokers in the events of 1326-7.⁷² However, in general, the clerics retained a conservative attitude to political revolution which was revealed in the reservations about the deposition process which a number of them had expressed in January 1327. By the end of 1327 the security of the new royal government had been seriously weakened by its undistinguished political and military track-record. In this context, it seems probable that had the clerics exerted pressure on the government at this point over the arrangements for Edward II's funeral, then their concerns might well have been met with a conciliatory response.

In the longer term, the political rehabilitation and re-legitimation of Edward II through his funeral celebrations set the tone for the attitude which Edward III adopted towards his father's memory over the subsequent course of his reign. In the past historians have been rather baffled by an apparent ambivalence in Edward III's attitude in this respect. On the one hand, Edward III exhibited a noticeable degree of pious public devotion to his father's memory which was in keeping with his response to the deaths of other close members of his family.⁷³ In December 1328, Edward III was at Gloucester to mark the first anniversary of his father's burial. Later, in September 1337, he visited the abbey once again and thereby gave tacit acknowledgement to the popular cult of the deposed king.⁷⁴ Additionally, Edward directed considerable royal patronage towards the monastic house at

⁷¹ The burial of Queen Isabella dressed in her preserved wedding robes of 1308 articulated a sense of the sacramental permanency of marriage, just as the burial of kings in coronation robes spoke of the permanency of anointed status. For details, see Blackley, "Isabella of France and the Late Medieval Cult of the Dead," p. 26. Isabella celebrated the anniversaries of Edward II's death in the same manner as she did those of other members of her immediate family (*ibid.*, p. 42), and eventually she was interred with Edward's heart casket placed upon her chest. See *idem*, "The Tomb of Isabella," p. 161.

⁷² R.M. Haines, *The Church and Politics in Fourteenth-Century England: The Career of Adam Orleton* (Cambridge, 1978), pp. 161-79; *idem*, *Stratford*, pp. 178-91; Ormrod, *Edward III*, pp. 122-3.

⁷³ Ormrod, "Personal Religion," pp. 867-72.

⁷⁴ The implications of the timing of Edward III's visit of 1328 have not been remarked upon previously by historians. However, see Welander, *Gloucester Cathedral*, p. 144; Holmes, "Rebellion of Lancaster," p. 84, citing *CPR, 1327-30*, pp. 330-47, 353-5 and *CCR, 1327-30*, pp. 336-56, 420-5. For the 1337 visit, see Ormrod, "Personal Religion," pp. 870-1. On the popular cult, see S. Walker, "Political Saints in Later Medieval England," in R.H. Britnell & A.J. Pollard (eds.), *The McFarlane Legacy: Studies in Late Medieval Politics and Society* (Stroud, 1995), pp. 83-4; J.M. Theilmann, "Political Canonization and Political Symbolism in Medieval England," *JBS*, 29 (1990): 252-8.

Gloucester, most famously with his gift to the abbey in 1343 of a golden ship in fulfilment of a vow.⁷⁵ Furthermore, it seems inconceivable that the construction of Edward II's magnificent alabaster tomb (incorporating prominent representations of the royal regalia) during the 1330's, would have been undertaken without royal approval, if not financial involvement.⁷⁶ On the other hand, however, Edward III was considerably less than energetic when it came to investigating the circumstances of his father's death, and he was notably lenient in his dealings with those accused of involvement in the king's murder.⁷⁷

The rather ambivalent public attitude which Edward III exhibited towards the memory of his father underlines the peculiarity of the niche which Edward II occupied within the dynastic perspective of his son. The treatment of Edward II at his funeral responded to a pressing dynastic need on the part of Edward III and his advisors to rehabilitate the dangerously tarnished authority of an immediate progenitor. In essence, the ritualized repackaging of the political memory of Edward II was concerned with recovering and safeguarding the dignity and security of the office of kingship, which had been seriously eroded as a result of Edward's deposition. However, this ritualized, retrospective recognition of Edward II's honoured place within a succession of kings did not amount to an actual re-evaluation of the qualities or track-record of Edward's kingship. In this sense, the essentially pragmatic attitude taken by Edward III to the memory of his father was markedly different from the positively sympathetic attitude towards Edward II which was later exhibited by Richard II.⁷⁸

⁷⁵ *Historia Monasterii Sancti Petri*, I: 45-6. See also Ormrod, "Personal Religion," pp. 870-71; Welander, *Gloucester Cathedral*, p. 147.

⁷⁶ See Welander, *Gloucester Cathedral*, pp. 147-50.

⁷⁷ Tout, "Captivity and Death," pp. 98-100.

⁷⁸ Theilmann, "Political Canonisation," pp. 252-8.

Chapter Five

The Funeral of Richard II (1400)

(I) Introduction

The deposition of Richard II in 1399 has generated much historical interest, but seldom has this extended onto the symbolic plane through analysis of either the coronation of Henry IV or the funeral of Richard II.¹ Instead, interest has focused upon a series of problems thrown up by the surviving evidence for the deposition: reconstructing the legal basis upon which the deposition was engineered, determining the manner of Richard II's renunciation of his throne, and evaluating the evolving dynamics of Henry Bolingbroke's alternative claim. In particular, much historical effort has concentrated upon the establishment of an accurate chronology for the deposition events and the assessment of the relative reliability of the various surviving contemporary sources. In the latter case, it is notable that the main problem here is not the absence of evidence, but the extent to which surviving evidence is conflicting. The abundance of medieval writing on the deposition of Richard II is a testament to the depth of contemporary interest and involvement in the political events of 1399-1400.² However, the marked polarity of much of contemporary and subsequent writing on the subject creates particular problems for any historian attempting to establish an accurate sense of what actually happened.³

Textual analysis of much contemporary writing on the events of 1399 indicates the pervasive influence of a concerted Lancastrian propaganda campaign. The 'Record and Process' of the deposition which was enrolled as the formal record of the parliamentary proceedings of September and October 1399 is clearly a partisan Lancastrian account of the deposition process. The propagandist importance of the 'Record and Process' was

¹ The best account of the political events of 1399-1400 is contained in the introduction to Given-Wilson (ed. & trans.), *Chronicles of the Revolution*, pp. 1-52. See also C.M. Barron, "The Deposition of Richard II," in J. Taylor & W. Childs (eds.), *Politics and Crisis in Fourteenth-Century England* (Gloucester, 1990), pp. 132-49.

² McKisack, *Fourteenth Century*, pp. 162-3, argues that the deposition may have contributed to a short-term revival in monastic chronicle writing.

³ See Gransden, *Historical Writing II*, pp. 157-93; J. Taylor, "Richard II in the Chronicles," in Goodman & Gillespie (eds.), *Richard II*, pp. 15-35, especially pp. 16-19; idem, *English Historical Literature in the Fourteenth Century* (Oxford, 1987), pp. 175-94.

amplified through the wide circulation which the text enjoyed as a result of its incorporation into Thomas Walsingham's narratives, and its reproduction in numerous manuscript copies.⁴ In a textual climate deeply coloured by political propaganda, it seems important to examine additional evidence for the use of ritual for propagandist ends. Aside from discussion of the introduction of a special consecration oil at the coronation of Henry IV, this remains an area largely neglected by historians.⁵ Ironically, the story of the coronation oil failed to fire the imagination of contemporary chroniclers, and only two of the more Lancastrian amongst them bothered to mention it in their chronicle accounts of Henry's usurpation.⁶ By contrast, descriptions of Richard II's death at Pontefract Castle, and his burial at King's Langley Priory in Spring 1400, were much more integral to contemporary records of the deposition, perhaps in part because these events represented obvious endpoints for moralistically tinged accounts of Richard II's fall.⁷

(II) Contexts

Death

The sequence and nature of the events of Richard's II's death and burial can be reconstructed through analysis of surviving contemporary administrative records and narrative accounts. Nevertheless, considerable uncertainty continues to surround the precise circumstances and timing of Richard II's death at Pontefract Castle in February 1400. The deposed king had been removed from the Tower of London after several weeks of imprisonment in late October 1399. By Christmas he was in custody at Bolingbroke's

⁴ *RP*, III: 416-22; "Annales," pp. 252-87. See also Given-Wilson (ed. & trans.), *Chronicles of the Revolution*, pp. 169-89. For discussion see Gransden, *Historical Writing II*, pp. 186-8. On the issue of the authorship of the "Annales", see above p. 30, n. 1. Recently views on the pervasiveness of Lancastrian propaganda have been challenged in relation to two key deposition texts. See C. Given-Wilson, "Adam Usk, the Monk of Evesham, and the Parliament of 1397-8," *HR*, 66 (1993): 329-35; idem, "The Manner of King Richard's Renunciation: A 'Lancastrian Narrative'?" *EHR*, 108 (1993): 365-70. On the pro-Ricardian chronicles, see particularly J.J.N. Palmer, "The Authorship, Date and Historical Value of the French Chronicles on the Lancastrian Revolution," *BJRL*, 61 (1978-9): 145-81, 398-421.

⁵ Ullmann, "Thomas Becket's Miraculous Oil," pp. 129-33; McKenna, "Coronation Oil of the Yorkist Kings," pp. 102-4; Sandquist, "Holy Oil of St. Thomas," pp. 330-44; C. Wilson, "The Tomb of Henry IV," pp. 181-90.

⁶ "Annales," pp. 297-300, see Given-Wilson (ed. & trans.), *Chronicles of the Revolution*, pp. 201-2; F.S. Haydon (ed.), *Eulogium Historiarum Sive Temporis*, 3 vols., RS, 9 (1858-63), III: 379-80, 384.

⁷ *Historia Vitae*, pp. 166-7, see Given-Wilson (ed. & trans.), *Chronicles of the Revolution*, pp. 241-2; idem (ed. & trans.), *The Chronicle of Adam Usk 1377-1421*, (Oxford, 1997), pp. 88-91.

castle of Pontefract in Yorkshire, a secure place which fitted the parliamentary lords' recommendation that Richard be kept in a "secret location" which could be staffed with trusted Lancastrian servants.⁸

The main narrative sources for the deposition events provide wildly different versions of Richard II's demise. These range from a pro-Ricardian account of the king's murder in an armed struggle with Sir Peter Exton at Gravesend in Kent, through to the Lancastrian inspired story that Richard had starved himself to death at Pontefract Castle on learning of the death of his leading supporters in the failed Epiphany Rising of January 1400.⁹ The overwhelming majority of the sources cite starvation as the cause of Richard II's death, although opinions were clearly divided on the issue of whether starvation was enforced or voluntary.¹⁰ In reality, it seems probable that the circumstances of Richard's death were sufficiently obscured from view to leave contemporary commentators guessing at the truth. The author of the *Vita Ricardi Secundi* encapsulates this sense of a rumoured environment by recording both versions of the starvation story.¹¹ Meanwhile, Froissart's account offers the revealing statement that while the writer knew for certain that Richard II was in fact dead, he could nevertheless shed no light on the particular circumstances of the king's death.¹²

In the records of a council meeting held on or around 8 February 1400, there survives an intriguing minute which can be read as a veiled recommendation to Henry IV that he should terminate his predecessor's life. The council's recommendation stated that Richard should be kept securely if he was still alive, but that if the deposed king no longer lived, then his body might be shown openly to the people so that they would know that he was dead.¹³ Official records provide no firm clues regarding the manner of Richard II's death,

⁸ "Annales," p. 313; *RP*, III: 426. See also Saul, *Richard II*, p. 424.

⁹ B. Williams (ed.), *Chronicque de la Traison et Mort de Richart Deux Roy Dengleterre* (London, 1846), pp. 248-51, see Given-Wilson (ed. & trans.), *Chronicles of the Revolution*, pp. 233-4; "Annales," p. 330, see Given-Wilson (ed. & trans.), *Chronicles of the Revolution*, p. 225.

¹⁰ Saul, *Richard II*, pp. 425-6; Given-Wilson (ed. & trans.), *Chronicles of the Revolution*, p. 51.

¹¹ *Historia Vitae*, p. 166, see Given-Wilson (ed. & trans.), *Chronicles of the Revolution*, p. 241.

¹² Sir John Froissart, *Chronicles*, ed. T. Johnes, 2 vols. (London, 1839), II: 708.

¹³ N.H. Nicolas (ed.), *Proceedings and Ordinances of the Privy Council of England*, 7 vols. (London, 1834-7), I: 111-12. See also Strohm, "Reburying Richard," p. 104, for a more accurate transcription from BL, Cotton MS Cleopatra F iii, fol. 9b (now 14b).

but surviving Exchequer accounts pertaining to arrangements for the carriage of Richard's corpse from Pontefract to London indicate that the king was known or expected to be dead by 17 February 1400.¹⁴

The timing of Richard II's death (like that of Edward II) was probably dictated by an immediate contextual environment in which a pro-Ricardian uprising had posed a serious threat to the political security of the new royal regime.¹⁵ The political profile of the leading conspirators in the Epiphany Rising of January 1400 was staunchly pro-Ricardian, despite their ostensible support for a pseudo-Richard II in the person of the deposed king's confessor, Richard Maudeleyn. The extent to which the conspirators formed a Ricardian inner circle is reflected in the fact that they included in their number several executors of the king's will of 1399, a number of leading luminaries of Richard's post-1397 court, and certain other pro-Ricardian clerics such as the abbot of Westminster and the newly deprived archbishop of Canterbury.¹⁶

Funeral

The political instability which formed the backdrop to the death of Richard II created the pressure for a very public assertion of Richard II's death. In keeping with the recommendations of the council, the Lancastrian government eschewed the option of burying Richard quietly in the north. Instead, very public funeral obsequies were staged for the deposed king in London prior to the final interment of Richard's remains at the Dominican friary of King's Langley, Hertfordshire.

The main narrative sources for Richard II's funeral manifest clear differences in their detailing and emphases. Nonetheless, these sources do offer a broadly homogeneous impression of the ritual arrangements organised for the obsequies and burial of the king.

¹⁴ *Issues of the Exchequer*, p. 275. A further account (*ibid.*, p. 276) records payment to a valet of Sir Thomas Swynford for "coming from Pountfreyt (sic) Castle to London to certify the King's Council concerning certain matters for the King's advantage."

¹⁵ For additional foreign threats, see J.H. Wylie, *History of England under Henry IV*, 4 vols. (London, 1884-98), I: 119-26.

¹⁶ The executors were Thomas Merks, bishop of Carlisle; Edward of York, earl of Rutland; Thomas Holland, earl of Kent, John Holland, earl of Huntington and Richard Maudeleyn. The other leading luminaries of Richard's court were John Montagu, earl of Salisbury and Edward, Lord Despencer. For Richard's will, see *Collection of Wills*, pp. 191-201, printed in translation in Harvey, *The Plantagenets*, pp. 222-7. For details of the uprising, see Wylie, *Henry IV*, I: 91-111; D. Crook, "Central England and the Revolt of the Earls, January 1400," *HR*, 64 (1991): 403-10.

The examination of narrative sources in conjunction with some surviving financial accounts in the Exchequer records enables a cautious reconstruction and assessment to be undertaken of the form and character of Richard II's funeral. The funerary rituals can be grouped into three consecutive phases, each of which will be examined in turn. The first phase covers the period of the carriage of Richard II's corpse from Pontefract to London; the second phase concerns the performance of funeral obsequies for the dead king in London; while the final phase of the funerary process was centred on the actual burial of the royal corpse at King's Langley.

Exchequer records reveal that Richard II's corpse was moved to London in the immediate aftermath of the king's death at Pontefract in mid-February 1400. Payments totalling £80 were paid in two instalments to the Keeper of the Wardrobe, Thomas Tuttebury, to cover expenses incurred in the carriage of Richard's body to London.¹⁷ The cortege had reached London by 6 March, since a requiem service was celebrated on that day in the presence of Richard's corpse at St. Paul's Cathedral.

The interlude of over three weeks which separated the death and burial of Richard II would normally have demanded the evisceration and embalming of the royal corpse. Interestingly, government records provide no evidence relating to any measures taken for the preservation of Richard II's corpse. However, a description of the appearance of the corpse in the *Annales Ricardi Secundi* indicates that measures had in fact been taken to preserve Richard's body by the time the funeral cortege reached the abbey of St. Albans. Walsingham recounts in the *Annales* that at every place where Richard's cortege stopped for the night on its journey to London the body of the king was exhibited:

...or at least that part of his body by which he could be recognised was exhibited, namely from the base of his forehead down to his throat.¹⁸

The probable eye-witness description preserved in the *Annales* text is supported by further descriptions of the appearance of Richard's corpse contained in several continuations of the *Brut* chronicle.¹⁹ The *Brut* continuations also provide additional

¹⁷ PRO, E 403/564; *Issues of the Exchequer*, pp. 275, 277, dated 17 February and 6 April.

¹⁸ "Annales," p. 331. Translation from Given-Wilson (ed. & trans.), *Chronicles of the Revolution*, p. 229.

¹⁹ F.W.D. Brie (ed.), *The Brut, or the Chronicles of England*, 2 vols., EETS original series, 136 (1906-08), II: 360, 546; *Great Chronicle*, p. 83.

information suggesting that the corpse was bound tight in waxed linen cloth.²⁰ The various narrative descriptions of the appearance of Richard II's corpse at different stages of the funeral celebrations strongly suggests that a funeral effigy was not used. Indeed, no references to the use or later existence of a funeral effigy of Richard II can be found in any of the chronicle sources or among the records of the royal government or Westminster Abbey. The absence of any mention of a funeral effigy is certainly significant since effigies had clearly been used in the funerals of both of Richard's royal predecessors, and also in the funeral of his first queen, Anne of Bohemia (figs. 5-6).²¹

To a notable extent, the descriptions of Richard II's funeral preserved in the narrative accounts of contemporary writers concentrate attention on the events which took place in London. Furthermore, virtually all of the sources represent the celebration of exequies for Richard at St. Paul's Cathedral as the central focus of the funerary celebrations in London. According to the *Annales* account there were two days of services at the cathedral. Henry IV attended on both days, while prominent members of the nobility and the citizenry of London attended only on the second day.²² The slightly fuller account given in Walsingham's *Historia Anglicana* reiterates the point that Richard's body was publicly displayed at the religious services; firstly after the office of the dead, then on the following day after the mass, and finally at the exequies attended by Henry IV and the London citizens.²³ Chronicles in the *Brut* tradition support the view that there were two days of funerary celebrations in London, but on the second day these celebrations are reported to have taken place at Westminster Abbey rather than St. Paul's.²⁴ Amongst the pro-Ricardian French chronicles, both Creton's account and the *Traison et Mort* place all of the liturgical action at St. Paul's, while the latter adds that Richard's corpse remained at the cathedral for two days in order:

...to shew him to the people of London, that they might believe for

²⁰ *Brut*, II: 360, "...lete sere hym yn the best maner that he myzte, and closed hym yn lynnyn cloth, alle saue his visage, and that was left upon that men myzt se and know his person from alle other men."

²¹ Hope, "Funeral Effigies," pp. 530-33, 544; P. Lindley, "Edward III," & "Anne of Bohemia," in Harvey & Mortimer (eds.), *Funeral Effigies*, pp. 31-9.

²² "Annales," p. 331, see Given-Wilson (ed. & trans.), *Chronicles of the Revolution*, p. 229.

²³ *HA*, II: 246.

²⁴ *Brut*, II: 360, 546; *Great Chronicle*, p. 83.

certain that he was dead.²⁵

Adam of Usk records that Richard's face remained uncovered during the religious rites celebrated at St. Paul's, while the more fanciful account of the London rituals given by Froissart suggests that Richard's corpse was displayed at Cheapside on a canopied litter with the king's face uncovered.²⁶ Here, Froissart asserts, the royal corpse was viewed by upwards of twenty thousand people in a period of just two hours.

The French chronicles are the only sources for the funeral of Richard II which describe the composition and visual character of the king's cortege. The fullest information is contained in the *Traison* text, which says that Richard was brought to St. Paul's "in the state of a gentleman."²⁷ Nonetheless, the writer proceeds to describe the appearance of the cortege in terms not altogether inappropriate for a king. According to the *Traison* text, the funeral hearse was entirely covered in black cloth and incorporated four banners (presumably one at each corner), two with the arms of St. George, and two with the arms of St. Edward the Confessor. In London the hearse was accompanied by one hundred mourners clad in black and carrying torches. These mourners were met by a further thirty mourners that were Londoners, all of whom were dressed in white robes and carried torches.²⁸

Jean Creton, though he did not believe Richard II was dead, recorded that a certain corpse was carried through London:

...accompanied by the sort of pomp and ceremony that befits a dead king.²⁹

Creton adds that "Duke Henry" and his kinsmen were prominent amongst the mourners with the Lancastrian king even carrying the funeral pall behind the hearse.³⁰ Exchequer

²⁵ Jean Creton, "A Metrical History of the Deposition of King Richard the Second," ed. J. Webb, *Archaeologia*, 20 (1823): 220, see Given-Wilson (ed. & trans.), *Chronicles of the Revolution*, p. 244; *Traison*, p. 261.

²⁶ Usk, pp. 94-5; Froissart, *Chronicles*, II: 708-9.

²⁷ *Traison*, p. 261.

²⁸ *Ibid.*

²⁹ Creton, p. 220, see Given-Wilson (ed. & trans.), *Chronicles of the Revolution*, p. 244.

³⁰ *Ibid.*

records contain references to a couple of payments which perhaps provide some oblique confirmation of Henry IV's interest and involvement in the funerary events in London. A payment of twenty-five marks is recorded to Henry IV's almoner for distribution amongst "certain religious persons" for singing a thousand masses for Richard's soul. Meanwhile, a second payment of a pound is recorded to Henry's confessor to cover the costs of disbursements to paupers and cripples at the exequies in St. Paul's.³¹

Most of the sources mentioning Richard II's burial simply record that the king was interred in the house of the Dominican Friars at King's Langley. John Gower describes the interment as solemn but "without the honour of praise," and then adds somewhat acidly (as well as implausibly) that the corpse was buried at Langley for want of anywhere else willing to receive it.³² Two chronicles written by Thomas Walsingham, the monastic historian at St. Albans, provide the only real details relating to Richard's interment. In this instance, Walsingham's notorious anti-Ricardian attitude must be set against his excellent access to information, since it was the abbot of St. Albans who presided over the burial rituals.³³ According to the *Annales* account, Richard's body was brought to Langley in the "dead of night" straightaway after the completion of the obsequies for the deposed king in London. On the following day, the abbot of St. Albans conducted the last funeral rites over the king with the assistance of the bishop of Chester and the abbot of Waltham:

...and thus without ceremony and almost unattended, was this royal corpse committed to the grave.³⁴

The description of the burial contained in the *Historia Anglicana* amplifies the foregoing impression that the interment was an unceremonious affair by adding that Richard was buried without the presence of nobles or any other crowd of people. Indeed, it is recorded that after the completion of the service the officiating clerics did not even tarry at Langley

³¹ *Issues of the Exchequer*, p. 276; PRO, E 403/564, 20 March 1400.

³² John Gower, "Cronica Tripertita," pt. III, ll. 453-4, in G.C. Macauley (ed.), *The Complete Works of John Gower*, 4 vols. (Oxford, 1899-1902), IV: 341.

³³ For Walsingham's attitude to Richard II, see G.B. Stow, "Richard II in Thomas Walsingham's Chronicles," *Speculum*, 59 (1984): 68-102; Gransden, *Historical Writing II*, pp. 136-44.

³⁴ "Annales," p. 331, translations from Given-Wilson (ed. & trans.), *Chronicles of the Revolution*, p. 229. Saul, *Richard II*, p. 428, interprets Walsingham's mention of the "Episcopo Cestrensi" (technically a non-existent title before the Reformation) as a reference to the Dominican bishop of Lichfield, who was Richard's former confessor.

for the usual celebratory meal.³⁵

(III) Analysis

Introduction

Simon Walker has argued that Richard II's ideas on the character of kingship may have broadly corresponded to the 'doctrine of capacities'.³⁶ This doctrine asserted that the person of the king was both separate and distinguishable from the institution of the crown. In practice, the doctrine of capacities challenged a general belief that the rights of the crown were inalienable without the dual consent of the king and his subjects. Instead, the rights of the crown were identified solely with the person of the king, who in the words of Richard II was at liberty to:

...dispose of his own goods at his own will, wherever and whenever he pleased.³⁷

The argument that Richard II espoused unconventional views on the character of kingship can be related to the king's marked fascination with the aesthetic imagery of office.³⁸ Clearly, Richard II went to considerable lengths in attempting to articulate a personal ideology of kingship through the deployment of regalian imagery. As an aspect of this process, the king appeared particularly concerned to shape his identity within political memory by pre-determining the nature of his own funeral, commemoration and tomb. It is these concerns that underscore the ironic tone of Adam of Usk's moralistic obituary on Richard II:

O God, how many thousands of marks did he spend on vainglorious tombs for himself and his wives amidst the kings at Westminster, only for fortune to foil his plans!³⁹

³⁵ *HA*, II: 246.

³⁶ S. Walker, "Richard II's Views on Kingship," in R.E. Archer & S. Walker (eds.), *Rulers and Ruled in Medieval England: Essays Presented to Gerald Harriss* (London & Rio Grande, 1995), pp. 56-7.

³⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 57, citing *Reports from the Lords Committees Touching the Dignity of a Peer*, 5 vols. (London, 1820-29), V: 64-5; *RP*, III: 338.

³⁸ Walker, "Richard II," p. 57, makes this point with regard to Richard's interest in court ceremonial.

³⁹ *Usk*, pp. 94-5.

The following sub-sections explore the discrepancy between intention and reality in the funeral of Richard II, focusing firstly on issues relating to Richard's tomb and burial-place, and secondly on issues relating to the actual performance of the funerary rituals.

Tomb

Richard II's burial at King's Langley in March 1400 contravened the king's stated lifetime intention to be buried in the shrine chapel of St. Edward the Confessor in Westminster Abbey. Arrangements for the construction of a lavish double tomb for Richard and his first queen, Anne of Bohemia, were set in motion a few months after Anne's death in 1394.⁴⁰ At the deposition of the king, work was virtually finished on the marble tomb chest with its gilt-copper fittings, and on the magnificent gilt-copper effigies of Richard and Anne fixed on top of the tomb chest (figs. 20-1). Two indentured contracts drawn up with the head masons and coppersmiths commissioned to oversee work on the tomb are preserved amongst the royal records of the reign.⁴¹ These reveal the keen personal interest which Richard exercised as a royal patron in the aesthetic detailing of the tomb. Furthermore, the terms of Richard II's will of April 1399 indicate that the king maintained his commitment to be buried beside Anne of Bohemia, despite his contracting a second marriage to Isabelle of France in 1396:

...we [Richard] have chosen a royal burial in the church of Saint Peter at Westminster among our ancestors kings of England of famous memory; and in the monument which we have caused to be erected as a memorial for us and for Anne of glorious remembrance once queen of England our consort.⁴²

During the second half of his reign, Richard II's patronage towards the monastic community at Westminster extended far beyond the king's expressed intention to be buried within the abbey church. Indeed, Richard's identification with the abbey amounted to a public commitment to the Benedictine house as a focal point of his kingship.⁴³ The king's

⁴⁰ Binski, *Westminster Abbey*, pp. 200-2; Brown, Colvin & Taylor (eds.), *King's Works: The Middle Ages*, I: 487-8.

⁴¹ *Foedera*, III (iv): 105-6.

⁴² *Collection of Wills*, p. 192. Translation from Harvey, *The Plantagenets*, p. 222.

⁴³ See Saul, "Richard II and Westminster Abbey," pp. 196-218.

lavish bequests responded to a consciousness of Westminster's privileged role as a coronation church, as well as to its developing importance as a royal dynastic mausoleum. As has already been discussed, Richard recalled his coronation anointment at Westminster Abbey in letters of 14 November 1388 granting a "costly and valuable" gold and ruby ring to the shrine of St. Edward.⁴⁴ Furthermore, in 1390, in an act widely recorded in contemporary chronicles, Richard gave the abbey a pair of red velvet shoes embroidered with pearls to replace a royal shoe lost at the king's coronation in 1377.⁴⁵ Richard's appreciation of the role of Westminster Abbey as a dynastic mausoleum was reflected not only in his own stated desire to be buried "among our ancestors kings of England", but also in Walsingham's comment that Richard had Bishop Waltham of Salisbury buried in the shrine chapel of St. Edward because he believed the bishop to be "deserving of burial among kings."⁴⁶ The more conventional aspects of Richard's interest in Westminster Abbey as a royal space also merged with other interests in the monastic house which were more peculiar to the king. In particular, it seems that Richard exercised an unusually strong personal devotion towards the cult of his Anglo-Saxon predecessor, St. Edward the Confessor.⁴⁷

The Lancastrian decision to bury Richard II at the Dominican friary at King's Langley represented a major departure from the publicly stated intentions of the dead king. Clearly, the Dominican house was not the obscure royal burial site that has sometimes been supposed.⁴⁸ Richard arranged the re-interment of his elder brother Edward's remains at the friary in 1388-9, and was a frequent visitor at the adjacent royal palace throughout his lifetime.⁴⁹ Nevertheless, Richard's burial at King's Langley lacked the clear-cut royal

⁴⁴ Ibid., p. 205, referencing WAM, 9473. See also *Westminster Chronicle*, pp. 372-3. See above p. 78, n. 17.

⁴⁵ *Westminster Chronicle*, pp. 414-17; Usk, pp. 90-1. Also see above p. 78 & below p. 184, n. 100.

⁴⁶ *Collection of Wills*, p. 192, translated from Harvey, *The Plantagenets*, p. 222; HA, II: 218.

⁴⁷ See Saul, *Richard II*, pp. 311-15.

⁴⁸ For Yorkist period criticism of the Langley burial, see H. Ellis (ed.), *Chronicle of John Hardyng* (London, 1812), p. 357.

⁴⁹ For the reburial of Prince Edward (d. 1371), see PRO, E 403/564; J.R. Wright, "The Accounts of John de Stratton and John Gedeney, Constables of Bordeaux 1381-90: An Edition with Particular Notes on their Ecclesiastical and Liturgical Significance," *Mediaeval Studies*, 42 (1980): 304 & n. 76. For Edward's death at Bordeaux in 1371, see V.H. Galbraith (ed.), *The Anonimale Chronicle, 1333 to 1381* (Manchester, 1927), p. 51; CA, p. 56. See *Issues of the Exchequer*, p. 248, dated 15 May 1392, for a payment relating to the tomb. Richard II's uncle, Edmund, duke of York (d. 1402), and his aunt, Isabel of Castile (d. 1393), were also

connotations which would have attached to burial at Westminster Abbey.⁵⁰ Furthermore, it established a somewhat ridiculous situation in which the monks of Westminster were required to celebrate obits for the dead king at his completed but empty tomb.⁵¹ In all probability, the reluctance of Henry IV to allow Richard II to be buried at Westminster Abbey responded to a perceived danger that Richard's corpse could become a focus of memory within an environment that was especially redolent with Ricardian associations. More particularly, this reluctance would have been prompted by the awkward aesthetic connotations that stemmed from the unprecedented extent to which Richard had succeeded in stamping his symbolic 'presence' within the abbey.

During his reign, Richard II exercised a literal presence in Westminster Abbey through his frequent use of the abbey church as a venue for worship.⁵² Indeed, in the 1390s, the monastery was increasingly drawn into the orbit of Richard II's Westminster-based court. This situation was exemplified in the intrusion of the bodies of royal household members into previously exclusive royal and monastic spaces at the eastern end of the abbey church.⁵³ Significantly, however, this literal royal presence was amplified by Richard's presence by proxy within the abbey through the proliferation of Ricardian

buried at King's Langley. Edmund's heraldic tomb (sometimes ascribed to Richard II) still survives in the parish church. See Evans, "Edmund of Langley and his Tomb," pp. 297-328; H.C. Baker, "The Royal Tomb at King's Langley," *TMBBS*, 11 (1969-74): 279-84. On the royal manor at King's Langley, see Brown, Colvin & Taylor (eds.), *King's Works: The Middle Ages*, II: 970-7. For Richard's itinerary, see Saul, *Richard II*, pp. 469-74. See above pp. 124-5, n. 34, for Edward II and King's Langley.

⁵⁰ R.G. Davies, "Richard II and the Church," in Goodman & Gillespie (eds.), *Richard II*, p. 88, suggests that the priory "had a very difficult time" during Richard's reign because until April 1399 the king perverted the terms by which his grandfather's will had settled estates on the priory.

⁵¹ Oddly enough this eventuality was anticipated in Richard's will where it is specified that observances should take place at the tomb, even if the king's body were to be "snatched by the sea". See *Collection of Wills*, p. 194, translated in Harvey, *Plantagenets*, pp. 223-4. Additionally, the will ordained the transfer of property to the value of £1000 to the abbey for the maintenance of fifteen lepers and a chaplain to pray for the king's soul (*ibid.*, p. 224). According to two documents printed in G.O. Sayles, "The Deposition of Richard II: Three Lancastrian Narratives," *BIHR*, 54 (1981): 266, 267-8, acceptance of this testamentary bequest was the sole condition which Richard extracted from Bolingbroke at the time of his deposition in the Tower. Information from the first document is reproduced in the Monk of Evesham's *Vita Ricardi Secundi* text, see *Historia Vitae*, p. 159. See Given-Wilson (ed. & trans.), *Chronicles of the Revolution*, p. 164, for a translation of the second document - "The Manner of King Richard's Renunciation". See also Saul, *Richard II*, p. 421. Foundational grants from Richard are preserved in the Westminster Abbey muniments (WAM, 5257A and 5258), as are accounts for the year 1406-7 relating to prayers celebrated by the monks at Richard's empty tomb (WAM, 23986B).

⁵² Saul, "Richard II and Westminster," pp. 204-5.

⁵³ *Ibid.*, pp. 210-12. See Cherry & Stratford, *Westminster Kings*, pp. 28-49, 61-90, for Westminster Palace as a centre of royal government in the later fourteenth century.

imagery throughout the body of the monastic church. Many of the numerous objects, vestments and other embroidered materials given to the abbey by Richard II incorporated royal heraldry into their design.⁵⁴ Representations of Richard's personal badge of the white hart were the subject of wall-paintings in at least two different parts of the church interior.⁵⁵ Meanwhile, the actual likeness of Richard II was displayed within the abbey not only in the guise of the king's gilt-copper tomb effigy, but also in the form of a monumental panel painting of Richard which possibly hung above the royal seat on the south side of the sanctuary (fig. 29).⁵⁶

The likenesses of Richard II displayed on the deposed king's Westminster tomb and on his panel painting within the abbey, constituted an aesthetic challenge to the political rhetoric of Henry IV. Both likenesses of the king manifested the recognizable physical features of Richard II within a formal framework of imagery expressive of the institutional character of kingship. An accentuated image of regality was suggested by the monumental scale of the likenesses, the representation of Richard in unnaturally frontal postures, and the prominent depiction of items of regalia on and around the royal figures. Furthermore, the use of gilt-copper for the tomb effigy, and the physical positioning of the tomb within St. Edward's Chapel, each served to emphasize themes of continuity within English kingship, and thereby locate the articulation of Richard II's royal identity within an established dynastic tradition.⁵⁷

Clearly, the regal connotations of the Ricardian imagery within Westminster Abbey were problematic for a new dynasty that was desirous of casting aspersions on the validity of Richard II's kingship. The Lancastrian regime had already proved itself sufficiently robust to deal with armed insurrection by supporters of Richard II. However, Henry IV felt no inclination to allow the moral authority of his regime to be sapped over time through the unfortunate juxtaposing of Richard II's corpse with a variety of semi-permanent and idealised representations of Richard as king. Though the Westminster panel painting could be removed from display with relative ease, the removal or alteration of Richard's tomb effigy image was considerably more difficult to engineer; not least because this would have

⁵⁴ Saul, "Richard II and Westminster," pp. 201-2.

⁵⁵ See above pp. 96-7.

⁵⁶ On the painting, see above p. 86, n. 40.

⁵⁷ Binski, *Westminster Abbey*, pp. 195-204.

had implications for the memorialisation of Anne of Bohemia.⁵⁸

An added risk attached to burying Richard in his Westminster tomb was the danger that in an uncontrolled environment the tomb might become a magnet for the development of a cult of political opposition to the Lancastrian government. This had recently been the case with the tomb of Richard FitzAlan, earl of Arundel (d. 1397), at the house of the Austin Canons in London, and it would shortly become the case once again with the tomb of Richard Scrope, archbishop of York (d. 1405), at York Minster.⁵⁹ The mid-fourteenth-century popular cult of Edward II at Gloucester indicated that even the most unprepossessing of kings might serve as a focus for devotion. Furthermore, the involvement of Abbot Colchester of Westminster Abbey in the conspiratorial discussions which served as a prelude to the Epiphany Rising of 1400 underlined the fact that the abbey could not be relied upon to police any popular veneration at Richard's tomb.⁶⁰ In these circumstances, Henry IV chose to preserve the integrity of Richard's intended tomb at Westminster Abbey, but to divert any popular interest in the king's posthumous memory towards the politically neutral, less publicly accessible, and aesthetically unprovocative environment of the Dominican friary at King's Langley.

Funeral

It has already been noted that Richard II attempted to shape the character of his own memorialisation through the lifetime commission of a double tomb for himself and his first queen. Interestingly, in the king's last will of April 1399, Richard II also laid down detailed specifications prescribing the nature of his funeral. According to these prescriptions the king was to have a total of four funerary hearses; two of them located in the two principal churches on the route taken by the cortege, one of them located at St. Paul's Cathedral in London, and the last one located at the king's final resting place of Westminster Abbey. The first three hearses were each to contain five lights, while the final hearse at

⁵⁸ Earlier in the 1390s a minor royal tomb had been moved to create room for the double tomb of Richard and Anne. See J.D. Tanner, "Tombs of Royal Babies in Westminster Abbey," *JBAA*, third series, 16 (1953): 33. Clearly, Henry IV was willing to move tombs around within Westminster Abbey since the remains of Thomas, duke of Gloucester (d. 1397), were moved to the shrine chapel of St. Edward shortly after the king's accession. See Usk, pp. 84-5.

⁵⁹ On Arundel, see Theilmann, "Political Canonization," pp. 261-3; Walker, "Political Saints," p. 81. On Scrope, see *ibid.*, pp. 84-5; J.W. McKenna, "Popular Canonization as Political Propaganda: The Cult of Archbishop Scrope," *Speculum*, 45 (1970): 608-23.

⁶⁰ Crook, "Revolt of the Earls," p. 402.

Westminster was to be:

...greater, more principal and honourable...copiously supplied with splendid lights and befitting the royal eminence, and magnificently adorned.⁶¹

The will specifies that the cortege was to move a distance of between fourteen and sixteen miles per day, accompanied by torch-bearers carrying twenty-four torches kept continually burning. On reaching each place of nightly rest, the office of the dead was to be sung in the evening and a mass celebrated in the morning; in both cases with:

twenty-four torches always and continually burning about the body.⁶²

At London, an extra one hundred burning torches were to be added to the procession as it made its way through the city to St. Paul's. The testamentary prescriptions relating to the appearance of Richard's corpse in readiness for burial are worth quoting in full:

Also we will and ordain that our body shall be clothed and also interred in white velvet or satin in a royal manner, with royal crown and sceptre gilded but without any stones, and that upon our finger in kingly wise a ring shall be placed with a precious stone of the value of twenty marks of our money of England.⁶³

Finally, an enormous sum of six thousand marks of gold was set aside by the terms of Richard's will to cover the costs involved in carrying the king's corpse to Westminster, together with the more general costs of the funeral itself.

Clearly, the actual recorded character of Richard II's funeral differed significantly from the type of funeral envisaged in the king's will. The overall impression is that Richard was accorded a semi-royal funeral which partially responded to the king's testamentary prescriptions, but which also pointedly failed to do so in certain key respects. Richard's corpse was taken to London for the celebration of funeral obsequies, but it was

⁶¹ *Collection of Wills*, pp. 192-3. Translation taken from Harvey, *Plantagenets*, p. 223.

⁶² *Collection of Wills*, pp. 192-3, translated in Harvey, *Plantagenets*, p. 223.

⁶³ *Collection of Wills*, p. 194: "Item volumus et ordinamus quod corpus nostrum in velveto vel sathino blanco, more regio, vestiatur, et eciam interretur, una cum corona et sceptro regiis deauratis absque tamen quibuscunque lapidibus, quodque super digitum nostrum, more regio, anulus cum lapide precioso valoris viginti marcarum monete nostre Anglie ponatur." Translation taken from Harvey, *Plantagenets*, p. 224.

not interred in Richard's completed tomb in Westminster Abbey. There is no indication that the corpse was displayed within a series of four royal hearses, but at least one source reports that Richard's body was attended by more than a hundred torchbearers in London, and several of the sources remark upon the honourable attendance at the deposed king's exequies in St. Paul's. Finally, while there is much evidence to suggest that the public display of Richard's corpse was a key element of the funeral obsequies, there is also strong evidence to suggest that the king's body was not displayed in accordance with the aesthetic prescriptions outlined in Richard's will.

Richard II's concern to dictate the character of his own funeral might be seen as further evidence of the king's megalomaniac tendencies. In reality, however, this type of testamentary concern was not unprecedented within English royal circles in the later fourteenth century. Edward III's will of 1376 expressed a more limited interest in his funeral, while the contemporaneous will of Richard II's father, the Black Prince, incorporated quite detailed specifications regarding the scale and aesthetic character of the prince's funerary celebrations.⁶⁴ Moreover, just weeks prior to the making of Richard II's will on 16 April 1399, the king's uncle, John of Gaunt, was interred at St. Paul's in London in full accordance with the very detailed instructions contained in the duke's will of 3 February 1399.⁶⁵

What is unusual about the will of Richard II is not its concern to pre-determine the character of the king's funeral, but rather the *tone* in which its prescriptive injunctions are expressed.⁶⁶ Firstly, the will manifests an over-awareness of the need to formulate contingency arrangements for all manner of unpredictable eventualities. Two alternative sets of arrangements are prescribed in case the king should die either within the palace of Westminster, or at a distance less than sixteen miles from the palace. More bizarrely, the will also specifies that Richard II would enjoy the full solemnities of a royal funeral even if the king's body was lost at sea or could not be recovered from abroad.⁶⁷

⁶⁴ *Collection of Wills*, pp. 60, 66-9. On the Black Prince, see above pp. 99-100.

⁶⁵ J. Raine (ed.), *Testamenta Eboracensia*, 6 vols., Surt.Soc., 4 (1836-1902), I: 223-39. For detailed discussion, see J.B. Post, "The Obsequies of John of Gaunt," *GSLH*, 5 (1981): 1-12.

⁶⁶ See Davies, "Richard II and the Church," pp. 103-4. Here, I would wish to dispute Davies' characterisation of the will as being predictable and conventional.

⁶⁷ These references relate to the fact that the will was made shortly prior to Richard's second expedition to Ireland.

Secondly, the phrasing of the will betrays a paranoid concern to make Richard's testamentary injunctions binding on his unnamed successor. In two passages in particular, the bequest of Richard's disposable assets to a successor king is made conditional on the latter's full adherence to the terms of the will. In the first instance, it is specified that the successor will only be allowed inheritance of the residue of the king's household possessions if:

...the same successor shall permit our executors wholly and freely to execute this our will in its every part.⁶⁸

Later, in an astonishingly audacious passage, Richard's executors are charged to withhold "the residue of our gold" from the king's successor unless he "shall approve, ratify and confirm, keep and cause to be kept and to be firmly observed" all of the legislation passed since the advent of the king's period of 'tyranny' in 1397.⁶⁹

Richard's confidence in his executors was perhaps not as high as he might have hoped, since he found it necessary to remind them of their duty to defend the provisions contained in the will:

...according to their ability even to the death if need be.⁷⁰

All in all, the tone of Richard II's will is illustrative of the acute insecurity of a king who lacked a proper heir who could be relied upon to honour the king's posthumous wishes. Furthermore, it is suggestive of the political isolation experienced by Richard as a result of his decision to centre his government around a narrow clique of court-based nobles, thereby engendering a strong sense of political alienation amongst powerful sections of the wider political community.

For Henry IV, Richard II's will was something of a double-edged sword. On the one hand, the more extreme prescriptions contained in the will exemplified the accusation of tyranny which the Lancastrian regime had chosen to level at Richard. To this end, an extensive tract of the will was included within the accusatory text of the official 'Record

⁶⁸ *Collection of Wills*, pp. 194-5. Translation taken from Harvey, *Plantagenets*, p. 224.

⁶⁹ *Collection of Wills*, pp. 197-8. Translation taken from Harvey, *Plantagenets*, p. 225. On the tyranny of Richard II, see "Annales," pp. 199-239, in Given-Wilson (ed. & trans.), *Chronicles of the Revolution*, pp. 71-7; C.M. Barron, "The Tyranny of Richard II," *BIHR*, 41 (1968): 1-18.

⁷⁰ *Collection of Wills*, p. 198. Translation taken from Harvey, *Plantagenets*, p. 225.

and Process' of the deposition.⁷¹ However, on the other hand, Richard's will remained a public and legally binding document, the greater circulation of which would have placed pressure on Henry IV to pay due respect to his predecessor's known wishes. Clearly, Henry did not feel obliged to adhere to the testamentary injunctions in a slavish manner, and indeed, he pointedly ignored Richard's prescriptions in a number of key respects. Nevertheless, Henry IV's arrangements for the funeral of Richard II went beyond what was strictly necessary for the funeral of a deposed and discredited predecessor. This seems particularly striking when the first Lancastrian funeral of Richard II is compared with the Yorkist funeral of Henry VI in 1471, or the Tudor funeral of Richard III in 1485.⁷² Ultimately, Richard II's testamentary determination to safeguard his temporal legacy and to provide for his own posthumous commemoration, seems to have constituted a public statement of intent which Henry IV felt himself simply unable to ignore in its entirety.

(IV) Interpretation

The funeral of Richard II manifested a curiously mixed set of messages. Although Richard's corpse was subjected to a rather impoverished interment at King's Langley, the obsequies celebrated for the king in London were nevertheless suitably elaborate. Significantly, though analysis of surviving evidence indicates that a gap existed between prescription and practice in the funeral arrangements, this gap was not nearly as great as might have been expected. Richard II was not accorded a proper royal funeral as his great-grandfather Edward II had been in 1327, but neither was he entirely denied the trappings of a royal funeral as would later be the case for Henry VI in 1471. Overall, the funeral arrangements suggest that there was a fudging of ritual symbolism so that Richard was neither entirely celebrated nor entirely denigrated in death.

Clearly, any attempt to interpret the funeral of Richard II needs to give careful attention to the strategic priorities of the Lancastrian regime. Undoubtedly, the most obvious political aim of the funeral was to establish as publicly as possible the truth of Richard II's death. This aim is explicitly mentioned within the council minutes of 8 February 1400. It was also presumed to be a motive in the funeral by the author of the

⁷¹ *RP*, III: 421, see Given-Wilson (ed. & trans.), *Chronicles of the Revolution*, pp. 181-2.

⁷² For the treatment of Henry VI, see Wolffe, *Henry VI*, p. 347. For the treatment of Richard III, see Ross, *Richard III*, p. 225.

Traison text, who stated that Richard's body was shown in London so that people "might believe for certain that he was dead."⁷³ Furthermore, the desire to prove that Richard was dead explains several otherwise baffling aspects of the funeral arrangements. Firstly, it makes sense of the decision to locate the celebration of obsequies for the deposed king in London. Secondly, it explains the particular emphasis which the narrative sources place on the showing of Richard's actual corpse with its face uncovered. Finally, it justifies an otherwise surprising decision to bury Richard in the south of England rather than in more convenient obscurity at Pontefract.

The public display of Richard II's corpse as proof of the deposed king's death was a highly desirable course of action from the perspective of Henry IV. The living Richard II was liable to act as a perennial magnet for insurrection, so naturally it was assumed that the maximum public exposure of Richard's death would serve to increase the political security of the new royal regime. In the short term, this viewpoint was vindicated by the response it engendered. All contemporary chroniclers with the sole exception of Creton accepted the truth of Richard's death without question.⁷⁴ Furthermore, at least two sources for the Percy rising of 1403, indicate that an acknowledgment of the reality of Richard's death was the position that was publicly espoused by the rebel leaders.⁷⁵

Recently, however, a number of historians have shown that the early Lancastrian period witnessed the development of a virulent rumour culture centred on the notion of Richard II's survival.⁷⁶ Analysis of the political agitation fuelled by this rumour culture suggests that a belief in Richard II's survival tended to infect the lowest strata of political society; individuals who possessed some degree of political consciousness but who did not

⁷³ *Traison*, p. 261.

⁷⁴ Creton, pp. 220-1, see Given-Wilson (ed. & trans.), *Chronicles of the Revolution*, p. 244. Creton subsequently revised his opinion on this matter. See Palmer, "French Chronicles," pp. 151-4.

⁷⁵ According to *Chronicle of John Hardyng*, pp. 352-3, see Given-Wilson (ed. & trans.), *Chronicles of the Revolution*, p. 194-5, the Percies accused Henry IV of Richard's "murder" in the manifesto they addressed to the Lancastrian king at Shrewsbury Field. Meanwhile, *Eulogium*, p. 396, has the Percies correcting the opinions of credulous Welsh recruits to their army who persisted in the belief that Richard II lived.

⁷⁶ Strohm, "Reburying Richard," pp. 106-11; P. McNiven, "Rebellion, Sedition and the Legend of Richard II's Survival in the Reigns of Henry IV and Henry V," *BJRL*, 76 (1994): 93-117; P. Morgan, "Henry IV and the Shadow of Richard II," in R.E. Archer (ed.), *Crown, Government and People in the Fifteenth Century* (Stroud, 1995), pp. 1-31.

enjoy access to political representation.⁷⁷ In this context, it can be said that Richard II's funeral only exercised importance as a repository of memory from the perspective of the authorities. In 1413, for example, a judgement at the King's Bench recorded incredulity that a king who had been buried so publicly could still be considered alive.⁷⁸ However, as Paul Strohm has argued, the vitality of rumours is not wholly dependent upon the logical weighing and evaluating of available evidence.⁷⁹ If Richard II's funeral was devised as a strategy for defusing underlying dissent, then the government remained blind to the limitations of ritual as a mechanism for controlling beliefs and behaviour. Ultimately, the funeral of March 1400 did succeed in convincing enough important people that Richard II was dead to make sure that any contrary opinion might easily be discredited by the authorities. Nevertheless, the authorities were unable to do more than marginalise the effects of Ricardian rumour, ensuring that pro-Ricardian plots would remain a potential threat to the Lancastrian regime until at least the middle of the second decade of the fifteenth century.

The political usefulness of Richard II's funeral was not restricted to an official desire to prove that the deposed king was dead. The latter concern certainly explains why a public funeral was staged for the king in London, but it does not provide a full explanation for the peculiar aesthetic character of the funerary rituals. Through a reading of the visual dimensions of Richard II's funeral, it can be suggested that the funeral acted as a ritualized arena for the symbolic de-legitimation of Richard's kingship. Richard was accorded a funeral that was appropriate for a man of his royal status, but which was inappropriate for a holder of his relinquished royal office. In essence, the imagery of the funeral sought to construct Richard's identity in terms that were literally true at the time of his death: Richard was a dead *former* king.

The symbolic separation of Richard II's dynastic and institutional identities was achieved by denying Richard's corpse access to the formal imagery of kingship. Richard was accorded recognition of his personal status through the arrangement of obsequies that were appropriate for a prince of the royal blood; for example, he was honoured with a

⁷⁷ See W.M. Ormrod, *Political Life in Medieval England, 1300-1450* (Basingstoke, 1995), pp. 6-7, on medieval political consciousness.

⁷⁸ G.O. Sayles (ed.), *Select Cases in the Court of King's Bench under Richard II, Henry IV and Henry V*, *Seld.Soc.*, 88 (1971), pp. 212-3. See also Strohm, "Reburying Richard," p. 106.

⁷⁹ Strohm, "Reburying Richard," p. 245, n. 35.

requiem service at St. Paul's which was attended by Henry IV. Nevertheless, it is clear from a synthesised reading of the contemporary sources that Richard's corpse was represented visually in death stripped of the standard iconographical emblems of kingship: the royal robes and regalia. A policy of depriving the dead king of the visible manifestations of royal office also informed the decision to deny Richard burial in his completed tomb at Westminster Abbey. In this case, the regal connotations which emanated from the aesthetic representation of Richard in the imagery on his tomb clashed with the emphasis placed upon Richard's deprived royal status within the funeral celebrations. Clearly, it would have been difficult for Henry IV to control the political memory of his predecessor had he chosen to bury him within a visual environment that stood as a bold testament to Richard's own vision of regality. In these circumstances, the decision to bury Richard at King's Langley can be interpreted as a somewhat unsatisfactory Lancastrian attempt to defuse the symbolic power of the errant Ricardian imagery at Westminster.

In order to understand the symbolism of Richard II's funeral it is also necessary to examine the basis of Henry IV's claim to be king. Crucially, the Lancastrian usurpation came to be premised primarily upon a notion of Richard II's unsuitability for royal office. Initially, Henry had attempted to advance a dynastic claim to the throne on the unconvincing grounds that the Lancastrian line of descent from Henry III was in fact senior to the ruling royal line that descended from Edward I to Richard II.⁸⁰ This assertion was strongly resisted by the majority of Henry's advisors, and it was alluded to only obliquely in the language that Henry used to lay formal claim to the throne in parliament on 30 September 1399:

In the name of the Father, Son, and Holy Ghost; I, Henry of Lancaster challenge this Realm of England, and the Crown with all its members and appurtenances, *inasmuch as I am descended by right line of the blood coming from the good lord King Henry the third*, and through that right that God of his grace has sent me, with the help of my kin and my friends, to recover it; which realm was on the point of being undone by

⁸⁰ Usk, pp. 64-7; *Chronicle of John Hardyng*, pp. 353-4, see Given-Wilson (ed. & trans.), *Chronicles of the Revolution*, pp. 195-6. For discussion, see P. Strohm, "Saving the Appearances: Chaucer's 'Purse' and the Fabrication of the Lancastrian Claim," in *idem*, *Hochon's Arrow: The Social Imagination of Fourteenth-Century Texts* (Princeton, 1992), pp. 77-8.

default of governance and the undoing of the good laws [my italics].⁸¹

Although the strength of Henry IV's claim to the throne depended in great part upon the quality of his own royal pedigree, Henry nevertheless retreated from making any formal declaration concerning the comparative quality of Richard II's royal pedigree. Furthermore, Henry also resisted any temptation to justify his own seizure of the throne by casting aspersions on his predecessor's paternity.⁸²

Henry IV's failure to challenge the legitimate basis of Richard II's kingship placed constraints on the Lancastrian king's subsequent freedom to manipulate the memory of his predecessor. In essence, Henry's mandate for authority was a notion that Richard II had forfeited his right to rule by abusing the exercise of power. Henry's justification for his usurpation was dominated by a negative conception of his predecessor's failings, rather than a more positive conception of Henry's own qualities as a king. By binding the Lancastrian claim to the throne to allegations of Richard II's "evil government", it became an inevitable aspect of Henry's claim that no doubts could be cast over the legitimacy of Richard II's kingship *in the first place*. Paradoxically, since Henry was committed to the acceptance of a notion of Richard's rightful kingship as the necessary premise for the rightful deposition of Richard, it became all the more difficult to ignore the consequent pressure that was placed on Henry to provide Richard with a decent royal funeral. Given this situation, it can be seen that the rather confusing symbolism of Richard II's funeral was not the product of any clear-cut ideological perspective, but instead constituted a not entirely successful attempt to communicate a sense of the recent transition that had taken place in Richard's status as a king.

(V) Epilogue

In the longer term, Henry IV's burial of Richard II at King's Langley did not resolve the fundamental problem posed by the continuing existence of Richard's empty tomb at Westminster Abbey. Although the Westminster tomb did not become the focus of a

⁸¹ *RP*, III: 422-3, quoted from Given-Wilson (ed. & trans.), *Chronicles of the Revolution*, p. 186. For discussion, see Strohm, "Saving the Appearances," pp. 75-82.

⁸² However, allegations of Richard II's illegitimacy clearly did have some currency within society at large. See PRO, C 258/24/9, printed in A.J. Prescott, "The Accusations Against Thomas Austin," in Strohm, *Hochon's Arrow*, p. 175; Usk, pp. 62-3.

political martyr cult, it did exist as a permanent testament to the integrity of Richard's royal identity. Whether Richard was believed to be dead or alive, or whether he was regarded as a royal tyrant or as a royal martyr, he nevertheless continued to occupy a niche within political memory which cast him in the identity of a king.

In December 1413, several months after the accession of Henry V, the new Lancastrian king organised the reburial of Richard II in his empty tomb in Westminster Abbey.⁸³ The reburial provoked considerable comment amongst contemporary and later chroniclers, but there nevertheless remains a frustrating lack of information concerning the precise character of the ceremonial occasion. The fullest description of the funeral is perhaps that preserved in a continuation of the *Brut* chronicle which reports that Richard's body was brought to Westminster:

...yn a ryal chare couert with blak veluet & baners of diuers armez alle aboute, & al þe horsse drawyng þe chare were trappid yn black & bete with diuers armez, and mony a torch brennyng, by alle þe wey, til he come to Westmystre.⁸⁴

No sources mention the deployment of a funeral effigy or regalian imagery in the funeral celebrations, although the surviving descriptions of the funeral are perhaps too inadequate to allow definite conclusions to be drawn on this matter.

In a recent article, Paul Strohm has pointed to the splendour of Richard II's reburial as evidence of a retrospective attempt by Henry V to re-legitimize Richard's kingship. Strohm's argument is certainly persuasive up to a point, but the evidence for the splendour of the funeral in 1413 is not nearly as clear-cut as he suggests. On the one hand, Walsingham refers in vague terms to the general expense and magnificence of the funeral celebrations.⁸⁵ However, on the other hand, surviving exchequer records which pertain to the funeral indicate that much of the heraldic imagery displayed around the funeral hearse had simply been recycled after earlier use at the funeral of Henry IV in Canterbury.⁸⁶ An

⁸³ See Strohm, "Reburying Richard," pp. 101-127, especially pp. 115-16; Saul, *Richard II*, pp. 428-9; J.H. Wylie & W.T. Waugh, *The Reign of Henry the Fifth*, 3 vols. (Cambridge, 1914-29), I: 207-11.

⁸⁴ *Brut*, II: 373. The text is the same as that in BL, Cotton MS Claudius A viii, fol. 7, quoted in Strohm, "Reburying Richard," p. 115. See also N.H. Nicolas & E. Tyrrell (eds.), *A Chronicle of London, from 1089 to 1489* (London, 1827), pp. 96-7.

⁸⁵ *HA*, II: 297.

⁸⁶ PRO, E 403/614; *Issues of the Exchequer*, pp. 325-6.

emphasis on thrift would also seem to be suggested by the rather parsimonious manner in which the unused candlewax remaining on the hearse at the end of the funeral was collected by royal officials for future use in the royal household.⁸⁷

Contemporary commentators interpreted Henry V's motives in reburying Richard II at Westminster Abbey in terms of his pious devotion towards the memory of the deposed king. Walsingham asserted that Henry V venerated Richard as much as he did his own father.⁸⁸ Meanwhile, another contemporary writer spoke of:

...the grete and tendre loue that he [Henry] hadde to King Richard.⁸⁹

This personal relationship linking Richard II and Henry V was developed in an even more extravagant fashion in certain other fifteenth-century chronicles. For example, the mid-fifteenth century author of *Vita et Gesta Henrici Quinti* claimed that Richard had actually predicted Henry's future greatness on first encountering him as a boy.⁹⁰ Interestingly, however, later commentators writing from the vantage point of the Yorkist period instead chose to frame the reburial of 1413 in terms of Henry V's desire to atone for the crimes committed against Richard by his own father, Henry IV.⁹¹

In reality, the decision of Henry V to arrange for the reburial of Richard II at Westminster Abbey in 1413, must be interpreted in relation to the discrete politics and personal priorities which informed Henry's accession in that year. Strohm's view is that Henry V sought to secure and buttress his own position as king by laying symbolic claim to the dynastic paternity of Richard II, and by constructing a public image of Richard as his "true spiritual mentor."⁹² The problem with Strohm's argument is that implicit in the

⁸⁷ PRO, E 403/614; *Issues of the Exchequer*, p. 328. The assertion in Strohm, "Reburying Richard," p. 115, that a thousand marks were disbursed along the route of the cortege for Richard's soul does not match with the published figure of only a hundred marks recorded in *Issues of the Exchequer*, p. 328.

⁸⁸ *HA*, II: 297.

⁸⁹ J.S. Davies (ed.), *An English Chronicle of the Reigns of Richard II, Henry IV, Henry V and Henry VI*, CS, 64 (1856), p. 39.

⁹⁰ Thomas Elmham, *Vita et Gesta Henrici Quinti Anglorum Regis*, ed. T. Hearne (Oxford, 1727), p. 5. See Strohm, "Reburying Richard," p. 118.

⁹¹ BL, Cotton MS Claudius A viii, fol. 17, cited in Strohm, "Reburying Richard," p. 116; *Brut*, II: 494-5; H.T. Riley (ed.), *Ingulph's Chronicle of the Abbey of Croyland* (London, 1908), p. 364.

⁹² Strohm, "Reburying Richard," pp. 117-18.

notion of a symbolic re-negotiation of Henry V's paternity, there ought to be an equivalent notion of the symbolic rejection or subordination of Henry V's actual paternity. In fact, there exists very little evidence to support a view that Henry V either disavowed or attempted to denigrate the royal identity of Henry IV within public political memory. Not only was the funeral of Henry IV on 18 June 1413 at least as splendid as the later reburial of Richard II, but the first Lancastrian king was also much the greater beneficiary of foundational grants made by Henry V for the establishment of anniversary masses.⁹³

The reburial of Richard II in Westminster Abbey was a highly effective political act. While it could be represented publicly in terms of Henry V's pious devotion towards the memory of his deposed predecessor, it nevertheless also provided the Lancastrian regime with a belated opportunity to rectify the misfired symbolism of Richard's first burial at King's Langley. The reburial of Richard II heralded the advent of a new political era with a new royal reign, by signalling a changed royal attitude and perspective towards the events of 1399 to 1400. What remains open to debate is the precise character and extent of this attitude change. Strohm frames the attitude change in more personal terms by arguing that the reversing of the symbolism of Richard II's first funeral was immutably linked to Henry V's desire to secure his own dynastic legitimacy, something which Strohm argues could only be accessed directly from Richard. However, it seems just as likely that Henry V's decision to rebury Richard reflected a more public concern on the part of the king to restore a greater measure of political unity within the realm.

The usurpation of Henry IV, and the ensuing insurrections that the king faced in the early years of his reign, had the effect of producing a newly disenfranchised class of nobles who had variously experienced reversals of fortune, demotions in rank, attainders, forfeitures, treason charges and even executions, as a result of their opposition to the new

⁹³ See *Issues of the Exchequer*, pp. 325-7; *CPR 1413-16*, p. 64, for payments relating to Henry IV's funeral. See *CPR 1413-16*, pp. 24, 25, and *CPR 1416-22*, pp. 376-7, 441, 441-2, for Lancastrian foundational grants which involved the offering of prayers for the soul of Henry IV but not for the soul of Richard II. The Bridgettine house which Henry V founded at Syon might justifiably be regarded as a Lancastrian powerhouse of prayer. The foundation charter of 3 March 1415 states that the house was founded with the intention that intercessory prayers be offered to the Trinity, the Virgin and St. Bridget, on behalf of the souls of Henry himself, Henry IV, his mother Mary de Bohun, his grandparents John of Gaunt and Blanche of Lancaster, and all others of the king's ancestors. See William Dugdale, *Monasticon Anglicanum*, eds. J. Caley, H. Ellis & B. Bandinel, 6 vols. in 8 (London, 1917-30), VI (i): 542-3; Allmand, *Henry V*, p. 275.

Lancastrian regime.⁹⁴ By contrast, the reign of Henry V was characterised by the creation of new opportunities for nobles to win royal forgiveness and the restitution of their titles and estates through proofs of loyalty and commitment to the Lancastrian royal regime. Henry V was prepared discreetly to close the door on the deeds of the past, and the reburial of Richard II was a significant gesture in terms of signalling just such a mood change. At the same time, however, although Richard's belated interment in his Westminster tomb publicly affirmed his place within an ordered succession of kings, it remains doubtful whether this action represented anything more than an aesthetic tidying-up of the past.⁹⁵ In this respect, the type of fundamental re-evaluation of recent history that is suggested by Strohm's analysis of the reburial of Richard II does not seem convincing.

If the second funeral of Richard II indicated that the Lancastrian regime had become more at ease with its past, it also suggested that the regime was becoming increasingly comfortable with the dynastic resonances of Westminster Abbey. Indeed, it might be argued that the reburial of Richard II in the shrine chapel of St. Edward was an early intimation of a new royal campaign by Henry V to colonise Westminster Abbey as a discernibly Lancastrian space. During the previous decade, it had appeared that Canterbury Cathedral might emerge as the new dynastic mausoleum of the Lancastrian royal family, following the burials there of Henry IV (fig. 22) and his half-brother, John Beaufort, earl of Somerset (d. 1410).⁹⁶ However, Henry V's greater interest in Westminster Abbey was signalled at the same time as his reburial of Richard II when, on 14 December 1413, the king undertook to contribute a thousand marks annually towards the work on the construction of the abbey nave.⁹⁷ Ultimately, this renewed royal commitment towards Westminster Abbey bore further fruit in Henry's decision to join Richard II in the shrine

⁹⁴ In 1413, the heirs to the earldoms of Huntingdon, Northumberland and Salisbury continued to be denied inheritance of their titles and estates because of the rebellious actions of their fathers. Meanwhile, the duke of York and the earls of March and Norfolk remained tainted by personal or family association with opposition to the regime. See G.L. Harriss, "The King and his Magnates," in idem (ed.), *Henry V: The Practice of Kingship* (Oxford, 1985), pp. 31-51; Allmand, *Henry V*, pp. 370-2.

⁹⁵ This view finds visual expression in the juxtaposing of Richard II and Henry IV on the early to mid-fifteenth-century choir screen in York Minster (fig. 46). See Norton, "Richard II and York Minster," pp. 83-5.

⁹⁶ Wilson, "Medieval Monuments," pp. 498-506. Henry IV's second son, Thomas, duke of Clarence, was also buried at Canterbury following his death at Baugé in 1421.

⁹⁷ *CPR 1413-16*, pp. 145-6. Also see *ibid.*, pp. 116, 148, 160, 413. See R.B. Rackham, "The Nave at Westminster," *Proceedings of the British Academy*, 4 (1909-10): 35-96.

chapel of St. Edward, when he chose to be buried beneath a magnificent purbeck marble tomb with a plated silver-gilt effigy of the king, which was in turn housed beneath an opulently carved double-storeyed chantry chapel constructed from specially imported Caen stone (fig. 47).⁹⁸

⁹⁸ Hope, "Funeral, Monument and Chantry Chapel," pp. 145-86; Allmand, *Henry V*, pp. 180-2.

Chapter Six

The Coronation of Richard II (1377)

(I) Introduction

The historian T.F. Tout remarked with reference to changes in the personnel of government following the death of Edward III, that "...no accession ever marked less of an epoch than did that of Richard II."¹ Tout's assessment is particularly interesting because in many respects the accession of Richard II on 22 June 1377 really did appear to contemporaries to herald the dawn of a new era. Indeed, the optimistic mood of the accession period was nicely conveyed in a comment of Thomas Walsingham on the coronation of the new king on 16 July:

It was a day of joy and gladness...the long-awaited day of the renewal of peace and of the laws of the land, long exiled by the weakness of an aged king and the greed of his courtiers and servants.²

Walsingham's description of the positive public response which met the accession of Richard II, illustrates the importance attached in contemporary minds to the personal qualities and characteristics of kings as expressions of the political and moral vitality of the realm as a whole.³

Clearly, it is tempting for the medieval historian simply to chart the processes through which the high hopes and youthful promise of Richard's accession came to be dashed upon the rocks of his adult ill-fortune. However, in the following discussion, my aim is not simply to analyse the coronation of Richard II as a point of induction into the king's reign, but rather to interpret it as a point of closure located at the end of a period of intense dislocation within English political society. My analysis suggests that the coronation acted as an arena for the ritualized expression of political reconciliation within the realm. In this sense, Richard's coronation was *productive* of an actual change in the political climate in

¹ Tout, *Chapters*, III: 324, IV: 191-3.

² *CA*, p. 155, translated in McKisack, *Fourteenth Century*, p. 399.

³ For the profound sense of expectation that accompanied the accession of Henry V in 1413, see G.L. Harriss, "Introduction: The Exemplar of Kingship," in idem (ed.), *Henry V*, pp. 1-29; Allmand, *Henry V*, pp. 63-4.

England, as much as it was *reflective* of the renewal of cordial relationships between opposing groups within society.

(II) Contexts

Introduction

The final years of Edward III's reign were dominated by a series of political crises in royal government. The various strands of these crises came to a head when a concerted attack was mounted on the royal government and its ministers within the 'Good Parliament' of April to July 1376.⁴ Due to the increasing infirmity of Edward III following the death of his heir, the Black Prince, on 8 June 1376, effective control of the royal government passed to the king's third and eldest surviving son, John of Gaunt, duke of Lancaster and titular king of Castile. In the short term, Gaunt was forced to bow to parliamentary pressure for immediate political reform. In the longer term, however, the more unpalatable acts of the Good Parliament were successfully reversed at the instigation of the royal government before and during the more acquiescent Hilary Parliament of January to March 1377.⁵

The superficial triumph of the royal government in the aftermath of the Good Parliament merely encouraged a further deepening of political divisions within the realm. Three distinct points of crisis can be identified in the months which separated the Good Parliament and the accession of Richard II. Broadly in the order in which they erupted, these crises concerned the security of the royal succession, Gaunt's quarrels with leading elements within the clerical episcopacy and the citizenry of London, and the military threat posed by the resurgent aggression of France. In the following sub-sections each of these crisis areas will be discussed in turn.

The Royal Succession

The death of the Black Prince precipitated a crisis in the English royal succession.⁶ The new heir to the aged and decrepit Edward III was the Black Prince's second and sole

⁴ See G.A. Holmes, *The Good Parliament* (Oxford, 1975), pp. 100-58.

⁵ *Ibid.*, pp. 159-61, 178-94.

⁶ This event was widely mourned by contemporary commentators. See *CA*, pp. 88-92; *HA*, I: 321; *Anonimale*, pp. 94-5; M.A. Devlin (ed.), *The Sermons of Thomas Brinton, Bishop of Rochester (1373-89)*, 2 vols., CS, third series, 85, 86 (1954), II: 354-7.

surviving son, the nine-year-old Prince Richard.⁷ Clearly, there was considerable insecurity inherent in a succession that relied upon the survival of a young child. However, this insecurity was compounded by the fact that there existed no agreed formula for ordering the succession in the event of Richard's death. In the autumn of 1376 the succession problem became acute as a further collapse in the state of Edward III's health rendered the king incapable of playing any effective role in government.⁸ In the absence of an active king or an adult royal heir, the control of the royal government increasingly came to devolve upon the shoulders of John of Gaunt.⁹ However, Gaunt's closeness to the throne meant that his political motives in stewarding the government were frequently questioned, while his loyalty to the established royal succession was widely perceived as being equivocal.¹⁰

Political debate on the royal succession translated into a wider public perception that Richard's position as royal heir was threatened. Just days after the death of the Black Prince, the nine-year-old Richard was summoned by petition of the commons to appear before parliament, and it was requested that he should immediately be invested as prince of Wales.¹¹ The anxiety expressed by the commons chimed with a scurrilous story concerning Gaunt's introduction of a petition into the Good Parliament which sought to establish a system of succession to the English throne based on a male entail.¹² The story recounted in the *Chronicon Angliae* is significant not because it seems at all plausible in itself, but because it hints at the existence of a wider rumour culture in which such dishonourable motives were easily attributed to Gaunt. Indeed, rumours of Gaunt's designs on the English throne circulated abroad during 1376, and by the end of the year it was

⁷ See above pp. 147-8, n. 49, on Richard's elder brother Edward (d. 1371).

⁸ M. Bennett, "Edward III's Entail and the Succession to the Crown, 1376-1471," *EHR*, 103 (1998): 588-9. The seriousness of Edward's condition was reflected in the making of his will on 7 October 1376. See *Collection of Wills*, pp. 59-65.

⁹ See A. Goodman, *John of Gaunt: The Exercise of Princely Power in Fourteenth-Century Europe* (London, 1992), pp. 58-65, for discussion of Gaunt's control of government in this period.

¹⁰ See idem, "John of Gaunt: Paradigm of the Late Fourteenth-Century Crisis," *TRHS*, fifth series, 37 (1987): 133-48, on hostility to Gaunt in contemporary chronicles.

¹¹ *RP*, II: 330; S.B. Chrimes & A.L. Brown (eds.), *Select Documents of English Constitutional History 1307-1485* (London, 1961), pp. 110-11.

¹² *CA*, p. 92. No mention of this petition is made either in the official records of the parliament or in any other narrative source. See J. Taylor, "The Good Parliament and its Sources," in idem & Childs (eds.), *Politics and Crisis*, p. 87.

reported that the French court was awash with rumours of the duke's plotting.¹³ The doubtfulness of the allegations levelled against Gaunt is strongly suggested by the fact that he continued to retain the full trust of his aged father. This point is reflected not only in Edward III's entrusting the daily running of government to his eldest surviving son, but more significantly, in Edward's appointment of Gaunt as the chief executor of his will, dated 7 October 1376.¹⁴ This action conferred a responsibility of guardianship on the duke, since Edward had implicitly designated Richard as his royal successor according to the terms of his will.¹⁵

The recent discovery of a letter patent of Edward III establishing a criterion for ordering the royal succession has helped to clarify historical understanding of contemporary debate on the succession.¹⁶ The letter patent can be firmly dated to the period mid-July 1376 to early January 1377, but it seems probable that its composition was linked to the making of Edward III's will in early October.¹⁷ Significantly, the document makes explicit reference to the fact that Edward III intended his grandson Richard to succeed him as king.¹⁸ However, where this document is perhaps more remarkable is in its attempt to anticipate potential future problems by ordering the royal succession according to a system based on a male entail, with an ultimate recourse to succession by the king's heirs general after the extinction of all male lines.

The extent of Gaunt's direct involvement in the formulation of the entail document is impossible to gauge. However, it is certainly notable that the duke was the chief beneficiary of the succession settlement, while the chief loser was Gaunt's political and dynastic rival the earl of March.¹⁹ There is evidence to suggest that Gaunt maintained a

¹³ E. Perroy (ed.), "The Anglo-French Negotiations at Bruges, 1374-77," *Camden Miscellany* 29, CS, third series, 80 (1952): 60. See Holmes, *Good Parliament*, pp. 51-2.

¹⁴ *Collection of Wills*, p. 63.

¹⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 61. "...damus et legamus heredi nostro futuro...Ricardo videlicet filio recolende memorie Edwardi nuper principis Wallie primogeniti nostri...". The Black Prince had also placed trust in Gaunt while on his deathbed. See M.K. Pope & E.C. Lodge (eds.), *Life of the Black Prince by the Herald of Sir John Chandos* (Oxford, 1910), pp. 129, 170.

¹⁶ BL, Cotton Charter XVI 63, printed as an appendix in Bennett, "Edward III's Entail," pp. 607-9.

¹⁷ See Bennett, "Edward III's Entail," pp. 584, 587-91.

¹⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 608, "...[lava]ntdit Richard nous succede loialment en tout et universe droit de..."

¹⁹ CA, p. 93, states that March entertained ambitions in relation to his wife's claim.

personal vendetta against March which was reflected in the imprisonment in November 1376 of the earl's steward, Sir Peter de la Mare, for his actions as speaker of the commons in the Good Parliament.²⁰ Meanwhile, it was alleged by Walsingham that March's relinquishment of the prestigious office of marshal came in direct response to intimidation from the duke.²¹ On balance, it does seem likely that Gaunt embarked on a political campaign in late 1376 which aimed at strengthening his own dynastic claim to the throne.²² However, historians should avoid the mistake made by certain contemporary observers of confusing the duke's pro-active desire to defend his perceived rights against an unforeseen future, with evidence of Gaunt's supposed desire actually to seize the throne from his young nephew.²³

John of Gaunt's loyalty to the royal succession was clearly manifested during the final months of Edward III's reign in the duke's sponsorship of Richard's emergence onto the political stage. According to Froissart, the prince was formally acknowledged as Edward III's heir at the Michaelmas celebrations of 1376.²⁴ Richard was duly invested as Prince of Wales on 20 November, and at the Christmas festivities in the following month the king had Richard:

...seated next to himself, above all his children, in royal state, that it might be seen and declared he was to be king of England after his [Edward's] death.²⁵

On 25 January 1377, Richard was the focus of an elaborate entertainment organized by the citizenry of London at his palace of Kennington.²⁶ Two days later, Richard presided over

²⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 105.

²¹ *Ibid.*, pp. 107-8.

²² See Strohm, "Saving the Appearances," pp. 77-8, for discussion of further evidence that Gaunt acted to promote his future claim to the throne during the 1390s.

²³ The reservation of future rights was also an issue in the coronation court of claims. See below pp. 179-85.

²⁴ Froissart, *Chronicles*, I: 509.

²⁵ *Ibid.*

²⁶ *Anonimale*, pp. 102-3. See Saul, *Richard II*, pp. 21-2. C.M. Barron, "Richard II and London," in Goodman & Gillespie (eds.), *Richard II*, p. 150, wrongly attributes this event to the first year of Richard's reign. The anti-clerical tone of many of the mummers' costumes perhaps suggests Gaunt's involvement in the organisation of the occasion. See below pp. 170-1, for anticlericalism in the Hilary Parliament.

the opening of the Hilary Parliament in the company of his uncle.²⁷ Finally, in April, the prince again emerged into the limelight when he received his knighthood from the hands of Edward III at the St. George's day celebrations at Windsor.²⁸

Richard's emergence onto the public stage prompted the re-organisation of the prince's household arrangements. Independent financial provision was made for Richard and his mother in October 1376.²⁹ In Richard's case, this was greatly amplified on 15 March 1377 when he received possession of the extensive temporalities that had recently been confiscated from Bishop Wykeham of Winchester.³⁰ Meanwhile, on 1 January 1377, an independent household was created for the prince at Kennington as an arrangement more suited to Richard's newly elevated dignity as prince of Wales.³¹

In summary, there appears to be little evidence to suggest that John of Gaunt really intended to supplant his young nephew as heir to the English throne. However, the duke's attempts to further his longer-term claim to the throne may well have contributed to this misconception. Whether the allegation that Gaunt entertained regal ambitions was widely believed or not, it was still an obvious stick with which to beat the duke, given the public context of his dispute with the earl of March. In reality, Gaunt displayed exemplary loyalty to the expressed intentions of his father by acting as informal guardian to the prince and sponsoring his introduction onto the public stage. Nevertheless, Gaunt's ostentatious promotion of Richard's public responsibilities perhaps also betrayed a degree of sensitivity on the part of the duke to a hostile political climate. It was probably not coincidental, for example, that the libels against Gaunt which were posted in the city of London during February and March 1377 consisted of slurs against the duke's legitimacy. Clearly, this was a libel which attained an added degree of piquancy in the light of Gaunt's known

²⁷ *CA*, p. 111. See McKisack, *Fourteenth Century*, pp. 395-6.

²⁸ *Anonimale*, p. 106. See W.M. Ormrod, "Edward III and His Family," *JBS*, 26 (1987): 419. Goodman, *John of Gaunt*, p. 63, postulates that this event was intended as a preliminary to Richard's leadership of a military retinue in the forthcoming campaign against France

²⁹ *CPR 1374-7*, p. 371.

³⁰ See Tout, *Chapters*, III: 312, citing *Foedera*, III (iii): 57. Also *CPR 1374-7*, p. 437. McKisack, *Fourteenth Century*, p. 395, places this grant in the autumn of 1376, but provides no supporting references. For further grants in April 1377, see *CChR 1341-1417*, pp. 231-2.

³¹ PRO, E 401/398/8. See Tout, *Chapters*, IV: 189-92.

interest in the royal succession.³²

Political Disputes

John of Gaunt's confrontational attitude towards the leading critics of the royal government soon embroiled the duke in rancorous disputes with both the church hierarchy and the city of London. Although the origins of both these disputes can be traced to the events of the Good Parliament, the escalation in tensions was delayed until after Gaunt assumed full control of the royal government in the autumn of 1376. The underlying rationale of John of Gaunt's domestic policy in 1376-7 is difficult to fathom. It is possible that the duke aimed at restoring a measure of political solidarity within the upper ranks of the laity following the collapse of traditional aristocratic support for the crown in the Good Parliament.³³ Gaunt's targeting of London and the church were populist policies in lay circles even if they were also predicated on the personal differences which the duke had experienced with these bodies in the recent past.³⁴ However, if Gaunt's policies towards London and the church involved some measure of positive intent, the duke's mishandling of the hostility which his actions unleashed led rapidly to a quite uncontrolled escalation in political tensions within the realm.

(1) The Church

At a great council presided over by John of Gaunt in autumn 1376, William of Wykeham, bishop of Winchester, was sentenced to the forfeiture of his temporalities and was banned from the vicinity of the royal court.³⁵ Ostensibly, the prosecution of Wykeham related to malpractices he had committed whilst serving as lord chancellor ten years earlier. In reality, though, this action was merely the opening salvo in a wider-ranging campaign directed by the royal government against the church. The targeting of Wykeham reflected the existence of a personal animosity between the bishop and Gaunt which can be traced

³² For the London libels, see below pp. 173-4.

³³ Holmes, *Good Parliament*, pp. 183-4.

³⁴ The appointment of Edward III's youngest son as constable in October 1376 was perhaps an early indication of Gaunt's desire for political solidarity within the royal family, a theme also reflected in the surprisingly rapid rehabilitation of the earl of March as a loyal servant of the crown. See McKisack, *Fourteenth Century*, pp. 394-5; Holmes, *Good Parliament*, p. 183; Goodman, *John of Gaunt*, p. 63.

³⁵ *Anonimalle*, pp. 95-100; *CA*, pp. 106-7. See Holmes, *Good Parliament*, pp. 178-9, for problems of chronology.

to the events of the Good Parliament.³⁶ Indeed, Walsingham alleged that Wykeham had been instrumental in spreading rumours concerning the 'true' paternity of the duke.³⁷ The Wykeham affair presaged a wider attack on clerical privileges and papal claims which was delivered by John Wyclif in a public sermon in London at the probable behest of Gaunt.³⁸ Meanwhile, a concerted governmental attack on the church was maintained in the Hilary Parliament when the newly appointed chamberlain, Sir Robert Ashton, delivered a populist anti-clerical and anti-papal address to the assembly on its second day.³⁹

The anti-clericalism of Gaunt's government was not the product of a deep-seated ideological perspective, so much as a short-term and populist appeal to the sympathies and purse-strings of the laity.⁴⁰ Nonetheless, the charged political climate soon produced an escalation in the dispute between the government and the church when the clergy under the leadership of Bishop Courtenay of London voted to make a principled stand in defence of Wykeham. When Convocation met on 5 February it refused to grant the newly devised clerical poll-tax in the absence of the disgraced bishop.⁴¹ While Gaunt was forced to relent on this particular issue, he immediately re-ignited hostility by making an ill-judged intervention in the trial of John Wyclif at St. Paul's Cathedral in London. Wyclif arrived at the trial on 19 February under the armed escort of Gaunt and Henry Percy (the recently appointed marshal), and this provocative action quickly led to the chaotic abandonment of the trial. News of the confrontation at St. Paul's inflamed the anger of the London citizens, who already entertained several grievances of their own against Gaunt and Percy. The ensuing riot was only quelled after the personal intervention of Courtenay, while a subsequent eruption of violence on the following day culminated in the ignominious flight of Gaunt and Percy from the city.⁴²

³⁶ Tout, *Chapters*, III: 309-10

³⁷ *CA*, p. 107.

³⁸ *Ibid.*, pp. 115-17. On Wyclif, see Holmes, *Good Parliament*, pp. 165-78.

³⁹ *RP*, II: 363; Holmes, *Good Parliament*, pp. 185-6. The English government also acted to protect the interests of Florentine merchants operating in England in defiance of a papal interdict and against the interests of London merchants. See *CA*, pp. 109-11; Holmes, *Good Parliament*, pp. 179-80.

⁴⁰ Holmes, *Good Parliament*, p. 185.

⁴¹ *CA*, pp. 113-14. See Holmes, *Good Parliament*, pp. 186-7.

⁴² *CA*, pp. 118-21; *Anonimale*, pp. 103-4.

Although Gaunt's quarrel with the church hierarchy bore witness to a deterioration in the political climate in England, it nevertheless did allow the duke to emerge triumphant in the short term. The formal grant of a clerical poll-tax on all beneficed clergy was finally agreed to by Convocation on 26 February.⁴³ Meanwhile, the bishops failed in their efforts to reverse the judgement against Wykeham, while at the same time they were themselves forced to drop the charges against Wyclif. On 15 March, Wykeham's temporalities were placed into the hands of Prince Richard, and it was not until 18 June, when Edward III was literally on his deathbed, that the bishop eventually gained a royal pardon.⁴⁴

(2) The City of London

The final months of Edward III's reign witnessed a remarkable deterioration in the relationship between London and the crown. The main cause of tension was a concerted campaign of interference into the city's affairs undertaken by the royal government in the aftermath of the Good Parliament. Ironically, however, the cumulative effect of this meddling was to encourage the uniting of the citizens in the collective defence of their liberties. Gaunt's dispute with London climaxed in late February 1377 when the city erupted into a tumult of rioting at the time of Wyclif's trial at St. Paul's. Although the city was subsequently pacified, the issues under dispute remained essentially unresolved at Richard II's accession several months later.

The first sign of the crown's intention to challenge the government and liberties of London occurred with the foisting of constitutional changes on the city government following the impeachment of three London aldermen in the Good Parliament. In late summer 1376, the three aldermen were deprived of their civic office for bringing discredit on the ruling oligarchy, while the oligarchic system was itself eroded through a widening of the representation to include the common council of men elected by the guilds.⁴⁵ In late October, the royal government launched a new attack on the independence of the London hustings court. The mayor and sheriffs were ordered to present legal records that related

⁴³ Holmes, *Good Parliament*, p. 191.

⁴⁴ *Foedera*, III (iii): 57, 60. *CA*, pp. 136-7, reports that Wykeham had to humble himself to Edward III's mistress Alice Perrers in order to secure her intervention with the dying king.

⁴⁵ R.R. Sharpe (ed.), *Calendar of Letter-Books of the City of London: H, 1375-99* (London, 1907), pp. 35-44. See P. Nightingale, "Capitalists, Crafts and Constitutional Change in Late Fourteenth-Century London," *P&P*, 124 (1989): 18-20, 34; R. Bird, *The Turbulent London of Richard II* (London, 1949), pp. 17-29, 36-9; Holmes, *Good Parliament*, pp. 180-1.

to a trivial and ancient case in the hustings court to a specially appointed panel of royal judges on 20 October, and again later on 19 February 1377.⁴⁶ Meanwhile, in November, the king acted in response to a petition presented to his great council by issuing a decree which forced a radical change in the terms of aldermanic office-holding in London.⁴⁷ The effect of this measure was the removal from office of Gaunt's opponents within the city government and their replacement with members of a more amenable city faction. The culminating phase of Gaunt's assault on the city liberties came with his appointment of Henry Percy as marshal of England at the beginning of December 1376. Three separate complaints presented by the city authorities to the Hilary Parliament indicate that Percy was already attempting to extend the jurisdiction of his new office into the city by late January 1377.⁴⁸ Finally, according to Walsingham, the tensions provoked by these challenges to the established liberties of London were supercharged on the morning of 19 February when Gaunt proposed in parliament that the mayor of London should be replaced by an appointed captain, and that the marshal should enjoy powers of arrest within the city.⁴⁹

The various strands of Gaunt's antagonism towards London and the church cohered in the outbreak of violence in the city on 19 February. On the same day that John Wyclif was summoned for trial at St. Paul's, the mayor and aldermen of the city presented themselves before the king's judges with records from the disputed case in the London hustings court. The civic officials disputed the judges' authority to view the hustings records, and they asserted that they could not produce such records without damaging the liberties of the city.⁵⁰ The disorder already provoked by the abandoned trial of Wyclif was re-ignited on 20 February as news emerged about the crown's real and threatened attacks on civic liberties. An armed attack was made on Percy's London house in order to release a prisoner whom the marshal had had arrested for making defamatory remarks against Gaunt. This was the incident which forced the ignoble flight of Gaunt and Percy across the river to Kennington. Having failed to lay hands on Gaunt himself, an angry crowd

⁴⁶ Holmes, *Good Parliament*, pp. 181-2. The case dated back to 1365.

⁴⁷ *CPR 1374-7*, p. 387. See Bird, *Turbulent London*, pp. 30-6; Holmes, *Good Parliament*, p. 181; Nightingale, "Capitalists," p. 20.

⁴⁸ See Holmes, *Good Parliament*, p. 182; Bird, *Turbulent London*, p. 25.

⁴⁹ *CA*, p. 120. See Holmes, *Good Parliament*, p. 189, for some problems with the evidence.

⁵⁰ *Letter Book H*, p. 56. See Holmes, *Good Parliament*, p. 189.

proceeded to unhorse one of the duke's retainers, attack his palace of the Savoy, and rehang his heraldic arms in reverse at several public places in the city.⁵¹

The London rioting was quelled through the intervention of Richard's mother, Princess Joan. On or around 22 February, the city government sent a deputation led by John Philpot to the king at Sheen in order to explain the recent disturbances and to offer the city's apologies. The king took this opportunity to assure the deputation that no threat was intended to the city liberties, but in truth the dispute over royal jurisdiction within the city remained unresolved.⁵² On 28 February, the mayor, sheriffs and aldermen were summoned to appear before the council at Westminster to answer charges concerning the jurisdiction of the marshal.⁵³ Meanwhile, despite the adoption of a conciliatory approach by the civic authorities, the citizens themselves continued to maintain a more aggressive stance by demanding a fair trial for both the bishop of Winchester and Sir Peter de la Mare.⁵⁴

At some point in March 1377, the civic officials were required to answer charges concerning the disrespectful treatment of Gaunt's arms within the city and the appearance of libels in public places which had alleged that the duke was the son of a Flemish butcher.⁵⁵ The city authorities distanced themselves from the more extreme activities of the citizens, but were nevertheless required to make reparation to Gaunt by carrying a candle marked with his heraldic arms in a public procession through the city to St. Pauls's.⁵⁶ Gaunt's policy towards London continued throughout this period to be directed towards the enforcement of constitutional changes. On 6 March, the city government bowed to the pressure from the duke to suspend lifetime tenure of aldermanic office.⁵⁷ Meanwhile, on 21 March, the city government agreed to the removal of the mayor Adam Stable, although in what was perhaps a gesture of defiance, the city elected Nicholas Brembre to serve out

⁵¹ *CA*, pp. 121-6, 397; *Anonimalle*, p. 104.

⁵² *CA*, pp. 127-9.

⁵³ *Letter Book H*, pp. 56-7.

⁵⁴ *CA*, p. 126.

⁵⁵ *Ibid.*, pp. 131-3, 397-8; *Anonimalle*, pp. 104-5. This libel provoked "graunt noys et graunte clamour par tute la cite de Loundres et par tute Engleterre." *Ibid.*, p. 105.

⁵⁶ *Anonimalle*, pp. 105-6; *CA*, pp. 133-4, 398. In mark of their disgust the citizens refused to participate.

⁵⁷ *Letter Book H*, p. 59-60.

the remainder of the mayoral year.⁵⁸

Nevertheless, Gaunt's renewed attack on the city government was only partially successful. In May 1377, at a meeting of the mayor, aldermen and representatives of the guilds, the common council of London was purged of five of its members who were accused of betraying the council's secrets and failing to support the interests of the city in its dispute with the marshal.⁵⁹ This demonstration of civic solidarity was matched by the city's unwillingness to rehabilitate the London victims of the Good Parliament, none of whom ever enjoyed subsequent civic office.⁶⁰ In short, Gaunt had clearly failed to appreciate that his actions had alienated all of the leading groups within London to such an extent that the replacement of one governing faction with another had little real effect in terms of extending the duke's actual influence within the city.

Foreign Threat

In early 1377, John of Gaunt's domestic problems were compounded by the looming threat of renewed active warfare with France.⁶¹ The existing truce was set to expire on 24 June 1377, and it was known that the French and their allies were preparing a formidable invasion force at Harfleur.⁶² While Gaunt may well have welcomed the prospect of renewed war with France as a timely diversion from problems closer to home, it remained far from certain that the English were sufficiently prepared to be able to fight a war at all effectively.⁶³ A French invasion was perceived to be a very real threat, and it provoked a flurry of commissions ordering the repair of defences and the taking of other appropriate

⁵⁸ *Ibid.*, pp. 60-1. *CA*, p. 398, incorrectly states that the aldermen were also removed from office. See Bird, *Turbulent London*, p. 24, n. 7. Brembre was the brother-in-law of John Philpot, the leading spokesman for the defence of London's liberties. For their relationship, see C. Rawcliffe, "Margaret Stodeye, Lady Philipot (d. 1431)," in C.M. Barron & A.F. Sutton (eds.), *Medieval London Widows 1300-1500* (London, 1994), pp. 88-9.

⁵⁹ *Letter Book H*, p. 64; Bird, *Turbulent London*, p. 26.

⁶⁰ Bird, *Turbulent London*, p. 24.

⁶¹ "Anglo-French Negotiations," pp. xvi-xix.

⁶² The main fleet under Admiral Jean de Vienne consisted of thirty-five royal ships carrying four thousand men. These were supplemented by eight Castilian and five Portuguese galleys. See C.F. Richmond, "The War at Sea," in K. Fowler (ed.), *The Hundred Years War* (London, 1971), pp. 105-6; P.E. Russell, *The English Intervention in Spain and Portugal in the Time of Edward III and Richard II* (Oxford, 1955), pp. 238-9.

⁶³ Holmes, *Good Parliament*, p. 164.

defensive measures at southern coastal towns throughout the spring and early summer of 1377.⁶⁴

The need to raise funds for a summer campaign was the main reason for the summoning of the Hilary Parliament in January 1377.⁶⁵ However, the duke's ability to squeeze money from the assembly was adversely effected by his alienation of the church and the city of London. In this context, the grant of an innovative poll-tax by the main parliamentary assembly should perhaps be interpreted as a government concession to the interests of a still disgruntled knightly class whose support was obviously essential for the successful prosecution of the war.⁶⁶ Ultimately, the royal government did manage to raise the money it required for the war, and preparations for an English campaign were already well advanced when they were forced to be abandoned due to the death of Edward III on 21 June 1377.⁶⁷

(III) Analysis

Timing

The coronation of Richard II on Thursday 16 July 1377 was performed just twenty-four days after the accession of the king, and only eleven days after the burial of Edward III at Westminster Abbey. Significantly, however, there no longer existed any formal reason after 1272 why a coronation needed to be organised in such haste.⁶⁸ The coronations of both Edward I and Edward II were able to be deferred for very lengthy periods because the security of each king's position afforded them that privilege.⁶⁹ By contrast, the coronation of Edward III had followed only a week after the formal announcement of the king's accession. However, the highly unorthodox circumstances of Edward's accession

⁶⁴ *CCR 1374-77*, pp. 487, 492, 496-8; PRO, E 403/462/3, 4, 5; PRO, E 403/464/2, 4. See Goodman, *John of Gaunt*, pp. 62-3.

⁶⁵ *RP*, II: 361-3.

⁶⁶ Holmes, *Good Parliament*, pp. 191-2.

⁶⁷ *CA*, p. 138, reports that the whole fleet was gathered in London by Easter (29 April). PRO, E 403/462/15 and E 403/462/19 record Exchequer payments for retinue wages on 17 and 20 June. For full discussion, see A.F. Alexander, "The War in France in 1377" (Ph.D diss., University of London, 1934), pp. 40-5.

⁶⁸ Schramm, *English Coronation*, pp. 166-7. See above pp. 57-8.

⁶⁹ The coronations of Edward I and Edward II were delayed respectively by twenty-one months and seven and a half months.

demanded the urgent organisation of his coronation as a means of buttressing a series of legally dubious political acts.⁷⁰

Aside from the impression that Richard II's coronation was hastily arranged, it is also to be noted that the coronation was performed on a non-festal Thursday, rather than on a Sunday or a major feast-day. This situation represented a striking contravention of both contemporary written prescription and over a century and a half of actual performed practice.⁷¹ Clearly, the rapid arrangement of Richard II's coronation responded to a perception of instability within the realm at the time of the king's accession. However, the causes of this instability were less explicit in 1377 than they had been in 1327, or were later to be in 1399. The sense of insecurity within royal government derived not from already accomplished acts of political revolution, but instead from the conjunction of a series of real and imagined threats to Richard II's authority. The most immediate of these threats was undoubtedly that posed by the French invasion scare of July 1377.

Edward III's death just three days prior to the expiry of the Anglo-French truce was supremely ill-timed. A state of interregnum forced the premature abandonment of Gaunt's diversionary campaign overseas, and the government was left without any adequate means of responding to the French threat to the southern coastal towns. The questions of where and in what strength the French would strike remained matters for pure speculation. Consequently, a wave of ordinances ordering the repair of defences and the arraying of troops were frantically despatched to a swathe of coastal towns and counties stretching in an arc from South Wales to Yorkshire.⁷² Gaunt's brother, the earl of Cambridge, was commissioned to defend Dover Castle and the county of Kent, while the veteran earl of Salisbury was given similar responsibilities in the counties of Hampshire and Dorset.⁷³ Meanwhile, an ordinance sent to the sheriffs of Essex and Kent concerning the defence of towns along the Thames ordered the rapid establishment of a series of warning beacons that

⁷⁰ See above pp. 117-19.

⁷¹ Sources for the coronation of Richard II refer to its date as the day following the feast of the translation of St. Swithin. For the prescriptive injunction on coronation days, see *ECR*, pp. 82, 113. The previous six coronations dating back to 1220 were all performed on Sundays.

⁷² *CPR 1377-81*, pp. 38-40, for commissions of array sent to the leading men of all counties dated 1 July 1377. *Ibid.*, pp. 3-4, 6, 8, 9, 37, for commissions sent out during July concerning the defences of Exeter, Dover, Southampton, Grimsby and Hull.

⁷³ *Ibid.*, pp. 4, 7.

were to be lit at the first sight of the enemy's approach.⁷⁴

In the event, the French landed near the port of Rye on 29 June, where they proceeded to attack, capture and burn the town.⁷⁵ A few days later they defeated a force commanded by the Prior of Lewes and then burnt the town of Lewes before re-embarking to sail off further westwards.⁷⁶ Some confusion surrounds the precise chronology of the subsequent French campaign, but it remains clear that the raiding continued throughout the period of the coronation preparations and for several weeks after the completion of the ceremony. During this period the Isle of Wight was occupied and a number of southern coastal towns were burnt.⁷⁷

Viewed in retrospect, the military activities of the French during the summer of 1377 amounted to no more than a series of destructive coastal raids. However, since the English lacked the benefit of hindsight, they had no reason to expect anything short of a full-scale invasion. While the raiding continued into the late summer, the sense of military crisis in England was probably at its height during the last days of June and the first few days of July. During this period the French were known to have landed in force but their ultimate objectives remained obscure. Of course, this period also coincided precisely with the moment at which the effectiveness of the English royal government was disrupted by a change of king. According to Froissart, English fears that the French might take advantage of this situation prompted the council to order the closing of all English ports:

...for they did not wish [that] the death of the king should be known in France, until they had settled the government of the kingdom.⁷⁸

Government records clearly show the extent to which the coronation preparations in July 1377 were overshadowed by the French invasion threat. Chancery records are full of instructions for defensive measures which were sent out during this period, while the exchequer records contain payments for the repair and provisioning of key royal castles

⁷⁴ *CCR 1377-81*, p. 77, dated 7 July.

⁷⁵ *CA*, pp. 151-2. However, the abbot of Battle Abbey successfully defended neighbouring Winchelsea.

⁷⁶ Richmond, "War at Sea," p. 106.

⁷⁷ Froissart, *Chronicles*, I: 512; *CCR 1385-9*, p. 356.

⁷⁸ Froissart, *Chronicles*, I: 511. However, Froissart's report may relate to similar orders despatched on 17 August. See *CCR 1377-81*, p. 83.

both in England and in English territories in France.⁷⁹ Although the records indicate that attention was paid to coastal defence from as early as March, it was only when news of the French landing had reached Westminster on 30 June that the situation descended into crisis.⁸⁰ The sense of helplessness experienced by the royal council during the height of this crisis is revealed in a series of orders dated 1 July 1377. These requested the prayers of the archbishops, bishops and the chancellors of the two universities, as the king perceived that he lacked the strength to defeat his French enemies except through the prayers of the devout.⁸¹

The weakness of the English military position in June and July 1377 made a defiant exhibition of national unity all the more desirable. Rather than counselling for a postponement of the coronation until a less critical moment, the royal council proceeded apace with preparations for the ceremony.⁸² In the circumstances, the coronation offered a psychological challenge to the French by signalling the closing of English ranks behind the son of the famed Black Prince. However, it also exercised an importance in galvanising a real sense of unity of purpose within the context of domestic politics.

The Court of Claims

On Thursday 9 July 1377, a court of claims was convened under the presidency of John of Gaunt, as steward of England, in the Whitehall at Westminster Palace. The purpose of the court of claims was to investigate oral and written petitions relating to the various rights to perform ceremonial offices at the coronation of Richard II. The court awarded claims relating to the performance of twenty-five separate offices, four of which were disputed between two rival claimants. On the instructions of Gaunt, the proceedings of the court of claims were enrolled in the chancery records together with a short narrative account of the

⁷⁹ PRO, E/101/544/25. William of Basing, clerk of the works in Kent, accounted for £180 14s 10d expenditure on Rochester Castle between March and June 1377. See Brown, Colvin & Taylor (eds.), *King's Works: The Middle Ages*, II: 812. Also see *ibid.*, I: 237, II: 623, 842, for other defensive measures in this period. PRO, E 403/463 dated 3 July 1377, records the payment of £666 14s 4d to the duke of Brittany for maintaining the castles of Brest and Orrey.

⁸⁰ *CPR 1377-81*, p. 4.

⁸¹ *Foedera*, III (iii): 61-2; *CCR 1377-81*, p. 82.

⁸² The date was already fixed by the 26 June, when it was mentioned in correspondence sent to the civic authorities of London. See *Letter Book H*, p. 69.

coronation.⁸³

The submission of formal claims to perform coronation offices can be documented as far back as the coronation of Eleanor of Provence in 1236.⁸⁴ However, the coronation of Richard II seems to have been the first occasion on which the settlement of claims took place within a formal environment that generated written records. The offices claimed at the coronation related to a range of superficially menial duties that extended over the whole duration of the celebrations, but which clustered in particular in the processions to and from Westminster Abbey, and in the post-coronation banquet.⁸⁵ Claims to perform the various coronation offices depended upon hereditary right, current tenure of office or proof of past service. In the case of claims based on past precedent, it was usually necessary for the claimant to prove either hereditary tenure of office or possession of a particular manor to which an office was attached.

The natural complications which resulted from this mixed system of allocation had been compounded over time by the effects of changing family fortunes, the extinction of family lines, and the division of manors. Given this situation, it is unsurprising that complex disputes were liable to arise; for example, the office of king's champion was disputed between the Dymock and de Frevile families over the course of three fourteenth-century coronations. An additional complication was the fact that offices were rarely performed by minors and were never performed by women. However, both women and minors were entitled to claim offices. If they were successful in doing so, they could nominate a deputy to perform the office on the coronation day while still claiming the fee for themselves. The fact that women and minors bothered to lay claim to offices which they were unable to perform is an indication of the perceived dignity that was attached to

⁸³ The 'Processus factus ad Coronacionem domini Regis Anglie Ricardi secundi post conquestum...' is enrolled in PRO, C 54/217, mms 44 & 45, calendared in an edited form in *CCR 1377-81*, pp. 1-5. See also *Foedera*, III (iii): 63. A full transcription and translation is printed in *ECR*, pp. 131-68. A copy of the *Processus* is also preserved in the records of the city of London. See H.T. Riley (ed.), *Munimenta Gildhallae Londoniensis: Liber Albus, Liber Custumarem et Liber Horn*, 3 vols., RS, 12 (1859-62), II (ii): 456-82. Additionally, it is also included in BL, Cotton MS Nero D vi, fols. 65-9, a manuscript compiled for Richard II sometime after 1386. See Eberle, "Richard II and the Literary Arts," p. 234. For further references, see Richardson & Sayles, "Early Coronation Records," *BIHR*, 13 (1935-6): 133, n. 1.

⁸⁴ *ECR*, pp. 57-65.

⁸⁵ The narrative account of Richard II's coronation in the *Processus* text gives a relatively detailed description of these two stages of the coronation. See *ECR*, pp. 146-7, 165, 148-9, 167-8.

service at a coronation.⁸⁶

The *Processus* text implies that the adjudication of coronation claims rested entirely in the hands of John of Gaunt, although it notes that the duke deferred a final decision on at least two points to the wisdom of Richard II. However, this version of events conflicts somewhat with Walsingham's account, which suggests that a group of magnates was elected to adjudicate the claims.⁸⁷ Walsingham's remarks pertain to a single claim advanced by the citizens of London to the office of butler. Here it is alleged that the office became the subject of a dispute because Chief Justice Belknap testified against the Londoners' claim. The disagreement between Belknap and the Londoners is not mentioned in the *Processus* account of the court of claims, although it is recorded that the office of chief butler was disputed between the earl of Arundel and Edmund Staplegate of Kent.⁸⁸ However, the *Processus* does record that the mayor and citizens of London submitted a double claim to perform offices within the butlery, and to assist the chief butler in the execution of his responsibilities.⁸⁹ The latter claim went unchallenged by other claimants, although it is clear from the *Processus* account that there was still some element of doubt at the time over the claim's validity. According to the *Processus* text, Gaunt deferred judgement on the London claim to the discretion of the king, who, "desiring heartily to please the said citizens" duly accepted it. Whatever was the reality of John of Gaunt's decision-making role within the court of claims, the duke was at least represented in the official record of proceedings as an equitable judge of claims, and implicitly therefore, as a loyal subject performing his rightful duties in an appropriate manner.

The issue of who orchestrated proceedings within the court of claims is perhaps less significant to an understanding of the political profile of Richard II's accession, than a

⁸⁶ *Ibid.*, pp. 131-68. Two of the twenty-five offices were claimed by women; one claim was accepted and a deputy was nominated, but in the case of the office of marshal a decision was postponed and the current marshal (Percy) served on the day. Five offices were claimed by minors; all claims were accepted and in three cases deputies were nominated to serve on the day. The earl of Oxford was allowed to perform both of his offices in person. On disputes, see Sandquist, "English Coronations," pp. 164-70.

⁸⁷ *CA*, p. 154; *HA*, II: 385-6. These two published chronicles have virtually identical texts for the period following the death of Edward III. For the relationship between the various sections of the St. Albans chronicle, see V.H. Galbraith, "Thomas Walsingham and the Saint Albans Chronicle, 1272-1422," *EHR*, 47 (1932): 12-30.

⁸⁸ *ECR*, pp. 138-9, 157-8; *Anonimale*, p. 115. This dispute was not resolved. Arundel was allowed to perform the office and take the fee, but the rights of Staplegate were reserved against future claims.

⁸⁹ *ECR*, pp. 139-40, 158-9.

recognition that the political image generated by the court's judgements was one of social solidarity within the upper ranks of the laity. Clearly, Gaunt and his advisors did not enjoy an entirely free hand in the allocation of offices since judgements depended to a very large extent on proof of past service. Nevertheless, the necessity of settling disputed claims, together with the need to approve the appointment of deputies, offered quite considerable scope for influencing the pattern of office allocation. In this respect, it is interesting to observe that the net effect of such influence was the strengthening of two already prevalent trends. Firstly, there was a marked increase in the involvement of the titled nobility in the performance of offices. Secondly, there was an obvious attempt to bridge recent political divisions through the allocation of offices which resulted in the performance of these offices by a fairly representative cross-section of the lay political elite.

At the coronation of Richard II the membership of the titled nobility was raised from twelve to sixteen individuals with the creation of four new earls.⁹⁰ Ten or eleven of these sixteen individuals performed a total of thirteen of the twenty-five coronation offices allocated at the court of claims.⁹¹ Amongst the dozen dukes and earls who held titles prior to the coronation, only the earls of Salisbury and Devon appear to have lacked formal duties.⁹² Two of the four new earls also failed to perform offices.⁹³ Significantly, while ten

⁹⁰ The new creations were the earls of Buckingham, Huntingdon, Northumberland and Nottingham. The twelve existing members of the titled nobility were the duke of Lancaster, and the earls of Arundel, Cambridge, Derby, Devon, March, Oxford, Pembroke, Salisbury, Suffolk, Stafford and Warwick. The elevation of Gaunt's son Henry Bolingbroke to the title of earl of Derby is sometimes located at Richard II's coronation. However, Bolingbroke in fact seems to have been referred to as Derby from his induction into the Garter order on 23 April 1377. See Tout, *Chapters*, III: 325, n. 4. The *Processus* text refers to Bolingbroke as Derby when indicating that he deputised for Gaunt in carrying the sword 'Curtana' at the coronation, and additionally, Bolingbroke is unmentioned in the list of new creations at the coronation which is given in the *Processus* text. See *ECR*, pp. 132, 150-1, 149, 167; also *CA*, p. 162. C. Given-Wilson, *The English Nobility in the Late Middle Ages* (London & New York, 1987), p. 47, states that there were ten dukes and earls at the death of Edward III. Given-Wilson's calculation excludes Derby whose elevation he places at the coronation. Given-Wilson's second excluded noble is not named, but is presumably John Hastings, earl of Pembroke, who was only five years old at this time. However, the two claims made on behalf of Hastings at the court of claims refer to him as "John, son and heir of John de Hastynges, late earl of Pembroke" and as "John, earl of Pembroke." See *ECR*, pp. 137-8, 156-7.

⁹¹ The earl of Suffolk is the probable eleventh man. *ECR*, pp. 137-8, 156-7, records that March deputised for both of the offices awarded to Pembroke. However, the simultaneous exercise of these offices was not feasible. *Anonimale*, pp. 108-9, plausibly suggests that Suffolk deputised for March in carrying the second sword.

⁹² Salisbury's exclusion is surprising given his seniority, but this may reflect his special responsibilities in organising the defence against the French. Cambridge who had equivalent responsibilities undertook notably light duties at the coronation. See *CPR 1377-81*, pp. 4, 7. The narrative account of Richard II's coronation at the end of the *Processus* text suggests that Salisbury carried a precious vestment to the king at his seat in Westminster Abbey, while Suffolk (also unmentioned in the court of claims records) brought a similar vestment and also a sceptre. See *ECR*, pp. 147, 165. Devon's exclusion may relate to his junior status and

or eleven members of the titled nobility performed offices at the coronation of Richard II, only five of this number could claim to do so by established right.⁹⁴ The remaining five or six earls performed their coronation services as nominated deputies or, in one case, by virtue of a current tenure of office.⁹⁵

The sheer extent of the titled nobility's involvement in the performance of coronation offices suggests that a deliberate policy existed to emphasize their role in supporting the king. In this respect, it seems especially noteworthy that Gaunt's erstwhile opponent March was doubly the recipient of royal favour when he was appointed to perform two offices awarded to the infant earl of Pembroke.⁹⁶ The prominent role given to March served to signify the renewal of solidarity within the ranks of the titled nobility, and perhaps more importantly, within the inner circle of the royal family. The importance of this familial solidarity was reflected not only in the involvement of all three of Richard's uncles and two of his cousins in the exercise of coronation offices, but also in the elevation of his youngest uncle to the earldom of Buckingham.⁹⁷

Alongside the concentration of ritual offices in the hands of the titled nobility, there was an evident willingness to allow a wide cross-section of the lay political elite to perform services. Unsurprisingly, a large number of offices were performed by individuals who were closely identified with John of Gaunt. The duke claimed three offices for himself including the office of steward. He nominated the earl of Stafford to perform one office

youth.

⁹³ Huntingdon and Nottingham. The earls of Northumberland and Buckingham performed the offices of marshal and constable. See *ECR*, pp. 132-3, 151-2.

⁹⁴ Lancaster, Arundel, Oxford and Warwick laid successful claim to a total of eight offices. In Arundel's case, judgement was reserved on the earl's claim although he was nevertheless allowed to perform the office. See above p. 181, n. 88. Pembroke successfully laid claim to two offices but played no part in the coronation.

⁹⁵ Cambridge, Derby, March, Stafford and possibly Suffolk performed offices by special appointment. Northumberland served as marshal by virtue of his tenure of the office.

⁹⁶ Gaunt presumably enjoyed influence with Pembroke's guardians since he had recently obtained an agreement for his daughter to marry the earl. See Ormrod, "Edward III and his Family," p. 419 & n. 73. *Anonimale*, pp. 111, 114, suggests March also performed a third service at the coronation by supporting the crown on Richard's head together with the archbishop of Canterbury at the crowning, and subsequently alone during the post-coronation banquet.

⁹⁷ The familial theme was further emphasized by the attendance of Richard's uncle, the duke of Brittany.

and his son the earl of Derby to assist in performing another.⁹⁸ Gaunt's favour was perhaps especially evident in the appointment of Henry Percy to serve as marshal despite the strong hereditary claim to the office submitted by Margaret, countess of Norfolk.⁹⁹ Meanwhile, Lord Latimer and Richard Lyons were each allowed to perform coronation offices by established right, although their close links with Gaunt's government had previously placed them amongst the most prominent victims of the Good Parliament. The performance of two offices by the underage earl of Oxford was very possibly a concession to the personal interests of Richard II, since Oxford was a childhood companion of the king within the royal household.

Members of the so-called 'prince's party' grouped around Richard's mother, Joan of Kent, appear not to have laid any formal claims to the performance of coronation offices. Nevertheless, it is clear from narrative sources that members of Richard's household were prominently involved in the coronation celebrations. Sir Nicholas Bonde and Sir Simon Burley walked immediately ahead of the king in the pre-coronation procession through London, while the latter was reported to have carried Richard out of Westminster Abbey on his shoulders after the completion of the coronation mass.¹⁰⁰

A number of individuals who had recently come into conflict with John of Gaunt were also amongst those who performed ceremonial offices at the coronation. The appointment of the earl of March to deputise for the earl of Pembroke was clearly significant considering the history of March's opposition to Gaunt. Furthermore, the possibility that the earl of Suffolk performed one of March's designated offices is perhaps also significant bearing in mind the close political association between these two earls during the Good Parliament.¹⁰¹ Finally, the positive judgement given to the double claim made by the mayor and citizens of London provided the most striking example of how a consciousness of the need for political reconciliation informed the decision-making within

⁹⁸ *ECR*, pp. 131-2, 150-1.

⁹⁹ *Ibid.*, pp. 133, 151-2. The unresolved dispute centred on the issue of whether the office remained in the fee of the king. Ultimately, Percy was nominated to serve "by the assent and order of the king himself."

¹⁰⁰ *CA*, p. 155. Burley carried Richard's sword, while Bond led the king's horse. See *Westminster Chronicle*, pp. 414-17, for the story that Richard lost a coronation shoe while being carried on the shoulders of Burley. Other sources confirm the story without naming Burley. See *CA*, p. 161; *Anonimalle*, p. 114; *Usk*, pp. 90-1.

¹⁰¹ *Anonimalle*, pp. 108-9. Suffolk had been deprived from his office of admiral when March surrendered the office of marshal. See McKisack, *Fourteenth Century*, p. 394. The earl of Warwick had also been involved in opposition to the royal government in 1376.

the court of claims. Conspicuously, no mention was made of the recent disturbances in the city when Richard II personally granted the Londoners their wishes:

...considering the great gratitude and help which his forefathers have abundantly found before these times in the citizens of the said city, and hoping to find similar gratitude and help in the said citizens for the future, and in order that they might have loyal hearts towards our said lord the king and give faithful obedience to him and help him the more zealously in his needs.¹⁰²

Overall, the court of claims of 1377 effected a powerful impression of unity and harmony within the English realm by taking an overtly inclusive approach to the distribution of ceremonial offices at Richard II's coronation. In this respect, the coronation of Richard II presented an image of political solidarity amongst the whole of the laity which stood in sharp contrast to the decidedly partisan character of the office-holding at the coronation of Henry IV in 1399.¹⁰³

London Pageantry

There is no doubting that the accession of Richard II presented an ideal opportunity for London to restore its image in the eyes of crown. On 21 June, the very day of Edward III's death, a delegation of Londoners led by John Philpot was received by the new king at Kennington. The citizens offered their condolences to Richard II and in a calculated expression of loyalty requested his presence in London and his favour towards the city. Furthermore, the London delegation requested that Richard should help to compose the quarrel between the city and John of Gaunt.¹⁰⁴

On 22 June, Richard sent envoys to London to propose that a formal reconciliation be staged at the palace of Sheen. Later that same day, the reconciliation was performed in the presence of Richard, his mother, and his royal uncles. The inclusion of Lord Latimer amongst the envoys sent to London suggests that Gaunt was perhaps the moving force behind this initiative. Gaunt certainly stole the limelight in the meeting at Sheen when he

¹⁰² *ECR*, pp. 140, 159.

¹⁰³ PRO, C 57/2. Incomplete extracts of the coronation roll are published in *Foedera*, III (iv): 163-4; Townsend, *Great Chamberlainship*, pp. 91-2. See Sandquist, "English Coronations," pp. 164-70. The major coronation offices were dominated by Lancastrian adherents including three of Henry's sons, the earls of Arundel, Northumberland, Warwick and Westmoreland, and Sir Thomas Erpingham.

¹⁰⁴ *CA*, pp. 146-7.

fell on his knees before the king and begged that Richard would pardon the citizens as he himself was willing to do. The duke pleaded for the release and pardon of his imprisoned opponents and gave expression to the restoration of his good relations with London by offering the civic delegates the kiss of peace.¹⁰⁵ A formal settlement of the dispute was publicly proclaimed at Westminster on 28 June, while Sir Peter de la Mare was released from custody two days later.¹⁰⁶ Finally, the general mood of reconciliation was capped when the king intervened to end the dispute between Gaunt and the bishop of Winchester, although Wykeham was required to wait until 31 July before he received full restitution of his temporalities.¹⁰⁷

The acceptance by the court of claims of the questionable claim advanced by the mayor and citizens of London to assist in the butlery at the coronation banquet placed a firm seal on the new spirit of reconciliation between the city and the crown. In what was perhaps a reciprocal gesture, the city authorities undertook to stage an elaborate pageant in London to greet the new king on his pre-coronation procession through the city from the Tower of London to Westminster Palace. The staging of royal entry pageants in London was soon to become a stock element in the canon of late medieval English royal ritual. However, the entry pageant organized for the coronation of Richard II is the earliest known example of a dramatized royal reception in the city.¹⁰⁸

The Litlington *Ordo* offers the earliest prescriptive reference to the pre-coronation procession through London, although it states simply that the king should ride bareheaded through London dressed in suitable attire and with the intention of showing himself to his people.¹⁰⁹ The incorporation of a dramatized element into the procession is not prescribed in the coronation text. The possibility can therefore be entertained that the coronation pageantry in 1377 was devised on the specific initiative of the civic government in London, and in direct response to priorities that were current within the immediate political context of Richard II's accession.

¹⁰⁵ *Ibid.*, pp. 147-50. See McKisack, *Fourteenth Century*, pp. 397-8.

¹⁰⁶ *CCR 1377-81*, p. 7; *CA*, p. 150. PRO, E 403/468/11 records the payment of compensation to de la Mare for his "unreasonable detention". See Tout, *Chapters*, III: 325. *CA*, pp. 150-1, records that de la Mare received a rapturous reception in London on his release.

¹⁰⁷ *CA*, p. 150; *Foedera*, III (iii): 65-8.

¹⁰⁸ Kipling, "Richard II's 'Sumptuous Pageants'," p. 84.

¹⁰⁹ *ECR*, pp. 82, 113.

The pre-coronation procession through London was staged on the day before Richard II's coronation service in Westminster Abbey. The royal procession formed outside of the Tower of London sometime after 9 am on 15 July.¹¹⁰ The *Processus* and the *Anonimale Chronicle* both emphasize the prominent presence of leading civic officials in the procession.¹¹¹ Richard appeared dressed in white robes and riding a large charger led by his household servant, Sir Nicholas Bonde.¹¹² The London citizens, dressed in white like the king, formed the head of the royal procession as it made its way first through Cheap, and then on along Fleet Street towards Westminster.¹¹³ The progress of the procession was heralded by trumpeters placed at its head, while further trumpeters were stationed at Cheap on the water conduit, and also on a specially constructed tower at the cross in the marketplace.¹¹⁴

The precise order of the procession is given differently in the various narrative accounts. However, it seems probable that the civic officials walked ahead of the king near the front of the procession.¹¹⁵ John of Gaunt and Henry Percy also rode ahead of the king in their capacities as steward and marshal, while Sir Simon Burley walked immediately in front of Richard's horse bearing the king's sword.¹¹⁶ The route of the procession was decorated with silk mantles and cloths of gold and silver, while the crowds were so huge that people sat on the rooftops and the city walls to gain a better view.¹¹⁷

The focal point of the processional route was the large open marketplace at Cheap. Here, the specially painted water conduit ran with red and white wine for the duration of the day's festivities.¹¹⁸ At the top end of the marketplace an elaborate pageant castle or "toure de canveys" had been constructed, and this also had wine flowing from it in two

¹¹⁰ *Anonimale*, p. 107.

¹¹¹ *ECR*, pp. 145-6, 164; *Anonimale*, p. 107.

¹¹² *ECR*, pp. 145, 164; *CA*, pp. 154-5.

¹¹³ *Anonimale*, p. 108; *ECR*, pp. 146, 164.

¹¹⁴ *CA*, p. 155; *ECR*, pp. 146, 164.

¹¹⁵ *Anonimale*, p. 108.

¹¹⁶ *CA*, pp. 154-5; *Anonimale*, p. 108, also has 'Hereford' accompanying Gaunt and Percy. This is possibly a reference to the constable, Thomas of Woodstock.

¹¹⁷ *CA*, pp. 153, 155-6.

¹¹⁸ *Anonimale*, p. 108; *CA*, p. 155.

places.¹¹⁹ The painted castle was designed with four towers, one at each corner. According to the *Chronicon Angliae* account:

On each of the four towers there was a beautiful maiden clad in white, of the same height and age as the king. When the king approached the four maidens scattered golden leaves in front of him, and when he came nearer they threw golden coins and fake pieces down on him and his horse. When he reached the castle they took golden cups, filled them with wine at the pipes of the castle, and handed them to the king and lords. On top of the castle, between the four towers, was a dome on which was placed a golden angel holding a golden crown; it was so ingeniously made that it seemed to be offering the crown to the king with a bow as he approached.¹²⁰

The London pageant at the coronation of Richard II can be interpreted as a public affirmation of the restoration of harmony between the city and the crown. In a manner reminiscent of the ‘entertainment’ organised by the Londoners for Richard while he was still prince, the coronation pageant placed the young king at the centre of a dramatic narrative which came alive at his entrance onto the metaphorical stage at the base of the pageant castle. Although, in reality, the king was merely a boy, the pageant exalted Richard as the central figure in the political relationship binding the city and the crown. London was the king’s chamber as John Philpot had stated on 22 June, while Richard was the Christlike king who even the angels honoured on his entry into the New Jerusalem.¹²¹

The emphasis placed on the figure of Richard should not be interpreted as evidence of a tacit snubbing of John of Gaunt. Clearly, the sudden reconciliation staged between the duke and the city did not run especially deep. Gaunt complained in the parliament of October 1377 about the persistence of rumours concerning his loyalty, while the Londoners exhibited a notably hostile attitude towards the duke’s property and associates in the Peasants’ Revolt of 1381.¹²² Nevertheless, a show of reconciliation was so central a theme within the London festivities that the *Chronicon Angliae* reported (with a note of surprise),

¹¹⁹ *CA*, p. 155. *Anonimale*, p. 108, makes no mention of wine.

¹²⁰ *CA*, p. 155. Translation taken from Gransden, *Historical Writing II*, p. 153.

¹²¹ *CA*, p. 147. See Kipling, “Richard II’s ‘Sumptuous Pageants’,” pp. 83-103, for an examination of the messianic imagery of Richard’s 1392 entry into London.

¹²² *RP*, III: 5; McKisack, *Fourteenth Century*, pp. 401-2; A.J. Prescott, “London in the Peasants’ Revolt,” *London Journal*, 7 (1981): 125-43; Goodman, *John of Gaunt*, pp. 71-2, 78-80.

that Gaunt and Percy received a very warm reception in the city when they rode in the coronation procession.¹²³

If viewed with the benefit of hindsight, then the reconciliatory aspect of the London pageantry at Richard II's coronation might seem merely an elaborate exercise in window-dressing. As already mentioned, John of Gaunt's stock within the city had plummeted to a new nadir by 1381, while in the longer term, the city was to embark on a stormy relationship with Richard II when he eventually came of age. Nevertheless, in the shorter term, the London celebrations both signalled and manifested the renewal of unconditional civic loyalty to the king. This in itself led to a noticeably more harmonious chapter in political relations during the ensuing few months. In August 1377, the restoration of good relations between the city and the crown was reflected in the inclusion of four London representatives in a royal council summoned to deal with the continuing French threat.¹²⁴ Meanwhile, despite the complaints of Gaunt, the October parliament of 1377 witnessed a peaceable resolution to the jurisdictional disputes between the city and the royal government.¹²⁵

(IV) Interpretation

Several narrative accounts of Richard II's coronation recount the colourful story that the king was so exhausted by the rituals in Westminster Abbey that he had to be carried back to the palace in the arms of Sir Simon Burley.¹²⁶ Such stories act as reminders that Richard was merely a ten-year-old boy at the time of his coronation. Indeed, Richard was quite literally too young to wear his crown, since according to the *Anonimale Chronicle* it had to be supported on his head by the earl of March.¹²⁷

While contemporary chroniclers made no attempt to disguise the fact of Richard's youth, they chose to construct the king in their narratives as an active figure and an aged

¹²³ CA, pp. 154-5.

¹²⁴ Bird, *Turbulent London*, p. 46.

¹²⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 45.

¹²⁶ See above p. 184, n. 100.

¹²⁷ *Anonimale*, pp. 111, 114.

youth (*puer senex*).¹²⁸ Richard's productive role in the organisation of the coronation was suggested by the deferral of key decisions to the king in the court of claims. Furthermore, in the *Chronicon Angliae*, Richard is credited with playing a crucial role in bringing about a public reconciliation between Gaunt and Wykeham on the very first day of his reign:

O happy auspice that a boy so young should of his own accord show
himself so solicitous for peace; that with no one to teach him he should
know how to be a peacemaker!¹²⁹

Later in the reign Walsingham was to change his mind about Richard, adapting the Biblical text "Woe to thee, O land, when thy king is a child," to describe the contemporary tribulations of England.¹³⁰ However, in the context of 1377, the youth of the king was not treated as an obstacle to the possession of wisdom or the ability to govern. On the contrary, Walsingham chose to celebrate the fact of Richard's youth and remained persuaded that Richard's accession marked the beginning of a new epoch in English government.¹³¹ In the London pageant for the coronation, Richard's youth was celebrated as an asset of his kingship when children the same age as the king appeared in the guise of angels on the pageant tower.¹³² Meanwhile, Richard's youthful innocence was set against the iniquities of the world in the public sermon delivered by Bishop Brinton of Rochester at St. Paul's on the day following the coronation.¹³³

The celebration of Richard's youthful governance responded to the anomalous position occupied by Richard at his accession as a regnant child-king. At the accession of the nine-year-old Henry III in 1216, it had been possible to treat the king as a child because

¹²⁸ See J.A. Burrow, *The Ages of Man: A Study in Medieval Writing and Thought* (Oxford, 1986), pp. 95-123, on the *puer senex* topos in medieval writing.

¹²⁹ *CA*, pp. 150. Translation taken from McKisack, *Fourteenth Century*, p. 398.

¹³⁰ *HA*, II: 97, from Ecclesiastes X: 16. See Gransden, *Historical Writing II*, p. 135. This Biblical passage also appears in Langland's parable of the cat in the prologue to the B and C-texts of *Piers Plowman*. See William Langland, *The Vision of Piers Plowman: A Complete Edition of the B-Text*, ed. A.V.C. Schmidt (London, 1978), prologue, l. 196; William Langland, *Piers Plowman: the C-Text*, ed. D. Pearsall (Exeter, 1994), prologue, l. 206.

¹³¹ *CA*, p. 155. See quote above on p. 164.

¹³² See Voaden, "Out of the Mouths of Babes" (forthcoming).

¹³³ *CA*, pp. 162-3; *Sermons of Thomas Brinton*, I: xxvii-xxviii, 194-200.

the exercise of royal authority was formally invested in a recognised royal protector.¹³⁴ Edward III also technically qualified as a minor at his accession aged fifteen in 1327, but like Richard he was treated at least in a legal sense as an adult king.¹³⁵ The extremity of Richard II's youth at the time of his accession means it must be doubted whether the king really exercised an independent role in political events. Indeed, the appointment of a series of 'continual councils' which controlled the royal government in the first years of the reign reflected contemporary recognition that Richard was unable to rule of his own accord.¹³⁶ Nevertheless, if Richard was not regarded as his own man in the context of the coronation period, neither was he simply viewed as the stooge of John of Gaunt. On the contrary, it was increasingly the case that Richard was sought out as a political figure by interest groups that were opposed to the duke. Richard's favour was cultivated by the Londoners when they staged an entertainment for the prince at Kennington in January 1377. Meanwhile, at the very moment of Richard's accession, John Philpot appealed directly to the favour of the young king when he reassured Richard of the loyalty of London, and asked for the king's intervention in settling the dispute between the city and Gaunt.

In all probability, Richard II's actions as a young king were influenced by attitudes associated with his mother, Joan of Kent.¹³⁷ Richard lived with his mother prior to and throughout the period of his accession, and the formation of a new royal household in the first weeks of Richard's reign involved the transfer of a large number of personnel from the household of the princess.¹³⁸ Furthermore, there is some evidence to suggest that Joan was an important political figure behind the scenes during this period. Walsingham, for example, explicitly credited Joan with playing the role of arbitrator at the height of Gaunt's dispute with London in February 1377.¹³⁹ Given this situation, it is not unlikely that the

¹³⁴ See D.A. Carpenter, *The Minority of Henry III* (London, 1990). William Marshal was referred to as "rector regis et regni."

¹³⁵ F.L. Wiswall, "Politics, Procedure and the 'Non-Minority' of Edward III: Some Comparisons," in J.L. Gillespie (ed.), *The Age of Richard II* (Stroud & New York, 1997), pp. 7-25.

¹³⁶ See N.B. Lewis, "The 'Continual Council' in the Early Years of Richard II, 1377-80," *EHR*, 41 (1926): 426-51. The appointment of the first continual council was confirmed on 20 July. See *RP*, III: 386; *Foedera*, III (iii): 64; *CPR 1377-81*, p. 19; *Select Documents*, pp. 113-4.

¹³⁷ On Joan of Kent, see Ormrod, "In Bed with Joan of Kent" (forthcoming).

¹³⁸ Tout, *Chapters*, IV: 191-3.

¹³⁹ *CA*, p. 126.

princess reprised this role at the time of the public reconciliation of Gaunt and his opponents in June. T.F. Tout argued that Joan of Kent was the focus of a more concrete political faction comprising the former associates of the Black Prince.¹⁴⁰ While the members of this faction seem not to have exercised leading roles in the coronation celebrations, they came to attain an increasing degree of political prominence during the early years of the reign as a direct result of Richard's accession.¹⁴¹

While historians should remain sceptical about the reality of Richard II's active kingship, they must nevertheless address the issue of why this fictional construct was so prevalent in the context of Richard's accession. Although it is tempting to interpret Richard's active persona as a veil to the political interventions of his mother, it is nonetheless noteworthy that all political groups within the realm appear to have acquiesced in this fiction. In truth, the notion of Richard's active kingship was a desirable construct from the perspective of just about everyone. Richard's youth was not an obstacle to the restoration of political harmony in the kingdom. On the contrary, it positively guaranteed that the king would not have a prior stake in any particular political perspective. In an environment in which there existed very little trust, but a general desire for political reconciliation, it proved highly convenient to be able to cast an innocent youth in the role of a neutral arbitrator. To a notable extent, the fundamental political problem which had beset the final months of Edward III's reign had been the absence of an impartial higher authority within government. In this sense, Richard's ascribed role as a conciliator contrasted sharply with Edward III's patent lack of a credible political role in the period between the Good Parliament and his death in June 1377.

At the accession of Richard II there existed a peculiar pressure to complete the coronation of the king. In part, this pressure was explained by the need to emphasize a sense of national unity at a moment of acute military crisis for England. However, the coronation also served to vest the boy-king Richard with an added degree of royal authority at a time when no acceptable alternative source of royal authority was available. Richard's kingship acquired a stature through coronation which it would otherwise have lacked

¹⁴⁰ Tout, *Chapters*, III: 320.

¹⁴¹ The solidification of a political faction at this juncture is certainly suggested by the "conspicuous admission" of Richard, Joan and an array of the Black Prince's former knights into a fraternity at the abbey of St. Albans between 1376 and 1380. See Clark, "Intellectual Life at the Abbey of St. Albans," pp. 39-40, 299-300, citing BL, Cotton MS Nero D vii, fols. 129ra-130rb.

because of the king's tender years. Ultimately, it suited everyone to acquiesce in this construction of Richard II as a functioning repository of impartial higher authority, since this fiction facilitated a much needed process of compromise and reconciliation within English domestic politics.

One characteristic of royal ritual which emerges very strongly from this examination of the coronation of Richard II is the fundamentally decentred nature of royal ritual culture. This point is worth emphasizing because historical studies tend usually to generate very king-centred analyses of the political dimensions of ritual.¹⁴² Clearly, however, the extreme youth of Richard II in 1377 precludes an overly king-centred analysis of the coronation ceremony in this instance. Instead, Richard's role in the coronation can be viewed as being that of a "floating center" in the ritual celebrations; in other words he acted as a passive receptacle in which different interest groups could instill their own particular image of an active king.¹⁴³ The fractious environment of Richard II's accession allows the historian an unusual opportunity to observe the interplay of a variety of different political agenda in the context of the coronation celebrations. Indeed, it can be said that the coronation acted as a ritualised space in which it was possible for conflicting agenda to be aggregated and defused in the interests and at the notional bidding of a universally respected king.

Looking beyond the immediate context of the coronation, it is clear that political reconciliation in July 1377 was not simply a matter of the temporary suspension of entrenched differences, but instead amounted to something approaching a whole mood change within the short-term political environment. To an extent which was hardly inevitable, the appointment of the first continual council a few days after the coronation seems to have produced a fairly successful experiment in minority government. In large part, this has tended to be explained by historians in terms of the skilful balancing of political factions.¹⁴⁴ However, the problem with this interpretation is that it encourages an exaggerated perception of the solidity and permanence of political alignments. Furthermore, this approach premises its delineation of such political alignments on evidence for political affiliations in the period prior to Richard II's accession. By contrast,

¹⁴² Bryant, "Configurations of the Community," pp. 4-9.

¹⁴³ *Ibid.*, p. 11.

¹⁴⁴ Lewis, "Continual Council," pp. 246-51. Walsingham however remained determined to view the composition of the first council as being favourable to Gaunt. See *CA*, p. 164.

my interpretation has chosen to emphasize the productive power of the accession period with all its associated rituals, and to suggest that the coronation of Richard manifested a context that was capable of altering the political landscape in the shorter term. The active involvement of all sections of the political elite in the coronation celebrations helped to constitute a political space in which differences could be suspended without any consequent loss of face. In this respect, it became possible for the image of solidarity which had been made manifest in the coronation of Richard II, to contribute to the creation of a reality of solidarity which then influenced the character of the minority government of the king.

Chapter Seven

The Coronation of Katherine of Valois (1421)

(I) Introduction

The political dimensions of Lancastrian royal ritual in the period 1429-32 have long been recognised by historians.¹ It is therefore surprising that the royal rituals of Henry V's reign have generated comparatively little historical interest.² In general, this situation does not reflect an absence of source material. Detailed accounts of ritualized activities survive not only for the coronation of Katherine of Valois in February 1421, they also survive for the Agincourt celebrations in London in November 1415, the celebrations to mark the investiture of the Emperor Sigismund into the Order of the Garter in May 1416, the post-Troyes royal entry of Henry V and Charles VI into Paris in December 1420, and the celebrations which marked Henry's obsequies and funeral in the early autumn of 1422.³

The following discussion examines and interprets the use of imagery at the post-coronation banquet held for Katherine of Valois in Westminster Great Hall on 23 February 1421. The coronation of the queen followed nine months after her marriage to Henry V at Troyes in eastern France on Trinity Sunday 1420. This marital union formed the centrepiece of a permanent peace treaty between England and France which had been ratified a few days prior to the wedding. The Treaty of Troyes re-ordered the basis of the succession to the French throne, by disinheriting the Dauphin Charles, and appointing Henry V as the legitimate heir to Charles VI of France. Henry was also appointed Regent of France during the remainder of the French king's lifetime. The English king was careful to ensure that his claim to the French throne was in no sense dependent upon his wife. However, the birth of a dynastic heir to both royal houses was clearly a much desired

¹ See Bryant, "Configurations of the Community," pp. 3-33; Osburg, "London Entry of Henry VI," pp. 213-32; McKenna, "Henry VI and the Dual Monarchy," pp. 145-62. See also Wolffe, *Henry VI*, pp. 48-64.

² An exception is Strohm, "Reburying Richard," pp. 101-27.

³ On 1415, see *Gesta Henrici Quinti*, pp. 103-13; Usk, pp. 258-63. On 1416, see *Historical Collections*, pp. 113-4. See below p. 196, n. 5, for references relating to 1420. On 1422, see Hope, "Funeral, Monument and Chantry Chapel," pp. 129-45, 184-6, with references. Records are poor for the coronation of Henry V in April 1413 and the funerals of Henry IV and Richard II later in the same year. However, for the former see Sandquist, "English Coronations," pp. 197-217 and appendix 5, pp. 365-6. See above pp. 158-63, for the reburial of Richard II. For general descriptions of all these ceremonies, see Wylie & Waugh, *Henry the Fifth*.

outcome of the royal match.⁴

(II) Contexts

On 1 February 1421, Henry V set foot on English soil for the first time in almost three and a half years. Although the ostensible purpose of Henry's visit was the organisation of a coronation for his new queen, there were also pressing political problems in England which demanded the king's attention. Two months earlier, Henry and Katherine had celebrated the formal settlement of peace between England and France with an elaborately staged double-entry into Paris.⁵ Although Paris was a city that had been economically ravaged by the effects of civil war, it nevertheless extended a jubilant welcome to Henry V and Charles VI as an expression of its enthusiasm for the peace. By contrast, the decidedly mixed reaction given to the terms of the Treaty of Troyes in the English parliament of December 1420, indicates that the peace settlement was neither universally nor unreservedly welcomed in England.⁶ The commons expressed grave concerns over the future integrity of the English realm within a system of double monarchy. Furthermore, they requested Henry's immediate presence in England after his long absence overseas, and pointedly failed to grant the king a subsidy in 'peacetime' to help ease his crushing financial commitments in France.⁷ Any analysis of the coronation of Katherine of Valois needs to

⁴ Allmand, *Henry V*, pp. 128-50; M. Keen, "Diplomacy," in Harriss (ed.), *Henry V*, pp. 193-99.

⁵ Henry and Charles VI entered Paris on 1 December, while Katherine and her mother Isabeau of Bavaria entered on the following day. See J. Shirley (ed. & trans.), *A Parisian Journal, 1405-1449* (Oxford, 1968), pp. 153-4. The 1420 entry is to be compared with the better recorded entry of Henry VI into Paris on 2 December 1431. For the latter, see *ibid.*, pp. 268-71; R.R. Sharpe (ed.), *Calendar of Letter-Books of the City of London: K, 1422-61* (London, 1911), pp. 135-7, which comprises a calendared version of an English text that is abridged and translated from a fuller French version printed in J. Delpit (ed.), *Collection Générale des Document Français ou se Trouve en Angleterre* (Paris, 1847), pp. 239-44. Also see T. Johnes (ed. & trans.), *The Chronicles of Enguerrand de Monstrelet*, 2 vols. (London, 1840), I: 596-7; *Brut*, II: 458-61.

⁶ Allmand, *Henry V*, pp. 376-7.

⁷ *Ibid.*, pp. 391-9; G.L. Harriss, "The Management of Parliament," in *idem* (ed.), *Henry V*, pp. 148-51. Henry's financial position was especially difficult after 1420, since parliament was not required to assist the king with extraordinary grants in peacetime. Prevailing opinion in parliament was that the cost of any continued conflict should be shouldered by Henry's subjects and revenues in France. The king had not received a parliamentary grant since October 1419 and had experienced fairly limited success in raising money through loans. See R.A. Newhall, "The War Finances of Henry V and the Duke of Bedford," *EHR*, 36 (1921): 173, n. 2. Henry's marriage placed a new obligation on the king to pay a dowry to Katherine to the value of £666 13s 4d per annum. It was the opportunity to suspend a similar annual payment to Henry's step-mother, Joan of Navarre, which probably prompted her arrest on trumped-up charges of witchcraft in late 1419. See A.R. Myers, "The Captivity of a Royal Witch: The Household Accounts of Queen Joan of Navarre, 1419-21," *BJRL*, 24 (1940): 262-84.

recognise that while the coronation capped a cycle of celebrations that marked the advent of peace, it also occurred within a political context in which the conditions of peace were the subject of considerable hostile scrutiny.

After their arrival at Dover the royal couple proceeded together to Canterbury. Here, Henry left his wife to make her slow progress to Eltham, while he hurried ahead to London to make arrangements for Katherine's formal entry into the city on 21 February, and her coronation at Westminster Abbey two days later.⁸ On departure from Eltham, the queen was greeted by the mayor, aldermen and citizens of London at Blackheath.⁹ The Londoners dressed in white robes with red hoods and wore badges indicating their individual crafts.¹⁰ A version of the *Brut* chronicle records that the meeting between the citizens and the queen was attended with "clarionys and all maner of lowde mynstrelsie."¹¹ The actual entry into the city was marked with an elaborate display of pageantry which seems to have re-cycled materials, and reprised themes, that were previously employed in Henry's triumphal post-Agincourt entry into London in 1415.¹² On the day following the formal entry, Katherine processed through the city's thoroughfares from the Tower to Westminster Palace dressed in white and riding in a carriage.¹³ The citizens again dressed in their best clothing and:

...evyry strete hongid rychely with riche clothis of gold and silke and of velewettis and clothis of araas, the beste that myght be gotyn.¹⁴

Detailed records do not survive for the performance of the coronation service at Westminster Abbey. However, this deficiency in the evidence is balanced by the survival of several detailed descriptions of the post-coronation banquet in Westminster Great Hall. A number of London chronicles preserve a record of the seating arrangements for the

⁸ *CPR 1416-22*, p. 318; *Brut*, II: 425; T. Hearne (ed.), *Titi Livii Foro-Julienensis, Vita Henrici Quinti Regis Angliae* (Oxford, 1716), pp. 295-6; *HA*, II: 336.

⁹ *Vita*, p. 296; *Brut*, II: 426, 492.

¹⁰ On robes, see Bryant, "Configurations of the Community," pp. 16, 19-20.

¹¹ *Brut*, II: 426.

¹² For Katherine's entry, see *Vita Henrici Quinti*, p. 296; F. Taylor (ed.), "Chronicle of John Strecche for the Reign of Henry V (1414-1422)," *BJRL*, 16 (1932): 183-4. For the 1415 entry, see *Gesta Henrici Quinti*, pp. 103-13; Usk, pp. 258-63.

¹³ *Brut*, II: 426; *Vita Henrici Quinti*, p. 299; *HA*, II: 336.

¹⁴ *Brut*, II: 426.

guests, as well as descriptions of some of the formal services performed at the banquet. Additionally, these sources also preserve full transcriptions of the banquet menu, together with detailed descriptions of the ‘soteltes’ served at the end of each course of food.¹⁵ A comparison of the various accounts of the banquet contained in the London chronicles suggests that all surviving sources ultimately derive from a now lost ‘official’ record of the occasion. These descriptions are characterized by a formal structure and concern for technical detailing which seems more appropriate to an official ritual ‘programme’ than to a conventional narrative text.¹⁶

Katherine sat at high table at the southern dais end of Westminster Hall, accompanied on her right side by the archbishop of Canterbury and the bishop of Winchester, and on her left side by the captive king of Scots. Henry V did not attend his wife’s coronation banquet, although he was present in London at the time. It is to be presumed that Henry’s presence at the banquet would otherwise have detracted from the ritualized attention and status afforded to his queen.¹⁷ Katherine was joined at high table by the duchess of York and the countess of Huntingdon, while two further countesses were seated by her feet. The queen was surrounded throughout the banquet by a number of standing and kneeling office-holders bearing items of regalia, and her food was served by a succession of specially appointed nobles. Katherine was the first to be served food at the table, followed by the clerics, and then by the king of Scots. The performance of ceremonial offices was conducted in much the same manner as at the coronation of a king, although on this occasion there were many instances of offices being deputized due to the absence of office-holders in France.¹⁸

The remaining guests at the banquet sat at four long tables ranged down the body of the Great Hall. The barons of the Cinque Ports were seated on the table furthest to the right

¹⁵ *A Chronicle of London*, pp. 162-5; *Great Chronicle*, pp. 115-19; Fabyan, pp. 586-8; *Historical Collections*, pp. 138-41; *Brut*, II: 445-7. For soteltes, see below p. 200.

¹⁶ Tables 1-3 of the Appendix illustrate the level of consistency between the texts in describing the food imagery at the banquet. See above p. 104, n. 101, for references relating to the inter-connection of the various *Brut* continuations and the London chronicles.

¹⁷ J.L. Chamberlayne, “Fertility Rite or Authority Ritual? The Queen’s Coronation in Fifteenth-Century England,” in T. Thornton (ed.), *Social Attitudes and Political Structures in the Fifteenth Century* (forthcoming), suggests that it was conventional for a king to be absent from the coronation of a spouse.

¹⁸ *Brut*, II: 445-6; *A Chronicle of London*, p. 162; Fabyan, p. 586; *Great Chronicle*, pp. 115-16; *Historical Collections*, pp. 138-9.

“toward seynt Stepens chapell,” with the chancery lawyers sitting below them on the same table. The next table was occupied by a host of bishops, together with the abbot of Waltham. Below them at the same table sat the justices, several knights and squires, and a large number of noblewomen. The third table was entirely occupied by noblewomen. Meanwhile, the final table at the left side of the hall “next unto the cupborde” was occupied by the mayor and aldermen of the city of London along with representatives of the citizenry.¹⁹ The public character of the post-coronation banquet is attested to in the comment preserved in a continuation of the *Brut* chronicle, that:

...the ffeste holden in the paleis [was] opyn to alle pepull, straungeris and othir that wold come, of alle maner rialteis of metis and drynkys.²⁰

Queen Katherine was served three courses of food comprising a total of around forty-five dishes.²¹ This was not an exceptional number of dishes by fifteenth-century standards. Henry IV was served forty dishes in three courses at his coronation in 1399, while John Stafford was served a total of forty-eight dishes over three courses at a banquet to celebrate his installation as bishop of Bath and Wells in 1425.²² As Katherine’s coronation occurred during the period of Lent the entire menu was composed of fish and shellfish.²³

The menu for the post-coronation banquet of Katherine of Valois provides the earliest significant evidence for the incorporation of royal imagery into the presentational design of food. During the first course there was served a “lech lumbarde” which displayed the impaled arms of Henry and Katherine, together with the Lancastrian collar of esses badge popularized by Henry IV, and the Valois golden broom-pod badge of Charles VI.²⁴

¹⁹ *Brut*, II: 446; *A Chronicle of London*, p. 163-4; Fabyan, p. 586; *Great Chronicle*, pp. 116-17; *Historical Collections*, pp. 139-41.

²⁰ *Brut*, II: 427.

²¹ The sources disagree on the precise number.

²² T. Austin (ed.), *Two Fifteenth-Century Cookery Books*, EETS original series, 91 (1888), pp. 57-8, 62-3.

²³ On 17 February 1421, a payment of £46 13s 4d was made at the Exchequer for the purchase of fish for the coronation banquet. See Wylie & Waugh, *Henry the Fifth*, III: 270, n. 1.

²⁴ See Appendix, table 1. For the Lancastrian badge, see D. Fletcher, “The Lancastrian Collar of Esses: Its Origins and Transformations down the Centuries,” in Gillespie (ed.), *Age of Richard II*, pp. 191-204. The broom-pod badge was a familiar motif in England following Richard II’s marriage to Katherine’s elder sister Isabelle in November 1396. See Gordon (ed.), *Making and Meaning*, pp. 51-3; Binski, *Westminster Abbey*, pp. 201-2.

Additionally, the dishes served in the second course included a “lech damaske” inscribed with Henry’s motto *Une sans plus*, and a “flampan” which incorporated a royal scutcheon displaying three golden crowns on a field planted with golden fleur-de-lis and camomile flowers.²⁵

As well as the heraldic imagery utilized in the presentation of several food dishes, a more complex series of visual tableaux were presented in the form of ‘soteltes’ at the end of each course. Soteltes were clearly an established feature of early fifteenth-century ceremonial banquets, although it remains difficult to determine their precise form, or indeed, to know whether their form differed greatly according to occasion.²⁶ Nevertheless, it can at least be said that soteltes were three-dimensional tableaux that were sculpted from sugar paste and then painted. Although soteltes were perhaps edible, they are invariably distinguished from food dishes within surviving medieval menus, suggesting that their primary function was as objects for display.²⁷ Over the course of the fifteenth century sotelte designs became more sophisticated in their aesthetic scope, as well as increasingly tailored in their subject matter to suit the particular contexts in which they were displayed. In some cases, distinct sets of differently themed soteltes were served to separate groupings of guests at a single banquet. This arrangement can perhaps be interpreted to suggest that soteltes were often small in scale and intended for table-top display.²⁸

The food imagery presented at the post-coronation banquet for Katherine of Valois was dominated by a cycle of tableaux featuring the virgin-martyr, St. Katherine of Alexandria. St. Katherine was the theme of the soteltes served at the end of the first and second courses of food, and additionally, the saint featured on an exceptionally elaborate dish served as part of the third course of food.²⁹ This latter dish might well be regarded as an additional fourth sotelte, although it is not formally designated as such in the chronicle

²⁵ See Appendix, table 2.

²⁶ For example, unspecified soteltes were served at the coronation and marriage banquets of Henry IV in 1399 and 1404. See *Two Cookery Books*, pp. 57-9.

²⁷ *NED*, IX (ii): 69, defines a ‘subtlety’ as “a highly ornamental device, wholly or chiefly made of sugar, sometimes eaten, sometimes used as a table decoration.”

²⁸ See *Historical Collections*, p. 114, on the feast celebrating the investiture of the Emperor Sigismund into the Order of the Garter in 1416: “And all thes sotelleteys were servyd be-fore the emperoure and the kyng and noo fether; ande othyr lordys were servyd with sotelleteys aftyр hyr astate and degre.”

²⁹ See Appendix, tables 1-3.

texts. Not only did this dish complete a cycle of tableaux on the theme of St. Katherine, but it was also unique amongst the food dishes in terms of its representation of a complex arrangement of figurative images accompanied by a textual label written in French.

In the first sotelte, St. Katherine was represented with either a book or a wheel in her hand while disputing with the heathen clerks. She was accompanied by the figure of a pelican sitting on its nest with its young. A label or “reason” in St. Katherine’s hand read “Madame la Roigne,” while additional labels showed the pelican answering “Cest enseigne,” and the pelican young in turn answering “Est du roy pur tenir joie a tout gent il met sentent.”³⁰ The second sotelte showed St. Katherine holding a wheel and accompanied by a panther and other unspecified beasts. A label in St. Katherine’s hand read “La Roigne ma file,” while additional labels showed the panther answering “In cest ile,” and two other beasts in turn answering “Of Albion” and “Aves renowne.”³¹ Descriptions of the third St. Katherine tableau in the form of a “bake mete” are a little contradictory. The focus of the tableau was either a figurative image of St. Katherine or a representation of the virgin-martyr’s wheel badge (or possibly both). This central image was surrounded by four figures of angels and was accompanied by a label which read “Il est escrite, pur voir et dit, par marriage pure, ce guerre ne dure.”³² The sotelte served at the end of the third course showed a knight on horseback carrying a tiger cub in his arms while throwing mirrors at an adult tiger on the ground. An attached label read “Par force saunz droit jay pris ce best,” while a second label showed the tiger answering “Gile de mirrouir ma fait discour.”³³ In two of the sources the knight is identified as St. George.³⁴

(III) Analysis

Post-Coronation Banquets

The emergence in fifteenth-century narrative sources of detailed descriptions of ceremonial banquets, reflects changes in the character of record-keeping in the period, rather than the

³⁰ *A Chronicle of London*, p. 164. See Appendix, table 1.

³¹ *Ibid.*, p. 164. See Appendix, table 2.

³² *Ibid.*, pp. 164-5. See Appendix, table 3.

³³ *Ibid.*, p. 165. See Appendix, table 3.

³⁴ *Brut*, II: 447; *Historical Collections*, p. 141. See Appendix, table 3.

evolution of a new type of ritualized practice. Prescriptive liturgical texts made no reference to a post-coronation banquet prior to the compilation of the Litlyngton *Ordo* in the mid to late fourteenth century.³⁵ Nevertheless, Hoveden's account of the coronation of Richard I, indicates that post-coronation banquets can be traced back at least to 1189.³⁶ Meanwhile, an account of the coronation of Eleanor of Provence recorded in the Red Book of the Exchequer, reveals that a system of claiming the right to perform formal services at the coronation banquet had fully evolved by the early thirteenth century.³⁷

The importance attributed to the post-coronation banquet is revealed in surviving administrative accounts that show the colossal scale of preparatory construction work at Westminster Palace prior to the coronation of Edward II in 1308.³⁸ On this occasion, a giant timber hall, together with fourteen lesser halls, was constructed as a temporary housing for the king's pre-coronation enthronement and post-coronation banquet. Additionally, forty ovens were constructed at the palace for the preparation of food, while an ingeniously designed fountain was made in the midst of the halls which could produce a continual flow of red and white wine, and a spiced drink called pimento. In a different context, Edward II was also responsible for an early known instance of the deployment of visual imagery in banquets, when he ordered the construction of a 'castle of love' to provide entertainment between courses at a banquet he hosted on a visit to Paris in 1313.³⁹

The early fifteenth century witnessed a dramatic decline in monastic chronicle writing and a corresponding rise in urban chronicle writing. As a result of these developments, there increasingly survived detailed records of the processions and banquets associated with royal rituals. At the same time, records of the more liturgical aspects of coronation practice deteriorated noticeably in terms of their detailing.⁴⁰ The descriptions of banquets which began to emerge in the fifteenth century tended to record three aspects of these types of

³⁵ *ECR*, pp. 107-8, 128.

³⁶ *Ibid.*, pp. 50, 53.

³⁷ *Ibid.*, pp. 57-65. See above p. 180.

³⁸ PRO, E 101/468/15, printed in Brown, Colvin & Taylor (eds.), *King's Works: The Middle Ages*, II: 1041-4. Also, see *ibid.*, I: 506-7, for further references.

³⁹ PRO, E 101/375/8. See E.A.R. Brown & N. Freeman Regalado, "La Grant Feste: Philip the Fair's Celebration of the Knighting of His Sons in Paris at Pentecost of 1313," in Hanawalt & Reyerson (eds.), *City and Spectacle*, pp. 62-3 & n. 40.

⁴⁰ See above p. 104.

occasion: the performance of formal offices, the spatial arrangement of seated guests, and the menu. As already mentioned, interest in the performance of formal offices had a very long pedigree. Procedures for the allocation of offices were dealt with in a formal court of claims which, after 1377, produced minuted decisions that were sometimes enrolled at the chancery.⁴¹ The earliest record of the spatial arrangement of seated guests at a post-coronation banquet is preserved in the official *Processus* account of the coronation of Richard II.⁴² This interest in mapping seating arrangements can be linked to a wider awareness in the later middle ages that pervading notions of hierarchy could be articulated in terms of the organisation of space.⁴³ Here, it is interesting to note that amongst the most serious criticisms levelled at Henry VI's French coronation in 1431, was the charge that unruly behaviour by the Parisian mob resulted in French civic officials being unable to sit at the proper tables assigned to them at the post-coronation banquet. As a contemporary commentator observed, the officials were forced to sit wherever they could find a place:

...along with cobblers, mustard-sellers, packers, winestall keepers [and] stonemasons' lads.⁴⁴

The recorded menu for the post-coronation banquet of Katherine of Valois is not quite the earliest surviving account of its kind. Less detailed menus survive for the coronation banquet of Henry IV, and the wedding feast of Henry IV and Joan of Navarre.⁴⁵ Nevertheless, the 1421 menu is the earliest which provides a detailed record of food imagery at a post-coronation banquet. The appearance of the *soteltes* served at earlier post-coronation banquets was not recorded, perhaps because these early *soteltes* were relatively unsophisticated in their aesthetic scope.⁴⁶ However, the most obvious precursor for the use of figurative imagery at royal banquets was the feast held at Windsor in May 1416 to

⁴¹ See above pp. 179-80.

⁴² *ECR*, pp. 148-9, 167.

⁴³ On burial space, see Finucane, "Sacred Corpse, Profane Carrion," pp. 40-60.

⁴⁴ *Parisian Journal*, pp. 271-2.

⁴⁵ See *Two Cookery Books*, pp. 57-9.

⁴⁶ The only described *sotelte* at Henry IV's marriage feast took the form of a crown. See *ibid.*, pp. 58-9.

celebrate the investiture of the Emperor Sigismund into the Order of the Garter.⁴⁷ On this occasion, a series of three soteltes were served to Sigismund and Henry which depicted scenes from the legend of St. George.⁴⁸

Katherine of Valois and St. Katherine of Alexandria

The cult of St. Katherine of Alexandria, in its English form, radiated a variety of resonances which were particularly appropriate to the political context of the marriage and coronation of Katherine of Valois. The most popular version of the legend of St. Katherine in the later middle ages was contained in the *Legenda Aurea*, compiled by Jacobus de Voragine in the thirteenth century.⁴⁹ Voragine's Latin compilation influenced several vernacular collections of saints' lives written in the fourteenth century, and the text was itself translated from its French version into English (as the so-called *Gilte Legende*), early in the second quarter of the fifteenth century.⁵⁰

Significantly, the English prose version of the legend of St. Katherine which was incorporated into the *Gilte Legende* translation of Voragine includes additional material not present in Voragine's original text.⁵¹ This English prose legend includes both a *vita* and a *passio* of the virgin-martyr, and emerges as a distinctly English version of the standard St. Katherine legend.⁵² The prose legend underwent at least four separate recensions in the first half of the fifteenth century with the earliest recension dating from the latter part of the reign of Henry V.⁵³ The second and fourth recensions are notable for the emphasis they place on St. Katherine's close family connections with Romano-Britain.⁵⁴ Since a 'British'

⁴⁷ *Historical Collections*, pp. 113-4. On Sigismund's visit, see Allmand, *Henry V*, pp. 104-9, 243-6.

⁴⁸ *Historical Collections*, p. 114.

⁴⁹ Jacobus de Voragine, *The Golden Legend: Readings on the Saints*, ed. & trans. W.G. Ryan, 2 vols. (Princeton, 1993), II: 334-41. For the textual tradition of the St. Katherine cult, see S. Nevanlinna & I. Taavitsainen (eds.), *St Katherine of Alexandria: The Late Middle English Prose Legend in Southwell Minster MS 7* (Cambridge & Helsinki, 1993), pp. 4-11.

⁵⁰ *St Katherine of Alexandria*, pp. 6-7. The oldest extant manuscript of the *Gilte Legende* is dated 1438.

⁵¹ *Ibid.*, pp. 9-11.

⁵² *Ibid.*, pp. 9-10.

⁵³ *Ibid.*, p. 11; K.A. Winstead, *Legends of Sainthood in Late Medieval England* (Ithaca & London, 1997), pp. 156-7, n. 8.

⁵⁴ For the fourth and fullest recension, see H.H. Gibbs (ed.), *The Life and Martyrdom of Saint Katherine of Alexandria, Virgin and Martyr* (London, 1884).

theme is not present in Voragine's legend of St. Katherine, some critics have suggested that the introduction of this theme into the English prose version of the legend was inspired by Henry V's marriage to Katherine of Valois.⁵⁵

The coincidence of christian names linking St. Katherine of Alexandria and Queen Katherine of Valois undoubtedly provided the main rationale for the deployment of St. Katherine imagery at the post-coronation banquet in 1421. Name-saints were a popular motif in the ritualized context of late medieval royal entries. It is known for example that the figure of St. Margaret greeted the entry of Queen Margaret of Anjou into Coventry in 1457, while another figure of St. Katherine greeted the entry of Queen Katherine of Aragon into London in 1501.⁵⁶

In the context of banqueting, it was a popular practice to identify the figurative images represented in *soteltes* with the ritual actor who presided at the banquet. In many cases this type of identification was quite literal. In 1429, for example, the figure of Henry VI was represented in all three of the *sotelte* tableaux that were served to the young king at his post-coronation banquet.⁵⁷ However, in other cases, the connections which linked ritualized images and ritualized actors were expressed more cryptically. In 1425, at a banquet to celebrate the inauguration of John Stafford as bishop of Bath and Wells, a series of three *soteltes* were served before the bishop in the form of a doctor of law, an eagle and a figure of St. Andrew.⁵⁸ The figure of the lawyer undoubtedly referred to Stafford's training as an ecclesiastical lawyer prior to his entering the episcopacy. The eagle is the iconographical symbol of St. John the Evangelist, which suggests that its appearance invoked an obvious name-saint association. Meanwhile, the appearance of a figure of St. Andrew apparently responded to Stafford's personal devotion towards this saint.⁵⁹

At Queen Katherine's coronation banquet, the practice of identifying figurative

⁵⁵ Winstead, *Legends of Sainthood*, pp. 156-7, n. 8.

⁵⁶ For 1457, see M.D. Harris (ed.), *Coventry Leet Book, or Mayor's Register 1420-1455*, 2 vols., EETS original series, 134, 135 (1907-8), II: 285-92, especially 291-2. For 1501, see G. Kipling (ed.), *The Receipt of the Ladie Kateryne*, EETS original series, 296 (1990), pp. xiv-xix, 12-14; Anglo, *Spectacle, Pageantry and Early Tudor Policy*, pp. 56-97, especially 59-60.

⁵⁷ See above pp. 105-6.

⁵⁸ *Two Cookery Books*, pp. 62-3.

⁵⁹ See *ibid.*, pp. 68-9. The figure of St. Andrew was employed again in a *sotelte* served at a banquet to celebrate Stafford's subsequent elevation to the province of Canterbury in 1443. On Stafford, see E.F. Jacob, "Archbishop John Stafford," *TRHS*, fifth series, 12 (1962): 1-23.

images with the chief diner seems to have fused with the practice of invoking name-saint associations. On this point, it is perhaps significant that the textual labels attached to the three recorded soteltes, as well as the third St. Katherine tableau, were all written in French. This usage of French strongly suggests that the French-speaking queen was viewed as the principal intended audience for both the tableaux and their texts.⁶⁰

It is not certain whether the deployment of St. Katherine imagery at the post-coronation banquet in 1421 invoked a personal devotion towards the saint on the part of the queen. However, circumstantial evidence does tend to support such a conclusion. First of all, the cult of St. Katherine clearly enjoyed considerable popularity within French royal circles. It is to be noted, for example, that there was a pedigree of French royal patronage towards the monastery of St. Katherine at Sinai; Charles VI gave the monastery a chalice, and it had also been visited by the Marshal of France in the 1390s.⁶¹ Meanwhile, closer to home, Katherine's great-uncle, Jean, duke de Berry, commissioned the Limbourg brothers to execute an unprecedented cycle of eleven illuminated scenes from the virgin-martyr's life for his *Belles Heures* in c. 1408-9 (figs. 48-50).⁶² The saint also appears as the sponsor of Margaret of Flanders, duchess of Burgundy, on Claus Sluter's carved portal of c. 1400 at the Chartreuse de Champol, the dynastic mausoleum of the Valois dukes of Burgundy (fig. 51).

Secondly, St. Katherine seems to have become a focus for devotion within English royal circles by the early 1430s. The virgin-martyr appears prominently in the illuminations of a psalter executed for Henry VI during his coronation trip to Paris. Indeed, one illumination in particular, which shows St. Katherine in the act of presenting the boy-king to the Virgin and Child, can perhaps be interpreted as an indication that the psalter was

⁶⁰ The usage of English in official contexts had increased dramatically during Henry's reign, partly in response to government encouragement. See Allmand, *Henry V*, pp. 419-25.

⁶¹ M. Meiss, *French Painting in the Time of Jean de Berry: The Limbourgs and Their Contemporaries*, 2 vols. (London, 1974), I: 113-19, for discussion of the wider popularity of St. Katherine at the French court. Also see Beaune, *Birth of an Ideology*, pp. 127-32. R. Gibbons, "The Piety of Isabeau of Bavaria, Queen of France, 1385-1422," in D.E.S. Dunn (ed.), *Courts, Counties and the Capital in the Later Middle Ages* (Stroud, 1996), pp. 205-24, makes no mention of Isabeau's interest in St. Katherine, although it is noted (pp. 220-1) that the unusual choice of names given to Isabeau's daughters reflected the direction of the queen's piety. For Marshal Boucicaut's devotion to St. Katherine, see M. Meiss, *French Painting in the Time of Jean de Berry: The Boucicaut Master* (London, 1963), pp. 9-10 and plate 23. Interestingly, Boucicaut was a prisoner in England at the time of Katherine's coronation. He died in England later that same year.

⁶² M. Meiss & E.H. Beatson (eds.), *The Belle Heures of Jean, Duke of Berry* (New York, 1974), fols. 15-20.

given to Henry by his mother (fig. 52).⁶³

Finally, the existence of a personal association linking the queen and the virgin-martyr is also suggested by the prominent appearance of a carved statue of St. Katherine on the north turret of Henry V's chantry chapel in Westminster Abbey. The majority of the saints depicted in the statuary of the chantry chapel were either the object of personal devotion by Henry V, or were at the centre of cults with specially strong resonances for the English and French monarchies (fig. 47). Since St. Katherine does not fit either category particularly well, it seems likely that her presence in fact responded to the piety of Henry's queen.⁶⁴

If the deployment of St. Katherine imagery at the post-coronation banquet alluded to the devotional interests of Henry's queen, it remains significant that a name-saint association was not exploited in this context simply to rehearse a standard cycle of St. Katherine images. Clearly, many conventional features of St. Katherine's cult and iconography were represented in the designs of the *sotelte* tableaux. In one tableau, St. Katherine was shown in the act of disputing with the heathen clerks (fig. 48). In another tableau, the virgin-martyr was shown in the company of the angels who reputedly carried her body to Mt. Sinai for burial (fig. 49). Finally, St. Katherine was shown with a spiked wheel, which was both the instrument of her torture and the most pervasive iconographical symbol of the saint in late medieval art (figs. 50, 53-4).⁶⁵ Nevertheless, despite the presence of these conventional iconographical motifs, the most striking feature of the coronation tableaux is the extent of their departure from conventional modes of representation.

In each of the tableaux there were several aesthetic elements which had no place within normal St. Katherine imagery. Clearly, although the design of the coronation *soteltes* involved the annexation of a variety of motifs from the St. Katherine cult, these were then re-interpreted within a quite distinct contemporary context. By examining the descriptions of the tableaux more closely, it is possible to identify a number of

⁶³ BL, Cotton MS Domitian A xvii. See Wolffe, *Henry VI*, pp. 62-3.

⁶⁴ For the chantry chapel, see Hope, "Funeral, Monument and Chantry Chapel," pp. 153-83. Although work did not commence on the chantry chapel until after Katherine's death in 1437, the queen's involvement in planning the aesthetic appearance of the chapel remains plausible. A general plan of works had been drawn up as early as 1415. Additionally, see *Brut*, II: 494, for the assertion that Henry's tomb effigy was made during the 1420s "at þe cost of Quene Katerine."

⁶⁵ For the basic plot structure of the English legend, see *St Katherine of Alexandria*, pp. 11-14.

representational themes which seem to relate to the wider political circumstances of the royal marriage of Henry and Katherine. Three themes will now be examined in turn, which are respectively royalty, nationality and marriage.

The first and most obvious theme of the St. Katherine tableaux was royalty. All versions of the virgin-martyr's legend emphasize that St. Katherine was a royal saint, the daughter of King Costus of Cyprus, and a regnant queen in her own right from the age of fourteen. The second recension of the English prose version of the legend further amplifies St. Katherine's royal pedigree by situating her genealogically within the imperial Roman family. Accordingly, the virgin-martyr is described as the granddaughter of the Emperor Constantius, and as the niece of the Emperor Constantine the Great.⁶⁶ St. Katherine's royal pedigree was certainly a factor in encouraging Valois devotion to the virgin-martyr's cult, and it is noteworthy that the saint was conventionally represented in French royal art as a crowned figure (fig. 54). Although it is not clear whether St. Katherine was depicted as a queen in the coronation *soteltes* of 1421, the virgin-martyr was certainly referred to as a queen in the textual labels attached to two of the *soteltes*. Clearly, this textualisation of St. Katherine's royal status in the prose legend and in the *sotelte* texts invited comparisons with the newly confirmed royal status of the young French queen.

It is particularly striking how relevant the cult of St. Katherine was in its vernacular prose version to the contemporary royal political context of 1420-1. First of all, Katherine of Valois's royal marriage to Henry V mirrored the virgin-martyr's mystical royal marriage to Christ the heavenly king. Additionally, the coronation of Queen Katherine followed shortly after the parliament of December 1420, thereby echoing the reputed coronation of the virgin-martyr also after a parliament. St. Katherine's assertion in parliament that she would rule alone with the aid of her mother had relevance to the contemporary political situation in France, where Katherine's mother, Queen Isabeau of Bavaria, exercised effective control over the royal government due to the mental incapacity of Charles VI.⁶⁷ Finally, it can even be noted that the eighteen-year-old queen was the same age at her coronation as her name-saint had been at the time of her persecution and martyrdom.⁶⁸

⁶⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 11.

⁶⁷ It was Isabeau rather than Charles VI who swore to maintain the conditions of the Treaty of Troyes. See Allmand, *Henry V*, pp. 143-4.

⁶⁸ Voragine, II: 334.

A second theme in the St. Katherine tableaux was the English or 'British' identity of the saint. This British connection is not mentioned in Voragine's version of the St. Katherine legend contained in the *Legenda Aurea*.⁶⁹ As already mentioned, the story of St. Katherine's British origins was an aspect of the saint's identity which seems to have emerged specifically within English narratives of the virgin-martyr's life during the first quarter of the fifteenth century.⁷⁰ British themes were introduced into the second and fourth recensions of the English prose legend in the context of a genealogy of the virgin-martyr. St. Katherine's relationship to Constantius and Constantine are used within the text not only to emphasize the antiquity and significance of the English apostolic tradition, but also to construct the British people as a quasi-imperial race:

...whiche come of þe noble blood of Troye and were cosyns to þe Romayns.⁷¹

Constantius' marriage to the British princess Helena, daughter of King Coel, is given special mention in the text as a preface to comments on the contribution of Helena and her son Constantine to the universal triumph of Christianity within the Roman Empire.

The colonisation of the cult of St. Katherine as evidence for the antiquity of the faith in England accorded with the wider currents of contemporary political debate on the subject of nationhood. At the Council of Constance in 1417, the English spokesman Thomas Polton had used the renowned antiquity of the faith in England as the central tenet of his argument that the English should be recognised as a fifth nation within Christendom.⁷² However, the introduction of British themes into the English prose version of the legend of St. Katherine also carried more overt resonances for the contemporary political situation

⁶⁹ A vague allusion to Britain is found in the eleventh-century 'Vulgate' version of the St. Katherine legend which Voragine used as his main source, and which was also known to the compiler of the fourth recension of the fifteenth-century English prose legend. This allusion occurs in the preface to the Life where a description of the contemporary warfare between Constantine and the pagan Emperor Maxentius is used to set the scene. My thanks to Dr. Katherine Lewis for helping clarify this point. For the Vulgate version, see S.R.T.O. d'Ardenne & E.J. Dobson (eds.), *Seinte Katerine*, EETS supplementary series, 7 (1981): 145-203. For the general textual tradition of the St. Katherine cult, see *St. Katherine of Alexandria*, pp. 4-11.

⁷⁰ *St. Katherine of Alexandria*, pp. 21-2.

⁷¹ *Life and Martyrdom of Saint Katherine*, l. 4.

⁷² The English had previously been regarded as part of the German nation. On Polton, see C.M.D. Crowder (ed. & trans.), *Unity, Heresy and Reform, 1378-1460: The Conciliar Response to the Great Schism* (London, 1977), pp. 110-26; J-P. Genet, "English Nationalism: Thomas Polton at the Council of Constance," *NMS*, 38 (1984): 60-78.

in England and France. The text constructs Helena as the heiress to the kingdom of Britain, which then passed to Constantius by virtue of his wife. Furthermore, it makes it clear that Constantine's royal accession on the death of his father Constantius was jointly to the kingdoms of both England and France:

[Constantine] regned aftur hym [Constantius] vppon Englonde and Fraunce not oonly as kyng of Englonde by ryght of hys moder bot also as Emperour vppon booth reumes by ryght of his Fader.⁷³

Of course, this linkage of the two kingdoms of England and France in the person of a single ruler cut to the very heart of the terms of the Treaty of Troyes.

Evidence of a British theme to the St. Katherine tableaux in 1421 is found in descriptions of the sotelte served at the end of the second course of food at the coronation banquet. The French text of the label attached to the sotelte can be rendered into English as:

The Queen my daughter enjoys deserved renown in this island of Albion.⁷⁴

Although the text can clearly be read as a laudatory address to the new queen, it also carries a second level of meaning through its firm location of the figure of St. Katherine within an ancient English or British apostolic tradition. This second level of meaning is emphasized through the use of the word 'Albion', which in a strict sense referred to the legendary Christian Romano-British kingdom of King Arthur.

Significantly, this British theme was further amplified in the second course of food through the imagery deployed on a "flampan," which showed "a scochyn roial theryn three crownes of gold" accompanied by heraldic badges which connoted the royal dynasties of England and France.⁷⁵ There are three possible readings of the arms described on the scutcheon, each of these readings being appropriate to the exposition of a royal and orthodox christian tradition in England. The description equates with the appearance of the heraldic arms which were attributed to King Arthur, and also to the Saxon king, St.

⁷³ *Life and Martyrdom of Saint Katherine*, l. 6. For fuller discussion and further examples, see Winstead, *Legends of Sainthood*, p. 160.

⁷⁴ *A Chronicle of London*, p. 164. See Appendix, table 2.

⁷⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 164. See Appendix, table 2. On the badges, see above p. 199, n. 24.

Edmund the Martyr. However, these arms also broadly resemble those used by the borough of Colchester from 1413. The latter association is particularly striking as a foundation myth which was actively promoted by the civic authorities in this period, claimed that Colchester was founded by King Coel as his capital, and additionally, that it was the birthplace of his daughter St. Helena.⁷⁶

The third and perhaps most significant theme of the St. Katherine coronation tableaux was marriage. Clearly, marriage was an important element within the legend of St. Katherine, where the saint is represented as a virgin bride who enters into a mystical marriage with Christ. Indeed, recent research on the cult of St. Katherine in late medieval England has shown the extent to which St. Katherine's popularity amongst the laity is explicable in terms of the saint's perceived intercessory powers in the brokering of marriages.⁷⁷

In the context of royal ritual, the marriages and coronations of English queens were usually performed as consecutive ceremonies located within a time period of only a few days. Whilst the inter-linkage of the two ceremonies was not explicitly stated in prescriptive liturgical texts, a cross-fertilisation of ritual symbolism from marriage to coronation can nevertheless be identified. For example, although prescriptive texts do not require the queen to be a virgin at her coronation, the symbolic importance attached to virginity in marriage appears to be echoed in coronation ritual in the injunction that the queen should wear her hair long about her shoulders during the pre-coronation procession to Westminster Abbey.⁷⁸ Since coronation ritual constructed a virginal identity for the queen (although she inevitably would be married already), it was entirely appropriate that imagery relating to a virgin-martyr should be deployed in the context of a post-coronation banquet.

Interestingly, the English prose version of the legend of St. Katherine describes marriage in two quite different contexts, both of which carried resonances for the events of 1420-21. The first marriage context is illustrated by the three royal marriages described

⁷⁶ See Rosser, "Myth, Image and Social Process," pp. 8-11.

⁷⁷ K.J. Lewis, "Rule of lyf alle folk to sewe: Lay Responses to the Cult of St. Katherine of Alexandria in Late-Medieval England, 1300-1530" (D.Phil diss., University of York, 1996), pp. 233-47.

⁷⁸ *ECR*, pp. 122, 128. See J.L. Chamberlayne, "Crowns and Virgins: Queenmaking During the Wars of the Roses," in K.J. Lewis, N.J. Menuge & K.M. Phillips (eds.), *Young Medieval Women* (New York, 1999), pp. 54-7.

in the prologue to the legend; two involving Katherine's grandfather Constantius, and one involving her father Costus. In each case, a king who is a king in his own right, inherits a second kingdom through marriage to the daughter of another king, thereby uniting two separate kingdoms under one rule. In the case of Constantius and Helena, the kingdoms are the same two kingdoms of England and France which were again at stake in 1420.

The second marriage context relates to St. Katherine's mystical marriage to Christ. Of particular interest here are the described circumstances within the kingdom of Cyprus which created a pressure for St. Katherine to marry. The virgin-martyr is represented as an unwilling bride who is advised by her nobles to seek a protector-husband to rule her kingdom and to maintain peace. St. Katherine counters the demand that she contract a political marriage for the benefit of her kingdom by insisting that she will only marry a king who surpasses her in all qualities. Through this cryptic statement she indicates her intention to marry Christ.

St. Katherine's described experience in Cyprus was clearly echoed in Katherine of Valois' actual experience in France. The incapacity of Charles VI and the disinheritance of the Dauphin meant that the vestiges of royal power resided in the hands of Katherine's mother, while France itself fell prey to the deprivations of ambitious nobles. Like the marriages of St. Katherine's forebears, the marriage of Henry V and Katherine of Valois was a political match which signified the future union of two royal crowns. However, within this fifteenth-century context, Lancastrian propaganda chose to represent Henry as a more than worthy bridegroom. Henry V's intervention in France was seen to be motivated by a desire to establish peace, and the personal virtues of the king were frequently invoked by English apologists as a key causal factor in explaining Henry's remarkable success in war.⁷⁹

The political *raison d'être* for the marriage of Henry V and Katherine of Valois was openly articulated in the text of the label attached to the third St. Katherine tableau at the post-coronation banquet. A rendering of the French text into English reads:

It is written to be seen and said that by this pure marriage the war does not continue.⁸⁰

⁷⁹ Allmand, *Henry V*, pp. 404-13.

⁸⁰ *A Chronicle of London*, p. 164. See Appendix, table 3.

Significantly, however, while the text attached to the third St. Katherine tableau constituted a bald statement of political realities in 1420-1, other aspects of the St. Katherine tableaux seem to have been more concerned with exploring the theme of marriage in relation to the mystical marriage of St. Katherine and Christ.

St. Katherine's mystical marriage was implicitly referenced through the design of the first and second soteltes served at the banquet, both of which depicted a figurative image of the virgin-martyr accompanied by creatures that were iconographical emblems of Christ. In the first sotelte, St. Katherine was accompanied by a pelican which was a popular symbol of the Eucharist and of Christ's triumph over death. In the second sotelte, St. Katherine was accompanied by a panther which was an emblem of Christ by virtue of its reputed sweet-smelling breath.

Interestingly, though firm evidence is lacking, it seems likely that the panther was also used as a personal badge by Queen Katherine. English kings of the later middle ages regularly adopted personal badges from the female line, and there survives some evidence for the use of a panther badge by Katherine's son Henry VI.⁸¹ In heraldry, the panther was represented as a fabulous horned and spotted beast. This meant that visually it was quite similar in appearance to the heraldic antelope used by both Henry V and Henry VI as a dynastic badge.⁸² Intriguingly, if the panther deployed in the banqueting imagery is interpreted as a visual pun on Henry V's antelope badge, then the corresponding representation of the pelican might perhaps also be read as a visual pun on Henry's other main badge, the Bohun swan.⁸³

If the panther shown in the second sotelte is interpreted as a badge of either Katherine of Valois or Henry V, then the whole ensemble of St. Katherine tableaux can perhaps be understood to represent a progression from mystical to political marriage. Accordingly, the first sotelte appears to be largely concerned with the mystical marriage of St. Katherine to Christ, with the pelican appearing as a powerful symbol of the celestial bridegroom. The

⁸¹ The white hart badge of Richard II is sometimes attributed to Joan of Kent. The swan badge of Henry V and the portcullis badge of Henry VII were clearly associated with each king's mother. For Henry VI's use of the panther badge, see A.C. Fox-Davies, *The Wordsworth Complete Guide to Heraldry* (Ware, 1996), pp. 193-5.

⁸² See Allmand, *Henry V*, pp. 98, 181n, 227, 396, on Henry V's use of the antelope badge.

⁸³ The swans carved on the frieze of Henry V's chantry chapel are shown preening their wings in an action that bears some resemblance to the classic depiction of pelicans in the act of vulning themselves. See above pp. 97-8.

text of the attached label is particularly cryptic, but can be rendered as:

Madame the Queen, this is the sign from the King to take joy, and to all her people she sets her sights upon.⁸⁴

This text should probably be read both as a de-cyphering of the pelican symbolism, and as an invocation to a fifteenth-century audience to celebrate the marriage and coronation of Katherine of Valois.

The second *sotelte* also appears to emphasize the theme of mystical marriage through the presence of the panther as an emblem of Christ. However, within this tableau the theme of mystical marriage is balanced by more explicit visual and textual references to the historical present. The deployment of Queen Katherine's panther badge (if it is such) invites the identification of the queen with the figure of St. Katherine that is also shown within the tableau. Meanwhile, the textual label attached to the *sotelte* emphasizes the national context of the coronation celebrations by proclaiming the British pedigree of the virgin-martyr and her cult.

The progression from mystical to political marriage is completed in the third St. Katherine tableau in which a figurative image of the virgin-martyr was possibly absent. Here, the religious iconography within the tableau seems more concerned with St. Katherine's passion than with her mystical marriage to Christ. However, the marriage theme is maintained within the historical present through the text of the accompanying label. In this text a description of marriage is framed in sharply political terms as the occasion for peace between warring nations.

England, Henry and St. George

In the preceding discussion it has been suggested that the St. Katherine tableaux served at the coronation banquet of Katherine of Valois established a double identification of the queen with the virgin-martyr, and the queen's royal marriage with the mystical marriage of St. Katherine. However, if Katherine of Valois is to be identified with her virgin-martyr name-saint within a specifically marital context, should Henry V then be identified with Christ the bridegroom?

The representation of Henry V as a messianic figure was certainly prefigured in

⁸⁴ *A Chronicle of London*, p. 164. See Appendix, table 1.

eulogistic descriptions of the king found in contemporary propagandist texts such as the *Gesta Henrici Quinti*.⁸⁵ Furthermore, the employment of messianic themes was already a conventional aspect of the pageantry of royal entry ceremonies as witnessed in the London celebrations that greeted Henry V's return from Agincourt in 1415.⁸⁶ During the mid-Lancastrian period there developed a climate of royal propaganda in which there arose many examples of the manipulation of Christian motifs in order to articulate contemporary political messages. For example, the royal propaganda of the early 1420's involved the appropriation of the Tree of Jesse motif in images and texts used to laud the double descent of Henry VI from St. Edward the Confessor and St. Louis IX of France. In February 1432, the penultimate tableau which greeted Henry VI on the occasion of his first entry into London following his French coronation in Paris explicitly juxtaposed the royal descent of the king with the royal descent of Christ. As a London chronicle recounts, there was built at the cross in Cheap:

...a ryalle castelle of jasper grene, and there yn ii grene treys stondyng uppe ryght, shewyng the ryght tytyllys of the Kyng of Inglond and of Fraunce, convaying fro Synt Edwarde and Synt Lowys be kyngys unto the tyme of Kyng Harry the vi, every kyng stondyng whythe hys cote armowre, sum lyberdys and sum flouredelysse; and on that othyr syde was made the Jesse of owre Lorde ascendyng uppewarde from Davyd unto Jesu.⁸⁷

The messianic tone of much Lancastrian propaganda makes it plausible that Henry V should be identified with the figure of Christ in any analogy between the king's marriage and the mystical marriage described in the legend of St. Katherine. Nevertheless, it is to be noted that Henry appears as a far more shadowy figure in descriptions of the St Katherine cycle of tableaux than does his queen. While Katherine appears not to have been depicted literally within the tableaux scheme, the identification of the queen with the figure of St. Katherine would have been readily inferred by a contemporary audience. By contrast, Henry's symbolic presence amongst the St. Katherine imagery was couched in a

⁸⁵ Composed in 1417.

⁸⁶ See above pp. 195-6, n. 3, for references. Also see Kipling, "Richard II's 'Sumptuous Pageants'," pp. 83-103 for the messianic tones in Richard II's reconciliation with London in 1392.

⁸⁷ *Historical Collections*, pp. 174-5. For discussion, see Osburg, "London Entry of Henry VI," pp. 213-32; McKenna, "Henry VI and the Dual Monarchy," pp. 145-62.

comparatively cryptic and elusive visual language. Indeed, the sole explicit reference to the king in the banqueting imagery occurred with the appearance of his motto inscribed in white letters on a “lech damaske.”⁸⁸

A greater emphasis upon Katherine was only to be expected considering that it was the queen who constituted the principal audience for the tableaux. Additionally, of course, it was coronation of the queen which provided the context for the staging of this orchestrated visual display. Nevertheless, it does seem likely that the veiled nature of Henry’s symbolic presence within the St. Katherine cycle of tableaux responded to wider artistic concerns over the visual representation of the mystical marriage of St Katherine. Although the mystical marriage was an integral element of contemporary English lives of St. Katherine, and although it appears to have acted as a particularly resonant aspect of St Katherine’s popular devotional cult in late medieval England, there are in fact no known examples of the visual dramatization of this mystical act in fifteenth-century English art.

A few examples of the visual representation of the mystical marriage of St. Katherine survive in the context of pictorial narratives of the saint’s life in Italian church art, and also in some continental depictions of St. Katherine receiving a ring from the infant Christ in images of the Virgin and Child.⁸⁹ Bearing in mind this discrepancy between English and continental European evidence, it is perhaps significant that English versions of the St. Katherine legend tend to describe the virgin-martyr as marrying an adult Christ in an actual wedding ceremony, whereas continental versions of the legend tend to describe St. Katherine as marrying an infant Christ in a dream vision. The peculiarities of the English narrative tradition might suggest that there existed a certain hesitancy in visually depicting an adult marriage act in a literal manner.⁹⁰ By the same token, however, the connotations of adult marriage that were uniquely present in the English narrative tradition, would have made the deployment of St. Katherine imagery seem especially appropriate and fitting in the context of the actual royal marriage celebrations of 1420-1.⁹¹

⁸⁸ *A Chronicle of London*, p. 164. See Appendix, table 1.

⁸⁹ Interestingly, the mystical marriage does not feature as an episode in the cycle of eleven illuminations on the legend of St. Katherine from the *Belle Heures* of the Duc de Berri.

⁹⁰ Of course, it might also be argued that such representations have simply been lost owing to the particular repugnance they excited in the eyes of later religious reformers.

⁹¹ My argument in this paragraph has benefited greatly from information and advice given to me by Dr. Katherine Lewis.

If it was the royal identity of Katherine of Valois that was evoked in the cycle of St. Katherine tableau served at the queen's coronation banquet, then it was perhaps the royal identity of Henry V that was constructed in the third and final sotelte. Clearly, this final sotelte was thematically distinct from the other soteltes which comprised the St. Katherine cycle of tableaux. The sotelte showed a tiger looking at its reflection in a mirror, while an armed figure on horseback holding a tiger cub in his arm threw mirrors down to the ground "for his defence."⁹² The textual labels attached to the sotelte can be rendered from the French as: "By force, without right, I have taken this beast" and "The guile of the mirror is my destruction."⁹³

The armed figure in the final sotelte is identified in two chronicle sources as St. George. This identification perhaps suggests that the knight ought to be interpreted as a symbol of England and King Henry.⁹⁴ St. George had already gained the status of patron saint of England by the early fifteenth century, and during Henry's reign the cult of St. George was widely promoted because of the saint's perceived involvement in the military victories enjoyed by the English.⁹⁵ In 1416, for example, Archbishop Chichele described St. George as "the special patron and protector of the English nation."⁹⁶ Henry V can be credited with a personal role in arranging for the raising of St. George's feast to a greater double status, while the king's personal devotion to the military saint was recognised in the Emperor Sigismund's gift to Henry of the heart of St. George on the occasion of his entry into the Order of the Garter.⁹⁷

The symbolisms attached to the tiger and the mirror in the final sotelte remain within the realm of conjecture. However, since the tiger acts as a counterpoint to St. George within the described scene, it seems reasonable to interpret the tiger as a symbol of the kingdom of France. Hence, a plausible reading of the scene might be that England (St.

⁹² *A Chronicle of London*, p. 165. See Appendix, table 3.

⁹³ *Ibid.*

⁹⁴ *Brut*, II: 447; *Historical Collections*, p. 141. See Appendix, table 3.

⁹⁵ See *Brut*, II: 378-9, for reports of the English invocation of St. George's aid at Agincourt. See Allmand, *Henry V*, p. 410.

⁹⁶ E.F. Jacob (ed.), *Register of Henry Chichele, Archbishop of Canterbury, 1414-1443*, 4 vols., C&YS, 45, 42, 46, 47 (1938-47), III: 8-10; V.H. Galbraith (ed.), *St. Albans Chronicle 1406-20* (Oxford, 1937), p. 70. See Allmand, *Henry V*, p. 410.

⁹⁷ *St. Albans Chronicle*, p. 70. See Allmand, *Henry V*, pp. 106, 416.

George) has France (the tiger) at its mercy, both through the force of arms (St. George again), and through the approbation of the Divine Lord, Who has sent confusion and turmoil (the mirrors) down upon the heads of his enemies.⁹⁸ The tiger cub placed under the protection of St. George would then represent the future of the realm of France in the form of the much hoped-for heir to the marriage of Henry and Katherine.

(IV) Interpretation

Discussion of Lancastrian ritual symbolism has tended to focus on the period 1429-32, which witnessed the two coronations of Henry VI at Westminster Abbey and at the cathedral of Notre-Dame de Paris. The timing of the two coronations of Henry VI was prompted by an increasingly adverse military and political situation in France, as well as by the continued growth in domestic disillusionment with the concept of the 'dual monarchy' in England.⁹⁹ Clearly, in this context of a disintegrating vision of the dual monarchy, there arose a particular need to articulate political propaganda in more accessible and literal ways. Thus, the *soteltes* served at the English post-coronation banquet of Henry VI in November 1429 were far more transparent in their deployment of political motifs than the *soteltes* discussed in the present chapter.¹⁰⁰

The ritual celebrations of Henry V's reign were generated in a very different political environment from the better known celebrations of 1429-32. In particular, the coronation of Katherine of Valois in February 1421 occurred at the very apogee of the Lancastrian phase of the Hundred Years War, when France had recently been humbled by the terms of a devastating peace settlement, and England remained triumphant under the leadership of a still youthful and vigorous adult king. Within such an environment, there perhaps existed less of an imperative to utilise ritual overtly as a propagandist tool. Nevertheless, as this study has shown, the existence of a weaker propagandist imperative did not diminish the extent to which royal rituals remained riddled with symbolisms that chimed with the political contexts in which the rituals were performed.

My analysis of the post-coronation banquet of Katherine of Valois has emphasized

⁹⁸ See J.W. McKenna, "How God Became an Englishman," in D.J. Guth & J. W. McKenna (eds.), *Tudor Rule and Revolution: Essays for G.R. Elton from his American Friends* (Cambridge, 1982), pp. 25-43, on contemporary readings of political events as evidence of the partisanship of the Lord.

⁹⁹ See Griffiths, *Reign of King Henry VI*, pp. 189-94; Wolfe, *Henry VI*, pp. 48-64.

¹⁰⁰ See above pp. 105-6.

that the queen was herself constructed as the principal audience for a carefully orchestrated display of food imagery. Not only were the texts deployed on the *sotelte tableaux* scripted in French, but the St. Katherine theme of the main cycle of tableaux was one which was likely to have appealed to the queen. At the very least, it can be said that the strength of contemporary Valois interest in the cult of the virgin-martyr would have meant that Katherine was sufficiently well-equipped to have been able to engage with this type of imagery. However, if the imagery deployed in the coronation banquet of 1421 was tailored towards the personal interests of the new queen, it was also at the same time fairly ambitious in its thematic scope. Indeed, the imaging of the cult of St. Katherine generated a host of political resonances which would have seemed quite apposite within a political environment that was essentially defined by the recent arrangement of a peace treaty and royal marriage between England and France. In this sense, it can be said that the deployment of imagery inspired by the cult of St. Katherine was appropriate not only to the narrower interests of Queen Katherine, it also served as useful fodder for consumption by a much wider public audience within England.

A contemporary awareness of the wider political dimensions of the coronation of Katherine of Valois was reflected in the recording of details of the post-coronation banquet in contemporary London chronicles. Clearly, chroniclers gained access to some sort of official programme relating to the post-coronation rituals, and they duly replicated this programme in their chronicle texts. Unfortunately, the processes through which such information was made available to contemporary writers is not known. However, the key point which does emerge from this current discussion is that rituals enjoyed a readership that was situated at a remove from the action, as much as they had a physical audience that was comprised of participants and spectators. To a greater extent than in the past, the Lancastrian regime proved itself adept at exploiting the propagandist potential of ritual events such as coronations through the influencing of textual reporting. The question which therefore remains to be answered is whether or not rituals were actually conceived and designed in the first instance with their reporting already in mind.

It has already been suggested that the coronation of Katherine of Valois was performed in a political climate that was not entirely favourable to the strategic interests of Henry V. There existed a need to sell the peace of 1420 to an initially suspicious domestic audience, and so it was perhaps inevitable that the coronation of Henry's queen would take on some political overtones. Nevertheless, the allusive character of the reported imagery

deployed in the post-coronation banquet indicates that the coronation was not designed to be overtly propagandist in tone. Rather than seeking to sell a particular political idea such as the concept of 'double monarchy', the imagery of 1421 was directed in a much looser sense towards a much more general conditioning of the political environment. It is this aspect of the coronation of Katherine of Valois which distinguishes it from other ritual occasions discussed in Part Three of this thesis. While Katherine's coronation was undoubtedly political in its conception, execution and ramifications, it differed from certain other highlighted royal ritual occasions because its politics were essentially passive.

Chapter Eight

General Conclusions

This thesis has offered a problematised interpretation of the relationship linking prescription and practice in royal ritual to the political and cultural contexts in which rituals were conceived and performed. Significantly, my findings suggest that the importance of ritual as a political practice was linked directly to the inherent flexibility which ritual manifested as a space in which political ideas and meanings could be articulated. In other words, it was the *uses* to which coronation and royal funeral rituals were put (rather than the intrinsic properties of the rituals themselves) which determined the political relevance of these rituals within their given performative contexts. This argument in turn suggests that any analysis of ritual prescription and practices cannot be divorced from a complementary analysis of the historical contexts in which such writings and activities occurred.

The nature of this thesis has been such that it has not generated a single, dominant and organising argument, so much as a series of inter-related findings which when taken together demand a re-evaluation of the role which royal ritual played within late medieval political culture. This final and concluding chapter seeks to review some of the more important findings which emerge from this thesis, and to offer some general thoughts on possible future directions for research in the area of medieval rituals.

The later middle ages have been identified in this study as a period which witnessed a notable increase in the textualisation of ritual procedures. Undoubtedly, this process both contributed to and helped to solidify the development of greater rigidity and fixity in the structuring of ritual practices. Textualisation reduced the scope for flexibility in the provision of royal ritual because it provided an explicit indication of how ritual was 'supposed to be' performed, as well as a record of how the writer thought it may have been performed on previous occasions. At the same time, textualisation also helped to shape and solidify contemporary perceptions of ritual acts through its encoding and communication of a dominant interpretation of ritual meaning. Ultimately, then, it can be said that textualisation contributed to a growth in the redundancy of royal ritual practices by encouraging a situation in which:

...the structure of performance tends to give way to the performance of structure.¹

The constraining effect of ritual structure in the longer term is well illustrated in Jennifer Loach's assessment of the early sixteenth-century coronation and funeral ceremonies of Henry VIII as having been highly old-fashioned compared to other Renaissance-style ceremonies performed during Henry's reign.²

While the late medieval period witnessed a growth in the textualisation of royal ritual procedures, this development occurred within the context of a highly complex and fragmented prescriptive landscape. Consequently, it is not possible to identify any single definitive source of institutional or textual authority for late medieval coronation and royal funeral rituals. While historians have sometimes assumed that prescriptive *ordines* can be regarded as canonical ritual texts, it has been shown in this study that these texts had major deficiencies as practical or utilitarian manuals. *Ordines* were neither fully comprehensive in their prescriptive scope, nor were they self-evidently authoritative at the point at which they were compiled. Instead, these texts seem to have accumulated authority over the passage of time, in the process expanding in their prescriptive scope to incorporate an ever-wider vision of what constituted the rituals of coronation and funeral. Nevertheless, the final triumph of the text as the dominant repository of ritual expertise did not occur until the later fifteenth century, when formal ceremony books emerged as a new genre of prescriptive writing on royal ritual.

Significantly, a distinction needs to be drawn between the factors which governed an urge to compile prescriptive texts in the first place, and the longer-term uses made of these texts once they had come into existence. The process of textualisation was fuelled by a variety of discrete agenda which can be identified through a critical analysis of the texts themselves. In this thesis, for example, it has been possible to identify a number of contextual issues which informed the compilation and revision of prescriptive ritual *ordines* at Westminster Abbey during the fourteenth century. The fact that the textualisation of procedure was not in the first instance an entirely neutral development is witnessed in obvious differences of emphasis in the prescriptive scope of different types of ritual texts.

¹ Handelman, *Models and Mirrors*, p. 21. Handelman adds that "all types of public events are open to fluctuation and change through their enactment. But...this is so in differing degrees, and these variations in flexibility and openness are related to the logics of [the] design of public events." *Ibid.*, p. 19.

² Loach, "Function of Ceremonial," pp. 55-6.

Over time, however, prescriptive texts undoubtedly acquired a more neutral authority as procedural manuals. It has been noted, for example, that the wholesale incorporation of the first version of the funeral *ordo* into a number of subsequent prescriptive funeral texts reflected a fifteenth-century perception of the *ordo*'s authority. Nevertheless, it must be stressed that this *ordo* can hardly have been regarded as definitive when it was first compiled: not only was it highly deficient in the scope of its ritual coverage, it was also strikingly outmoded in terms of its failure to discuss the deployment of funeral effigies within contemporary royal funeral practice.

While the use of royal funeral effigies can be traced to the funeral of Edward II in 1327, the earliest reference to them in a prescriptive funeral text is dateable only to the mid-fifteenth century. Similarly, the introduction of a new consecratory oil into the coronation service was not reflected in prescriptive writing on coronation until half a century after the first use of the oil at the coronation of Henry IV in 1399.³ This identification of a lag separating the introduction of new procedures in ritual practice and the subsequent encoding of those procedures in a prescriptive textual form points to a further finding. Here, the important point to note is that the character and form of royal ritual clearly evolved over the course of the later middle ages. In this sense, ritual was self-evidently a dynamic rather than a static medium. Indeed, the classic characterisation of ritual as being fixed and rigid in structure is perhaps more a comment on the inability of ritual to shed old and redundant practices than a comment on its ability to acquire new and resonant ones.

The dynamic character of royal ritual was reflected not only in the emergence of new procedures, but also in the emergence of new prescriptive meanings. For example, the process of attributing precise meanings to the various parts of the coronation regalia can be seen to have gathered pace over the course of the fifteenth century. Significantly, the emergence of new prescriptive meanings was closely related to the encroachment of procedure within ritual practice. The invention of meanings served the important purpose of rationalising the maintenance of invented practices: after all, it would not have been possible for these practices to have survived in the longer term simply for their own sake. Paradoxically, while ritual retained a dynamic potential that was lodged in the moment of its performance, the process of textualisation acted to appropriate and nullify innovation by objectifying it within an inherited and traditional framework of meaning. Thus, as Ralph

³ *LRC*, pp. 29-40.

Giesey has pointed out for French royal funeral practice, it was only *after* the introduction of the funeral effigy device that the effigy came to symbolise the immortality of the French royal office.⁴

Evidence of differences between prescription and practice in late medieval royal rituals can usefully be conceptualised in terms of a distinction between the ‘purposes’ and the ‘uses’ of ritual. It will be recalled that the purpose of a ritual is related to the ritual’s internal performative logic, and it is located in a sense of why the ritual is performed, and therefore when (or at what juncture) it is performed. Prescriptive texts acted as vehicles for promoting perceptions of the purposefulness of royal rituals. They encouraged the reader to rationalise the existence of rituals in their described form by objectifying that form in terms of a seemingly coherent system of symbols and meanings. This process lent the textualised image of ritual a sense of timelessness and tradition, and additionally it promoted a fictional sense of the total detachment of ritual practices from the contextual environments in which rituals were actually performed. Consequently, textualisation has tended to disguise the importance of the contextual *usefulness* which royal rituals manifested within the temporal and spatial environments in which they were performed. Additionally, it has also disguised the impact which this usefulness had in terms of fuelling dynamic developments and changes in ritual procedures and practices.

The four cases studies which comprise Part Two of this thesis have sought to explore some of the political uses that were made of late medieval coronations and royal funerals. A number of general findings have arisen from these studies. The first point to be noted is that political usage of royal rituals tended to be broadly opportunistic in its character. Coronations and royal funerals were rare occurrences that took place at very specific political junctures. They were not occasions which could easily be predicted long in advance, nor were they occasions which could readily be orchestrated at will. Clearly, there did exist some short-term scope for manipulating the timing of royal ceremonies to suit the personal or political interests of the king. Nevertheless, it remained rare for the timing of ritual performances to be wholly determined by political considerations.⁵

⁴ Giesey, *Royal Funeral Ceremony*, pp. 79-124, especially p. 104.

⁵ The two coronations of Henry VI are obvious exceptions here. See Wolffe, *Henry VI*, p. 50. Interestingly, spectators at the English coronation reportedly complained that the seven year old king was too young to endure the ceremony. See John Capgrave, *Liber de Illustribus Henricis*, ed. F.C. Hingeston, RS, 7 (1858): 129-30.

In characterizing the political uses that were made of royal rituals it is helpful to interpret such uses in terms of both the general and the particular. Clearly, the maintenance and development of royal rituals in the later middle ages was contingent upon a pervading contemporary perception of the importance of rituals. As Tomas Gerholm remarks:

...a ritual without an immediate tangible effect...may easily be maintained for a long time if it has uses, if it gives prestige in the social context.⁶

Gerholm's assessment is particularly interesting in relation to late medieval coronations, since these occasions had in some respects lost their *raison d'être* as a result of constitutional changes in the late thirteenth century. Strictly speaking, the legal purpose of coronations as the formal arena of king-making was expunged at the accession of Edward I in 1272 when the moment of royal accession was detached from the act of consecration within coronation.⁷ The fact that coronations continued to thrive and develop after 1272 reflected their fundamental usefulness as a symbolic rite of passage which emphasised the legitimacy of kings in their exercise of royal authority. Although coronations carried no real legal weight, they remained indispensable to medieval kings as a point of access into the exercise of effective kingship because they remained inseparable within the popular imagination from a general understanding of royal accession. This point is well illustrated with reference to Joan of Arc, who reportedly always referred to the uncrowned Charles VII as the "dauphin" prior to his coronation at Rheims in 1429, but afterwards emphatically addressed the newly crowned king as "gentil roy."⁸

The usage of rituals to promote an image of royal legitimacy was an important general motif within the royal ritual culture of late medieval England. Indeed, the disturbed political character of the period so supercharged the importance of the issue of legitimacy that it became as much an aspect of the politics of royal funerals as the politics of coronations. However, as this study has also shown, it is not sufficient simply to define the political nature of royal ritual in broad and more abstract terms. Instead, my analysis has identified royal rituals as dynamic media in which evidence of differentiation can be

⁶ Gerholm, "On Ritual," pp. 200-1.

⁷ Nevertheless, kings remained exposed to the quasi-legal criticism of acting in contravention of their coronation oath.

⁸ Muir, *Ritual*, p. 254.

interpreted in relation to narrower and more discrete political agenda. The precise political uses made of a ritual on one occasion were different from the political uses made of similar rituals on other occasions. Ultimately, this means that any historical interpretation of the political dimensions of rituals in the past can only properly be made in conjunction with close analysis of the performative contexts in which those rituals occurred.

Analysis of the contexts in which royal rituals were performed not only suggests that the political usefulness of such rituals varied according to performative occasion, it also suggests that contemporary attitudes towards the political usefulness of ritual performances differed according to the diverse perspectives of heterogeneous bodies of organisers and participants. Unsurprisingly, the political uses made of royal rituals are most often apparent from an organisational perspective; though here it is important not to assume that there was only ever one organisational perspective. When viewed from an organisational perspective, rituals can justifiably be interpreted as media which served to communicate propagandist ideas and dominant ideological perspectives. However, if ritual performances did indeed act as mechanisms for maintaining social control, they do not seem to have done so in any very systematic way. My analysis of Richard II's funeral, for example, suggests that ritual procedures and symbols were manipulated in a quite pointed manner in order to communicate an emphatic political statement on the legitimacy of the Lancastrian regime. By contrast, however, my analysis of the imagery deployed in the coronation banquet of Katherine of Valois suggests that political ideas were communicated in this particular ritual context in an altogether more passive and oblique manner.

Interestingly, my analysis of the coronation of Richard II suggests that the political importance of this occasion was not located in the articulation of a particular propagandist programme by the royal government, but rather it was located in the more abstract generation of a more favourable political climate. Indeed, it might be said that the reconciliatory dimensions of Richard II's coronation provide an example of the political uses which royal ritual could serve from a non-organisational perspective. Evidence from the York civic records of the late fifteenth century suggests that royal rituals generically provided a context for the furtherance of sectarian political interests even amongst lesser groups of participants and spectators. An entry in the House Books dated 13 June 1483, records the allowance of two extra days wages to York's elected parliamentary representatives so that they could attend the (later cancelled) coronation of Edward V:

...to comun with soch lordes as shall be ther for the wele of the cite.⁹

Clearly, from the point of view of the civic authorities in York, Edward's coronation was potentially so important a political occasion that it would have been positively against the city's interests to have been unrepresented at the celebrations.

A further point which has sometimes been under-appreciated by historians is that ritual has the capacity to communicate in an inward as well as an outward direction. In this sense, it is useful to characterise the king as the principal audience for a ritual performance as well as the principal focus of any ritual action. The role of the king as a ritual spectator is easily traced at particular ritual moments within coronation: for example, in the performance of pageants during the pre-coronation procession through London, and in the presentation of *soteltes* during the post-coronation banquet. However, it remains much more difficult to trace the ways in which rituals operated directly on kings as mechanisms that enabled changes of royal status and identity to be both experienced and internalised. Nevertheless, the importance of this function of ritual is perhaps apparent in the case of Richard II, whose actions over the course of his reign suggest that he was affected to an exaggerated extent by his youthful experience of coronation.¹⁰ Ultimately, a situation arose at the deposition of Richard in September 1399 in which the king expressed himself to be willing to abdicate the exercise of royal authority, but to be unwilling, or indeed, unable, to abdicate his anointed royal status.¹¹ Interestingly, if Richard II's unwillingness to abdicate his anointed status was shaped by his attitude to his own coronation, then it perhaps also served to influence the coronation of his supplanter. The introduction of a new coronation oil for the coronation of Henry IV on 13 October 1399 was a classic example of the invention of a new ritual tradition. The introduction of the sacred oil not only served to distinguish the old regime from the new, it also served to underscore the sacrality of Henry's kingship within a political environment in which the issue of anointment clearly enjoyed a heightened topical importance.

The example of Richard II's coronation offers up one final observation on the

⁹ L. Attreed (ed), *The York House Books 1461-1490*, 2 vols. (Stroud, 1991), I: 283-4.

¹⁰ See above pp. 77-8, 146-7.

¹¹ See Given-Wilson (ed. & trans.), *Chronicles*, pp. 155, 163-4, 188-9, for relevant extracts from the various chronicle sources. See Walker, "Richard II's Views on Kingship," pp. 49-63, for the suggestion that Richard had already contemplated the idea of abdication from active government in 1398.

political uses of ritual. While Richard's memories of his own coronation coloured this occasion in an empowering light, the procedural hiccups recorded at the coronation acted as auguries of Richard's subsequent misfortunes and fate in the later and hostile opinion of Adam of Usk.¹² What Usk's moralising tones seem to indicate is that the ramifications of ritual actions were not fixed at the moment of performance, but remained unstable and therefore malleable over the course of time. In a sense, royal rituals enjoyed an uncontrolled afterlife within political memory which allowed them to be invested with all manner of potential meanings. This point is particularly well-illustrated in the records of a legal case at York which touched upon the manner Richard III's burial after his defeat and death at Bosworth in 1485. In May 1491, John Painter and John Burton, the schoolmaster of St. Leonard's Hospital, were summoned to appear before the mayor of York in a slander case that related to a drunken quarrel between the men in the previous December.¹³ The following evidence was submitted by the Prior of Bolton who had been party to the quarrel:

And wher it is reportide thei shulde be besy with Kynge Richarde, thei war not, bot that the said scoill maister said he luffede hym never and [he] was beride in a dike. John Payntour saide hit maid litill mater nowther of his luff nor his [own]...and as for his beriall, hit pleside the Kyngs grace to bery him in a worshipfull place.¹⁴

This incident nicely illustrates how the character of a royal ritual could create a variety of very different resonances beyond its immediate performative context. For Painter and Burton, the manner and place of Richard III's burial were symbolic of the character of his kingship, as well as that of his successor. The case underlines the extent to which royal ceremonies were performed and discussed within a wider public domain which extended well beyond a narrower circle of participants and observers. Furthermore, the dispute also reveals that public awareness of royal ceremony and public interest in its character were in no sense contingent upon the availability of access to reliable information.

In this thesis considerable emphasis has been placed on the visual dimensions of ritual performance. Indeed, each of the four case studies in Part Two illustrate the very

¹² Usk, pp. 90-1.

¹³ A. Raine (ed.), *York Civic Records*, 9 vols., Yorkshire Archaeological Society, Record Series, 98, 103, 106, 108, 110, 112, 115, 119, 138 (1939-78), II: 71-3.

¹⁴ *Ibid.*, II: 73. Richard was in fact buried in the church of the Friars Minor in Leicester after his body had been publically displayed in the town for several days.

great extent to which the political dimensions of ritual performance were expressed in visual terms. In the past, historians have perhaps under-appreciated the extent to which the multi-sensory character of ritual performance effected the relationship that linked ritual practice to its contextual politics. However, my analysis has asserted the importance of visual representation in ritual both as a mechanism for the articulation of dynamic political ideas, and as a stimulus for the consumption of ritual meanings by contemporary audiences.

The traditional perception of ritual as an immutable form of behaviour has depended to a great extent upon a concentration of analysis on ritual language. Indeed, ritual language tends to betray a relatively high degree of fixity not only in prescriptive texts, but also to a considerable extent in records of actual ritual practice. Significantly, this study has recognised that the character of visual representation in ritual was increasingly made subject to textual prescription. Nevertheless, my analysis in Part One reveals that the character and form of visual imagery in ritual performances were not nearly as fixed as the usage of language. The relative fluidity of visual representation was the key factor which made imagery the principal mode of political expression in ritual performances. At the same time, the fact that visual imagery so obviously played an important role in the politics of ritual indicates that the political dimensions of ritual performance were fuelled from without, rather than from within, a textually prescribed framework.

The study of regalia in Chapter Three of this thesis has shown that a ritualised image of the king functioned well beyond the confines of actual ritual practice. Furthermore, it is apparent that royal representation was not restricted in its aesthetic scope by prescriptive textual formula relating to actual ritual practice. Thus, while the formal iconography of late medieval kingship was essentially derived from a coronation image of the king, the evolution which took place in the public style of the royal image during the later middle ages was not primarily determined by developments in coronation ritual itself. At the same time, however, it does seem probable that the development of greater rigidity in ritual as a result of the textualisation of ritual procedures, contributed to the generation of a more formal visual vocabulary of kingship which came complete with its own system of canonical encoded meanings. It is interesting to note, for example, that in a series of early sixteenth-century woodcuts of English kings that were used in early printed books, the representation of regalia was used as a visual mechanism for communicating information concerning the variety of different fates that were experienced by individual monarchs. Thus, Edward II, Richard II and Henry VI were depicted in the woodcuts holding inverted

rods as a sign of their deposition, while the slain usurper Richard III was shown holding a broken rod, and the uncrowned Edward V was shown with a crown hanging suspended over his head.¹⁵

Throughout this thesis my analysis has focused primarily upon the production rather than the consumption of meaning in ritual, although some analytical problems which arise out of the inherent instability and plurality of ritual meaning have been discussed within a more theoretical framework in the introductory chapter. Given the relative ambiguity of visual symbols when compared to spoken words, it must be expected that the visual dimensions of ritual experience were liable to be more uncontrolled in their acquisition of meaning than equivalent verbal dimensions of ritual practice. Since this thesis has generally argued for the importance of the visual within the production of royal rituals, it clearly follows that historians should begin to develop methodologies that will allow them to understand more fully the various ways in which rituals were actually consumed by participants and spectators.

Interestingly, the analysis of ritual spaces may provide at least one viable approach to understanding the ways in which rituals were consumed. The passage of the king through a sequence of delineated ritualised spaces and sensory environments can be reconstructed fairly successfully from a spatial reading of the rubrics of *ordines*. Of course, what needs to be remembered is that these types of progression would have been less apparent to an individual ritual participant who gained access to only a part of the whole ritual process. The spatial position (and therefore the social status) of a ritual participant or spectator would necessarily have determined and effected the quality of that person's experience of a ritual, and the meaning which they derived from such an experience. Thus, a Londoner who witnessed the coronation procession through the streets of the city would probably not have had much of an impression of the rituals performed within Westminster Abbey. If the same Londoner was one of the many who reportedly had their purses cut while cheering the coronation procession of Henry VI in 1429, then the dominant impression that he or she would have derived from the procession would doubtless have

¹⁵ See Hodnett, *English Woodcuts*, pp. 437-9 & plate 233. Also see Hope, *Windsor Castle*, II: 413-14 & plate 57, for a panel painting attached to an exterior wall of the chantry chapel of Oliver King in St. George's Chapel, which again shows a figurative image of Edward V with a crown suspended above his head.

been rather different from that which was imagined in the minds of ritual planners.¹⁶ Ultimately, these are issues which have lain beyond the scope of this current thesis, but they remain an important area for future research by historians who wish to trace the interaction of politics and ritualised behaviour in the late medieval period.

¹⁶ H.T. Riley (ed.), *Annales Monasterii Sancti Albani a Johanne Amundesham*, 2 vols., RS, 28 (1870-1), I: 44.

Appendix

Soteltes and selected dishes served at the coronation banquet of Katherine of Valois as described in contemporary and near-contemporary sources

Table 1: The first course

Table 2: The second course

Table 3: The third course

Tables showing descriptions of the soteltes and selected dishes served at the coronation banquet of Katherine of Valois as described in contemporary and near-contemporary sources

Table 1: The first course

Source	Sotelte	Dishes
<i>Chronicle of London, from 1089 to 1483</i> , eds. N.H. Nicholas & E. Tyrrel (London, 1827), p. 164.	A sotelte callid a pellican on hire nest with briddis and an ymage of Saint Katerine with a whele in hire hande dysputyng with the hethen clerks, having this Reason in hir hande: <i>Madame la Roigne</i> ; the Pellican answeryng <i>Cest enseigne</i> ; the briddes answeryng <i>Est du roy pur tenir joie a tout gent il met sentent</i> .	Lech lumbarde florisslid with colars of esses and brome coddess of gold in a Target with the armes of the kyng and the quene departid.
<i>The Great Chronicle of London</i> , eds. A.H. Thomas & I.D. Thornley (London, 1938), p. 117.	A sotilte called pellycan on his nest with briddes and an ymage of Saint Kateryn with a boke in hyre hande dysputyng with the hethen clerkes havynge this reson in hyre hande: <i>Madame la Reigne</i> ; the pellican answeryng <i>Ceste enseigne</i> ; the briddes answeryng <i>Est diroy pur tenir joy a tout gent il mette sentent</i> .	Leche lumbarde florysshed with colers of esses and bron coddess with the armys of the kyng and the quene departed.
Fabyan, R., <i>The New Chronicles of England and France</i> , ed. H. Ellis (London, 1811), pp. 586-7.	And a sotyltie called a pellycan syttyng on his nest with her byrdes, and an ymage of Seynt Katheryne holdyng a booke, and dysputyng with the doctours, holdyng a reason in her right hande, sayyng: <i>Madame le royne</i> ; and the pellican as an answer <i>Ce est la signe, et du roy, pur tenir joy, et a tout sa gent, elle mete sa entent</i> .	Leche lumbarde florysshed.
<i>Historical Collections of a Citizen of London in the Fifteenth Century</i> , ed. J. Gairdner, CS, new series, 17 (1876), p. 141. [Known as 'Gregory's Chronicle']	A sotylte i-callyd pellycane, etc.	Lesche lumbarde.
<i>The Brut, or the Chronicles of England</i> , ed. F. W.D. Brie, 2 vols., EETS original series, 136 (1908), II: 447.	A sodelte.	Leych lumbarde.

Table 2: The second course

Source	Sotelte	Dishes
<p><i>Chronicle of London, from 1089 to 1483</i>, eds. N.H. Nicholas & E. Tyrrel (London, 1827), p. 164.</p>	<p>A sotelte. A panter with an ymage of Seint Katerine in the same tariage and a whele in hire hand, and a reason in hire other hand. The reason was this: <i>La Roigne ma file</i>. The panter answering <i>In cest ile</i>; another best answering with this reason, <i>Of Albion</i>; another best sayng <i>Aves renowne</i>.</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Gely florished with columbyne floures of white potages. - Lech damaske with the kyngs worde <i>Une sanz plus</i> writon of white lettre. - Flampan florished with a scochyn roial, theryn three crownes of golde and plantid with floure de lice of golde and floures of camomil wrought of confections.
<p><i>The Great Chronicle of London</i>, eds. A.H. Thomas & I.D. Thornley (London, 1938), pp. 117-18.</p>	<p>A sotilte. A pantere with an image of Seynt Kateryne on the same tarage an a whele in hire hande and a reson in hire other hande. The reson is this: <i>La Roigne ma file</i>. The pantere answering <i>En cest ile</i>; another beste answering with this reson, <i>Be alyori</i>; a nother beste answering <i>Avez Renoun</i>.</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Gele florysshed with columbyn floures of white potages. - Leche damaske with the kynges worde, <i>Un sanz plus</i> wreten of white lettre. - Flampayn florysshed with a scochon roiall therin iii corounes of gold and plantid with floures delys of gold and floures of camamylle wrought of confections.
<p>Fabyan, R., <i>The New Chronicles of England and France</i>, ed. H. Ellis (London, 1811), p. 587.</p>	<p>And a sotyltie named a panter with an image of Seynt Katheryn with a whele in her hande, and a rolle with a reason in that other hande sayng: <i>La royne ma file</i>, in <i>cest ile</i>, <i>par bonne reson</i>, <i>aves renoun</i>.</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Gely coloured with columbyne floures. - Whyte potage or creme of almandes. - Leche damask with the kynges worde or prouerbe flourysshed: <i>Une sanz plus</i>. - Flampseyn flourished with a scochon royall, therin thre crownes of golde plantyd with floure delyce and floures of camemyl wrought of confectionys.
<p><i>Historical Collections of a Citizen of London in the Fifteenth Century</i>, ed. J. Gairdner, CS, new series, 17 (1876), p. 141. [Known as 'Gregory's Chronicle']</p>	<p>A sotelte, a panter and a mayde before hym, etc.</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Jely. - Lesche damaske. - Flampayne.
<p><i>The Brut, or the Chronicles of England</i>, ed. F.W.D. Brie, 2 vols., EETS original series, 136 (1908), II: 447.</p>	<p>A sotelte.</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Gele. - Leyche damask. - Flampaun ryall.

Table 3: The Third Course

Source	Sotelte	Dishes
<p><i>Chronicle of London, from 1089 to 1483</i>, eds. N.H. Nicholas & E. Tyrrel (London, 1827), pp. 164-5.</p>	<p>A sotelte. A tigre lokyng in a mirour and a man ridyng on horsebak, armed, with a tigre whelpe in his barne and throwyng mirours for his defence; and a reson writon: <i>Par force saunz droit jay pris ce best</i>. Another reason for thanswere of the tigre: <i>Gile de mirroure ma fait discour</i>.</p>	<p>- A lessh callid the white lessh with hauthorne leves grene and redd hawes. - A mete in paste with iiij aungels in fourme of Sent Katherine whele in the myddes with a reason: <i>Il est escrite, pur voir et dit, par marriage pure, ce guerre ne dure</i>.</p>
<p><i>The Great Chronicle of London</i>, eds. A.H. Thomas & I.D. Thornley (London, 1938), pp. 118-19.</p>	<p>A sotilte. A tygre lokyng in a myrroure and a man ridyng upon an horse bakke armed with a tigre whelpe in his arme and throwyng myrroures for his defetise; and a reson wreten: <i>Per force sanz droit jay pris cest beste</i>. A nother reson for the answer of the tygre: <i>Gyle de myrroure ma fait discour</i>.</p>	<p>- A leche called the white leche with hawethorne leves grene and rede hawes. - A mete in paste with iiij Aungels in the fourme of Seynt Kateryne whele in the mydde with a reson: <i>Il est escrite pur voir et dit par marriage pure ce guerre ne dure</i>.</p>
<p>Fabyan, R., <i>The New Chronicles of England and France</i>, ed. H. Ellis (London, 1811), pp. 587-8.</p>	<p>And lastly a sotyltie named a tigre lokyng in a mirroure and a man syttyng on horse backe, clene armyd, holding in his army a tiger whelpe with this reason: <i>Par force sanz reson ie ay pryse ceste beste</i>; and with his one hande makynge a countenance of throwyng of mirroures at the great tigre, the which helde this reason: <i>Gile the mirroure ma fete distour</i>.</p>	<p>- A leche called the whyte leche florysshed with hawthorne leuys and redde hawys. - A march payne garnysshed with dyuerse fygures of aungellys, amonge the which was set an image of Seynt Katheryne holdyng this reson: <i>Il est escrit pur voir et dit per marriage pur cest guerre ne dure</i>.</p>
<p><i>Historical Collections of a Citizen of London in the Fifteenth Century</i>, ed. J. Gardner, CS, new series, 17 (1876), p. 141. [Known as 'Gregory's Chronicle']</p>	<p>A sotelte. A tygyr and Synnt Gorge ledyng hyt.</p>	<p>- A lesche callyd whythe leysche. - A bake mete in paste with iiij aungelys.</p>
<p><i>The Brut, or the Chronicles of England</i>, ed. F.W.D. Brie, 2 vols., EETS original series, 136 (1908), II: 447.</p>	<p>A sotelte. A tyget and Saynt George ledyng it.</p>	<p>- A leyche called whyte leysche. - A bake mete in past with iiij aungels.</p>

Bibliography

Unpublished Primary Sources

Cambridge: Trinity College
MS R.5 41.

Cambridge: Cambridge University Library
MS MM III, 21.

The Hague: Rijksmuseum Meermanno-Westreenianum
MS 10 C 12.

London: British Library
Additional MS 18669.
Additional MS 4814.
Cotton Charter XVI 63
Cotton MS Cleopatra F iii.
Cotton MS Claudius A viii.
Cotton MS Domitian A xvii.
Cotton MS Faustina B. v.
Cotton Julius E iv Art. 6
Cotton MS Nero D vi.
Cotton MS Nero D vii.
Egerton MS 985.
Harleian MS 561.
Harleian MS 4380.
Lansdowne MS 451.
Loan MS 38.

London: College of Arms
MS M 14.
MS R 36.
Arundel MS 51.

London: Public Record Office
C 49 Chancery: Parliamentary and Council Proceedings.
C 54 Chancery: Close Rolls.
C 57 Chancery: Coronation Rolls.

- E 101 Exchequer, King's Remembrancer: Accounts Various.
 E 159 Exchequer, King's Remembrancer: Memoranda Rolls.
 E 361 Exchequer, Pipe Office: Enrolled Wardrobe and Household Accounts.
 E 372 Exchequer, Pipe Office: Pipe Rolls.
 E 401 Exchequer of Receipt: Receipt Rolls.
 E 403 Exchequer of Receipt: Issue Rolls.
 LC 2 Lord Chamberlain's Department: Records of Special Events.
 LC 9 Lord Chamberlain's Department: Accounts and Miscellanea.

London: Westminster Abbey Manuscripts

MS 37

MS 38

Islip Roll.

London: Westminster Abbey Muniments

Muniments 5257A, 5258, 9473, 20344, 23986B.

London: Westminster City Archives

Box 57

Box 58

Manchester: Chetham's Library

MS 6712

Oxford: Bodleian Library

Ashmolean MS 863

Pamplona: Archivo General de Navarra

MS 197

Paris: Bibliothèque Nationale

MS 83

Published Primary Sources

Adae Murimuth, Continuatio Chronicarum Robertus de Avesbury de Gesta Mirabilibus Regis Edwardi Tertii, ed. E.M. Thompson, RS, 93 (1889).

"The Anglo-French Negotiations at Bruges, 1374-77," ed. E. Perroy, *Camden Miscellany* 29, CS, third series, 80 (1952).

“Annales Monasterii de Wintonia,” in *Annales Monastici*, ed. H.R. Luard, 5 vols., RS, 36 (1864-9).

Annales Monasterii Sancti Albani a Johanne Amundesham, ed. H.T. Riley, 2 vols., RS, 28 (1870-1).

“Annales Ricardi Secundi et Henrici Quarti,” in *Johannis de Trokelowe et Anon Chronica et Annales*, ed. H.T. Riley, RS, 28 (1866).

The Anonimale Chronicle, 1333 to 1381, ed. V.H. Galbraith (Manchester, 1927).

Antiquarian Repertory, eds. R. Grose & T. Astle, 4 vols. (London, 1807).

The Belle Heures of Jean, Duke of Berry, eds. M. Meiss & E.H. Beatson (New York, 1974).

British Library Harleian Manuscript 433, eds. R. Horrox & P.W. Hammond, 4 vols. (Upminster & London, 1979-83).

The Brut, or the Chronicles of England, ed. F.W.D. Brie, 2 vols., EETS original series, 131, 136 (1906-08).

Calendar of Charter Rolls.

Calendar of Close Rolls.

Calendar of Letter-Books Preserved Amongst the Archives of the Corporation of the City of London at the Guildhall, ed. R.R. Sharpe, 11 vols. (London, 1899-1912).

Calendar of Liberate Rolls.

Calendar of Patent Rolls.

Calendar of Plea and Memoranda Rolls of the City of London, eds. A.H. Thomas & P.E. Jones, 6 vols. (Cambridge 1926-61).

Capgrave, John, *Liber de Illustribus Henricis*, ed. F.C. Hingeston, RS, 7 (1858).

Ceremonial de la Coronación, Unción y Exequias de los Reyes de Inglaterra, ed. F. Idoate (Pamplona, undated).

Chronica Johannis de Reading et Anonymi Cantuariensis, ed. J. Tait (Manchester, 1914).

The Chronicle of Adam Usk 1377-1421, ed. & trans. C. Given-Wilson (Oxford, 1997).

“Chronicle of Dieulacres Abbey, 1381-1403,” eds. M.V. Clarke & V.H. Galbraith, in idem, “The Deposition of Richard II,” *BJRL*, 14 (1930): 125-81.

“Chronicle of Jean de Venette,” in *Chronique Latine de Guillaume de Nangis avec les Continuations*, ed. H. Géraud, 2 vols. (Paris, 1843).

Chronicle of John Hardyng, ed. H. Ellis (London, 1812).

“Chronicle of John Strecche for the Reign of Henry V (1414-1422),” ed. F. Taylor, *BJRL*, 16 (1932): 137-87.

A Chronicle of London, from 1089 to 1489, eds. N.H. Nicolas & E. Tyrrell (London, 1827).

The Chronicles of Enguerrand de Monstrelet, ed. & trans. T. Johnes, 2 vols. (London, 1840).

Chronicles of London, ed. C.L. Kingsford (Oxford, 1905).

Chronicles of the Revolution, 1397-1400: The Reign of Richard II, ed. & trans. C. Given-Wilson (Manchester, 1993).

Chronicon Angliae, ed. E.M. Thompson, *RS*, 64 (1874).

Chronicon Galfridi le Baker de Swynbroke, ed. E.M. Thompson (Oxford, 1889).

“Chronicon Thomae Wykes,” in *Annales Monastici*, ed. H.R. Luard, 5 vols., *RS*, 36 (1864-9).

Chronique de la Traison et Mort de Richart Deux Roy Dengleterre, ed. B. Williams (London, 1846).

Collection Générale des Document Français ou se Trouve en Angleterre, ed. J. Delpit (Paris, 1847).

A Collection of all the Wills...of the Kings and Queens of England, ed. J. Nichol (London, 1780).

A Collection of Ordinances and Regulations for the Government of the Royal Household made in Divers Reigns, Society of Antiquaries (London, 1790).

The Coronation Book of Charles V of France, ed. E.S. Dewick, HBS, 16 (1899).

The Coronation of Richard III: The Extant Documents, eds. & trans. A.F. Sutton & P.W. Hammond (Gloucester & New York, 1983).

Coventry Leet Book, or Mayor's Register 1420-1455, ed. M.D. Harris, 2 vols., EETS original series, 134, 135 (1907-8).

Creton, Jean, "A Metrical History of the Deposition of King Richard the Second," ed. & trans. J. Webb, *Archaeologia*, 20 (1823): 1-402.

Documents Illustrative of English History in the Thirteenth and Fourteenth Centuries, ed. H. Cole (London, 1844).

Dugdale, William, *Monasticon Anglicanum*, eds. J. Caley, H. Ellis & B. Bandinel, 6 vols. in 8 (London, 1917-30).

Elmham, Thomas, *Vita et Gesta Henrici Quinti Anglorum Regis*, ed. T. Hearne (Oxford, 1727).

An English Chronicle of the Reigns of Richard II, Henry IV, Henry V and Henry VI, ed. J.S. Davies, CS, 64 (1856).

English Coronation Records, ed. & trans. L.G. Wickham Legg (London, 1901).

Eulogium Historiarum Sive Temporis, ed. F.S. Haydon, 3 vols., RS, 9 (1858-63).

"An Extract Relating to the Burial of King Edward IV," ed. T. Astle, *Archaeologia*, 1 (1770): 348-55.

Fabyan, Robert, *The New Chronicles of England and France*, ed. H. Ellis (London, 1811).

Foedera, Conventiones, Literae et Cujuscunque Generis Acta Publica, ed. T. Rymer (The Hague, 1740). 1967 reprint.

Foedera, Conventiones, Literae et Cujuscunque Generis Acta Publica, ed. T. Rymer, Record Commission edn., 3 vols. in 6 parts (London, 1816-30).

- Froissart, Sir John, *Chronicles*, ed. T. Johnes, 2 vols. (London, 1839).
- Gesta Henrici Quinti*, eds. F. Taylor & J.S. Roskell (Oxford, 1975).
- Gesta Regis Henrici Secundi Benedicti Abbatis*, ed. W. Stubbs, 2 vols., RS, 49 (1867).
- Gower, John, "Cronica Tripertita," in *The Complete Works of John Gower*, ed. G.C. Macauley, 4 vols. (Oxford, 1899-1902).
- The Great Chronicle of London*, eds. A.H. Thomas & I.D. Thornley (London, 1938).
- Henrici VI Angliae Regis Miracula Postuma: Ex Codice Musei Britannici Regio 13 c.VIII*, ed. P.S.J. Grosjean, Société des Bollandistes (Brussels, 1935).
- Historia Anglicana*, ed. H.T. Riley, 2 vols., RS, 28 (1863-4).
- Historia et Cartularium Monasterii Sancti Petri Gloucestriae*, ed. W.H. Hart, 3 vols., RS, 33 (1863-7).
- Historia Vitae et Regni Ricardi Secundi*, ed. G.B. Stow (Philadelphia, 1977).
- Historical Collections of a Citizen of London in the Fifteenth Century*, ed. J. Gairdner, CS, new series, 17 (1876).
- The History of Westminster Abbey by John Flete*, ed. J.A. Robinson, Notes and Documents Relating to Westminster Abbey, 2 (Cambridge, 1909).
- The Household of Edward IV: The Black Book and the Ordinance of 1478*, ed. A.R. Myers (Manchester, 1959).
- Ingulph's Chronicle of the Abbey of Croyland*, ed. H.T. Riley (London, 1908).
- Issues of the Exchequer: King Henry III to King Henry VI*, ed. F. Devon (London, 1837).
- Langland, William, *The Vision of Piers Plowman: A Complete Edition of the B-Text*, ed. A.V.C. Schmidt (London, 1978).
- *Piers Plowman: the C-Text*, ed. D. Pearsall (Exeter, 1994).
- Leland, John, *De Rebus Britannicis Collectanea*, ed. T. Hearne, 6 vols. (London, 1774).

Letters and Papers Illustrative of the Reigns of Richard III and Henry VII, ed. J. Gairdner, 2 vols., RS, 24 (1861-3).

Liber Regalis, ed. W.H. Bliss (London, 1870).

Liber Regie Capelle: A Manuscript in the Biblioteca Publica, Evora, ed. W. Ullmann, HBS, 92 (1959).

The Libro Cerimoniale of the Florentine Republic, ed. R.C. Trexler (Geneva, 1978).

The Life and Martyrdom of Saint Katherine of Alexandria, Virgin and Martyr, ed. H.H. Gibbs (London, 1884).

Life of the Black Prince by the Herald of Sir John Chandos, eds. M.K. Pope & E.C. Lodge (Oxford, 1910).

“The Manner of Burienge Great Persons in Ancient Tymes,” ed. W. Dolben, *Archaeologia*, 1 (1770): 346-8.

The Manuscripts of Westminster Abbey, eds. M.R. James & J Armitage Robinson, Notes and Documents Relating to Westminster Abbey, 1 (Cambridge, 1909).

Matthaei Parisiensis, Monachi Sancti Albani, Chronica Majora, ed. H.R. Luard, 7 vols., RS, 57 (1872-83).

Memoriale Fratis Walteri de Coventria, ed. W. Stubbs, 2 vols., RS, 58 (1872-3).

Missale Ad Usum Ecclesie Westmonasteriensis, ed. J. Wickham Legg, 3 vols., HBS, 1, 5 & 12 (1891-7).

Monumenta Ritualia Ecclesiae Anglicanae, ed. W. Maskell, 3 vols. (London, 1846-7).

Munimenta Gildhallae Londoniensis: Liber Albus, Liber Custumarem et Liber Horn, ed. H.T. Riley, 3 vols., RS, 12 (1859-62).

A New English Dictionary on Historical Principles, eds. J.A.H. Murray, H. Bradley, W.A. Craigie & C.T. Onions, 10 vols. in 13 (Oxford, 1933).

A Parisian Journal, 1405-1449, ed. & trans. J. Shirley (Oxford, 1968).

The Parliamentary Writs and Writs of Summons Together with Records and Muniments

Relating to the Suit and Service Due and Performed to the King's High Court of Parliament, ed. F. Palgrave, 2 vols. in 4, RC (London, 1827-34).

Political Songs and Poems Relating to English History, ed. T. Wright, 2 vols., RS, 14 (1859-61).

Proceedings and Ordinances of the Privy Council of England, ed. N.H. Nicolas, 7 vols. (London, 1834-7).

The Reburial of Richard Duke of York, 21-30 July 1476, eds. & trans. A.F. Sutton & L. Visser-Fuchs, with P.W. Hammond, The Richard III Society (London, 1996).

The Receyt of the Ladie Kateryne, ed. G. Kipling, EETS original series, 296 (1990).

Register of Henry Chichele, Archbishop of Canterbury, 1414-1443, ed. E.F. Jacob, 4 vols., C&YS, 45, 42, 46, 47 (1938-47).

Reports from the Lords Committees Touching the Dignity of a Peer, 5 vols. (London, 1820-29).

Ricardi de Cirencestria Speculum Historiale de Gestis Regum Angliae, ed. J.E.B. Mayor, 2 vols., RS, 30 (1863-9).

Rogeri de Wendover Liber Qui Dicitur Flores Historiarum, ed. H.G. Hewlett, 3 vols., RS, 84 (1886-9).

Rotuli Parliamentorum, 6 vols. (London, 1783).

St. Albans Chronicle 1406-20, ed. V.H. Galbraith (Oxford, 1937).

St Katherine of Alexandria: The Late Middle English Prose Legend in Southwell Minster MS 7, eds. S. Nevanlinna & I. Taavitsainen (Cambridge & Helsinki, 1993).

Seinte Katerine, eds. S.R.T.O. d'Ardenne & E.J. Dobson, EETS supplementary series, 7 (1981).

Select Cases in the Court of King's Bench under Richard II, Henry IV and Henry V, ed. G.O. Sayles, Seld.Soc., 88 (1971).

Select Documents of English Constitutional History 1307-1485, eds. S.B. Chrimes & A.L. Brown (London, 1961).

The Sermons of Thomas Brinton, Bishop of Rochester (1373-89), ed. M.A. Devlin, 2 vols., CS, third series, 85, 86 (1954).

Testamenta Eboracensia, ed. J. Raine et al., 6 vols., Surt.Soc., 4, 30, 45, 53, 79, 106 (1836-1902).

Three Coronation Orders, ed. J. Wickham Legg, HBS, 19 (1900).

Titi Livii Foro-Julienensis, Vita Henrici Quinti Regis Angliae, ed. T. Hearne (Oxford, 1716).

Two Fifteenth-Century Cookery Books, ed. T. Austin, EETS original series, 91 (1888).

The Westminster Chronicle (1381-1394), eds. L.C. Hector & B.F. Harvey (Oxford, 1982).

Unity, Heresy and Reform, 1378-1460: The Conciliar Response to the Great Schism, ed. & trans. C.M.D. Crowder (London, 1977).

Voragine, Jacobus de, *The Golden Legend: Readings on the Saints*, ed. & trans. W.G. Ryan, 2 vols. (Princeton, 1993).

“Ymagines Historiarum,” in *Radulfi de Diceto Decani Lundoniensis Opera Historica*, ed. W. Stubbs, 2 vols., RS, 68 (1876).

York Civic Records, ed. A. Raine, 9 vols., Yorkshire Archaeological Society, Record Series, 98, 103, 106, 108, 110, 112, 115, 119, 138 (1939-78).

The York House Books 1461-1490, ed. L. Attreed, 2 vols. (Stroud, 1991).

Secondary Sources

Alexander, J.J.G., & Binski, P., eds., *Age of Chivalry: Art in Plantagenet England 1200-1400*, Royal Academy of Arts (London, 1987).

— “The Portrait of Richard II in Westminster Abbey,” in D. Gordon, L. Monnas & C. Elam, eds., *The Regal Image of Richard II and the Wilton Diptych* (London, 1997), pp. 197-206.

Allmand, C.T., *Henry V* (London, 1992).

Anglo, S., *Spectacle, Pageantry and Early Tudor Policy* (Oxford, 1969).

— *Images of Tudor Kingship* (London, 1992).

Arnold, J., "The Jupon or Coat-Armour of the Black Prince in Canterbury Cathedral," *Church Monuments*, 8 (1993): 12-24.

Ayloff, J., "An Account of the Body of King Edward the First, as it Appeared on Opening his Tomb in the Year 1774," *Archaeologia*, 3 (1775): 376-413.

Bak, J.M., "Medieval Symbolology of the State: Percy E. Schramm's Contributions," *Viator*, 4 (1973): 33-64.

— ed., *Coronations: Medieval and Early Modern Monarchic Ritual* (Berkeley, 1990).

— "Introduction," in idem, ed., *Coronations: Medieval and Early Modern Monarchic Ritual* (Berkeley, 1990), pp. 1-15.

Baker, H.C., "The Royal Tomb at King's Langley," *TMBS*, 11 (1969-74): 279-83.

Banks, T.C., *An Historical Account of the Ancient and Modern Forms, Pageantry and Ceremony, of the Coronations of the Kings of England* (London, 1820).

Barlow, F., "The King's Evil," *EHR*, 95 (1980): 3-27.

Barron, C.M., "The Tyranny of Richard II," *BIHR*, 41 (1968): 1-18.

— "The Deposition of Richard II," in J. Taylor & W. Childs, eds., *Politics and Crisis in Fourteenth-Century England* (Gloucester, 1990), pp. 132-49.

— "Richard II and London," in A. Goodman & J.L. Gillespie, eds., *Richard II: The Art of Kingship* (Oxford, 1999), pp. 129-54.

Beaune, C., *The Birth of an Ideology: Myths and Symbols of Nation in Late Medieval France*, trans. S.R. Huston & ed. F.L. Cheyette (Berkeley & Los Angeles, 1991).

Bell, C., *Ritual Theory, Ritual Practice* (Oxford, 1992).

Bennett, M., "Edward III's Entail and the Succession to the Crown, 1376-1471," *EHR*, 103 (1998): 580-609.

Bernardi, T., "Analisi di una Cerimonia Pubblica. L'Incoronazione di Carlo V a Bologna," *Quaderni Storici*, 61 (1986): 171-99.

- Binski, P., *The Painted Chamber at Westminster*, Society of Antiquaries, Occasional Paper, 9 (London, 1986).
- *Westminster Abbey and the Plantagenets: Kingship and the Representation of Power, 1200-1400* (New Haven & London, 1995).
- *Medieval Death: Ritual and Representation* (London, 1996).
- “The *Liber Regalis*: Its Date and European Context,” in D. Gordon, L. Monnas & C. Elam, eds., *The Regal Image of Richard II and the Wilton Diptych* (London, 1997), pp. 233-46.
- Bird, R., *The Turbulent London of Richard II* (London, 1949).
- Blackley, F.D., “Isabella of France, Queen of England 1308-1358, and the Late Medieval Cult of the Dead,” *CJH*, 14 (1980): 23-47.
- “The Tomb of Isabella of France, Wife of Edward II of England,” *ISSCMB*, 8 (1983): 161-4.
- Blair, C., *The History of the Coronation Regalia in the Jewel House of the Tower of London* (London, 1998).
- Bloch, Marc, *The Royal Touch: Sacred Kingship and Scrofula in England and France*, trans. J.E. Anderson (Montreal & London, 1973). Originally published as *Les Rois Thaumatourges* (Strasbourg, 1924).
- Bloch, Maurice, “Introduction,” in idem, ed., *Political Language and Oratory in Traditional Society* (New York, 1975), pp. 1-28.
- *From Blessing to Violence: History and Ideology in the Circumcision Ritual of the Merina of Madagascar* (Cambridge, 1986).
- “The Ritual of the Royal Bath in Madagascar,” in D. Cannadine & S. Price, eds., *Rituals of Royalty: Power and Ceremonial in Traditional Societies* (Cambridge, 1987), pp. 271-97.
- Brown, E.A.R., “The Ceremonial of Royal Succession in Capetian France: The Double Funeral of Louis X,” *Traditio*, 34 (1978): 227-71. Reprinted in idem, *The Monarchy of Capetian France and Royal Ceremonial*, Variorum Reprints (Aldershot, 1991).

- “The Ceremonial of Royal Succession in Capetian France: The Funeral of Philip V,” *Speculum*, 55 (1980): 266-93. Reprinted in idem, *Capetian France*.
- “Death and the Human Body in the Later Middle Ages: The Legislation of Boniface VIII on the Division of the Corpse,” *Viator*, 12 (1981): 221-70. Reprinted in idem, *Capetian France*.
- “The Prince is Father of the King: The Character and Childhood of Philip the Fair of France,” *Medieval Studies*, 49 (1987): 282-334. Reprinted in idem, *Capetian France*.
- & Freeman Regalado, N., “*La Grant Feste*: Philip the Fair’s Celebration of the Knighting of His Sons in Paris at Pentecost of 1313,” in B.A. Hanawalt & K.L. Reyerson, eds., *City and Spectacle in Medieval Europe* (Minneapolis, 1994), pp. 56-86.
- Brown, R.A., Colvin, H.M., & Taylor A.J., eds., *A History of the King’s Works: The Middle Ages*, 2 vols. (London, 1963).
- Brückmann, J., “The Ordines of the Third Recension of the Medieval English Coronation Order,” in T.A. Sandquist & M.R. Powicke, eds., *Essays in Medieval History Presented to Bertie Wilkinson* (Toronto, 1969), pp. 99-115.
- Bryant, L.M., *The King and the City in the Parisian Royal Entry Ceremony: Politics, Ritual and Art in the Renaissance* (Geneva, 1986).
- “Configurations of the Community in Late Medieval Spectacles: Paris and London during the Dual Monarchy,” in B.A. Hanawalt & K.L. Reyerson, eds., *City and Spectacle in Medieval Europe* (Minneapolis, 1994), pp. 3-33.
- Burrow, J.A., *The Ages of Man: A Study in Medieval Writing and Thought* (Oxford, 1986).
- Cannadine, D., “Introduction: The Divine Rite of Kings,” in idem, & S. Price, eds., *Rituals of Royalty: Power and Ceremonial in Traditional Societies* (Cambridge, 1987), pp. 1-19.
- Carpenter, D.A., *The Minority of Henry III* (London, 1990).
- “The Burial of King Henry III, the ‘Regalia’ and Royal Ideology,” in idem, *The Reign of Henry III* (London & Rio Grande, 1996), pp. 427-61.
- Certeau, M. de, *The Practice of Everyday Life*, trans. F. Rendall (Berkeley, 1984).

- Chamberlayne, J.L., "Crowns and Virgins: Queenmaking During the Wars of the Roses," in K.J. Lewis, N.J. Menuge & K.M. Phillips, eds., *Young Medieval Women* (New York, 1999), pp. 47-68.
- "Fertility Rite or Authority Ritual? The Queen's Coronation in Fifteenth-Century England," in T. Thornton, ed., *Social Attitudes and Political Structures in the Fifteenth Century* (forthcoming).
- Cheney, C.R., ed., *Handbook of Dates for Students of English History* (Cambridge, 1996).
- Cherry, J., & Stratford, N., *Westminster Kings and the Medieval Palace of Westminster*, British Museum Occasional Paper, 115 (London, 1995).
- Cockerell, S.C., "André Beauneveu and the Portrait of Richard II at Westminster," *Burlington Magazine*, 10 (1906): 126-7.
- Collins, A.J., *Jewels and Plate of Elizabeth I* (London, 1955).
- Crook, D., "Central England and the Revolt of the Earls, January 1400," *HR*, 64 (1991): 403-10.
- Cuttino, G.P., & Lyman, T.W., "Where is Edward II?" *Speculum*, 53 (1978): 522-44.
- Davies, R.G., "Richard II and the Church," in A. Goodman & J.L. Gillespie, eds., *Richard II: The Art of Kingship* (Oxford, 1999), pp. 81-106.
- Derrida, J., "Structure, Sign and Play in the Discourse of the Human Sciences," in idem, *Writing and Difference*, trans. A. Bass (Chicago, 1978), pp. 278-93.
- Dreyfus, H.L., & Rabinow, P., *Michel Foucault: Beyond Structuralism and Hermeneutics* (Chicago, 1982).
- Durkheim, E., *The Elementary Forms of the Religious Life*, trans. J.W. Swain (New York, 1965). Originally published in 1915.
- Eberle, P.J., "Richard II and the Literary Arts," in A. Goodman & J.L. Gillespie, eds., *Richard II: The Art of Kingship* (Oxford, 1999), pp. 231-53.
- Eeles, F.C., *The English Coronation Service: Its History and Teaching* (Oxford, 1902).
- Erlande-Brandenburg, A., *Le Roi est Mort: Étude sur les Funerailles, les Sepultures et les*

- Tombeaux des Rois de France jusqu'à la Fin du XIII^{ème} Siècle* (Geneva, 1975).
- Evans, J., "Edmund of Langley and his Tomb," *Archaeologia*, 46 (1881): 297-328.
- Fernandez, J.W., "Symbolic Consensus in a Fang Reformatory Cult," *American Anthropologist*, 67 (1965): 902-29.
- Finucane, R.C., "Sacred Corpse, Profane Carrion: Social Ideals and Death Rituals in the Later Middle Ages," in J. Whaley, ed., *Mirrors of Mortality: Studies in the Social History of Death* (London, 1981), pp. 40-60.
- Fletcher, D., "The Lancastrian Collar of Esses: Its Origins and Transformations Down the Centuries," in J.L. Gillespie, ed., *The Age of Richard II* (Stroud, 1997), pp. 191-204.
- Fox-Davies, A.C., *The Wordsworth Complete Guide to Heraldry* (Ware, 1996). Originally published in 1925.
- Fryde, N.M., *The Tyranny and Fall of Edward II, 1321-1326* (Cambridge, 1979).
- Galbraith, V.H., "Thomas Walsingham and the Saint Albans Chronicle, 1272-1422," *EHR*, 47 (1932): 12-30.
- Geertz, C., "Religion as a Cultural System," in M. Banton, ed., *Anthropological Approaches to the Study of Religion* (London, 1966), pp. 1-46.
- "Centers, Kings and Charisma: Reflections on the Symbolics of Power," in J. Ben-David & T.N. Clark, eds., *Culture and its Creators: Essays in Honour of Edward Shils* (Chicago & London, 1977), pp. 150-71. Reprinted in S. Wilentz, ed., *Rites of Power: Symbolism, Ritual and Politics Since the Middle Ages* (Philadelphia, 1985), pp. 13-38.
- Genet, J-P., "English Nationalism: Thomas Polton at the Council of Constance," *NMS*, 38 (1984): 60-78.
- Gerholm, T., "On Ritual: A Post-Modernist View," *Ethnos*, 3-4 (1988): 190-203.
- Gerth, H.H., & Mills, C. Wright, eds., *Max Weber* (London, 1970).
- Gibbons, R., "The Piety of Isabeau of Bavaria, Queen of France, 1385-1422," in D.E.S. Dunn, ed., *Courts, Counties and the Capital in the Later Middle Ages* (Stroud, 1996), pp. 205-24.

- Giesey, R.E., *The Royal Funeral Ceremony in Renaissance France* (Geneva, 1960).
- “Models of Rulership,” in S. Wilentz, ed., *Rites of Power: Symbolism, Ritual and Politics Since the Middle Ages* (Philadelphia, 1985), pp. 41-64.
- “Inaugural Aspects of French Royal Ceremonials,” in J.M. Bak, ed., *Coronations: Medieval and Early Modern Monarchic Ritual* (Berkeley, 1990), pp. 35-45.
- Given-Wilson, C., *The Royal Household and the King's Affinity: Service, Politics and Finance in England 1360-1413* (New Haven & London, 1986).
- *The English Nobility in the Late Middle Ages* (London & New York, 1987).
- “Adam Usk, the Monk of Evesham, and the Parliament of 1397-8,” *HR*, 66 (1993): 329-35.
- “The Manner of King Richard's Renunciation: A ‘Lancastrian Narrative’?” *EHR*, 108 (1993): 365-70.
- Gluckman, M., *Order and Rebellion in Tribal Africa* (Glencoe, 1963).
- Goodman, A., “John of Gaunt: Paradigm of the Late Fourteenth-Century Crisis,” *TRHS*, fifth series, 37 (1987): 133-48.
- *John of Gaunt: The Exercise of Princely Power in Fourteenth-Century Europe* (London, 1992).
- Gordon, D., ed., *Making and Meaning: The Wilton Diptych*, The National Gallery (London, 1993).
- Grandeau, Y., “La mort et les obsèques de Charles VI,” *Bulletin philologique et historique (jusqu'à 1610) du comité des travaux historiques et scientifiques* (1970): 133-86.
- Gransden, A., *Historical Writing in England, Vol. II: c. 1307 to the Early Sixteenth Century* (London, 1982).
- Green, V., *An Account of the Discovery of the Body of King John, in the Cathedral Church of Worcester, July 17th 1797* (London and Worcester, 1797).
- Griffiths, R.A., *The Reign of King Henry VI* (London, 1981).

- Haines, R.M., *The Church and Politics in Fourteenth-Century England: The Career of Adam Orleton* (Cambridge, 1978).
- *Archbishop John Stratford: Political Revolutionary and Champion of the Liberties of the English Church, ca. 1275/80-1348* (Toronto, 1986).
- Hallam, E.M., “Royal Burial and the Cult of Kingship in France and England, 1060-1330,” *JMH*, 8 (1982): 359-80.
- “Philip the Fair and the Cult of Saint Louis,” *Studies in Church History*, 18 (1982): 201-14.
- “The Eleanor Crosses and Royal Burial Customs,” in D. Parsons (ed.), *Eleanor of Castile 1290-1290* (Stamford, 1991), pp. 9-18.
- Hanawalt, B.A., & Reyerson, K.L., eds., *City and Spectacle in Medieval Europe* (Minnesota, 1994).
- Handelman, D., *Models and Mirrors: Towards an Anthropology of Public Events* (Cambridge, 1990).
- Harriss, G.L., “Introduction: The Exemplar of Kingship,” in idem, ed., *Henry V: The Practice of Kingship* (Oxford, 1985), pp. 1-29.
- “The King and his Magnates,” in idem (ed.), *Henry V: The Practice of Kingship* (Oxford, 1985), pp. 31-51.
- “The Management of Parliament,” in idem, ed., *Henry V: The Practice of Kingship*, (Oxford, 1985), pp. 137-58.
- Harvey, A., & Mortimer, R., eds., *The Funeral Effigies of Westminster Abbey* (Woodbridge, 1994).
- Harvey, J., *The Plantagenets* (New York, 1959).
- Hedeman, A.D., *The Royal Image: Illustrations of the Grandes Chroniques de France, 1274-1422* (Berkeley, 1991).
- Hepburn, F., *Portraits of the Later Plantagenets* (Woodbridge, 1986).
- Herrero Carretero, C., *Museo de Telas Medievales: Monasterio de Santa María la Real de*

Huelgas, Patrimonio Nacional (Madrid, 1988).

Heslop, T.A., "The Virgin Mary's Regalia and 12th Century English Seals," in A. Borg & A. Martindale, eds., *The Vanishing Past: Studies of Medieval Art, Liturgy and Metrology Presented to Christopher Hohler*, British Archaeological Reports, supplementary series, 111 (1981), pp. 53-62.

Hodnett, E., *English Woodcuts 1480-1535* (Oxford, 1973).

Hobsbawn, E., & Ranger, T., eds., *The Invention of Tradition* (Cambridge, 1983).

Holmes, G.A., "The Rebellion of the Earl of Lancaster, 1328-9," *BIHR*, 28 (1955): 84-9.

— *The Good Parliament* (Oxford, 1975).

Holmes, M.R., "The Crowns of England," *Archaeologia*, 85 (1937): 73-90.

— "New Light on St. Edward's Crown," *Archaeologia*, 97 (1959): 213-23.

— & H.D.W. Sitwell, *The English Regalia: Their History, Custody and Display* (London, 1972).

Hope, W.H. St.John, "On the Funeral Effigies of the Kings and Queens of England," *Archaeologia*, 60 (1907): 517-70.

— "The Discovery of the Remains of King Henry VI in St. George's Chapel, Windsor Castle," *Archaeologia*, 62 (1910-1): 533-42.

— *Windsor Castle: An Architectural History*, 3 vols. (London, 1913).

— "The Funeral, Monument and Chantry Chapel of King Henry the Fifth," *Archaeologia*, 65 (1913-14): 129-86.

Howarth, D., *Images of Rule: Art and Politics in the English Renaissance, 1485-1649* (Basingstoke, 1997).

Howgrave-Graham, R.P., "Royal Portraits in Effigy: Some New Discoveries in Westminster Abbey," *Journal of the Royal Society of Arts*, 150 (1953): 465-74.

— "The Earlier Royal Funeral Effigies: New Light on Portraiture in Westminster Abbey," *Archaeologia*, 98 (1961): 159-69.

- Hoyt, R.S., "The English Coronation Oath of 1308: The Background of 'Les leys et les custumes'," *Traditio*, 11 (1955): 235-58.
- "The Coronation Oath of 1308," *EHR*, 71 (1956): 353-83.
- Hughes, A., "The Origins and Descent of the Fourth Recension of the English Coronation," in J.M. Bak, ed., *Coronations: Medieval and Early Modern Monarchic Ritual* (Berkeley, 1990), pp. 197-216.
- Idoate, F., "Un Ceremonial de Coronación de los Reyes de Inglaterra," *Hispania Sacra*, 6 (1953): 158-80.
- Jacob, E.F., "Archbishop John Stafford," *TRHS*, fifth series, 12 (1962): 1-23.
- James, M., "Ritual, Drama and the Social Body in the Late Medieval English Town," *P&P*, 98 (1983): 3-29.
- Jones, W., *Crowns and Coronations: A History of Regalia* (London, 1898).
- Kantorowicz, E.H., *The King's Two Bodies: A Study in Mediaeval Political Theology* (Princeton, 1957).
- Keen, M., "Diplomacy," in G.L. Harriss, ed., *Henry V: The Practice of Kingship* (Oxford, 1985), pp. 181-99.
- Kertzer, D.I., *Ritual, Politics and Power* (New Haven & London, 1988).
- King, J.N., *Tudor Royal Iconography: Literature and Art in an Age of Religious Crisis* (Princeton, 1989).
- Kingsford, C.L., *English Historical Literature in the Fifteenth Century* (Oxford, 1913).
- Kingsford, H.S., "Some English Medieval Seal-Engravers," *Archaeological Journal*, 97 (1940): 155-79.
- Kipling, G., *The Triumph of Honour: Burgundian Origins of the Elizabethan Renaissance* (Leiden, 1977).
- "Richard II's 'Sumptuous Pageants' and the Idea of the Civic Triumph," in D.M. Bergeron, ed., *Pageantry in the Shakespearean Theater* (Athens, Georgia, 1985), pp. 83-103.

- *Enter the King: Theatre, Liturgy, and Ritual in Medieval Civic Triumph* (Oxford, 1998).
- Legg, J. Wickham, "On an Inventory of the Vestry in Westminster Abbey, taken in 1388," *Archaeologia*, 52 (1890): 195-286.
- "The Sacring of the English Kings," *Archaeological Journal*, 51 (1894): 28-42.
- Lewis, N.B., "The 'Continual Council' in the Early Years of Richard II, 1377-80," *EHR*, 41 (1926): 426-51.
- Lindley, P., "Edward III," in A. Harvey & R. Mortimer, eds., *The Funeral Effigies of Westminster Abbey* (Woodbridge, 1994), pp. 31-4.
- "Anne of Bohemia," in A. Harvey & R. Mortimer, eds., *The Funeral Effigies of Westminster Abbey* (Woodbridge, 1994), pp. 37-9.
- "Ritual, Regicide and Representation: The Murder of Edward II and the Origin of the Royal Funeral Effigy in England," in idem, *Gothic to Renaissance: Essays on Sculpture in England* (Stamford, 1995), pp. 97-112.
- Litten, J., "The Funeral Effigy: Its Function and Purpose," in A. Harvey & R. Mortimer, eds., *The Funeral Effigies of Westminster Abbey* (Woodbridge, 1994), pp. 3-19.
- Llewellyn, N., *The Art of Death: Visual Culture in the English Death Ritual, c.1500-c.1800* (London, 1991).
- Loach, J., "The Function of Ceremonial in the Reign of Henry VIII," *P&P*, 142 (1994): 43-68.
- Lukes, S., "Political Ritual and Social Integration," *Sociology: Journal of the British Sociological Association*, 9 (1975): 289-308.
- Macleane, D., *The Great Solemnity of the Coronation of the King and Queen of England* (London, 1902).
- Martindale, A., *Heroes, Ancestors, Relatives and the Birth of the Portrait* (The Hague, 1988).
- "Patron and Masters," *Studies in Church History*, 28 (1992): 143-78.
- Matthew, G., *The Court of Richard II* (London, 1968).

- McKenna, J.W., "Henry VI and the Dual Monarchy: Aspects of Royal Political Propaganda, 1422-32," *JWCI*, 28 (1965): 145-62.
- "The Coronation Oil of the Yorkist Kings," *EHR*, 82 (1967): 102-4.
- "Popular Canonization as Political Propaganda: The Cult of Archbishop Scrope," *Speculum*, 45 (1970): 608-23.
- "How God Became an Englishman," in D.J. Guth & J. W. McKenna, eds., *Tudor Rule and Revolution: Essays for G.R. Elton from his American Friends* (Cambridge, 1982), pp. 25-43.
- McKisack, M., "London and the Succession to the Crown during the Middle Ages," in R.W. Hunt, W.A. Pantin & R.W. Southern, eds., *Studies in Medieval History Presented to F.M. Powicke* (Oxford, 1948), pp. 76-89.
- *The Fourteenth Century, 1307-1399* (Oxford, 1959).
- McNiven, P., "Rebellion, Sedition and the Legend of Richard II's Survival in the Reigns of Henry IV and Henry V," *BJRL*, 76 (1994): 93-117.
- Meiss, M., *French Painting in the Time of Jean de Berry: The Boucicaut Master* (London, 1963).
- *French Painting in the Time of Jean de Berry: The Limbourgs and Their Contemporaries*, 2 vols. (London, 1974).
- Merquior, J.G., *The Veil and the Mask: Essays on Culture and Ideology* (London, 1979).
- Moore, S., "Documents Relating to the Death and Burial of King Edward II," *Archaeologia*, 50 (1887): 215-26.
- Moore S.F., & Myerhoff, B.G., "Introduction: Secular Ritual, Forms and Meanings," in idem, eds., *Secular Ritual* (Assen, 1977), pp. 3-24.
- Morgan, P., "Henry IV and the Shadow of Richard II," in R.E. Archer, ed., *Crown, Government and People in the Fifteenth Century* (Stroud, 1995), pp. 1-31.
- Muir, E., *Civic Ritual in Renaissance Venice* (Princeton, 1981).
- *Ritual in Early Modern Europe* (Cambridge, 1997).

- Myerhoff, B., "A Death in Due Time: Construction of Self and Culture in Ritual Drama," in J.J. MacAloon, ed., *Rite, Drama, Festival, Spectacle: Rehearsals Toward a Theory of Cultural Performance* (Philadelphia, 1984), pp. 149-78.
- Myers, A.R., "The Captivity of a Royal Witch: The Household Accounts of Queen Joan of Navarre, 1419-21," *BJRL*, 24 (1940): 262-84.
- Nicholson, R., *Edward III and the Scots: The Formative Years of a Military Career, 1327-1335* (Oxford, 1965).
- Newhall, R.A., "The War Finances of Henry V and the Duke of Bedford," *EHR*, 36 (1921).
- Nightingale, P., "Capitalists, Crafts and Constitutional Change in Late Fourteenth-Century London," *P&P*, 124 (1989): 3-35.
- Norton, C., "Richard II and York Minster," in S. Rees Jones, ed., *The Government of Medieval York: Essays in Commemoration of the 1396 Royal Charter* (York, 1997), 56-87.
- Oakley, F., "Celestial Hierarchies Revisited: Walter Ullmann's Vision of Medieval Politics," *P&P*, 60 (1975): 3-48.
- Ormrod, W.M., "Edward III and His Family," *JBS*, 26 (1987): 398-422.
- "The Personal Religion of Edward III," *Speculum*, 64 (1989): 849-77.
- *The Reign of Edward III: Crown and Political Society in England 1327-1377* (New Haven & London, 1990).
- *Political Life in Medieval England, 1300-1450* (Basingstoke, 1995).
- "In Bed with Joan of Kent: The King's Mother and the Rebels in 1381" (forthcoming).
- "A Problem of Precedence: Edward III, the Double Monarchy, and the Royal Style" (forthcoming).
- Osburg, R., "The Jesse Tree in the 1432 London Entry of Henry VI: Messianic Kingship and the Rule of Justice," *JMRS*, 16 (1986): 213-32.
- Palmer, J.J.N., "The Authorship, Date and Historical Value of the French Chronicles on the Lancastrian Revolution," *BJRL*, 61 (1978-9): 145-81, 398-421.

- Paravicini, W., "The Court of the Dukes of Burgundy: A Model for Europe?," in R.G. Asch & A.M. Birke, eds., *Princes, Patronage and the Nobility: The Court at the Beginning of the Modern Age* (Oxford, 1991), pp. 69-102.
- Parkin, D., "Ritual as Spatial Direction and Bodily Division," in D de Coppet, ed., *Understanding Rituals* (London & New York, 1992), pp. 69-102.
- Parsons, J.C., "Ritual and Symbol in the English Queenship to 1500," in L. Fradenberg, ed., *Women and Sovereignty* (Edinburgh, 1991), pp. 60-77.
- Phythian-Adams, C., "Ceremony and the Citizen: The Communal Year at Coventry 1450-1550," in P. Clark & P. Slack, eds., *Crisis and Order in English Towns, 1500-1700* (London, 1972), pp. 57-85. Reprinted in R. Holt & G. Rosser, eds., *The Medieval Town: A Reader in English Urban History 1200-1540* (Harlow, 1990), pp. 238-64.
- Pinches, J.H., & Pinches, R.V., *The Royal Heraldry of England* (London, 1974).
- Post, J.B., "The Obsequies of John of Gaunt," *GSLH*, 5 (1981): 1-12.
- Prescott, A.J., "London in the Peasants' Revolt," *London Journal*, 7 (1981): 125-43.
- "The Accusations Against Thomas Austin," in P. Strohm, *Hochon's Arrow: The Social Imagination of Fourteenth-Century Texts* (Princeton, 1992), pp. 161-77.
- Rackham, B., *The Ancient Glass of Canterbury Cathedral* (London, 1949).
- Rackham, R.B., "The Nave at Westminster," *Proceedings of the British Academy*, 4 (1909-10): 35-96.
- Ramm, H.G., "The Tombs of Archbishop Walter de Gray (1216-55) and Godfrey de Ludham (1258-65) in York Minster, and their Contents," *Archaeologia*, 103 (1971): 101-47.
- Rapoport, A., "Systems of Activities and Systems of Settings," in S. Kent, ed., *Domestic Architecture and the Use of Space: An Interdisciplinary Cross-Cultural Study* (Cambridge, 1990), pp. 9-20.
- Rappaport, R.A., *Ecology, Meaning and Religion* (Richmond, California, 1979).
- Rawcliffe, C., "Margaret Stodeye, Lady Philipot (d. 1431)," in C.M. Barron & A.F. Sutton, eds., *Medieval London Widows 1300-1500* (London, 1994), pp. 85-98.

- Richardson, H.G., & Sayles, G.O., "Early Coronation Records," *BIHR*, 13 (1935-6): 129-45; *BIHR*, 14 (1936-7): 1-9, 145-8.
- "Early Coronation Records: The Coronation of Edward II," *BIHR*, 16 (1938-9): 1-11.
- Richardson, H.G., "The English Coronation Oath," *TRHS*, fourth series, 23 (1941): 129-58.
- "The English Coronation Oath," *Speculum*, 24 (1949): 44-75.
- "The Coronation in Medieval England: The Evolution of the Office and the Oath," *Traditio*, 16 (1960): 111-202.
- Richmond, C.F., "The War at Sea," in K. Fowler, ed., *The Hundred Years War* (London, 1971), pp. 96-121.
- Rickert, M., *The Reconstructed Carmelite Missal* (Chicago, 1952).
- *Painting in Britain: The Middle Ages* (Harmondsworth, 1954).
- Ross, C., *Richard III* (London, 1981).
- Rosser, G., "Going to the Fraternity Feast: Commensality and Social Relations in Late Medieval England," *JBS*, 33 (1994): 430-46.
- "Myth, Image and Social Process in the English Medieval Town," *Urban History*, 23 (1996): 5-25.
- Round, J.H., *The King's Serjeants and the Officers of State with their Coronation Services* (London, 1911).
- Royal Commission on Historical Monuments, England, 1, Westminster Abbey* (London, 1924).
- Ruiz, T.F., "Unsacred Monarchy: The Kings of Castile in the Late Middle Ages," in S. Wilentz, ed., *Rites of Power: Symbolism, Ritual and Politics Since the Middle Ages* (Philadelphia, 1985), pp. 109-44.
- Russell, P.E., *English Intervention in Spain and Portugal in the Time of Edward III and Richard II* (Oxford, 1955).
- Sandler, L.F., *Gothic Manuscripts 1285-1385: A Survey of Manuscripts Illuminated in the*

British Isles, 5, 2 vols. (Oxford, 1986).

- Sandquist, T.A., "The Holy Oil of St. Thomas of Canterbury," in idem & M.R. Powicke, eds., *Essays in Medieval History Presented to Bertie Wilkinson* (Toronto, 1969), pp. 330-44.
- Saul, N., "Richard II and Westminster Abbey," in W.J. Blair & B. Golding, eds., *The Cloister and the World: Essays in Medieval History in Honour of Barbara Harvey* (Oxford, 1996), pp. 196-218.
- *Richard II* (New Haven & London, 1997).
- Sayles, G.O., "The Deposition of Richard II: Three Lancastrian Narratives," *BIHR*, 54 (1981): 257-70.
- Scheifele, E., "Richard II and the Visual Arts," in A. Goodman & J.L. Gillespie, eds., *Richard II: The Art of Kingship* (Oxford, 1999), pp. 255-71.
- Schramm, P.E., *A History of the English Coronation*, trans. L.G. Wickham Legg (Oxford, 1937).
- "Ordines-Studien III: Die Krönung in England vom 10. Jh. bis zur Neuzeit," *Archiv für Urkundenforschung*, 15 (1938): 305-91; *Archiv für Urkundenforschung*, 16 (1939): 279-86.
- *Sphaire, Globus und Reichsapfel* (Stuttgart, 1958).
- Simpson, A., "The Connections Between English and Bohemian Painting During the Second Half of the Fourteenth Century," Outstanding Theses from the Courtauld Institute of Art (New York & London, 1984).
- Smith, J.T., *Antiquities of Westminster* (London, 1807).
- Spiegel, G.M., "History, Historicism, and the Social Logic of the Text in the Middle Ages," *Speculum*, 65, pt. 1 (1990): 59-86.
- Spry, J.H., "A Brief Account of the Examination of the Tomb of King Henry IV, in the Cathedral of Canterbury, August 21, 1832," *Archaeologia*, 26 (1836): 440-5.
- Staniland, K., "Royal Entry into the World," in D. Williams (ed.), *England in the Fifteenth Century: Proceedings of the 1986 Harlaxton Symposium* (Woodbridge, 1987), pp.

297-313.

Stanley, A.P., "On an Examination of the Tombs of Richard II and Henry III in Westminster Abbey," *Archaeologia*, 45 (1880): 309-27.

Stone, L., *Sculpture in Britain: The Middle Ages*, second edn. (Harmondsworth, 1972).

Stow, G.B., "Richard II in Thomas Walsingham's Chronicles," *Speculum*, 59 (1984): 68-102.

Strohm, P., "Saving the Appearances: Chaucer's 'Purse' and the Fabrication of the Lancastrian Claim," in idem, *Hochon's Arrow: The Social Imagination of Fourteenth-Century Texts* (Princeton, 1992), pp. 75-94.

— "Reburying Richard: Ceremony and Symbolic Relegitimation," in idem, *England's Empty Throne: Usurpation and the Language of Legitimation, 1399-1422* (New Haven & London, 1998), pp. 101-27. Originally published as "The Trouble with Richard: The Reburial of Richard II and Lancastrian Symbolic Strategy," *Speculum*, 71 (1996): 87-111.

Strong, R.C., *The Cult of Elizabeth: Elizabethan Portraiture and Pageantry* (1977).

Sturdy, D.J., "'Continuity' Versus 'Change': Historians and the English Coronations of the Medieval and Early Modern Periods," in J.M. Bak, ed., *Coronations: Medieval and Early Modern Monarchic Ritual* (Berkeley, 1990), pp. 238-44.

Sutton, A.F., "The Coronation Robes of Richard III and Queen Anne Neville," *Costume*, 13 (1979): 8-16.

Tanner, J.D., "Tombs of Royal Babies in Westminster Abbey," *JBAA*, 3rd series, 16 (1953): 25-40.

Taylor, J., *English Historical Literature in the Fourteenth Century* (Oxford, 1987).

— "The Good Parliament and its Sources," in idem & W. Childs, eds., *Politics and Crisis in Fourteenth Century England* (Gloucester, 1990), pp. 81-96.

— "Richard II in the Chronicles," in A. Goodman & J.L. Gillespie, eds., *Richard II: The Art of Kingship* (Oxford, 1999), pp. 15-35.

Taylor, T., *The Glory of Regality: An Historical Treatise of the Anointing and Crowning*

of the Kings and Queens of England (London, 1820).

Theilmann, J. M., "Political Canonization and Political Symbolism in Medieval England," *JBS*, 29 (1990): 241-66.

Thompson, J.B., *Studies in the Theory of Ideology* (Berkeley, 1984).

Thurston, H., *The Coronation Ceremonial* (London, 1902).

Tout, T.F., *Chapters in the Administrative History of Mediaeval England*, 6 vols. (Manchester, 1920-33).

— "The Captivity and Death of Edward of Carnarvon," *BJRL*, 6 (1921-22): 69-114.

Townsend, G.J., *History of the Great Chamberlainship of England* (London, 1934).

Trexler, R.C., "Ritual Behaviour in Renaissance Florence: The Setting," *Medievalia et Humanistica: Studies in Medieval and Renaissance Culture*, New Series, 4 (1973): 125-44.

— *Public Life in Renaissance Florence* (New York, 1980).

Tristram, E.W., *English Wall Painting in the Fourteenth Century* (London, 1955).

Turner, V., *Forest of Symbols: Aspects of Ndembu Ritual* (Ithaca, 1967).

Twining, E.F., *A History of the Crown Jewels of Europe* (London, 1960).

— *European Regalia* (London, 1967).

Ullmann, W., "Thomas Becket's Miraculous Oil," *JTS*, 8 (1957): 129-33.

Vale, J., *Edward III and Chivalry: Chivalric Society and its Context, 1270-1350* (Woodbridge, 1982).

Valente, C., "The Deposition and Abdication of Edward II," *EHR*, 103 (1998): 852-81.

Voaden, R., "Out of the Mouths of Babes: Authority in *Pearl* and in Narratives of the Child King Richard," in P.J.P. Goldberg & F.J. Riddy (eds.), *Youth in the Middle Ages* (forthcoming)

- Walker, S., "Political Saints in Later Medieval England," in R.H. Britnell & A.J. Pollard, eds., *The McFarlane Legacy: Studies in Late Medieval Politics and Society* (Stroud, 1995), pp. 77-106.
- "Richard II's Views on Kingship," in R.E. Archer & S. Walker, eds., *Rulers and Ruled in Medieval England: Essays Presented to Gerald Harriss* (London & Rio Grande, 1995), pp. 49-63.
- Walzer, M., "On the Role of Symbolism in Political Thought," *Political Science Quarterly*, 82 (1967): 191-205.
- Weightman, C., *Margaret of York, Duchess of Burgundy 1446-1503* (Gloucester, 1989).
- Weissman, R.F.E., "Reconstructing Renaissance Sociology: The 'Chicago School' and the Study of Renaissance Society," in R.C. Trexler, ed., *Persons in Groups: Social Behaviour as Identity Formation in Medieval and Renaissance Europe* (Birmingham, New York, 1985), pp. 39-46.
- Welander, D., *The History, Art and Architecture of Gloucester Cathedral* (Stroud, 1991).
- Wilkinson, L.B., "The Coronation Oath of Edward II," in J.G. Edwards, V.H. Galbraith & E.F. Jacob, eds., *Essays in Honour of James Tait* (Manchester, 1933), pp. 405-16.
- "The Coronation Oath of Edward II and the Statute of York," *Speculum*, 19 (1944): 445-69.
- *Constitutional History of Medieval England, 1216-1399*, 3 vols. (London, 1948-58).
- "Notes on the Coronation Records of the Fourteenth Century," *EHR*, 70 (1955): 581-600.
- Wilson, C., "The Tomb of Henry IV and the Holy Oil of St. Thomas of Canterbury," in P. Crossley & E. Fernie, eds., *Medieval Architecture and its Intellectual Context: Studies in Honour of Peter Kidson* (London, 1990), pp. 181-90.
- "The Medieval Monuments," in P. Collinson, N. Ramsey & M. Sparks, eds., *A History of Canterbury Cathedral* (Oxford, 1995), pp. 451-510.
- Wilson, H.A., "The Coronation Orders," *JTS*, 2 (1901): 481-504.
- Winstead, K.A., *Legends of Sainthood in Late medieval England* (Ithaca, 1997).

Wiswall, F.L., "Politics, Procedure and the 'Non-Minority' of Edward III: Some Comparisons," in J.L. Gillespie, ed., *The Age of Richard II* (Stroud & New York, 1997), pp. 7-25.

Wolffe, B.P., *Henry VI* (London, 1981).

Wollaston, G. Woods, *Coronation Claims* (London, 1910).

Wright, J.R., "The Accounts of John de Stratton and John Gedeney, Constables of Bordeaux 1381-90: An Edition with Particular Notes on their Ecclesiastical and Liturgical Significance," *Mediaeval Studies*, 42 (1980): 238-307.

Wright, G.S., "A Royal Tomb Programme in the Reign of St. Louis," *Art Bulletin*, 57 (1974): 224-43.

Wylie, J.H., *History of England under Henry IV*, 4 vols. (London, 1884-98).

— & Waugh, W.T., *The Reign of Henry the Fifth*, 3 vols. (Cambridge, 1914-29).

Wyon, A.B., & Wyon, A., *The Great Seals of England* (London, 1887).

Unpublished Theses

Alexander, A.F., "The War in France in 1377" (Ph.D diss., University of London, 1934).

Chamberlayne, J.L., "English Queenship 1445-1503" (D.Phil diss., University of York, 1999).

Clark, J., "Intellectual Life at the Abbey of St. Albans and the Nature of Monastic Learning in England, c. 1350 to c. 1440" (D.Phil diss., University of Oxford, 1997).

Lewis, K.J., "Rule of lyf alle folk to sewe: Lay Responses to the Cult of St. Katherine of Alexandria in Late-Medieval England, 1300-1530" (D.Phil diss., University of York, 1996).

Sandquist, T.A., "English Coronations, 1399-1483" (Ph.D diss., University of Toronto, 1962).

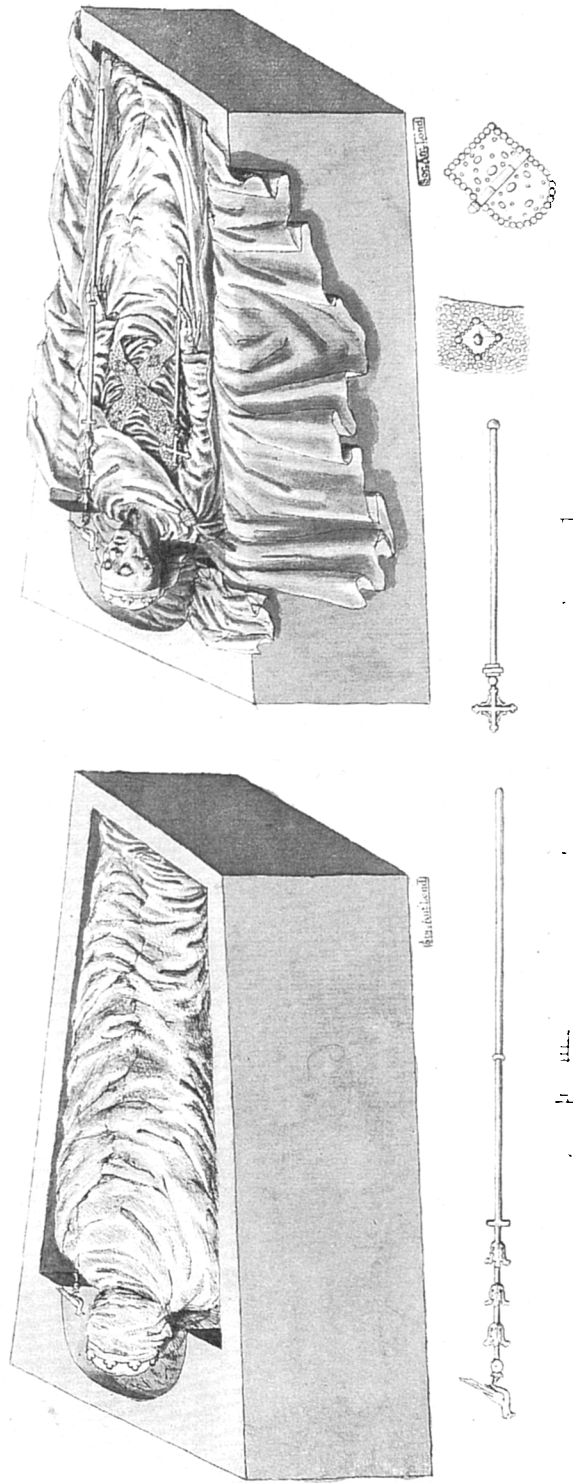


Figure 1: Antiquarian drawing of the opened tomb of Edward I in 1774. London, Society of Antiquaries of London.

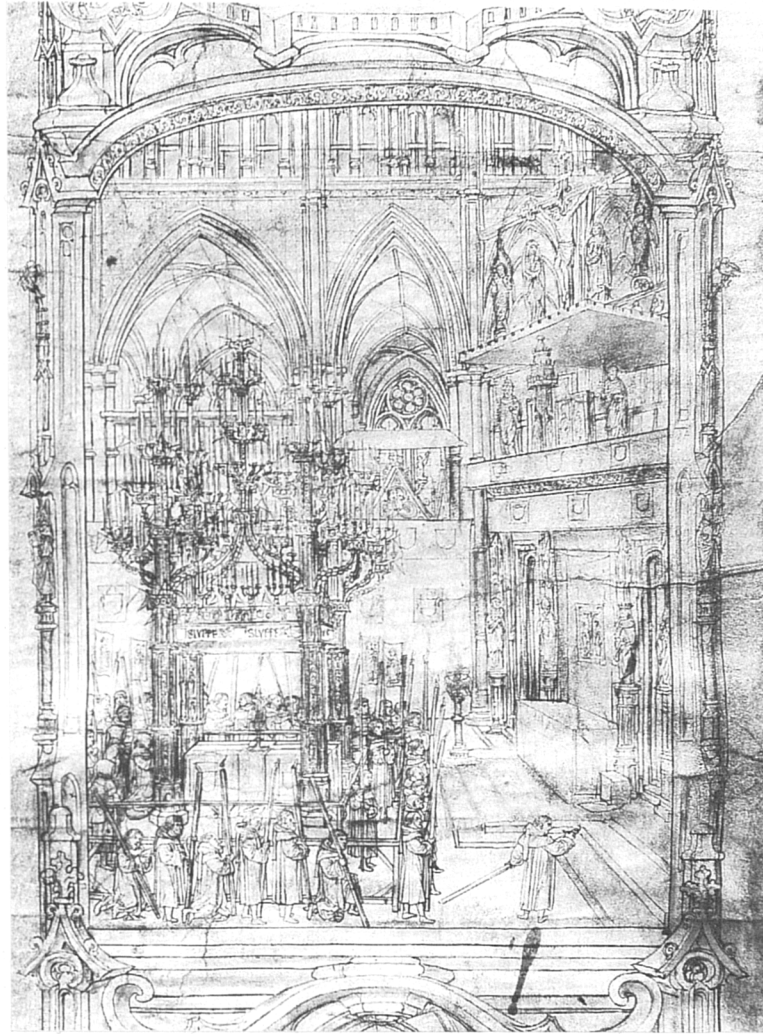
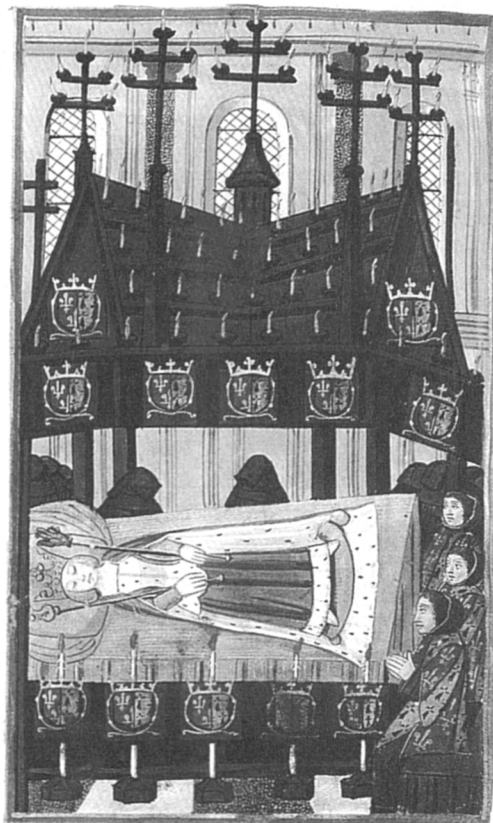
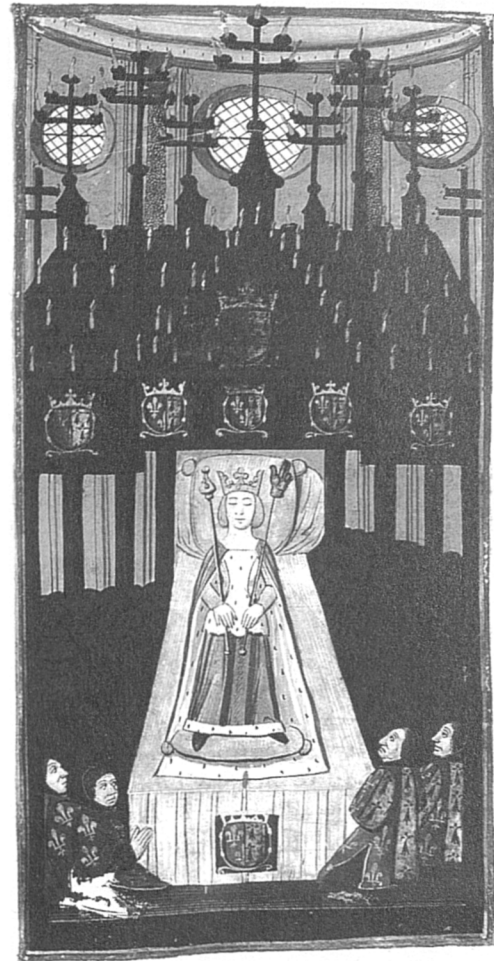


Figure 2: Drawing of the funeral hearse of Abbot Islip of Westminster (d. 1532). London, Westminster Abbey, Obituary Roll of Abbot Islip.



La charnelle de France



Figures 3 (left) & 4 (right): Two illuminations of funeral hearses of Anne of Brittany, queen of France (d. 1514). The Hague, Rijksmuseum Meermanno-Westreenianum, MS 10 C 12, fols. 40 & 42v.



Figure 5: Restored funeral effigy head of Edward III. London, Westminster Abbey.



Figure 6: Restored funeral effigy head of Anne of Bohemia. London, Westminster Abbey.



Figure 7: Restored funeral effigy of Katherine of Valois.
London, Westminster Abbey.

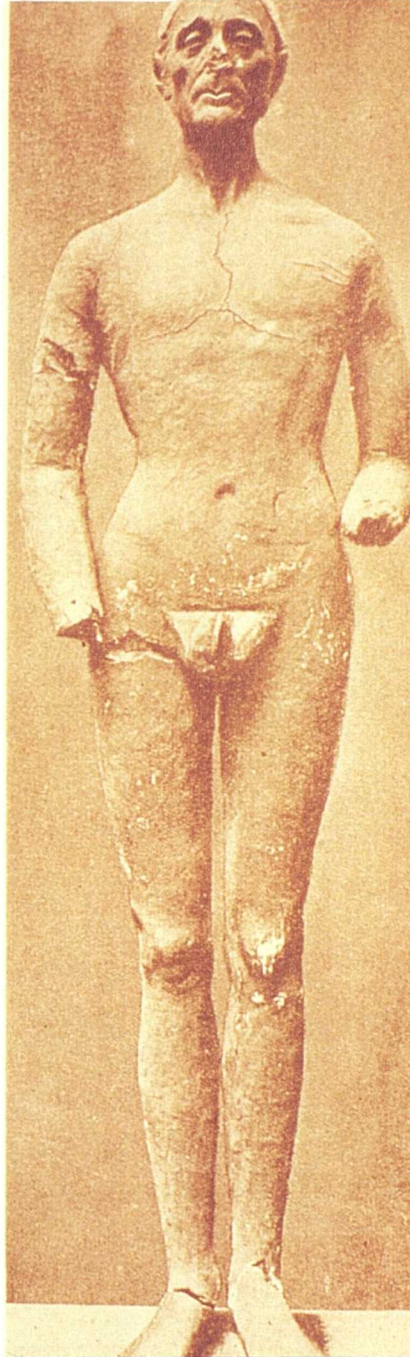


Figure 8: Unrestored funeral effigy of Henry VII before damage sustained in World War II. Photographed for W.H. St. John Hope (*Archaeologia*, 1907).



Figure 10: Illumination of the coronation of the king. Pamplona, Archivo General de Navarra, MS 197 (*Pamplona Coronation Order*), fol. 3.



Figure 11: Illumination of the coronation of the king. London, Westminster Abbey, MS 38 (*Liber Regalis*), fol. 1v.



Figure 12: Illumination of the coronation of the king and queen together (full). London, Westminster Abbey, MS 38 (*Liber Regalis*), fol. 20.



Figure 13: Illumination of the coronation of the king and queen together (detail). London, Westminster Abbey, MS 38 (*Liber Regalis*), fol. 20.

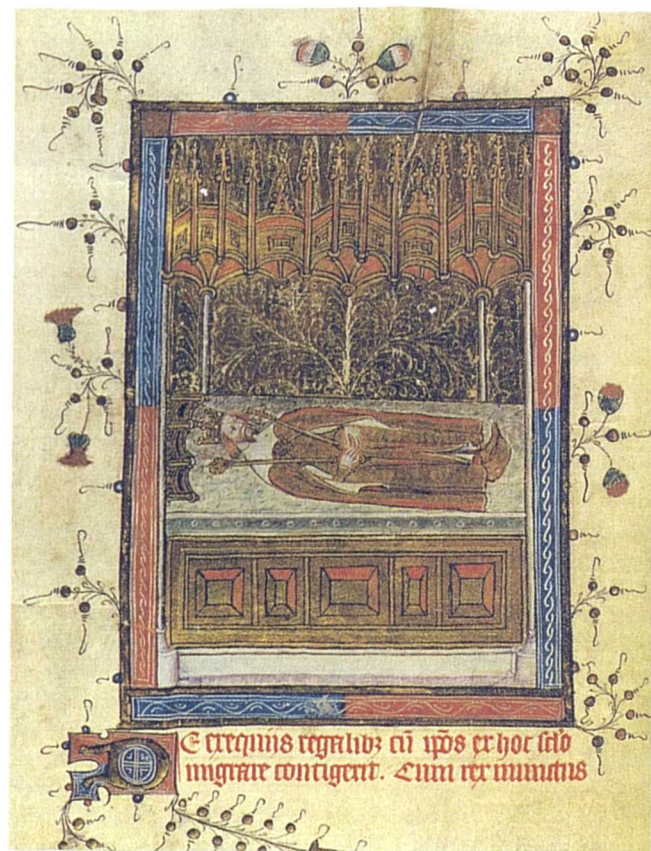


Figure 14: Illumination of the funeral of the king.
London, Westminster Abbey, MS 38
(*Liber Regalis*), fol. 33v.



Figure 15: Illumination of the funeral of the king. London, Westminster Abbey, MS 37 (*Westminster Missal*), fol. 224.



Figure 16: Illumination of the funeral of the king. Pamplona, Archivo General de Navarra, MS 197 (*Pamplona Coronation Order*), fol. 22v.



Figure 17: Illumination of the coronation of the queen. London, Westminster Abbey, MS 38 (*Liber Regalis*), fol. 29.



Figure 18: Illumination of the coronation of the queen. London, Westminster Abbey, MS 37 (*Westminster Missal*), fol. 221.



Figure 19: Illumination of the coronation of the queen. Pamplona, Archivo General de Navarra, MS 197 (*Pamplona Coronation Order*), fol. 19.



Figure 20: Double tomb effigies of Richard II and Anne of Bohemia. London, Westminster Abbey.



Figure 21: Double tomb effigies of Richard II and Anne of Bohemia (*in situ*). London, Westminster Abbey.



Figure 23: Tomb and effigy of Edward III. London, Westminster Abbey.



Figure 24: Tomb and effigy of Henry III. London, Westminster Abbey.



Figure 25: Antiquarian drawing of the tomb effigy of Philippa of Hainault in Westminster Abbey.



Figure 26: Tomb effigy of Philippa of Hainault (detail). London, Westminster Abbey.



Figure 27: Tomb effigy of Eleanor of Castile. London, Westminster Abbey.



Figure 28: Tomb effigies of Henry IV and Joan of Navarre. Canterbury, Canterbury Cathedral.



Figure 29: Panel painting of Richard II. London, Westminster Abbey.

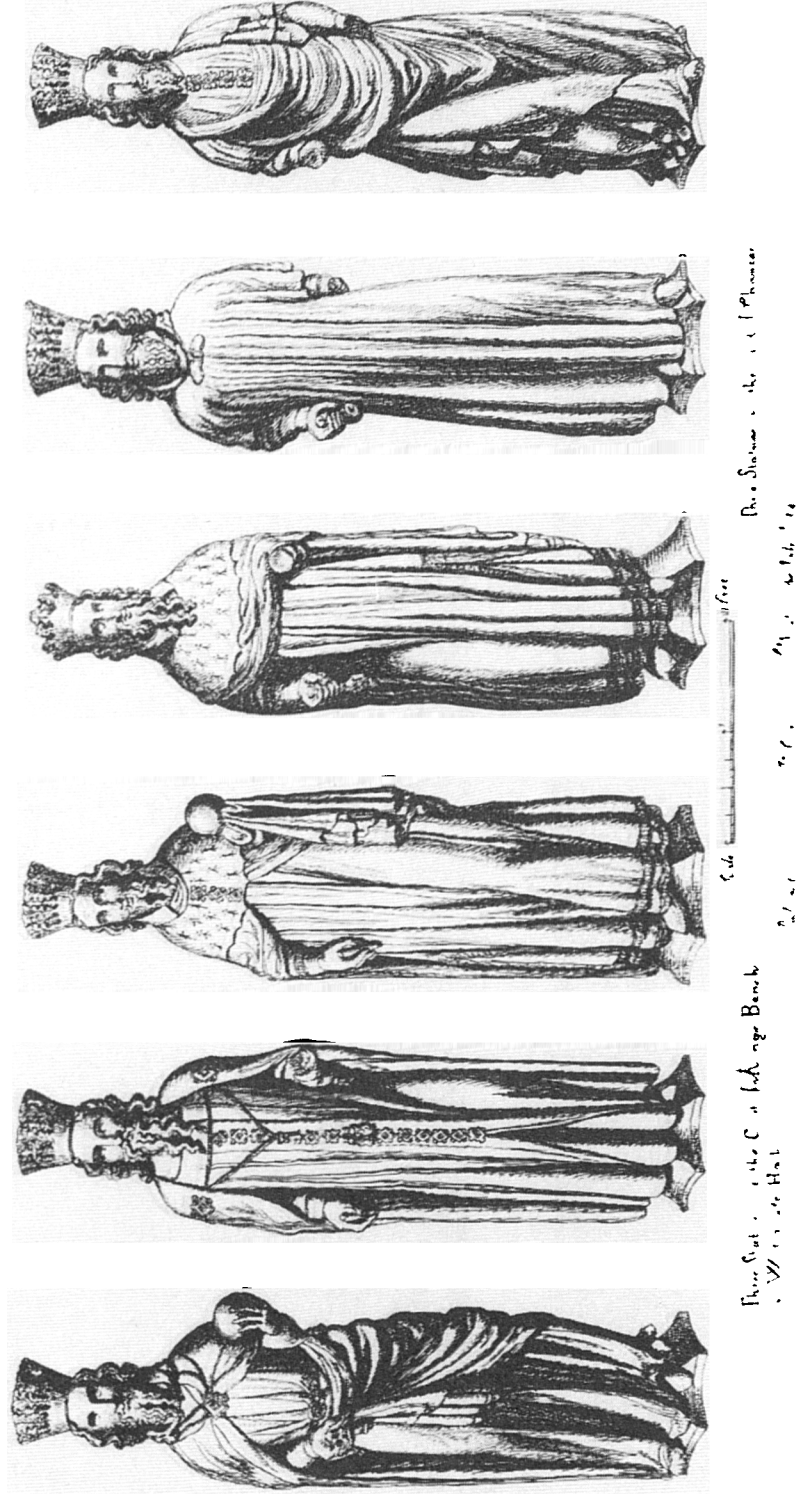


Figure 30: Antiquarian drawing of six statues of kings from the south wall of Westminster Great Hall. Executed by John Carter in 1784. London, Westminster City Archives, Box 58.



Figure 31: First great seal of Henry III (1218).



Figure 32: Second great seal of Henry III (1259).



Figure 33: Coronation of St. Edward the Confessor. Manchester, Chetham's Library, MS 6712
(*Flores Historiarum*), fol. 298



Figure 34: Coronation of St. Edward the Confessor. Watercolour of a lost mural in the Painted Chamber in Westminster Palace, painted by C. A. Stothard in 1819. London, Society of Antiquaries of London.



Figure 35: Second great seal of Edward III (1327).



Figure 36: Fourth great seal of Edward III (1340).



Figure 37: Back view of the Wilton Diptych. London, The National Gallery.



Figure 38: Stained glass window of Richard II and St. John the Baptist.
Winchester, Winchester College Chapel.



Figure 39: Front view of the Wilton Diptych. London, The National Gallery.

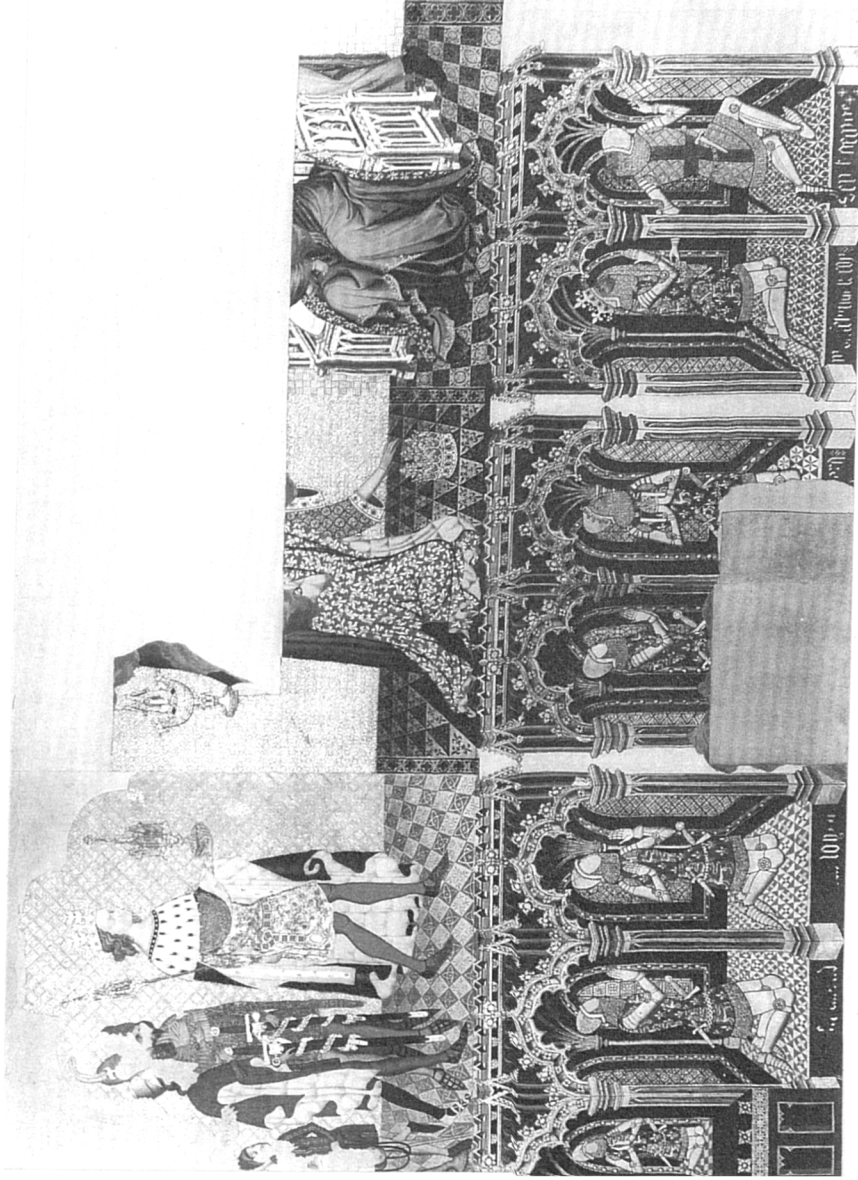


Figure 40: Drawing of a lost wall mural formerly at the east end of St. Stephen's Chapel in Westminster Palace. Executed by Richard Smirke in c. 1800. London, Society of Antiquaries of London.



Figure 41: Drawing of lost paintings of SS Eustace (left) and Mercurius (right) from the piers of St. Stephen's Chapel in Westminster Palace. Executed for J.T. Smith, *Antiquities of Westminster* (London, 1807). London, Westminster City Archives, Box 57.

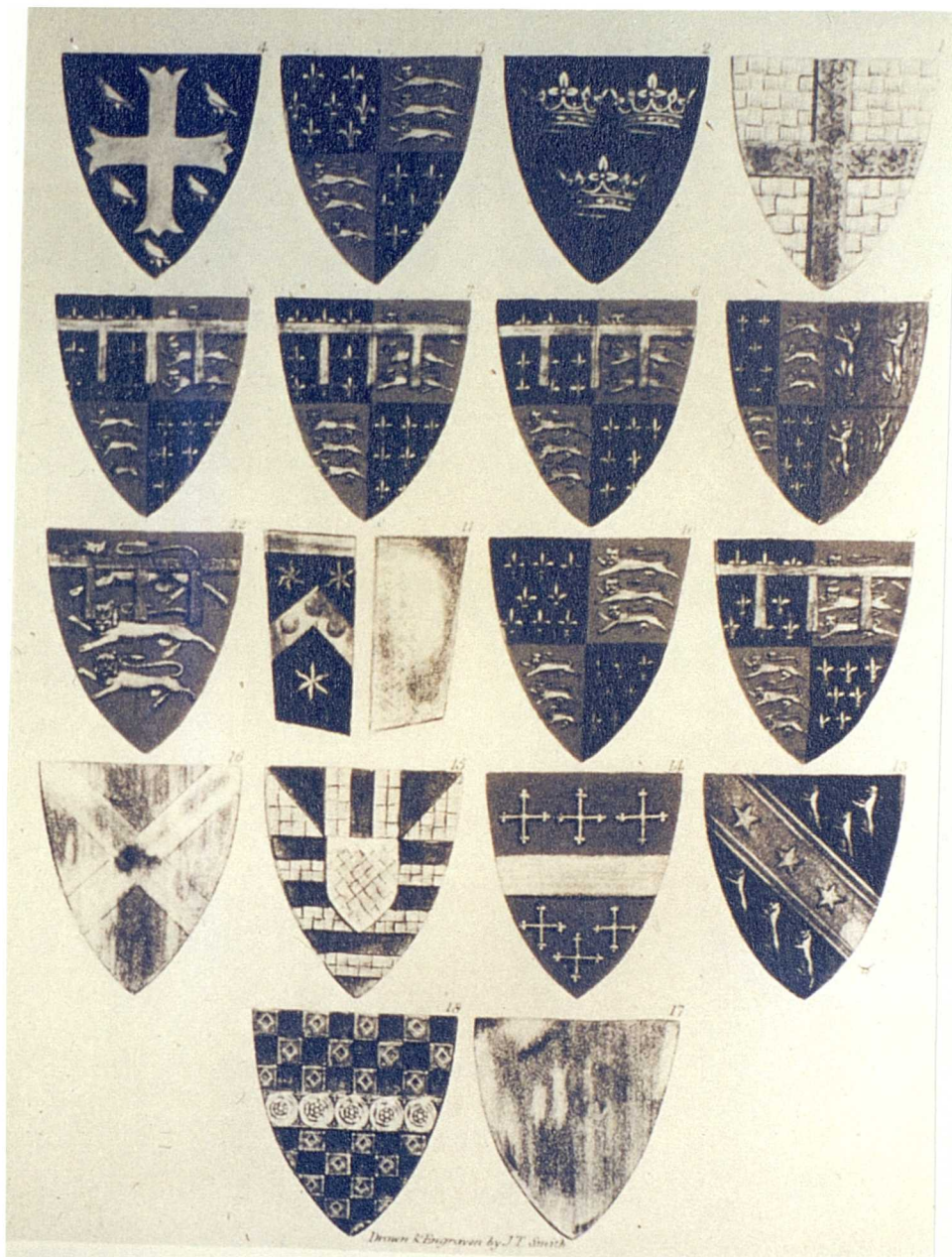


Figure 42: Drawing of painted shields of arms from St. Stephen's Chapel in Westminster Palace. Executed in 1804 for J.T. Smith, *Antiquities of Westminster* (London, 1807). London, Westminster City Archives, Box 57.



Figure 43: Impaled arms of Henry VII and Elizabeth of York on their double tomb (lower shield). London, Westminster Abbey.



Figure 44: Tomb effigy of Henry III (detail).
London, Westminster Abbey.



Figure 45: Tomb effigy of Eleanor of Castile
(detail). London, Westminster Abbey.

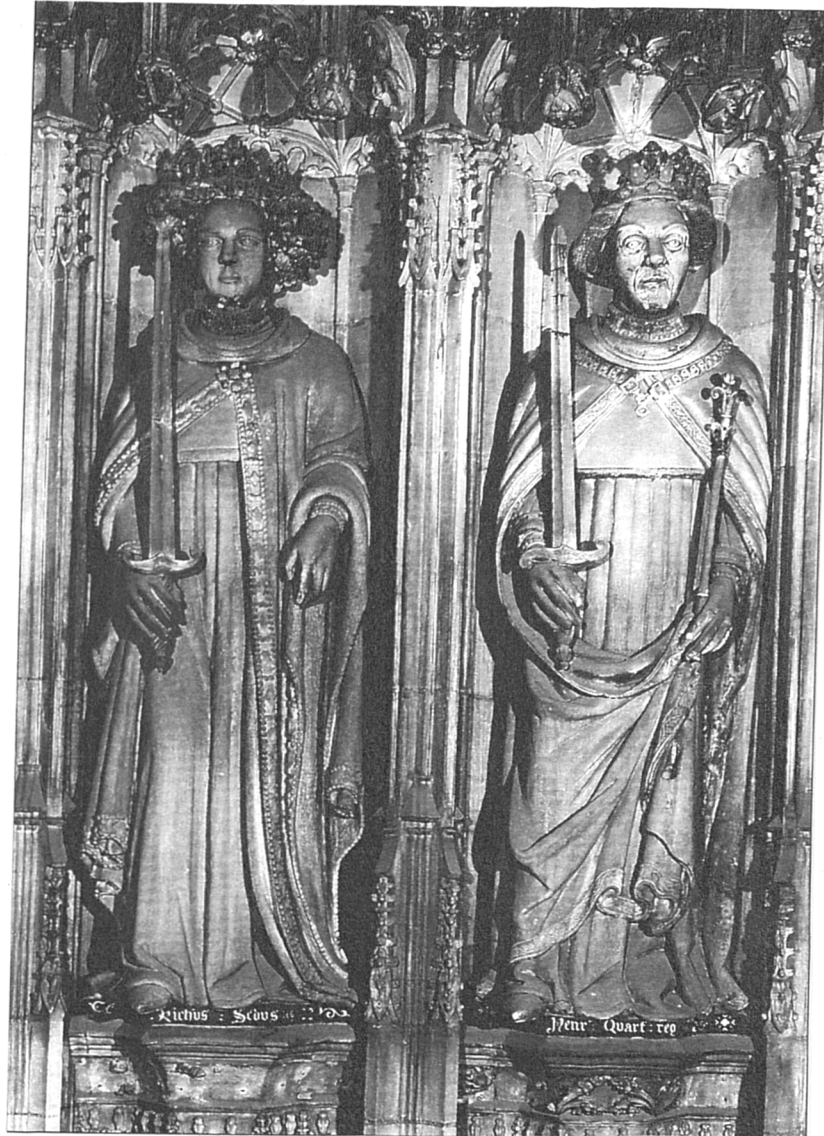


Figure 46: Statues of Richard II (left) and Henry IV (right) on a carved choir screen. York, York Minster.

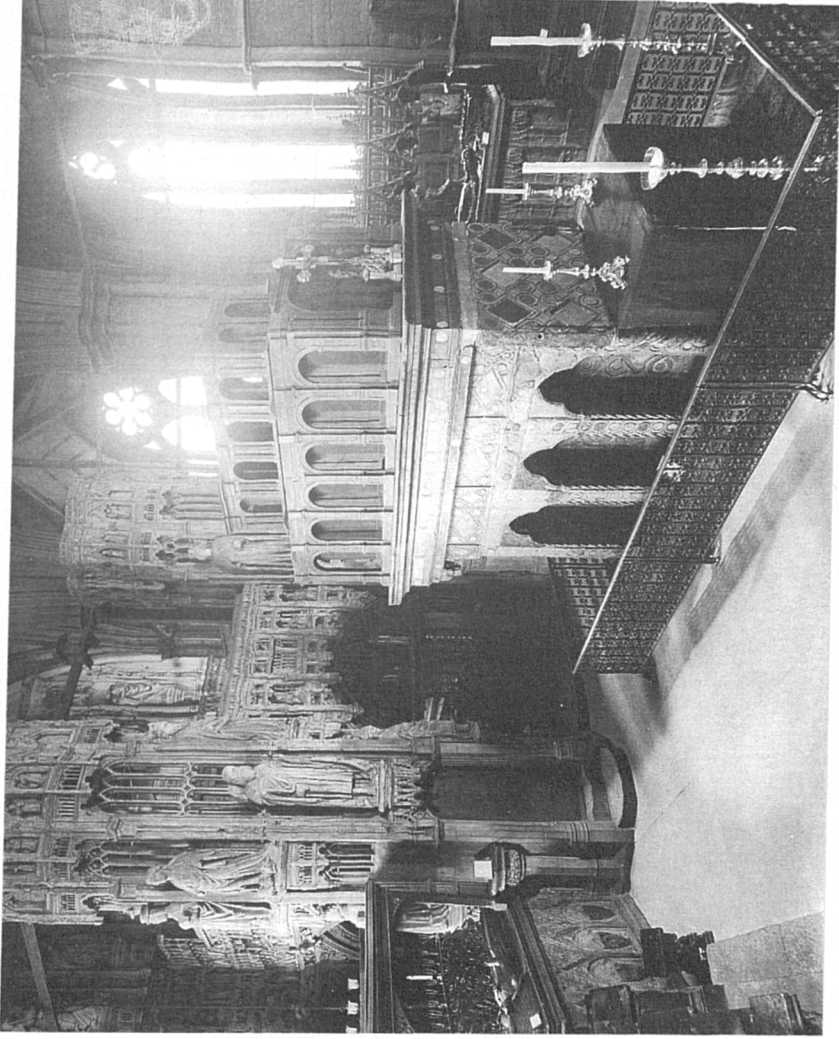


Figure 47: The shrine of St. Edward the Confessor and the chantry chapel of Henry V. London, Westminster Abbey.



Kathina uirgo .i. m̄ philosophos et retores de re
motis ab impatore uocatos argumentor̄ ui stū
dit et ab pdolorum errorib; reuocās ad xp̄m et
ut quos impator̄ igne succēdēs m̄turo coronaū.

Figure 48: Illumination of St. Katherine disputing with the heathen clerks.
New York, The Cloisters, *Belles Heures de Jean de Berry*, fol. 16.



Angeli aut corpus eius accipientes ab illo loco
usq; ad montē synay itine plusq; dierum xii.
deduxerunt et ibidē sepeluerūt ex cui ossib;
Idē inēter oleū manat infirmitates sanās.

Figure 49: Illumination of St. Katherine's corpse being transported to Mount Sinai by angels. New York, The Cloisters, *Belles Heures de Jean de Berry*, fol. 20.



Tunc p̄fect̄ fuer̄t̄ regi suadet rotas leuis ferreus
p̄parari ut uirgo delectaretur tūc uirgo dñm dep̄
catur ut ad conuisione p̄pli circūstantis ma
chinā dissiparet ⁊ statim angeli de celo uiperunt

Figure 50: Illumination of St. Katherine with angels breaking the wheel.
New York, The Cloisters, *Belles Heures de Jean de Berry*, fol. 18v.



Figure 51: Statues of the duchess of Burgundy (right) and St. Katherine (far right) carved by Claus Sluter. Dijon, Portal to the Chartreuse de Champol.



Figure 52: Illumination showing St. Katherine presenting Henry VI to the Virgin and Child. London, BL, Cotton MS Domitian A xvii, fol. 75.



Figure 53: Statue of St. Katherine, c. 1372-3. Courtrai, chapel of the count of Flanders.



Figure 54: Illumination showing the crowned figure of St. Katherine amongst the heavenly host of All Saints. New York, The Cloisters, *Belles Heures de Jean de Berry*, fol. 218.

recognition that the political image generated by the court's judgements was one of social solidarity within the upper ranks of the laity. Clearly, Gaunt and his advisors did not enjoy an entirely free hand in the allocation of offices since judgements depended to a very large extent on proof of past service. Nevertheless, the necessity of settling disputed claims, together with the need to approve the appointment of deputies, offered quite considerable scope for influencing the pattern of office allocation. In this respect, it is interesting to observe that the net effect of such influence was the strengthening of two already prevalent trends. Firstly, there was a marked increase in the involvement of the titled nobility in the performance of offices. Secondly, there was an obvious attempt to bridge recent political divisions through the allocation of offices which resulted in the performance of these offices by a fairly representative cross-section of the lay political elite.

At the coronation of Richard II the membership of the titled nobility was raised from twelve to sixteen individuals with the creation of four new earls.⁹⁰ Ten or eleven of these sixteen individuals performed a total of thirteen of the twenty-five coronation offices allocated at the court of claims.⁹¹ Amongst the dozen dukes and earls who held titles prior to the coronation, only the earls of Salisbury and Devon appear to have lacked formal duties.⁹² Two of the four new earls also failed to perform offices.⁹³ Significantly, while ten

⁹⁰ The new creations were the earls of Buckingham, Huntingdon, Northumberland and Nottingham. The twelve existing members of the titled nobility were the duke of Lancaster, and the earls of Arundel, Cambridge, Derby, Devon, March, Oxford, Pembroke, Salisbury, Suffolk, Stafford and Warwick. The elevation of Gaunt's son Henry Bolingbroke to the title of earl of Derby is sometimes located at Richard II's coronation. However, Bolingbroke in fact seems to have been referred to as Derby from his induction into the Garter order on 23 April 1377. See Tout, *Chapters*, III: 325, n. 4. The *Processus* text refers to Bolingbroke as Derby when indicating that he deputised for Gaunt in carrying the sword 'Curtana' at the coronation, and additionally, Bolingbroke is unmentioned in the list of new creations at the coronation which is given in the *Processus* text. See *ECR*, pp. 132, 150-1, 149, 167; also *CA*, p. 162. C. Given-Wilson, *The English Nobility in the Late Middle Ages* (London & New York, 1987), p. 47, states that there were ten dukes and earls at the death of Edward III. Given-Wilson's calculation excludes Derby whose elevation he places at the coronation. Given-Wilson's second excluded noble is not named, but is presumably John Hastings, earl of Pembroke, who was only five years old at this time. However, the two claims made on behalf of Hastings at the court of claims refer to him as "John, son and heir of John de Hastynges, late earl of Pembroke" and as "John, earl of Pembroke." See *ECR*, pp. 137-8, 156-7.

⁹¹ The earl of Suffolk is the probable eleventh man. *ECR*, pp. 137-8, 156-7, records that March deputised for both of the offices awarded to Pembroke. However, the simultaneous exercise of these offices was not feasible. *Anonimale*, pp. 108-9, plausibly suggests that Suffolk deputised for March in carrying the second sword.

⁹² Salisbury's exclusion is surprising given his seniority, but this may reflect his special responsibilities in organising the defence against the French. Cambridge who had equivalent responsibilities undertook notably light duties at the coronation. See *CPR 1377-81*, pp. 4, 7. The narrative account of Richard II's coronation at the end of the *Processus* text suggests that Salisbury carried a precious vestment to the king at his seat in Westminster Abbey, while Suffolk (also unmentioned in the court of claims records) brought a similar vestment and also a sceptre. See *ECR*, pp. 147, 165. Devon's exclusion may relate to his junior status and