CULTS OF POLITICAL MARTYRS
IN LATE MEDIEVAL ENGLAND

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ABSTRACT

A number of prominent men who lost their lives during political struggles were posthumously venerated as martyrs in later medieval England. This dissertation aims to recreate some of the context – religious and cultural as well as political – in which these cults developed, and to chronicle and evaluate the activities and representations which they produced.

It will be argued that political martyrdom formed part of a distinctive religious culture in which suffering for a cause could be highly valued as a form of martyrdom.

The three cases studied here bring us in contact with different aspects of late medieval English society. Thomas, Earl of Lancaster (d. 1322) was regarded posthumously as Christi miles, and represented ideas linked to knighthood and chivalry, treason and betrayal. Richard Scrope, Archbishop of York (d. 1405), was portrayed in contemporary hagiographic sources as pastor populi, representing the ideal ecclesiastical shepherd, dedicated to justice in both religious and political affairs. King Henry VI (d. 1471) was seen as a pious victim already in his lifetime, represented in the hagiography as an innocent, Job-like, child-martyr.

Cults of political martyrs formed an organic part of late medieval lives, which were communal and private, local and regional, devotional and social. They demonstrate the flexibility with which religious symbols – chastity, martyrdom, virtue – formed part of political language, and were available to people at different levels of society, and with different degrees of access to liturgy, clerical assistance and power of patronage. These cults – created rather than imported - offer us an insight into fourteenth-and fifteenth century English society, its modes of thoughts, belief, worship, as well as political culture and language.
ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

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This work is dedicated to my mother, Ana Piroyansky, who was - and is - always there for me, and in memory of Eduardo Piroyansky and Yitzhak Rabin, political martyrs both.
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<td>Bulletin of the Institute of Historical Research</td>
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<td>BJRL</td>
<td>Bulletin of the John Rylands Library</td>
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<td>BL</td>
<td>British Library</td>
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<td>BM</td>
<td>British Museum</td>
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<td>CCR</td>
<td>Calendar of Close Rolls</td>
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<td>CPR</td>
<td>Calendar of Patent Rolls</td>
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<tr>
<td>EETS</td>
<td>Early English Text Society</td>
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<td>EHR</td>
<td>English Historical Review</td>
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<tr>
<td>ODNB</td>
<td>Oxford Dictionary of National Biography</td>
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INTRODUCTION

In a Middle English moral treatise written between 1405 and 1410, *Dives et Pauper*, the figure of Dives inquires, while discussing the first commandment: "Why be now no martyrris as were wone to ben?" Pauper, his partner in dialogue, assures him: "We han þese dayys martyrris al to manye in þis lond". When Dives still fails to understand, Pauper further explains:

For þe mor martyrris þe mor morde and manslaute & þe mor schadyng of innocentis blood... And now Englych nacioun hat mad manye martyrris; þey sparyn neyber here owyn kyng ne her buschopys, no dignyte, non ordre, no stat, no degree.¹

Political martyrs - people who died during political struggles and were posthumously venerated - are to be found in later medieval England, alongside other types of martyrs and saints. This dissertation will study the subject of cults of political martyrs in fourteenth and fifteenth century England.

This type of popular 'canonization' has hitherto been discussed mainly in a restricted political context, and has been interpreted as a product of manipulative political propaganda. The first historian to study the subject was J.C. Russell in an article titled 'The Canonization of Opposition to the King in Angevin England'.² Although dealing with an earlier period in English history (twelfth and thirteenth centuries), Russell laid the path for future students of the subject by suggesting that such cults offered a mode of showing resistance to the king, one which would have been difficult to penalize or control.³

During the 1970s the study of political martyrdom in general became a popular subject for academic inquiry. It was studied mainly by American scholars who were, perhaps, drawn to the subject following the assassination of the American President John F. Kennedy in November 1963. During the 1970s John W. McKenna wrote two influential articles on the subject of political canonization, analyzing the cults which evolved around Richard Scrope, Archbishop of York (d. 1405) and around King Henry VI (d. 1471). In these articles he interpreted this phenomenon as a "shrewd political manipulation by royal and anti-royal publicists of the popular or unofficial canonization of political heroes or political martyrs". Two doctoral dissertations written in the following years pursued this line of interpretation, seeing cults of political martyrs as the product of propagandistic intervention. In his dissertation of 1978 John M. Theilmann thanked both Russell and McKenna. After studying the efforts on canonization of thirteen political figures he reached the conclusion that not only politics and piety played roles in formation of political cults, but also more individual concerns, such as poor health or family loyalties. In a dissertation from 1983 A.R. Echerd studied the cult which evolved around Thomas Earl of Lancaster, executed by King Edward II in 1322. Echerd saw the cult first and foremost as "a focus of anti-royal sentiment".

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4 For the reaction to Kennedy's assassination, and his posthumous portrayal as a martyr see Eyal J. Naveh, *Crown of Thorns: Political Martyrdom in America from Abraham Lincoln to Martin Luther King Jr.* (NY and London, 1990), pp. 172-74.


6 McKenna, 'Piety and Propaganda', p. 72.


Later studies of political sainthood in late medieval England touched occasionally on the subject of martyrdom. André Vauchez’s interpretation of this category of martyrdom in his already classic study of late medieval sainthood identified the suffering leader as a model for sainthood. In these cults innocence and victimhood were central to the saints’ image and prompted emotional responses to their deaths, which developed into devotion.\(^9\) In his important study of the subject from 1995 Simon Walker chose to highlight a different aspect of these cults. While accepting, at least for their early stages, the explanation of propagandistic political manipulation, Walker also claimed that these martyrdom cults represented ideas of concord, harmony, and love.\(^10\)

I shall argue and aim to demonstrate that although elements of ‘political control’ were present at the emergence and in the activity of these cults, these were not the immediate cause for their emergence. There is much more historical significance to be derived from other aspects of their growth. The very definition of ‘political’ is problematic in itself. Is there such thing as a purely political arena? Did people not engage with the political space, as part of a culture in which religion, aesthetics, and ethics were interwoven with politics? The men and women who were seen as manipulating cults of political martyrs for their own political goals also acted in a broader, cultural, context.\(^11\) Another problem arises from the hypothesis that people can be manipulated into believing and worshipping someone as saint or


martyr; late medieval men and women were active participants in both political and religious practices, not merely passive recipients.12

Most of the studies which perceived late medieval cults of political martyrs as propagandistic creations used only a limited array of surviving and relevant sources. Despite the abundance of sources available and the richness of their genres, these studies concentrated mainly on the political aspect, ignoring other possible readings of the historical material.

I suggest, therefore, that any study of the idea of political martyrdom and the cults of political martyrs should be undertaken with the understanding that they constituted an organic part of late medieval life, an existence in which not only political, but also communal and private, local and regional, devotional and social aspirations mixed. I shall propose a broad yet precise set of contexts for the understanding of these cults, and thus contribute to our appreciation of fourteenth and fifteenth century English society, its modes of thought, belief, and worship. The study of these martyrs and their cults may also contribute to our understanding of late medieval political culture and language, by enabling us a glimpse of a world that was not exclusively political or religious, but both.

For a better understanding of the role that cults of political martyrs played in late medieval England we must concentrate on the many activities and representations which emerged from them. Placing this 'political martyrdom' within its appropriate frameworks has been a central aim of this thesis. Thus the first chapter will examine the idea of martyrdom as it was expressed and used in this period in various genres, and will question its importance and significance in the lives of contemporary English men and women, of various vocations and social classes.

12 For criticism of ideas which perceive the 'popular' element as passive see Roger Chartier, *Cultural
The three following chapters will deal with three case studies. Each represents an aspect of late medieval English society: king, archbishop, earl. Taken together, they recreate several continuities and contiguities, pictures of life in late medieval England, from the beginning of the fourteenth century and ending in the second half of the sixteenth. By studying the cults of Thomas Earl of Lancaster (d. 1322), Richard Scrope Archbishop of York (d. 1405), and King Henry VI (d. 1471) I will raise questions that deal with the posthumous cultic activity around these figures, from the circumstances of their initial emergence to the unique characteristics (social, geographic, political) of their adherents and practices. I will also analyze the ways in which the martyrs were represented in these cults.

I offer these historical understandings based on the reading - literary and iconographic - of the chronicles, hagiography and liturgy in textual and visual forms. By searching for recurrent motifs and biblical similes in the sources I reconstruct a many-folded representation of the martyrs, in which literary traditions were emulated, and yet new interpretations offered. Analysis of visual representations of the martyrs will bear in mind comparison or contrast with other saints. The sources also allow us to gather data on the geographical scope of the cults, and on the social and political background of their devotees.

I shall be aiming to create, through these approaches to the sources, what Paul Strohm has called an 'imaginative structure'. By using ideas which relate to representation, collective memory, construction of identities, and response and reception to and of texts, images, and performances, I hope we may come to

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13 For the use of structuralism in reading images, and in general for studying visual representations see Peter Burke, Eyewitnessing: The Uses of Images as Historical Evidence (London, 2001), pp. 172-176.

understanding better what these cults meant to those people who created them, and even to those who oppressed them.\(^{15}\) Furthermore, I have found comparisons with figures who were killed in political circumstances (like modern American political martyrdom, medieval Jewish martyrdom, or Anglo-Saxon royal martyrdom),\(^{16}\) as I did using anthropological studies of rituals.\(^{17}\)

This inter-disciplinary – or, perhaps, anti-disciplinary\(^ {18}\) - reading of sources, uses different tools from the ones practiced hitherto in the study of these cults. It allows us not only to acquire knowledge on the practicalities and practices of these cults, but also to broaden our understanding of the modes of thinking and writing, behaviour and worship practiced by later medieval English men and women.


CHAPTER 1
MAPPING MARTYRDOM

The language of martyrdom was common in late medieval England.¹ Contemporary people—men and women, rich and poor, lay and religious, literate and illiterate—used it in their contemplative and active lives and in diverse ways. This could be through mimesis, as a metaphor, as a pedagogic example, as an inspiration, or as an explanation. The language of martyrdom not only constructed the worlds of contemporary men and women but also reconstructed them.² One might see martyrdom as a ‘root paradigm’ for Christians, given that from the early days of Christianity, through liturgy and iconography, martyrrological traditions were made and remade, based on memory and recreation of Christ’s Passion.³

In this chapter I will explore the use of the traditional and paradigmatic language of martyrdom in late medieval England in the practices and utterances through which people created their own unique understandings of the world. The objective of this chapter is to map the uses of the language of martyrdom in later medieval England, in contemplative, active, and ‘mixed’ lives. The use of the language of martyrdom in the political arena will not be discussed in this chapter, but will be dealt with in each of the other chapters devoted to the cults of Thomas, Earl of Lancaster, Archbishop Richard Scrope, and King Henry VI.

¹As in the continent in the period, albeit with some different emphases, derived from differing circumstances, such as absence of Jews—and therefore Jewish martyrdoms—in late medieval England. See Miri Rubin, ‘Choosing Death? Experiences of Martyrdom in Late Medieval Europe’, in Martyrs and Martyrologies, Diana Wood (ed.) Studies in Church History 30 (Oxford, 1993), pp. 153-83.
²"Models and techniques taken over from classical culture and the Christianity of late antiquity were used to prompt mimetic processes, which, in turn, involved more than mere reproduction." Gunter Gebauer and Christoph Wulf, Mimesis: Culture, Art, Society, D. Reneau (trans.) (Berkeley and London, 1995), p. 61.
³The Anthropologist Victor Turner had argued that martyrdom was a root paradigm of Christianity, root paradigms being “the cultural transliterations of generic codes—they represent that in the human
I. Martyrdom in religious ideas and practices

1. Contemplating martyrdom

In the contemplative life, the language of martyrdom was prominent. By practicing compassionate suffering with Christ and his mother, by hearing martyrs' legends and praying to them, choosing and preserving virginity, or undergoing enclosure, later medieval English men and women used the language of martyrdom, and constructed life-styles induced by images of martyrdom. Some bodily practices contributed in creating a martyred self image, like virginity and enclosure, and these coexisted with devotion to the Passion and the fascination with the martyrs. Margery Kempe (b. c. 1373), the pious laywoman from Lynn, illustrated it best in her Book, when describing, in her own words, her martyrdom:

to be bowndyn hyr hed and hir fet to a stokke, and hir hed to be smet of wyth a scharp ex, for God dys lofe.

Although she feared the point of death, the willingness to be martyred for Christ's love, and the imagined experience of martyrdom, were enough to please God, who promised her that for this readiness she will be rewarded in heaven “as thow thu suffredyst the same deth”.

Compassionate suffering offered, through the use of imagination and intellect, an experience of martyrdom. In nature an affective and cognitive autosuggestive suffering, it sometimes resulted in subjective physical pain. The model of this type of spiritual martyrdom was Mary, mother of Christ. Her compassionate suffering with


4 Scholars have also identified ‘semi-contemplative’ (or ‘mixed’) lives, which combined contemplative prayer and worldly activities, usually outside the religious orders, as an anchorress or a vowess.

5 The Book of Margery Kempe, Barry Windeatt (ed.) (Harlow, 2000), chapter 14, p. 98 (lines 946-48).

6 Ibid., chapter 14, p. 98 (lines 951-52).
her son at the foot of the Cross was seen as martyrdom, “for so much as she louyd hym more then alle other, her peye passyd alle other”.7

The Mater Dolorosa became a theme of devotion in itself in the later Middle Ages.8 Mary’s Sorrows were paired with that of her son in the ‘Obsecro Te’ prayer which appeared in Books of Hours, celebrating her Joys and Sorrows. In this prayer we find “shifts without any sense of incongruity” between the sufferings of mother and son; Christ’s fountains of blood are paired with Mary’s fountains of tears (“per fontes sanguinis suis...et per fontes lachrymarum tuarum”).9 Mary’s suffering was predicted in Luke 2:35 (“and a sword will pierce through your soul also”), an image which provided a central theme for devotional and liturgical texts. This theme of Mary’s suffering by the Sword of Sorrows appears in imagery, such as in a manuscript (Glasgow University Library Hunter 231, fol. 53) that depicts her standing at the foot of the Cross, a genuine sword piercing her heart.10 In the Mass of Compassion or Lamentation of the Blessed Virgin Mary which is part of the Sarum Use Missal (Missa Compassionis sive Lamentationis Beate Mariae Virginis) the sword that pierces Mary’s heart is mentioned twice during the mass, and then a third

7 Julian of Norwich, A Book of Showings to the Anchoress Julian of Norwich, Edmund Colledge and James Walsh (eds.) 2 vols., Studies and Texts 35 (Toronto, 1978), vol. II, chapter 18, p. 366, lines 7-8. In two of the manuscripts in which the Showings appear (BL Sloane 2499 and BL Sloane 3705), the chapter is titled “Of the spiritual martyrdom of our lady and other lovers of Criste...”. The editors, however, commented, without further explanation, that the phrase Spiritual Martyrdom “has the ring of the seventeenth century”, and that Julian would most probably have used “ghostly passion”. Ibid., n. 1.
9 Duffy, p. 204.
10 Ellen Ross, The Grief of God: Images of the Suffering Jesus in Late Medieval England (NY and Oxford, 1997), p. 52, fig. 2.21. For sermons treating Mary’s sufferings as martyrdom, see Donna Spivey Ellington, ‘Impassioned Mother or Passive Icon: The Virgin’s Role in Late Medieval and Early Modern Passion Sermons’, Renaissance Quarterly 48 (1995), pp. 227-61 (pp. 237-41). Ellington stresses that although a distinction between Christ’s Passion of body and Mary’s compassion of soul did exist, the difference between their sacrifice became less discernable in the later Middle Ages “because of the propensity ...to stress the bodily ties between Mary and Jesus and to see the Virgin mother and Divine son as almost equal”. Ibid., p. 237.
time at the end. At the last piercing the sword inflicts collective pain, by which believers share Mary's suffering. In the popular *Mirrour of the Blessed Lyf of Jesu Christ* Nicholas Love (d. 1424), prior of a Carthusian house in Yorkshire, offered his readers a meditative imagining of Christ's life. When depicting the crucifixion Love described not only Christ's sufferings, but also his mother's; "Ioo now" – Christ is portrayed as saying – "she hangęp on be crosse with me". A meditative experience of the Passion through Mary's suffering, as R.N. Swanson has commented, "might therefore count as a form of self-martyrdom". Mary was thus not only a focus of devotion because of her sufferings, but also a channel through which one could identify in new ways with Christ's sufferings.

Devotional writers in fourteenth and fifteenth century England, as in the Continent, experienced, through visions of suffering with Christ's Passion, a spiritual experience of martyrdom. Julian of Norwich, the anchoress who wrote her *Book of Showings* after a series of mystical visions during May 1373, commented, after a vision of Christ's Crucifixion, on the suffering she experienced – like Mary – for loving him and seeing his pain:

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12 Carthusian house of the Assumption of Our Lady in Mount Grace, Yorkshire. The text had been written in the first decade of the fifteenth century, and became "one of the most well-read books in late-medieval England." Nicholas Love, *The Mirror of the Blessed Life of Jesus Christ: A Reading Text*, Michael G. Sargent (ed.) (Exeter, 2004), pp. ix-xii.


14 R.N. Swanson, "Passion and Practice: the Social and Ecclesiastical Implications of Passion Devotion in the Late Middle Ages", in *The Broken Body: Passion Devotion in Late-Medieval Culture*, A.A. MacDonald, H.N.B. Rudderbos and R.M. Schluersmann (eds.) (Groningen, 1998), pp. 1-30 (pp. 8-9, n. 18).

here I felt stedfastly that I louyd Crist so much aboue my selfe that ther was no peye that myght be sufferyd lyke to that sorow that I had to see hym in payne.16

Margery Kempe was so eager to share Christ’s and Mary’s sufferings, that she reacted dramatically to any Passion-related stimulus. During a sermon in Rome, for example, she felt “sodeyn sorwe and hevynes ocupying hir bert”, and started weeping and sobbing. When asked what was wrong, she cried in a loud voice “The Passyon of Crist sleth [slays] me!”.17 On a different occasion, when a woman wished her, following a Corpus Christi procession, “Damsel, God yef us grace to folwyn the steppys of owr Lord Jhesu Crist”, it turned Margery’s sobbing to a cry of “I dey, I dey” and such ‘wonderful’ roaring that “the pepil wonderyd upon hir”.18

The pain these writers longed for, and indeed experienced, however, was not a goal in itself, but a means towards unification with God.19 By imitating Christ’s suffering and experiencing it with him they expressed their love, so that “the distance between oneself and the suffering Christ” could diminish.20 Christ’s humanity, emphasized throughout his suffering, made him a kinsman – father, mother, husband or brother – and enabled a higher degree of intimacy between God and man.21

Although visionary encounters with God were available only to a small minority, meditating on, and identifying with Christ’s sufferings were ways in which men and women could be stimulated towards confession and penance, and experience

17 The Book of Margery Kempe, chapter 41, pp. 208-209 (lines 3230-47).
18 Ibid., chapter 45, p. 223 (lines 3546-59).
20 Kieckhefer, Unquiet Souls, p. 105.
21 Duffy, p. 236.
a type of 'martyrdom'. This co-suffering with Christ and his mother was discussed and encouraged in countless texts and visual representations related to Christ’s Passion: prayers, sermons, poems, devotional treatises, mystery plays, and images. New cults developed around themes of the Passion, such as the *Arma Christi* or The Five Wounds, and these also produced prayers, poems, and iconography.\(^2\)

This devotional literature and imagery, aimed at creating an affective reaction to Christ's sufferings, were “often not concerned at all with the niceties of dogmatic theology, but with vivid emotion and immediate effect”.\(^23\) The desired emotional response was created by various means, such as minutely lingering on details of the Passion, or instructing the reader or listener to use all senses while meditating. The employment of the present tense to stress the immediacy of the experience contributed to linking past and present. Richard Rolle (d. 1349), the hermit from Hampole, who composed many devotional treatises and poems in Latin and the vernacular, elaborately described in his *[D]euout meditacioun vp be passioun of Crist* the details of Christ's Passion. The people chosen to scourge Christ, for example, are described as “stronge and stalwarth and willy to slee pe”.\(^24\) In another meditation on the Passion (Meditation A), Rolle lingers upon the details of the Crucifixion, describing minutely,


\(^{23}\) Gray, *Themes and Images*, p. 36.
nail by nail, limb by limb, a process so agonizing that “it was wonder that he me had ben ded with that peyne”.25 Walter Hilton (d. 1395-96), an Augustinian Canon at Thurgarton (Nottinghamshire) and author of Scale of Perfection,26 instructed his meditative reader or listener to see, feel and weep in the heart. By using the ‘dramatic present’,27 the emotional result was meant to be even more affective:

You see the crown of thorns... you feel your heart stirred to such compassion and pity towards your Lord Jesus that you mourn, weep, and cry out with every power of the body and soul.28

The writers of texts describing spiritual co-suffering with Christ which enabled identification with his pain were men and women who practiced religion in a variety of ways. Richard Rolle was a hermit; Walter Hilton an Augustinian Canon; Julian of Norwich was an anchoress, while Margery Kempe was a pious lay pilgrim. They varied not only in their gender and religious orientation, but also in literary style and emphasis.29 Although some experienced mystical visions, their writings were aimed at Christians aspiring to come closer to God. While Richard Rolle, for example, wrote for ‘mystic beginners’,30 Julian of Norwich emphasized the fact that meditation on Christ’s humanity was not a religious privilege or a special calling, but a practice aimed at all Christians, regardless of their status.31

Passion-related texts and images could have been used in the sacred space of church or in a private room, as part of a shared public experience or in personal devotion. Themes of the Passion were preached from the pulpit, and mystery plays which re-enacted the Passion and Crucifixion reached large audiences in English towns and even villages. These were, as Sarah Beckwith observes, “the cultural vehicles of sociopolitical life and the central means of their mutual articulation”.32

The devotional practice of co-suffering with Christ was not, therefore, a monopoly of religious, rich, or scholarly men and women. On the contrary, the growing accessibility and popularity of the affective meditation on the Passion reflected rather its widening democratization.33

The line between a contemplative martyrdom for the love of God, and self-afflicted physical suffering for the same purpose was sometimes blurred. Whereas meditative suffering was encouraged for lay people, attempts to remove it from the spiritual framework into the real, physical world, were criticized. On more than one occasion Walter Hilton rebuked as “hypocrites and heretics” those who

will endure great bodily pain and are sometimes ready to suffer death with great joy.34

Unless the suffering is “well tempered with humility and discretion”,35 as in the spiritual type of suffering,

this love and joy that they feel in bodily suffering is not to be identified with that implanted by the Holy spirit… but is simulated by the devil in the fires of hell.36

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33 *Duffy*, p. 265.
Martyrdom, whether imagined as a fantasy, or contemplated through Christ’s Passion or Mary’s suffering, was better achieved when experienced inwardly rather than outwardly.

2. Traditional cults of martyrs

Past sufferings were also remembered and shared through new references to martyrs of old. These narratives of pain and suffering were accessible to English men and women. The theme of martyrdom was elaborated, and devotion to the martyrs was expressed and constructed through the production and use of hagiography, verse, sermons, literature, church liturgy and imagery, which constantly reminded Christians of the sufferings the martyrs had experienced for God’s love. The opening lines of the *Speculum Sacerdotale*, a fifteenth century collection of vernacular sermons, many of them on martyrs, explained the “entent” in celebrating the martyrs and their days:

that we, the herers of here blessid commemoracions...myȝt be stired forto folowe hem in the same wey and also that we myȝte brouȝ, here prayers and medes be in here euerlastynge fellaschip and holpen her in erpe.37

Several writers – known and anonymous - in the period narrated and translated from Latin into the vernacular legends of martyrs. Collections of such legends, whether intended for preaching or reading, appear in Middle English compilations such as the *South English Legendary* which was popular throughout the south of England, as well as parts of the Midlands;38 The *North English Legendary* from the

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38 Since an edition of the later versions of the SEL does not exist I have used the text published in 1956, although the main two manuscripts which the editors have used are from c. 1300. *The South English Legendary*, Charlotte D’Evelyn and Anna J. Mill (eds.) EETS 235, 236 and 244 (London, 1956 and 1959). The *South English Legendary* was popular during the later thirteenth and the fourteenth century. In the later fifteenth century, however, it seems that the text has become "old fashioned": it was not copied as a whole anymore, although single legends were still occasionally copied. Manfred Görtsch, *The Textual Tradition of the South English Legendary* (Leeds, 1974), pp. 1, 60-62. For the text’s potential and actual users see *Ibid.*, pp. 45-50. For the spread of its popularity see map in *Ibid.*,
end of the fourteenth century;\textsuperscript{39} the \textit{Festial} of John Mirk, an Austin canon and later prior of Lilleshall (Shropshire), published probably during the 1380s;\textsuperscript{40} Osbern Bokenham's \textit{Legendys of Hooly Wummen}, completed in 1447;\textsuperscript{41} and the \textit{Speculum Sacerdotale} earlier mentioned.\textsuperscript{42} These homiletic and literary sources treated, along with the lives of other saints, the martyrdoms of men, boys, and virgins.

In these collections, as well as in single texts, were narrated the martyrdoms experienced by Christ's apostles, by early Christian martyrs, by Anglo-Saxon kings, and by others. The protagonists represented a wide range of virtues, which occasionally were interwoven: Archbishop Thomas of Canterbury's humility and faith, St George's knightly prowess and heroism, and King Edmund's royalty and chastity.\textsuperscript{43}
Virginity and innocence were the main theme in the sufferings experienced by boy martyrs, narrated by writers such as Geoffrey Chaucer and Lydgate. Chaucer treated the story of a boy-martyr who had been allegedly ‘martyred’ by the Jews, and placed it in the mouth of the Prioress. The old Marian miracle story is twined by Chaucer into an occasion to invoke the alleged murder of another English boy,

O yonge Hugh of Lyncoln, slain also
with cursed Jews... but a litel while ago

Hugh of Lincoln was already dead for a hundred and fifty years. Chaucer’s Prioress refers with great pathos to the victim’s young age and tenderness, purity and innocence, him being “the white Lamb celestial”, evoking thus an intensified reaction to the boy-martyr’s death. John Lydgate (d. 1449-50), the monk of Bury St Edmunds, in a more original and personal tone, composed a prayer to a local boy-martyr, Robert of Bury, a child allegedly crucified by Jews in the twelfth century. Lydgate, either displaying his own originality or being influenced by Chaucer’s tale,
elaborated in the prayer the child’s purity and innocence, inquiring, in the dramatic
climax of the poem: “Was it nat routhe to se þi veynes bleede?”51

Boy-martyrs were not the only devotional figures in whom virginity and
suffering merged. Legends of virgin-martyrs were also retold in later medieval
England in collections of legends and by some prominent literary figures.52 Chaucer
‘translated’ St Cecily’s story in The Second Nun’s Tale in his Canterbury Tales;53
William Paris, an esquire of the exiled Earl of Warwick, Thomas Beauchamp,
depicted St Christine’s life and death in 1398/9;54 John Lydgate wrote a life of St
Margaret between 1415 and 1426 for Ann Mortimer, Lady March;55 Osbern of
Bokenham composed the lives of saints Margaret, Christine, Agnes, Katherine,
Cecelia, Agatha, Lucy, and six others, in his Legendys of Hooly Wummen, completed
by 1447;56 and John Capgrave, the Austin friar and later prior, wrote a life of St
Katherine c. 1445.57

52 For a study of legends of virgin martyrs in the later Middle Ages and their changing emphases see
Winstead, Virgin Martyrs. For a study of fifteenth century collections of female saints’ lives, their
mainly East Anglian origin and circulation, and laywomen’s audience see A.S.G. Edwards, ‘Fifteenth
131-41.
53 For a summary of the criticism which the Second Nun’s Tale received up to the beginning of the
1990s see Collette, ‘Critical Approaches’, pp. 100-103. Chaucer’s translation of Cecily’s legend may
have been done “in commemoration of the appointment in the early 1380s of the English prelate Adam
Easton to the post of Cardinal Priest of the Church of Saint Cecilia in Trastevere by Pope Urban VI.”
David Raybin, ‘Chaucer’s Creation and Recreation of The Lyf of Seynt Cecile’, The Chaucer Review 32
54 For the poem see William Paris, ‘Christine’, in Sammlung Allenglischer Legenden, C. Horstmann
(ed.) (Heilbronn, 1878), pp. 183-90. For dating and the identity of the writer see Gordon Hall Gerould,
The Legend of St. Christine by William Paris, Modern Language Notes 29 (1914), pp. 129-33; Mary-Ann Stouck,
56 Bokenham, A Legend of Holy Women, p. ix. Carroll Hilles emphasized certain political interests in
the composition of the collection: “Bokenham’s legendary is designed less to promote the interests of
women than to appropriate women’s religious culture for a strategic political interest: the claims of
57 John Capgrave, The Life of St Katharine of Alexandria, Carl Horstmann (ed.) EETS o.s. 100
(London, 1893). See Winstead, Virgin Martyrs, p. 156. For Capgrave’s biography see J.C. Fredman,
The Life of John Capgrave, O.E.S.A (1393-1464), Augustiniana: Revue pour l’étude de Saint
Augustine et de l’Ordre des Augustins 29 (1979), pp. 197-237. Karen Winstead commented on
Capgrave’s Katherine that it is “the first major treatment of the issue [of gynocracy] in English
Although the popularity of these virgin-martyrs in late medieval England is well established, their religious and social significance is disputed. Whereas Katherine J. Lewis, among others, argues that virgin-martyrs were used as "model girls" in training of young women, Eamon Duffy suggests that "[devotion to virgin-martyrs] gave to the ordinary Christian man and woman was not so much a model to imitate...but rather a source of power to be tapped". Not only virgins but martyrs in general were used in more pragmatic and daily ways too.

Martyrs were employed in instrumental ways. Their powers were invoked for dealing with day-to-day difficulties, such as the labours of childbirth, headaches, blood flow or gout, through charms and spells which repeated holy words and names. When the problems were more serious or permanent they perhaps triggered a pilgrimage, whereas in some cases, only a miracle was expected to help. This daily usage of charms and spells was not seen as standing outside the official worship of the church. On the contrary, it was "built into the very structure of the liturgy", and was an indistinguishable part of late medieval religion.

The martyrs' sufferings - in some cases their very specific torments - were invoked to relieve equivalent anguishes of their adherents. So, for example, Apollonia, a third-century virgin-martyr who suffered having her teeth broken, was useful for sufferers of toothache. Her iconographical representation is that of a woman holding a set of pincers with a tooth, as depicted, for instance, in the rood screens of
the parish churches of Burton Turf (Norfolk) and Whimple (Devon). In his commonplace book, written between 1470 and 1475, the villager Robert Reynes of Acle (Norfolk) copied a charm against "Tothake" (and also gout and worms), beginning

Sancta Appolonia fuit virgo inclita cuius dentes pro amore Domini Nostru Ihesu Christi fuerunt abstrati.

In his Dialogue Concerning Heresies (written in 1529) Thomas More criticized this practice of "[setting] euery saynt to his offyce and assygne hym a craft suche as pleaseth vs". He draws upon a litany of saints and their 'offices': St Roch and St Sebastian "to the great sykenes" (plague); St Apollonia for the teeth; and others for the eyes (St Lucy) or the breast (St Agatha). Unlike Thomas More, those who believed in the therapeutic powers of the martyrs called upon their assistance when help in their specific field was in need.

The practical and instrumental, even mechanical, use of charms and spells was not restricted to any single social groups. Although they were undoubtedly attractive for peasants and 'simple people', charms can be "as readily" found in sources of more sophisticated and of orthodox provenance. The Middleham Jewel, for example, is a fifteenth century gold pendant which was owned by a noble woman. The magical words engraved on it, and the images of the Trinity, Nativity, and of fifteen saints, were meant to protect its wearer from spiritual and corporeal enemies, uniting thus

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61 Duffy, p. 279.  
63 Ibid., pp. 306-7, no. 104.  
65 Ibid. See also Medieval Popular Religion, 1000-1500: A Reader, John Shinners (ed.) Readings in Medieval Civilizations and Cultures 2 (Peterborough, 1997), pp. 201-204.  
66 Duffy, p. 278.
"devotion and apotropaic virtues of power". Whereas men and women from different English sub-cultures sought the martyrs' help for their own hardships, others tried to recreate the original sufferings of the martyrs, or at least an equivalent, and to experience them.

3. Experiencing virginity

Virginity was another arena in which the language of martyrdom was central. In later medieval England several ways of practising virginity existed, either physical or 'honorary', religious or lay, in enclosed solitary life, or as part of a community. Although Sarah Salih argued convincingly that virginity could be 'produced' by suffering, it is not always clear where the martyrological element in virginity lies: was it by being martyred for virginity or by virginity? Was the suffering represented as prominent in virginity external or internal in nature?

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67 Peter M. Jones and Lea T. Olsan, 'Middleham Jewel: Ritual, Power, and Devotion', *Viator* 31 (2000), pp. 249-90 (p. 284). Most of the saints who has been identified on the jewel are martyrs, such as Barbara, Margaret, Catherine, Peter and George.


69 In the discussion that follows I look at virginity in its feminine form, mainly because most of the primary and secondary literature on the subject deals with women rather than men. For virginity in communities of nuns in later medieval England see Sarah Salih, *Versions of Virginity in Late Medieval England* (Cambridge, 2001), chapter 4. Salih argues that "[T]he austerity of the monastic life may be written as a self-imposed martyrdom, but texts relating to nuns do not tend to make such martyrdom constitutive of virginity." *Ibid.*, p. 108. Salih is referring here to the type of martyred virginity which is described in the hagiography of the virgin-martyrs, but it could be that other martyrological elements linked to virginity may have been found. If indeed nuns were less likely to emphasize martyrological elements (similar to those in the legends or others) in the virginity they were practicing, as Salih claims, it could have been because "[T]he virginal monastic self is formed with reference to a community" (*Ibid.*, p. 125), and martyrdom, albeit performed publicly, is ideally more of a personal choice and enactment. For vowesses in England at the end of the Middle Ages see Mary C. Erier, 'English Vowed Women at the End of the Middle Ages', *Mediaeval Studies* 57 (1995), pp. 155-203; also P.H. Cullum, 'Vowesses and Female Lay Piety in the Province of York, 1300-1500', *Northern History* 32 (1996), pp. 21-41. For a discussion of the historical and religious background leading to the growing numbers of people practising virginity and anchoritism from the thirteenth century on see, for example, Atkinson, 'Special Balsam', p. 139, or Ann K. Warren, *Anchorites and their Patrons in Medieval England* (Berkeley and London, 1985), p. 22.
The legends of virgin-martyrs represent the martyrdom for virginity as a physical experience. Virginity in these legends is "menaced", to use Kathleen Coyne Kelly’s term, by frustrated rulers, such as Quintianus, the consular official in Sicily in the legend of St Agatha, or Eulogius, the prefect of Nicomedia, in St Juliana’s legend. Virgin martyrs suffered at the hands of their adversaries because they wished to preserve their virginity and refused to worship idols: in both ways they preserved their love of Christ. As John Capgrave’s Katharine explains to the tyrant Maxentius who tried to persuade her to worship his gods:

'I shal keepe that truthe whiche pat I [made]
   On-to myn husband, though I shulde be ded'.

Their torments were corporeal and physical, so substantial to their virginity that they “can be understood as a virginity test, simultaneously producing and displaying the virgin body”. Whatever afflictions the virgins experienced the story usually ended, as in John Lydgate’s legend of St Margaret, with

the chaste lely of whos maydenhede
Thorough martyrdom was spreynt with roses rede.74

Another, less deadly way, of being martyred for virginity is through its forced loss. The theologian Thomas Aquinas (d. 1274) argued in his Summa Theologiae that the loss of virginity – under duress and without death – can be regarded as martyrdom. When discussing whether death is essential to the idea of martyrdom (“utrum mors sit de ratione martyrii”), he argues that:

70 For the use of this term see, for example, Kelly, Performing Virginity, p. 42.
73 Sahh, Versions of Virginity, p. 96.
we read that certain women held their lives in praiseworthy contempt in order to preserve their physical virginity...there are occasions on which persons are robbed of that physical virginity, or an attempt is made to rob them of it, because they confess the Christian faith...[S]o it appears that the term martyrdom should be used rather for a woman’s loss of her physical virginity for belief in Christ, than for the further loss of her bodily life.75

Whether virginity lasted a lifetime (therefore ‘outlasting the virgin’)76 or was forcibly taken away, practising virgins were seen as martyrs of sorts. Circumstances that enabled martyrdom for virginity, however, were far back in time, in Christianity’s early history. Waves of anti-Christian persecution in the first centuries of Christianity created opportunities for virgins to perform martyrdom, or at least to be later described as martyrs.77 But later medieval England posed no such violent threat; marriage plans were the sole real threat to a plan to live in chastity.78 The popular virgin-martyrs’ legends offered, therefore, to late medieval English virgins a way of practising virginity that was no longer available for emulation, and thus served as a fantasy or as an example. The legends also changed in tone over time, as Karen A. Winstead points out: “[B]eginning in the early 1400s, numerous Middle English hagiographers were focusing less on the saints’ hostility towards men than on their

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75 “pro integritate carnis servanda aliquae mulieres leguntur laudabiliter vitam suam contempsisse...quandoque ipsa integritas carnis auferetur, vel auferri intentatur, pro confessione fidei christianae...[E]rgo videtur quod martyrium magis debeat dici si aliqua mulier pro fide Christi integritatem carnis perdat, quam si etiam perderet corporalem.” Thomas Aquinas, Summa Theologiae, Thomas Gilby (ed. and trans.) (London and NY, 1966), vol. 42, pp. 50-53 (2a 2ae. 124, 4); Kelly, Performing Virginity, p. 58.
76 Kelly, Performing Virginity, p. 42.
77 Jocelyn Wogan-Browne argues that also Danish invasions in the ninth and eleventh centuries "historicize and localize pagan violation", and created thus new Anglo-Saxon virgin-martyrs such as St Osith, who was beheaded by heathen raiders while bathing. Wogan-Browne, Saints’ Lives, p. 116.
suffering”, thus ‘customizing’ virgin-martyrs’ hagiography to present needs, not only as reading material for virgins, but also as more general models of chastity, resolve, humility, charity, and patience. Miri Rubin concludes: “Martyrs were good to think with, and above all to learn from. They were not meant to be emulated literally, but rather to give occasion for disciplined reflection and improvement”.

Suffering through virginity, involving spiritual chastity in the face of inner temptations and the desires of others, was the best way of practising virgin-martyrdom, one which the literary virgin-martyrs never seem to have been troubled by. This element of inner pain in virginity was stressed in a guide for anchoresses, *Ancrene Wisse*, written c. 1220 for three sisters by an anonymous Augustinian canon. In this guide virgin anchoresses were directed to hang black curtains marked by a white cross, in order to symbolize the keeping of pure chastity, which is guarded with much pain. The virgin fights inwardly against devilish desires in order to produce and preserve her mental state of virginity. If she finds it difficult (“when the temptation is very severe”), the *Ancrene Wisse* instructs the virgin to “turn the sweet pleasure into smarting pain”, hence guiding her to imitate the agonizing experiences which originally produced the virginity of the virgin-martyrs. Her reward for

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79 Winstead, *Virgin Martyrs*, pp. 112, 141.


81 Salih, *Versions of Virginity*, p. 72.

82 Warren, *Anchorites*, p. 295. The *Ancrene Wisse* is one of the English anchorite rules, listed in appendix 2.


84 “ah lanhure be be scolf hwen be strongest stont. A smert discpline. & drif...bet swete licunge in to smortunge” *Ancrene Wisse*, p. 152; “when the temptation [to lechery] is very severe, give yourself a
winning this war will be, as promised in a letter on virginity from early in the thirteenth century, *Hali Meidhad*,\(^8^5\) "pe blisse ant te crune of Cristes icorene [elect]".\(^8^6\) In this text the author cites St Paul, stating that

no one is crowned except for whoever fights truly in that fight, and with a hard struggle overcomes herself.\(^8^7\)

The spiritual temptation, the inner suffering, the war that has to be fought, and the future reward, make the practicing virgin a martyr of sorts.

4. Living and dying in enclosure

Life of enclosure offered some later medieval English people - especially women\(^8^8\) - another way of experiencing martyrdom. The anchoress was pronounced dead to the world by her own choice. This symbolic death was liturgically celebrated in a ceremony that sealed the anchoress in her cell, encompassing liturgical elements of death, such as the singing of antiphons and psalms from the Office of the Dead, or receiving the sacrament of Extreme Unction.\(^8^9\) In the York Use, for example, a thirteenth century sermon for enclosure of a *famula dei* consisted of psalms, prayers and the requiem mass, blessing of the habit and veil which the woman was to wear in her new profession, and a procession which led the anchoress to her anchorhold. The ceremony concluded with reaffirmation of the woman's wish to enter the enclosed

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\(^{8^6}\) "ne bid nan icrunet bute hwa se trooweliche i pulli feht fehte, ant wid strong cokkunge overcume hure seolf" *Ibid.*, idem (translation on p. 43).

\(^{8^7}\) From the thirteenth century on there is a growing increase in the numbers of female anchoresses. Warren, *Anchorites*, table 1, p. 20.
Despite the "funerary tones of the ceremony" and its ending in grave-like "dark and narrow space of the anchorhold", this death to the world was also the beginning of a new life for the anchoress.

Paradoxically, physical enclosure and symbolic death put the anchoresses, "like the early stylitic saints, at once remote on the pillars and yet highly visible in the center of their communities". Like martyrs, the enclosed recluses acquired new religious, social and cultural recognition only after, and because of, their 'death'. The author of the Ancrene Wisse, for example, referred both to the anchoress' spiritual and social status as dead to the world, and to her central religious and social role in her community when he commented:

One has often heard of the dead speaking with the living, but I have never found that they ate with the living, or that it is against nature, and monstrous, that the dead should dote on those who are alive and act foolishly with them, in sin.

The death to the world, so clearly emphasized in the enclosure ceremony and in anchoritic guidance literature, was not the only martyrrological motif to be found in the enclosed life. As Ann K. Warren has observed, enclosure symbolized the mental state of martyrdom in life. Just as the desert fathers had developed their physical

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90 For the ceremony of sealing the cell see Ibid., pp. 97-99. For a discussion on anchoritism as an ongoing liminal state see Ibid., pp. 95-97.
92 Ibid., p. 209.
93 Ibid., p. 20.
94 Wogan-Browne, Saints' Lives, p. 29. For the anchoresses as part of their community see Ibid., p. 29, n. 39.
95 "Me haued iherd ofte pet deade speken wid cwike, ah pet ha eten wid cwike ne fond ich se et neauer" Ancrene Wisse, p. 211; The Ancrene Riwle, p. 183.
96 "for a, ein cunde hit is & unmead sulli wunder pet te deade dote & wid cwike wortmen we de purb sunne." Ancrene Wisse, pp. 30-31; The Ancrene Riwle, p. 22.
martyrdom after the age of persecution,\textsuperscript{95} living in a cell was a 'modern' way towards martyrdom. The hardship of such 'martyrdom' in life was not only to be found in resistance to sexual desires that threatened the anchoress' virginity, but also in the fight against other cravings — like that for food. When discussing the senses, the author of the \textit{Ancrene Wisse} instructed the anchoress:

rather than her asking [for more palatable food] should cause any scandal, let her die like a martyr in her suffering.\textsuperscript{96}

Martyrdom was accessible not only through symbolic death, but also in daily practice, with regard even to the simplest, most mundane activities in an anchoress' life. The anchoress' practice of martyrdom could begin only after her ceremonial death to the world, but could grow into a continuous state of martyrdom in life, much like that of virginity.

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Whether daily or occasional, late medieval English religious practices enabled Christians to use the language of martyrdom in understanding and shaping their experiences. Although some of these practices occasionally involved bodily pain or discomfort, the emphasis in later medieval spirituality was not on ascetic practices, but rather on contemplation and discipline, which we may call ascetic-contemplation.\textsuperscript{97} Through compassionate suffering with Mary and Christ, devotion to the martyrs, virginity, or anchoritic life in a cell, later medieval English people looked for, reconstructed, and indeed found, martyrdom.

\textsuperscript{95} Warren, \textit{Anchories}, pp. 8-9.
\textsuperscript{96} "Ah ear þen þet biddunge areare eani scandle; ear deie martir in hire meoseise" \textit{Ancrene Wisse}, p.
\textsuperscript{97} Warren, \textit{Anchories}, p. 120.
II. ‘Lollard’ martyrdom

In the less contemplative, more active world of English Lollardy, men and women were persecuted for their beliefs.\(^9\) Although it seems that, as John A.F. Thomson asserted, “it is perhaps more accurate to consider Lollardy as a set of more or less consistent attitudes than as a set of carefully worked-out doctrines”,\(^9\) critics of late medieval church practice did have a sense of belonging to a group. This collective ‘sameness’, was formed and expressed, as Anne Hudson and Christina von Nolcken have shown, by language and its use.\(^1\) This sense of Lollard fellowship and collective identity was created and elaborated also by the usage of notions of martyrdom, at times explicit, but more often latent. Most Lollards did not actively pursue a martyr’s death; yet some interpreted their sufferings through persecutions as a kind of martyrdom. When suspected Lollards were executed, they performed (or were later represented as performing) a martyrdom. Lollards, therefore, interpreted contemporary events through the prism of martyrdom, argued for their right to identify martyrs, encouraged fellow Lollards to suffer martyrdom if needed, and finally also performed it, restarting a new cycle of conviction and education. Even though there were different Lollard worlds in the doctrinal and daily sense, the application of the language of martyrdom in these ways contributed to the creation...

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\(^9\) Or, as Peter McNiven has argued in the case of John Badby’s burning, for ‘Lollardic’ political and economical plans. Peter McNiven, Heresy and Politics in the Reign of Henry IV: The Burning of John Badby (Woodbridge, 1987), especially chapters X and XI.


and development, not only of a Lollard individual identity, but also of a collective one.

Lollards who were burnt for heresy were seen by their fellows as martyrs, their death was a martyrdom for the sake of ‘true’ Christianity.\(^{101}\) Except for the well-documented, albeit short-lived, cult which evolved following the execution of the Lollard priest Richard Wyche in June 1440,\(^{102}\) and a brief remark, half a century later, on the ashes left after the burning in Smithfield of Joan Boughton, which were “kapydd for a precious Relyk, In an erthyn pott”,\(^{103}\) most examples I have been able to identify are of executed Lollards who were seen as martyrs, but not venerated through a cult. In March 1429, William Emayn from Bristol was brought before Bishop of Bath and Wells John Stafford. He is reputed to have said that

Sir John Oldcastel, called the lord Cobham, Maister John Wyclif, Maister William Taillour, Sir William Sawtry, Sir John Beverley and Sir James —— were holy men and their doctrine and opinions were trewe and catholik, and therfor they be worshipped in heven as holy martirs.\(^{104}\)

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\(^{101}\) Miri Rubin concluded in an article that discusses martyrdom in late medieval Europe that late medieval martyrs were the people who “provoked, cajoled, discussed, disputed, and then...burnt for their belief”, and that therefore they were created in a “context of criticism and dissent”. Although Rubin mentions the Lollards, she relates also to other late medieval martyrs, such as Jews, Cathars and Protestants. Rubin, ‘Choosing Death?’, p. 183.

\(^{102}\) For a description of the ‘nine days cult’ which evolved following Wyche’s execution see Richard Rex, ‘Which is Wyche? Lollardy and Sanctity in Lancastrian London’, in Martyrdom and Sanctity in Early Modern England, Thomas S. Freeman and Thomas F. Mayer (eds.) (forthcoming 2006). In this article Rex argues that the cult represented “not sympathy with Lollard dissent, but the normal functioning of Catholic devotion”, focused on the unjust death of the martyr, not the doctrines he preached. Rex also shows that the people who venerated Wyche as a martyr were the ‘common people’. Although he may be right in concluding a general lack of Lollardic cultic activity (in the sense of Lollards as practitioners of cults), his inference about “the lack of any kind of martyrological tradition in Lollardy” is too sweeping. For Wyche’s cult see also Anne Hudson, The Premature Reformation: Wycliffite Texts and Lollard History (Oxford, 1988), p. 172; and Thomson, The Later Lollards, pp. 148-51. Anne Hudson showed how Wyche, by using in his letters literary techniques used by hagiographers, present himself “in the role of incipient saint.” Anne Hudson, ‘Which Wyche? The Framing of the Lollard Heretic and/or Saint’, in Texts and the Repression of Medieval Heresy, Caterina Bruschi and Peter Buller (eds.) (Woodbridge, 2003), pp. 221-37 (p. 231).


\(^{104}\) The Register of John Stafford Bishop of Bath and Wells, 1425-1443, Thomas Scott Holmes (ed.) (London, 1915), pp. 76-80 (no. 263). See also Hudson, The Premature Reformation, p. 172; and Thomson, The Later Lollards, pp. 29, 240. John Oldcastle was a rebel against Henry V who was burnt in St Giles’s field in 1417 after being in hiding for several years. William Taylor, the Oxford preacher,
Another Bristol Lollard, Walter Comber, expressed, in his trial of April 1457, the opinion that

William Smyth...dyed a true Christian man to my conceite, and that he so do to deth [by burning] dyed a martir afore God.\textsuperscript{105}

Even if we question the existence of cults which evolved in response to an execution, some Lollards chose to use the term 'martyr' when referring to some of their dead. To become a 'Lollard martyr', so it seems from these examples, one had to be a 'true Christian', that is, to hold the 'true' opinions, and die for them.

Although Lollards rejected pilgrimages to saints' shrines, worship of images, and belief in 'new' saints and martyrs (meaning post-biblical ones),\textsuperscript{106} they were nonetheless drawn to the idea of martyrdom, and to the use of the language associated with it. Margery Baxter from Martham (Norfolk) not only believed that William White, the Kentish preacher who was burnt in Norwich in 1428, was a saint, but also that he could intercede with God on her behalf.\textsuperscript{107} Although they often argued

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\textsuperscript{106} Hudson, The Premature Reformation, pp. 301-307.

\textsuperscript{107} "Item eadem Margeria dixit isti iurate quod Willehni Whyte, qui fuit condemnatus false pro hereticlo, est magnus sanctus in celo et sanctissimus doctor ordinatus et missus a Deo; quodque omni die ipsa oravit ad eundem sanctum Willehni Whyte, et omni die vite sue orabit ad eum ut ipse dignetur intercedere pro ipsa ad Deum celii." Heresy Trials in the Diocese of Norwich, 1423-31, N.P. Tanner (ed.) Camden Society 4th ser. 20 (London, 1977), p. 47. See also Hudson, The Premature Reformation, p. 313. Baxter's view triggered modern criticism, and perhaps contemporary too. Thomson, for example, remarked that Margery Baxter's comment "may well reflect a general level of ignorance in the Lollard communities", while Christina Von Nolcken, writing on the different type of sainthood Lollardy offered, concluded that "there may have been individuals who got things wrong." Thomson, The Later Lollards, p. 127; Von Nolcken, 'Another Kind of Saint', p. 436.
unorthodox, and varied, theological views, Lollards shared widely held contemporary ideas about faith and truth, within which martyrdom was dominant. Therefore we do not have to look at the Lollard martyr through “Lollard spectacles” in order to define martyrdom differently from the orthodox definition, but rather to understand the Lollard martyr-naming as a declaration of their right to define who was a ‘real’ Christian martyr.

Martyrdom, and the authority to define and produce new martyrs, was part of the struggle between the Lollards and their accusers. Through the construction of martyrological ideas the two sides were in fact arguing over Christian truth, to which the martyrs were, as the word’s Greek etymology denotes, witnesses by their faith. While Lollards mainly named their dead as martyrs, the orthodox usage judged this martyr-making as heretical, and argued over the very issue of defining true martyrdom. In their trials suspected Lollards were accused of referring to their fellows as martyrs, as can be seen in the trials of William Emayn, Walter Comber, and Margery Baxter mentioned above.

Other ways of countering Lollard martyr-making was through polemical and theological arguments, like those found in Reginald Pecock, Bishop of Chichester’s Book of Faith. In this book, written in English c. 1456, Pecock likened the men “which holdist the now late brenned men in Ynglond to be martiris”, to the ones who held ‘old’ heretics (such as Arius and Pelagius) to be holy martyrs. “Alas upon this [past heretics seen as martyrs]”, his polemical message goes, “and alle othere such blindenes”.

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109 Reginald Pecock’s Book of Faith: A Fifteenth Century Theological Tractate, J.L. Morison (ed.) (Glasgow, 1909), Part I, chapter VII, pp. 191-92. See also Thomson, The Later Lollards, p. 240; and Hudson, The Premature Reformation, p. 172. Pecock was tried for heresy in 1457, and abjured. For his trial, abjuration, and public recantation see Wendy Scase, Reginald Pecock, Authors of the Middle Ages 8, vol III (Aldershot, 1996), pp. 29-37; also E.F. Jacob, Reynold Pecock Bishop of Chichester,
The episcopal system of excommunication for heresy was not the only one to dispute the Lollard right to name martyrs, and to reclaim the monopoly of martyrpoieia. In a poem addressed to John Oldcastle Thomas Hoccleve (d. 1426), the court poet and clerk of the Privy Seal, condemned, in 1415, Oldcastle's wandering away from faith. In the poem the absent Oldcastle is summoned up and made present in textual form. Although Hoccleve shows respect for Oldcastle's virtues as a knight, he urges him to change his heretical views. He even challenges him, so it seems, to be willing to die for his belief and become a martyr:

If yee so holy been as yee witnesse
Of your self; thanne in Crystes feith abyde!

Moreover, as opposed to Oldcastle's avoidance of martyrdom, Hoccleve hails the king's men as the 'real' martyrs:

We dreden nat
we hau greet auantage,
Wethir we lyue
or elles slayn be we,
In Crystes feith
for vp to heuenes stage,
If we so die
our soules lift shul be;

110 For the imagined Oldcastle as opposed to the historical figure see Paul Strohm, Theory and the Premodern Text (Minneapolis and London, 2000), chapter 9.
113 Hoccleve's Works: The Minor Poems, Frederick J. Furnivall and J. Gollancz (eds.) EETS 61, 73 (Oxford, 1970), p. 20, lines 377-78. For John Oldcastle's activities while in hiding see Thomson, The Later Lollards, pp. 5-15. For an historical background of the poet and his subject as well as notes on
Orthodoxy was struggling to deny Lollards the right to produce their own martyrs. While the Church and its lay supporters were explicitly hostile to Lollard martyr-making, it seems that the Lollards themselves were showing a sustained interest in naming their own martyrs.\footnote{Lollard martyr-making was simultaneously a way of interpreting the persecution of which they were victims, and a manner of spreading knowledge of their martyrs' virtues. The production of new martyrs for the 'true' religion was thus both consoling and encouraging. This didactic goal was achieved not only by referring to some of the burnt Lollards as martyrs, but also by addressing Lollard believers, and encouraging them to suffer and even die, if needed, rather than abjure. This brings to mind the choices of medieval European Jews who preferred death over forced conversion to Christianity; they were depicted and remembered by Jewish communities as martyrs who died 'al Kidush Hashem', 'for the sanctification of God's name', thus encouraging others to follow them in similar circumstances.\footnote{Modern critics usually take a different stand on the issue. Brad S. Gregory argued, for example, that "[C]oupled with their celebration of slain-fellow believers, late medieval heretics repudiated the Church's latter-day martyrs". The only example he brings is that of Margery Baxter, who was cited in her sentence as claiming that Thomas of Canterbury was a false traitor who was slain while attempting to flee from the church. Brad S. Gregory, \textit{Salvation at Stake: Christian Martyrdom in Early Modern Europe} (Cambridge, Mass. and London, 1999), p. 72. Her case is cited in \textit{Heresy Trials in the Diocese of Norwich}, p. 45. See also Thomson, The Later Lollards, p. 126. In the same manner, a sermon for the feast of Thomas of Canterbury that can be found in one of the manuscripts, containing the circle of 294 English Wycliffite sermons, can not imply that Becket was highly popular among the Lollards as a saint. The sermon is mentioned in \textit{English Wycliffite Sermons}, Anne Hudson (ed.) 5 vols. (Oxford, 1983),vol. I, p. 11.} During the reign of Mary (1553-58) Protestants urged their friends, through anti-Nicodemite writings, to choose exile or die for their faith rather than commit...}
'idolatry'.

Although some of the Wycliffite sermons advised to flee, as Christ fled from the temple and hid from the Jews, Anne Hudson has noted that "[I]deally...the true man should prefer any suffering to compromise of his soul or the soul of another". Execution was not the preferred option, but if other alternatives failed, death was to be embraced. A Lollard sermon for the fourth Sunday after Trinity, discussing the Eighth Epistle to the Romans, deals with suffering and dying willingly for God's cause. The audience is explicitly encouraged in the concluding remarks to be willing to become martyrs:

And, as God rewardeth man bi grace ouer pat he disseruep, so staat pat men han now in heuene is betere pan was staat of innocense [before the fall from grace]. And his sentense shulde moeue men to be marteris of loue of Crist.

A way of encouraging Lollards to refrain from abjuring and to be willing to suffer, was by way of example. John Badby, a tailor who was burnt in Smithfield in 1410, far from being of "no use to the Lollards as a martyr", was, "in a bizarre improvisation on the narrative moment in a passio", a model of martyrrological behaviour. Badby refused to abjure even when the Prince of Wales stopped the proceedings and offered Badby not only his life, but also a daily pension of three pence for the rest of his life if he returns to orthodox faith.

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119 English Wycliffite Sermons, vol. 1, Sermon E34, p. 625, lines 66-69; also Gregory, Salvation at Stake, p. 71.
120 McNiven, Heresy and Politics, p. 214.
121 Rubin, 'Choosing Death?', p. 178.
122 McNiven, Heresy and Politics, pp. 214-16.
William Thorpe’s account of his exchange (rather than trial) with Archbishop Arundel in 1407, written at his friends’ request, is less than “a substitute saint’s life”, and more of a manual to the beginning martyr. Rita Copeland commented on the fact that Thorpe’s testimony did not only teach doctrines, but “also [made] the legal-pedagogical process of interrogation the subject of rhetorical manifesto” (italics in origin). The advice imparted by this account, which has survived in four manuscripts, is to remain calm, answer questions wisely, remain strong in the face of threats, suffer humiliations patiently, and to insist on the ‘true’ belief. More explicit is Thorpe’s appeal to his future readers in the beginning of his testimony:

For no doute whoeuer wolen lyue here piteously, þat is cheritabli in Crist Iesu, schulen suffre now heere in þis liif persecucioun in o [sic] wise or in oþere – þat is, [if] we schulen be saued.

Through, and because of, this ‘pedagogical drama of inquisition’ in which Thorpe was a leading actor, the representation of his public function was framed and he could have become an “advocate for and example to a community”. Writing on martyrdom and encouraging it – both through life and through death - however, was never enough, and although Thorpe was probably not burnt for heresy, others were, though not many.

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125 Copeland, Pedagogy, p. 142.
126 Two Wyclifite Texts, p. xxvi.
127 See, for example, when Arundel threatens Thorpe with death, Thorpe writes: “in myn herte I pouȝte but God dide to me a greet grace if he wolde of his greet mercy brynge me into suche an eende “; or when Thorpe keep insisting on his theological matters: “and þe Archebischop þreutide me and manassid me wip scharpe ponyschinge but I lefte þis opynycoun of sweringe.” Two Wyclifite Texts, pp. 36, 76.
The main mimetic tradition in the few cases when Lollards were executed, it seems, was Christocentric; Lollards followed Christ in the enactment of this death. Some emphasized certain elements rather than others in their behavior during trial and at the stake. Silence during torment was such a martyrrological motif. William Sawtre, the first heretic to be burnt in England, was "reduced to silence during the ceremony of degradation, and evidently during the burning as well".\(^\text{130}\) When William Thorpe, in his testimony, described the curses, rebukes and scorns he had undergone, he emphasized his exemplary reaction to them: "But I stood stille and spak no word". And again: "and I stood and herde hem curse and manasse and scorne me, but I seide no ping".\(^\text{131}\)

Although Lollards rejected non-biblical saints and martyrs, as well as saints' legends in general,\(^\text{132}\) some of their performances of martyrdom embody the martyrrological tradition. In 1494 Joan Boughton was described by the *Great Chronicle of London* as "wedowe & modyr" of "iiiij score yeris of age or more".\(^\text{133}\) when she was threatened with burning at the stake, she may have been following the example of virgin martyrs. She declared that "she was soo beloved with God & his angelys, That all the ffyre In london shuld not hurt hyr", echoing the acts of Agnes or Cecily as told by Osbern of Bokenham, of whom Christ (or his angels) was a protective lover.\(^\text{134}\) The martyrs' tradition was also invoked in Thorpe's testimony. Archbishop Arundel is regarded as a powerful tyrant who demands that Thorpe


\(^{131}\) *Two Wycliffite Texts*, pp. 92-93.

\(^{132}\) Hudson, *The Premature Reformation*, pp. 196, 302

\(^{133}\) *The Great Chronicle of London*, p. 252.

denounce the 'real' religion. While the Archbishop loses his temper on several occasions, Thorpe describes himself as remaining calm, not only answering the questions, but also able to lecture on several theological matters. Here is a mimetic continuity between old martyrological traditions, and new practices.

Lollards were not born but made, and even if they were educated from childhood on Wycliffite ideas, the dense martyrological language of late medieval religious experience was part of their make up, a resource for polemical defiance and a source for inner strength. By using the martyrological language for interpretation, polemics and education, the Lollards invented their own form of martyrdom, and thus contributed to the active martyrological discourse of their time.

III. Martyrdom as metaphor

The language of martyrdom was also deployed in contexts which can only be called daily and mundane. Difficulties of daily lives - disease, loss, betrayal - were occasionally articulated by using metaphorically the themes of martyrdom. Although at times the symbolic use of a terminology of martyrdom could have been sardonic or humoristic, mostly it was used to interpret life's hardships in a manner that provided some comfort and strength.

As Caroline Walker Bynum has shown, from the twelfth century onwards disease was sometimes seen as holy suffering, even as martyrdom, especially when

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135 As when Arundel rebukes and threatens Thorpe: "lewid losel, eipir row noon consente to myn ordynaunce and submytte bee to stoned to myn decreew, or bi seint Tomas ou schalt be schauen and sue bi fellow into Smepefelde!"; or when the Archbishop loses his patience and talks to Thorpe "wip a fervent spirit" Two Wycliffite Texts, pp. 36, 59.

136 Although chronologically later, see, for example, the case of the Protestant hagiographer John Bale, who before his conversion was the writer of more orthodox hagiography, and therefore "was the best equipped of the early English reformers to direct the medieval saint's-life tradition into protestant channels." Leslie P. Fairfield, 'John Bale and the Development of Protestant Hagiography in England', Journal of Ecclesiastical History 24 (1973), pp. 145-60 (p. 146).
experienced by women. In the Ancrene Wisse, for example, a disease sent by God is interpreted as resulting in, among other beneficial consequences, raising the sufferer to the level of the martyrs:

Illness which is sent by God, and not that which is caught by some through their own foolishness, does these six things: washes away sins previously committed; protects against those that were threatening; tests our patience; keeps us humble; increases our reward; puts the patient sufferer on a level with the martyrs.

In this genre of guidance literature, the likening of disease to martyrdom is a way of interpreting and even manipulating the ‘Secnesse et godd send’. It is seen as an opportunity for advocating not only the sick sufferer’s salvation, but that of other people too.

Social marginality and the unkind rumours which occasionally accompanied it were also seen as martyrdom occasionally. This could result from either chosen or enforced seclusion, as in the cases of Margery Kempe and Thomas Hoccleve.

Margery Kempe’s social martyrdom is described in her Book not only as chosen, but as willfully embraced. “[W]ith her business woman’s talent for calculating rates of exchange”, as Sarah Salih observed, Margery preferred social and public martyrdom over physical pain. Her attempts to participate in Christ’s

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138 “Secnesse et godd send nawt let sum leched urh hire ahne dusisdiipe. ded eose sii nges. wesched e sunnen be bood ear iwhate. warded to 3ein beo be weren towards. Pruued pacience. Halt in ead modnesse. Muchled be me. Euened to martir bene pole mode.” Ancrene Wisse, pp. 94-95, translation in The Ancrene Riwle, p. 80.
139 Bynum, Fragmentation, p. 188. For examples of patient suffering of illness as sacred see Kieckhefer, Unquiet Souls, pp. 57-58.
141 Salih, Versions of Virginity, p. 212.
142 “A, blissful Lord, I had leyr suffyr alle be schrewyd wordys þat men myth seyn of me & alle clerkys to prechyn a-þens me for thy lofe, so it were no hyndryng to no manys sowl, þan þis peyne þat I haue.” The Book of Margery Kempe, chapter 56, pp. 137-38.
sufferings do not start or end in her affective contemplations on his passion and death, but also in her mimetic recreation of the social humiliation he experienced.\textsuperscript{143} So, for example, one of her rebukes, to which “sche seyd no word therto”, was made during a procession - a context which calls to mind Christ’s Passion - when “a gret woman alto-despyed his”.\textsuperscript{144} When Margery is encouraged by “men of the cuntre” to “forsake this lyfe that thu hast, and go spynne and carde as other women don, and suffyr not so meche schame and so meche wo”,\textsuperscript{145} she answers by humbly lessening her sufferings in comparison with those which Christ suffered.\textsuperscript{146}

God himself was encouraging Margery in the martyrdom she chose for herself. The gap between this social martyrdom and the ‘traditional’ martyrdom (which, although driving much of the narrative remains unmaterialized),\textsuperscript{147} is closed by God himself, when he tells Margery:

‘Dowtyr, it is mor plesyng unto me that thu suffyr despitys and scornys, schamys and reprevys, wrongys and disesys, than yif thin lied wer smet of thre tymes on the day, every day in sevyn yer’.\textsuperscript{148}

The obvious fact that one’s head can be smitten only once and not three times a day for seven years emphasizes, therefore, Margery’s daily suffering, and makes it even more meritorious than a ‘simple’ one time beheading of a martyr.

And indeed, Margery’s martyrdom allowed her to intercede with God on other people’s behalf. God saw her martyrdom, both the fantasy of death and the suffering,

\textsuperscript{143} For Margery’s two narratives of martyrdom, through her visions and public slander, see Joel Fredell, ‘Margery Kempe: Spectacle and Spiritual Governance’, \textit{Philological Quarterly} 75 (1996), pp. 137-66 (pp. 156-58).
\textsuperscript{144} \textit{The Book of Margery Kempe}, chapter 53, p. 257 (lines 4302-4304).
\textsuperscript{145} \textit{Ibid.}, chapter 53, pp. 258-59 (lines 4327-32).
\textsuperscript{146} “Thansche seyd to hem: ’I suffir not so mech sorwe as I wolde do for owr Lordys lofe, for I suffir but schrewyd wordys, and owr merciful Lord Crist Jhesu, worshepyd be hys name, suffyr hard strokys, bittyr scoryngys, and schamful deth at the last for me and for al mankynde, lyssed mot he be. And therfor it is ryth nowt that I suffir, in regarde to that he suffyr’d.’” \textit{Ibid.}, chapter 53, p. 259 (lines 4333-38).
\textsuperscript{147} Joel Fredell, ‘Margery Kempe’, p. 141.
as acts of love and charity towards her fellow Christians. By her active search for suffering Margery "savyn hem alle fro dampnacyon".\textsuperscript{49} It could be also that Margery's eagerness to become a mediating saint between people and God was the cause of the slander she later interpreted as martyrdom.\textsuperscript{50} Finally, perhaps Margery's two roles - as mediator and sufferer - are interwoven: she interceded because she suffered, and she suffered because of her willingness to intercede.

In the case of Thomas Hoccleve, however, this question of choice does not arise. Hoccleve described in his \textit{Complaint} of 1421-22 another martyrdom by society.\textsuperscript{51} He describes a mental crisis in which "my wittl were a pilgrime;/ and went[e] fer from home".\textsuperscript{52} Although documents which can testify to Hoccleve's illness have not survived,\textsuperscript{53} the suffering which resulted from this crisis seems very real.

Hoccleve's martyrdom was not, as may have been expected, caused by his disease, during which he was oblivious to the world. It was rather after his recovery from mental illness he was "sore sett on fire, and lyved in great torment/ and martire;".\textsuperscript{54} This martyrdom was social in nature:

\begin{quote}
for thoughg that my wit
were home come agayne,
men wolde it not so vnderstond or take;
\end{quote}

\begin{itemize}
\item \textsuperscript{49} The Book of Margery Kempe, chapter 54, p. 261 (lines 4386-88).
\item \textsuperscript{49} "Forthmor, dowtyr, I thanke the for the general charite that thu hast to alle the pepil that is now in this worlde levyng, and to alle tho that arn for to come into this worldys ende, that thu woldist ben hakkyd as smal as flesche to the potte for her lofe, so that I wolde be thi deth savyn hem alle fro dampnacyon yff it plesyd me..." The Book of Margery Kempe, chapter 84, p. 365 (lines 6889-94).
\item \textsuperscript{50} For Margery's active search for her public martyrdom, and its interpretation see Salih, Versions of Virginity, pp. 214-15; and Ferdell, 'Margery Kempe', p. 158.
\item \textsuperscript{51} Hoccleve's \textit{Complaint} is part of his \textit{Series}, written between 1419 and 1422, on which James Simpson commented that "the story of the \textit{Series}'s own composition is really the story of a poet negotiating a new relationship with his audience." James Simpson, 'Madness and Texts: Hoccleve's Series', in \textit{Chaucer and Fifteenth-Century Poetry}, Julia Boffey and Janet Cowen (eds.)(London, 1991), pp. 15-29 (p. 22). For the \textit{Complaint} see also Knapp, pp. 164-74.
\item \textsuperscript{52} Hoccleve's \textit{Works}, p. 103, lines 232-33.
\item \textsuperscript{53} Mitchell, \textit{Thomas Hoccleve}, p. 4.
\item \textsuperscript{54} Ibid., p. 97, lines 62-63.
\end{itemize}
with me to deale
hadden they dysdayne\textsuperscript{155}

Hoccleve, however, does not only refer to his new and imposed social
marginality as martyrdom, but also elaborates this interpretation of his difficulties in
other, less explicit, ways. Thus, for example, he describes himself as suffering “esely
and softe” the wrongs done to him, and refraining from answering back the
offences.\textsuperscript{156}

The juxtaposition of social hostility and martyrdom was implied by Hoccleve
in his \textit{Complaint}, but treated more explicitly in another literary genre. The \textit{Festial}
of John Mirk was a collection of homilies for the use of parish preachers. In the homily
for St Stephen, who “ys cailet Goddys fyrst martyr”,\textsuperscript{157} Mirk elaborates the idea of
martyrdom, and reaches a social understanding of it. At the end of his description of
St Stephen’s passion, Mirk comments:

\begin{quote}
brennyng loue ys mon had yn hys hert, \textit{hat prayed more devotly for his}

bodily emmies \textit{pan he dyd for hymselfe}\textsuperscript{158}
\end{quote}

Mirk gives examples of the three ways in which martyrdom is practiced: by passion
and will; by will without passion; by passion without will.\textsuperscript{159} It seems that Mirk was
trying to replace the physical sufferings of the original martyrs - such as St Stephen,

\textsuperscript{155} \textit{Ibid.}, p. 97, lines 64-66.
\textsuperscript{156} “Sythen I recoveryd was/ have I full ofte/ Cawse had of angre/ and ympacience./ where I borne have

it/ esely and softe/ sufferenge wronge be done to me, and offence./ and nowght answeryd ageyn/ but

kept sylence./ lest that men of me/ deme would, and seyne,/ ‘se how this man/ is fallen in agayne.’”
\textit{Ibid.}, p. 101, lines 176-82. Hoccleve’s silence has been interpreted differently by Ethan Knapp, who
sees it as part of “the complex of anxieties swirling around ‘mutabilitie’.” Knapp, \textit{The Bureaucratic
Muse}, p. 168.
\textsuperscript{157} \textit{Mirk’s Festial}, part 1, p. 26.
\textsuperscript{158} \textit{Ibid.}, part 1, p. 26.
\textsuperscript{159} “[F]or martyrdom fallyth by þre wayes: bat ys, by passyon and wyll þerto, by wyll without passyon,

by passyon without wyll. In schewing of þes þre martyrdomes, þes þre festys þat seulpe þe byrth of

Crist, ben set togedyr, in tokenyng þat whosoowe suffreth any of þes, he schall be sett next Crist yn

Heuen. Seynt Steuen, he ys set next, for he had passyon and wyll þerto. Seynt Ion had wyll, but he was
not slayme. The Innocents, thay suffreden deth, but þay had no wyll þerto, but not a s þeynes wyll.”
\textit{Ibid.}, part 1, pp. 28-29.
or the Innocents— with a more mundane understanding of martyrdom. This social martyrdom could be reached through prayer for an enemy (“For he hat praythe deuotly for his enmy, he ys yn hat a martyr”), and by suffering a wrong:

Po may a man be a martyr, þagh he sched no blod, þat ys when he suffereth wrong, and ys pursued of euell men, and þonketh God þefor, and taketh hit with good wyll, and prayth for his enmyes to God yn full scharyte.²⁰

By using this language of martyrdom, Mirk offers later medieval men and women to find martyrdom in their daily lives.

The language of martyrdom was also widely used as a metaphor for describing the sufferings of love and marriage. Marriage was seen as an ongoing state of martyrdom through life in popular humoristic contexts. In a fifteenth century carol men were warned to “bewar of thin wowring,/ For weddyng is the longe wo”.²¹ In a satirical poem discussing the pain and sorrow of marriage, John Lydgate described wedlock not only as “endless penaunce”, but also as “[A] martirdome and a contynuaunce/ Of sorowe ay lasting”.²²

Martyrological traditions of all types were also reconstructed in images. In a marginal image in the Luttrell Psalter²³ (London, BL Add. 42130, fol. 60r)(fig. 1), a woman beats with her distaff a man who is kneeling in front of her with hands joint in request/prayer. Michael Camille’s reading of this scene as making “a point about

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²⁰ IbiL, part 1, pp. 28, 29.
²³ For the Luttrell Psalter see chapter 2.
‘maisterie’ in marriage” can be further interpreted as a satirical comment on the daily martyrdom of marriage. This image is iconographically similar to three scenes of martyrdom-by-execution which appear earlier in the manuscript: that of Thomas Becket (fol. 51r), of John the Baptist (fol. 53v), and of Thomas, Earl of Lancaster (fol. 56r). A reading of the image with the text accompanying it, Psalm 32: 4-5, “die enim et nocte gravatur super me manus tua”, further highlights the image’s satirical emphasis on the husband who is martyred daily by his wife.

Martyrdom imagery was also used in the later Middle Ages to describe sufferings caused by love. Lovesickness (*Amor hereos* [sic]) was treated extensively in contemporary literature, but was also seen as a medical condition suffered mainly by aristocratic men. Even though Lovesickness was of the domain of literary and medical discussion, it was also considered in the later Middle Ages in relation with the growing devotion to Christ’s Passion. The link between sacred and secular love reached a peak in the “pierced and broken body of Christ [that] was both a culturally sanctioned image of masculine suffering for love and a psychological model for the individual”.

The mid-fifteenth century *Lover’s Mass* explored this relation between the sacrifice and sufferings of Christ, and those of the lover. In this anonymous text, the formal and stylistic structure is based on that of the mass (including Introibo,
Confiteor, Misereatur, Officium, Kyrie, Christe, another Kyrie, Gloria in excelsis, an Oryson, and an ‘Eypsle’ in prose).\textsuperscript{171} Whether this text was meant to be a parody-mass or not,\textsuperscript{172} it demonstrates the link, forged in the language of martyrdom, between suffering, including that for earthly love, and the torments that Christ suffered for humanity, as recreated daily in the liturgy of the mass.

At the beginning of the poem the lover describes himself as entering “To fore the famous Riche Auter/ Of the myghty god of Love”.\textsuperscript{173} He sees himself as a devoted pilgrim who suffered for his god “many perilous/ passages/ and wayes/ that I ha passyd by”.\textsuperscript{174} As a faithful believer, the lover seeks encouragement and protection, and he finds them in “The holy legende of Martyrs of Cupydo”, which he “rad... ful often in my contemplatyff medytacons”.\textsuperscript{175} Earthly love, spiritual love, and suffering were interwoven and associated in late medieval notions of martyrdom.

Conclusion

Whether contemplated, reenacted, performed, or used satirically, martyrdom was familiar to the people of late medieval England. ‘Mapping’ martyrdom – its uses in time and space - is essential for an understanding of the contexts within which the cults of Thomas, Earl of Lancaster, Archbishop Scrope, or King Henry VI evolved and flourished.

This is not to say, however, that martyrdom was an over riding frame of reference - but it was one chosen as fitting for the understanding and commemoration

\textsuperscript{170} Hammond, editor of this composition, rejected the suggestion that John Lydgate was the author of this text, mainly on stylistic grounds. \textit{Ibid.}, pp. 208-9.
\textsuperscript{171} \textit{Ibid.}, p. 207.
\textsuperscript{172} Hammond argued that “neither this poem nor many another of the large class to which it belongs is true parody, the writer’s intent is elsewhere.” \textit{Ibid.}, p. 207.
\textsuperscript{174} \textit{Ibid.}, p. 213.
\textsuperscript{175} \textit{Ibid.}
of a number of famous deaths for politics. Only by studying political martyrdom as an inherent part of ideas about martyrdom in late medieval England, can we appreciate these cults of political martyrdom to which – in a chapter on each – we now turn.
CHAPTER 2

THOMAS, EARL OF LANCASTER: CHRISTI MILES

Thomas Plantagenet, Earl of Lancaster, the richest and most powerful magnate of his days, was decapitated as a traitor on a hill outside the town of Pontefract, on 22 March 1322. Consequently, he became the centre of a cult, venerated by knights, monks and friars; his death was regarded as martyrdom.

This chapter will study the cult which evolved following Lancaster's execution. His pedigree, lands and finances, and his political activity up to 1322 will be narrated, followed by an account of the events which led to his trial and execution. The cult of Lancaster will be examined through textual and visual sources. The cult's geographical reach, as well as its social and political characteristics will be evaluated. Several themes which emerge through the cult, like those of knighthood and chivalry, will then be discussed, in the context of fourteenth century cultural and political life.

1. The man

1. Background and early life

Born c. 1277, Lancaster was the son of Edmund - Henry III's son and Edward I's younger brother - and Blanche of Navarre. From Blanche's first marriage to Henry of Navarre was born Joan, Philip IV's wife, mother of Isabella, the future wife of
Edward II, and three future French kings: Louis X, Philip V, and Charles IV. This prestigious lineage made Lancaster Edward II's cousin, and Isabella's half-uncle.2

With the death of his father in June 1296 Lancaster inherited three earldoms, those of Lancaster, Leicester, and Derby, as well as lands in Warwickshire, Northumberland, Staffordshire, Northamptonshire and Wales. His domains became even vaster with the death of his father-in-law, Henry de Lacy, in February 1311, when he inherited through his wife Alice (whom he married in 1294) the earldoms of Lincoln and Salisbury. These five earldoms, as well as other lands, made Lancaster not only the most prominent baron of the English polity, but also its richest.3

Lancaster took part in Edward II's coronation ceremony, and in May 1308 received the Stewardship of England, appended to the Earldom of Leicester. During this period he was part of a baronial coalition (including Henry Lacy, Queen Isabella, her father Philip IV, and other English barons), which aimed to banish Edward's favourite, Piers Gaveston, from court.4 After the exile of Gaveston this coalition forced Edward to accept the Ordinances of the York parliament of 1311, treating issues such as the frequency of summoning Parliament, banishment of evil councilors

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3 John Maddicott lists most of Lancaster's lands, castles, manors, lordships and honours, and grossly values their yearly income in £11,000 per annum. *Maddicott*, pp. 9-10, 22.

4 Maddicott, p. 84. On the nature of Edward II and Gaveston's relationship see *Ibid.*, p. 83. Pierre Chaplais, however, has suggested another interpretation, according to which Edward II and Gaveston were not lovers, but adoptive brothers. *Piers Gaveston: Edward II's Adoptive Brother* (Oxford, 1994), see, for example, p. 109.
to the King and supervision over the King’s incomes. They were publicized and proclaimed at St Paul’s. Lancaster had been a member of the Ordainers who received the powers “de ordiner & establir l’estat de [son – the King’s] Houstiel & [son] Roiaume…”.

In January 1312 Piers Gaveston was caught, tried for treason by two royal justices, and executed in Blacklow Hill (Warwickshire), on Lancastrian lands, on which J.R. Maddicott commented that Lancaster was “the prime mover in the whole affair...strongly supported by [the Earl of] Warwick”. Gaveston’s replacement by the Despensers in Edward II’s court created new tensions between the King and Lancaster: these were dealt with in several ways – negotiations and violent encounters - culminating in the Treaty of Leake signed in August 1318.

2. Conflict, trial and execution

Lancaster was widely blamed for the failure of the siege of Berwick in August 1319. He was seen as the culprit since he had left the field, retreating to Pontefract in order

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8 The Anonimalle Chronicle, p. 86; Maddicott, p. 129.

to defend his lands, which were being threatened by the progressing Scots. In the Summer of 1321 two 'pseudo-parliaments' were held at Pontefract and Sherburn, in which it was decided by Northern and Marcher lords upon a confederation for mutual-defense against the Despensers. The culmination of the hostility between King and Earl was reached in October 1321 with Edward's siege and capture of Bartholomew Badlesmere's Leeds Castle (Kent), following Badlesmere's wife's refusal to allow Isabella and her entourage entry into the castle. Here was an opportunity for the King, who was on a pilgrimage to Canterbury at the time, to deal decisively with the revolt that was gathering momentum under Lancaster's leadership in the north. While the King was advancing towards the rebels' army, Lancaster and his men set fire to Burton (Staffordshire), then moved on to Tutbury and Pontefract, hoping to continue further north. Sir Robert Holland, Lancaster's friend and servant, deserted the Earl and joined the King, and when Lancaster's force arrived at the crossing of Boroughbridge it found the crossing blocked by Andrew Harclay, Warden of Carlisle. The Earl of Hereford was killed while trying to force a way through, and Lancaster, deserted by many of his men during the night, surrendered in the morning. He was

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Edwards, p. 88. Maddicott claims that in this treaty Lancaster "had been bought off", giving away too many of his earlier political demands. Maddicott, p. 238.

Ibid., pp. 248-49.

On these two meetings and their participants, see Ibid., pp. 268-76. On the Despensers as a cause for the breaking off of the 'middle party', and gathering around Lancaster see Davies, The Baronial Opposition, pp. 472-482. Fryde, too, saw the Despensers' land-related activities as the main reason for the slide towards a civil war. Fryde, The Tyranny and Fall, p. 37.

On the Leeds Castle affair and its opening of a "new episode in English history when opponents of the king could seriously expect to lose their head if they were defeated", see Fryde, The Tyranny and Fall, pp. 50-51. On the King's relations with Badlesmere see Maddicott, p. 293. Paul Doherty sees Edward II at this period as "his father's son: a shrewd plotter and a cunning general, who managed to divide his enemies before ruthlessly destroying them", and Isabella as his ally, provoking deliberately the assault on Leeds castle. Doherty, Isabella, pp. 69-71.

Ibid., p. 123.

Maddicott, p. 76. Maddicott suggested that Holland was "more a junior partner of the Earl than a retainer." Ibid., p. 48. For the favours Holland received from Lancaster see Ibid.

For the two armies' maneuvers see The Life of Edward, pp. 115-25, especially Holland and Harclay's betrayal of Lancaster, pp. 122-24. Maddicott explained Lancaster's failure in these stages and in general: "[H]is quarrel had too little universal interest and was too much concerned with specific Marcher grievances", and Lancaster had his "own inadequacies as a leader." Maddicott, pp. 315-16. Lancaster was generally perceived by historians as an unworthy leader, Tout going as far as stating he
taken to York, and then to the King in Pontefract, where he was sentenced by a commission of his peers.

Exactly who his judges were is not entirely clear, since the chroniclers tend to disagree on this point. The accusations were announced, including charges of treason, murder, robbery, arson and other felonies, including the display of his banner contrary to his homagium, coming armed to Parliaments on several occasions, and allying with Robert Bruce, King of Scotland, and other enemies of the King and Kingdom. Lancaster was not given the chance to answer these accusations, and was convicted and sentenced to be hanged, drawn, and beheaded, although the first two punishments were omitted, in respect of his noble descent. On 22 March 1322 Lancaster was taken to a hill outside the town of Pontefract, where he was beheaded. His body was handed over to the Cluniac Priory of St John the Evangelist at Pontefract, where he was buried close to the high altar. Following his execution, devotion to the Earl promptly gathered momentum. While Lancaster’s voice was forever silenced by the beheading, it appears that “the very fact of silencing the voice endows it with permanence”.

was “so incompetent and stupid a personage.” Tout, The Place of the Reign, p. 16. For a discussion of the various reasons leading to the failure of the baronial opposition in the period see Davies, The Baronial Opposition, pp. 498-510.

According to the Gesta Edwardi de Carnarvan the judges were the Earls of Kent, Richmond, Pembroke, Warenne, Surrey, Arundel, Athol, and Angus, while in the Annales Paulini are mentioned only the Earl of Arundel, Hugh Despenser the father, and the royal justice Robert Mablethorp; both in Chronicles of the Reigns of Edward I and Edward II, William Stubbs (ed.), 2 vols., RS 76 (London, 1882-3), pp. 77, 302.

“captus pro prodiciis, homicidiis, roberiis, incendiis, et aliis diversis depracionibus, felonis; ...exit villam praedictum usque in campum ibidem, vexillis explicates ...contra homagium; vi armate venit ad diversas Parliamenta Domini Regis; ...habuisse et fecisse confederationem ...alligationem cum Roberto Brus...et aliis inimicis Domini Regis et regni”, Johannis de Trokelowe, pp. 112-24.

“ob reverentiam parentelae excellenti et nobilis de qua idem Thomas existit procreatus”. 'Gesta Edwardi de Carnarvan', p. 77.

“ou son corps gist entret en lour eglise prede le haut autre”, The Anonomalle Chronicle, p. 108.

II. The stages of the cult

Tracing the trail of a cult which has been inactive for the last five hundred years is a task that requires the jigsaw-like effort of collecting fragmentary evidence for its existence. Only by using a variety of different sources - textual and visual, from different localities, spread throughout a chronological scale of more than two hundred years - can we create a sense of the cultus. This entity will then enable us to analyze the cultural significance it may have had for contemporary people. The texts I have used include chronicles, diplomatic records (requests for canonization, letters of instructions from different authorities to their officials), registers of bishops and archbishops, inventories of churches, religious houses and guilds, devotional and liturgical texts (books of hours, psalters, missals, martyrologies), bequests in testaments, and hagiography. Visual sources and artefacts exist in a variety of forms, including pilgrim badges, depictions of the martyr in manuscripts, wall-paintings and seals.

1. Cult, resistance and the quest for canonization

The first few years of the cult’s existence were very politically and diplomatically active, guided by two opposite tendencies: that of forbidding the activity of the cult during Edward II’s rule, and the contrary encouragement it received and the effort towards canonization during the first years of Edward III’s rule.

Merely a week after Lancaster’s execution, so reveals the author of the Anonomalle Chronicle, writing during the second half of the fourteenth century, on 29 March 1322, “notre seignur Jesu Crist fist moltz des miracles pur lamar de lui
After Trinity Sunday of the following year [22 May 1323], miracles occurred also at St Paul’s Cathedral, London, at the board (“la table”) in which the memory of the Ordinances of 1311 was enshrined.

The pro-Lancastrian author of the English Brut chronicle describes how

[When Spenser herde] that God wrought soche miracles for his holy martre, and [parie wolde nou]t bileue hit in no maner wise, but saide openly that hit was grete heresie, soche vertu of him to bileue.

Whether the King was manipulated by his favourites, or it was his own dislike of the novelty in his late cousin becoming a martyr, in 1323 Edward II nevertheless tried to prevent the new cult from gathering momentum. Writing to Stephen de Gravesend, Bishop of London, in June, the King asserted that the devotion expressed by the people coming to St Paul’s was a dangerous phenomenon, not only for the King and the Bishop, but to the souls of the people. In the following month the said ‘table’ at St Paul’s was removed by the King’s instructions, and guards were sent to the Priory church at Pontefract to keep the doors closed, prohibiting people from venerating at Lancaster’s tomb.

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21 The Anonimale Chronicle, p. 108.
22 “a la table qe le dite comte de Lancastre aveit fait pendre et peintre sur me piller, en remembrance qe le roi a voit grantee et afferme les ordainances” The Anonimale Chronicle, p. 115. Whether this was actually this table which was the focus of veneration or something less politically-related to Lancaster, such as a painting or a statue, is not clear since in his letter to Stephen Gravesend, Bishop of London, the King mentions a certain “effigies Thomae” which is being venerated at St Paul’s.

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26 The Brut, or The Chronicles of England, F.W.D. Brie (ed.), 2 vols., EETS o.s. 131, 136 (London, 1906, 1908), p. 230. For an evaluation of the Despensers’ activities after 1322 see, for example, Prestwich, The Three Edwards, pp. 93-95. Fryde invoked the story of a necromancer in Coventry who was paid, in November 1323, to bring the Despensers’ death using wax figures. Her conclusion is that “[W]hile the Despensers terrorised the country, they lived themselves in a nightmare of fear.” Fryde, The Tyranny and Fall, pp. 162-64 (quote on p. 164). This psychological atmosphere of fear could have contributed to the Despensers’ probable pressure on Edward II to forbid Lancaster’s cult.

27 “En cel temps a la fest de Saint Thomas la translacion Ian xviiij commenceant, fust le dit table en la egliise de seint Poel, par bref le roi de grant redour oderne, par une mestre Robert de Baldok homme enginous et compassant de malveiste custe, et apres la cire qe ilueques fust offert en devocion del dite Thomas de Lancastre.” The Anonimale Chronicle, p. 114.
All these efforts were in vain. The interest in the cult stretched beyond the King's reach and people still chose to express their veneration of Thomas of Lancaster. In August 1323 William de Melton, Archbishop of York, wrote to the Official of the Archdeacon of York, forbidding the cult, and giving him the power to stop the cultic activity there. Yet, the people who made the pilgrimage to Lancaster's tomb were uncooperative, and their behaviour turned violent. In September the King had to commission an inquiry into the assault and death of two of the servants of Richard de Moseleye (his clerk and Constable of Pontefract), who were sent to Lancaster's tomb in order to prevent people from praying and making oblations there.

With Edward II's deposition in January 1327, and the political hegemony of Isabella, mother of King Edward III, and Roger Mortimer, her lover, the attitude towards the cult shifted. Not only was it no longer officially banned, but royal and

26 "Firmiter inhibuerimus ac mandaverimus hujusmodi venerationem publicam, tam in ecclesia conventuali Pontifrasct, ubi corpus dicti Thomae tumulatur, quam aliis ecclesiis ac locis publicis, publice inhiberi", Historical Papers and Letters from the Northern Registers, James Raine (ed.) RS 61 (London, 1873), pp. 323-25 (quote on p. 324).

27 Commission to Henry le Scrop, John de Doncaster, and John de Denummy Barnard Castle. 9 September 17 Edward II. [1323]: "The king formerly commanded Richard de Moseleye, his clerk, constable of Pontefract castle, to go in person to the place of execution of Thomas, late earl of Lancaster and prohibit a multitude of malefactors and apostates from praying and making oblations there in memory of the said earl not to god but rather to idols, in contempt of the king and contrary to his former command. The said constable and his servants were assaulted at Pontefract, and two of them named Richard de Godelaye and Robert de la Hawe were killed. The commissioners are to inquire into this and imprison such persons as should be indicted before them." Calendar of Inquisitions Miscellaneous, Chancery, preserved in the Public Record Office, 7 vols., RS 155 (London, 1916-68), vol. II, pp. 528-529.

28 On the Queen's landing in England, and the deposition and murder (or escape) of Edward II see Fryde, The Tyranny and Fall, pp. 176-206 (an account of the deposition in Appendix 2); also Doherty, Isabella, chapters 4 and 5 (chapters 7 and 8 deal with the possibility the Edward II was not murdered, but managed to escape). Roger Mortimer and his relationship with the Queen are treated in Ibid., pp. 84-88. For a non-academic biography of Mortimer see Ian Mortimer, The Greatest Traitor: The Life of Sir Roger Mortimer, 1st Earl of March, Ruler of England, 1327-1330 (London, 2003). He, too, believes that Edward was not murdered, but kept alive by Mortimer in order to manipulate Edward III. Ibid., chapter 12 and chapter 12 revisited.
ecclesiastical efforts were made in an attempt to turn Lancaster from a ‘popular’ martyr to an authorized one, canonized by the papal court.29

In a parliamentary petition to Edward III, in the first year of his reign, “la Comune” asked for a promotion of the canonization of Lancaster. The petition was answered on the King’s behalf, “…q’il fait a faire par bon avisement des Prelatz”.30 On the last day of February 1327, a letter was sent under Edward III’s seal31 to Pope John XXII, requesting an inquiry into the canonization of the late Earl. In it, Lancaster is not only titled as “dominum Thomam, quondam comitem Lancast’, but also as the King’s beloved blood-relative, “our most beloved kindred” (“nosterunque consanguinem carissimum”). Lancaster is described not only as a martyr by the manner of his death, but also as a pious man during life. He was, among other superlatives, “benignus, justus, providus, & fidelis”, as well as “misericordier intelligens super pauperes & afflictos”. His political activity was regarded with approval: he fought for the statutes of the Kingdom, for the public good, and also - more importantly for the Pope - in defense of the Church’s liberty (“Nam statutes & ordinationibus regni angliae...pro utilitate rei publicae, & defensione libertatis ecclesiae”). After his unjust death he is described as happily falling asleep in God (“capitalem devote subiit sententiam, & sic in Domino feliciter obdormivit”). The appeal for canonization, however, derived not only from his holy life or even from his

29 In his doctoral thesis A.R. Echerd speculated that Isabella and Mortimer’s interest in legitimizing and promoting Lancaster’s cult was political in nature, based both on their need to counterweight the rising popularity of the cult evolving around Edward II, and on their effort to make a conciliatory gesture towards Henry of Lancaster. A.R. Echerd, ‘Canonization and Politics in Late Medieval England: The Cult of Thomas of Lancaster’ (unpublished doctoral thesis, University of Chapel Hill, North Carolina, 1983), p. 140. It could be also that once the popularity of the deposed (but still alive) former king started gathering momentum, Isabella and Mortimer were trying to draw popular support by petitioning the Pope for the canonization of Lancaster. On the sympathy towards Edward II while imprisoned see Doherty, Isabella, pp. 114-15. For Henry of Lancaster’s opposition during 1328 see W.M. Ormrod, The Reign of Edward III: Crown and Political Society in England 1327-1377 (New Haven and London, 1990), p. 5.
31 For Mortimer’s control over Edward III before 1330 see Ormrod, The Reign of Edward III, p. 6.
martyr's death, but from the miracles his body performed after his execution, through God:

ad piam ejus invocationem, tot gloria, supra naturam, divinitus fiunt miracula, & infinita salutis remedia, favente Deo, per ipsius preces & merita conceduntur.32

Another letter to the Pope, from Archbishop William Melton of York, written a few days earlier on behalf of Henry of Lancaster, Thomas' brother and heir, also requested the Pope to inquire into the canonization of the popular 'saint'. In it a rhetorical structure similar to the first letter is apparent: description of Lancaster's merits in his life, mention of his death, and relation to the miracles performed. As in the first letter it was claimed that in his life Lancaster was not only generous, but also "fidelis, justus, misericors, et misericorditer intelligens super pauperes et egenos". But in addition there is a comment about the flow of pilgrims to the martyr's tomb. He received the palm of martyrdom after being sentenced to death ("suscepta devotissime capitali sententia, felicem animam per palmam martyrii"), and following posthumous miracles, many pilgrims were attracted to his tomb.33

In June 1327, Edward III confirmed an agreement between the Priory and the Convent of Pontefract and the people of that city, regarding a chapel to be built outside the city walls, on the hill where, five years earlier, Lancaster had been executed. A hermit was to reside there, and to receive alms for the building of the chapel. He was to be assisted by a clerk (assigned by Isabella and Henry of Lancaster), and a monk of Pontefract Priory.34 Support for the chapel was also to be

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33 "multorum animos ad ipsius tumulum undique cum magna reverentia confulet in Domino salutier et confortat", *Historical Papers and Letters*, pp. 340-342.
34 5 June 1327, York: "confirmation of an indenture of agreement...touching a chapel to be built on the hill where Thomas, earl of Lancaster, was put to death. John de Ypre, hermit, is to reside there to receive alms therefore, with a clerk assigned by queen Isabella and the earl of Lancaster, and a monk.
raised by other means: the King appointed a clerk named Robert de Weryngton, and
offered protection to him and his men on their mission of collecting alms all over the
Kingdom for the construction of the said chapel. The offers were so generous, that
"sly pretenders" ("subdole configentes") throughout England were pretending to be
Robert de Weryngton's agents, and thus collect money. Local bailiffs were ordered by
the King in mid December 1327 to prevent this from happening.

In March 1328 Edward III annulled Lancaster's sentence, reversing his own
father's act, and thus enabling Henry of Lancaster, Thomas' younger brother, to be
reinstated as Lancaster's heir. The King inquired into the subject of Lancaster's trial,
and acknowledged that he had been convicted unjustly and against the law of the
Kingdom because of the evil council given to his father the late King.

For the rest of Edward III's reign the cult of Thomas of Lancaster, now openly
encouraged by the King, seems to have flourished. In March 1330 Edward wrote to
the Pope and five of his Cardinals, requesting further examination towards a possible
canonization of Lancaster. In this letter, however, the treatment of the Earl is
slightly different in tone both from the letter written on his behalf in February 1327,
and from that written by Archbishop Melton in the same year. In 1330 Edward III
hardly mentions Lancaster's claim to martyr status. The unjust trial is omitted, and the
only comment relating to the cult is the description of pilgrims arriving "ad
cujus...locum passionis". This pilgrimage demonstrates the 'popular' recognition
accorded to Lancaster. On the other hand, new attributes are added to the list of Lancaster's superlatives: he was described as Christ's noble knight and athlete ("nobili Christi miles & athleta"). The miracles are discussed prominently, as well as the rush of innumerable pilgrims to his tomb and "passion-place" ("locus passionis").

Writing, for the third time, a year later, Edward III cites from Matthew 7:7 "Pulsate & aperietur vobis" ("knock, and it shall be opened unto you"), mentioning again Lancaster's miracles, while requesting the Pope - yet again - to inquire into a possible canonization. Copies of this letter were now sent to eight cardinals, as well as to three of the "Summi Pontificis nepoti" who were also powerful men in the secular and ecclesiastical administration, Arnaldo de Triem, P. de Via, and P. de Doza. In the registers of John XXII there is no record of a reply to Edward III's appeal. Even though Thomas Walsingham wrote categorically that in 1390 "Sanctus Thomas de Lancastria canonizatus est", Lancaster never received the official papal status of a martyr, although he remained a 'martyr' by popular acclamation for the next two hundred years.

This political and diplomatic activity of the cult in its first years is only one of the aspects to be studied as we attempt to analyze and understand the broader cultural significance of Lancaster's cult. The other is the popular cultic activity following

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39 Ibid., p. 814.
41 Calendar of Entries in the Papal Registers relating to Great Britain and Ireland: Papal Letters, 18 vols. (London, 1893-[1989]), vol. II. After 1331 the effort to canonize Lancaster ceased. A possible reason may have been the fact that Isabella and Mortimer, who had pressed for the case since 1327, were removed in 1330.
Lancaster's execution, as it was constructed through pilgrimage, artefacts, prayers, relics, and a hagiographic *Vita*.

2. The cult in the fourteenth century

i. Pilgrimage to Thomas of Lancaster's shrine

Lancaster's ordeal was narrated in hagiographic and liturgical texts, and depicted through the iconography of visual images. An important artefact is a pilgrim's badge (or souvenir) which portrays Lancaster's life and downfall, now in the British Museum (Department of British and Medieval Antiquities, 1954, 5-2,1)(fig. 2). This badge of between 1322 to c. 1342 shows six scenes from Lancaster's life, and measures 16.5 cm high and 12.7 cm wide. Its size suggests that it was not worn on a pilgrim's hat, but was perhaps used as a modest person's devotional plaque, "the equivalent of an ivory diptych", especially if it was once painted and gilt.43

The plaque not only shows Lancaster's execution, but also highlights the process by which he finally became a martyr. This souvenir is a devotional object, but also a didactic one, spreading further the popularity of the saint. In this visual *Vita* of Lancaster the Passion-like manner of the events which culminated in his execution unfold before the spectators' eyes, linking it thus to Christ's Passion. By gazing at this plaque the adherent could have meditated on Lancaster's suffering and martyrdom, as if he was present, witnessing the execution with his own spiritual eyes.

The main frame of the object shows St Peter and St Paul, with Christ seated on a rainbow. Outside this main frame are four niches with saints, and inside the main frame are six scenes from Lancaster's life. The first of these takes place in the King's court. While the King is seated holding his scepter and Lancaster is kneeling on the
right, a mitred bishop stands between them, holding a charter which probably represents the 1318 Treaty of Leake. In the second scene Lancaster stands on a bridge holding a sword, a coat of arms is located above him, and he is fighting another man. To his left stands a figure, a cleric, with his hands joined in prayer, either praying for Lancaster’s success in what may have been a depiction of the Battle of Boroughbridge, or already acknowledging Lancaster’s future status as a martyr. The next scene shows the Earl being taken to York by boat after his capture. In the background is seen what seems to be a building, perhaps an attempt at representing York Minster. The fourth scene shows the passing of the sentence, with Lancaster standing in the dock, facing one of his judges. In the next scene he is taken to his place of execution, while in the last an executioner strikes a blow on his head with a sword. This was the dramatic peak of the narrative: Lancaster’s status as martyr is established here through the chronology of his suffering.

Another pilgrim badge depicting Lancaster’s martyrdom is British Museum M.L.A. 1984, 5-5.2 (fig. 3), which portrays the execution of the Earl, as well as his ascent to heaven. This tin-lead badge is dated to the second quarter of the fourteenth century, and at 9.1 cm x 6 cm is smaller than the pilgrim souvenir showing Lancaster’s life and downfall. At the lower part of the frame appears Lancaster’s decapitation scene. He is standing (not kneeling) on the right, his hands joined in prayer, while the executioner takes what seems to be a big step in order to balance himself. The sword is extremely long for the composition. Heaven is represented by Christ seated on a rainbow, similar to the outer-frame of the larger pilgrim’s souvenir,

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44 Ibid., p. 42.
45 Ibid., p. 43.
46 Ibid.
while angels carry Lancaster's soul upwards, to heaven. These events represent Lancaster's transformation from a victimized human-being into a heavenly martyr. Lancaster's ascent to heaven reminds us of one of the attractions of the cult of saints - the link created between devotee and a meritorious heavenly intercessor, and the pilgrimage made to a saint's shrine, where pilgrim badges were acquired.

Pilgrimage to Lancaster's shrine started immediately after the execution. One such pilgrim, William Leuere, made the pilgrimage to Lancaster's shrine in person. In an *Inquisitio Post Mortem* into the inheritance of William, son of Henry de Ferariis (Lord of Groby manor, Leicestershire), which took place in March 1354, William Leuere was one of the witnesses invited to give his testimony of Ferariis's age. He recalls that

in the Easter week after the said William's birth he started on a pilgrimage to St. Thomas of Lancaster at Pontefract, and in going thither his brother Geoffrey died suddenly.48

Since Leuere was "aged 50 years and more" when the testimony was taken, he must have been about 21 or more when he went on the pilgrimage. The only fragments of information available on this adherent of Lancaster are his approximate age, his place of residence in the county of Leicester, probably on Groby manor, and the fact that while other witnesses in the case are styled as knights, Leuere was not, nor was he an official in service of Henry de Ferariis.49

William Lene from the village of Walsham-le-Willows (Suffolk) did not make a pilgrimage to Lancaster's shrine in person, but was a pilgrim by proxy. Lene, one of

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48 *Calendar of Inquisitions Post Mortem and other analogous documents preserved in the Public Record Office*, vol. 10, pp. 177-78.
49 Ibid.
the richest tenants on the manor (he held thirty seven acres of land among tenants
with an average holdings of nine and half acres), and probably a butcher too, left

for the expenses of one going to [the shrine of] St Thomas of Lancaster, an
unknown amount.\textsuperscript{50}

Lene died on 28 October 1329, apparently in an accident,\textsuperscript{51} and left two young sons
(aged ten and six), two daughters, one illegitimate son, a younger brother, and a wife.
Since the request to send someone on a pilgrimage to Lancaster's shrine does not
appear in a will, but rather in an inventory of his goods made on the day of his
premature death, it may have been William's deathbed wish, with his wife's or
brother's arrangement. In either case, Lancaster is the only saint mentioned, the other
religious bequests relate to the celebration of his obit with distribution of alms to the
poor on the day of the burial, and gifts of wax and money to the Friars of Babwell
(Suffolk).\textsuperscript{52}

Thirty years later, Humphrey de Bohun, Earl of Hereford and Essex, was also
patron of a proxy pilgrimage to Lancaster's shrine. Making his will in October 1361,
he requested a humble burial, without "granz seignours" and attended by common
people. He also asked that a chaplain be sent to Jerusalem to say masses for his
parents. He also wished that

\begin{quote}
un bon home et loial daler a Caunt'bins, et offer illoeq's p'r nous XL s.
d'argent. En unautre tiei home daler a Pountfreyt, et offer illoeq's a la toumbe
Thomas jadys Counte de Lancastre XL s.\textsuperscript{53}
\end{quote}


\textsuperscript{51} The coroner's verdict was 'accidental death'. \textit{Ibid.}, vol. I, p. 19.

\textsuperscript{52} \textit{Ibid.}, vol. I, pp. 14-19.

\textsuperscript{53} \textit{A Collection of all the Wills of the Kings and Queens of England}, J. Nichols (ed.) (London, 1780), pp. 44-45; 54.
Lancaster is here juxtaposed with Thomas Becket, and the same amount of money is offered for each. This indicates the dignity accorded by Humphrey de Bohun to Lancaster, and the perceived link between the two personages, a connection which will be discussed further below.

ii. Miracles

Some of Lancaster’s miracles were reported in contemporary and later chronicles. Whereas some were beneficial to individuals, others took the form of public events, as the late Earl acted supernaturally for the general good. The anonymous pro-Lancastrian author of The Brut chronicle, writing in the mid-fourteenth century, dedicated chapter 201 to “pe miracles pat God wrou 3t for Seint Thomas loue of Lancastre”.\(^{54}\) Although he mentions only three miracles, he describes each extensively. He tells the story of a blind priest who dreamt on three consecutive nights that if he went to the hill where the Earl had died, his vision would be restored. He was led to this place, where he devoutly prayed to God and Saint Thomas, but the miraculous cure happened only when he, almost accidentally, it seems

> laide his right hand oppon be same place bere be Gode men was martred on;  
and a drope of dry bloode and smal sande cleued on his honed, and perwip he striked his eyne, and anone, broute be might of God and of Seynt Thomas of Lancastre, he hade his sight a3eyn\(^{55}\)

Another miracle reported in The Brut reports that a child who was drowned in a well in Pontefract, and lay dead for three days and nights, was put “oppon seint Thomas tombe, be holy martr; and be childe aros bere fram be dep vnto lif”.\(^{56}\) A third miracle occurred to a rich man from Coundon in Gascony (probably modern Condom, ‘the

\(^{54}\) The Brut, vol. I, p. 228.  
\(^{55}\) Ibid., pp. 228-29.
small capital of Armagnac'), whose right side was rotting and about to fall off. After his friends prayed to Lancaster to intercede with God on the sick man's behalf,

be goode man sone after slepte ful softe, and dremed bat be martre Seynt Thomas come vnto him, and enoynted oueral his sike side. And the sick man awoke, and was al hole;57

After his cure the rich man took four of his friends with him, and they all went to England, to thank Lancaster.

Less specific proof of Lancaster's healing powers is also mentioned in The Brut. Much like other saints, he, too, healed mentally troubled people, restored movement to paralytics, vision to blind folk, and cured leprosy.

In other chronicles Lancaster's miracles are either treated more generally, or relate to miracles that did not involve the healing of a specific person.58 The author of the continuation of The Anonimaille Chronicle may have been a clerk attached to the Exchequer, who travelled to York when the court moved there for a period during the 1330s, completing the writing thereafter.59 He claimed that a week after Lancaster's execution miracles occurred.60 These miracles, he stressed, were authentic, and found to be so by careful examinations ("qi veraies sont et trouvez par bons examinements").61
Miracles also occurred, according to the Anoniamalle’s author, on 22 May 1323, at St Paul’s Cathedral, London,

a la table que le dite counte de Lancastre aveit fait pendre et peintre sur une piller, en remembrance que le roi avoit grantee et afferme les ordinances [those of 1311].

The writer of the mid-fourteenth century *Croniques de London* describes, too, how in 1323 miracles were performed at the Ordinances table at St Paul’s:

Dieu fist plusieurs miracles en la eglise de seint Poul à la table que le dit Thomas de Lancastre fist, en remembraunce que le roy avoit graunté et affermé les ordenaunces

but he adds a comment as to the categories of miracles performed:

les contraitz furent redresses, les vougles ressurent lour veue, et les sourdes le oye, et autres benefices de grace illuk overtement furent monstrez

In 1359 another miracle took place, this time not a healing miracle, but a supernatural phenomenon with political and social implications. "Hoc anno", wrote Thomas Walsingham (d. 1422), the monk from St Albans, “sanguis effluxit de tumba Domini Thomae, quondam comitis Lancastriae, apud Pontem Fractum”. Such an occurrence happened again in 1466, and the author of the *Abbreviata Cronica*, John Herryson, Chancellor of the University of Cambridge in 1466, mentioned the great fame of the miracles, and especially the flux of blood, which were taking place again in Lancaster’s tomb:

Hoc etiam anno orta est maxima fama in Anglia de coruscacione miraculorum per dominum ausorum (sic) beati thome comitis Lancastrie apud

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62 Ibid., p. 114.
pontefractum, in comitatu Eboracensi, et precipue de ebullacione sanguinis a tumba ejus in festo sancti luce Ewangeliste; 65

What did the flow of blood from a martyr’s body or tomb mean? It could have represented what Henry Petelle referred to as “the voice of blood”: when the body of a victim of violence started bleeding at the presence of its murderer, as “l’accusation suprême de la victime”. 66 Sometimes, as in the flowing of fluids (blood, milk, oil) from the bodies of saints it represented nourishment, a “quasi-sacerdotal feeding”. 67 The flow of blood recreated the shedding of the martyr’s innocent blood; such bleeding occurring without an apparent reason. 68 In the early modern period it was sometimes attributed to the operation of demons or witches. 69

It seems that the martyr’s blood, and especially that spilled at the place of execution, had special meaning to Lancaster’s followers. Its flow reinforced the sense of injustice, and at the same time it nourished the nation: like a river or the falling of dew, it was health-giving and fertilizing. 70

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68 See, for example, the cases of the Spanish virgin martyrs Nunilo and her sister Alodia (d. 851, celebrated 22 October), who were beheaded after refusing to accept anti-Christian laws, or that of the Abbot Follian (d. c. 655, celebrated 31 October), murdered by outlaws in a forest. C. Grant Loomis, *White Magic: An Introduction to the Folklore of Christian Legend* (Cambridge, Mass., 1948), p. 38; *Acta Sanctorum*, October IX, p. 639, and October XIII, p. 418; *Butler’s Lives of the Saints*, Herbert Thurston and Donald Attwater (eds.) 4 vols. (Westminster, Maryland, 1956), vol. IV, pp. 178, 230.
iii. Offerings, images and prayers

Offerings made for the maintenance of lights before images were "the single most popular expression of piety in the wills of the late medieval laity", and lights before the image of the martyr were a common practice. In the Cartulary of St Guthlac's Priory, Hereford (Oxford, Balliol College, MS 271), compiled in the early fourteenth century (with later additions), among notes on incoming payments (from rents customs and services, fols. 114v-120), we find that 8s.4d. were received from the offerings of visitors to the image of Thomas of Lancaster at St. Peter's church, Hereford (fol. 124v). In a Book of Hours now in the Bodleian Library as MS Douce 231, dated to c. 1325-30, Lancaster stands alongside St George (fol.1r)(fig. 4). This is a hand-size Horae (15.6 x 10.8 cm), which followed the Lincoln Use, as indicated by the calendar which includes the deposition and translation of St Hugh of Lincoln, and by the litany, which mentions Hugh of Lincoln and Bishop Robert Grosseteste. Lancaster's name merits were known also on the Continent: one of the beneficiaries of the miracles recorded in The Brut was a man from Gascony. But Lancaster's powers are mentioned briefly also in two French chronicles, those of Jean Le Bel and Jean Froissart Le Bel: "Je conte Thomas de Lancastre...proen et saint homme, ce disoit on, et fist puis aprez de beaux miracles au lieu ou il fut decolez". Jean Le Bel, Chronique de Jean Le Bel, J. Viard and E. Dépréz (eds.), 2 vols., Soc. De l'Histoire de France (Paris, 1904-5), vol. I, p. 10. Jean Froissart: "Je conte Tummes de Lancastre...pseudoms et sans bornes et fist puis assés de biaus miracles." Jean Froissart, Chroniques, George T. Diller (ed.) Textes Littéraires Français (Geneva, 1991), book I, vol. I, p. 9. 71 Duffy, p. 134.


72 In the Bodleian Catalogue the manuscript is dated to before 1322, meaning that Lancaster was not referred to as a martyr, but as a living magnate, maybe even the owner of the manuscript. Now it is established that the manuscript is later, and that Lancaster's representation there is not as the owner, but as a saint. Illuminated Manuscripts in the Bodleian Library Oxford, Otto Picht and I.J.G. Alexander (eds.), 3 vols. (Oxford, 1966-73), vol. III, p. 53. For the current dating and description see Age of Chivalry, pp. 254-55; Lucy Freeman Sandler, Gothic Manuscripts: 1285-1385, 2 vols. (A Survey of Manuscripts Illuminated in the British Isles vol. 5) (London, 1986), vol. II, cat. no. 87, pp. 95-96. I tend to think that this is a representation of Lancaster after his death, mainly because this full-
appears neither in the calendar nor in the litany. Yet, a series of full-page miniatures at the beginning of the book shows pairs of saints, among them St Anne and Mary, saints Peter and Paul, St Helen with Mary Magdalene, and St Christopher carrying Jesus the Child; Lancaster and St George appear on the first folio, carrying their coats of arms and swords, looking at each other. Lancaster is on the left, wearing a sleeveless red tunic over armour, decorated with the Lancastrian coat of arms of Gules three Lions passant guardant Or, with an Azure label of five points. His shield and banner are decorated with the same theme. St George is on the right, wearing a white tunic with a red cross on it. Neither figure is depicted with a halo, rather both wear helmets. The juxtaposition of St George and Lancaster may allude to Lancaster’s affinity with any of St George’s attributes: as a tormented martyr, as a chivalrous knight, and as England’s warrior.  

74 For further discussion and examples see Samantha Riches, *St George: Hero, Martyr and Myth* (Stroud, 2000), especially chapters 2, 3 and 4.

Lancaster was juxtaposed with another saint and martyr in a wall-painting in the church-village of St Peter ad Vincula, in the village of South Newington (Oxfordshire) (fig. 5), where his martyrdom was portrayed next to that of Thomas Becket. This painting, dated to c. 1330, is in the north aisle of the church, as a part of a scheme of painting which includes St James, the Virgin and Child, St Margaret killing the Dragon, and two martyrdom scenes, those of St Thomas of Canterbury and that of Lancaster.  

While the textual emphasis on Lancaster’s death tends to deal mainly with the cause and reason for the beheading, visual imagery, not uncommonly for the period, deliberately isolates the moment of his death. In this wall painting the scene of Lancaster’s decapitation shows the executioner and his victim. The executioner raises...
one leg in the air, just as he aims to deal the final blow. Lancaster kneels with his back
turned to the executioner, his hands no longer visible, but apparently joined in prayer.
On his neck are two already bleeding gashes. These cuts fit the description in the *Vita
Edwardi Secundi* that Lancaster stretched out his head as if in prayer, and the
executioner cut off his head with two or three strikes.\footnote{76}

The two donors of this painting, a knight and his lady, kneel in adoration on
the left, next to the Virgin and Child. Their coats of arms are those of Thomas
Gifford, and his wife, Margaret Mortayne. A possible link between the Giffords and
Lancaster may be Sir John Gifford Lord of Brimsfield (Gloucestershire), a firm
adherent of Lancaster who had also lands in Oxfordshire, and who was sentenced to
death and executed after the battle of Boroughbridge. If the South Newington
Giffords were related to him, it might help to explain this choice for the church's
decoration.\footnote{77}

The fact that the Christian name of the donor is Thomas may also be
meaningful, for a juxtaposition of Lancaster and Becket appears in this visual
representation, as well as in other, textual, references. Such is the case in *The Brut*
where Lancaster is quoted as swearing “by Seint Thomas” that he was never a traitor,
crying after hearing his death sentence “‘Allas, Seint Thomas, faire fader! Allas! Shal
y be dede pus?’”. Furthermore, in one of the antiphons in his honour Lancaster is
compared to Becket (“Qui per necem imitaris Thomam Cantuariæ”).\footnote{78} André Vauchez
discussed the ‘Becket Model’ and suggested that it had represented late medieval

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\footnote{76} “Tunc comes quasi orando caput extendit, et spiculator bis vel iter percuthens caput amputavit” *The
Life of Edward*, p. 126. The scene was identified by the art-historian E.W. Tristram, “The Wall Painting
\footnote{77} For John Gifford see ‘A Chronicle of the Civil Wars of Edward II’, George L. Haskins (ed.),
*Speculum* 14 (1939), pp. 73-81 (p. 80); A. Caiger-Smith, *English Medieval Mural Paintings* (Oxford,
1963), p. 94, n.1; George L. Haskins, ‘Judicial Proceedings Against a Traitor after Boroughbridge,
bishops-saints fighting for the church’s rights. Finding Lancaster’s name and martyrdom next to that of Becket demonstrates that Becket’s image was used, in this case, to enhance the figure of a lay defender of the church against the King, who was not a bishop. But Becket’s martyrdom carried with it another, more general message, too, one of pious acceptance of suffering, of innocence, and of victimization.

Becket, along with Lancaster and other saints named Thomas, was one of the addressees of a prayer in British Library, MS Harley 211. This manuscript, from the Carmelite house in Norwich, is a miscellany of prayers (including to saints Leonard, Katherine, and Apollonia on fols. 178v and 180v), hymns, and religious treatises (a treatise on meekness, charity, and other virtues in English on fol. 86r). On folios 176rv four-line prayers are dedicated to Thomas the Apostle, Thomas of Canterbury, Thomas of Dover (d. 1295 and never canonized), Thomas Cantilupe of Hereford, Thomas Aquinas, and Thomas of Lancaster.

Only in Lancaster’s case the reason for beatification is provided: “Beatam tornam militem & comitem Lancastrie martirem pro iusticia fieri voluisti (fol 176v)”. His prayer comes just before that of Thomas Cantilupe, perhaps reflecting the link between them, which was noted also in Lancaster’s Vita.

Salve de Lancastria thoma martir mitis
Peremptus inpenitentia cum errore litis
Habens tu victoriam hostibus contritis
Nobis per te gloriam donet vera vitis (fol. 176r)

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78 The Brut, p. 222; “Gaude Thoma, ducum decus, lucerna Lancastriae/ Qui per necem imitaris Thomam Cantuariae”, BL, Royal 12 C XII, fol. 1r.
80 There are several articles in the book indicating that, such as a hynui to the prophet Elijah, the father of the Carmelite order (fol. 85r), or an annotation about Thomas Bradley, an anchorite in the Carmelite convent in Norwich who was made bishop in Ireland in 1448 (fol. 191v).
Lancaster was thus acclaimed as a saint and martyr in a distinguished line of saints in the name of Thomas. However by acknowledging his saintly status through this juxtaposition not only was his saintliness stressed, but his martyrdom too.

Despite this emphasis on the representation of Lancaster’s martyrdom, images, it seems, were more straightforward in depicting Lancaster’s death. They usually (with the exception being the pilgrim badge discussed earlier), offer no explanation for Lancaster’s execution, but portray the dramatic moment of his beheading. Lancaster’s martyrdom was visually portrayed in the Luttrell Psalter (BL, Add. 42310)(fig. 6), which depicts, in the margins of folio 56r, Lancaster’s beheading. The Psalter was written and illuminated c. 1340. The manuscript was commissioned for the use of Geoffrey Luttrell of Irnham, Lincolnshire, the lord of several estates in south Yorkshire, Nottinghamshire and Leicestershire. The Psalter’s original ownership is revealed from the dedication above one of the main miniatures, which reads “Dominus Galfridus Louterell me fieri fecit”. Geoffrey Luttrell was born in Irnham in 1276. We know he had some connection with Thomas of Lancaster’s family, since in June 1298 he was one of ten men who travelled with Lancaster’s widowed mother, Blanche, to France. Between 1297 and 1319 Geoffrey was summoned thirteen times for military service in the Scottish border, in 1300 and 1303 under Edward I, and in 1306 under the Earl of Pembroke. In 1324 he was invited to take part in the Great Council at Westminster. He died in May 1345.

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81 Dating reached according to the clothes and hair style, but also because Beatrice le Scrope, who married Geoffrey Luttrell’s son Andrew in 1320, is depicted in the Psalter as a grown woman. Eric George Millar, The Luttrell Psalter (London, 1932), pp. 1-3.

82 Peter Coss commented on the miniature in this folio (202v) that shows Geoffrey Luttrell on horseback with his coat of arms displayed several times, concluding it is “an extraordinary lavish expression of identity”, which conveys at the same time his social standing, lineage, and affinity with the families of his wife and daughter-in-law. Peter Coss, ‘Knighthood, Heraldry and Social Exclusion in Edwardian England’, in Heraldry, Pageantry and Social Display in Medieval England, Peter Coss and Maurice Keen (eds.), (Woodbridge, 2002), pp. 39-68 (pp. 41-43).

the fourteenth century the book was already in different hands, probably those of Joan de Bohun, countess of Hereford and granddaughter of Henry, duke of Lancaster’s sister (Thomas thus being her great-great uncle), who acquired it during the 1370s or 1380s.84

The Psalter includes a calendar and a litany (in which Lancaster is not mentioned), canticles, collects, and the Office for the Dead. It is famous for its marginal images, which depict daily activities, agricultural work, and saints. As in the Douce manuscript and the South Newington wall-painting, Lancaster’s image is juxtaposed with that of other saints and martyrs, even if less directly. Among the other executions depicted in the book are those of St John the Baptist (fol. 53v), Thomas Becket (fol. 51r), and a satirical image of a man ‘martyred’ by his wife (he is being beaten while kneeling underneath her, hands joined as if in prayer, fol. 60r). Lancaster’s beheading scene is the third in a sequence of martyrdom-scenes. Thus Lancaster’s martyrdom by the sword – as those of Becket and John the Baptist – gives him the status of a martyr, follower of these earlier examples.

The scene of Lancaster’s execution appears on fol. 56r. In this image, located in the lower margin of the folio (the bas-de-page), Lancaster is shown wearing a simple robe, maybe even sackcloth, barefoot, kneeling while his hands joined in prayer, and facing his executioner. The executioner lifts the sword in his right hand, resting his left hand on Lancaster’s forehead. As in the South Newington wall painting, Lancaster’s neck is already gashed and bleeding. Under the golden sword we find the

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84 Backhouse, The Luttrell Psalter, p. 60.
now faded label 'lancastres'. Other figures on this folio are two archers, one of them a tonsured crossbowman, the other a longbowman, both dressed in daily clothes, not battle armour. Another image on the folio is that of a man riding a lion, holding his mouth open, who may represent the biblical Samson. The arrows of the archers act as "guides for the eye, pointing out, like N.B. marks, significant sections", in this case Lancaster's execution. The psalm verse just above the image is 30:11 ("Thou hast turned for me my mourning into joy: thou hast cut my sackcloth, and hast compassed me with gladness"), indicating either the elevation of Lancaster to the perpetuity and joy of martyrdom, or the transformation of the mourning of his adherents to their joy in his martyrdom.

The inclusion of Lancaster's beheading scene in this devotional private book implies that Geoffrey Luttrell, who commissioned the book, considered it appropriate. He may have used it for private devotional purposes, in a private room or chapel. A more communal devotion to Lancaster may have been also available to Geoffrey Luttrell and others, since a liturgical office in honour of Lancaster, composed between 1320 and 1340, also existed.

The longest and most elaborate office for Lancaster (a collection of several liturgical pieces) appears on fol. 1r of BL, Royal 12 C XII (appendix 1). The manuscript, dated to c. 1316-40 (the part including the office dated to c. 1322-27), is a miscellany of writings, and was written in several hands in Latin, French, and English. Following Lancaster's office on the first recto, we find verses on the corruption of law-courts (fol. 1v), hymns and prayers in Latin and French (fol. 4v),

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84 Camille, Image on the Edge, p. 107.
87 The office was transcribed and translated in The Political Songs of England: From the Reign of John to that of Edward II, Thomas Wright (ed. and trans.) Camden Society 6 (London, 1839), pp. 268-72.
88 This manuscript has various copying dates for its different parts. On the dating of its portions see Carter Revard, 'Scribe and Provenance', in The Harley Manuscript: The Scribes, Contents, and Social
verse on Thomas Becket’s murder (fol. 6v), prophecies (folks. 14r-16r), cookery recipes (fol. 11r), the romances of Fulk Fitz-Warin and Amys et Amylion (folks. 33r and 69r), and notes on phlebotomy (folks. 7v, 14r, 90r, 91r, etc). This manuscript may have been used as the commonplace book of the Harley Scribe who copied the volume, and who was likely to have been a parish chaplain from around the town and castle of Ludlow. Carter Revard concludes that the impression one gains is of a man who had obtained preferment, yet was not completely pleased with national affairs, perhaps a partisan of Lancaster. One of his patrons may have been the family of Ludlows of Stokesay, and, particularly, Sir Laurence Ludlow.

The office emphasized Lancaster’s regal and chivalric qualities (referring to him as “flos militum regalis”, for example). Its composer went to great lengths to explain Lancaster’s martyrlogical death as curative, not only for individuals, through miracles (“Relevantur ab infirmis infirmi suffragio”), but also for the kingdom of England as a whole (“Vas regale trucidatur regni pro remedio”). Lancaster was beheaded, according to the office, for the peace and tranquility of England (“causa pacis Angliae”; “pro pace et tranquillitate regnicolarum”), and for the aid of the commons (“acephalatur plebis pro juvamine”). His unjust death was also called to mind, by mentioning that he had been condemned without a cause (“Sine causa

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The Harley Scribe copied also manuscripts BL, MS Harley 2253, and BL, MS Harley 273. For his work, see Revard, ‘Scribe and Provenance’.

Ibid., p. 22.

Ibid., p. 70.

Earlier studies indicated to a possible patronage connection to either Adam Orleton, Bishop of Hereford, or Roger Mortimer of Wigmore or his widow, Joan. For Mortimer’s disappointment with Lancaster in 1321, see Mortimer, The Greatest Traitor, pp. 114-15; for the relations between the Mortimer family and Adam Orleton see Ibid., pp. 93-94, 134. Revard offers circumstantial evidence to the possible patronage of Sir Laurence Ludlow. Revard, ‘Scribe and Provenance’, pp. 21-26, 77-81.
condempnatur”), blaming his death on the King’s jealousy (“Aemulumque suum regem sibi”). The light of Lancaster (“lucerna Lancastriae”), who did not draw back from dying for the right (“Non pro jure mori spernit”), was thus made the unconquered leader of martyrs (“Agonista fit invictus statim die tertia”).

Christopher Page traced the melodies of this office by the incipits of the parts of the office that “refer the singer to chants he already knows”. One of these, for example, is the *Pange lingua gloriae proelium certaminis* for Easter, which the “Pange lingua gloriae comitis martirium” in the office follows, creating an affinity between Lancaster’s death and Christ’s battle with the devil, the subject of the hymn.

In a Book of Hours, possibly compiled c. 1339 (Norwich, Norfolk Museums and Archaeology Service, MS 158.926/4f), a suffrage to Lancaster is included, on fol. 152rv:

Antiphona:
Generoose miles cristi
tu thoma lancastrie
gloriose disressisti
placens regi glorie
iusiurandum custodisti
optans pacem anglie
diram mortem pertulisti
manens nunc in requie.

Versiculus:
Martyr de celis.

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95 Ibid.
96 This book contains the Hours of the Virgin, a calendar (Lancaster is not mentioned), a table of a cycle of 532 years, a litany (Lancaster is not mentioned), the five joys of St Mary and St Anne, in French and Latin, and French prayers to Jesus, Mary, Katherine, John and Clement the Apostles. Since in the table of the cycle of years there is a marginal note stating the year 1339, it is possible that the manuscript was completed around that date. For a full description see Ker, vol. III, pp. 517-19.
Responsa:
nobis subterre mederis.

Oratio:
Deus qui beato thome comiti lancastrie pro iuramento prestito ac pace regni anglie martirii palmam contulisti. Praesta quaesumus ut qui eius memoriam recolunt in terries, eius consorcio jugantur in celis.

The book was probably made for use in Norwich, since in the calendar is mentioned the dedication of the church of Norwich (24 September). Another detail in the calendar, the obit of “Katerine bakun” in the year 1477 (31 March), reveals a possible connection or even ownership by the Bacon family of Suffolk. Adam Bacon and his brother Thomas were, around 1312, adherents of Lancaster, and received a pardon for their involvement in the death of Gaveston in the following year. A William Bacon was pardoned for acts against the Despensers, committed in 1321. The fact that two of the prayers in French (those to Jesus and to Mary) were intended for a use of a woman, may imply that this Book of Hours was commissioned for the use of a woman in the Suffolk neighborhood, maybe a female member of the Bacon family.

In this memoria, too, as in the longer office in his honour, Lancaster was portrayed as undergoing terrible death for the cause of the peace of England (“optans pacem anglie/ diram mortem pertulisti”). The prayer’s versicle - “Martyr de celis” - emphasizes Lancaster’s suffering and martyr’s death for a cause, which enabled him to intercede and heal, the response being “nobis subterre mederis”.

Lancaster’s death for England (“propter statum Angliae”) was mentioned also in another prayer, although there it acquired the added value of being “in dei nomine”.

Cambridge, Clare College, MS 6 offers, uniquely, not only a memoria for Lancaster,

but also the date of his obit in the calendar. The obit is slightly different from others that will be discussed below: not only in that it refers to the day as Lancaster’s decollation day, but also in presenting him as Steward of England (“decolatio domini thome quondam com’ lanchestrie senechalli Anglie”). Apart from the calendar, we find in this Psalter a litany, as well as prayers to Christ, and a hymn addressed to St Katherine (fol. 144r). The memoria to Lancaster (fol. 145r) was added in the lower, left hand margin of the folio, in a different, fourteenth century hand (the Psalter is dated to early in the thirteenth century), its end now fading and hardly legible.

Antiphona:
O thoma lanchastrie
gemma que flos militie
qui in dei nomine
propter statum anglie
occidi sustulisti te.

Versiculus:
Ora pro nobis christi miles

Responsa:
Qui nunquam pauperes tenuisti viles.

Oratio:
Omnipotens sempiterne deus qui militem strenuum tuum et fidelem thomam comitem lanchastrie per crudelem martirium palma...pace & statu anglie...

(the rest is hardly legible except for a few words.)

By the early fourteenth century the manuscript was probably in the possession of owners from Raunds (Northamptonshire), since they added their family obits to the calendar (“Obitus domini Petrus de Raundis militis” on 21 February, and “Obitus

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99. For a full description of the manuscript see A Descriptive Catalogue of the Western Manuscripts in the Library of Clare College, Cambridge, M.R. James (ed.)(Cambridge, 1905), pp. 11-13; also Echard, ‘Canonization and Politics’, pp. 183-89.
100. Cambridge, Clare College, MS 6, fol. 2r.
domini Willelmi de Raundis militis anno domini m ccc tricesimo iii", on 27 November), as well as that of Lancaster.\textsuperscript{101}

A shorter devotional piece, a suffrage almost identical to the one in Cambridge, Clare College, MS 6, except for a different collect, can be found in the Butler Hours, a Book of Hours dated to the 1340s (mainly by the style of clothing), now in the Walters Art Gallery in Baltimore, as MS W. 105.\textsuperscript{102} This richly illuminated manuscript contains, besides the Hours of the Virgin, a calendar, and suffrages for St Thomas Becket and Lancaster (fol. 13v). The full-page miniature which faced the suffrage to Lancaster is now lost.\textsuperscript{103} The memoria has survived:

\begin{verbatim}
Antiphona:
Thoma Lankastrie
flos et gemma milicie
qui in dei nomine
propter statum anglie
occidi sustulisti te.

Versiculus:
Ora pro nobis beate christi miles.

Responsa:
Qui pauperes nunquam habuisti viles.

Oratio:
Mittisime deus aures tuas benigne votis meis inclina ut hii qui beathe thome lankastrie comitis et martyris memoriam recolunt post viam universae carnis ingressum mereamur consorcium aggregari per dominum nostrum
\end{verbatim}

\textsuperscript{101} The obit of Peter Raunds is on folio 1v, and that of William on folio 6r. If the “de Raundis” indicates the family and not only the place, Peter and William may have been members of the Raunds family that held lands in Raund from the thirteen-until the fifteenth-century, their coat of arms being of Azure a bend argent with three voided lozenges gules thereon. VCH, Northamptonshire, vol. IV, p. 30. In his description of the manuscript M.R. James mentioned that the Commission of the Peace was issued to William de Raundes in 1327 and 1331 for Rutlandshire, and that Raunds church belonged to the College of Newark of the Annunciation at Leicester, where Henry, Duke of Lancaster, was buried. A Descriptive Catalogue of...Clare College, p. 12.

christum filium tuum qui tecum vivit et regnat deus per omnia secula

The commissioners of this book appear in fol. 15r, in a full-page miniature showing
the family at Mass. This is the Butler family, lords of Wem (Shropshire), who
during the reign of Edward II held lands from the Duchy of Lancaster.

iv. Obits

Obits of Lancaster appear in calendars of religious books, such as psalters, missals,
and martyrologies from the fourteenth century and into the fifteenth. In a manuscript
now in the British Library, MS Add. 38819, an obit of Lancaster's death (added in a
fourteenth century hand) appears in the calendar which precedes the body of the
Psalter. The calendar, written in the twelfth century, was Augustinian in character,
noting, among others, the feast of St Augustine and its octave in red. "Henricus Abbas
de Brunne" (probably Bourne, Lincolnshire) on 31 March, indicates a Lincolnshire
provenance. The owner may have been the Augustinian priory of Bourn itself, a
modest house founded in 1138 by Baldwin, a younger son of Gilbert de Clare.

Cambridge, King's College, MS 31 is a fifteenth century Missal of the Use of
York, which belonged to the Cluniac Priory of St John the Evangelist at Pontefract, in
whose priory church Lancaster's body was buried. On both the 22 and 23 March
Lancaster's name appears in red, indicating its significance for the friars, even during
the fifteenth century.

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107 Age of Chivalry, p. 255.
105 Art of Chivalry, p. 255; Echard, "Canonization and Politics", p. 190.
104 Catalogue of the Additions to the Manuscripts in the British Museum in the year 1911-1915
103 A Descriptive Catalogue of the Manuscripts other than Oriental in the Library of King's College,
Another obit, now lost, existed in the martyrology of the church of the Friars of St Francis at Bridgewater (Somerset). When the antiquarian William Worcester visited the church there in 1478, he copied out of its martyrology the obit of Lancaster on 22 March, showing not only that he had an interest in the cult, but also that Lancaster's name had reached the southwest. These obits could have served as a reminder to users of the death of Lancaster, but may also indicate a liturgical celebration, with prayers and antiphons appropriate for the martyr.

v. Further expressions of devotion

Devotion to Lancaster was not restricted to the confines of the church, chapel, or a private chamber, nor linked solely to the day of his death. It was also celebrated in other, mundane ways. A pepperer (dealer in pepper and spices) of London, Walter Adryan, sold on 25 November 1338 various silver items, to the total of 10 marks, to Margery Randolf of London. Among these were

[A] circlet, a hanap [goblet, cup] of silver with a foot, a fermail of gold, a girdle of silver, 12 silver spoons, a nut on the foot, and a silver covercie, a silver cup and covercie, [and] a hanap of mazer, with an impression of St Thomas of Lancaster thereon.

This does not necessarily mean that either the seller or the buyer were adherents of Lancaster, but may suggest that Lancaster was depicted as a saint not only inside churches, but also on other objects, such as this hanap. Lancaster's memory was treasured in a daily, mundane and even administrative fashion also by other media.

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108 "In martyrologio fratrum Sancti Francisci Ecclesie de Bryggewater extrascripta... Beatus Thomas dux Lancastrie obijt 22 die Marcij". William Worcester, William Worcester Itineraries, John H. Harvey (ed.)(Oxford, 1969), pp. 78-81. There does not seem to be any particular Lancastrian involvement in Bridgewater. Somerset, however, was part of the 'South Parts' of the Duchy of Lancaster, and in John of Gaunt's period there were officials operating as receivers there. Simon Walker, The Lancastrian Affinity 1361-1399 (Oxford, 1990), pp. 289, 308.
A depiction of the Earl’s decapitation scene can be found on two similar seals, attached to grants of lands from 1366 and 1375 (London, PRO E329/47 and E329/20)(fig. 7). On these round seals, one red and the other black, the legend “de lancast’ martir verro[[?] priez diev pvr moi” surrounds the beheading scene, clearly identifying the image of Lancaster’s death as martyrdom. Both seals show Lancaster kneeling on the right hand side, his hands joined in prayer, facing his executioner, whose torso is bare, holding the sword with his right hand, and with the left - as in the Luttrell Psalter - his victim’s head.¹¹⁰

The owner of the seals introduces himself in one of the documents: “ego magister Johannes de Burton persona ecclesie de Nigra Nottele in Com Essex”. This is Sir John de Burton, rector of the parish church of Black Notley (co. Essex) in 1366.¹¹¹ In that year John de Burton granted to John Aleyn (styled ‘Blakeneye’), citizen and fishmonger of London, lands in London.¹¹² In 1375 he granted lands in London to William Wallworth and other people.¹¹³ There are a few possible identifications of John de Burton in the second half of the fourteenth century, the most convincing identification may be the Lancastrian John Burton, Keeper of John of Gaunt’s Wardrobe in 1383-4.¹¹⁴

Having the image of Lancaster’s beheading on his seal was a significant choice on John de Burton’s part, a deliberate choice. The central religious images

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¹¹ The legend was mentioned in Catalogue of Seals in the Public Record Office: Personal Seals, R.H. Ellis (ed.), 2 vols. (London, 1981), p. 13, but the scene was wrongly identified as the martyrdom of John the Baptist.
¹² Probably the same John de Burton was presented in Wykham, on 24 June 1335, with the benefice of Wylseye, his patron being the Bishop. Registrum Radulphi Baldock, Gilberti Segrave, Ricardi Newport, et Stephani Gravesend, Episcoporum Londoniensium, A.D. 1304-1338, R.C. Fowler (ed.)(London, 1911), p. 307; in November 1368 Sir John Ledecombe was presented with the rectory of the parish church of Black Notley, on exchange from Warfield (diocese of Salisbury), while John de Burton was made rector of Warfield, by commission from the Bishop of Salisbury. Registrum Simonis de Sudbiria, Diocesis Londoniensis, A.D. 1362-1375, R.C. Fowler (ed.), 2 vols. (Oxford, 1916-27), vol. I, p. 262.
¹³ PRO E329/47.
(like that of the Lamb of God, Virgin and Child, or head of St John the Baptist) were usually impressed on personal seals after 1300; it is quite exceptional to encounter a 'saint' like Lancaster, who was never canonized.

Another non liturgical way of celebrating Lancaster's martyrdom was realized through verse. Oxford, Bodleian, MS e Mus. 139 is a late-fourteenth century commentary on the Augustinian rule, of which the last folios (83v-85r) are of interest to us. Folio 83v is almost blank except for a line at the top, reading “primi I recommande me vnto your thank…”. On the left hand side of the folio there is a crude drawing of a minstrel playing a mandola, while on the right hand side is a stave with a few musical notes at its beginning. Folio 84r is empty, except for another stave, with a few notes at the beginning, as well as an attempt to draw a cross (only its upper part is visible). The next folio is a fifteenth century astrological note on tree-planting. Folio 85r is the last written folio of the manuscript, in which different hands practiced a few alphabet letters and musical notes. It has holes in it, and is smeared with pencil and ink. The poem for Lancaster is at the bottom of the folio:

Thomas de Lancastria: comes commendatus
Miles ex malicia morti iudicatus
Justus pro iusticia fuit decollatus
Fuit mors mesticia cuncti comitatus

Ab etate terna danotus degebat
Pietatis viscere pauperi pendebat
Miserorum miserere pondera pollebat
Vir verax vera varia virtute verebat

\[\text{PRO E329/20.}\]
\[\text{Walker, The Lancastrian Affinity, p. 286.}\]
\[\text{Cat. Ox., vol. II, part II, p. 699; see also Echerd, 'Canonization and Politics', pp. 257-58.}\]
Pro nobis ora morte Thoma necis hora
S... sit in ... (a few words illegible) vitas meliora
Omnipotens obis opifex petimus prece pura
Da miserus morbis mort modicora plena

.... mort: Thoma ....
Vt vere ... vivamus ...(illegible). Amen.

The owners of the manuscript were probably Augustinian friars or canons. If the manuscript was still in the house's possession in the fifteenth century, one of its members must have been interested in music. He either copied the poem into the back of the book, or composed his own piece in honour of Lancaster.\footnote{Echerd gives a few possible identifications of this religious house: either the Augustinian Abbey at Leicester (which had good relations with the Lancastrians), the Premonstratensian Abbey of Selby (in which Lancaster founded daily masses for his parents), the Augustinian abbey of Newburgh (in which a pro-Lancastrian chronicle was composed at the beginning of the fifteenth century), or the Dominican convent in Pontefract (one of their friars took Lancaster to his execution place), Echerd, 'Canonization and Politics', pp. 257-58.} Perhaps like Thomas Hyngham, monk of Bury St Edmunds, who may have been the composer of the morality play \textit{Wisdom} in mid-fifteenth century, the person responsible for this poem aimed to offer in it music, and perhaps a spectacle of some kind.\footnote{Malcolm Godden, 'Fleshy Monks and Dancing Girls: Immorality in the Morality Drama', in \textit{The Long Fifteenth Century: Essays for Douglas Gray}, Helen Cooper and Sally Mapstone (eds.)(Oxford, 1997), pp. 205-28 (pp. 221, 227).} We do not know whether this poem was actually sung by Lancaster’s adherents, but it depicts the themes characteristic of Lancaster’s cult which we have encountered: his virtues of piety and generosity, his unfair trial, and the decollation he had suffered for the cause of justice. His death, the verses indicate, “Fuit [mors] mexitia cuncti comitatus”.

A more conventional institutional environment for the cult of Lancaster was funded by Sirron Symeon in 1361, a chantry dedicated to Lancaster on the hill of his execution.\footnote{In that year Archbishop of York John Thoresby confirmed the foundation of the chantry. W.W.H. Dixon, \textit{Festi Eboracenses}, J. Raine (ed.)(London, 1863), p. 407. A chapel, “St Thomas Plantagenet”,} Symeon was an official in the administration of the Duchy of Lancaster:
in 1361 he was the Steward in Lincolnshire, as well as one of the co-executors of the will of Henry, Duke of Lancaster. Lancaster's holy memory was instituted through other means, too. In an Ordinary of Arms from c. 1380, now at the College of Arms (MS 'Jenyns' Ordinary), Lancaster's coat of arms is depicted on fol. 3v, identified as that of "Saint Thomas de Lancastre" (fig. 8). Of further importance to Lancaster's representation as a saint is the location of his arms in the volume: in a folio which portrays the coats of arms – historical and mythical alike – of other, more established, English saints, such as St Alban, to Lancaster's left.

Relics of Lancaster or objects that were once his produced focal points for further devotional contemplation, and were also miracle-working objects. In 1383 Richard de Segbrok, the newly appointed shrine keeper at St Cuthbert's monastery in Durham, prepared a list of the relics. He recorded a pyx of crystal containing the blood of Thomas of Canterbury, the hair of Mary Magdalene, a part of the rod of Moses, and also "a pair of beads belonging to St Thomas, Earl of Lancaster, in two bags, with a swan in white velvet". The swan symbolized grace and gentleness; it may also be related to the de Bohun family, whose heraldic emblem was that of a white swan.

existed on the summit of the hill and was located in the northeast direction of the castle. Around 1827 it was already completely ruined. In its place was erected a windmill. George Fox, The History of Pontefract, in Yorkshire (Pontefract, 1827), p. 289.

I would like to thank Mr. Robert Yorke from the College of Arms for drawing my attention to this manuscript. For a description of the manuscript see A Catalogue of English Medieval Rolls of Arms, Anthony Richard Wagner (ed.) (Oxford, 1950), pp. 69-71. Although in the sixteenth century the book was in the possession of the Holland family of Lincolnshire, we do not know who was the original commissioner of this manuscript.

James Raine, Saint Cuthbert (Durham, 1828), pp. 120-22.


Ibid., p. 20. For Humphrey de Bohun as Lancaster's adherent see above, pp. 72-73. However, there seems to be no particular ongoing relations of patronage between the de Bohuns and this conven.
A set of vestments of bright-blue ("blodij coloris") cloth embroidered with figures of white dogs, including an orphrey decorated with the life of Thomas of Lancaster, was given to St George's chapel at Windsor Castle by Henry IV in 1401. The gift was recorded in the chapel's inventories, which cover the years 1384 to 1667. The colour of the vestments - bright-blue - was that of the mantles of the Knights Companions in the Order of the Garter. We see here a convergence of aspects of the theme of chivalry around Lancaster: a gift to St George's chapel, the home of the Order of the Garter. This may have also been another attempt, similar to the one already noted, at linking Lancaster to St George.

3. The cult in the fifteenth century

During the fifteenth century the cultic activity around Lancaster did not diminish. Under the Lancastrian kings bequests for lights before images of Lancaster were made, prayers were written or added to manuscripts, and relics were cherished. Lancaster's Vita, a product of the fourteenth century, was copied into manuscripts; two examples arrive from continental Europe.

i. Thomas of Lancaster's Vita

Lancaster's Vita survives in two non-English collections of saints' lives, both from the fifteenth century. One of these was compiled by the martyrrologist Herman Greven, member of the Carthusian monastery in Cologne, probably during the 1460s.

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126 "Item de dono Regis Henrici quarti j vestimentum blodij coloris intextum cum albis canibus videlicet ij frontella ij ridelli j color' j casual ij tunice ij albe iij amictus cum stolis et fanonis eiusdem secte; iij cape eiusdem secte cum vna orfreya broidata cum vita Thome Lancasterie"; The Inventories of St George's Chapel Windsor Castle 1384-1667, Maurice F. Bond (ed) (Windsor, 1947), p. 44. An orphrey is a band of textile woven or decorated and added to the usually plain wool or silk of the chasuble. Janet Mayo, A History of Ecclesiastical Dress (London, 1984), p. 40.

or 1470s. Today the manuscript is Berlin's Stadtbibliothek MS Theol. Lat. Fol. 706, and in it are gathered the legends of some two hundred and fifty saints from different countries, among them Lancaster's, on folios 109r-111r. The same text appears also in John Gielemans's (d. 1487) Novale Sanctorum, a collection of Vitae of saints who lived after 1300. This is manuscript Osterreichischen Nationalbibliothek Vienna, MS Ser. n. 12.708 (Lancaster's life on fols. 38r-40r), and it has been printed in Anecdota et Codicibus Hagiographicis Iohannis Gielemans in 1895.

Although these two lives of Lancaster are found in fifteenth century German collections, it is likely that the original Vita was compiled in England, the home of Lancaster's cult. The text is more precisely a Passio and not a Vita, describing in abbreviated fashion Lancaster's lineage and youth, but concentrating in more detail on his political activity ("defensione iuris, regi volens nec cogitans"), that led to his trial and execution, through which he became a martyr,

[Et sic de exilio ad vitam, de carcere ad regnum, de dolore transivit ad gaudium aeternum.]

One of the most unique aspects of this document is the depiction of Lancaster as a protégé of Thomas of Cantilupe, Bishop of Hereford (d. 1282, canonized 1320). When Cantilupe baptized Lancaster the baby, so the Vita claims, he had a premonition:

130 Anecdota ex Codicibus Hagiographicis Iohannis Gielemans (Antwerp, 1895), p. 97.
132 Anecdota ex Codicibus, p. 97.
133 Ibid., p. 98.
while the baby Thomas laughed.\textsuperscript{135} This link between Lancaster and the recently canonized English Bishop was supposed not only to give the new martyr a further public manifestation of his merits, but perhaps also link him with a recent successful canonization, and perhaps thus hasten the effort towards Lancaster's own canonization.

The \textit{Vita} tells of several miracles; one is described at length, and the others very briefly, in only two or three sentences. The first, longer miracle, tells of a "mulier ancilla Dei", to whom the Holy Spirit appeared in dreams, at the beginning encouraging, but later exhorting her more forcefully to go to Lancaster's grave and seek cure for her wounded and scarred arm.\textsuperscript{136} At the tomb Lancaster appeared to her, promising: "'Mulier, Deus te adiuvet, et ego te iuvabo'." She applied some dirt from his tomb on her arm, and was miraculously restored back to health.\textsuperscript{137}

Among the other, shorter miracles in the \textit{Vita}, are those of a drowned boy who was brought back to life (perhaps the same miracle which had been narrated in the \textit{Brut}\textsuperscript{138}), another \textit{puer} who was healed after laying on his death bed following a fire, and a man who was blind for two months, but whose vision was restored after he arrived at the martyr's tomb, and at the place of his beheading.\textsuperscript{139}

\begin{flushright}
\textsuperscript{135} Anecdota ex Codicibus, p. 98.
\textsuperscript{136} "[S]ultissima, cur ut praecepi, non fecisti?" Anecdota Ex Codicibus, p. 98.
\textsuperscript{137} "terram tumuli mei", \textit{ibid.}, pp. 98-99.
\textsuperscript{138} See above, p. 73.
\textsuperscript{139} "ad tumulum sancti martyris et ad locum decollationis eius pervenit" \textit{ibid.}, p. 99.
\end{flushright}
ii. Prayers, bequests and relics

Foreign interest in (if not devotion to) the cult of Lancaster may be found not only in these two copies of his *Vita*, but also in a prayer for Lancaster contained in a German manuscript, Cologne Historisches Archiv, W 28.¹⁴⁰ This is a prayer-book that originated in the Carthusian house of Cologne in the fifteenth century, which includes rhythmic and prose prayers to German, French, English, and Italian saints. Among them are these two antiphons and a collect for Lancaster, on fol. 84v:

**Antiphona:**
- Miles Christi gloriose
- Laus, spes, tutor Angliae,
- Flecta gentis criminosa
- Dura corda gratiae,
- Fac discordes gratiose
- Reduci concordiae,
- Ne sternatur plebs dolose
- Empta Christi sanguine.

**Oratio:**
- Deus, qui beatum Thomam, militem tuum inclitum, pro pace et statu Angliae
  dirae decollationis martyrium subire voluisti, concede nobis, quasesumus, ut
  ejus passio gloria sit nobis remissio scelerum et contra mundi pericula
  firmamentum.

**Antiphona:**
- Ave, Thoma, gemma militiae,
- Dux in castris coelestis gloriae,
- Anglicanae miles ecclesiae
- Tuae fave semper familiae.

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¹⁴⁰ For the manuscript and the transcription of the prayer see *Analecta Hymnica Medii Aevi*, G.M. Dreves and C. Blume (eds.), 55 vols. (Leipzig, 1886-1922), vol. 28, pp. 5-8, 268-71; also Echerd, ‘Canonization and Politics’, pp. 185-86.
Even if composed in a later date or place from the ones discussed earlier, this prayer, too, stresses the same martyrological ideas of Lancaster’s death as chosen by God, “pro pace et statu Angliae”.

After being regarded for years as a hymn to St George, it is now acknowledged that part of the first antiphon in this prayer appears, with its musical notation, in a mid-fifteenth century book of carols, now Bodleian, Arch. Selden B. 26 (fol. 8v-9r).\(^{141}\) Although in these folios there is no direct reference to Lancaster (nor to any other saint), the text is very similar to that in Cologne Historisches Archiv W 28. This could mean that the hymn was, c. 1450, so closely associated with Lancaster, that it required no labeling. It is also possible that it became known as a carol which generally glorified the ideal of the *miles Christi*.

As in the fourteenth century, Lancaster was celebrated also through bequests left for lights to burn in front of images, or other purposes. William of Northfolk from Pontefract bequeathed, in 1401, 12d. for the lights in the Guild of Blessed Thomas of Lancaster (in which he presumably was a member), as well as 10s. for the purpose of replacing a wooden cross on the hill where the Earl was executed with a stone one.\(^{142}\) This guild, like others, performed its members’ funerals and provided intercessory prayers and masses - “the exercise of sociability and charity at a communal feast associated with a saint’s day”.\(^{143}\) Another adherent to Lancaster was John Stele, a citizen and dyer of York, who bequeathed, in October 1428, 6s.8d. to the brotherhood


\(^{143}\) Duffy, p. 143.
of St Thomas of Lancaster at Pontefract. And in 1465 John Bukherst, a Jurat (municipal officer holding a position similar to that of an alderman in the Cinque Ports) of St Laurence’s parish in ‘Romene’ (probably Romney in Kent), left in his will “4 pence for a wax taper to bum before the image there of St Thomas of Dancastre”. This Thomas of Dancastre, probably referring to Lancaster, was familiar even in this corner of southeast England.

Around the same time a relic of Lancaster was recorded as being kept in the Guild of Corpus Christi at the city of York. This relic, “partem gloriosi ducis Loncastriæ [sic]”, was probably a piece of his clothing, and not of his body, since it appears in a section of relics that were part of saints’ clothing. The presence of a relic of Lancaster among the treasures of this popular and prosperous guild of clerics, merchants, craftsmen, and civic officials, shows not only an interest in Lancaster’s cult as late as a century after his beheading (the guild was founded only in 1408, so the relic was a ‘new’ acquisition for the guild), but also his popularity among various groups in York and outside it. The people of York, in the second half of the fifteenth century, were not alone in venerating Lancaster and cherishing his memory.

Towards the end of the century, Lancaster’s holiness was mentioned again. In a Lacy family pedigree, recorded during a heraldic visitation to the north of England

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144 An Old York Church, All Hallows in North Street, P.J. Shaw (ed.) (York, 1908), p. 89.
146 It could be that the writer confused Lancaster with the town Doncaster, or that he meant to abbreviate the words De Lancaster. I wish to thank Dr. Julia Boffey for the first suggestion, and Dr. Virginia Davis for the second.
c. 1480-1500, the marriage of "Alicia filia et heres Henrici Comitis Lincolnie" to "Beatus Thomas Comes Lancasteriae" were pointed out. ¹⁴⁹

4. The cult in the sixteenth century

Lancaster’s cult was still active during the first half of the sixteenth century and until the Reformation. In 1514 the Londoner Sir James Pyncoke left money for the light of St Thomas of Lancaster in his parish church of Hillingdon (now St John the Baptist in northwest London), which was a part of the manor of Colham. The lord of this manor, until 1322, was Thomas of Lancaster himself.¹⁵⁰ While for the lights of the high cross there Pyncoke left 4d., as well as for the lights there of All Souls, and even of St Mary, to Lancaster’s light he doubled the amount to 8d.¹⁵¹ In 1523 Thomas Nycolas, "Burges of the Burgage of the towne of Woxbridge", mentioned in his will this light in front of Lancaster’s shrine, and five years later Alexander Bell, yeoman, left directions to be buried "before Saint Thomas of Lancaster" at Hillingdon, as well as 3s.4d. to Lancaster’s light there.¹⁵² These suggest the cult’s lasting importance as late as mid-sixteenth century.¹⁵³

¹⁴⁹ Visitations of the North, F.W Dendy and C.H. Hunter Blair (eds.) 4 parts, Publications of the Surtees Society 122, 133, 144, 146 (Durham, 1920–32), part III, pp. 63–64. In these heraldic visitations the king’s heralds were to register deaths, marriages and births of noblemen and gentlemen, to record their arms, correct false ones, confirm those of rightful claimants, as well as grant new ones. Ibid., part I, p. xiv.

¹⁵⁰ Rachel de Salis, Hillingdon Through Eleven Centuries (Uxbridge, 1927), p. 29.


¹⁵² The wills of Nycolas and Bell are mentioned in de Salis, Hillingdon, pp. 52–53. Thomas Nycolas’ will (proved 7 August 1523), in which he bequeathed money to “our Ladye lyggt in the parish church of hyllingdon, to the light of Mary Maudelyn and to the lyggt of saint Thomas off Lancaster, onto each of them iii d.”, is now preserved at the London Guildhall Library, as MS 9171, Register 10, fol. 17. Alexander Bell’s will, dated 18 April 1523, is now preserved at the National Archives, as PRO B11/22, Porch 33, fols. 260v–261r.

¹⁵³ The present south window in the chancel of the church was installed in 1955. It shows the Tree of Life with scenes from the life of the church’s patron, John the Baptist. At the foot of the scheme Lancaster’s shield is displayed. However, in a letter from Mrs Audrey Wormald, the writer of the latest church information leaflet, Hillingdon Parish Church: A Guide for the New Millennium (2002), I was advised that "[T]here is no evidence that St John’s Church Hillingdon ever contained any stained or coloured glass in medieval times", and that the part of the church in which the present window is installed was built only in 1848, during extensions to the church (Letter from 19 May 2003).
Not only Londoners still remembered Lancaster and acknowledged his sainthood two hundred years after his death. In a manuscript now in the College of Arms (MS Vincent 152),\textsuperscript{154} which is an Ordinary of Arms containing coloured images of coats of arms (royal, papal, of European kings, of knights of the Garter), Lancaster’s arms are displayed on fol. 39v. Above his coat of arms appears the identifying title (as in the fourteenth century Ordinary discussed earlier in this chapter): “Saint Thomas de Lancastr". The manuscript was produced between c. 1520 and the death of its compiler, the Garter King of Arms, Sir Thomas Wriothesley (or Wrythe), in 1534.\textsuperscript{155} This volume indicates not only Lancaster’s living memory as a saint at this late date, but also his established link with the Order of the Garter, and the ethos it represented.

We know little of the person who, in a sixteenth-century hand, added notes in the margins of Walsingham’s chronicle in a manuscript now Trinity College Dublin, MS 511, originally written during the reign of Edward III.\textsuperscript{156} When the chronicle showed Lancaster in unfavorable light, the annotator defended him, and emphasized his sainthood. Thus, on folio 113r, he wrote “Nota de sancto comite Lancastr” and “Sed nota finem honorificum beati Thome comitis Lancastr”. On folio 113v, where the original text reads “regem pari forma dehonestat”, he added:

\textsuperscript{154} For a description of the manuscript see A Catalogue of Manuscripts in the College of Arms Collections, Louise Campbell and Francis Steer (eds.) (London, 1988), pp. 387-91. The folio on which Lancaster’s coat of arms appears was reproduced in Thomas Woodstock and John M. Robinson, The Oxford Guide to Heraldry (Oxford, 1988), as plate 1. Lancaster’s arms are the second from the left, in the top row.


Quia uerior est alia cronica, ueraciter probans intencionem et actus beati Thome pro iusticia et regni commodo fideliter militare.\textsuperscript{157}

The last indication of an active cult of Lancaster is from the 1530s. In Pontefract itself, the very centre of the cult, we find that as late as 1536 – as Dr Layton and Dr Legh, Henry VIII’s visitors of monasteries in the north found - Lancaster’s belt and hat were still working wonders, the first helping women in birth, the second treating headaches.\textsuperscript{158} Lancaster was remembered and worshiped in the north more than two hundred years after his death.

Summary

Although I have divided the sources studied in this chapter chronologically to sources from the fourteenth, fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, this partition is only formal. Lancaster’s cult maintained its thematic emphases throughout the long years of its existence. Thus Lancaster was presented as the innocent \textit{Christi miles} who had been unjustly tried and sentenced to death. His decapitation was portrayed not only as martyrdom for causes involving England’s common weal, but also as God’s direct wish.

We can only guess which of the texts and artefacts studied in this chapter were ever used liturgically, and which were heard, voiced, or read in the privacy of chamber or chapel. The vestments embroidered with Lancaster’s life, given by Henry IV to St George’s Chapel in Windsor Castle, were meant for liturgical use, either because Henry IV wanted to encourage a celebration of Lancaster’s cult, or because he knew it was already in existence. Lancaster’s cult was celebrated in different ways:

publicly and privately; in church, chantry and chapel; liturgically; or in more mundane ways such as singing a hymn or sealing a document.

Most of Lancaster's adherents seem to have been men. They belonged to a variety of status and profession (butcher, dyer, merchant, priest), both secular and religious, but were mainly knights, or men in religious orders. The geographical spread of the cult was quite extensive (see map in appendix 2). Although based in Yorkshire, there were adherents of Lancaster's cult in Lincolnshire, Leicestershire, Norfolk, Suffolk, Oxfordshire, London, Essex, Hereford, and as far as Kent and Somerset. Some of these were regions of Lancastrian lands and influence (such as Lincolnshire, Leicestershire, Norfolk, Suffolk, and even Somerset and Sussex\textsuperscript{158}). The Lancastrian lordship in these areas, as Simon Walker has shown in his magisterial study of the Lancastrian affinity in the second half of the fourteenth century, did not necessarily elicit total support for the current (or former) Lancastrian magnate.\textsuperscript{160} The cult around Thomas of Lancaster spread quite widely, and it was not exclusively related to Lancastrian lordship. Rather, the cult was active for approximately two hundred years because Thomas Lancaster and his death continued to inspire trust and faith.

III. The meanings of the cult of Thomas Earl of Lancaster

The posthumous representations of Lancaster's life and death were rooted in three frames of fourteenth-century culture: the discourses of knighthood and chivalry, justice and injustice, and loyalty and treason, often to be found interwoven in complicated ways. Lancaster's cult offered a terrain for the negotiation and discussion

\textsuperscript{159} Lancastrian officers under John of Gaunt are listed in Walker, The Lancastrian Affinity, pp. 286-91, appendix 2.
of these issues for identification through them. Lancaster’s cult thus contributed to the constitution of personal, as well as collective, identities of its adherents.

1. Knighthood and chivalry

The knightly ideal of the period was expressed and structured in writings in which the chivalric ethos was a core issue, such as *chansons de geste* and romances. Whereas in the former genre “the role of the hero is to embody in his actions the ideals of the group he represents”, in the latter, the hero is more of an “individual’ who pursues private goals of emotional fulfillment and ethical self-validation”. In both, however, the knight was represented as a descendent of a noble lineage, skilled in the art of war, but also gentle, pious and generous; in short, this was “a uniquely accessible and adaptable locus of fantasy and desire”. We find during the fourteenth century a growth in interest in romance: new romances were written and old ones were translated into English. Dynastic struggles, the civil wars of Edward II’s reign, and a period of conquest under Edward III, contributed to the development of tension between the fictional ethos and pragmatic realities of knighthood. During Edward III’s reign knighthood was the core image, not only in literature but also in court life, which aimed to recreate the legendary Arthurian court, by hanging, for example, the ‘Round Table’ at Winchester castle, or founding the Order of the Garter in 1348. Lancaster’s knightly image, as it arises in hagiography and liturgy, forms

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160 See, for example, the case of Sussex. Ibid., pp. 127-41.
164 Martin Biddle concluded that the 'Round Table' at Winchester was hung on the wall around 1348-49. Martin Biddle et al., *King Arthur's Round Table: An Archaeological Investigation* (Woodbridge, 2000), pp. 399-400. For a brief discussion of an earlier effort on founding a chivalric order, foreign influences, immediate political circumstances, name of the order, and foundation dating see Collins,
part of this process. The *Anonimalle Chronicle* offers another clue to Lancaster’s image as the perfect knight: he was the antithesis to Edward II, who was

beaus homme et fort de corps et de membre... [who unlike his father] il ne fist force de chivalerie ne pruesce, mes tantasoullement de sa volente demene.¹⁶⁵

There are many examples of the representation of Lancaster as the ideal miles. Such is the case in the *Vita*, where he is referred to as

ex nobili prosapia ortus est, quoniam [per nuptias] inter filium Henrici tertii, strenuissimi Regis Angliae, ac egregiam reginam Navarre Blancam ¹⁶⁶

His lineage is also mentioned several times in the office in his honour, contained in BL, Royal 12 C XII (fol. 1r). In the *Prosa* he is described as a royal vessel (“vas regale”), in the sequence as being of an illustrious pedigree (“stemmate egregio”), born from a royal bed (“natus thoro regio”), and originating from the royal lineage through both his parents:

De parentis utriusque regali prosapia/ Prodit Thomas, cujus pater proles erat regia,/ matrem atque sublimavit reginam Navaria.

Generosity was another aspect of the knight’s virtues, a desirable quality not only in secular literature, but in religious texts too. Lancaster’s generosity is elaborated in the hagiographical sources, and his good treatment of the poor and needy is referred to time and again. For instance, after the versicle “Ora pro nobis

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¹⁶⁵ *The Anonimalle Chronicle*, p. 80.
¹⁶⁶ *Anecdota ex Codicibus*, p. 93.

*The Order of the Garter*, pp. 6-14. Collins acknowledged the practical political and military roles of the order, but highlighted its “emphasis upon the ethics of knightly endeavour and loyalty”. *Ibid.*, p. 20. Although wealth and lineage were of importance in electing its companions, “the majority of knight-companions elected during the period [from the founding up to 1461] were soldiers of renown”, emphasizing the order’s chivalric ethos. *Ibid.*, pp. 83-84. For Edward III’s attitude towards Arthurian traditions, see also Ormonde, *The Reign of Edward III*, p. 45.
beate Christi miles", the response is "Qui pauperes nunquam habuisti viles".\textsuperscript{167} He is referred to as "generose miles Christi",\textsuperscript{168} and the \textit{Vita} elaborates this theme of Lancaster's kindness while alive.\textsuperscript{169}

Fighting prowess was most important in a knight, accompanied by courage, and the willingness and ability to protect the people led by him or dependent on him. The Earl was depicted as a warrior not only in texts, titling him "Christi miles", "ducum decus", "flos et gemma militie", but also in the pilgrim's souvenir that shows him standing on a bridge, slaying one of the enemies, with his coat of arms. Similarly, we have noted the devotional manuscript in which he is juxtaposed with the model of knighthood, St George.\textsuperscript{170} The fact that Lancaster was denied his armour and donned "a robbe of Ray, bat was his squyers liuery", as described in \textit{The Brut},\textsuperscript{171} juxtaposes earthly humiliation with the receipt of a new, heavenly livery.

The knight's willingness to fight to death, to die for a cause, as in the \textit{Chanson de Roland}, sees the convergence of ideals of knighthood and martyrdom. The cause for which Lancaster died was always explained by texts describing him. The fact that he died for a common cause - variously, for the state of England ("statum anglie"), justice in general ("pro iusticia fuit decollatus"), or the peace and tranquility of England's inhabitants ("pro pace et tranquillitate regnicolarum Angliae")\textsuperscript{172} - makes Lancaster's struggle a particularly chivalric one. No wife is mentioned in the

\textsuperscript{167} Baltimore, Walters Art Gallery, MS W. 105, fol. 13v; Cambridge, Clare College, MS 6, fol. 144r.
\textsuperscript{168} Norwich, Norfolk Museums and Archaeology Service, MS 158.926/4f, fol. 152r.
\textsuperscript{169} "ut omnes religiosos viros tam pauperes quam divites ac alios saeculares et compatriotas ad curiam suam ob negotia sua expedienda confluenter ad mensam susciperent et, si necesse fuerit, hospitari facerent." \textit{Anecdota ex Codicibus}, p. 94.
\textsuperscript{170} Norfolk Museums and Archaeology Service, MS 158 926/4f, fol. 152r; BL Royal 12 C XII, fol. 1r; Walters Art Gallery MS W. 105, fol. 13v; British Museum (Department of British and Medieval Antiquities, 1954, 5-2,1); Bodleian MS Douce 231, fol. 1r.
\textsuperscript{171} \textit{The Brut}, p. 220.
\textsuperscript{172} Walters Art Gallery MS W. 105, fol. 13v; Bodleian MS e. Mus 139, fol. 85r; BL Royal 12 C XII, fol. 1r.
hagiography although Lancaster was married, perhaps an attempt to suggest chastity in this saint-knight, like that of St George or Galahad.

Lancaster’s image is derived from, and at the same time part of, the representation of the ideal knight and hero, as constructed in *chansons de geste* and romances. His knightly characteristics—of lineage, prowess, generosity, willingness to die, and even chastity—are mingled and mutually reinforced, just as these literary genres often are.173

2. Justice and injustice
The interpretation of Lancaster’s death as a chivalric ideal is only one part of his posthumous ‘life’. Another reading of the sources emphasizes the sinfulness and injustice of his enemies. These two attitudes—of Lancaster as a knight who died for his cause, and as a victim of injustice—are sometimes interwoven. Thus in *The Brut* Lancaster’s execution following an unfair trial is lamented:

Allas pat euer soche a gentil blode shulde ben don to dep with-outen cause and resoun

And in the office in his honour his condemnation is seemed without a cause ("sine causa condemnatur").174 In March 1328, when Edward III annulled Lancaster’s sentence, acknowledging thus that he had been convicted unjustly, against the law of the Kingdom ("injuste & sine causa racionabili, ac contra legem & consuetudinem regni nostri...fuerit morti adjudicatus"), Lancaster’s innocence and judicial victimization became not only his adherents’ stance, but an official position.175 Lancaster, it was agreed, was a victim of perversion of justice.

174 *The Brut*, p. 223; BL Royal 12 C XII, fol. 1r.
175 *Foedera*, vol. II, part II, p 731.
Lancaster's drama, as seen through the eyes of his hagiographers and adherents, enacted criticism of the law and courts of his day. Rhyming verses on the corruption of law-courts are written on the verso of the folio on which the office to Lancaster was copied in the miscellaneous manuscript BL Royal 12 C XII, hailing as blessed those who do justice and are not tempted by gold or jewels.

The romance of Fulk Fitz Warin, in French, also appears in this manuscript, in French (fols. 33r-60v). This romance tells the story of Fulk Fitz Warin, who was reared with the princes, sons of King Henry II. After a fight with Prince John, “Johan fust molt corocée a Fouke; quaranne pus ne le poeitamer de cuer”, and when he was later a king, he willfully presented his evil-councilor the honour of White-Town that was Fulk's inheritance. Being thus wronged by the King, Fulk withdrew his homage:

Sire roy, vus estes mon lige-seignour, e à vus fu-je lié par fealté, tant come je fu en vostre service e tan come je tienke terres de vus; e vus me dussez meytenir en resoun, e vus me faylez de resoun e commun ley...pur quoi je vus renke vos homages.

For an evaluation of contemporary criticism on law-courts see Anthony Musson and W.M. Ormrod, The Evolution of English Justice: Law, Politics and Society in the Fourteenth Century (Basingstoke, 1999), pp. 175-90. They concluded that, although problems existed in the functioning of law-courts, the “complaint culture” that characterized the fourteenth century may have been “more apparent than real”.

The History of Fulk Fitz Warin, An Outlawed Baron in the Reign of King John, Thomas Wright (ed. and trans.)(London, 1855), p. 62. Musson and Ormrod see this romance as part of contemporary discourses dealing with the judicial system and its problems. The Outlawry literature is one of the elements in what they refer to as the 'satirical discourse' aiming to satirize the system, albeit without offering a reformist agenda. Musson and Ormrod, The Evolution, pp. 166-70.

The History of Fulk, pp. 62-63.

Ibid., pp 66-67.

Ibid., pp. 68-69.
As a result he became an outlaw, and from then on was pursued by the King's officials. After various adventures, in England and abroad (including the slaying of a dragon), the story ends with King John's pardon, and the restoration of Fulk's lands. 182

Texts of differing genres, compiled in a single manuscript, offered readers challenging reading material, especially since "multi-genre compilations surely...call into question the boundaries between genres". 183 Lancaster's historical story resembles the romance of Fulk Fitz Warin in many ways: upbringing in the royal family, difficult relations with the King, the loss of lands and property, outlawry. The juxtaposed reading of the different genres — the hagiographic and liturgical office for Lancaster on the first folio of the manuscript, and the romance later on — demonstrated not only the similarities, but also the difference between the two stories; above all their ending. Fulk Fitz Warin was pardoned, whereas Lancaster was executed as a traitor. This important difference, that Lancaster suffered death as opposed to the romance's 'happy end', takes Lancaster's death out of the context of men's law and human agency, and invokes on its behalf heavenly justice, that makes his judicial murder into a sacred martyrdom.

Why was the end of these two stories different? In Lancaster's case it seems that human and heavenly justice were linked. The injustice perpetrated by royal law against Lancaster may have been seen by contemporaries as a breach of cosmic harmony, 184 a human violation of justice that needed not only an explanation, but also expiation. The explanation given to this wrongdoing was that Lancaster was a martyr,

182 Ibid., pp. 172-73.
184 In Vauchez's words — "[T]he spectacle of blood unjustly shed...and the defeat of Good by Evil provoked among the faithful a reaction of emotion and veneration which developed into a cult." Vauchez, Sainthood in the Later Middle Ages, p. 153.
playing a role in a heavenly plan, thus giving his death a universal meaning. Therefore Lancaster’s death was represented in the hagiographic sources as God’s direct will. This idea is expressed, for example, in the opening line of the collect in one of Lancaster’s *memoriae*, reading:

Deus, qui beatum Thomam, militem tuum inclitum, pro pace statu angiae dirae decollationis martyrium subire voluisti.

In *The Brut* this idea, of God’s involvement in Lancaster’s martyrdom, is expressed in a more elaborate way. By using similes, images, and metaphors from Christ’s Passion to depict Lancaster’s trial and death, thus linking Lancaster’s death and suffering to those of Christ, the human injustice done to him is situated in a larger context. Like Christ, Lancaster is betrayed, once by Robert Holland, whom the Earl “had norisshed him in botelerie” and “so miche...louede him”, and the second time by Andrew Harclay, who through Lancaster “vnderfonge be armes of chivalry, and prouz him he was made knight”. Like Christ, Lancaster predicted the evil death of the person who betrayed him. Similar to Christ’s crown of thorns, he was put on his head “an olde chaplet” that is suppose to symbolize him being “Kyng Arthur” (supposedly the pseudonym he adopted while trading with the Scots), thus mocking what was seen as his wish to be King. Lancaster’s *Via Dolorosa* starts, contrary to that of Christ, when he is set “oppon a lene white palfray” while taken from his castle to the execution place, and on the way there he is mocked by bystanders who throw

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115 Cologne, Historisches Archiv, MS W 28, fol. 84v.
116 Matthew 26: 14-16; *The Brut*, pp. 216, 219.
117 Matthew 26: 24; “...& he makep me go fram he into lowe; but ytte he dye in euel dep”. *The Brut*, p. 217.
118 Matthew 27: 29; *The Brut*, pp. 222-23. The reference to Lancaster as King Arthur comes from a letter from the Scottish leader James Douglas that arrived into the King’s hands in 1321 and was referred to ‘King Arthur’. The letter opens with the greeting “au Roi Arthur salutz”. *Foedera*, vol. II, part I, p. 474. Maddicott, however, has studied the correspondence of which this letter is part, and questioned its authenticity, since it is known only through transcriptions that were sent to the King. *Maddicott*, pp. 301-2.
snowballs at him. Like Christ's, Lancaster's suffering was willed by God, for a purpose.

This effort to depict similarities between Lancaster and Christ contextualized the injustice done to the Earl more deeply and with more portentous meaning. The miracles worked by Lancaster's body appear to be signs of the grace. The veneration thus allowed participation in that grace, and was an effort to appease God for the unjust death of his chosen one. The author of the office to Lancaster in BL Royal 12 C XII summarizes this idea when he laments the disappearance of equity, piety and truth in his time, but is assured that the goodness and sanctity of Lancaster daily increases, since at his tomb health is given to the sick, and the truth manifested:

Heu! nunc languet equitas
viget et impietas,
veritas vilessit.
Nempe Thome bonitas
eius atque sanctitas
indies acressit,
Ad cuius tumbam sospitas
egris datur
ut veritas
cunctis nunc claressit.190

The sense of innocence wronged may have been one of the triggers for the creation of a posthumous cult around Lancaster, and to his representation as martyr. Through the cult Lancaster's adherents were also able not only to sound their protest against the law, but also to explain the tragic event as part of a larger, providential scheme.

189 Matthew 27: 28-31; The Brut, p. 223.
3. Loyalty, betrayal and treason

The third context in which Lancaster's representation is rooted is that of loyalty, betrayal, and treason, which is also linked to the concept of knighthood already examined. J.G. Bellamy has argued that before the thirteenth century "many a ruler recognized a subject had the right to disobey him: tacitly this understanding was included in every act of homage". Rulers could accept disobedience from their nobles, since the reciprocal *homagium* defined their relationship. A slow change in the political equilibrium from the thirteenth century on created new relations between King and magnates, who acknowledged him now as their sovereign, with applications for the definition and scope of what was deemed rebellion.

The severe, exemplary punishment for treason in the later Middle Ages – drawing, hanging, beheading, quartering, emasculation, flaying (one or several of these, in different combinations) – was supposed to put the convicted traitor through several 'deaths', at least morally and publicly if not physically. The question whether Lancaster was indeed a traitor is central to the story, with its obvious answer in the hagiography.

The betrayal of Lancaster (either by Andrew Harclay, or by Robert Holland, or by both) is referred to in some of the sources, such as the office for Lancaster ("suorunhiue desolatur militium stipaminel dum dolose defraudatur per sudam Hoylandie"), or in the pilgrim souvenir depicting his life and death.

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190 BL Royal 12 C XII, fol. 1r.
192 Ibid.
194 For analysis of the accusations of treason in Lancaster’s sentence, see Bellamy, *The Law of Treason*, pp. 49-51.
195 BL Royal 12 C XII, fol. 1r; British Museum (Department of British and Medieval Antiquities, 1954, 5-2,1). This badge indirectly refers to the betrayal in the transition between the scenes showing Lancaster victoriously killing his enemy on a bridge, and later taken as a prisoner by boat to York.
The Brut locates the hagiographical story in a non-religious literary framework (that of a chronicle, as opposed to the Vita or a memoria). This allows the writer more literary freedom, both in language and in form. This stylistic liberty is used by the author to sound his views on the subject of loyalty and treason. And so most of the dialogues in the part of The Brut that treats Lancaster’s trial and death consist of accusations of betrayal and treason, and their denial.

Lancaster was concerned with his public image already at an earlier stage of the story. When he is invited to join the other earls in their march to the North, Lancaster tries to dissuade them, by saying that

if we gone toward pe north, men wil seyn þat we gon toward þe Scottes; and so we shul be holde traitoures.196

Not only Lancaster is worried about being accused of treason. When he tries to convince Andrew Harclay to “come wip vs...and helpe to destroie þe venyme of Engeland”, Harclay answers him that he would not do something like that without the King’s command, “for þan shulde y be holde a traitoure for euermore”. Harclay, ironically, turns to be not only “a false traitour, a tiraunt, & forsuore man” from Lancaster’s point of view, but also a convicted one after he conspired with the Scots, and was put to death, fulfilling thus Lancaster’s premonition.197 When Harclay’s company says to Lancaster “þelde þe, traitour! þelde þe!” he answers “nay, lordes! traitour be we none”; when the crowd in York throws snowballs at him and cry “A, sire traitoure!” he quietly ignores them; but when he is accused by his judges of riding through the King’s lands with a banner displayed, “as a traitour”, he answers “wip an

196 The Brut, p. 217.
197 Ibid., pp. 218, 219, 227.
hie voice": "Nay, Lordes! forsoth, and by Seint Thomas, y was neuer traitoure".198 The final humiliation is just before his decollation, when

pe gentil Erle sette him oppon his Knees, & turned him toward pe East; but a Ribaude pat men callede Hugon of Moston, sette hande oppon pe gentil Erle, and said in despite of him: ‘Sir traitoure, turne pe toward pe Scottes, pin foule deth to vnderfonge’; and turnede pe Erle toward pe North.199

This contemporary discourse of loyalty, treason and betrayal was thus reflected in Lancaster’s representation. However, it may be that, at the same time, Lancaster’s case helped in further discussing and constructing it. The questions of who is a traitor, and what exactly constitutes treason were legally dealt with and expressed in Edward III’s Great Statute of Treasons of 1352. The Statute defined treason not only as imagining the death of the King, Queen and eldest son, but also levying war against the King, contacting the King’s enemies, or using false and foreign coin (High Treason). It also expanded into the household, in cases of murder, such as a servant who slays his master, a wife her husband, and a man his religious prelate (Petit Treason).200

After studying legal cases predating 1352 that dealt with encroachment of the King’s power, Bellamy concludes that these cases indicate “a deliberate attempt to extend the scope of treason in order to afforce the normal penalties of the common law” for lesser felonies.201 In a period in which the King spent much time out of his Kingdom a public demand arose for a better enforcement of law and order, a demand Edward III had to oblige to in order to receive taxes for financing the war in France. This resulted in judges trying to extend the common law of treason, aggravating

198 Ibid., pp. 219, 221, 222.
199 Ibid., pp. 222-23.
offences by treating them as treason. Following parliamentary petitions to clarify the legal definition of treason (mainly because different judges were finding men to be traitors in varying circumstances), the King constituted this statute of 1352, even though as a result he had less chance of obtaining permanent forfeitures, and his royal prerogative was undermined.

After his death, Lancaster's life was represented by some as that of the perfect heavenly knight, to whose generosity and protection his devotees appealed. His story became part of a continuing debate on justice and injustice, using and being used as vehicle for criticism of a corrupt judicial system. His story also contributed to contemporary ideas about loyalty, betrayal, and treason, which reached their high point in the 1352 Great Statute of Treasons.

As far as Lancaster's adherents were concerned, the answer to the question of whether or not Lancaster had been a traitor was clear. Not only he had been a loyal subject to the king, but, like Christ, he had suffered betrayal. By employing this discourse of loyalty, betrayal and treason as part of the cult, Lancaster's adherents not only defended their martyr from accusations of treason, but also studied and further developed these ideas in their religious, legal, and cultural contexts.

**Conclusion**

The judicial execution of Lancaster in 1322, with its posthumous miracles and cult, expands our knowledge of political cults as it illuminates the cultic habits and energy of late medieval people. Lancaster's cult also mirrored as well as constructed contemporary discourses of knighthood and chivalry, justice and injustice, and loyalty, betrayal and treason. The study of the cult helps us reconstruct them. These

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were an inseparable part of late medieval English political culture – infused as it was with social, cultural, and religious meanings. Throughout our reconstruction of the cult, we have found them persistently interwoven. The discussion of these ideas in and through Lancaster’s cult contributed, in turn, to the consolidation of chivalric identity for some of his adherents which came from the gentry and baronage.

\[202 \text{Ibid., p. 100.}
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\[203 \text{Ibid., p. 87.} \]
CHAPTER 3

RICHARD SCROPE ARCHBISHOP OF YORK: PASTOR POPULI

Amidst the traditional celebrations of the feast day of St William of York (d. 1154), the city’s twelfth century archbishop, on 8 June 1405, a rumour was spreading: Archbishop Richard Scrope had been executed outside the city walls, for leading a rising against King Henry IV. The reaction of the people of York was swift, and a new patron-saint was born.

The nascent cult is the subject of this chapter. Scrope’s early ecclesiastical career will first be discussed; a narrative of the 1405 rebellion which resulted with Scrope’s execution will then follow; a variety of sources, documentary and visual, will then be studied. The extent of the cult, its social composition, and its longevity will then be discussed. The cult’s role in negotiating contemporary discourses will be studied through the theme of the bishop’s role, and, finally, an explanation will be suggested for the creation of the cult and to its meanings.

I. The man

1. Background and ecclesiastical career

Richard Scrope was born sometime between 1346 and 1350, third or fourth son to Henry Scrope of Masham and his wife Joan. Henry Scrope (d. 1392) was a renowned soldier who had fought in France and Scotland, and who acted in royal service as Governor of Calais (from 1361 to 1368), and Steward of the King's Household.

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2 Vale, “The Scropes”, p. 113. For Henry Scrope’s military career see Ibid., pp. 72-73.
Richard became a priest, but his brothers were soldiers: Geoffrey, the eldest, died while in service with the Teutonic Knights, in 1362; Stephen, the second son, fought under Edward III, as did Henry's other, younger sons.  

The military prowess and political ascent of the Scropes of Masham was equaled by the other branch of the Scrope family, that of the Scropes of Bolton. Richard Scrope (d. 1403), first Lord of Bolton, Henry's cousin and perhaps Richard's godfather, had campaigned in France, Spain and Scotland; acted as Treasurer (1371-1375); as Steward of the Household (August 1377 to May 1378); and as Chancellor to King Richard II (during 1378-79 and 1381-82). Between 1385 and 1390 he was embroiled in a legal conflict following a challenge by a Cheshire knight, Sir Robert Grosvenor, to Scrope's right to carry the arms azure a band or. The trial ended with Scrope's victory.

Richard Scrope's ecclesiastical career, which led to the See of York, is an example of a relatively swift ascent. It was supported by family connections, such as the close relations between Richard Scrope of Bolton with Archbishop Thomas Arundel, as well as by Scrope's own talent. He started his studies in Cambridge in 1371 and obtained a doctorate in canon and civil law in 1379. In 1375 Scrope became an Official to Bishop of Ely, Thomas Arundel. In the following year he became deacon, and in March 1377 was ordained as priest by the, by then, 

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3 Ibid., pp. 78-80.
5 For a genealogical table of the Scropes see Ibid., p. 197.
7 For Richard Scrope of Bolton's military activity see Vale, 'The Scropes', pp. 75-76.
8 Ibid., pp. 81-86.
12 Ibid., pp. 146-47.
Archbishop of Canterbury, Thomas Arundel. Scrope was also active in the diocese of Ely as Chancellor of the University of Cambridge in 1378, and from 1381 to 1386 held offices in the papal court, first as papal Auditor of Causes and later as Apostolic Notary. While in Rome Scrope was elected to the Deanery of Chichester, an office he held formally from December 1383.

Scrope was elected in 1385 to the See of Chichester by papal provision, but never held the office in practice, since Richard II preferred his own candidate for the bishopric, Thomas Rushook. Pope Urban VI (1378-1389), however, compensated Scrope by presenting him, in August 1386, to the bishopric of Coventry and Lichfield, and invested him in person. The next Pope, Boniface IX (1389-1404), still thought well of Scrope. Richard II designated to Scrope in 1396 the task of requesting an enquiry towards the canonization of Edward II. In April 1397 Scrope was appointed by the Pope to investigate miracles attributed to St John of Bridlington. Perhaps not surprisingly, therefore, when Robert Waldby, Archbishop of York, died, Scrope was promoted to the See. He was consequently installed as Archbishop of York on 10 July 1398.

While in office Scrope maintained good relations with the future Henry IV, witnessing Richard II's deposition, and contributing to the new king's legitimation. Although some of the sources, such as the northern chronicler John Hardyng (b. 1378), preferred to play down Scrope's role in these events, others, like Thomas

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14 Ibid., p. 164.
Walsingham, monk of St Albans, reported Scrope’s role in the coronation of Henry IV. Scrope, as James H. Wylie has commented, “raised no voice against the usurpation”. Quite the contrary; Scrope was instrumental in bringing Henry IV to the throne: he participated in the commission which planned the deposition, proclaimed Richard’s renunciation, and read it out to Parliament at Westminster. Scrope and Henry IV were still on good terms in the Summer of 1400, when Scrope collected taxes meant to finance an army against the Scots.

Taxation, however, was also the cause which led to the growing break between Scrope and the King in the years that followed. As Archbishop of York, Scrope spent most of his time in England, but seems to have taken little part in political life. He witnessed charters, and “enjoyed a specially trusted position in the Lancastrian regime”, but there are only few references to Scrope’s participation in royal administration.

In the ‘Unlearned Parliament’ that was opened at Coventry in October 1404, Scrope backed his colleague, the Archbishop of Canterbury, against the Commons.

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16 For Walsingham’s chronicles, background, relation to Matthew Paris’s writing, and ‘pro-Lancastrian bias’ see Gransden, Historical Writing, chapter 5. Also Kingsford, English Historical Literature, pp. 12-21.


demands for heavier taxation of the clergy. Following an earlier episode that year, in which the clergy of the northern province refused an order from King Henry (dated 16 March 1404) to meet at York and vote money for his use, Scrope had good reasons to believe that the northern clergy would refuse to pay new taxes in the near future.

Scrope’s involvement in the 1403 Rising against Henry IV, led by Henry Percy (Hotspur), is uncertain. John Hardyng, who was close to the events in time and space (he was brought up from the age of twelve in Henry Percy’s household and participated in the Battle of Shrewsbury – with which the 1403 rising ended), claimed that the rising was conducted

be goode aduyse and counseill of maister Richarde Scrope archebishoppe of Yorke.

Other writers, however, do not mention a link between Scrope and the Rising. Two years later, in 1405, Scrope’s contribution to the insurrection against Henry IV is indisputable, though his role has been interpreted in different ways, as were the motives behind the Rising.

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27 “truly I, the maker of this boke, wase brought up fro twelve yere of age in sir Henry Percy house to the bataill of Shrewesbury, wher I wase with hym armed of xxv yere of age...” The Chronicle of John Hardyng, p. 351.
28 Ibid.
2. The Northern Rising, trial and decapitation

The official description of the rebellion can be found in article 5 of the 'Record and Process' of the 'Long Parliament' (opened on 1 March 1406, Westminster). It reported that on the 29 May 1405 eight or nine thousand armed men were gathered on Shipton Moor, under the leadership of Archbishop Richard Scrope and the Earl Marshal, Thomas Mowbray, in order to "faire de gurre, sans mandement ou autorite de notre dit seigneur le Roy". The chronicles offer a more complex, at times contradictory, picture, which is "largely at odds with the official account", as Simon Walker has observed.

Whereas most contemporary chronicles present as the initial reason for the Rising Thomas Mowbray's complaint to the Archbishop of wrong done to him by the King, the chronicler John Hardyng claimed that Scrope's insurrection was one of two rebellions initiated by the Earl of Northumberland.

People were drawn to the Rising following the hanging of articles in English on church-doors and on the city gates of York. In these complaints were voiced against certain abuses, and remedies were suggested. The articles called for a London
Parliament with free elections, in which the following reforms would be discussed: removal of the burden of taxes from the clergy; a remedy for the subjection and annihilation suffered by the lords, since rightful claims to lands and titles were wrongfully taken away from them; an emendation of the excessive taxation imposed on all the estates; and punishment of those who had put the wealth of the Commons to their own use. The idiom of protest used in these articles places it along other similar 'risings of the Commons', such as that of 1381. By doing so the writers of these articles attempted "to express general dissent within a context of obedience, both to legitimate political authority and to the demands of the existing social order". Despite the general tone of the articles concerning the Kingdom as a whole, it is clear that the people of Northern England – magnates, churchmen and merchants alike - felt aggrieved by the King's actions, and decided to protest.

Another, much longer, set of articles, ten in number, was attributed to Scrope during the Yorkist era. It emphasizes other issues than the ones in the aforementioned articles, most notably a claim to restore the true heir to the throne. This document was written by people styling themselves "Proctors and Defenders of the Commonwealth" ("reipublicae procurators et defensores"), and was probably penned by a group of clerics, Ricardian loyalists, sometime between July 1403 and May 1405.

Following the reading of the articles and the preaching which promoted them, an army of townspeople, peasants, priests and monks gathered in York, ready to be

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39 On the reasons for this discontent see Ibid., pp. 177-83.
40 Ibid., p. 173.
led by Archbishop Scrope, the Earl Marshall and Sir William Plumpton. At the same
time another army, marching south towards York and led by knights from North
Yorkshire, was advancing towards the city. At Topcliffe it was attacked and dispersed
by the royal armies, sent by Prince John and the Earl of Westmorland, who were
advancing southward from the Scottish border. The group from York met the rest of
the royal armies on a hill outside the city gates, at Shipton Moor. Although the force
coming from York was greater in numbers, it avoided confrontation for three days.

At last, when the Earl of Westmorland inquired as to the cause for “tantae
commotionis et bellici apparatus”, Scrope replied that “non belli causa se cum turba
venisse, sed pacis potius”, and handed over a copy of the articles for the Prince’s and
Westmorland’s inspection. Pretending to accept what he referred to as “Praesulis
pium sanctunxue propositunf, Westmerland suggested that a meeting should be held
between the two sides. Scrope and Mowbray, accepting this proposal, and followed
by three knights, approached the meeting point. There, after some discussion of the
articles, Westmorland suggested that since the crisis has been resolved, they should
drink together and allow the armies to disperse.

2 pts. (Farnborough, Hants., 1969), vol. II, pp. 362-68. For secondary literature on the articles see
III, p. 406; Walsingham relates to “milites, armigeri, plebs urbana et rustica”, Thomas Walsingham,
McNiven dismissed the political awareness of the articles’ potential audience as “not particularly
high”, Walker discussed possible motives for the high-scale participation of the clergy, gentry and
43 For this second army proceeding towards York from the north see Wylie, History of England, vol. II,
p. 219-21.
269. Westmorland suggested to send home Scrope’s army, who “‘triduo perseverantes in armis’.”
47 These knights were Sir William Plumpton, Sir William Lamplugh (a Cumberland knight), and Sir
Once the people of York returned to their homes the leaders were promptly seized and taken to Pontefract castle. On 4 June a commission for sentencing the rebels was appointed, and two days later Henry IV arrived in York. In the atmosphere of suspicion and animosity which characterized the first years of Henry IV’s reign, the people of York feared retribution. Dreading the King’s reprisal the citizens (“civibus”; “burgenses”) approached him, barefoot and wearing cords on their necks, begging for his forgiveness. The King postponed any decision and urged them to get back to their homes. He turned to try the leaders of the rebellion, who were waiting for a sentence at Bishopthorpe, the Archbishop’s manor south of York. A second commission was appointed on the same day, and this suggests that differences of opinion may have already arisen among the members of the first commission. On St William’s day (the date of the deposition of his body, 8 June) Scrope was tried and executed. According to the continuation of the Eulogium and Walsingham’s Annales, in the morning Archbishop Arundel arrived at Bishopthorpe, and pleaded with the King not to try his colleague.

54 Wylie, History of England, vol. II, pp. 231-32. Wylie names the members of the second commission: Richard Norton was replaced by Henry Retford, and the Earls of Arundel and Warwick, as well as the Lords Willoughby, Grey of Ruthin, Roos, and Darcy were added. Ibid.
Gascogine, refused to try Scrope, and was therefore replaced by Sir William Fulthorpe, who was "a knight and not judge" ("militi et non judici"). Scrope, Thomas Mowbray and William Plumpton were sentenced to death in front of the tribunal. They were led to a field which belonged to the nunnery of Clementhorpe, where they were promptly executed. Scrope's body was buried in St Stephen's chapel in York Minster, to the right of the altar, and some time before 1427 a chapel was erected in the place of his execution, dedicated to St Mary. Whatever the motives behind Scrope's actions, a new martyr was promptly born in Yorkshire.

II. The cult

1. Initial discouragement and legitimation of the cult

As Simon Walker and Paul Strohin have shown, the first few years of Henry IV's reign were rife with plots and risings, real and imagined. These were portrayed by Lancastrian poets and writers as a "revelation of God's providential plans for the king and his dynasty".

56 In Giles' chronicle he is wrongly referred to as "Johannes Gaskone". Incerti Scriptores, p. 45.; Gascoigne, pp. 225-26.
58 "Et tandem pro tribunali sisti jubentur, et a judicibus secularibus ad mortem condemnantur." Incerti Scriptores, p. 45.
59 Wylie described the procession to the execution place, and the execution itself. Many of his sources, however, tend to be hagiographic in nature, and perhaps less historically accurate. Wylie, History of England, vol. II, pp. 237-40. I preferred to bring the more obvious facts in the account, and relate later in the chapter to the hagiographical description of the procession and execution. For an account of the procession and execution in the chronicles see Incerti Scriptores (which has a hagiographical bias), pp. 45-47; Eulogium, vol. III, p. 408; 'Annales Ricardi Secundi', pp. 409-10.
61 For references to the chapel from the fifteenth to the seventeenth century see Angelo Raine, Mediaeval York: A Topographical Survey based on Original Sources (London, 1955), p. 319.
62 Whereas Peter McNiven saw Scrope as a tool in the hands of the Earl of Northumberland, Simon Walker suggested that the Archbishop was an independent political actor. McNiven, 'The Betrayal', p. 213; Walker, 'The Yorkshire Rising', p. 163.
63 Strohin, England's Empty Throne, chapter 3 (pp. 63-65).
Yet the execution of an archbishop was a weighty affair. Clement Maidstone (d. 1456), priest at Syon Abbey, reported in his *Martyrion Ricardi Archiepiscopi* that Innocent VII was grief-stricken when he learned of Scrope’s execution; several chronicles claimed that the Pope excommunicated Scrope’s killers. The delicate diplomatic situation was not made easier when, according to the (probably Franciscan) author of the continuation of the *Eulogium*, and of its later vernacular version, *An English Chronicle*, Archbishop Arundel displayed his loyalty to the King, and refused to follow the Pope by denouncing Scrope’s killers. In July 1406 Henry IV attempted to justify his position by sending messengers to the Pope with proof of Scrope’s treason, the war-tunic which he had been wearing when caught. The messengers, Sir John Cheyne and Doctor Henry Chichele, who received £100 each for the journey, were reported as paraphrasing the biblical text on Joseph’s multi-coloured tunic (Genesis 37:32): “*Pater, vide si tunica haec filii tui sit, an non*”. Innocent VII was said to reply accordingly: “*fera pessima devoravit eum*”.

Henry IV and Innocent VII also disagreed on who was to replace Scrope as archbishop of York.

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45 For the authorship of the continuation of the *Eulogium* see Gransden, *Historical Writing*, p. 158.


48 For the debate around the election of the new Archbishop and the candidates, see Richard G. Davies, “After the Execution of Archbishop Scrope: Henry IV, the Papacy and the English Episcopate, 1405-8”, *BJRL* 59 (1976-77), pp. 40-74 (pp. 50-70).
The tension between Henry IV and the people of York following the Rising, lingered for the rest of his reign. Although pardons were offered to the citizens of York, the people of York sought to worship Scrope as a martyr. Logs and stones were laid on Scrope's tomb by 'homines' in an attempt to prevent veneration and the placing of offerings. As early as three nights after Scrope's execution John Sibson of Roclliff (probably Roecliffe near Boroughbridge) had a vision in which the Archbishop enjoined him to remove these obstructions; despite his old age Sibson went to do so.\(^70\) On 21 September 1405, Prince John, Constable of England, instructed Thomas Garton, Sub-treasurer of the Minster,\(^71\) to replace the wooden barriers at the tomb with ones of stones and logs.\(^72\)

Yet the cult developed. In a letter sent by Archbishop Arundel and Thomas Langley, Chancellor of the King and Dean of York, to the Dean and Chapter of York Minster, on 3 December 1405, a different tactic was employed: veneration was not forbidden, but rather discouraged, by prohibiting the circulation of news about the miracles witnessed at the site.\(^73\) Half a year later, in April 1406, the Dean and Chapter were further instructed by Arundel and Langley to channel oblations given to

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\(^{69}\) A general pardon was offered on 24 August 1405 to all the citizens of York who had taken part in the events between the beginning of May to the end of July, in condition they submit themselves to the authorities. Wylie, *History of England*, vol. II, p. 341. See also a letter to the prior and canon of Wartre from 10 August 1405, pardoning their participation in the resurrection. *CPR*, vol. III, p. 55.

\(^{70}\) "et quod asportaret ligna et lapides quae homines super sepulcrum suum posuerunt, ne homines ibi offerrent nec adorarent" Gascoigne, pp. 228-29. In Maidstone's version the wood and stones became "truncos, quos homines super sepulcrum ejus posuerunt ne homines ibidem adorarent vel offerrent" *Maidstone*, vol. III, p. 309. None of them explains who these 'homines' who placed these barriers were.


\(^{72}\) "faces abatre tout la clausure de charpenterie fait entour le sepulture de Richard nadjgarres erchevesque d'Euerwyk, qui mort est, et y faces mettre sur la terre entre les pilers et par bonne espace de hors veilles fuytis et grosses piers de bonne hauteesse et fature issint quils i soient continuellment, pour faire estoppol a les faux folez que y veignont par colour de devocien" *Historians of the Church*, vol. III, pp. 293-4 (quote on p. 294); also *The Fabric Rolls of York Minster*, J. Raine (ed.) *Surtees Society* 35 (Durham, 1859), p. 196.

Scrope’s shrine to that of St William, or to other cults in the Minster. In February 1407 four men - Thomas Serebam, Thomas Fetherstane, Richard Middilton and Johan Peek - were discharged, probably by the mayor or by the city council, from their office as sergeants of the city of York, because they had followed the King’s orders in tracking down people who made offerings at Scrope’s tomb. The Crown did not prohibit the cult, but undermined it. Yet its efforts were in vain, and following Henry IV’s death in 1413 they were brought to an end by his son and heir, Henry V.

John Hardyng reports that after his coronation Henry V allowed offerings to be made to Richard Scrope’s tomb. Clement Maidstone reported in his Martyrium Ricardi Archiepiscopi that Pope Gregory XII imposed a penance on Henry IV in 1408, for the sin of Scrope’s execution: Henry was enjoined to found three monasteries. Henry IV never fulfilled this penance, but the two religious houses built by Henry V in 1415, those of Sheen and Syon, were an expiation of sorts for his father’s sin. Henry V also petitioned the Pope, unsuccessfully, with regards to founding a Brigittine house in York itself.

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74 “venientibus exponant ut oblations quas in ipsius honore facere intendunt, non ad sepulcrum, sed ad tumbam Sancti Willelmi, aut alio loco devoto ejusdem ecclesiae reponant” The Historians of the Church, vol. III, pp. 292-93; The Fabric Rolls, pp. 194-95.
76 “and in the houre that he was crowned and anointed he was chaunged from all vyces vnto vertuous lyfe, and lycensed the folke to offer vuto Richards Scrop, and buryed kyng Rychard at Westmynster, and granted to Henry Percy his landes...He gaue leue then of good devocyon all men to offer to bishop Scrop expresse, without lettynge or any question.” The Chronicle of John Hardyng, pp. 371-2. McKenna has interpreted this act as a means to “to soothe the disgruntled followers of Archbishop Scrope.” At the same time, however, he compares it to Henry’s reburial of Richard II that was done, in addition to political purposes, out of “personal piety as well”. J.W. McKenna, ‘Popular Canonicization as Political Propaganda: the Cult of Archbishop Scrope’, Speculum 45 (1970), pp. 608-23 (p. 617).
77 “ut idem rex...juroet tria nova monasteria construere scitioris observantiae totius Christiunitatis in honore trium Festorum principalium;” Maidstone, vol. II, p. 310.
78 Christopher Allmand has commented on the tradition which suggests Henry V’s religious foundation was an expiation for his father’s deeds, that it is “a reasonable tradition which can be neither proved nor disproved ”. C.T. Allmand, Henry V (London, 1992), p. 273. For the houses of Sheen and Syon see Ibid., pp. 273-77.
During Henry V’s reign the Minster openly encouraged veneration to its previous Archbishop. In 1415 the sum of the oblations made at the tomb in York Minster was £73 8s. By 1419, the offerings had doubled, to £150. This growth may be both revealed in and explained by the installation, probably in 1418, of a stained glass depicting Scrope next to St William of York in York Minster (which will be studied below).

Scrope was still regarded as a martyr during Henry VI’s reign; in 1429 the Godstow chronicler described Scrope’s miracles as a current phenomenon of his day. Scrope’s status as a martyr was further reinforced towards the end of that reign, following the rise of the House of York. A vernacular poem dating from the late fifteenth or early sixteenth century describes Scrope’s rebellion and consequent execution as a just act against the usurper Henry IV, thus making Scrope an anti-Lancastrian champion. In a writ sent by Edward IV to sheriffs, dated 27 April 1471, seeking help against Queen Margaret, Scrope was described as

that holy fadir Richard Scrope, sometyme Archbyshop of Yorke, which for the Right and Title of oure Auncestrie (whos Astate we now bere and have) dyed and suffred Deth and Martyrdome.

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80 The Fabric Rolls, pp. 28-36. The oblations for the tomb (for 1415) are referred to on p. 32.
81 For the year 1419 see Ibid., pp. 36-39. The oblations for the tomb are referred to on p. 37. McKenna related to this increase in oblations, but, following his main thesis, had, it seems, difficulties with explaining it, stating only that “[D]espite the popularity of Henry V, offerings to Scrope’s shrine increased”. McKenna, ‘Popular Canonization’, p. 618.
82 For the dating of the window to 1418 see Richard Marks, Stained Glass in England During the Middle Ages (London, 1993), p. 78.
85 London, Society of Antiquaries, MS 101, fol. 98rv. For a transcription see Historical Poems of the XIVth and XVth Centuries, Rosell Hope Robbins (ed.) (NY, 1959), pp. 222-2; or Wright, vol. II, p. 267. Robbins dated it to 1462, Wright to 1462 or 1463. See Ibid., p. 267, n. 1. For a description of the manuscript and discussion of the poem see below, p. 166. For the Yorkist usage of the notion of a Lancastrian usurpation see Strohm, England’s Empty Throne, p. 99.
The Yorkist political emphasis was interwoven with a devotional approach to Scrope’s martyrdom.  

Simon Walker has argued that Edward IV’s use of Scrope as a Yorkist political martyr had failed in the city of York, since York’s civic martyr was not up for political manipulation in the city. The Convocation was summoned to meet on 21 March 1462 in the city of York, to discuss certain urgent and difficult matters (“urgentibus causi & negotii arduis”): the work of canonization and translation (“opus sanctum canonizacionis & translacionis”) of Richard, sometime Archbishop of York. Although this canonization was never achieved (a papal enquiry into the matter was never opened), the mere decision to act, more than half a century after Scrope’s execution, reflects further interest in the cult in the 1460s and 1470s.

During this period the cult’s activity is evident in several local devotional contexts. The will of 1467 of John Sendale, a canon at Ripon, left 20 nobles (of gold) towards the expenses of Scrope’s translation. As in the early 1420s, when John

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86 CCR, Edward IV (London, 1953), vol. II, pp. 189-90. On Queen Margaret’s landing in Weymouth on 14 April, and Edward IV’s reaction to it, see Ross, Edward IV, pp. 169-170.

87 Anne F. Sutton and Livia Visser-Fuchs argued that the ‘problem’ of inconsistency between Richard III’s political behaviour and personal piety is not necessarily a ‘problem’. Rather, “it is perhaps worth reflecting that goodness and acknowledged piety do not always go together, efficient kings have been devout men, saints are not necessarily bad kings.” Anne F. Sutton and Livia Visser-Fuchs, The Hours of Richard III (Stroud, 1990), p. 81.


89 Browne, The History of the Metropolitan, pp. 244-45. Latin origin in York Minster Library, M 2 (1) F, fols. 70r-v.

90 Vauchez uses the term ‘recognized saints’ to describe people about whom the papal see initiated an inquiry into a possible canonization. Scrope does not appear as one, at least not until 1431. Vauchez, Sainthood in the Later Middle Ages, pp. 251, table no. 9 (“Processes of canonization and canonizations (1198-1431)”), pp. 252-55, and table no. 11 (“Bishops and popes who were the object of a process of canonization (1198-1431)”), p. 257.

Stytenham was the “custos sepulchri domini Ricardi Scrope”, there was a keeper in charge of Scrope’s tomb also almost half a century later, in 1468.

At the beginning of the next century, in 1509, Robert Langton, Treasurer of York Minster, composed an inventory of Scrope’s shrine. The silver images of men and women, oxen, hearts and quite a few ships, testify to the continuous importance of Richard Scrope, his memory, and the belief in his power to protect and work miracles, up to the eve of the Reformation.

2. Three generations of the cult’s adherents

Evidence of the representation of Scrope as saint and martyr survive in several media, textual as well as visual. These include chronicles, letters and writs of kings to the local administration and clergy, letters of English ecclesiastics, papal letters, inventories and accounts (mainly of Scrope’s shrine in York Minster), a hagiographic account of Scrope’s martyrdom, several memoriae to the saint in Books of Hours, poems relating to the martyr, and wills with bequests to his shrine. Visual sources depicting Scrope as a saint and martyr are to be found in manuscripts and in stained glass windows, not all of which have fully survived. Despite the methodological challenges posed by dating some of the sources, I shall attempt to divide them into ‘generations’ in which they were produced, each generation consisting of some twenty five years. This division will enable us to perceive some of the shifts in the representation of Scrope’s martyrdom.

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93 In 1468 the “custos sepulcrum Beati Ricardi le Scrope” was one William Hanton from York, who asked his wife in his will to offer 3s. 4d. at the tomb. Testamenta Eboracensia or Wills Registered at York, James Raine and J.W. Clay (eds.) 6 vols., Surtees Society 4, 30, 45 (London and Durham, 1836-1902), vol. III, p. 232.
i. The first generation (1405-1430)

The people who lived through the events which led to Scrope’s execution produced, and were also the consumers of, devotional prayers and images that perceived the Archbishop as a martyr. The sources pertaining to the first generation after Scrope’s execution emphasize his suffering and innocent death.

1. Execution imagery, *memoriae* and poems

Unlike those of Thomas, Earl of Lancaster, visual representations of Archbishop Scrope’s decapitation are rare: a sole image of Scrope’s martyrdom has survived. This unique and richly decorated image appears in an illuminated Book of Hours of the Use of Sarum, Bodleian, MS Lat. Liturg. f. 2. This manuscript of c. 1410 is also referred to as the *Scrope Hours*, indicating possible ownership by the Scropes of Bolton, Richard Scrope’s kin. It contains, alongside hymns and prayers (to St Anne, St Barbara, and others), the Hours of the Cross incorporated with those of the BVM, and the ‘Liber Sancte Brigide’. The miniature in question depicts Scrope’s execution on fol. 146v (fig. 9). It is one of nineteen full-page miniatures in the volume, among them St Christopher carrying Christ (fol. 6v), St George slaying the Dragon (fol. 9v), and St Stephen carrying stones (fol. 140v). In some of the full-page images the related prayer appears on the facing folio. Thus, for example, the prayer to Archangel

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95 Kathleen L. Scott doubts the identification, arguing that “[A]lthough the picture was placed beside a suffrage for Scrope... the saint has no attributes of an archbishop”. *Scott*, vol. II, pp. 91-92. The representation of the saint, however, matches the description of the scene according to Thomas Gascoigne.
96 For a full description of the manuscript and its dating see *Cat. Ox.*, vol. III, p. 682. Also *Scott*, vol. II, cat. no. 22, pp. 89-92. The same hand wrote the Hours of the Blessed Virgin Mary as well as some prayers and hymns, including the one for Scrope.
97 John B. Friedman, *Northern English Books, Owners and Makers in the Late Middle Ages* (Syracuse, NY, 1995), p. 189. Scott has been more cautious with the provenance, suggesting lay owners of degree (but not noble, according to clothes), northern connections, possibly in York, and perhaps the ownership of a woman (on fol. 108v St Barbara is referred to as “mea patrona”). *Scott*, vol. II, pp. 91-92.
Michael on folio 144r faces his image on folio 143v. So it is with the prayer to Scrope; the prayer appears on folio 147rv, and the image on folio 146v, the last in the run of images. Yet Scrope is mentioned neither in the litany, nor in the calendar of this Book of Hours. This negative evidence, however, does not mean that Scrope was not commemorated. His memory was rather celebrated in other, perhaps more mundane and private, less official and formal, ways.

The iconographic scheme places Scrope’s executioner, holding a long sword, on the left, his face now erased but still somewhat visible. Scrope kneels on both his knees, slightly bent forward, his hands held together in prayer, while the sword is severing his neck. Droplets of blood fall from the wound, some of which stain his mantle. Scrope’s head is tonsured and the red and gold geometrical ornament in the background creates a halo around his head. His face is quite expressive: the eyes are wide open, the mouth slightly so, indicating pain or sorrow. Scrope wears a simple blue surcoat or cloak, as described in their accounts by both Maidstone and Gascoigne. Scrope kneels, and his executioner stands on a green surface decorated with flowers.

A memoria to the Archbishop appears on folio 147rv, in which his martyr’s death is the main subject.

Antiphona:
Diues uiurutibus dura sustinuit
Pollens candidoribus ut rosa rubuit
Pro sponse iuribus uincens occubuit
Quinque uulneribus dum polum adiit.
Scroben purificat a sorde criminum
Et scopam ordinat sanguinem proprium

99 For the manuscript’s Flemish influences see Friedman, Northern English Books, p. 189.
Sic ruens recipit rigoris gladium
Et procul propulit quodque piaulm.
Post donum Spiritus in luce zinzie
Willemi presulis fulgente iubare
Est palam proditus sed nimis callide
Ligatus nexibus mortis dirissime.
In domo propria mitescens sistitur
Ubi iusticia dire comprimitur
Iniusti iudices sena depromiturs
Sine responso sic nece plectitur.
Uirgo sponsus & pastor populi
Martir uincens triumpho nobili
Novus Abel succedens ueteri
Sic extra portam fit datus funeri.
Pelle piacula pastor piasimme
Iam sine macula regnans equissime
Dissolue uincula litis nequissime
Astringe federa pacis firmissime.

Verssiculus:
Pro nobis ora quesumus Ricarde martir Christi
Responsa:
Qui petens quinque uulnera Mortem pertuli.
Oratio:
Deus cuius unigenitus mundum sanguine suo redempturus, ut populum suum proprio cruore sanctificaret, extra portas Ierusalem passus est, presta quesumus ut beati Ricardi martiris tui atque pontificis precibus & meritis adiuti a peccatis omnibus exuamur, Christi sanguine sanctificemur, atque portas mortis deuitantes portas Syon ingrediamur, et in celesti Ierusalem eternaliter gloriemur, per eundem Dominum nostrum Iesum Christum.  

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100 This collect was transcribed, with notes, in Falconer Madan, 'Beatus Ricardus Martyr atque Pontifex', The Athenaeum 4 August 1888, pp. 161-62, and checked by me from a microfilm of the manuscript.
The first four verses of the antiphon summarize the account of Scrope’s martyrdom: the saintly Archbishop sustained the harshness done to him (“Diues uirtutibus dura sustinuit”), which resulted in the spillage of his blood (“Pollens candoribus ut rosa rubuit”) for the cause of the church, his wife (“Pro spouse iuribus uincens occubuit”), and in his request to be given five blows (“Quinque vulneribus dum polum adiit”).

This theme of five wounds is repeatedly noted in most accounts of Scrope’s death.101

As Eamon Duffy has shown, the cult of Christ’s Five Wounds was “one of the most important and far-reaching in late medieval England”, and found expression in Horae, vernacular sermons, and prayers.102 By asking to be given five blows Scrope linked his own death and Christ’s Passion. Scrope’s sacrificial death by five strokes echoed the atoning death of Christ, whose body was marked by five wounds, and was a sacrificial death for the sins of the people of York.103

In another Book of Hours, York, York Minster Library, MS XVI.K.6, from between 1405 and 1413,104 a different memoria for Scrope is to be found.105 The manuscript is now referred to as The Pullein Hours, since the Pullein family of

101 “Quinque vulneribus dum polum adiit” Bodleian, Lat. Liturg. f. 2, fol. 147r; “Ricarde marit Christi/ Qui petens quinque vulnera/ Mortem pertulisti”, Ibid., fol. 147v; “Plagas quinque gladii mortiens sustinuit” YML MS XVI.K.6, fol. 27v; “Si liquit pontifex carnis ergastulum/ Fert ictus quinque gladio” Bodleian, Bodl. MS 851, fol. 75r and BL Cotton Faustina B ix, fol. 244r; “Here I wyll the comende/ bou gyff me fyue strokys with thy hende” Cambridge, Trinity College, MS R.S.20, fol. 171r; “et Thomae Alman...dixit: ‘Fili, mortem meam Deus tibi remittat, et ego tibi remitto, rogans te intime ut des michi cum gladio tuo quinque vulnera in collo, quae intendo sustinere pro amore Domini nostri Jesu, qui, pro nobis obiediens usque ad mortem, quinque vulnera principalia pacienter sustinuit’” Gascoigne, p. 227; “et suo decollator, Thomae alman nuncupato dixit: ‘Fili, mortem meam Deus tibi remittat! et: ‘Ego tibi remitto; tamen deprecor, ut Deus mihi cum gladio tuo quinque vulnera in collo meo, quae sustinere cupio pro amore Domini mei Jesu Christi, Qui pro nobis, obiediens Patri usque ad mortem, quinque vulnera principalia sustinui.’” Maidstone, vol. II, pp. 307-308; “Thanne saide thearcheshappo to him that sholde smyte his hed, ‘For His luye that suffrif v wounds for alle mankynde, yeve me v strokys, and foryeve the my dethe.’” An English Chronicle, p. 32; “sustinens patienter quinque gladii percutientis vulnera”, Inseri Scriptores, p. 47.
103 The theme of Christ’s Wounds as expiating for humanity’s sins was familiar in England. In York, for example, it has been manifested in the York play of Judgment: “Here may ye see my woundes wide./The whilke I thold for youre mysdelec”. Duffy, p. 247.
104 Friedman, Northern English Books, p. 89.
105 For a full description of the manuscript see Ker, vol. IV, pp. 727-30.
Knaresborough Forest (Yorkshire) recorded in its calendar the births of eight of their children, at the end of the sixteenth and beginning of the seventeenth century. But they were not the first owners of this Book of Hours of the Use of York. It was made for male use, probably by a parishioner of All Saints Church Pavement in York, as can be concluded from an entry on 15 May, in the original hand of the calendar, of “Dedicatio ecclesie omnium sanctorum super Pauimentum Ebor”. Scrope is not mentioned in the calendar.

A collect for Scrope appears on fol. 27v, in the original hand of the book, and emphasizes Scrope’s Christ-like death by five blows at the executioner’s sword (“Plagas quinque gladii moriens subisti”), as well as his willing acceptance of the death imposed on him, which killed him in body but not in spirit (“Capitis sentenciam tolerasti gratis/Corpus qui necauerant spiritum necare”):

Antiphona:
Salve presul inclite, speculum fulgoris,
Felix pastor ouium, celici fons roris.
Plagas quinque gladii moriens subisti,
Vnus vt pro populo morietur Christi.
Voluntatis impetu, legibus cassatis,
Capitis sentenciam tolerasti gratis;
Corpus qui necauerant spiritum necare
Arbitri nequiquerant, signa notant clare.
Ecce, quod Altitronus nouerit lucere,
In suo non poterit vermula latere.

Versiculus:
Amauit eum Dominus, et ornauit eum

106 On the Pullein family see Catharine Pullein, *The Pulleyns of Yorkshire* (Leeds, 1915). Although a few family members joined the Corpus Christi Guild of York in 1473 (*Ibid.*, pp. 48, 112), there does not seem to be a special connection with All Saints, Pavement church in York, to which the manuscript is related.

Responsa:
Stola glorie induit eum.

Oratio:
Deus qui, inter ceteros capitalis lethi sentencie triumphantes, preelectum pastorem tuum Ricardum, ob constantem sui pacienciam, ascire decreuisti; presta, quesumus, ut qui eorumque victimis deuocionis simpliciter peragimus, triplices inimicos inter mundanas aduersitates felicius deuincere valeamus. Per Christum Dominum nostrum. Amen. 108

Two poems which seem to belong to the first generation of the cult similarly refer to Scrope’s martyrological acceptance of his death, and to his request for five wounds. Scrope and his martyrdom are hailed in a verse in a miscellany (Cambridge, Trinity College, MS R.S.20) from the early fifteenth century. 109 The manuscript contains the Travels of Mandeville (fols. 1-87r), Lydgate’s Destruction of Thebes (fols. 89r-169r), as well as several hymns in English, written in a later hand. After a number of couplets of advice from a father to his son and a mother to her daughter, on fol. 171r, the hymn to Scrope appears. It narrates the events of the Archbishop’s execution as these had been heard from “full trewe men”. Here, too, Scrope’s request that the executioner give him “fyue strokys with thy hende” is described, as his willingness to become a martyr (“he toke his deth with full gode wyll”).

Hay hay hay hay thinke on Whitsonmonday
The bysshop Scrope that was so wyse
nowe is he dede and lowe he lyse
To hevyns blys yhit may he ryse
Thurghe helpe of Mare that mylde may
When he was broght vnto the hyll
he held hym both mylde and stylly

108 This prayer was transcribed in Horae Eboracenses, C. Wordsworth (ed.) Surtees Society 132 (Durham and London, 1920), p. 181, and checked by me from the manuscript.
he toke his deth with full gode wyll
as I haue herde full trewe men say
He that shulde his deth be
he kneled downe vppon his kne
lord your deth forgiffye it me
ffull hertly here to yowe I pray
Here I wyll the comende
þou gyff me fyue strokys with thy hende
And than my wayes þou latt me wende
To hevyns blys that lastys ay

2. Martyrologies

The most extensive account of Archbishop Scrope's death as martyr, and of the posthumous miracles worked by him, are to be found in two texts. One is the account

*Decollatio Ricardi Scrope*, attributed to Thomas Gascoigne (d. 1458), a Doctor of Theology and Chancellor of the University of Oxford. The other version, *Martyrium Ricardi Archiepiscopi*, similar to the aforementioned but longer because of further additions, had been written by Clement Maidstone (d. 1456), priest at Sym

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110 The poem is transcribed in *Historical Poems of the XIVth and XVth Centuries*, p. 90, and checked by me from the manuscript.
111 Bodleian, MS Auctar IV 5, fols. 99r-103r contains the texts of Scrope's martyrdom and the reasons for his decollation in Gascoigne's own hand, with his corrections. For a description of the manuscript see *Cat. Ox.*, vol. II (17th century), p. 94. Transcribed in *Gascoigne*, pp. 225-29.
Abbey, between 1413-1415. The relation between these texts is disputed. Gascoigne’s version seems to be the original account of the Archbishop’s death and miracles. It is more detailed, and some of the testimonies are described as having been given to him in person, whereas in Maidstone’s account the story is repeated as told to Gascoigne (“qui haec magistro Thomae Gascoyne...retulit.”). The account narrated by Gascoigne ends with John Sibson’s vision of Scrope. Maidstone’s version extends further in time, and tells of the Pope’s grief when he heard of the news of the Archbishop’s execution, and an anecdote related to Henry IV’s cadaver. Stephen K. Wright has suggested, however, that both Gascoigne and Maidstone based their accounts on an earlier, “no longer extant or as yet undiscovered” text, which could have had disseminated south from Yorkshire, through monastic channels, and which might have been available to both Gascoigne and Maidstone.

Since more than one narrative has survived of Scrope’s death we may assume that a certain amount of interest and controversy surrounded the cult. Maidstone’s version of Scrope’s martyrdom appears in at least four manuscripts. In all of these

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115 Wright, ‘The Provenance’.
116 As in the case of the testimony of George Plumpton who witnessed Henry IV’s “magnas pustulas leprosas” and “michi [Gascoigne] dixit et juravit”. Gascoigne, p. 228.
the martyrdom follows the Manifesto of ten articles, and the list of reasons for his decollation. Thus, Scrope’s martyrdom was presented along the events which ultimately led to his execution, contextualizing his death, and emphasizing his suffering in defense of the people of York and their rights.

In both texts Scrope’s earlier ecclesiastical career is described at the outset very briefly, with little detail on family, childhood or adolescence. Scrope’s role in the rebellion is almost completely neglected in these accounts of his martyrdom; the narrative starts with his trial. By this omission Scrope’s active political role was intentionally played down, rendering his trial and execution inexplicably unjust.

This literary strategy could have been useful for circulation in Yorkshire, since local adherents did not need reminding of the circumstances of the Rising, or for circulation outside Yorkshire, where the cult’s merits had to be proclaimed. Most of the manuscripts of Maidstone’s Martyrium are attached to the longer Manifesto, suggesting that it was read alongside a chronology of the political events which led to Scrope’s death, a context that the author aimed to suppress.

The Martyrium described the trial, and the refusal of William Gascoigne, Chief Justice (possibly Thomas Gascoigne’s uncle), to sentence Scrope to death. When the death sentence was heard Scrope asked the people present to pray that God would not avenge his death, following the example of the protomartyr Stephen.

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See above, p. 124.

Gascoigne, p. 225; Maidstone, p. 306.


“et post praedicta verba circumstantibus saepius dixit: ‘Oretis ut omnipotens Deus nunquam vindiciet mortem meam in rege nec in sus’,” Gascoigne, p. 226; the quote appears also in Maidstone, p. 307. See Walker, ‘Political Saints’, p. 94.
The most important part of the account, in keeping with the genre of martyrrology, is the detailed account of the execution. Scrope's procession and execution are depicted as 'rites of passage'. The structure of such a rite, of movement from one status to another, is achieved by passage through a 'liminal' stage. From bishop to martyr, Scrope underwent humiliation, removal of status-symbols, silence, simplicity, and affliction of suffering. In this account Scrope was led to the execution on a horse, without a saddle, worth only forty pence, and recited Psalm 143 "Domine exaudi". Both versions agree that he was led "sicut ovis ad victimam", emphasizing his silent innocence and victimhood. When the procession arrived at the execution place the Archbishop was described as a willing victim, who chose his martyr's death ("tibi offero meipsum").

A devotional theme which is central to this narrative, and which we have already met, is that of the five wounds. Scrope informed his executioner, Thomas Alman, of God's absolution, as well as his own pardon, and asked him to deliver five blows with the sword,

'pro amore Domini nostri Jesu, qui, pro nobis obediens usque ad mortem, quinque vulnera principalia paciente sustinuit.'

3. Miracles

The Martyrium is also the main source on Scrope's posthumous miracles, related to his execution or shrine. The first miracle was the smiting of King Henry with leprosy

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125 Isaiah 53 verse 7: "He was pressed, and he was afflicted, yet he opened not his mouth: he is brought as a lamb to the slaughter, and as a sheep before her shearsers is dumb, so he opened not his mouth." Gascoigne, p. 227; Maidstone, p. 307.
126 Gascoigne, p. 227; Maidstone, p. 307. See also: "In manus tuas, Domine, nunc commendo spiritum meum, quia firmiter spero te semper habere regem, qui vult me tuae passionis habere cum sanctis tuis participem." Incerti Scriptores, p. 47.
127 Gascoigne, p. 227; Maidstone, pp. 307-308.
soon after the Archbishop's execution. This malady was treated in several contemporary or nearly contemporary sources. Although the actual relation between the execution and its 'punishment', the illness, was not always explicitly stated, leprosy was significant, as "the disease specifically chosen by God for the punishment of sinners". While Thomas Gascoigne makes the connection between the two incidents as clear as possible, but short of openly accusing the King, Maidstone is slightly less explicit.

The continuator of the Eulogium starts his account of the Rising and execution with Scrope and Mowbray’s decollation, with the mention that God started working miracles through the Archbishop at once, and that the King was smitten with leprosy at the time of the Archbishop’s death. On the other hand, the chronicler Adam de Usk (d. 1430) - a supporter of the Lancastrian king - although claiming that "Master Richard Scrope, jam sanctus ex multitudine miraculorum approbatus", does not link Henry IV’s illness to the execution, but explains it as a result of poisoning. The anonymous author of Giles’s Chronicle mentions that the King was

128 Gascoigne, p. 226.
129 After carefully studying the sources Peter McNiven has concluded that Henry IV "may have been a victim of the circulatory problem most closely associated with psychological stress, coronary heart disease." Peter McNiven, 'The Problem of Henry IV's Health, 1405-1413', EHR 397 (1985), pp. 747-72 (p. 769). Also Wylie, History of England, vol. II, p. 252
131 "Et eodem tempore quo archiepiscopus fuit decollatus, Henricus Quartus rex Angliae, qui ipsum occidi praecepit, fuit percussus horribili et pessimo genere lepra". Gascoigne, p. 228.
133 "Deus enim omnipotens per ipsum archiepiscopum usque hodie mirabiliter operatur. Et, ut quidam dicunt, Rex in hora mortis dicti praesulis lepra percussus est" Eulogium, vol. III, p. 405. The vernacular version in An English Chronicle is quite similar: "and anon after, as it was said, the king was smyte with a lepir for the wiche archbishopp, Almyghti God sone aftirwarde wroughte many grete miracles." An English Chronicle, p. 33.
134 For Adam de Usk's character, career and writing see Gransden, Historical Writing, pp. 175-77; Kngsford, English Historical Literature, pp. 32-35.
135 Gransden, Historical Writing, p. 187.
137 "Henricus quartus, postquam quatuordecim annis quosque sibi rebellis confringendo potenter regnaverat, doluit intoxicatus; unde carnis putredine, oculorum arifacience, et interiorum egressione per quinque annos cruciatus" Chronicon Adae de Usk, p. 119 (translation on p. 298).
smitten with the disease on the day of the beheading, but refrains from deciding on the
exact nature of the affair, leaving God to judge.\textsuperscript{138}

Another miracle, mentioned briefly above and communicated through Thomas
Gascoigne, is related to Scrope’s shrine and to the support of the cult there. John
Sibson, an old man from Rocliff who had failed to confess his intention to commit
murder thirty years earlier, was visited by a vision. On the third night after Scrope’s
execution the Archbishop appeared to him, and instructed him to offer a candle at his
tomb, and carry away woods and stones that men had put on the tomb to prevent
offerings or adoration in the place. John Sibson managed to accomplish this mission
miraculously, since it required the power of three strong men, and Sibson was old and
decrepit. The story, so explains Gascoigne, was told by Sibson himself “in praesencia
plurimum”, and was reported to him.\textsuperscript{139} A northern chronicler commented on
Scrope’s shrine, “Vbi postmodum infinita miracula choruscabant, et quasi cotidie de
nouo choruscant”.\textsuperscript{140}

Scrope’s shrine at York Minster was not the only place where miracles
attributed to the Archbishop took place. In his \textit{Historia Anglicana} Thomas
Walsingham commented on the fact miracles occurred “in campo quo decollatus
est”\textsuperscript{141}. At the centre of the third miracle Scrope is reported to have worked was the
field itself.\textsuperscript{142} The field was trampled when people flocked to watch the execution, but
in the next summer, without any re-sowing or labour, it produced miraculous crop,
more than in normal years: five selions of land bore the magnificent crop of five

\textsuperscript{138} “An ipsa infirmitas ex vindicia aut aliquo praesagio, vel fortuna evenerit, determinare nequeo; sed

\textsuperscript{139} Gascoigne, pp. 228-29. For Maidstone’s version - which is quite similar - see Maidstone, vol. II, p.
309.


See also Ibid., pp. 35-36.

\textsuperscript{141} Walsingham, \textit{Historia Anglicana}, vol. II, p. 270.

\textsuperscript{142} Gascoigne, p. 228; Maidstone, vol. II, p. 308; ‘Annales Ricardi Secundi’, p. 410; \textit{Incerti Scriptores},
pp. 46-47.
heads or grain (or four, or at least two). The number five may be related to the cult of Christ's Five Wounds (which Scrope had manifested by his death), since in England the cult was linked to acts of charity in multiples of five. At the same time this miracle could have been interpreted as a message from the dead Archbishop who was 'reborn' as a saint: death and destruction can be followed by birth and re-integration. When King Henry IV dies, however, his death is followed not by rebirth, but by further humiliation.

The theme of heavenly vengeance, present in the association between Scrope's execution and the King's illness, is present in an anecdote cited by Clement Maidstone as heard from his father, Thomas Maidstone, who had heard it in the Trinitarian Priory at Hounslow from one of the three original witnesses. This miracle, which Maidstone sees as declaring the glory of the Archbishop ("...mirabile ad praedicti domini Ricardi archipraesulis gloriam declarandam"), occurred less than thirty days after Henry IV's death, while the King's corpse was translated from Westminster to Canterbury. It told of a great tempest at sea which had stopped when the King's corpse was dropped into the water.

The *Eulogium* reports a miracle attributed to Scrope which occurred round St Katherine's day (8 September) in 1413. A bell-tower ("campanile") in the vicinity of York burst into flame, but miraculously ceased to burn when an offering to St Richard Scrope ("Sanctum Ricardum archiepiscopum Eborum") was made. The saint's power to work miracles was contrasted in the chronicle, perhaps ironically, with a miracle.

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143 "quince enim errant selliones...quod aliquid calamus quinque, aliquid calamus iii spiaces ordei produxit, et qui pauciores produxit non minus quam duos calamos protulit." *Gascoigne*, pp. 227-28; "Erant enim ibi quinque seliiones cum ordeo fuit archipraesul decollatus...ut aliquid calami quonque, aliqui quattoor spicas ordei produxerunt, et qui pauciores, minus tamen quam duas spicas non produxerunt." *Maidstone*, vol. II, p. 308.

144 Duffy, p. 248.

145 This interpretation follows Simon Walker's in seeing political cults as encouraging re-harmonization. Walker, 'Political Saints'.

that failed to happen, when a church dedicated to the Virgin in Sluys burned down on, of all days, the feast of the Nativity of the Virgin.\textsuperscript{147}

In conclusion, Scrope's \textit{Martyrium} is typical of the martyrrological genre. Since Scrope's death was its focus, the account of his earlier life is sparse. Trial, death and posthumous miracles are elaborated by the use of biblical and contemporary devotional references that indicate his victimization, and at the same time his martyr's choice of death over life.

4. Other sources relating to the cult

Two first-generation adherents of Scrope which remembered and commemorated him in different ways were Scrope's nephew Stephen Scrope, and a townswoman of York, Agnes Wyman. Stephen Scrope (d. 1418) was Archdeacon of Richmond between 1400 and 1418,\textsuperscript{148} and requested in his will to be buried next to his uncle, in St Stephen's chapel in the Minster.\textsuperscript{149} He commissioned a window in which Archbishop Scrope is depicted, in the south choir transept clerestory of York Minster (fig.10), high above.\textsuperscript{150} Against a blue background he is attired with full archiepiscopal regalia, including the mitre, the primatial cross, and a red chasuble. The choice of red for the vestments, which was the colour used for feasts of martyrs and for Whitsuntide,\textsuperscript{151} may hint at Scrope's death in two ways: firstly, by linking him to martyrs and their martyrdom; secondly, by reminding the viewers of the time of his death ("Hay hay

\textsuperscript{147} \textit{Eulogium}, vol. III, p. 421.
\textsuperscript{148} \textit{Marks}, \textit{Stained Glass}, p. 78.
\textsuperscript{151} Herbert Norris, \textit{Church Vestments: Their Origin & Development} (London, 1949), p. 70.
hay hay thinke on Whitsonmond (")\textsuperscript{152} Although never canonized Scrope is given a nimb; the title below refers to him not as a saint, but as “Dns [Dominus] Ricard Scrope”. Stephen Scrope himself was represented in the lower part of the window, kneeling, while a scroll unfolds around him with the words “O Ricarde pastor bone tui famili [sic] miserere Steph”\textsuperscript{153}.

Scrope’s window is situated opposite that of the main local saint, William of York (William Fitzherbert), an earlier Archbishop of York (1140-48), canonized by Pope Honorius III in 1227. The juxtaposition suggested an affinity between the two archbishops; it also suggested a tradition of saintly episcopal leadership. Another reason for the juxtaposition was to remind the viewers of Scrope’s martyrdom, which happened on St William’s day.

Sometime before her death in 1413 Agnes Wyman, the widow of Henry Wyman, the late mayor of York and a goldsmith,\textsuperscript{154} left a mazer once blessed by the Archbishop to the Guild of Corpus Christi in York. In the guild’s 1465 inventory it was valued as one of the guild’s most precious belongings, alongside a part of the Cross, a piece of Thomas of Canterbury’s vestments, and other such valuable objects of devotion.\textsuperscript{155} In this list, however, the compilers refrain from naming Scrope as a saint, and refer rather to his “blessed memory”,\textsuperscript{156} as we have seen in Lancaster’s case.

\textsuperscript{152}Cambridge, Trinity College, MS R.S.20, fol. 171r.
\textsuperscript{153}O’Connor and Haselock, ‘The Stained and Painted Glass’, p. 378.
\textsuperscript{155}Jonathan Hughes has commented on the fact that “[M]any of those responsible for establishing the cult of Richard Scrope were members of the guild”. He also gives their names. Jonathan Hughes, Pastors and Visionaries: Religion and Secular Life in Late Medieval Yorkshire (Woodbridge, 1988), p. 314.
\textsuperscript{156}“Unus ciphus magnus de murro, cum ligatura plana ex argentu deurato, qui vero ciphus indulgentialis digno nomine censetur, et hac de causan: Beate quidam memoriae dominus Ricardus Scrop, quandoq archiepiscopus Ebor., vere poenitentibus et confessis qui si de hoc cipho sobre tamen cum moderamine et non excessive, nec ad voluntatem, mente pura potuerint, quadraginta dies
Whether through prayers, images in manuscripts and on glass, poems, a Martyrium, or relics, devotion to Archbishop Scrope took many forms in the first generation following his death. The two themes that concern many of them are Scrope’s unjust trial, and his martyr’s death.

ii. The second generation (1430-1455)

The themes that characterized the account of Scrope’s death and his representation as a martyr in the first generation seem to have shifted in the second. Although his suffering and death are referred to, they no longer constitute the main subject of the devotional material related to him.

1. Prayers and images in Books of Hours

Perhaps the best example of what was probably a gradual change of emphasis is a Book of Hours, known as The Bolton Hours, now in York Minster Library as MS Add. 2. This manuscript contains the Hours of the Virgin in the Use of York, as well as hymns and prayers. The memoriae in this Book of Hours are devoted to the Holy Spirit, St John the Baptist, St Nicholas, St Katherine, St Margaret, St Anne, St William of York, and others. A prayer is addressed to Scrope, too. Several miniatures depict these saints: St Edmund, St Margaret, St Anthony, St Katherine and St...
Bartholomew. Into the calendar (fols. 27r-32v), which does not mention Scrope, the obits of John Bolton (11 August) and his wife Alice Bolton (18 September) were added.

In his description of the manuscript N.R. Ker cautiously suggested that the book may have been written for John Bolton, merchant, alderman and mercer of the city of York, who died in 1445, and who was commemorated in the manuscript's calendar. In a recent article, however, P. Cullum and J. Goldberg have argued convincingly that the volume was commissioned by Margaret Blackburn, mother of Alice Bolton (née Blackburn), for the purpose of teaching her daughters - Isabel, Alice and Agnes - to read. This book thus may be seen as forming a link between the generations. Cullum and Goldberg also suggest that for the Blackburn family, who came to York from Richmondshire, the book, with its depictions and prayers to local and regional saints such as William of York or John of Beverly, was "a spiritual genealogy and a family history", which had given the family "deep spread roots within the region and so lent them the ancestry and connections they so patently lacked in reality". This may have been especially the case with the prayer to Richard Scrope, son to the Masham branch, which held lands in Richmondshire. That, perhaps, is the reason for Scrope's apparent importance in the manuscript, with two depictions and a prayer devoted to him.


A window in All Saints church North Street in York, dating from between 1412 and 1428, depicts the donors, Nicholas (senior) (d. 1432), Lord Mayor in 1412, and Margaret his wife (d. 1435); Nicholas (junior) (d. 1448), Lord Mayor in 1429, and Margaret his wife (d. 1454); in the upper windows, from left to right, are St John the Baptist, St Anne teaching the Virgin to read (indicating the emphasis on female literacy), and St Christopher carrying Christ. *An Inventory of the Historical Monuments in the City of York*, Royal Commission on Historical Monuments, vol. 5 (1981), p. 7. For reproductions of the windows see *Ibid.*, front cover and plates 98, 104. For a short biography of Nicholas Blackburn (senior) and his mercantile career see Kermode, *Medieval Merchants*, p. 335.
The first of two images of Scrope, on fol. 100v (fig. 11), depicts him in his full episcopal vestments, crowned with a mitre, holding a primatial cross, and wearing a blue chasuble. In front of him, on the left, a young woman kneels, crowned with a garland of flowers; this may be one of Margaret Blackburn's daughters. The woman holds her hands in supplication, and from them a scroll unfolds, with the words: "Sce [Sancte] ricarde scrope ora pro nobis". Despite the slightly crude depiction of the two figures, a link is clearly established: the Archbishop holds his right hand towards the young woman, as if he was to receive the scroll from her hands and grant her request. This folio also contains the beginning of the prayer to Scrope.

A possible second depiction of Scrope in this manuscript is on folio 202v (fig. 12), at the bottom of which "S. ricardus" is inscribed. The archbishop, similar in appearance to the figure on fol. 100v (though wearing a 'Y' orphrey instead of a pallium), holds in his right hand a model of a windmill. This may refer to the windmill of Clementhorpe nunnery, in whose field Scrope had been executed. A miracle was recorded there: both Gascoigne and Maidstone tell of the miraculous crop produced the following autumn in the barley field where Scrope had been executed.

A memoria for Scrope starts on the folio which depicts a young woman kneeling in front of the Archbishop with a scroll in her hand, fol. 100v. The prayer continues on to fol. 101v, and it is noteworthy that the following text, which starts on that folio and continues on fol. 102r, is dedicated to the Five Wounds, a devotional theme connected with the death of Scrope. Scrope's special status in this manuscript

150 Cullum and Goldberg, 'How Margaret Blackburn', pp. 217-36. John Friedman also concluded that "a literate woman was involved in its [the manuscript's] commissioning", although he does not suggest any specific woman. Friedman, Northern English Books, p. 18.
161 Cullum and Goldberg, 'How Margaret Blackburn', pp. 233-34.
163 For the Clementhorpe windmills, still there in 1524, see Raine, Medieval York, p. 309.
164 For the report in Gascoigne and Maidstone, see Gascoigne, p. 228, and Maidstone, p. 308. For a further discussion of this miracle see above, pp. 145-46.
is evident not only from the fact that he is the subject of two miniatures, but also as
the only saint whose image and collect appear on the same folio, separately from
prayers for other saints (which tend to be bound together in groups of prayers):

Antiphona:
O gemma lucis et virtutis
Laus et decus senectutis,
Eboraci gloria.
Presul via veritatis,
Imitator paupertatis,
Spermens mundi gaudia.
O Ricarde Martyr Christi,
Dira passus morte tristi,
Ex magna clementia
Duc nos illuc quo laetaris,
Tu qui tot opitularis,
Mira cum potentia,
Confer nobis relevamen
Mentis tolle nunc grauamen
Tuæ précis gratia
Ut possimus te laudare
Et laudando congregare
In coelesti patria.
Ora pro nobis beate ricarde
Oratio:
Deus qui beatum Ricardum Praesulem tuum et Martyrem virtute constantiae in
sua passione roborasti, et gloriósissimo Martyri tuo Thomae, per Martyrii
palmam meritis coaequasti: tribue nobis, quaesumus, ejus gloriam
celebrantibus prospera mundi despicere et nulla ejus adversa formidare.
Amen.\(^{165}\)

\(^{165}\) The prayer was transcribed in A. Mt., 'Early Missal: Abp. Richard Scrope', Notes and Queries 2nd ser., vol. 25 (21 June 1856), p. 489, and checked by me from the manuscript.
Although Scrope's death is referred to in this prayer ("O Ricarde Martyr Christi/ Dira passus morte tristi"), it does not have the same sense of immediacy that it possessed a generation earlier. Scrope's death was no longer the focus. Rather, his exemplary virtues of truthfulness, poverty, and rejection of the world's joys are stressed. His intercessory power is another theme in this prayer, and he is begged to lead his adherents, and confer relief upon them. Just as he was in the image opposite this prayer, on fol. 100v, Scrope is requested to help and protect his adherents.

Another Book of Hours of the Use of York, York Minster Library, MS Add. 67, also contains a memoria to Scrope, although it is not easily datable precisely to the first or second generation. In this collect Scrope's martyrlogical death is played down and his intercessory powers are highlighted. This small book (12.8x8.5cm) was written in one hand some time after Scrope's execution. By the sixteenth century it was owned by one Richard Redman, as evident from a note on folio 125v ("Richard Redman aw this Booke if any man fynde it"), who has been identified as Richard Redman of Kirkby Overblow (West Yorkshire). In the beginning of the fifteenth century, however, the book may have been the property of his ancestor, Richard Redman of Harewood (d. 1426), Sheriff of Yorkshire in 1403 and 1404, and Speaker of Parliament in 1415. Redman's second wife, who may have been the commissioner of the manuscript, was Elizabeth, daughter of the Chief Justice who is described as refusing to try Scrope, William Gascoigne. The many collects towards the end of the manuscript (fols. 118v-125v) seem to be aimed at clerical saints (St Blaise, St

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166 See first six verses of the prayer.
167 "Duc nos illuc quo laetarit,Tu qui tot opitularis,/ Mira cum potentia,/ Confer nobis relevamen."
168 For a full description of the manuscript see Ker, vol. IV, pp. 811-13.
169 Ker, vol. IV, p. 813.
170 For the Redman family see W. Greenwood, The Redmans of Levens and Harewood (Kendal, 1905), especially Richard Redman, chapter 10, pp. 78-89. The Redman family seems to had earlier connections with the Scropes: Matthew Redman from Upper Levins, the Captain of Berwick Castle in 1385, was one of the witnesses in the Scrope-Grosvencor controversy, testifying in October 1386 in favour of Sir Richard Scrope. Nicolas, The Controversy, vol. II, pp. 462-66.
Stephen, St William of York, St Peter, St Thomas of Canterbury, St Ninian, St Laurence, and St John of Beverley); Scrope was a priestly saint too, but his memoria appears separately, on folios 102rv, signifying, perhaps, its different status from that of the other saints.

Antiphona:
Alma Ricarde dei martir nostri miserere
Ut placeamus ei fac nos peccata cauere

Versiculus:
Intercede pro nobis Ricarde beate.

Responsa:
Ut que salubriter petimus consequamur a te.

Oratio:
Deus qui beatum & electum martirem tuum Ricardum preclare paciencie titulis in ipso sue mortis articulo singulariter illustrasti, da nobis famulis tuis eius piis meritis & amore sic in presenti munere, ut ad eternaualeamus gaudia peruenire. per Christum. 171

Despite being referred to as “dei martir” and emphasizing God’s role in his martyrdom in the oration’s beginning, Scrope’s martyrdom is not the centre of this prayer. His power of intercession, acquired not only through his death but also his virtuous life is, rather, the main subject.

Another collect for Scrope appears in two manuscripts, both Books of Hours. One is York Minster Library, MS Add. 54 (The Mountenay Hours),172 which from the fourteenth to the seventeenth century belonged to the Mountenay family of Wheatley near Doncaster, and Stonecroft, as is evident from many entries in the calendar.173 Various hands added material on the endleaves of the book during the fifteenth century. Whereas some of the items in this volume give the impression of a

171 The prayer was transcribed in Horae Eboracenses, pp. 182-83.
172 For a full description of the manuscript see Ker, vol. IV, pp. 809-11.
commonplace book (reckoning in French that 13 pence a day is £21 4s. 7d. a year on p. 3, or a charm against enemies on p. 4), some of it is more devotional, such as a prayer to St Sebastian (p. 3), or the memoria to Scrope on the same page. The only image in the volume, added also in the fifteenth century, is that of the bleeding Christ rising from the tomb, on p. 64. The second manuscript in which the same prayer appears, albeit with minor changes, is Cambridge, St John's College, MS E. 26.  

This Book of Hours contains, besides the usual Hours, also solar and lunar tables, and tables of eclipses of the sun and moon from 1406 to 1462 (fols. 4r-6v). In the calendar appear the feast day of Erkenwald, Bishop of London (d. 693) (30 April), as well as his translation (14 November). To the calendar were added the obits of kings Henry VI, Edward IV, and Richard III, as well as the Battle of Barnet, and an obit of “thome peyton armigeri a.d. 1484” on 2 August. This is Thomas Peyton (b. 1416/17) of Wicken (Cambridgeshire) whose tomb and brass are in St Andrew church, Isleham. Scrope is not mentioned in the calendar. The collect to Scrope appears as the last in a group of memoriae to various martyrs on fol. 54r.

Antiphona:  
Aue decus sanctitatis  
Eboraci ciuitatis  
Dei prouidencia  
Presul eras ueritatis  
Et exemplum castitatis  
speciali gracia

175 St Erkenwald’s first translation occurred in 14 November 1148, whereas his body was translated for the second time on 1 February 1326. “Erkenwald (Earconwald)”, in Oxford Dictionary of Saints, p. 165.

176 During the fifteenth century Isleham was passed from Lancastrian (Earls of Northumberland) to Yorkist (George, Duke of Clarence) and again to Lancastrian hands. For Isleham in the later Middle Ages and the Peyton family see VCH, Cambridge and the Isle of Ely, 10 vols., vol. X, pp. 428-29, 451.
Ricarde pastor clare
Fac nos christum sic amare
Tuis pijs precibus ut per te secum habitare
Et cum sanctis collaudare donet in celestibus
Versiculus:
Ora pro nobis martir Christi.
Responsa:
Ut liberemur a morte tristi.
Oratio:
Omnipotens sempiterne deus qui beatum ricardum pium pontificem tuum
miraculis gloriosis coruscare uohisti: & beatissimo thome martiri tuo coequari
fecisti presta quesumus ut eorum pijs intercessionibus ab omnibus liberemur
angustijs quos eadem fides & passio uere fecit esse germanos per christum
dominum.

Although the versicle of the collect identifies Scrope as “martir Christi”, this is not the
main concern of the prayer. Rather, his exemplary virtues, and requests for his help,
especially in deliverance from “morte tristi”, are the focus of attention.

Scrope’s death is implicitly referred to in another collect, which appears on the
last folios of a palm-sized (8.5x5.5cm) volume (Cambridge, Sidney Sussex College,
MS 62). The book dates from the thirteenth century, but the prayer to Scrope was
added by a fifteenth century hand. The manuscript, which is most-likely from a
northern Augustinian monastery, includes a calendar, Psalter, Temporal, Sanctoral,
an office for St Cuthbert, and collects for saints. Its margins are colourfully decorated
with various types of birds. The influence of York is evident from both the calendar,

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177 The memoriae are for Saints Stephen, Lawrence, Thomas of Canterbury, Alban, Christopher, and
George.
178 For a description of the manuscript see A Descriptive Catalogue of the Manuscripts in the Library of
179 M.R. James commented that this monastery could have been “not impossibly” Carlisle. For the
Augustinian calendar see F. Wormald, ‘A Liturgical Calendar from Guisborough Priory, with some
Obits’, Yorkshire Archaeological Journal 31 (1932), pp. 5-35 (p. 6). The Augustinian house may have
in which two of York's archbishops are mentioned (St William's day and translation, and St Wilfrid's feast and day of birth), and *memoriae* (including prayers to St William, St Wilfrid, and St Hilda, whose cult was prominent in Yorkshire). The collect for Scrope appears on folios 207v and 208r, and emphasizes his intercessory role as mediator between men and God in life as in the afterlife:

[Surregor laicus, de nacione Ebreus, ex inspiracione divina hanc oracionem compositum ex mandato beati Ricardi Scrope huc transmisit cum sentencia subscripta.]

Antiphona:
Hic est vere ille choruscans inter mille sanctorum. Ante deum oret pro nobis e... [line ends here]

Versiculus:
Supplica pro nobis beate Ricarde

Responsa:
Ut ueniamus celo sine tarde.

Oratio:
Omnipotens sanctorum sancte universorum domine qui cotidie pij Ricardi meritis quam plurima ostendis miracula; concede propicius quod sicut negociar nostra continue in tibi offerat ut die nouissimo coram te gloriose nos perducat per dominum nostrum.\textsuperscript{80}

2. Bequests

As with Agnes Wyman who left, sometime before her death in 1413, a relic of Scrope, individuals continued doing so also in the second generation after his execution. These people may have already been adults at Scrope's death, or still young children. Two red woolen armours or coverlets ("coopertoria de rubio sago")

\textsuperscript{80} Transcribed in *A Descriptive Catalogue of...Sidney Sussex College*, p. 45, and checked by me from the manuscript.
with the arms of Scrope combined with St Peter’s keys on them - the ecclesiastical arms of the Archbishopric - were mentioned in John Clerk’s will from 1449. Clerk, a chaplain in the chapel of Blessed Mary Magdalene, situated between Clifton and Bootham in the outskirts of York, left for the same chapel, and to the custody of the chaplain there, William Burgh, several precious devotional objects which were in his property: liturgical books, images of saints, an alabaster of the Trinity and another of the Pietà, as well as the two objects related to Scrope. Although we do not know how old John Clerk was at his death, had he lived to an old age he could have been an adult, perhaps even a witness, at Scrope’s trial and execution.

John Dautree, a lawyer from York who wrote his will in 1458, left to “Beatissimo dilecto meo Sancto Ricardo Scrop” a rosary of fifty coral beads with gold gaudies (“unum par precarum de currall de numero quinquaginta cum gaudiiis deauratis”) for Scrope’s future canonization, as well as a torch to be burnt in Scrope’s chapel outside the walls of York. He also left a precious relic of his favourite saint.

The book carried by Scrope when he was executed (“quem librum Beatus Ricardus le Scrop habuit et gerebat in sinu suo tempore suae decollacionis”) was left by Dautree to William Langton, rector of St Michael’s Ousebridge, York, to own until his death.

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181 The chapel served as a prayer-house mainly for travelers. The appointed chaplain was inspected by an official of the court of York, the sub-treasurer of the Minster, and the sacrist of St Mary’s Abbey. Raine, Medieval York, pp. 258-59.
183 “Lego quatuor torchias comburentas circa corpus meum, precii cujuslibet iij s., quorum (sic) duo velo remanere summo altari, et unus altari ubi corpus meum requeicit, et quartum capellae domini Ricardi le Scrop extra marce... Item lego Beatissimo dilecto meo Sancto Ricardo Scrop unum par precarum de currall de numero quinquaginta cum gaudiiis deauratis, ad juvamen suae canonizationis, quod Deus concedat pro sua magna gracia.” Testamenta Eboracensia, vol. II, pp. 230-34 (pp. 231-32). Wylie concluded that “[F]rom the contents of Dautre’s library [mentioned in his will] he appears to have been a lawyer.” Wylie, History of England, vol. II, p. 240. Jonathan Hughes commented on the significance of Scrope’s cult to York’s lawyers, since it “became a means for clergy and secular lawyers of York to express the illegality of the king’s action and to assert their independence from the encroachment of central government.” Hughes, Pastors and Visionaries, p.307.
and then to be left near Scrope's tomb.\textsuperscript{184} This book was probably the one bequeathed to Dautree by his father, who may have been the person who had taken it from Scrope's bosom at his hour of death.\textsuperscript{185} Thus we may conclude that John Dautree was not yet an adult in 1405, which makes him a second generation adherent of the cult. The devotional importance which this volume apparently held for John Dautree can be inferred from the fact that he chose to give it to "spirituali patri meo, cui maxime teneor amore", as well as from his reverence of Scrope ("Beatiissimo dilecto meo"). Although Scrope's martyrdom seems to have been toned down in sources from the second generation, expectations for his help were nevertheless alive.

iii. The third generation and beyond (1455-1509)

Sources dating from the third generation of the cult's adherents may be divided into two groups. Whereas some maintain the same emphasis on Scrope's intercession and help, and make few references to his death, others elaborate on the theme of his unjust death, treated so widely in the first generation.

A long poem, in Latin, on Scrope and his death is to be found in two manuscripts of the fifteenth century. A shorter version (by eight stanzas) is British Library, Cotton Faustina B ix,\textsuperscript{186} a fifteenth century manuscript which contains a poem to Scrope, a chronicle (fols. 75-144v), and a political prophecy on Richard II, Henry IV and the Percies, and their recovery with the rise of Edward IV (fols. 241v). This prophecy may aid in dating the poem to around Edward IV's reign. The

\textsuperscript{184} "Item lego magistro Willelmo Langton, spirituali patri meo, cui maxime teneor amore, usum unius libri, pro termino vitae suae, quem librum Beatus Ricardus le Scrop habuit et gerebat in sinu suo tempore suae decollacionis, supplingo eadem magistro Willelmo ut ipse predictum librum post mortem suam cathenandum liberet et dimitat iuxta locum ubi corpus ejusdem Ricardi requiescit, ibdem pro remanere." Testamenta Eboracensia, vol. II, p. 231.

\textsuperscript{185} Ibid., vol. II, p. 231.

\textsuperscript{186} For a description of the manuscript see Catalogue of Romances in the Department of Manuscripts in the British Museum, H.L.D. Ward (ed.) 3 vols. (London, 1883), vol. I, pp. 319-20. The poem was transcribed from this manuscript in Wright's Political Poems, vol. II, pp. 114-18.
prophecy's origin is said to have been the abbey of Meaux in Yorkshire; the poem to Scrope appears after the prophecy, on fol. 243v-244v. The longer version of this poem is to be found on the once blank leaves of the last quire of a miscellaneous manuscript now at the Bodleian library, as MS Bodley 851, written in the last quarter of the fourteenth century and added to during the fifteenth. Six of the stanzas missing from the shorter version of the poem consist of harsh criticism of the times, in which kings act foolishly, with no sense ("reges despiciunt"). By this the composer may have been referring not only to Henry IV, but also to the more contemporary Lancastrian king, Henry VI, which the Yorkists aimed at replacing. The poem on Scrope's death on folios 74v, 75r and 76v is such a later addition (see appendix 3).

This manuscript was connected during the fifteenth century with the Benedictine abbey at Ramsey (Huntingdonshire), not only since its front flyleaves are fifteenth century fragments of its accounts (fol. 208v), but also because it contains a fifteenth century illumination which depicts a flood issuing from a well and crossed by St Christopher, in which one of the surrounding scrolls reads "Iste liber constat fratri Johanni de Wellis, monacho Rameseye" (fol. 2v). This was John Wells (d. 1388), a Doctor of Theology who has been involved with Wycliff's condemnation in 1380-81, and sent to Rome as a proctor of the Abbey in 1387.

The poem is written in the first person, thus creating a sense of dramatic immediacy. At the beginning of the poem the composer describes himself as crying,

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188 For lack of space I have not copied the poem here, but added the longer version as an appendix, indicating the stanzas that are absent in this manuscript. For a transcription of this version of the poem see Wright, vol. II, pp. 114-18.
189 For a description of the manuscript see Cat. Ox., vol. II (part I), pp. 574-76.
mourning, grieving, dissolving in tears for the death of the Archbishop.\textsuperscript{192} He then gives an account of Scrope's martyrdom, with emphasis on the themes which characterize the sources of the first generation: Scrope's unjust trial, his suffering, and his request for five wounds. The spectacular tone of the poem is maintained throughout, culminating in the thirteenth stanza:

\begin{quote}
Oh woe! by sword they struck
Oh shame! they violate their own blood
Oh crime! they slew the Primate of the land
By a dreadful act of slaughter\textsuperscript{193}
\end{quote}

Unlike the writer of the prayers, the composer of the poem provides many details not mentioned in the collects, such as the procession to the execution place, and the confiscation of Scrope's goods. Another theme which is recurrent in the poem is that of Scrope as follower of earlier examples.

As in other accounts of martyrdom Christ is used as a prominent model for emulation. He too had been betrayed,\textsuperscript{194} he too was led to his execution place outside the city gates.\textsuperscript{195} And in Scrope's case, the request to die of five blows further links his death to that of Christ.

André Vauchez has suggested that Scrope was the exceptional example of the "Becket Model", popular in Scandinavia and Britain in the Middle Ages, in that he was the only bishop who paid for his life for an attempt to protect his community.

\begin{footnotes}
\footnotetext{192}{"Per dies noctes que aquas deducere/ Delfenti mortem presulis"; see also second stanza. Bodleian, MS Bodl. 851, fol. 74v; BL, Cotton Faustina B ix, fol. 243v.}
\footnotetext{193}{"Proh dolor! parvulum ene percutiant/ Prob pudor! sanguinem proprium polluant/ Prob nefas!
patriae primatem perimunt/ Pollui parricidio." BL, Cotton Faustina B ix, fol. 244r, Bodleian, Bodl. MS 851, fol. 75r.}
\footnotetext{195}{Matthew 27: 28-31, 'Lumento vehitur hunc ad supplicium' Bodleian, Bodl. MS 851 and BL, Cotton Faustina B ix, fol. 243v; 'Sic extra portam fit datus funeri' Bodleian, Lat. Liturg. f. 2., fol. 147r; 'decollatus est extra muros prope Eboracum' Gascoigne, p. 225 and Maidstone, vol. II, p. 306.}
\end{footnotes}
against the Crown. In the liturgy, indeed, Scrope is compared not only implicitly to Christ, but also, more openly, to St Thomas, Archbishop of Canterbury. Like Becket, Scrope is represented in one prayer as dying for the Church’s rights, or laws (“Pro sponse iuribus uincens occubuit”); in the orations of two other memoriae, he was linked to Thomas of Canterbury. Scrope was also compared in this poem to St Stephen, not only because he was buried in the chapel in the Minster bearing the protomartyr’s name, but also, more significantly, because like St Stephen Scrope forgave his enemies before his death. Only in this poem are Scrope’s sufferings compared to those of Archbishop of Canterbury, Simon Sudbury, who was murdered on Tower Hill during the 1381 rising.

Scrope is the only saint or shrine to whom bequests of money are made in the 1467 will of John Sendale, a canon resident at the collegiate church at Ripon, who held in succession two prebends at York (first that of Bamby, and then that of Weighton), was also chaplain and registrar to Archbishop William Booth, and member of the Guild of Corpus Christi of York. In his will he left 20 gold nobles

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196 For the ‘Becket model’ see Vauchez, Sainthood in the Later Middle Ages, pp. 167-73. Scrope as exceptional, see Ibid., p. 170.
197 Bodleian, Lat. Liturg. f.2., fol. 147r.
198 “et gloriosissimo Martyri tuo Thomae, per Martyrii palam meritis coaequasti” YML, MS Add. 2, fol. 101v. “& beatissimo thome martiri tuo coequari fecisti” Cambridge, St John’s College, MS E. 26, fol. 54r. See also Bodleian, Bodl. MS 851, fol. 75r and BL, Cotton Faustina B ix, fol. 244r, where their sufferings are compared: “Ast thomam militum audax attrocitas”
199 “prothomartyris exemplo geminat/ Ne Christe noxam statusse” Bodleian, MS Bodl. 851, fol. 74v and BL, Cotton Faustina B ix, fol. 243v; “Ad sancti Stephani altari titulum/ Cuisus proverbi sumpset capitulum/ Preperat presulii sepulcri lectulum” Bodleian, Bodl. MS 851, fol. 75r and BL, Cotton Faustina B ix, fol. 244r; “et post praecidia verba circumstantibus saequis dixit:’Oretis ut omnipotens Deus nunquam vindicet mortem meam in rege nec in suis;’ quae verba ita saepe repeciit; et dominus Thomas Cumyrwurth, miles Lincolnienas, per verba archiepiscopi reduxit in sui ipsius memoriam pacienciam et caritatem prothomartnis Stephani, veniam pro suis inimicis a Deo postulantis;” Gascoigne, pp. 226-27; “Quae verba saepe repetiti, depreciando simul prothomartyri Stephano, qui pro lapidantibus deprecatus est.” Maidstone, p. 307.
200 “Symonem plebium furens ferocitas” Bodleian, Bodl. MS 851, fol. 75r and BL, Cotton Faustina B ix, fol. 244v. For an account of Sudbury’s death see, for example, Saul, Richard II, p. 69.
202 Ibid., pp. 229-30.
for Scrope's future translation. In the following year William Haiton, Keeper of Scrope's tomb, instructed in his will of February 1468, that his wife, Margaret, should offer 3s. 4d. at the tomb after his death.

During the 1470s offerings to the Archbishop's shrine were still being made. During this period, as in the 1460s, some of the offerings and bequests were specifically made for the purpose of Scrope's translation. A translation could have been yet another way of commemorating Scrope's death and martyrdom; and if he was to be reburied in the chapel built in his execution place, a procession would have run from the Minster to outside the city walls, reversing thus the day of Scrope's death, in which his body was brought from the field where he had been decapitated for burial inside the city.

In his will of 18 May 1472 Robert, Abbot of Kirkby Knoll, left his big silver spoon to be put on Scrope's bier after his translation. Thomas Rothwell, a chaplain in the Minster, requested, in his will of 1 February 1475, that a wax image worth 4 marks be offered to Scrope. A gold ring was left to Scrope's chapel on 30 July 1477 by Isabel Bruce, a descendent of the Mowbray family, widow of Robert Bruce, and — at the time of writing the will - resident at the nunnery of Clementhorpe, in whose field Scrope had been executed. Nicholas Bowet, a knight from Lincolnshire, nephew of Henry Bowet, Archbishop of York (1407-23), left sometime

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203 For the quote of Sendale's part of the will which concerns Scrope see n. 91.
204 "Volo quod Margareta, uxor mea, cito post decessum meum offerat et imponat in stipite beati Ricardi le Scicoe, prope sepulcrum suum situate, 3s. 4d." Testamenta Eboracensia, vol. III, p. 232.
205 I have not found any religious house which existed in Kirkby Knowle (North Riding).
207 "Post decessum meum unam ymaginem cere...ad offerendum ad beatum Ricardus Scrope nomine meo..." York, Register of Wills 1321-1493 (YML, L 2/4), vol. I, fol. 332v
208 "Leggo unum annulum auri cum lapide vocato unum diamant capiti Ricardi Scrope." Testamenta Eboracensia, vol. III, pp. 231-32
before 1509 a golden collar “cum le esses” (probably a Lancastrian collar of SS) for Scrope’s bier. This gesture has been interpreted by Simon Walker as an indication of Scrope’s political role as mediator, encouraging political appeasement, rather than a focus of anti-Lancastrianism.

Archbishop Scrope appears in a stained glass window which may be dated to c. 1461-75, in the south aisle of the nave of the church at Fotheringhay (Northamptonshire), built by the Dukes of York during the first half of the fifteenth century, and used as their dynastic mausoleum. A drawing of some of the windows made in 1718 depicts the Archbishop wearing a mitre and holding his staff, crowned with a saint’s nimh. The label titles him a saint, the only image in which Scrope is identified as a saint both by attributes and by words. Scrope’s window was one in a series of four windows; the other three depicted St Clement, Bishop of Rome (d. c. 100), who was thrown into the sea with an anchor tied to his neck; St Erasmus, Bishop of Formiae in Campagna (d. c. 300), martyr, and patron of sailors; and an unidentified abbot or bishop.

This juxtaposition of Scrope with saints who were not only bishops and martyrs but also protectors against the perils of the sea is linked to his status as a patron of sailors.

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210 Ibid., vol. III, p. 231. Wylie commented on the fact that in the will the ring was commended to Scrope’s head, and concluded that this head must have been a reliquary and not the original head. Wylie, History of England, vol. II, p. 243, n. 4.
211 "Uns cathena aurea cum le esses...ex dono domini Nicholai Bowet de corn. Lincoln, militis, ad feretrum Ricardi Scrape." The Fabric Rolls, p. 235.
212 "Una cathena aurea cum le esses...ex dono domini Nicholai Bowet de corn. Lincoln, militis, ad feretrum Ricardi Scrape." The Fabric Rolls, p. 235.
213 Ibid., 'Political Saints', p. 91.
215 "Erasmus" in Ibid., pp. 163-64.
216 "Hughes briefly related to this issue. Hughes, Pastors and Visionaries, p. 322.
following the throwing of Henry IV's cadaver to the water attests to this aspect of Scrope's sanctity, and votive ships were recorded at his tomb in 1509. In a city populated and controlled by merchants who traveled and shipped their goods on rivers and seas, a patron-saint of sea-farers was an attractive figure, especially during the fifteenth century, a period of increasing danger at sea.

Richard Marks has suggested that, since some of the saints in the nave were particularly revered by Cecily Neville, Duchess of York (d. 1495), who was also resident at Fotheringhay from 1461 to 1469, "she played a large part in planning the glazing programme for this part of the church". Marks excludes Scrope from his list of favoured saints; according to him Scrope is, above all, a political choice. Yet although Scrope's cult held political importance to the Yorkists, this does not preclude a devotional meaning embedded in the choice. One possible adherent may have been Richard III, whose spiritual heritage was "of the north-east, mediated through Richard's mother and her family and his northern neighbours and friends and servants".

If the presence of Scrope in Fotheringhay had possessed political meaning only, it would have represented Scrope in his martyrdom. This may have been the

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218 See p. 146.
219 See p. 133.
220 On the merchants and mercantile nature of York in the later Middle Ages see Kermode, *Medieval Merchants*. For the increasing difficulties of shipping goods in the period see *Ibid.*, pp. 188, 217.
222 "If saints such as George, John the Baptist, Erasmus and Bridget possibly represent the personal piety of the House of York, the presence of Richard Scrope in the Fotheringhay glazing has open political connotations." Marks, "The Glazing of Fotheringhay", p. 96.
223 C.A.J Armstrong commented on the fact that in the period, and especially in the case of Cecily Duchess of York, a disharmony between inner devotional practices and public function and display did not exist. Armstrong, "The Piety of Cicely".
224 Jonathan Hughes, *The Religious Life of Richard III: Piety and Prayer in the North of England* (Stroud, 1997), p. 84. See also his links with the Scropes of Masham and with Anne Beauchamp, and
case with a commonplace book from the mid fifteenth century (London, Society of Antiquaries MS 101), which probably belonged to Thomas Wardon from Wharton Hall (Westmorland), who attended John Duke of Bedford in France between 1422-35, and was a member of Parliament for Appleby (Westmorland) in 1436-7. This miscellany contains medical recipes, administrative documents, historical notes, a chronicle, and political prophecies. It also possesses a political poem which hails Edward IV and his just reign, and looks back at the past as being "gret langoure". The poem, on folio 98rv of the manuscript, has been crossed out, indicating, perhaps, a change of political view with later change of ownership. The part dealing with Scrope is on folio 98r:

Holy bishop Scrope the blysset confessor
In that quarrel toke hys deth ful patiently
That all the world spak of that gret langoure
Whos deth ys a very trew evidence
To all Ingeland for the Just title & lyne
Which for the trwthe by tyrany & violence
Was put down and suspect hold venyesyne. 226

Here Scrope's death, which he took "ful patiently", returns to the centre, not of the poem, since it is not a poem in his honour, but of the stanza. Furthermore, his death is

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226 For a transcription of the poem see Robbs's Historical Poems, pp. 222-26; also in Wright, vol. II, p. 267. Checked by me from the manuscript.
given a new reason, characteristic of the Yorkists' political idiom\textsuperscript{227} of suffering for the just title—the Yorkist title—that "by tyrany & violence/ Was put doun".

Scrope regains meaning as a protector and patron-saint later in the century, in The Pageants of the Lancastrian Earl of Warwick Richard Beauchamp (d. 1439), BL, Cotton Julius B IV (article 6).\textsuperscript{228} His deeds are depicted in a volume of twenty-eight illustrated episodes from Beauchamp's life. These are gentle pen-drawings with titles in English, dated to the period between 1483 and 1493, perhaps even before 1487.\textsuperscript{229} The Pageants emphasize the Earl's service to the English throne (mainly under Lancastrian rule), and the honour with which he was regarded, depicting scenes such as Beauchamp's worship at the Holy Sepulcher in Jerusalem (fol. 9), Beauchamp as Captain of Calais (fol. 13), or Beauchamp at Henry VI's coronation (fol. 23v).

Kathleen L. Scott has suggested that, since no other illustrated life of a secular figure has survived from the period, "[I]Illustrated lives of Christ or of saints, with episodes based on miracles and good works, may have been the germ to this eulogy".\textsuperscript{230} Since it is dated to a period long after the Earl's death, it was probably commissioned by his daughter by his second wife, Anne (b. 1426), the wife of the Yorkist and later Lancastrian Richard Neville, Earl of Warwick (The Kingmaker)(b. 1428).\textsuperscript{231} Neville's death following his opposition to Edward IV in 1471, and his wife's consequent exclusion from her possessions by an act of Parliament of 1474, may have triggered

\textsuperscript{227} For the Yorkists' use of the language of suffering see chapter 4.
\textsuperscript{228} For biographical details on the Earl, a facsimile of the Pageants and a short explanation for each drawing see The Beauchamp Pageant, A. Sinclair (ed.)(Richard III and Yorkist History Trust in association with Paul Walkins, 2003). An older facsimile is Pageant of the Birth, Life, and Death of Richard Beauchamp Earl of Warwick K.G. 1389-1439, Viscount Dillon and John Hope (eds.)(London, 1914); see also Scott, vol. I, cat. no. 137.
\textsuperscript{231} The most recent biography of Richard Neville is that written by Michael Hicks, Warwick the Kingmaker (Oxford, 1998).
the commission of this manuscript in an effort to restore the honour of the name of Warwick. 232

The second folio of this manuscript (fol. 1v) illustrates the Earl's baptism in the year 1389 (fig. 13). 233 The pen-drawing which gives "the effect of a photograph in sepia," 234 depicts a baptism scene. Within an outline that appears as a window-frame people stand around a baptismal font in which a naked baby is being baptized by a bishop. The title inscribed above the illustration offers further details:

Here is shewed howe he was baptised, hauyng to his godfadres kyng Richard the secund, and seynt Richard Scrope then bisshop of Lichefeld, and after in processe of tyme he was Archebisshop of Yorke.

The Archbishop – in 1389 still a bishop – stands next to the King by the font, looking tentatively at the baby who, in turn, looks back, even moves towards them. The three Richards in this image create a striking triangle. We do not know whether Richard Beauchamp regarded Scrope as a saint while he was alive, but another folio of the Pageants (fol. 25v) shows the Earl, his wife, and their son tied to a ship's mast in the midst of raging waves "so moch that they al fered to be perished", of which "god preserved hem al". This may be a reference which links the Earl and the martyr, who was regarded as a patron of sailors. 235

For some of Scrope's adherents in the third generation the martyrdom regained interest, whereas for others he represented truth, virtue and the hope for succour in difficult times.

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233 The Beauchamp Pageant, pp. 54-55. Dillon and Hope commented on the fact that the Earl had been born not in 1389 as the Pageants state, but in 1381. Dillon and Hope, Pageant of the Birth, p. iv.
235 The Beauchamp Pageant, pp. 150-51. Dillon and Hope suggested that the escape from death in sea, described in image and text in fol. 25v, happened sometime after Warwick was made Lieutenant of
Conclusion

Although prayers for Scrope survived in several Books of Hours, no obit appears in any of their calendars. The fact that Scrope was not canonized is not sufficient to explain this absence, since, as we have seen in the case of Thomas of Lancaster, popular 'saints', who were not officially canonized, did enter calendars. Nor can we deduce from this negative evidence that such obits of Scrope never existed, or even that his day was not remembered in the Minster.

Perhaps it is not a coincidence that there are few references to pilgrimages to Scrope’s shrine. We do not read, as in Lancaster’s case, of people from all counties of the Kingdom, and even from abroad, to make offerings at the tomb. The lack of evidence of pilgrimage to Scrope’s shrine can be explained by the fact that most of Scrope’s adherents were local men and women, for whom a visit to the tomb in the Minster was not a ‘pilgrimage’, but a more familiar activity. For the same reasons no pilgrim badges were found that depict Scrope or his shrine. Yet relics related to the Archbishop were available to his adherents.236

Most of Scrope’s adherents were people who lived in the city of York or its outskirts. Even those who did not reside in York itself were usually from the vicinity. In the case of John Sandale, for example, a canon resident in Ripon, he also held two prebends at York, and was chaplain and registrar to Archbishop William and member of the Guild of Corpus Christi. Whereas about a third of the adherents were


236 Besides the relics hitherto discussed, Hughes mentions also that “[I]n the Minster there was a reliquary containing Scrope’s image and a cloth stained with his blood”. Hughes, Pastors and Visionaries, p. 339. A careful reading of the text to which Hughes refers the reader reveals that among the Minster’s relics was a reliquary for carrying the host, given by Scrope. “Unum berill ornatum cum argento deaurato ad modum cuppae, cooperturn, cum cruce in summitate cooperculi, pro corpore Christi portando, ex dono domini Ricardi Scrope Archiepiscopi, ponderans iiij lb., viij uncias.” The Fabric Rolls, p. 221.
clergymen from York and its environs (canons, chaplains, priest or monks), the rest were lay men and women mainly from York. They practiced a variety of crafts (lawyer, widow of a goldsmith and mayor, merchants, sailors), and some were of very high status, like Richard Beauchamp, Earl of Warwick, and his daughter, or Cecily Neville, Duchess of York. Whereas some of the adherents may have lived through the events that led to Scrope’s execution (such as John Sibson to whom Scrope appeared in a vision), later adherents were second- or even third-generation cult practitioners. Their interest was fostered in a family context (as in the case of John Dautree who received Scrope’s book from his father), or within a religious community (like York Minster).

III. *Pastor populi*

1. A bishop’s role

In *Henry IV* Part II Act 4.1 William Shakespeare recounted the 1405 resurrection, and emphasized Scrope’s role as its leader. The rhetoric used in the play to describe Scrope concentrates on his transformation, from peaceful religious leader to a bloodthirsty rebel. In Prince John’s words:

My lord of York, it better showed with you  
When that your flock, assembled by the bell,  
Encircled you to hear with reverence  
Your exposition on the holy text,  
That now to see you here an iron man talking,  
Cheering a rout of rebels with your drum,  
Turning the word to sword, and life to death.\textsuperscript{237}

When dealing with Scrope and his part in the rising, Peter McNiven has also attempted to understand the change in the Archbishop's behaviour, his move from being an "obscure and colourless figure" to being a cunning rebel. McNiven solved the seeming difficulty of Scrope becoming a political leader by seeing him as a tool in hands of the Earl of Northumberland. Yet this understanding assumes too much separation between political affairs and religious conduct. This could not be farther from the truth. Scrope's double role as a religious and a political leader need not be seen as a result of a dramatic transformation, but as two sides of the same persona.

Scrope had never been an inert churchman; he was active in the administration of the realm in the years before 1405. Like many other landed and politically active figures, England's bishops maintained households, and founded family relations and political affinities. The political activity of English bishops was manifested not only in the administration of the Kingdom as chancellors or treasurers. It also found a more novel expression, as Barrie Dobson has remarked for the archbishopric of York between 1374 and 1500, in "the personal involvement of these prelates in the political faction of later medieval England", an involvement that brought "several of them to imprisonment, one to permanent exile, and one to an untimely and much lamented death". Thomas Arundel, Archbishop of Canterbury, is perhaps the best example of a bishop aligned with faction, since he supported Henry Bolingbroke in 1398, and returned to England with him in 1399.

238 McNiven, 'The Betrayal', p. 177.
239 McNiven, 'The Betrayal'.
240 See above, pp. 120-21.
241 For example, during Henry IV's reign Bishop of Exeter Edmund Stafford was Chancellor, and Henry Bowet, Bishop of Bath and Wells, was Treasurer.
243 Richard G. Davies has studied Arundel's activity while Archbishop of Canterbury and concluded that Arundel preferred involvement in his diocese over political activity. Richard G. Davies, 'Thomas Arundel as Archbishop of Canterbury, 1396-1414', Journal of Ecclesiastical History 24 (1973), pp. 9-21. This, however, does not mean he was not involved in both political and religious activities.
Contemporary chronicles did not, on the whole, view Scrope’s leadership of the rising as surprising. They did not linger in their discussions on a perceived transformation in his conduct. Scrope’s right to defend the community of York was not disputed by contemporaries. As Kingsford commented, many of the contemporary chronicles “are more or less Lancastrian in tone”; “censure of Henry IV for the execution of Archbishop Scrope is common”. The writer of continuation to the *Eulogium* cites the articles which Scrope had hung on church-doors, as do the writer of the *English Chronicle*, John Capgrave, and Thomas Walsingham. The Archbishop and his companions are represented in some of these chronicles as aspiring for reforms through peaceful manner; Walsingham indirectly quotes Scrope as saying that the gathering was not “contra pacem regiam”, but rather “pro pace tranquillitateque facere”. The *Eulogium* even cites Scrope’s declaration, made before his execution, that he was to die “pro legibus et bono regimine regni Angliae”. So it was not so much Scrope who was the focus of criticism for rebelliousness, but rather Henry IV who was subtly chastised for executing Scrope; his leprosy was described as heavenly retribution for the Archbishop’s execution. In the continuation to the *Eulogium* Henry IV is criticized more directly for deliberately defying Arundel’s advice on the matter, presenting him thus as transgressing – in this way, too – Church authority. The Earl of Westmorland is

244 Kingsford, *English Historical Literature*, p. 43.
245 *Eulogium*, vol. III, pp. 405-406; *An English Chronicle*, p. 31; *Capgrave’s Abbreviacion*, p. 227; *Annales Ricardi Secundi*, pp. 403-405.
247 *Eulogium*, vol. III, p. 408.
248 *A Northern Chronicle*, p. 282; *Abbreviata Cronica*, p. 4; *Capgrave’s Abbreviacion*, p. 229; *Eulogium*, vol. III, p. 408.
249 “Et archiepiscopus Cantuariensis...dixit Regi: ‘Domine, ego sum pater vester spiritualis et secunda persona post vos in regno, et nullius consilium plus acceptaretis quam meum si bonus sit. Consulo vobis quod si archeipiscopus tantum deliquerit, sicut vobis suggestum est, reservetur judicio domini...”
usually rebuked in the chronicles for his calculated betrayal of Scrope on the battlefield by pretending to agree to the articles of reform.°°°°“[T]he good prest”, wrote John Capgrave, “vndirstod neuir pe deceyte onto pe tyme pat pe seid erle arested him”;°°°° and Walsingham cited a prophecy of Bridlington, thus linking this betrayal to the execution: “Pacem tractabunt, sed fraudem subter arabunt,/ Pro nulla marca salvabitur ille hierarcha”.°°°° Whereas Scrope’s critics usually refrain from direct criticism of his behaviour or character, his adherents hailed it as being in full accordance with his office, and of a truly saintly quality.

The liturgy seems to address more directly the theme of Scrope’s transformation, but it is not the change which Shakespeare presents in Henry IV. The changes are from life to death, as whiteness became red (“Pollens candorili*is Ut rosa mbuit”).°°°° Another change is in the reverse, as he moved from death to the joy of new life, from the depths to the heights, as martyr (“Ricardus angiae primas ad gladium/ Ducitur, ceditur, migrans ad gaudium/ Commutat yma superis”).°°°° Despite the formulaic phrasing which is used in memoriae, Scrope’s new role as a saintly intercessor acquired a unique meaning. For it implied yet another transformation, from the worldly mediator between the people of York and the King, to a heavenly one, as intercessor between God and the people of York. His adherents beseech for prayers that may hasten their arrival in heaven (“Supplica pro nobis, beate IRicarde, vt ueniamus celo sine tarde”),°°°° confer relief (“Confer nobis releuamen”),°°°° or simply

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2°° Capgrave’s Abbreuiacion, p. 228.
2°°°° Bodleian, Lat. Liturg. F. 2, fol. 14r.
2°°°° Bodleian, Bodly MS 851, fol. 74v; BL, Cotton Faustina B ix, fol. 243v.
2°°°° Cambridge, Sidney Sussex College, MS 62, fol. 207v.
2°°°° YML, MS Add. 2, fol. 101r.
intercede on their behalf ("Intercede pro nobis"). They also beg that he unbind the chains of the most wicked law ("Dissolue uincula litis nequissime"), as he tried to do while alive.

2. The pastor imagery

The biblical theme of the pastor, the shepherd, as elaborated in Psalm 23, Ezekiel 34:11-24 and John 10, is frequently apparent in the sources relating to Scrope. The medieval idea of the good shepherd was attributed to bishops from early times; in them Christ's role as a shepherd was reflected. The shepherd-bishop, like the Magnus Pastor, Christ, is supposed to care, guide, teach, and unify his flock. Like Christ, he leads his flock, provides an example for it to follow, and, if needed, "giveth his life for the sheep" (John 10:11). The frequent use of the term, not only in the liturgy, but also in one of the chronicles (the most inclined to hagiographical style) suggests its importance. It indicates Scrope's roles as a pastor: as carer for the souls in his care; as protector of their rights and leader in protest; and thirdly, as intercessor before God, and heavenly martyr. Hence, Scrope's leadership of the force is compared by a contemporary anonymous chronicle to that of a "pastor verus pro grege suorum campum ascendit". The double meaning of campus as a place of grazing and a potential battle-field reflects Scrope's double role as religious and political leader.

257 YML, MS Add. 67, fol. 102v.
258 Bodleian, Lat. Liturg. F.2, fol. 147r.
260 Ibid., p. 96.
261 Ibid., p. 99.
262 Incerti Scriptores, pp. 44-45.
In the liturgy, however, Scrope's many roles are interwoven. In one collect he is “Ricarde pastor clare”; in another “pastor populi” and “pastor piissime”; in a third he is referred to as “pastor humilis”; in a fourth as “felix pastor ouium”.263 As a pastor-martyr, Scrope is invoked to lead his adherents in his direction (“Duc nos illuc quo letarisl Tu qui tot opitularis”).264

The only criticism of Scrope which makes use of the pastor imagery in order to chastise him was later made by Shakespeare, in the paragraph cited above.265 Ideas of transformation and duplicity were further used in maintaining that Scrope, while being a shepherd, was also a sheep — innocent and led to the slaughter. In their accounts of Scrope’s martyrdom Thomas Gascoigne and Clement Maidstone depict him being led to his death as “ovis ad victimam”266 (Isaiah 53:7), indicating thus not only the unfairness of his trial (“He was oppressed, and he was afflicted, yet he opened not his mouth: he is brought as a lamb to the slaughter, and as a sheep before her shearsers is dumb, so he opened not his mouth”), but also his death in atonement for the people’s sins (Isaiah 53:6 “All we like sheep have gone astray; we have turned every one to his own way; and the Lord hath laid on him the iniquity of us all”).

IV. The cult as reaction to Richard Scrope’s execution

Scrope was hailed in one of the prayers for him as “Eboraci gloria”267 an exemplary ‘local saint’. As we have seen, his adherents came mainly from York and its vicinity, and we know of no pilgrimages to the shrine from further afield. Edward IV’s effort to infuse the cult with a new impetus, as a focus for anti-Lancastrian feelings, was

263 Cambridge, St John’s College, MS E 26, fol. 54r; Bodleian, Lat. Liturg. F. 2, fol. 147r; Bodleian, Bodl. MS 851, fol. 74v and BL, Cotton Faustina B ix, fol. 243v; YML, MS XVI.K.6, fol. 27v.
264 YML, MS Add. 2, fol. 101r.
265 See above, p. 170.
267 YML, MS Add. 2, fol. 100v.
rejected by Scrope’s adherents in the city of York. Many among Scrope’s earliest followers were probably people who had heard him preach, who had read the articles on the doors of churches, and who were well-informed about the events leading to Scrope’s execution. Perhaps some of them were even witnesses to the procession which led him to the execution place, or who were even present during the decollation. John Dautree’s father, who owned the small book which Scrope carried when he died, may have been such a witness. Some of Scrope’s early adherents may have been active participants in the Rising, who left the field when it seemed that peace negotiations were under way. There is a degree of intimacy with the saint in the words of John Dautree, who refers to the Archbishop in his will as “Beatissimo dilecto meo Sancto Ricardo Scrop”.

The high degrees of locality and intimacy within the cult suggest that Scrope held a significant special meaning for the people of York and its vicinity. But what was this ‘meaning’ and what contributed to its formation? I suggest that the veneration of Scrope as saint and martyr originated in a collective reaction to the traumatic events of the Rising, its failure, and the Archbishop’s subsequent execution. By looking at some of the symptoms that may be identified with PTSD (Post Traumatic Stress Disorder), I will try to show that the formation of Scrope’s cult, and perhaps also its continuation in the following generations originated in such a collective response to the execution.

It is difficult to estimate how many of the people of York and the nearby villages and towns had read the articles (which were written in English) or heard them

\[267\] I shall thus follow Eliezer Witztum and Ruth Malkinson’s application of the PTSD model for individuals – to a group, as used in their study on collective trauma following the untimely death of a modern political leader, the Israeli Prime Minster Yitzhak Rabin, who was assassinated on 4 November 1995. Eliezer Witztum and Ruth Malkinson, "Death of a Leader: The Social Construction
preached. Even if the official 'Process and Record' from the Long Parliament exaggerated the size of the rebel army ("VIII ou IX mil hommes combatantz"),

York’s population around 1400 was of approximately twelve or thirteen thousand; a relatively high percentage of York’s men may have taken part in the Rising. Others, who could not join the rising because they were too young, old or because they were women, still probably knew about it from accounts of relatives or friends. Since the armed men who were sent away from Shipton Moor may have been under the impression that their demands had been accepted by the King, they would have been appalled to discover, after their return home, that in fact the Rising had failed and that their leaders had been imprisoned. The fear of the people of York of the King’s retribution was expressed in several chronicles; the people begged for the King’s forgiveness, barefoot and remorseful.

The chronicler Adam de Usk depicted the day’s doom-like atmosphere as he reported that the people of York behaved "ac si alter judicii dies esset". The pleading people of York were sent back to their homes, and probably expected their leader to be spared.

On 8 June 1405 further traumatic events unfolded near York. Most of the sources – chronicles, the accounts of Scrope’s martyrdom, and the liturgy – mention that the day of Scrope’s trial and execution was the feast day of St
William, York’s patron-saint. One of the chronicles also described the customary celebration of the day in “magna solemnitatis laetitia per civitam”, with a four-day feast in honour of the saint. This commemoration, celebrated during the fourteenth and into the mid-fifteenth century, included the carrying of a portable shrine with St William’s head in procession; minstrels, actors, and singing boys who enacted, on a platform constructed especially for the occasion, scenes from the life and miracles of St William and drummers and trumpeters added to the festive atmosphere. These traditional festivities, mingled in 1405 with concern about the political mood, were turned from joy into sorrow (“olum laetitiae, nunc in luctus convertuntur”), when the Archbishop’s trial and planned execution became known. Thus the day of Scrope’s execution was a day “around which the community measures time”, and took on a further traumatic “symbolic meaning of its own”. All this contributed to the intense reactions which followed. The many people who were probably out in the streets flocked to the execution place, so much so that the field where the executions took place was trampled by so many feet that the future crop was destroyed. The decollation itself, especially if it was a ‘pulcher martyrium’, was the emotional peak of the day.

Several reactions to it may be symptomatic of the traumatic nature of the event. One is manifested through dreams, nightmares, illusions, hallucinations and flashbacks. John Sibson’s dream-vision (“apparuit idem archiepiscopus”) took

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274 Incerti Scriptores, pp. 45-46 (quote on p. 45).
276 Incerti Scriptores, p. 46.
277 Mary Beth Williams, Ellen S. Zinner and Richard R. Ellis, “The Connection Between Grief and Trauma: an Overview”, in When a Community Weeps, pp. 3-17 (p. 7).
place three nights after the execution; the dead Archbishop instructed him to do penance for a murder he had contemplated thirty years earlier. The fact that the dream deals with a *murder* (though one which never materialized) is revealing; its recurrence on fourteen occasions ("ac per xiiij vices eidem Johanni idem sanctus archiepiscopus apparuit") hints at the possibility that Sibson was reacting to what had probably been a traumatic event.280

Other types of post-traumatic reaction are "irritability, anger, rage, hostility, and feelings of violence".281 In our case, they may explain the violent reactions manifested by the atmosphere created in the Minster, that of "a constant... brawling and contention".282 Feelings of vulnerability, another typical response to trauma,283 can explain the prompt creation of a new cult in which the traumatized believers could seek protection and support. Survivors' guilt, which is often "related to fantasies of having contributed to...the death of others",284 may explain not only Sibson's recurrent 'dreams' of his imagined murder, but also the prompt need to honour the executed Archbishop. This expiation, through gift-giving and prayers, may manifest residues of feelings of guilt, experienced by those who had deserted Scrope on the battlefield, or by those who had been – passively or actively – part of the Rising which had led to his death.

When a leader dies, as Witztum and Malkinson have shown in the case of Yitzhak Rabin, the Israeli Prime Minister assassinated in 1995, other reactions are added as collective responses to the trauma. The leader may be appreciated, after his

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280 "Et tum eidem Johanni quamnordecim vicibus post mortem suam apparuit." *Gascoigne*, p. 229; *Maidstone*, vol. II, p. 309. Although John Sibson's home was not in York, it seems that he had spent time in York: his confessor, William Kexby, was a canon of York, and Lady Joanna Roes, Gascoigne's sister who told him Sibson's story, heard it among the Franciscans, at York. *Gascoigne*, pp. 228-29.

281 *Post-Traumatic Stress Disorder*, pp. 28-30.


283 *Post-Traumatic Stress Disorder*, pp. 79-80.

284 *Ibid.*, pp. 31-34; see p. 32.
death, much more than in life, even to the point of idealization.\textsuperscript{285} And what is a saint or martyr if not an idealization? One way of coping with the loss is through “search for similar events so as to comprehend the event and its circumstances”;\textsuperscript{286} a search that, in Scrope’s case, resulted in comparing him to Christ, Thomas of Canterbury, and St Stephen. "Linking objects” may be symbolic or material objects which were related to the deceased, and that “because of their relatedness, turn into precious objects for the survivor”\textsuperscript{287} just like Scrope’s personal belonging which his adherents kept as relics (the mazer he had blessed, or the book he was carrying).

The collective trauma experienced by the people of York at Scrope’s death may have been transmitted across generations, “from parents, to children, to grandchildren”\textsuperscript{288} as seen in the case of Margaret Blackburn and her daughters. The death of Scrope may have been particularly disillusioning, since it was the death not only of a person but also of ideas and hopes for a reformed future. All these elements, which we can interpret as a collective post-traumatic reaction of the people of York to the death of Scrope, catalyzed the veneration of the Archbishop, and kept the cult active for at least three generations after the events.

A collective and individual healing process after trauma may be achieved “by joining together, by developing rituals and ceremonies, and by talking about the event over and over and thereby finding a forum for pain”.\textsuperscript{289} Scrope’s tomb provided such a healing space, a social space, around which this process of restoration could have begun. The interpretation of Scrope’s death as martyrdom gave meaning to what may

\textsuperscript{285} Witztum and Malkinson, ‘Death of a Leader’, p. 123.
\textsuperscript{286} In Rabin’s case it has been compared to the assassination of J.F. Kennedy. Ibid., p. 123. For popular reactions to Kennedy’s assassination see Eyal J. Naveh, Crown of Thorns: Political Martyrdom in America from Abraham Lincoln to Martin Luther King Jr. (NY and London, 1990), pp. 172-74.
\textsuperscript{287} Witztum and Malkinson, ‘Death of a Leader’, p. 129.
\textsuperscript{289} Williams, Zinner and Ellis, ‘The Connection’, p. 15.
have been perceived as a 'meaningless' death. The rituals that followed (such as prayers and oblations) were thus not only "a tool for creating meaning" but also "a way...to bring closure".

This collective recovery through and by the creation and maintenance of a cult created a *communitas* in the sense Victor Turner has used, through a spontaneous socializing process which created – temporarily – an unstructured, 'open', society. The feeling of unity and identity was facilitated by the *pastor* imagery, in which the sheep Scrope led became a flock, a people. Although over time the cohesion of Scrope's adherents lessened, it still retained some of its early character, thus enhancing a civic identity in York. Several groups in York which were involved with Scrope's cult – lawyers, clergy, and town council – had acted to achieve a higher degree of municipal independence from central government. "Civic saints" such as St Blaise, St William, and also Scrope, united civic government with religious houses by "breaking down institutional barriers"; at the same time creating "civic propaganda" and being civically created by them.

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290 Ellen S. Zinner and Mary Beth Williams, 'Summary and Incorporation: A Reference Frame for Community Recovery and Restoration', in *When a Community Weeps*, pp. 237-54 (pp. 252-53).
291 Williams, Zinner and Ellis, 'The Connection', p. 15.
294 As in the case of Dubrovnik, where the legend of the translation of the Dalmatian martyrs to the city was created as one in a variety of ways in which the medieval city constructed its identity, especially against rivaling cities. Richard Gyug, 'The Dalmatian Martyrs: Legend and History in Thirteenth-Century Dubrovnik', in *Religion, Text, and Society in Medieval Spain and Northern Europe: Essays in Honour of J.N. Hillgarth*, Thomas E. Burman, Mark D. Meyerson, and Leah Shopkow (eds.) Papers in Medieval Studies 16 (Toronto, 2002), pp. 200-22.
This period of "civic self-confidence" which had begun after York was given a county status in 1396 lingered until the 1470s and 1480s. One of the symbols of this "civic self-confidence" was the Corpus Christi Guild, which was founded in 1408. Due to proximity in time and in space a link between the cult's formation and existence and the guild's foundation may be suggested. Among the founding members of the guild we may identify some of the people related to Scrope's cult, such as Henry and Agnes Wyman, the Blackburns, Robert Dawtree (brother of Thomas and uncle of John), and a 'soror Elena' from Clementhorpe nunnery. Not only individuals constituted a relation between the cult and the guild. Also ideas about the body of Christ, which the guild venerated, could be linked to Scrope's cult. These were created by the interpretation of Scrope's martyrdom as *Imitatio Christi*; by Scrope's own devotion to Christ's body (he had given the Minster a reliquary for carrying the host); and thirdly, by the chronological proximity between Corpus Christi day and Scrope's martyrdom both in the year following the execution (Corpus Christi day was 10 June 1406) and on the guild's foundation year (14 June 1408). Perhaps one of the reasons for the guild's formation and relation to Corpus Christi was linked to Scrope's martyrdom, and to a civic desire to celebrate the martyr privately.

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298 Hughes referred to a possible link. Although some of his arguments are intriguing they are not always founded on the existing sources. Thus, for example, he has suggested that the mazer given to the guild by Agnes Wyman may have been "carried with the host in this [the Corpus Christi] procession". Hughes, *Pastors and Visionaries*, pp. 313-14.
300 *The Register of the Guild of Corpus Christi*, pp. 239-248.
301 "Unum berill ornatum cum argento deaurato ad modum cuppae, coopertum, cum auce in summitate cooperculi, pro corpore Christi portando, ex dono domini Ricardi Scrope Archiepiscopi, ponderans iiij lb., viij uncias." *The Fabric Rolls*, p. 221.
Conclusion

Scrope's cult tells us about a wide range of religious practices and tastes in early fifteenth century northern England, such as the rising importance of the devotion to Christ's Five Wounds. It also teaches us about the political culture of the time. The sources which narrate Scrope's death and the formation of his cult inform us about how Scrope himself, the participants in the Rising, the cult's adherents, and the chroniclers reporting the events - understood and interpreted the role of a high churchman in this period. An English bishop in the fifteenth century was permitted, if not expected, to be politically involved, and to defend the rights of church and flock when necessary. In this sense Scrope's cult contributed to the development of the political idiom of the day. We may also suggest, following the sources, a social and psychological explanation to the creation of this strikingly local cult. Following a model which concentrates on post-traumatic reactions I suggest that the main trigger in the formation and early activity of the cult around Scrope was the trauma of the Archbishop's death. In turn, this contributed to the making of York's civic identity in the fifteenth century, and perhaps even to the foundation of its famous Corpus Christi Guild.
CHAPTER 4
KING HENRY VI: QUASIALTER JOB

Henry VI, King of England and France, met his death in the Tower of London, probably on the night of 21-22 May 1471. Several questions about his death remain to be convincingly answered: who was his killer? how was he murdered? A dagger held in a chapel in Caversham (Berkshire) was still believed, in 1538, to be the murder weapon, "the holy dager that kyllde kinge Henry", and was presented to visitors as a holy relic. Yet one aspect of Henry VI's death is beyond doubt: it made him a martyr throughout England.

The cult which evolved around "Good Henry" is the subject of this chapter. As has been the case in earlier chapters, the historical background leading to Henry's death will first be narrated. A study of the cult's creation, development and disintegration will then follow, based on diverse textual and visual sources. I shall then evaluate the geographic extent of the cult, as well as the social and political characteristics of its adherents. Several themes central to the cult of Henry as a suffering martyr will also be described and discussed.

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Unlike the deaths of the two other political martyrs discussed in previous chapters, Henry VI’s death was not a public event. The fact that there had been no eyewitnesses to his death, and that many questions related to his end remained unanswered, played a central role in determining the hagiographical character of the nascent cult. Henry’s death has not become the core of the cult. Rather, the dual foci were Henry’s virtuous life, and the suffering which he patiently experienced, especially in the last ten years of his life. His untimely death was presented not as the raison d’être of his martyrdom, but as the culmination of his longer suffering in life.

Of the three political martyrs discussed in this work, Henry is the one who has hitherto received the most abundant historiographical attention. Most works on the cult tend to concentrate on Henry’s patent holiness, with little attention to martyrrological elements — genres and topoi — to be found in the sources. This chapter will offer a different understanding of Henry’s cult and representation; it will focus less on Henry’s acclaimed saintliness, and more on his martyrrological life.

Yet making a distinction between a saint and a martyr is not easy, especially in a period when suffering during life was interpreted as a virtuous martyrdom of sorts. Contemporaries in later medieval England applied the language of martyrdom to their lives in various ways: social isolation or illness were described as martyrdom, blurring the traditional boundaries between a ‘confessor’ who chose to live an exemplary life, and a ‘martyr’. I shall concentrate on the martyrrological themes found in the sources which aimed to describe Henry’s sufferings both in his life and in death, be they chosen or imposed.

Craig’s article is an exception in that sense. It concludes that “it was not Henry’s virtues that called him to mind. Instead, it was his experience of adversity, a demonstrably real aspect of his life, which created bonds of sympathy between Henry and his devotees, and thus brought him to mind in moments of genuine distress.” Craig, ‘Royalty, Virtue, and Adversity’, p. 209.
I. The man and his reign

When Henry's birth was celebrated in England on 6 December 1421, no one expected the death of his father, King Henry V, only a few months later, on 31 August 1422. During the first fifteen years of Henry's reign - his minority - the governance of England took the form of a protectorate combined with a council (the protectorate ended in 1429), and later of a council. One of the ways in which Henry expressed his autonomy and interests was in the foundation of two colleges, Eton (1440) and the Royal College of Saint Nicholas, known as King's College, Cambridge (1441). In 1445 Henry married Margaret of Anjou, thus giving his personal rule "a more traditional appearance". Margaret bore the king a male heir, Prince Edward, born on 13 October 1453, at a time when Henry was suffering a mental breakdown (between August 1453 and December 1454). It was said that he "sodenly was take and smyten

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6 For the protectorate and council, and the relations between the King, the two institutions and the persons in office see Griffiths, *The Reign*, pp. 19-24 and chapter 2; Wolfe, *Henry VI*, pp. 30-33; John Watts emphasized the ambivalence and paradox inherent in the minority rule. John Watts, *Henry VI and the Politics of Kingship* (Cambridge, 1996), pp. 113-17. On the question of when Henry's minority ended see John Watts, "When Did Henry VI's Minority End?", in *Trade, Devotion and Governance: Papers in Later Medieval History*, Dorothy J. Clayton, Richard G. Davies and Peter McNiven (eds.) (Stroud, 1994), pp. 116-39. He concluded that "Henry VI's minority ended when he was ten: the rest of the reign was a prolonged and weary struggle...to manage his personal rule." Whereas Griffiths and Wolfe saw Henry's personal rule as active (for example Griffiths, *The Reign*, p. 232-34; Wolfe, *Henry VI*, p. 88), Watts attested to the fact that contemporaries "could not be sure that responsibility for policy lay, as it ought to have lain, with the king...At times, indeed, they knew that this was not the case."; Watts, *Henry VI*, p. 111.


with a fissancy and his wit and reson with drawn"; a condition that has been explained by some as a reaction to the loss of English territories in France.

Among modern historians of Henry VI’s reign it is well established that Henry’s character and incapacity had been a major factor in triggering the violent political strife of the second half of the fifteenth century, that came to be known as the Wars of the Roses. In the early 1450s, however, the immediate trigger for political strife was the animosity between Richard, Duke of York (Lieutenant of Ireland) and Edmund Beaufort, Duke of Somerset (Captain of Calais and the King’s principal adviser).

The political balance was altered by Henry’s illness in 1453-54. On 23 November 1453 the Duke of Somerset was confined to the Tower, where he was to stay for more than a year, following a great council at Westminster, two days earlier.

At the beginning of 1454 Queen Margaret, in a bill to the council, made a claim for the regency of England in the name of her son, for the period of Henry’s incapacity. This attempt to obtain political power failed. Not the Queen, but the Duke of York

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13 A.J. Pollard offered a historiographical overview of the long term, short term, and immediate causes of the Wars. Henry’s character was seen as one of the immediate causes. A.J. Pollard, *The Wars of the Roses* (Basingstoke, 2001), chapter 3. Christine Carpenter emphasized, in her study of the Wars, Henry’s weakness. For example: “the causes of the lengthy political and constitutional crisis...were not long-term but were rooted in the king’s personal incapacity”. Carpenter, *The Wars*, p. 253. See also R.L. Storey, *The End of the House of Lancaster* (Gloucester, 1986), pp. x, 27; “The intermittent fighting...had originated from the gross misgovernment and mismanagement of the nation’s affairs at home and abroad by Henry VI”. Wolfe, *Henry VI*, p. 332; “both the king’s personality and his long minority must have played some part in shaping the rule of England during his lifetime.” Watts, *Henry VI*, p. 102.
attained the exalted authority: on 27 March 1454 he became protector, defender, and chief councillor of the kingdom. Henry's recovery in December 1454, however, ended York's protectorate, and brought Somerset back to power.

The ever growing conflict between York and Somerset was also a conflict between two groups in court. It culminated in the first Battle of St Albans of May 1455 in which Somerset was killed, and Henry was wounded by an arrow in his neck. Thus, York's second protectorate began, ending three months later with his resignation from office (February 1456). In the Loveday of March 1458 compensation was paid to the Lancastrian lords who had lost their fathers in the Battle of St Albans, and the former enemies marched to St Paul's, arm in arm. This ceremony, however, did not succeed in reconciling the Yorkists and the Lancastrian heirs. In 1460 York made a bid for the crown. The dynastic dispute which followed led to the Battle of Wakefield of that year, with the death of the Duke of York, and the coronation of Edward Earl of March - his son - as Edward IV on 28 June 1461.

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19 Watts, Henry VI, p. 303; Carpenter, The Wars, pp. 120-21.
For the next four years Henry VI was in exile; first in Scotland and then around the north-east border. Queen Margaret and Prince Edward were in exile too, spending the years between September 1463 and June 1470 in Koeur (Lorraine).26 After the Scots had opened negotiations with Edward IV, and signed a truce on 9 December 1463, Henry VI was forced to leave his refuge in Scotland. He stayed in northern England until his capture in Lancashire, in July 1465. After his seizure he was confined in the Tower for the next five years.27

The agreement between Richard Neville, Earl of Warwick, and Queen Margaret, and the betrothal of his daughter and her son, enabled the Readeption of Henry as king of England, on 3 October 1470.28 Henry's second reign, however, did not last long. When in the following April Edward IV arrived in London, he imprisoned Henry in the Tower.29 In the Battle of Tewkesbury of 4 May Prince Edward was killed and Queen Margaret captured.30 Henry is believed to have died on the night following Edward IV's triumphant entry into London, on 21 May 1471.

II. The cult

1. Prevention, approval and encouragement of the cult

The continuation to the Crowland Chronicle, written in 1486,31 describes the display of Henry's cadaver at St Paul's church for a few days before it was carried on the Thames to Chertsey in an illuminated barge ("cum luminaribus sollemniter praeparata

28 Griffiths, The Reign, pp. 890-91; Wolfe, Henry VI, p. 341; Carpenter, The Wars, pp. 177-78.
30 For the Battle of Tewkesbury see Griffiths, The Reign, p. 892; Wolfe, Henry VI, pp. 346-48; Ross, Edward IV, pp. 171-72.
In 1473 a total of 40s. had been offered to an image of Henry VI in York Minster. Six years later, in October 1479, this practice was forbidden by the Archbishop of York, Laurence Booth, being “in contemptum ecclesiae universalis, et in vilipendium domini nostri Edwardi, Anglorum regis quarti”. During Edward IV’s reign Henry VI’s cult developed despite efforts to extinguish it.

With Edward IV’s death and his brother’s, Richard III’s, usurpation of the crown in 1483, Henry VI’s cult received royal approval. Richard III transferred Henry’s burial place from the relatively obscure Thames-side Abbey of Chertsey (Surrey), to Windsor in August 1484. Henry VI was reburied in St George’s chapel, to the left of the high altar.

The cult which was already in existence before Henry VII became king in 1485 was encouraged and further propagated by him. He tried to achieve the official canonization of Henry VI; three popes - Innocent VIII, Alexander VI, and Julius II -
responded favourably to the idea, but a canonization was never achieved.38 Meanwhile, Queen Elizabeth of York, Henry VII's wife, made an offering to Henry's shrine in Windsor three times in the year 1502.39 From 1496 onwards Henry VII planned to build his own tomb next to that of his saintly half-uncle.40 A demand in 1498, made by the Abbot of Westminster for the re-burial of Henry VI there, triggered a debate between Chertsey, Windsor and Westminster regarding the tomb's location. Representatives of the three parties appeared for a debate on the right to rebury Henry VI, summoned at Westminster on 26 February 1498, before the Chancellor and a Great Council. Eventually it was agreed by the King and Council that Henry VI's shrine should be moved to Westminster; yet, to this day, Henry is still buried at Windsor.41

During the reign of Henry VII's son and heir, Henry VIII, Henry VI's cult was still active. Henry VIII himself made an offering at Henry VI's shrine in Windsor in June 1529,42 and the cult was still in operation during the 1520s and 1530s.43 Henry

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38 A bull of Alexander VI from 1494 orders a further inquiry into a canonization, following his predecessor's, and is printed in Concilia Magnae Britanniae et Hiberniae, 446-1717, David Wilkins (ed.) 4 vols. (Brussels, 1964), vol. III, p. 640. Pope Julius II, writing once in 1504 and again in 1507 encouraged a further investigation into the matter. The letters were translated and printed in Calendar of Entries in the Papal Registers Relating to Great Britain and Ireland, Papal Letters, 18 vols., RS 159, vol. XVIII, Michael J. Haren (ed.)(Dublin, 1989), pp. 150 and 566-67. A copy of Julius II's bull from 1504, with the papal seal still attached, is in the British Library, as Cotton Cleopatra E III, fols. 164b-165. For the process of canonization see Grosjean's Henrici VI, chapter VII. McKenna suggested several possible reasons for Henry VII's declining interest in Henry VI's canonization: firstly, his unwillingness to pay the sums needed for the purpose, secondly, the death of Henry VII's mother, Lady Margaret Beaufort (d. 1509) who had been "a family champion of that cause", and finally the fact that Henry VI's cult "had simply lost much of its political vitality..." McKenna, 'Piety and Propaganda', p. 83. For the canonization process and its failure see also Gasquet, The Religious Life, pp. 75-80, 87; Wolfe, Henry VI, pp. 355-56. For Henry VII's positive relations with the papacy during his reign see Chrimes, Henry VII, pp. 240-41. For Lady Margaret and her piety see Michael K Jones and Malcolm G. Underwood, The King's Mother: Lady Margaret Beaufort Countess of Richmond and Derby (Cambridge, 1992), chapter 6.
39 Privy Purse Expenses of Elizabeth of York and Wardrobe Accounts of Edward the Fourth, Nicholas Harris Nicolas (ed.)(London, 1830), pp. 3, 29 and 42. She also offered, in March 1502, 5s. to Prince Edward, Henry VI's son.
41 For the 1498 debate between Chertsey, Windsor and Westminster see McKenna, 'Piety and Propaganda', pp. 80-83; Wolfe, Henry VI, p. 357-58.
2. The stages of veneration

Sources dealing with Henry's cult are more abundant than in the case of the two other political martyrs hitherto discussed in this dissertation, Thomas of Lancaster and Richard Scrope. These sources are to be found in a variety of genres and media: a hagiographical Life of Henry VI, a collection of miracles, chronicles, letters related to the efforts towards canonization, testaments and bequests for lights in front of Henry's images and for proxy pilgrimages, inventories of churches' goods, churchwardens' accounts, poems extolling Henry's holiness, prayers for his intercession, and a pageant in which one of the characters represented the late king.

There are also visual sources: on stained glass windows, rood screens, illuminated liturgical manuscripts, statues, pilgrim badges and wall paintings.\(^{44}\)

Offering a chronology of the cult's creation and development is not an easy task. Many of the sources are difficult to date, and the ones which may be dated are from the early Tudor period, thus depicting the cult from 1485 onwards. Yet although most of the sources date from decades after the death of Henry VI, there is enough

\(^{43}\) In the late 1520s Henry VIII's agents at the papal curia attempted to revive the process of canonization. McKenna, 'Piety and Propaganda', p. 84. Money for lights before images of Henry VI was still bequeathed in wills from the beginning of the 1530s, in East Kent, for example. Testamenta Cantiana: A Series of Extracts from Fifteenth and Sixteenth Century Wills, East Kent, Arthur Hussey (ed.) (London, 1907), pp. 25, 30. The "moche rches" that "is belonging to Kyng Henrys arte" are mentioned in an inventory of St George's chapel, from 1534. The Inventories of St. George's Chapel Windsor Castle 1384-1667, Maurice F. Bond (ed.) (Windsor, 1947), p. 179.

earlier evidence to suggest that Henry VI's cult was not a Tudor invention. Henry VII merely encouraged a cult which had already been established by the time he became king: he sought to promote and encourage it.

Two central events helped in shaping Henry VI's cult. The first was Richard III's translation of Henry's tomb and shrine from Chertsey to Windsor in August 1484; the second, Henry VII's rise to the crown, and the campaign to win hearts which followed, in which Henry VI played a major role.

i. Pre-Tudor sources

1. Prayers pre-dating Henry VI's translation

Although liturgical prayers and visual representations which treated Henry as a saint survive from the early 1480s, we also know that veneration of Henry existed already in the 1470s, as the evidence from York Minster shows. Part of a memoria to Henry in a Book of Hours (Cambridge, Fitzwilliam Museum, MS 55, fols. 141v-142r) dated c. 1480, was copied also in three other, less precisely dated manuscripts, though accompanied by a different oration (BL, MS Stowe 16, fol. 151r; BL, MS Harley 5793, fol. 1r; London, Lambeth Palace, MS 545, fols. 175v-176r). In the Harleian manuscript a preface to the prayer was added:

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Etlinger, 'Notes on a Woodcut depicting King Henry VI Being Invoked as a Saint', Folklore 84 (1973), pp. 115-19; Marks, 'Images of Henry VI'.


Hanc orationem summus pontifex Sixtus Romae quartus [1471-1484] compositu, ad laudem et honorem gloriosissimi Regis Henrici Regis Angliae post conquestum sexti.

The same prayer was later printed (with the oration found in the British Library and Lambeth Palace manuscripts) in late fifteenth and early sixteenth century liturgical books, such as William Caxton's *The Fifteen O's*, printed in Westminster in 1491 for Queen Elizabeth, Henry VII's wife, and for his mother, Lady Margaret Beaufort.47

This prayer emphasizes Henry's role as a champion of the church, "pauperum et ecclesie defensor". Henry's fame had been for being merciful, charitable and pious ("ad misericordiam pronus, in caritate feruidus, in pietate deditus"), as Henry VII was later to claim in the letters for his canonization. Neither Henry's suffering during life nor the circumstances of his death are mentioned in this prayer. Another pre-Tudor prayer in a manuscript now in Bishop Cosin's library in Durham (MS V.III.7), includes another memoria to Henry (on fol. 97v), which has been dated to c. 1483-85.

Since the prayer includes the verses "Wynsorie natus et ibi de fonte levatus/ Atque coronatus in Westm veneratus", and since the book was possibly written for Westminster abbey or one of its monks, it may be suggested that Henry was venerated at Westminster around that period.48 The prayer starts by describing Henry's chastity ("O rex henrice vincus virtute pudice"). After briefly narrating his life (his birth and

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47 For a facsimile of Caxton's book see *The Fifteen O's, and other Prayers: Reproduced in Photolithography by Stephen Ayling* (London, 1869). Also the following Books of Hours in the British Library: C. 41.e.8 (printed in 1503), C.35.h.7 (1526), and C.35.d.13 (1531). For Margaret Beaufort's influence on Caxton and his press see Jones and Underwood, *The King's Mother*, pp. 181-82.

48 A transcription of the prayer is printed in *Henry the Sixth: A Reprint of John Blacman's Memoir*, M.R. James (ed. and trans.) (Cambridge, 1919), pp. xiii-xiv. A part of the prayer exists in *The Miracles of King Henry VI*, Ronald Knox and Shane Lesley (eds. and trans.) (Cambridge, 1923), p. 11. A description of the manuscript appears in Palace Green Library, Durham, and suggests that the manuscript was written in England, mainly by William Ebesham, c. 1483-85. It has been argued, however, that the hand in which the prayer to Henry is written is not that of Ebesham. A.I. Doyle, "The Work of a Late Fifteenth-Century English Scribe, William Ebesham", *BJRL* 39 (1957), pp. 298-325 (p. 319). Therefore it is possible that the prayer was added in a later date, perhaps by the owner of the manuscript. Westminster Abbey's claim for Henry's resting place is from a much later date (1498).
coronations in England and France), it recounts the many miracles which had taken place since his death ("Post mortem carnis miracula plurima creatus"). The prayer ends in an oration asking for the saint's intercession in delivery from both physical and mental anguish ("omnibus angustijs anime & doloribus membrorum corporis"), two categories of sufferings which Henry VI himself had experienced. Although extrapolating from negative evidence is problematic, I suggest that since Windsor is regarded in the prayer only as Henry's birth place and not as his shrine, the prayer must date from before the translation of the shrine to Windsor in August 1484. It thus hints at the fact that miracles were rumoured already in the decade following Henry's death, while his tomb was still at Chertsey.

2. Vita

Not all the sources relating to the cult from the pre-Tudor period concentrate on Henry's chastity, charity, piety, and defense of the church. One of the central sources datable to the period between Henry's death and his translation to Windsor is John Blacman's *Compilation of the Meekness and Good Life of King Henry VII* (*Collectarium Mansuetudinum et Bonorum Morum Regis Henrici VI*), which is a *Vita* of sorts. Blacman (d. 1485?) was a well-informed hagiographer: he spent time with Henry VI as his unofficial chaplain, studied and taught at Eton, and knew many of the people around the King. The text has been dated by Roger Lovatt to between Henry's death in 1471, and August 1484, his translation to Windsor, and, perhaps

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49 "Es Wynsorie natus & ibi de fonte leuatus/ Atque cxiatus in Westin veneratus/ Et post ffrancoruni rex es de iure creatus".
more accurately, to around 1480. One of the arguments Lovatt uses as evidence for a pre-Tudor date is the absence of discussion of Henry's murder in the work. Henry's death is mentioned, but not treated thoroughly. His endurance of suffering is treated in the chapter which deals with his piety and patience (Pietas et patientia ejus). Henry's suffering is, in Blacman's work, a cascade of christological references to Christ's Passion, which employ increasingly explicit comparisons with Christ's agony and death. Thus Henry's compassion towards those who sinned against him was exemplified on two occasions. The fact that he showed mercy towards those who wronged him, Blacman argues, proves that Henry had become an imitator of Christ ("quibus valde fuerat gratiosus et misericors imitator effectus illius"). Like Christ, Henry also showed mercy even to those he found to be ungrateful, "[U]t Christus Judaeos". More direct references to Henry's Christ-like suffering are still to follow:

[in turri ibidem incarceratus erat]...ubi famem, sitim, obprobria, irrisiones, blasphemaeas, aliasque injurias complurimas, ut verus Christi sequenter, patienter tolleravit, et tandem mortis ibi corporis violentiam sustinuit propter regnum, ut tune sperabatur

The link between Henry and Christ's Passion is established, scene by scene.

Blacman depicts Henry as knowing in advance, through heavenly mediation, the
sufferings that were yet to come ("vox corporalis insonuit per XVII dies antequam caperetur insinus ei").

Like Christ, Henry would be betrayed ("prodigione traderetur"), and brought into the city (London, here equaling Jerusalem) like a thief or an outlaw ("ac sine honore, quasi fur aut exul"). Henry endured many evils by wicked men ("multa ac varia pravorum hominum ingenii mala exquisitia subiturus"), and was imprisoned ("et infra turrim illic incarcerandus").

Although Blacman's text does not offer an extensive discussion of Henry's death, his clear treatment of Henry's suffering in Passion-like language emphasizes Blacman's understanding of Henry's sufferings as a continual martyrdom which culminates in his death.

Following this examination of the martyrrological elements in Blacman's depiction of Henry's life, and Lovatt's dating of this work, it is clear that martyrrological elements were attached to Henry's cult: he was seen not just as a saint, but as a martyr, already in the first decade after his death, and before his translation to Windsor.

Henry's passion-like death is referred to also in one of the two known insertions of Henry VI's obit into a calendar, in a Breviary made for a church in the west midlands (Worcester, Worcester Cathedral Library, MS Q. 10, fol. 160r). Henry's obit was (wrongly) entered on 13 May, by an ill-informed adherent who did not know what the chroniclers did, that Henry died on the night between 21 and 22

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58 Ibid., p. 20 (translation on p. 43).
59 Ibid., p. 20 (translation on p. 43)
60 For descriptions of the manuscript see Catalogue of Manuscripts preserved in the Chapter Library of Worcester Cathedral, John Kestell Poley and Sidney Graved Hamilton (eds.)(Oxford, 1906), pp. 112-13, and A Descriptive Catalogue of the Medieval Manuscripts in Worcester Cathedral Library, R.M. Thomson (ed.)(Woodbridge, 2001), p. 124. The other obit of Henry in a calendar is in the Bohun Psalter (Fitzwilliam Museum, MS Add. 38-1950), a manuscript dated to c. 1370, under May 16. The obit was added to the calendar in red sometime after Henry's death. For a description of the manuscript see A Descriptive Catalogue of the Additional Illuminated Manuscripts in the Fitzwilliam Museum, Francis Wormald and Phyllis M. Giles (eds.)(Cambridge, 1982), pp. 431-36. A third manuscript which includes, on fol. 2r, the obits of Henry, Prince Edward, and Queen Margaret alongside those of the Butler family, Earl of Ormond (on a separate folio and not in the calendar), is BL, Harleian MS 2887, which was dated to c. 1480-c. 1505. For a description of the manuscript see A Catalogue of the
This addition refers to the "Passio henrici Regis & martiris", emphasizing, as Blacman's compilation did, Henry's reputation as a martyr who had undergone a Christ-like Passion.

3. Miracles attributed to Henry VI

Henry was seen as saint and martyr in another source which predates the translation to Windsor. This is a compilation of miracles attributed to Henry VI, between 1481 and 1500. The miracle accounts were translated from Middle English into Latin by an anonymous monk for, or at the request of, John Morgan, Dean of Windsor (1485-96). In the oration of the memoria to Henry at the beginning of the manuscript Henry VI's ability to express God's overflowing riches of grace through miracles is explained, as Henry's suffering is given a broader, cosmic, meaning. The oration addresses God,

qui dilectum famulum tuum regem Henricum variis tribulacionem pressuris opprimeri voluiisti, ut ex eius paciencie et innocentissime vite meritis, quasi quibusdam botris uberrimis, copiosa tue gracie dulcedo per miraculorum gloriem distillaret in plebem


61 See, for example, John Warkworth's chronicle (written during the reign of Edward IV), which states that Henry was "put to death, the xxj day of Maij, on a tywesday nyght, betwyx xj and xij of the cloke". John Warkworth, A Chronicle, p. 21. Also in a Latin chronicle which ends in 1471 Henry's dead body is transferred on the Thames on "Vigilia Ascensionis Dominice", which, in 1471, was 22 May. John Stow, Three Fifteen-Century Chronicles, James Gairdner (ed.) Camden Society n.s. 28(London, 1880), p. 184.

62 This compilation is a manuscript now in the British Library, as Royal 13 C VIII, dating from the end of 1500. For a description of the manuscript see Catalogue of Western Manuscripts in the Old Royal and King's Collections, George F. Warner and Julius P. Gilson (eds.) 4 vols. (London, 1921), vol. II, pp. 105-106. It was edited and printed in Grosjean's Henrici VI. Some of the miracles were translated into English by Knox and Leslie in The Miracles of King Henry VI (Cambridge, 1923); the collection was also discussed in Gasquet, The Religious Life, pp. 103-10. Paul Grosjean related to the geographical and chronological bias inherent in the compilation (Henrici VI, p. 94), and John M. Theilmann, too, discussed the problems in studying the miracles statistically. John M. Theilmann, "The Miracles of King Henry VI of England", The Historian 42 (1979-80), pp. 456-71.

63 "who wouldest have thy beloved servant King Henry oppressed with all manner of tribulations, that through his patience and through the merits of his most innocent life, like grapes trodden in the wine-press, thy faithful people might receive in a wonderful manner the overflowing riches of thy grace" The
The miracles performed at Henry's shrine in Chertsey are described in the antiphon of a *memoria* in a manuscript once belonging to the Pudsay family of Bolton and Barforth (Yorkshire). It is claimed here that Henry had the power to perform these miracles thanks to the combination of his piety and his suffering, in life and in death. Not only his exemplary life ("Tua vita singularis"), and his commitment to churchmen ("tutor ecclesiasticorum") are mentioned, Henry is also seen to be as mild as a lamb, to have put his trust in Christ while enduring suffering ("Mitis ut Agnus patiens/ Fuisti, in Christo confidens/ Mira diversa faciens").

4. Post-translation sources

The translation of Henry's body triggered the writing of new prayers for Henry, and the addition of *memoriae* to existing prayer books. Some of these prayers which are dateable to the period of Richard III's reign, may have been in circulation already earlier. Not only liturgical texts may have been written after the translation, artefacts also attempted to represent Henry VI as a saint. For example, the iron offering box that can still be seen at St George's chapel in Windsor (fig. 14), may be from the period immediately after the translation from Chertsey, with renewed pilgrimage and miracles. The box has a capital H on each side, and on the top are four key holes,
with four slits for offerings, shaped as castles or towers. This design draws the
pilgrim's attention to Henry's imprisonment and death in the Tower of London.

In conclusion, the pre-Tudor sources relating to Henry's cult suggest that his
reputation as saint and martyr was established already during the first decade after his
death. The miracles were understood as resulting from both his exemplary life of
charity, chastity, and piety, and from his Passion-like sufferings in life and death.

ii. Tudor sources

A great quantity of sources relating to Henry's cult has survived from 1485 and
onwards. Already during Henry VII's first parliament the Commons petitioned for a
Bill of Resumption. They were reacting to Tudor claims about the blood relationship
between Henry VII and Henry VI. They described the late Henry VI as

blessed Prynce of most holy memory, King Henry the Sixt, your Uncle, whom
God rest...[who, like Henry VII's other progenitors] have kept as Worshipfull,
Noble and Honorable Estate of their Household in this Land 67

The people of Worcester planned a pageant for Henry VII's visit of May 1486.
The surviving text (which was never performed) contains the character of a saintly
Henry VI, who was to intercede with the King, following a failed insurrection. 68 In his
lines the character Henry VI presents himself as

Henry the VIth, sobre and sad,
Thy great Uncle, sumtyme of England King

68 Anglo, Spectacle, pp. 28-30, 37. The text is printed in John Leland, De Rebus Britannicis
Collectanæ, Thomas Hearne (ed.) 6 vols. (London, 1770), vol. IV, pp. 192-95. Henry VII was already
in Hereford on 15 May, after he had visited Worcester. Could it be that the pageant was hoped to be
performed as close as possible to May 21, thus linking Henry VI's death to the plea for mercy on the
city's behalf? For the rebellion in April 1486 see C.H. Williams, 'The Rebellion of Humphrey Stafford
in 1486', EHR 43 (1928), pp. 181-89 (pp. 181-84); Chrimes, Henry VII, p. 71-72.
This pageant's character represents mercy, urging his "gentil Cosyn" to "Pytie with Mercy, have alwey in thy Cure,/ For by meknesse thou shalt lengest endure;", and to use this mercy towards the city of Worcester. 'Henry VI' was a holy mediator by virtue of his own sanctity and suffering. The link between King Henry VII, his 'uncle' Henry VI, and the city of Worcester still existed at a later date. In the Chantry of Prince Arthur, King Henry VII's son and heir (d. 1502), in Worcester cathedral (built in 1504), one of the many small statues is of Henry VI, who holds a sceptre and an orb (fig. 15). We can not prove that Henry VII asked that Henry VI's image be included in the chantry’s scheme. But it is clear that Henry VI was seen as a saint, an effective intercessor, with a poignant hold on the current king.

I. Royal Imagery

Visual representations of Henry VI appear in parish churches, especially in East Anglia, and mainly on rood screens. In most cases Henry is depicted as a saintly king, wearing a crown, clothed in ermine, holding a sceptre in one hand, and an orb in the other, often alongside figures of other saintly kings. Such is the case, for

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69 De Rebus Britannicis, p. 192.
70 Ibid., p. 193.
71 For a description of Prince Arthur’s Chantry at Worcester Cathedral see VCH, Worcester, p. 401. The identification of this statue as representing Henry VI is my own suggestion.
72 For dating these images, on stylistic grounds, to towards the end of the fifteenth century and the early sixteenth century, see Marks, 'Images of Henry VI', p. 118. For these and other images of Henry see Henrici VI, pp. 251-60; Marks, 'Images of Henry VI', pp. 114-116; and Ann Nichols, The Early Art of Norfolk: A Subject List of Extant and Lost Art (Kalamazoo, 2002), p. 203.
73 The political and religious symbolism of the regalia and insignia are discussed (in the context of the Holy Roman Empire) in Adrienne Jones, 'Crown Imperial: The Significance of Mediaeval Regalia', The Connoisseur 202:812 (October 1979), pp. 86-89. However a sceptre-like stick and an orb-like "white disk" are also the attributes of the medieval fool. See D.J. Gifford, 'Iconographical Notes Towards a Definition of the Medieval Fool', in The Fool and the Trickster: Studies in Honour of Enid Welsford, Paul V.A. Williams (ed.)(Cambridge, 1979), pp. 18-35 (p. 18, and images on pp. 25-26).
Could it be that Henry's regal representation, was, at the same time, emphasizing both his kingly status but also suggesting that he was some kind of (holy?) fool? See R.F. Hunnisett, 'Treason by Words', Sussex Notes and Queries 14 (1954-57), pp. 116-20 (p. 119), for the case of John Merfeld, a yeoman of
example, of the rood screen in Barton Turf's church (Norfolk)(fig. 16), where, on the rood screen, a boyish Henry VI without a halo is juxtaposed with the canonized, nimbed and bearded kings, Edmund (immediately on Henry's right-hand side), Olaf and Edward the Confessor. On the somewhat later rood screen in the church of Ludham (Norfolk)(fig. 17) Henry VI, a crown and nimbus to his head, holds a sceptre and an orb, and is identified by the legend as "Rex Henricus Sextus"; he is situated to the right of St Edmund. This pair of royal martyrs creates a mirror image of sorts, where the young, beardless, Henry is a reflection of the older, bearded, canonized virgin-martyr-king "Sanctus Edmundus". When the whole scheme is viewed, Henry's image, which is the fourth from the north, matches that of St Edward the Confessor, which is the fourth from the south.

This juxtaposition with other royal saints, especially with St Edmund, was a central theme in the representation of Henry VI. This is evident already before Henry's death, as can be seen in Lydgate's lives of saints Edmund and Fremund, written for Henry VI in 1434. St Edmund's three crowns, as "kyng, martir and vyrgyne" are compared to Henry's three crowns, those of England, France, and afterward in heuene

The thrydde crowne to receyue in certeyne,
For his meritis, abowe the sterrys seuene.\textsuperscript{78}

This juxtaposition encouraged both a comparison and a contrast between the two royal-saints: both were kings, martyrs, and ‘virgins’. Yet, whereas Edmund grew up to be a man, and was canonized, Henry is still represented as a boy.

Henry’s regal persona is found on pilgrim badges too. Some of the badges related to Henry’s cult, like the paintings on rood screens, depict him dressed in stately robes, crowned, and holding the sceptre and orb.\textsuperscript{79} Another type of pilgrim badges portrays Henry dressed as a king and rising behind the White Tower. Here the focus is on his imprisonment and suffering; his patience in adversity recommended Henry as martyr and intercessor.\textsuperscript{80}

The royal iconography has been variously interpreted. Perhaps Henry VII sought to emphasize the legitimacy of his rule by stressing his half-uncle’s royalty.\textsuperscript{81} It has also been suggested that Henry’s royal birth was emphasized in his posthumous portrayals in order to stress the link between sanctity and kingship.\textsuperscript{82} I suggest, following Ernst H. Kantorowicz’s study, \textit{The King’s Two Bodies}, that through the posthumous emphasis on Henry’s \textit{regalia}, the King’s body politic – even if not his body natural – was being kept alive after death.\textsuperscript{83}

The iconographical emphasis on royal attributes in the depiction of Henry VI is also evident in liturgy, although there it represented a different idea from the one Marks finds in the depiction of royal attributes in artefacts. It emphasized, instead of

\textsuperscript{78} ‘S. Edmund und Fremund’, in \textit{Alienlische Legenden Neue Folge}, Carl Hortsmann (ed.) (Henninger, 1881), pp. 376-445. For the quotations see lines 1 and 65-72.
\textsuperscript{79} Spencer, ‘King Henry of Windsor’, pp. 245-46.
\textsuperscript{80} \textit{ibid.}, p. 246. Another type of pilgrim badges that is linked to Henry’s martyrdom is that of dagger sheaths, representing what was believed to be the murder weapon. \textit{ibid.}, p. 247.
\textsuperscript{81} Marks, ‘Images of Henry VI’, pp. 119-20.
\textsuperscript{82} Craig, ‘Royalty, Virtue, and Adversity’, p. 198.
\textsuperscript{83} Ernst H. Kantorowicz, \textit{The King’s Two Bodies: A Study in Mediaeval Political Theology} (Princeton, NJ, 1997). Paradoxically, perhaps, it is possible that John Fortescue’s modeling of the idea that the
Henry's regality in his life, the imperial power he gained through his death. In a Book of Hours from 1408 (Durham, Ushaw College, Ms 10),84 we find, on folios 1r-2r, a vernacular prayer of forty-eight verses to Henry, added sometime after Henry's death. In the second stanza Henry is addressed as

O crownyd kyng with sceptur in hand
Most nobyll conqueror I may be call
For pu hast conquyrd I vndyrstand
A hevynly kyngdome most imperyall

2. Henry VI as founder of colleges

Other representations of Henry, with different attributes or in other juxtapositions, suggest new emphases that may be added to that of the saintly royal iconography. On a wall painting in the church of Alton (Hampshire)(fig. 18), three saints are represented on a pillar: a pope, holding his staff in his right hand and a book in the left; a king, probably Henry VI, holding a sceptre and a book; and an archbishop, holding the same attributes as the first figure. All three figures are nimbed, yet the only legible legend which offers identification is that underneath the Pope, who is named as St Cornelius.85 Henry was thus represented as a saint not only with purely royal attributes but also in a more ecclesiastical or scholarly guise, perhaps as the founder of Eton College and King's College, Cambridge.86 Another image of Henry

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as a saint with a book in hand is to be found in a book of statutes issued by the kings of England, starting with Edward III and concluding with Henry VII (BL, Hargrave 274)(fig. 19). The volume, of c. 1488, is written in a single hand, and is illuminated with historiated initials which depict the kings who issued these statutes. The illuminated initial on folio 204v, however, showing Henry VI, is different from that of the other kings. Whereas the other images show them in council or in parliament, being advised, so it seems, by their councillors, Henry is depicted with an open book in his lap, while two angels descend towards him, holding a crown and sceptre. The councillors are depicted here clasping their hands in prayer. The open book on Henry's lap may represent a book of prayer, devotion, or even study. It may even be taken to be the very book itself, offering thus a special link between the family who commissioned this volume, the Gille family, and Henry VI as saint. A later woodcut of Henry in a printed Book of Hours from 1526 depicts Henry on the folio where the memoria to him is printed (fig. 20). He appears with crown and nimbus, wearing his regalia, the sceptre in his right, and an open book in his left. This iconography of Henry as founder of colleges was the least common representation.

3. Patron-saint of plague victims

A third category of depiction is of Henry VI as a plague-saint. Although his attributes remain the same (crown, sceptre and orb), the juxtapositions imply his role as a patron with power to protect from plague, sweating sickness and pestilence. On the rood screen in the church of Whimple (Devon)(fig. 21) Henry (crowned, holding a sceptre and an orb, an antelope at his feet) is represented alongside the two main plague-

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87 For a description of the manuscript see Scott, vol. II, p. 347, cat. no. 133.
88 BL, C.35.h.7, fol. lxxiii recto.
saints, St Sebastian and St Roch.89 Several prayers to Henry refer directly to the plague and request his intercession. Such is the memoria to Henry which appears in two manuscripts (Bodleian, MS Jones 46, fols. 117rv; Bodleian, MS Gough Liturg. 7, fols. 118v-119v).90

Antiphona:
Rex henricus sis amicus nobis in angustia
Cuius prece nos a nece salvemur perpetua
Lampas morum spes egrorum ferens medicamina
Sis tuorum famulorum ductor ad celestia
Pax in terra non sit guerra orbis per confinia .
Virtus crescat et fervescat charitas per omnia
Non sudore vel dolore moriamur subito
Sed vivamus et plaudamus celis sine termino
Versiculus:
Ora pro nobis devote rex henrice
Responsa:
Ut per te cuncti superati sint inimici.
Oratio:
Praesta quaesumus omnipotens et misericors deus ut qui devotissimi regis henrici merita miraculis fulgentia pie mentis affectu recolimus in terris: eius et omnium sanctorum tuorum intercessionibus ab omni peste, febre morbo, ac improvisa morte ceterisque eruamur malis: et ad gaudia sempiterna adipisci mereamur: Per christum dominum nostrum. Amen.

The prayer in the first manuscript dates to the later part of the fifteenth century, whereas the prayer in the second manuscript dates to c. 1500. In this prayer Henry is asked to help his adherents with their wish to die without exertion or sorrow (“Non sudore vel dolore moriamur subito”). On a more general note, but still as part of the

89 The other saints in the painting are John the Baptist, Barbara, Apollonia, Clement and Sidwell. Summers, ‘The Cultus’, pp. 161-62.
memoria to Henry, the adherents ask the saints (all of them, and not specifically Henry) for protection from all "peste, febre morbo, ac improvisa morte".

In the end of the fifteenth and beginning of the sixteenth centuries some printed Books of Hours which included a certain memoria to Henry usually placed the prayer between "Oratio contra mortalitatem homini ac pestem" and a prayer to St Roch, the plague-saint. This printed prayer did not specifically mention plague or any other disease, but was nevertheless placed between other prayers which were perceived as helpful against these illnesses, and the death they caused. Henry was perceived as a patron defending against plague, even outside England. In a portable Breviary of Dublin provenance (Dublin, Trinity College, MS 88) a prayer to Henry was added (on fol. 289r) alongside charms against fever (on folios 218v-219r and 466v). In the memoria the saint, "rex Anglorum piisime, Martyr et confessore Christi mitissime", is asked to help in delivering his adherents from a sudden epidemic of plague ("Vt liberemur a subitanea peste ypidime"). Two other manuscripts suggest that Henry was important as patron of physical suffering, although plague is not specifically mentioned. One is in a Book of Hours of Sarum Use which, in the sixteenth century, belonged to the Fincham family of Norfolk (Victoria and Albert Museum, Reid MS 44). Henry VI is invoked on folio 18v:

Feythfull in Cryst enoynyt Kyng
Restoryng bodely helthe to me
In diseese paynfull languis[h]yng

90 For description of Bodleian, MS Jones 46 see Cat. Ox., vol. III, p. 41. For description of Bodleian, MS Gough Liturg. 7 see Ibid., vol. IV, pp. 292-93.
91 For some printed books which include the prayer see n. 47. The prayer is printed in Monumenta Ritualia Ecclesiae Anglicaie: The Occasional Offices of the Church of England According to the Old Use of Salisbury, William Maskell (ed.), 3 vols. (Oxford, 1882), vol. III, p. 369.
Shew gostly helthe thro thi pete
Disposyng my sowle dewout to be
Everlastyng helthe to hawe in blys
Now gude Kyng Harre thou purches this

The obits of Ela and John Fincham and their daughter Ela had been added to the calendar in 1540 and 1541, and may indicate to their demise from plague. Henry was also seen as a defender against pain and bodily anguish. A fly-leaf inserted at the beginning of a late fifteenth century book of medicine (Cambridge, Trinity College, MS O.8.35), offers a crude sketch of a king, crowned and holding a sceptre. A legend identifies him as "Henricus vi Rex Anglie" (fig. 22). The insertion of this fly-leaf with Henry’s image into a volume which contains “a tretys of al manere of infirmitiees of mannys body...And the remedies therwith if god wol” (starting on fol. 1), as well as medicinal recipes (on fols. 87v-122r, in English and Latin) suggest that Henry VI was seen as a saint with medicinal effect, of thaumaturgic power. Black birds, perhaps ravens, are seen flying in the background of Henry in Cambridge, Fitzwilliam Museum, MS 55 (fol. 141v)(fig. 23), symbolizing misfortune and death. This too may mark his protection against plague and pestilence. Henry’s role as intercessor against plague, pestilence, pain and death was linked to his representation as a martyr; he himself had experienced suffering.

93 Colin Richmond, 'Margins and Marginality: English Devotion in the Later Middle Ages', in England in the Fifteenth Century, pp. 242-52 (pp. 242, 246). For a description of the manuscript see Ker, vol. II, p. 382.
These associations with Henry VI help us establish a link between invocations for his help during outbreaks of the plague. We know of plague outbreaks which occurred in 1478, 1499-1500, 1513, 1517, between 1511-1521, between 1526-1532, and in 1536. In some cases we may suggest a link between invocations to Henry, and individual deaths of the plague. In a Book of Hours which belonged to the Lewknor family from Sussex (London, Lambeth Palace MS 545, fols. 175v-176r), a prayer to Henry is the third in a sequence of prayers to the plague-saints St Sebastian and St Roch. A list of obits on fol. IIIr includes the obits of a husband and wife, Marie and Roger Lewkenore. Both died in July 1478, a summer which saw an outbreak of plague. Some of the miracles in the collection of Henry's miracles describe a delivery from death by plague, as in the case of Richard Vyvian from Penzance who was inflicted by plague ("peste infectus"), thought to be at death's door ("ad vicina mortis peruenisse ab omnibus putaretur"), but delivered through Henry's help. From the point of view of Henry VI's adherents, a plea for his intercession and protection from plague made a great deal of sense.

4. The king's two faces: a martyr and saint

Martyrological elements were present in Henry's representation as a saint during the later part of the 1480s and during the 1490s. Direct references to his sufferings and martyrdom are to be found in the sources dating from the reign of Henry VII. In a

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100 This is miracle no. 88: *Henrici VI*, pp. 153-54; *The Miracles*, p. 129. For other miracles of saving from plague or sweat sickness see, for example, miracles 5, 82, 128, 132, 146, 147.
memoria to Henry VI in a Book of Hours which belonged to the Percy family (Oxford, University College, MS 8, fols. 88v-89r), Christ is invoked to accept the prayer “pro merito henrici martiris almi”. In the versicle of the prayer Henry is referred to as “Alme dei martir henrice” (Oh nourishing/life-giving Henry martyr of God), and in the oration the favourable intervention of “henrici regis & martiris” is mentioned. Thus the martyrological element of Henry’s holiness is presented in this prayer as nourishing and mediating. In the eyes of the Londoner who composed the continuation of the Crowland Chronicle in 1486 Henry was seen as a glorious martyr (“gloriosi martyris”), whereas the man who laid sacrilegious hands on God’s anointed was perceived by the chronicler as a tyrant.

Yet this martyrological aspect of Henry’s life and death was not exploited by all surviving sources. In some cases authors preferred to refrain from relating or even mentioning Henry’s death. This is especially the case in Henry VII’s letters to the popes involved in the failed canonization process initiated by him. In a bull from 1494 Pope Alexander VI responded to Henry VII’s request to consider the canonization of Henry VI. In it the Pope refers to earlier letters sent by Henry VII, in which the grounds for examination of Henry VI’s case were stated. Among them were mentioned Henry VI’s saintly life, his charity, virtues and devotion, as well as the founding of the two colleges. The many miracles performed both before and after

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102 The Crowland Chronicle, p. 130. For historical background, dating of the chronicle, and the identity of its author see Ibid., pp. 46, 57, 59, 66-67, 74, 78-98.
103 Ibid., pp. 128, 130.
104 This letter is discussed in Henrici VI, pp. 164-67.
105 “vitae sanctitonia, moribus probates, ferventi in proximos charitate, et omni virtut et sanctitatis generae claramusse; ac jejuniiis, vigiliis, orationibus, et miscendoribus...et duo magna et insignia collegia pro sustentatione pauperum scholarum” Concilia Magnae, vol. III, p. 640.
his death were also mentioned. Yet Henry’s sufferings during life and his unnatural
death are not mentioned at all. His power to work miracles was not linked in any way
to what was perceived, by some people, as his martyrdom. In the two bulls written by
Pope Julius II in 1504 and 1507 in response to Henry VII, Henry VI’s sufferings and
death were similarly ignored. It seems that Henry VII chose to emphasize to the
popes those qualities of Henry VI which were most likely to gain papal approval:
charity, defense of the church, mercy and piety. The suffering and death of Henry VI
were irrelevant, or even counter-productive. Henry VII did not seek for his half-uncle
an official acclamation of his martyrdom, but ‘only’ of his saintliness.

Perhaps Henry VII was merely selective in the way he chose to represent the
late Henry VI to different audiences. In the English context, Henry VI’s sufferings
were emphasized, thus strengthening Henry VII’s dynastic claim and the need to
expiate for the sufferings of his ‘uncle’ in the hands of the Yorkists. That, it seems, is
the case in a Latin poem in praise of Henry VII which celebrates the birth of his son,
Prince Arthur, in 1486, written by Pietro Carmeliano of Brescia (BL, Add. 33736,
fols. 2r-6v). In the poem Henry VI’s troubles are recited, culminating in his murder
by the murderer of Edward V and his brother. Henry VII, Henry VI’s nephew
(“nepotem”), is presented in the poem as the cure to the sufferings endured by his
‘uncle’. Unlike in his letters to the popes, inside the Kingdom Henry VII sought to
highlight Henry VI’s sufferings. Yet, Henry VII very likely did not play any role in

106 “et tam eo vivente, quam post ejus mortem Dominum illius meritis et intercessionibus multa
evidentissima miracula demonstrasse, et quotidiem demonstrare.” Ibid., idem.
107 Calendar of Entries in the Papal Registers, vol. XVIII, pp. 150 and 566-67
108 Carmeliano, who died in 1527, was a chaplain and a Latin secretary to Henry VII, as well as
Archdeacon of Gloucester. Anglo-Flemish Art Under the Tudors: an Exhibition Held in the
Department of Prints and Drawings, British Museum 1934 (British Library Department of Manuscripts
Pamphlet no. 929, vol. 62, p. 3).
109 “Sed mea ne uidear recitando damna dolere/ Quo fueram ueniens”; fol. 5r; his capture — “captus
cesus ab hoste fuit/ Mox ego confossus”; fol. 5v; his imprisonment in the Tower — “Dum captum celsa
me quartus in arce tenebit”, fol. 5r; and his murder: “Is est qui gladio sceleratus in ilia missus/ Me
quoque confodit promptus ad omne nefas.” fol. 5r.
shaping these concurrent representations of Henry VI as saint and as martyr. Rather Henry VI's adherents, as they did in the period before the Tudor acquisition of the throne, still chose to emphasize these two sides of Henry VI, based on their personal judgment.

Most of the sources from Henry VII's period, in fact, combine both views of Henry VI: sanctity and suffering - saint and martyr. The vernacular prayer to Henry in the Book of Hours mentioned above (Durham, Ushaw College, Ms 10),\textsuperscript{111} hails, on the one hand, Henry VI's saintly virtue, mercy, grace and charity,\textsuperscript{112} and on the other, his martyrological traits. Henry is seen as receiving from the angels and archangels the gifts of "The well of pety and of pacyens", which enable him to offer support and help through tribulations:

\begin{quote}
Ffor euer all neyd \( \hat{b} \)u art present  
In trowbyll or payn wen I am schent  
Or standd in warely juberte  
Thy socur to me full son \( \hat{b} \)e sentt
\end{quote}

The writer of this prayer sums up the reasons for Henry's acquired place in heaven:

\begin{quote}
Thy trowbulas lyf and grett vexacion  
With pacyens \( \hat{b} \)at \( \hat{b} \)u had \( \hat{b} \)erin  
And \( \hat{b} \)i constans in contemplacion  
Has mad \( \hat{b} \)e hevyn forto wyne\textsuperscript{113}
\end{quote}

Thus the power of "swet kyng heur" to "praye for me", the verse which is repeated at the end of each stanza, derives not only from his holy life, but also, perhaps in the first

\textsuperscript{110}"Sed tibi cura meum fuit assuare nepotem Henricum" BL, Add. 33736, fol. 5v.
\textsuperscript{111}See p. 204.
\textsuperscript{112}"O blysyd kyng so full of vertue"; "full of grace & of charyte"; "mercyfull euer to man and chyld". Durham, Ushaw College, MS 10, fol. 1r.
\textsuperscript{113}Durham, Ushaw College, MS 10, fol. 1v.
place, from the trouble and vexation which he had suffered through life, and which he endured patiently.

Both Henry's exemplary life and patience in adversity are treated in the vernacular poem *A Remembrance of Henry VI*, written by the Franciscan friar of Canterbury, James Ryman, in 1492. Most of the emphasis is on the mercifulness of "O good Herry, the sixte by name,/ Bothe of Inglond, ye, & of Fraunce"; his virtue is also acclaimed ("of vertue more excellent"; "The vertue of thy lyfe so clere"). His acquisition of "a crowne condigne" and the miracles which he performs "for thy [God's] loue" in Windsor are not only the fruits of his virtuous, merciful life, but also of his suffering. As a prince Henry had been "meke & benigne,/ Pacient in aduersite". The writer of the poem even compares Henry to the biblical Job. He states that "In thy gesture thou were like lobe", and explains why Henry may be compared to the biblical sufferer:

Stedfast of feith & myelde of mode,
Not prowde of vesture ne of roobe,
Ne auarous of woeldely goode,
Ne sumptuous of carnall foode;

Elsewhere in the poem Henry is compared, more implicitly, to Job, when his devotion is described:

As a true knyght, both day & nyght,
Oure sauyoure thou diddest honoure
With hert & mynde, with wile & myght,

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115 The poem was printed in Robbins's *Historical Poems*, pp. 199-201. The references to Henry's mercifulness are as follows: "Full of mercy without vengeaunce"; "Euer in mercy permanent"; "As scripture seith, blessed they be/ That mercyfull be in worde and dede".
In helth, in welthe, \\n& in doloure

By the later Middle Ages Job had become an example of unconditional acceptance of
God’s will, and especially of patience and meekness in the face of adversity. The
connection made between Henry and the biblical Job demonstrates contemporary
views of Henry as a devout, virtuous, man, meritorious for his sufferings for God.
Job’s ‘double role’ in the later Middle Ages - as an exemplary Christian believer and
as a pre-figuration of Christ further links Henry, through Job, with Christ-like
suffering.

iii. The cult in the sixteenth century

The cultic activity around Henry VI continued well into the sixteenth century. During
Henry VIII’s reign it seems that the cult had passed its heyday in the sense that
prayers and artefacts were no longer commissioned as they had been in the earlier
phase. Nevertheless existing objects were still used in devotion to Henry VI. Wills
bequeath money for maintenance of lights before Henry’s images or at his shrine:
William Mell from Smarden (East Kent) left in 1516 2d. for a light in front of Henry’s
image; Thomas Stubbis (or Robbinson) from Borden (East Kent) bequeathed in 1530
20d. “to King Herry of Wynsor”. In Polydore Vergil’s English history, published in
1533, Henry VI was still seen as a Job-like, “so patient...in suffering of injuryes,
receavyd now and then”.  

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116 For fourteenth century comparisons to Job see Richard Kieckhefer, Unquiet Souls: Fourteenth-
century middle-English texts of Job’s story see Lawrence L. Besserman, The Legend of Job in the
118 Hussey, Testamenta Cantiana, pp. 312, 25.
119 Three Books of Polydore Vergil’s English History, Henry Ellis (ed.) Camden Society o.s. 29
(London, 1844), p. 156. Vergil interpreted Henry’s acceptance of his misfortunes as “because therby
he [Henry] thought his sinnes to be washyd away,...[He] wold affirme all these mysteryes to have
happenyd unto him both for his owne and his ancestors manyfold offences;” Ibid., p. 157.
The dissolution of the monasteries wrought dramatic change in these devotional habits. The commissioners sent by Henry VIII to inquire into 'superstitions' current in monasteries described the presence of relics of Henry VI. Thus, Dr John London wrote, in September 1538, to Cromwell (the High Steward of Reading), describing the archives of the warden of Caversham (Berkshire), who was supported by the offerings to the chapel. The warden was accustomed

to shew many pretty relykes, among the whiche wer...the holy dager that kylled kinge Henry, and the holy knyfe that kylled seynt Edwarde [Edward King and Martyr].

It is difficult to know for how long before 1538 this dagger had been in Caversham. The fact that, in 1538, the warden still presented it to pilgrims as a relic, in the hope of augmenting the offerings, indicates the continuing popularity of Henry's cult in the 1530s. The juxtaposition of the weapons which killed Henry VI and King Edward links Henry with other royal saints. Although we do not know how long the dagger had been kept at Caversham, we do know that from September 1538 access to this relic was no longer possible. The antiquary William Lambarde, writing c. 1577, condemned the veneration of Henry VI in St George's chapel, Windsor, and especially the habit of worshipping his relics there. He describes how "this Churche of Wyndsore...was polluted with the Wil [vile] Worship of Holy Kinge Henry (as they called him)", and tells of

The seely bewitched People gaddedy hither on

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120 Letters Relating to the Suppression of Monasteries, p. 222.
121 "I have putt her [an image of the Virgin] in a chest fast lockyd and naylede...with dyvers relykes, as the blessyd knyfe that kylled seynt Edward, the dagger that kyllyd knge Henry, schethe and all;" Ibid., p. 224.
Pilgrimage, being persuaded that a small chip of his bedstead...was a precious relique, and that to put upon a man's heade an old red velvet hatte of his...was a sovereign medicine against the head-ache.\textsuperscript{122}

Henry's cult, active since the 1470s, reached its greatest popularity during the 1480s and 1490s and finally declined in the later part of the sixteenth century. From the 1530s onwards, as we have seen in the case of Caversham, fewer people had pilgrimages or practiced the cult of saints.\textsuperscript{123} Henry VI's cult, among others, slowly dissolved and ultimately disappeared.

3. The cult's adherents

What may we conclude from a study of the sources depicting Henry's cult about the geographical spread of the cult, and the social status, gender, age and political affiliations of its adherents? Henry's devotees came from various parts of the British Isles. In a Welsh poem by the pro-Lancastrian bard Lewys Glyn Cothi (d. 1489), that praises John ap Thomas, (brother of Sir Rhys ap Thomas [d. 1527] who fought alongside Henry VII in Bosworth), Henry VI is referred to as “Harri Sant” (Saint Henry). Henry's sanctity was clearly cherished among Lancastrian supporters in Wales too.\textsuperscript{124} From the collection of Henry VI's posthumous miracles it seems that most adherents came from the south-east of England; no miracles were recorded in


\textsuperscript{123} Duffy, pp. 385, 398, 407.

Yorkshire, Northumberland or Cumberland.\textsuperscript{125} Surviving artefacts and wills, however, attest to a slightly different, perhaps wider, range of locations in which Henry was venerated. And so, for example, an image of Henry was venerated in York Cathedral in 1479, and a statue of Henry still stands in Alnwick parish church in Northumberland,\textsuperscript{126} both cases are in counties that contribute no miracles to the collection. From the Midlands no images have survived, nor has mentioning of previously existing artefacts reached us.\textsuperscript{127} Many of Henry VI's adherents lived in East Anglia, where numerous artefacts, especially rood screens, commemorated him.

The social situations and occupations of Henry's adherents were varied. Followers included monks, friars and priests; rural manual workers, townsfolk, gentry and nobility. A rood screen in the church of the Benedictine Priory of Binham (Norfolk) depicts Henry VI holding a sceptre and orb and standing on an antelope, alongside other saints (several unidentified)(fig. 24).\textsuperscript{128} A community of nuns in the Benedictine Priory of Littlemore (Oxfordshire) invoked Henry's help in delivering one of the nuns, Christiana Marshall, who had suffered from epilepsy for seven years.\textsuperscript{129}

It seems that Henry's memory was especially linked to the Carthusian Order, and particularly to those of London. Henry's hagiographer, John Blacman, spent some time as a monk in the London Charterhouse.\textsuperscript{130} His depiction of Henry as wearing a hair-shirt, whether true or not, reflects a Carthusian ascetic tradition.\textsuperscript{131} Another Carthusian connection is revealed by a woodcut of Henry in his shrine in Windsor,

\begin{footnotesize}
\begin{enumerate}
\item\textsuperscript{125} Marks, 'Images of Henry VI', pp. 116-17.
\item\textsuperscript{126} Ibid., p. 114.
\item\textsuperscript{127} Ibid., p. 114.
\item\textsuperscript{128} For the Priory of Binham and its history see VCH, Norfolk, vol. II, pp. 343-46.
\item\textsuperscript{129} Miracle no. 47: The Miracles, p. 110; Henrici VI, pp. 123-25.
\item\textsuperscript{130} Blacman entered the London Charterhouse around the end of 1458. Later he left, moving to the Charterhouse of Witham (Somerset), although there he was a \textit{clericus redditus} (no vows required, and they are allowed to own property and come and go as they please). Lovatt, 'John Blacman', pp. 426-29.
\item\textsuperscript{131} "Indui ad nudum corpus num aspro cilicio" Blacman, p. 14.
\end{enumerate}
\end{footnotesize}
which was inserted to an English Bible (Bodleian, Bodl. MS 277, fol. 376v)(fig. 25),
which Henry himself had given to the Charterhouse. Henry's sainthood was also
celebrated among friars. The Franciscan friar from Canterbury, James Ryman, wrote
in 1492 the vernacular A Remembrance of Henry VI, celebrating Henry's virtues of
mercifullness, meekness and patience in adversity. Veneration of Henry may also be
found among priests, such as the tortured priest, Master William Edwardes, vicar of
the parish church of Hollington (Sussex), who was saved by Henry after he had been
blinded and his tongue cut out; or the old priest Richard Swetocke from Bildeston
(Suffolk) who was healed of his "great deafness" ("surditate gravatus") after invoking
Henry's help.

Farmers, merchants, seamen, carters, and servants also claimed to have been
helped by Henry. The commissioner or owner of a medical manuscript which
includes a drawing of Henry VI (Cambridge, Trinity College, MS O.8.35) may have
been a surgeon. He clearly combined medicaments with advice on prayer for spiritual
succour from Henry through an image. Whole families chose Henry VI as a subject
of their devotion. The Ashetons from Ashton-under-Lyne (Lancashire) commissioned
the stained glass in their parish church including the north aisle window with Henry
VI nimbed and holding his sceptre and orb, alongside saints Edmund and Edward the
Confessor (fig. 26). Sir Thomas Asheton (d. c. 1460) practised alchemy for Henry VI.
In the fourth window from the south Asheton wears an SS collar, which further

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132 For Henry's gift of the Bible see Anne Hudson, The Premature Reformation: Wycliffe Texts and
133 See below, p. 224.
134 Miracle no. 49: The Miracles, p. 111; Henrici VI, pp. 127-28. For other miracles involving priests
(and chaplains) see, for example, also miracles number 43, 65, 104, 110.
135 For miracles involving farmers see, for example, miracles no. 16, 164; for merchants see miracle no.
86; for seamen, miracles no. 124, 139, 171; for carters, miracles no. 44, 70, 76; for servants, miracles
no. 48, 146.
136 Thomas Fayreford, for example, offered his medical services in Somerset and Devon in the 1440s:
he treated his patients, sold ointments of his own making, and "may even have dispensed amuletic
indicates his Lancastrian affiliation. Either one of his sons, John Asheton (d. 1484) or Gervase (Rector of the church in 1486, and still alive in 1513), or his grandson, Thomas Ashton (d. 1516), were the commissioners of the window that portrays Henry VI as a saint.

Even more exalted folk expressed an interest in Henry VI as saint. Thomas Butler, the seventh Earl of Ormond (d. 1515), was probably responsible for the inclusion of prayers for Henry in a Book of Hours with decorations dating to c. 1480-c. 1505 (BL, Harleian 2887, fol. 11r-12r). Thomas's oldest brother, James Butler, the fifth Earl of Ormond, had fought on the Lancastrian side in the first Battle of St Albans (22 May 1455), and was taken prisoner and beheaded after the Battle of Towton (1 May 1461). Thomas Ormond had also fought at Towton, was with Queen Margaret in Scotland in 1462, and was taken prisoner at Tewkesbury in 1471. It seems that in those few cases when we are informed about the political affinities of Henry’s adherents, these were quite committed to the Lancastrian cause. This is not to say that all of Henry's venerators were similarly Lancastrian or even politically inclined at all. Fighting alongside the Lancastrian party in the Wars of the Roses may have consolidated later views of Henry VI as saint and martyr among the

139 Scott, vol. II, pp. 299-301.
140 John Watts, 'Butler, James', in ODNB.
armigerous classes, but people chose to worship Henry for other reasons too, whether they were monks, friars, priests, villagers, townspeople, knights or earls.

Men, women and children appear in the sources, and especially in the miracles, as seekers of Henry's intercession. Although the collection of miracles records a larger number of men as beneficiaries of Henry's intercession, this may reflect a bias of the medieval curator, who preferred miracles experienced by men.\(^{142}\) The entry concerning "mony [money] that was gatheryd be the maydynnys" of the parish church of Walberswick (Suffolk) in 1497 for the "peytyng [sic] of kyng herry tabyll", suggests not only one woman's veneration of the saint, but an affiliation with the saint of a group of local young women.\(^{143}\)

In the collection of miracles most cases of children's cure were prompted by their parents' invocation of the saint's help. In some of the cases, however, the children enjoined Henry's help without the intervention of an adult. In 1484 Alice Parkyn, a young girl ("iuvencula"), was buried under sand; she was delivered from death by invoking Henry's name.\(^{144}\) Henry was clearly popular among men and women, parents, maidens, and young children. The relative intensity of the devotion to Henry VI within each group is hard to assess.

Henry's popularity as a saint is evident not only from the abundance of textual and visual sources, but also from the way in which some of these sources were produced. The new mass production, of woodcuts of Henry's shrine, printed Books of Hours with prayers in his honour, and various types of pilgrim badges, indicate the

\(^{142}\) Theilmann, 'The Miracles', p. 461.
\(^{144}\) "O gloriae Virgo, celorum domina, et tu quoque, beatissime rex Henrici Wynsoriensis, in quo michi spes est et fiducia angularis, succure, obseco, miselle ancille tue!" Miracle no. 29: The Miracles, pp. 72-73; Henrici VI, pp. 86-90. For examples of children's healing following visions of Henry see miracles no. 85, 155.
great demand for various types of devotional items related to Henry, not just the expensive and richly illuminated objects, but also those of a lower price and more accessible quality.

To sum up, Henry’s adherents were men and women, young and old, lay and religious, from different localities, mostly in England, but also in Ireland and Wales. Some were politically and military involved on the Lancastrian side during the Wars of the Roses, while others were either neutral or uninvolved. The fact that Henry, unlike the other two martyrs discussed above, was a king, a public persona, who had been seen on processions, represented on coins, and proclaimed in town squares, was a factor which contributed to his popularity after death. Another important factor was the growing use of print in the years of his life and its aftermath. This enabled a greater number of more modest people to relate to Henry as saint, through prints of his image, and through the use of Books of Hours. The years following Henry’s death, which saw in England repeated outbreaks of plague, pestilence and sweat-sickness further contributed to the desire for a patron-saint, one who had known bodily suffering in his life. Like the victims of the plague itself, Henry VI’s adherents came from all walks of life. They all found in him, however, a model of patience in troubled times, and a protector against life’s hardships.

III. King Henry VI as holy innocent

The two qualities, innocence and martyrdom, merged in the devotional habits of late medieval religion. The contemporary language of martyrdom was used, as we

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145 For the involvement of the landed gentry, townsmen, and church in the Wars of the Roses, and the ways in which they were affected by them see Carpenter, The Wars, pp. 258-61.
146 The Middle English Dictionary offers several interpretations to the word “Innocence”, not all of them positive. Thus innocence, in the first place, may be regarded as sinlessness, guiltlessness, and purity. It may also be seen as a habitual adoption of a favourable attitude, candor, simplicity and
have seen in the first chapter of this work, to describe and explain situations of suffering which were not chosen, but imposed. Thomas, Earl of Lancaster, and Richard Scrope, Archbishop of York, were both posthumously portrayed as innocent victims, who suffered betrayal, mockery and finally cruel death. Similarly, the portrayals of Henry VI after his death emphasized, too, his innocence, the unjust suffering and death to which he had been subjected and his undeserved death.

1. Posthumous references to Henry VI's innocence

References to Henry's innocent life may be found in the prayers to him, and in John Blacman's hagiographical biography. Henry's life was described as "most innocent" ("innocentissime vite") in the oration of a memoria in his honour, at the beginning of the volume which examines the saint's miracles (BL, Royal 13 C VIII, fol. 1v). This part of the prayer addressed God, who had chosen to oppress his servant, King Henry VI, with tribulations suffered by him in patience. In the hymn of the same memoria Henry is portrayed as the glory of innocence ("Decus innocentiae"). Henry's innocence of life ("vitae innocentiae") was asserted also by the writer of the continuation of the Crowland Chronicle. His love of God and Church, and his patience in adversity (as well as other virtues) were attested to by Henry's ability to intercede between man and God, and work miracles in response to prayers.

The most patent, yet symbolic, manifestation of Henry's innocence is to be found in John Warkworth's (Master Peterhouse, Cambridge, between 1473-98)
description of his funeral procession. In his chronicle of the first thirteen years of Edward IV's reign, Warkworth described the taking of Henry's dead body to St Paul's, where his face was publicly presented:

in hys lyinge he bledd one the pament ther; and afterward at the Blake Fryres was broughte, and ther he blede new and fresche;\(^{151}\)

Such miraculous bleeding was perceived by contemporaries as a sign of the victim's innocence and as an open accusation against the murderer, as we have seen in the case of Lancaster's bleeding.\(^ {152}\) Henry's innocence was asserted also through contemporary motifs which represented innocence. One such motif has already been discussed above, that of Henry's resemblance to the biblical Job. John Blacman compared Henry's simplicity, righteousness, fear of God and departure from evil, as being "quasi alter Job".\(^{153}\) Another association between Henry and Job was made in the 1492 *A Remembrance of Henry VI*, where it is said on (and to) Henry that "In thy gesture thou were like lobe".\(^ {154}\) Job's innocence is of central importance in the biblical story, as it is emphasized repeatedly by his friends.\(^ {155}\) And despite his knowledge that he has not deserved his tribulations, Job's faith in God is total. Indeed, God's reward to Job at the end of the book is a sort of acknowledgement of Job's innocence and steadfastness.\(^ {156}\) Henry's depiction as another Job, therefore,

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\(^{152}\) See chapter 2.


\(^{154}\) See above, p. 213.

\(^{155}\) Job 19:1-4: "Then Job answered and said, How long will ye vex my soul, and break me in pieces with words? These ten times have ye reproached me: ye are not ashamed that ye make yourselves strange to me. And be it indeed that I have erred, mine error remaineth with myself."

\(^{156}\) Job 27: 5-6: "God forbid that I should justify you: till I die I will not remove mine integrity from me; My righteousness I hold fast, and will not let it go: my heart shall not reproach me so long as I live." Also Job 42: 12: "So the Lord blessed the latter end of Job more than his beginning."
underscores Henry’s innocence and sinlessness in face of adversity, and suggests that his rewards were yet to come.

2. Henry VI as patron of innocents

Henry’s affinity with innocence and innocents was stressed also in other ways. In some miracles Henry was seen as responsible for liberating prisoners, rescuing people on their deathbed, or reviving innocently executed people. When the innocent Thomas Fullar from Hamersmith was found to be guilty in court, and was hung as a sheep-robber, Henry revived him “since no distinction was made between just and unjust, innocent and guilty” (“Nec iam distincto iusti et impij, innocentis et rei”), and an innocent man was executed wrongly. Another miracle in which Henry saved an innocent man is more gruesome; it describes the torture of an innocent priest. Unlike in the previous case mentioned, this miracle tells the story of the planned mutilation of a priest on his way to church on All Saints’ Day. Henry’s help in such cases may have been seen as deriving from his own experience of wrongful imprisonment and death. Henry was posthumously portrayed as a saviour of innocents also on another occasions, by helping children, both during his life, and after his death. While he was imprisoned in the Tower, writes Blacman, Henry saw a woman trying to drown a little child. He sent a messenger to stop her from committing such a crime, and so she desisted. Plentiful posthumous miracles attest to Henry’s affinity with children, whom he protected. Such was the case with John Robynson, a little boy

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157 This miracle had been dated to 21 July 1484, and recorded as no. 40: Henrici VI, pp. 106-12; The Miracles, pp. 89-98. For another miracle of saving an innocent see no. 106: Henrici VI, pp. 185-190; The Miracles, pp. 149-56.

158 This miracle had been dated to 1 November 1488, and recorded as no. 8: Henrici VI, pp. 26-31; The Miracles, pp. 41-49.

159 “Fertur etiam, quod rex iste, dum in turri fuisset inculsus, viderit mulierem quandam a dextra sua infantulum submergere nitentem, quam per nuncium ammonuit, ne tantum flagitium & Deo odiosum peccatum perpetraret. Cujus ammonitione correpta illa, ab incepto opere cessavit.” Blacman, p. 21 (translation on pp. 43-44).
("infantulus"), restored to life by Henry after falling from a roof, or with the very young girl ("tenerrima puella") Agnes Alyn, who was healed by Henry from madness caused by an evil spirit.\textsuperscript{160} Henry’s special relationship with children fuses with his own child-like innocence. He was indeed portrayed as child-like.

3. Henry VI as child

Posthumous representations of Henry, both in visual and in written sources, relate to his child-like appearance and behavior. In most images Henry is depicted as a boy; he is usually young in posture and in expression, and he is beardless.\textsuperscript{161} Henry is portrayed as a young man; only once, on a rood screen in Stambourne church (Essex) is he depicted as an old, bearded man.\textsuperscript{162} In some of the cases in which he is portrayed alongside other saints, especially other royal-saints, the juxtaposition lends to the enhancement of Henry’s childish appearance, in comparison with the maturity of the others.\textsuperscript{163} If we consider the fact that Henry lived to be fifty, this conventional representation of him as a child may bear some further meaning, beyond an attempt to portray him as close as possible to his life-like appearance. In his Life of Henry John Blacman repeatedly refers to Henry’s childhood, and to the devotional piety Henry had shown from a tender age. Praising Henry’s extreme sinlessness, he makes it seem even more distinguished due to Henry’s young age ("O! quanta diligentia placendi


\textsuperscript{161} This is the case, for example, in the manuscript BL Hargrave 274, fol. 204v, on the rood screen in Barton Turf church (Norfolk); on the rood screen in Binham Priory (Norfolk); on the rood screen in Eye church (Suffolk)(fig. 27), where he is crowned and nimbed, holding a sceptre. This painting is dated to c. 1485. See Leonard Smith, ‘The Canonization of King Henry VI’, The Dublin Review 168 (1921), pp. 41-53 (p. 44). Also H. Syer Cuming, ‘On a Portrait of Henry VI in Eye Church, Suffolk’, Journal of the British Archaeological Association 36 (1880), pp. 432-34 (p. 434).


\textsuperscript{163} For example, in Barton Turf church, where Henry is juxtaposed with St Edmund. Above, p. 202.
Deo in tam sublimi juvenili persona reparta est!

And when Henry was asked by a chaplain in the Tower on the state of his soul, Henry testifies that "Regnum coelorum, cui me semper ab infantia mea devoti, appellans exposco". Blacman also stressed Henry's purity: "[P]udicus enim & purus fuerat rex iste H. ab ineunte aetate sua".

When bare-bosomed dancers were presented for his entertainment ("regis juvenilem animum"), Henry delivers his rebuke of "Fy, fy, for shame, forsothe ye be to blame". His marriage vow to Margaret of Anjou was kept "wholly and sincerely" ("syncerissime omnino fervaverat"), even, wrote Blacman, in Margaret's absence, which "were sometimes very long" ("quae aliquando perlonga fuerat").

Henry's iconographic pairing with St Edmund, king, martyr and virgin, also attested to this purity. This multi-layered portrayal of Henry as a child suggests a possible link with contemporary martyrological thinking, in the image of the boy-martyr. Henry is portrayed in hagiographical sources as an innocent, pious, and pure child.

As John Watts has observed from a distance of half a millennium, "both the king's personality and his long minority must have played some part in shaping the rule of England during his lifetime". But how did contemporaries perceive Henry's minority? Is it possible that Henry's posthumous depiction as an innocent child developed already before his death?

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164 Blacman, p. 5 (translation on p. 27).
165 "The kingdom of heaven, unto which I have devoted myself always from a child, do I call and cry for." Ibid., p. 20 (translation on p. 42).
166 "King Henry was chaste and pure from the beginning of his days." Ibid., p. 7 (translation on p. 29).
168 Blacman, p. 7 (translation on p. 29).
169 See chapter 1.
170 Watts, Henry VI, p. 102.
Henry's minority began with positive expectations. The ballade composed by John Lydgate to celebrate Henry's English coronation in 1429, when he was eight years old, hails the new king's youth. The first verses praise the

Moost noble prynce of Cristin prynces alle,
Flouring in youpe and vertuous innocence.

Another poem by John Lydgate, on Henry's entry into London in 1432, claims that St Edward's sceptre "were longe, large, and off grete weyht" - as is the burden of kingship, presumably; Henry nevertheless "bare it on heyht". Despite Henry's young age Lydgate thought Henry would manage to carry on his shoulders the weight of monarchy. A slightly different view of the coronation was voiced by a Londoner, probably the skinner William Gregory, who wrote in his chronicle sometime before 1467. At his coronation Henry sat, "beholdyng the pepylle alle a-boute saddely and wysely". When his turn came to carry the crown, and with it the symbolic weight of kingship, "hyt was ovyr hevy for hym, for he was of a tendyr age".

Henry's devotional tastes were noted already before his death. In the early part of A Chronicle of London, which ends in 1442, the two year old Henry was portrayed as a pious baby who "schriked and cryed and sprang, and wolde nought be caryed forthere", refusing to travel on Sundays. In his Book of the Illustrious
John Capgrave also treats Henry's youth and innocence. The etymology he offers for the name Henry is based on the interpretation of CUS (the third syllable in *Henricus*) as dark:

I believe our king to be pure from the worst defilements and therefore innocent and exempt, and not stained with the smoky hue of any dark colour.  

Like Henry's future hagiographers were to do, Capgrave compared Henry to Job. In this earlier association between the two figures, a link was established between Job's devotion and Henry's infancy:

our king hath, from his earliest days, flourished in inborn piety, so that of him may most truly be affirmed that saying of the blessed Job — "Forasmuch as from infancy pity hath grown up with me, and from my mother's womb [Job 31:18]."

Unlike Lydgate and the author of the chronicle of London mentioned above, Capgrave did not ignore the potential problems that a child-king posed. In response to the contemporary criticism based on the words attributed to Solomon - "Woe to thee, O land, when thy king is a child, and thy princes eat in the morning! [Eccle. 10:16]" - Capgrave argues that the saying

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ought not, I apprehend, to be applied to the number of years, but to immaturity of manners\textsuperscript{180}

The view which Capgrave counters in these lines was, it seems, quite common. It was voiced during Henry's infancy, but lingered after his biological and legal maturity.\textsuperscript{181} The severe punishment for treason which the "gentleman" Thomas Kerfer of Reading was subjected to, on 3 August 1444, following "pe seyeng of thees wordes 'Ve regno ubi puer est rex'", testifies to the harshness with which such comments and ideas were treated in this period.\textsuperscript{182} It also attests to the fact that in 1444 Henry was still seen, for better or worse, as a child, although he was already twenty-two years of age.

Despite such criticisms of Henry as a child, or child-like, and perhaps because of them, Henry's political failures were blamed on his councillors. Henry himself was usually seen, in the political context, as blameless and innocent. His councillors were to blame for making "the peple to gruge ageyns hym, and alle bycause of his false lordes, and neve of hym".\textsuperscript{183}

Henry's innocence was interpreted differently by his critics. Instead of referring to it as a virtue, they used it as a sign of weakness of mind. The chronicler John Hardyng told:

\textsuperscript{181} For examples of Henry's child-like image during the later half of the 1440s see Storey, \textit{The End}, pp. 34-35.
\textsuperscript{182} Henry dramatically saved Kerfer from hanging when the rope was already on his neck. \textit{Six Town Chronicles of England}, p. 118. This story is told also in the continuation of the Brut, where the man's first name is given as John (instead of Thomas). \textit{The Brut, or the Chronicles of England}, F.W.D. Brie (ed.) 2 vols., EETS o.s. 131, 136 (London, 1906, 1908), vol. II, p. 485. For a study of this episode see C.A.F. Meekings, "Thomas Kerfer's Case, 1444", \textit{EHR} 90:355 (1975), pp. 331-46. Meekings saw Kerfer's trial as the use of "a sledgehammer to crush a nut". His conviction was meant to be "an exemplary sentence which would impress itself firmly on Reading and the country side of eastern Berkshire." \textit{Ibid.}, p. 343.
Therle Richard of Warwike [Henry's tutor] then [after Bedford's death in September 1435] conceyued
Of the symplesse and great innocence
Of kyng Henry

Henry's innocence was also perceived as the cause of the Earl of Warwick's desire "to be discharged of his diligence/ About the kyng". Similarly, the reference to the "benigne innocence/ Of kyng Henry" is immediately followed by "By Goddes dome [sentence, judgment] of small intelligence". The image of Henry VI as child-like or innocent was, it seems, accepted by contemporaries on either side of the political divide. To the Yorkists Henry VI's innocence was merely "small intelligence". This weakness of mind was allied to the idea of suffering, to create the whole figure of Henry VI, a martyr in the making.

IV. The political idiom of suffering

1. Pre-1471 views on Henry VI's sufferings

We have noted that Henry was seen by his adherents as a suffering martyr, both in life and in death. Was this suffering, like his innocence, noted already before his death?

The last ten years of Henry's life consisted of dethronement, exile, partial separation from his wife and son, poverty, public humiliation, imprisonment, and finally death. We find references to Henry's suffering early on. The Somnium Vigilantis was a polemical Lancastrian text in the dream-poem genre, dated to 1459. It was probably composed by a lawyer, perhaps a member of the Queen's faction.

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186 In the case of Richard II his depiction as unmanly and child-like was one dimensional, and was used only against him. Christopher David Fletcher, 'Manhood, Youth and Politics in the Reign of
Probably written prior to the Coventry Parliament of 1459, in which the attainder of the Duke of York and his supporters was demanded, the Somnium was aimed at preventing Henry from reaching reconciliation with the Yorkists.\(^{187}\) One of the methods applied in the Somnium in order to achieve its end was to remind the readers of the ills caused by Yorkists. As part of the "so grete lamentacion" they had been responsible for was also

the longe vexacion and inquitablenes that they caused the moost gracyous kynge to have.\(^{188}\)

Henry VI was portrayed in quasi hagiographic terms in the verses of Knyghthode and Bataile, a mid fifteenth century (dated to between 1457-60) version of Flavius Vegetius Renatus’ treatise on De Re Militari.\(^{189}\) When treating the theme of perjury the author diverts to strike at contemporary perjurers, the Yorkists. By using a biblical metaphor the author puts the Yorkist oath-breaking in a more meaningful, religious, context, which manifests not only the act of perjury, but also its broader symbolic meaning and consequences. Thus while identifying the Yorkists as Judas ("Judas, away from vs! cum thou no nere;"),\(^{189}\) Henry becomes a modern-day Christ. Like Christ, he suffers as result of a deed of perjury and betrayal.


\(^{188}\) ‘A Defence’, p. 519.


\(^{190}\) Knyghthode and Bataile, p. 43, lines 1170, 1172.
While the *Somnium* was aimed at Lancastrian policy-makers, and the *Knyghthode* and *Bataile* perhaps targeted a broader, albeit literate, audience, the next text had a wider potential audience. In a letter that Queen Margaret addressed to the city of London some time early in 1461, she tried to draw the city’s support to the Lancastrian side. She attempted this by emphasizing the late Duke of York’s intentions for “the destruccion of my lordis good grace [the King]].” The city’s support for the Lancastrian cause was requested:

So that thoroughge malice of his saide ennemye hebe [the King] no more troubled, vexed ne jeoparded.

Henry needed the help of the people of London in order to avoid further suffering.

Although Henry VI was obviously the subject of the political discourse of suffering, his wife and son were part of it, too. George Chastelain (d. 1475), historian and diplomat of the Burgundian Court under Dukes Philip the Good (d. 1467) and Charles the Bold (d. 1477), wrote his *Le Temple de Bocace* for the exiled Margaret, and presented it to her in 1465. In this work, a continuation of Boccaccio’s *De Casibus Illustrium Virorum*, one of the chapters tells of Margaret’s sufferings, and is immediately followed by a chapter “Du patient Job”.

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193 Ibid.
194 George Chastelain, *Le Temple de Bocace*, S. Bliggenstorfer (ed.) Romanica Helvetica 104 (Berne, 1988), pp. 11, 15. For the background of the writing of this text, the author and the date of composition see *Ibid.*, pp. 9-15. The work was quite popular, surviving in not less than sixteen manuscripts. *Ibid.*, p. 47. On Chastelain between the 1450s and 1470s see Graeme Small, *George Chastelain and the Shaping of Valois Burgundy: Political and Historical Culture at Court in the Fifteenth Century* (Woodbridge, 1997), pp. 64-90. Queen Margaret was in exile m Koeur (Lorraine), together with her Lancastrian court, from September 1463 to June 1470. Margaret L. Kekewich, ‘The Lancastrian Court’, p. 95.
her complaints to the dead Boccaccio, urging him to include her among his other ill-fortuned women, since, as she states, "je suis cent fois plus martire en dedens que par dehors". Another French writer, the chronicler Thomas Basin, writing in 1471 and 1472, treated Henry's suffering, but was intrigued much more by the suffering of Queen Margaret. Before turning to narrate Margaret's miseries, he cites the Tragedian Seneca:

Sed heus! ut tragicus cecinit, profecto 'Nulla sors longa est: dolor et voluptas/ Invicem cedunt, brevior voluptas'.

It is also possible that Prince Edward, Henry and Margaret's son, who was killed in the Battle of Tewkesbury, became the subject of a posthumous cult. The chronicle of Tewkesbury Abbey tells of the Prince's death in the battle, and of his burial "in the mydste of the covent quiere in the monastery ther". The short paragraph ends abruptly with the words "for whom god worketh". Is this a reference to miracles performed by Prince Edward's body? To a Psalter commissioned by the Bohun family and dated c. 1370 was added, during the fifteenth century, Prince

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197 "I am a hundred times more martyr inside than outside" (my translation). Chastelain, Temple de Bocace, p. 89. Also "je suy la passeroute des maleureuses cristieennes et de toutes les chetives de monde nobles femmes la porte barriere" Ibid. Although probably not used for diplomatic purposes, this text may be seen as part of the late medieval French tradition of polemical, anti-English, propagandistic texts, discussed in Craig Taylor, 'War, Propaganda and Diplomacy in Fifteenth-Century France and England', in War, Government and Power in Late Medieval France, Christopher Allmand (ed.) (Liverpool, 2000), pp. 70-91.


199 For a discussion on the sources describing the Battle of Tewkesbury, analysis of the topography of the battle, and the tactics that may have been used see J.D. Blyth, 'The Battle of Tewkesbury', Transactions of the Bristol and Gloucestershire Archaeological Society 80 (1961), pp. 99-120. Nicholas Rogers has commented shortly on the probability of a cult around Prince Edward, although he acknowledged the fact that the evidence to this are somewhat slight. However he related to only two sources to support his claim, and perhaps that had been the reason for his caution. N.J. Rogers, 'The Cult of Prince Edward at Tewkesbury', Transactions of the Bristol and Gloucestershire Archaeological Society 101 (1983), pp. 187-89.

200 'From a Chronicle of Tewkesbury Abbey', in C.L. Kingsford, English Historical Literature in the Fifteenth Century (Oxford, 1913), appendix XIV, pp. 376-78 (quote on p. 377). For a brief discussion and description of Prince Edward's burial place see H.J.L.S. Massé, The Abbey Church of Tewkesbury
Edward’s obit, on 4 May. Both Edward’s obit and that of his father, Henry VI (on 16 May and not the traditional 21), were added in red ink. Since the other two royal obits, those of Queen Margaret and of John Duke of Bedford, were entered in black, the colour may indicate Edward’s saintly prominence. Another possible hint of a cult of Prince Edward appears in a much later record in Queen Elizabeth of York’s accounts of the privy purse. In March 1502 Elizabeth offered 2s.6d. at Henry VI’s shrine in Windsor, but also “to Prince Edward 5s.”, without a specific reference to place. In 1508 the Duke of Buckingham visited Prince Edward’s tomb. So it may not have been Henry alone, but all his family, that evoked empathy in some contemporaries for their suffering and woe.

An unexpected appreciation of Henry VI’s suffering was from Yorkist sources. The Ballade set on the gates of Canterbury of 1460 is of Yorkist provenance, yet it still sees Henry as “oure souerayne and most Crystyne kyng”. Furthermore, it treats Henry’s sufferings of injury, exile, and poverty:

His [Henry’s] trew bloode hathe flemed [exiled? flowed?] bothe be swerde and exyle;
What prynce by thys rewle may haue long enduryng,
That also in moste pouert hath be long whyle?

In his pro-Yorkist chronicle John Hardyng advised Edward IV to bring back from Scotland the exiled royal family, and thus avoid attacks from Scottish soil. Another

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202 However, since the report describes what seems to be a route starting at Windsor and stretching towards Worcester (through Eton, Reading, Caversham, Cokthorp and Hales), it is probable that the offering for Prince Edward was indeed made at Tewkesbury. Privy Purse Expenses, p. 3.
204 For a discussion of the poem see Scattergood, Politics and Poetry, pp. 182-84.
205 Historical Poems of the XIVth and XVth Centuries, pp. 207-10, lines 33-36.
reason to do so according to Hardyng was the loyalty which Prince Edward and the
Queen had showed Henry during his exile. He suggests that Edward IV
loue them better for theyr great lewte [loyalty?]
That they forsoke theyr landes and herytage,
And fled with hym [Henry] in aduersyte,
To byde in payne, sorowe, and seruage

Henry was portrayed as making “his mon” in a Yorkist ballade dated to 1464,207 God
Amend Wicked Counsel. The ballade describes Henry’s tribulations as resulting
mainly from “wykkyd cownscell”. Although Queen Margaret is blamed for Henry’s
suffering (“Thyll her intente seyd I neuer nayej Ther-for I mrne & no thynge am
mery”),208 a recognition of these suffering nevertheless existed on the Yorkist side.

Henry’s death was not represented as a murder in Yorkist sources. The author
of the Historie of the Arrivall of Edward IV in England, a text of 1471 which
celebrates Edward’s return to the crown, did not shy away from treating Henry’s
death.209 He offered a unique version of its cause: Henry died “of pure displeasure,
and melencoly”.210 Henry simply could not cope with yet more suffering; and so when

206 “For your preuayle, as men can understande,/ Gette hym nowe home agayn into Englands/ With all
the means ye maye of sapience,/ His wyfe and sonne with [all] your diligence” The Chronicle of John
Hardyng, p. 410.
207 For a brief discussion of the poem see Scattergood, Politics and Poetry, pp. 196-97.
208 Historical Poems of the XIVth and XVth Centuries, pp. 196-98.
209 For a discussion of this text see A.R. Allan, ‘Political Propaganda Employed by the House of York
in England in the mid-fifteenth Century, 1450-1471’ (unpublished doctoral thesis, University of
Swansea, 1981), pp. 159-91. J.A.P. Thomson discussed the different versions of the text, and the
relations between them: “The Arrival of Edward IV”-the Development of the Text’, Speculum 46
(1971), pp. 84-93. For the short version of the text and its relation with the long version see Richard
Wendy Scase studied the text of the Arrivall not as a first-hand documentary account, but rather as a
political narrative of “poetics of spectacle”. Scase, ‘Writing and the “Poetics of Spectacle”’, pp. 174-
80. Paul Strohm has recently discussed the text as presenting “a practical arena of power in which the
symbolic is at the mercy of tactical aims”. I wish to thank Paul Strohm for his kind sharing of drafts
from his upcoming book with me. Paul Strohm, Politique: Languages of Statecraft between Chaucer
210 Historie of the Arrival of Edward IV in England and the Final Recovery of His Kingdoms from
he was told of Prince Edward’s death, the executions of the remaining Lancastrians, and Queen Margaret’s capture,

not havynge, afore that, knowledge of the saide matars, he toke it to so great dispite, ire, and indignation, that, of pure displeasure, and melencoly, he dyed the xxij day of the monithe of May.\textsuperscript{211}

In the context of Henry’s portrayal as a sufferer in his lifetime, this Yorkist interpretation made sense.

2. The Yorkists

First Richard, Duke of York, and his son Edward IV after him, often applied the language of martyrdom, not only to depict Henry’s sufferings, but to illustrate their own sufferings, too.\textsuperscript{212} Description of tribulations began already in the 1450s, and culminated in 1471. A portrayal of the Duke of York as a wronged party was nourished in the early 1450s.\textsuperscript{213} He promoted it in his Manifestos, and it quickly took hold among a whole range of people.\textsuperscript{214} Although writing with hindsight, the person who added marginal notes in \textit{John Benet’s Chronicle} made reference to the Duke of York’s future pains.\textsuperscript{215} Below the text of the Battle of Blackheath of 1 March 1452, a

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\textsuperscript{211} Historie of the Arrivall, p. 38. For a discussion of the medieval reaction to a child’s death, especially the last or sole offspring, see Shahar, \textit{Childhood}, pp. 149-55.
\textsuperscript{212} Michael Hicks commented briefly on the image of sufferers that the Yorkists adopted in 1460. Michael Hicks, \textit{Warwick the Kingmaker} (Oxford, 1998), p. 193. In her PhD thesis A.R. Allan studied many important aspects of the Yorkist propaganda. Allan, ‘Political Propaganda’. For the different media of Yorkist propaganda see \textit{Ibid.}, chapter 1. Allan related to the element of suffering in the Yorkist propaganda, stating that “Sympathy was sought by making them [the Yorkists] the innocent and injured party in the conflicts...and by dwelling on their sufferings at the hands of their foes.” \textit{Ibid.}, p. 376. On the extent of the reception of this propaganda, see \textit{Ibid.}, pp. 353-72; the propaganda itself had not represented “a single, coherent campaign of persuasion”, but rather reacted to the changing circumstances. \textit{Ibid.}, p. 373.
\textsuperscript{213} For the Yorkist Bills from the 1450s see Allan, ‘Political Propaganda’, pp. 39-77.
\textsuperscript{214} For the popularity of Richard Duke of York during the 1450s see Storey, \textit{The End}, p. 77.
\textsuperscript{215} \textit{John Benet’s Chronicle: For the Years 1400 to 1462}, G.L. Harris and M.A. Harris (eds.) Camden Miscellany 24, Camden 4th series, vol. 9 (London, 1972). John Benet, vicar of Harlington in Bedfordshire between 1461-71, died sometime before November 1474. However, even if John Benet was not the author of the narrative after 1440, the transcription of the chronicle’s manuscript is nevertheless dated to between 1462-68. \textit{Ibid.}, pp. 153-172.
\end{flushleft}
marginal note was added, identifying Blackheath ("Nigrum Bruariunf") as the place in which the Duke of York’s "tempore labor et dolor" had started. The Duke of York’s unjustified sufferings during the 31 year of Henry VI (between September 1452 and August 1453) were related to in the continuation of William Gregory’s chronicle. “[S]um sayde”, reveals the chronicler, that the Duke of Yorke hadde grete wronge, but what wronge there was noo man that darste say.

No doubt there existed around the early 1450s an understanding, enhanced by the Duke himself, of his political victimhood. At the beginning of the 1460s Richard of York’s status as a political victim had already been well established. York’s suffering and death were given meaning in the Yorkist poem Twelve Letters save England, from 1461. Here the manly, mighty and rightful Duke was portrayed as suffering vexation “for oure sakes”. The suffering, not only of the Duke of York, but also of his counterparts, the Earls of Salisbury and Warwick, is depicted in this poem, and explained in the same way:

The arris for thre Richard þat be of noble fames, þat for þe riȝt of englond haue suffred moche wo-...þat all englond is be-holden to.

In the Ballade set on the gates of Canterbury of 1460 Duke Richard is portrayed as the traditional martyr in life, the biblical Job. Thus he is seen as

Job thy servaunt insygnē,

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217 The Historical Collections, p. 198.
219 “þis for yorke þat is manly and myȝtfuƚ./þat be grace of god & gret reuelacion./Reynynge with rules resonable and tight-full./þe which for oure sakes hþe suffred vexacion.” Historical Poems of the XIVth and XVth Centuries, pp. 218-21, lines 25-28.
Whom Sathan not cesethe to sette at care and dysdeyne;\textsuperscript{221}

But unlike Job, the Duke of York suffered not only in life; he was killed in the Battle of Wakefield on 30 December 1460, and his head was set on the city walls, decorated with a paper crown.\textsuperscript{222} This mock-coronation, as Paul Strohm has observed, can be interpreted symbolically through another frame, that of the mock-crucifixion, making York into a martyr.\textsuperscript{223} Surprisingly, perhaps, the Duke of York never acquired posthumously a cultic status as saint and martyr.\textsuperscript{224}

Richard's son and heir, Edward IV, applied the language of sufferings with as much enthusiasm as his father had done. The text which demonstrates best this deliberate usage of martyrological language is a verse version of Edward's arrival in England in 1471, \textit{On the Recovery of the Throne by Edward IV}.\textsuperscript{225} In contrast to the representation of his father's sufferings, Edward IV's woe is shown to be willing submission to God's will, pious acceptance of it as punishment for sins.\textsuperscript{226} The end of the stanzas - "Lorde, thy wille be doo" - is a Job-like acceptance of God's will.

\textsuperscript{220} \textit{Ibid.}, pp. 218-21, lines 21-24.
\textsuperscript{221} \textit{Ibid.}, pp. 207-10, lines 59-60.
\textsuperscript{223} Strohm, \textit{Politique}, chapter 5.
\textsuperscript{225} Printed in Wright, vol. II, pp. 271-82. For a discussion of this text see Scattergood, \textit{Politics and Poetry}, pp. 201-205. Scattergood suggested that the text had been written by a Londoner, and related to the poem's emphasis on Edward IV's suffering and the pathos of his situation.
\textsuperscript{226} "I knolege n a smer wrappid in wooc/ In this adversite evir, Lorde, thy wille be doo." Wright, vol. II, p. 275.
Edward IV, it is said, “shulde be stidfast”, just like Job, “in wele and in woo”. From the outset the author expands on Edward’s sufferings:

In what parell and trowbill, in what payne was hee!
When the salte water and tempest wrought hym gret woo;
But in adversite and ever, Lorde, thy wille be doo.

Later, when he landed “in Holdyrnes he had grett payne”, and, arriving at Coventry, “that gentill prynce was trowlblid mervelously”. Edward IV’s family shared his sufferings. Thus the author posed rhetorical questions about Queen Elizabeth’s tribulations:

...what Payne had sche?
What langwr and angwiche did sche endure?
When hir lorde and sovereyn was in adversite.
To here of hir wepyng it was grett pete,
When sche remembirde the kynge, sche was woo.
Thus in every thynge the wille of God is doo.

His arrival in England is portrayed in the text as aimed at bringing “thy trew subjectes owte of payne and woo”. Edward’s sufferings were not only penance for his sins; they also enabled him to match those of Henry VI and to be empathetic to his people’s sufferings. Indeed the Commons acknowledged these sufferings a decade earlier. In the Westminster Parliament of November 1461 they noted the sufferings Edward IV had undergone for the realm, firstly by coming to the “defence and tuition” of England without having time to lament “the pitouse and dolorouse Deth” of his father; secondly by advancing towards London immediately following his arrival in England.

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227 Ibid., vol. II, p. 274. See Job 2:10: “shall we receive good at the hand of God, and shall we not receive evil”.
"for the socour, relif and joy therof [of the city of London], and the redemption of the seid Reame", and despite his "grete laboure and peyne".232

The Yorkist usage of the theme of suffering and martyrdom was different from the one applied by the Lancastrians.233 Whereas Henry's sufferings were represented as forced on him (in the sources written while he was still alive they are imposed by the Yorkists; in his posthumous hagiography they were God's will), Yorkist suffering was portrayed as a voluntary choice, for the sake of England's people, or for the cleansing of sins. Following Paul Strohm's reading of the Arrivall, the Yorkist representation of suffering may be perceived as a practical use of the sacred for the expression of political desires.234 Either way, the discourse of suffering was a prominent feature of the period from 1450-1471; the notion of suffering was one of the core ideas of fifteenth century life, one of the "underlying realities' of its politics".235 Henry VI's cult did not develop in an ideological vacuum. It clearly was nourished by them.

Conclusion

The cult which evolved around Henry VI from his death in 1471 until the second part of the sixteenth century offered several ways of identification to a variety of audiences. Henry was seen both as a saint and martyr, as a king and a child, a sufferer through life and death. His representation as martyr was enhanced, perhaps, by the way he was presented, in life and after his death, as an innocent child-like figure, and by his portrayal – already before his death – as suffering torment. This image was

233 For the difference between the polemic attitudes of the Houses of Lancaster and York during 1460s see Gross, The Dissolution, p. 26.
234 Strohm, Politique, chapter 1.
235 See Watts, Henry VI, p. 7.
even extended to include, in England, his son Prince Edward, and in France his wife, Queen Margaret. The language of martyrdom that was used to describe Henry’s sufferings was part both of the discourse of martyrdom, and of a contemporary political idiom which emphasized suffering, from which Yorkist propaganda drew inspiration.
CHAPTER 5
CONCLUSION

This dissertation has aimed to discover the meaning of martyrdom to late medieval people. I have explored this question through the cults of public figures who were treated as martyrs after their death.

From the study of the cults which evolved around Thomas, Earl of Lancaster, Richard Scrope and King Henry VI, it appears that reflection on suffering was prominent in late medieval England, not only in religious, but in political contexts too. The very term 'martyrdom' was used to describe mundane suffering (caused by illness, social exclusion, or imprisonment), as well as loss of life following a trial which was seen to be unjust. We can detect a change in the content of the idea of martyrdom in the period: from being linked directly and exclusively to violent death, we find, throughout the later Middle Ages, a shift towards a perception of the patient enduring of suffering as martyrdom. This 'new' martyrdom did not necessarily conclude in death; rather it was the prolonged suffering that was appreciated and valued. This endurance of tribulations offered more possibilities than the traditional view of martyrdom: whereas the 'old' martyrdom, that of violent death, was almost always enforced from the outside, the 'new' martyrdom could have been either externally imposed or willfully chosen; whereas the 'old' martyrdom offered only a brief moment of suffering, the 'new' one enabled a longer experience of it, even a lifetime of patient martyrdom; whereas the 'old' one was usually public, the 'new' martyrdom could be either public or private: by wearing hair-shirt under garments, for example.
'Political martyrdom' was part of this culture in which ongoing suffering or death for a cause could be highly valued. The shift between the more traditional concept of martyrdom and the newer one can be found when we examine the three cults of political martyrs studied in this work. And so, whereas Lancaster’s martyrdom is of the traditional type, concentrating on his violent execution, Henry VI’s martyrdom is rather different, emphasizing not his abrupt death but the suffering of hardships in the last ten years of his life. From martyrdom being a singular, cataclysmic event, as Lancaster’s death was depicted, it became, in the second part of the fifteenth century, part of the political language, a phrasing which was used to describe persecution and injustice, not exclusively a violent death. Whether the ideas of martyrdom related to these cults were traditional or less so, the suffering and death which lay in their core became an occasional source of inspiration and solace to the living.

The three case-studies developed in this work offer differing pictures of cults and adherents, each with its distinctive emphases and functions. Following his execution in 1322, Thomas Earl of Lancaster was regarded as Christi miles, who represented knighthood and chivalry. Through his cult contemporary views on treason and betrayal were expressed, ideas also expressed later in the 1352 Statute of Treasons. Lancaster’s adherents were mainly men, many of them knights, who shaped the character of the cult as a chivalric phenomenon. Although based in Yorkshire, adherents of Lancaster’s cult are to be found also in Lincolnshire, Leicestershire, Norfolk, Suffolk, Oxfordshire, London, Essex, Hereford, and as far as Kent and Somerset.

In terms of its geographic reach the cult of Richard Scrope, Archbishop of York, was very different from Lancaster’s. Archbishop Scrope, who was beheaded
following his leadership of the 1405 Northern Rising, was an aristocratic churchman caught between two worlds that were often interwoven: the political and the ecclesiastical. He was portrayed in contemporary hagiographical materials as *pastor populi*, an ideal shepherd. During his lifetime Scrope had indeed led his congregation in a political initiative which aimed at rectifying financial wrongs through protest against royal exaction. After his death his care and guardianship of the community increased even further: proclaimed by his followers as martyr and saint, he was believed to be an effective intercessor between his adherents and God. As a martyr he was also more than a *pastor*; he was a sacrificial lamb, his death seen as that of an "ovis ad victimam". In contrast with the extended geographical scope of Lancaster's cult, most of Scrope's devotees were people who lived in the city of York and its hinterland, religious and lay folk, men and women, holders of a wide range of occupations. Whereas some of the adherents had witnessed the events which led to Scrope's execution, later followers were second- or even third-generation followers of the cult. I have suggested that the initial trigger in the development of Scrope's cult was a post-traumatic reaction of the community of York to his death. This, in turn, contributed to the sense of York's civic identity.

The cult which grew around King Henry VI was the most popular of all political new cults in later medieval England. Some of the adherents were politically affiliated with the Lancastrian party, while others seem to have been politically neutral. Henry's cult was also different from those of Lancaster and Scrope in that his martyrdom was not so much in his death, rather in his long suffering in lifetime, through exile and imprisonment, particularly during the last ten years of his life (1461-71). King Henry VI was thus already described as a pious sufferer and victim in his lifetime. Posthumously he became an innocent child-martyr, or a Job-like
figure, in John Blacman's hagiographic memoir and in the prayers composed in his
honour. Through the political use of martyrological language and metaphors - not
only by the Lancastrians but also by their opponents, the Yorkists - Henry’s cult
demonstrates the significance of suffering and martyrdom in the political language of
fifteenth century England.

These three cults shared much in common. Their lifespan was similar: they all
had originated in the immediate aftermath of their martyrs’ unnatural, premature,
death. Thus, for example, St Paul’s Cathedral witnessed a miracle attributed to
Lancaster as early as 1323; Scrope’s shrine in York Minster also attracted followers in
the immediate aftermath of his death, as John Sibson’s miracle testifies; and, in Henry
VI’s case, offerings to an image of him in York Minster were made as early as 1473.

Much of the imagery and devotional material connected with the cults was, as we
have seen, commissioned and composed in the first decade after the martyr’s death, if
not immediately following it. The ending of the cults was also similar: they all lasted
until the 1530s, when Henry VIII’s dissolution of monasteries intervened with this
type of cultic activity. Another shared characteristic of the cults of Lancaster, Scrope
and Henry VI is their mutual construction around a single, predominant representation
of the martyr. Even if additional representations were adjoined over time, the central
image was still there, defining the cult and identifying the martyr. Such is the case
with Lancaster’s core representation as the ideal knight, Scrope’s image of the pastor,
leader of the people, and Henry VI’s depiction as child-like and innocent. To this
main representation of Henry was added, for example, his image as founder of
colleges, but this was only secondary.

A third common attribute of these cults, especially when treated in the
political or diplomatic arena, is the changing emphasis on martyrdom, as opposed to
sanctity. Thus certain agents chose to depict the late political figure either as a saint or as a martyr, according to the audience they were addressing. This was especially the case, it seems, in attempted processes of canonization: Lancaster’s martyrdom was emphasized in Edward III’s 1327 letter to the Pope, requesting further examination towards a possible canonization; three years later, however, in a letter sent for the same purpose, Lancaster’s martyrdom was played down and hardly referred to. Henry VII acted along similar lines in his efforts towards the canonization of Henry VI: as we have seen, in his letters to the Pope he did not refer to his uncle’s suffering as part of the request for canonization; when he aimed at the English people, however, he chose to emphasize Henry VI’s martyrlogical long sufferings.

The cults were, on the whole, well contextualized in the world which surrounded them. They reacted to different circumstances, needs and demands; and so were neither static or stagnant. The meaning they held for their followers – thematic emphases, the martyr’s representation, or his miracles – shifted in accordance with factors relating to time and place. These were either man-made, such as new devotional trends or changing political pressures, or natural, like outbreaks of plague. Not all three cults reacted to changes with the same swiftness or intensity. Lancaster’s cult, it seems, was less changing than the other two. It maintained its emphasis on ideals of male chivalry from its foundation and throughout the fifteenth century. By 1536, however, it either lost this accent altogether, or integrated a new, feminine aspect: in the sixteenth century Lancaster’s belt was used in Pontefract for the exclusively female practice of protection in childbirth. Was it because by the sixteenth century discourses of knighthood and chivalry were not as prominent as during the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries (and especially during Edward III’s reign) that women finally gained access to the cult and its benefits? Here is an example of a slow
shift of meaning in a cult, a reaction to longue durée cultural changes. The transformation in cultic thematic emphasis and practice may also hint at a mechanism for a cult's self-preservation: the cult did not disintegrate when it was less relevant to its original adherents; instead, it created new emphases and new audiences.

The cult around Archbishop Scrope also changed its meaning over time and reacted to new circumstances. These were more immediate in nature than in the case of the cult around Lancaster. The emphasis on Scrope's martyr's death was, as we have seen, a characteristic of both the first (1405-1430) and third generation (1455-1509) of the cult's adherents, with a break during the second generation (1430-1455). I have suggested that one of the main triggers in the creation of Scrope's cult was the close involvement of the people of York in the Rising and the resulting trauma of witnessing his execution. The second generation, that did not witness these events directly, was thus less inclined to give as much meaning to Scrope's suffering and death. As a result Scrope's second-generation representation concentrated rather on his intercession and help. The return of Scrope's original depiction as martyr in the later part of the fifteenth century can be more easily understood if we bear in mind the Yorkist search for political legitimacy, which re-interpreted Scrope's death as resulting from his opposition to Lancastrian usurpation. Thus new political conditions — and their needs — influenced the cult and its emphasis in a certain period. One of the main meanings which the cult around Henry VI held for contemporaries - that of protecting them from outbreaks of plague and sweat sickness - originated in a completely different set of circumstances. The last decades of the fifteenth century, a period that witnessed recurrent waves of epidemics, contributed to the shaping of King Henry VI's representation as a patron-saint who guards his followers from the pain and death of such affliction. This representation lasted throughout most of the
cult's years. The three martyr-cults discussed in this work were rooted in the political, social, cultural and natural existence which surrounded them. Various changing circumstances – immediate or gradual – were reflected in the cults in different degrees, and contributed to the shaping of their meaning over time, their uniqueness, and the differences which existed between them.

Distinctions between the three cults can be identified in their social characteristics. These are, for example, the question of the founding initiative of each cult, or of the communities of followers which maintained them. In all three cases the agents involved in establishing the cult were friars, canons or monks connected to each martyr's resting place (the Cluniac Priory of St John the Evangelist in Pontefract, York Minster and Chertsey Abbey). But cultic initiative involved some degree of reaction to and response from a local lay audience. Yet these crucial founding agents are hard to trace in the sources. In Lancaster's case we know that the cult operated first in Pontefract, and in the face of attempts to squash it. We do not know, however, who were its first followers, whether they were gentry families as later adherents were. With Scrope's cult these issues are clearer: the laity who was involved in the creation of the cult was local - the citizens of York - some may even have taken part in the events leading up to the Rising, and in the Rising itself. Even for the well documented cult of Henry VI we remain ignorant of the initial stage: was it established on a local level only or in few locations simultaneously? was the laity involved in its foundation or was it more of a religious initiative? how involved in this stage were the lower ranks of society which we encounter later as adherents?

Once established the cults attracted a wider range of adherents, and in some cases we can find a correlation between the cults' adherents and specific circumstances of time and place. So, for example, Scrope became a patron-saint
against the perils of the sea in a maritime community where many merchants traveled regularly and shipped goods; Henry VI was a patron-saint against plague and sweat-sickness in a period which saw outbreaks of these epidemics. Lancaster, on the other hand, did not acquire special patronage, an intercessory 'specialty'. Another major difference between the cults was the degree of their circulation. Whereas Lancaster’s and Henry VI’s cults were propagated - through pilgrim badges, for example - and spread wide throughout the country, even abroad, Scrope’s cult was more local in nature. Since Scrope’s lacked aristocratic and royal support its propagation may have been halted. Attempts at canonization support this view: in the cases of Lancaster and Henry VI we know that there was some degree of papal interest in the possibility of canonization following letters of request for an investigation; in Scrope’s we know only of the Northern Convocation’s decision, in 1462, to act towards the translation and canonization of the late Archbishop, but nothing else.

Despite the differences in the processes which led to the emergence of these cults, despite variations in the practices and emphases, they come together to broaden our understanding of late medieval English life and beliefs. They shed light on the two central and interwoven aspects of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries: on political and religious cultures. From dynastic concerns to ideas on lordship and patronage, from art history to liturgy, this study’s conclusions will now be contextualized within the current historical thinking about late medieval England.

As the late Simon Walker pointed out in his work on political saints in later medieval England, changing definitions of sanctity “provide an important collective representation...; properly understood, they can help to make an important point about the nature of late medieval polity”. Indeed, the cults of political martyrs studied in

1 Simon Walker, 'Political Saints', p. 77.
this work were part of a "fruitful conjunction" of religious and political ideas which Miri Rubin has identified in the political culture of fifteenth century England.²

The representation of the martyr as an innocent wronged victim was crucial to the idea of political martyrdom: The perception of a suffering victim lies at the heart of any martyrdom cult, and offers the immediate impulse for its creation. Narratives of virgin-martyrs and boy-martyrs allegedly killed by Jews were part of this late medieval fascination with ideas of martyrdom.³ It was "the shedding of blood and the glaring injustice of their death", as André Vauchez has put it, that prompted the creation of new martyrdom cults.⁴ Although the political martyrs studied here were neither female-virgins nor young boys, Lancaster, Scrope, and Henry VI were seen by their adherents as suffering victims, who encountered unjust death. In Henry VI's case this notion of innocence was energetically applied and was a central theme of his martyrrological representation. His cult drew on ideas of chastity and youth, while the depiction of Archbishop Scrope employed the image of a virginal bridegroom. The interpretation of the martyrs' deaths as unjust was a vital cause in the creation of their cults, as in the shaping of contemporary political culture. The articulation of political violence in martyrrological terms enabled contemporaries to come to terms with dramatic, violent, disruptive events around them; when a central political figure met an unnatural, abrupt death, contemporaries aimed to make sense of it and remember it by applying the idea of martyrdom, by imagining that God desired the martyr's proximity in heaven. At the same time 'martyrdom' was gradually becoming part of

⁴ André Vauchez, Sainthood in the Later Middle Ages, p. 151.
the political idiom of the day, used not only to describe unjust death in political circumstances, but also unjust political persecution, as we have seen in the Yorkist use of the concept during the later fifteenth century.

Another way in which martyrdom cults illuminate late medieval political culture is through the texts, images, and practices which were generated by them. Through these cults a whole terrain for discussion and construction of ideas relating to English polity was formed. As we have seen, contemporary views on knighthood, justice and treason were explored through Lancaster’s cult, and Scrope’s cult enabled a discussion of a bishop’s role and the responsibilities attached to it. In the multivocal dialogue that was created within the communities that constituted the cults’ adherents, and which included composers of prayers, authors of Vitae, commissioners of works of art as well as less active but nevertheless interested followers, representations were established and sometimes altered, and new ideas were brought to the fore. The cults were maintained through a process that was not hierarchical in nature, one that rather reacted to contemporary issues and agendas. In this way, for example, Scrope’s role as a patron-saint of seas was established. Furthermore, these cults played an important role in shaping and defining social and local identities. Communities declared their uniqueness and celebrated their distinctiveness by relating in particular ways to the martyr. One of these ways was by making the martyr a civic patron-saint who represented the city, interceded on its behalf and protected the citizens, as we have seen in the cult around Scrope and its significance for the people and city of York. Another way in which the martyr’s cult helped in shaping identities was by constructing, through the representation of the martyr, a role-model that defined a social group, as we have seen in the cases of Lancaster’s cult and its armigerous adherents. A third contribution of this study to the field of late medieval
political culture is to issues of lordship and dynasty. Dynastic concerns surface most clearly when we look at the encouragement offered to these cults by successors of those celebrated as martyrs. Whether for commemorative, spiritual, financial or political reasons, the cults’ aristocratic patronage came first and foremost from the martyrs’ living relatives. The fact that neither Lancaster, Scrope nor Henry VI had, by the time of their death, direct male issue, may have enhanced their wider kin’s urge to protect their posthumous memory and inheritance. Requests for canonization were initiated by members of the family, as in the cases of Lancaster (by Henry of Lancaster, Thomas’s younger brother and heir) and Henry VI (by King Henry VII), while Scrope’s relatives commissioned a devotional manuscript and a stained glass window in remembrance of him.

The geographical reach of the cults studied in this work may also indicate their link with lordship and patronage. Although, as we have seen in Lancaster’s case, devotional activity did not necessarily correlate to previous spheres of political influence or lordship, there was nevertheless some correlation between areas of political influence in life and posthumous patronage. The posthumous status of Lancaster, Scrope and Henry VI as martyrs was a continuum of their role as spiritual and temporal leaders (whether sufficiently or effectively exercised during their lifetime or not). Their responsibilities had been altered - they became intercessors between their adherents and God - but in essence the relationship remained that of protection and patronage, even if no longer political in a narrow sense. An interesting case is that of Henry VI who remained, at least in the eyes of the citizens of Worcester who organized in 1486 a pageant for Henry VII, not only a heavenly mediator with

God, but also an earthly one, interceding with the new king. If we return to the geographical evidence we see that, while Lancaster's cult can be traced to some regions of Lancastrian influence, Scrope's cult was mainly located in and around York Minster, his power-base, and Henry VI's cult was, as befits a king's authority, not local or regional, but widespread and national.

The study of these cults also expand our understanding of late medieval English church and its believers. It shows that, as Eamon Duffy has argued, "no substantial gulf existed between the religion of the clergy and the educated élite on the one hand and that of the people at large on the other". In all three cults – especially in that of Henry VI – we find that adherents included secular and regular clergy, 'the literate élite' (magnates, gentry, merchants), as well as more popular elements. Although, as mentioned above, we do not always know who were the initial agents who founded the cults, various social elements became involved in them during the years of their activity. The more popular among them, however, are harder to trace in the surviving sources, except for in Henry VI's case, where an extensive collection of miracles has survived, in which humbler people are mentioned. The cults could have held different meanings, at different periods, for different groups and individual adherents. Henry VI may have been seen, for example, as a protective patron against the plague to the parishioners of Whimple church (Devon), where his image was adjoined to those of St Roch and St Sebastian; at the same time, he was represented as a model of piety and contemplation to Carthusians in the London Charterhouse.

The cults of Scrope and Henry VI (much less so that of Lancaster) demonstrate a broad female participation in the veneration of political martyrs. We have encountered devotees who were wives and widows of kings, dukes and earls,

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female burgesses, maidens, servants and girls, lay as well as religious. Like male adherents, they prayed for the martyr's intercession and protection from Books of Hours, they commissioned artefacts to be made which represented the martyrs, and they bequeathed money to their shrines. Women contributed to the shaping of political cults by taking part in the cultic activity; they were sufficiently involved, both in the devotional and the political milieus, to be able to make such a contribution. Even if, as Christine Peters has recently pointed out, "the devotional priorities of both sexes were almost identical", saints were nevertheless "polysemic symbols", and could have had different meanings to female and male adherents. We have seen, for example, how Margaret Blackburn's veneration of Scrope was interwoven with the practice of teaching her daughters to read.

The three cases studied also contribute to our understanding of power-relations within late medieval English church, and of the shaping of its priorities. They indicate that the English church as an institution, far from being the homogeneous, hierarchical establishment it aimed to be, especially when confronting heresy and sedition, was, in fact, fragmented and continually challenged from within. We have seen that although the nascent martyrdom cults were forbidden in their first stages by high ecclesiastical authorities — in conjunction with royal will — they were nevertheless practised, not only by the laity but also by the local clergy. It even seems that some degree of local cooperation between the laity and members of the religious communities in which the tombs were located was essential in the first stages of a cult's existence if the cult was to last. Local practices in the late medieval English church were probably more important in determining cultic activity than instructions from an authoritative centre.

8 Swanson, Church and Society, p. 18.
The devotion to Lancaster, Scrope and Henry VI demonstrates that the driving force behind new cults was usually local, and consisted of lay and religious elements alike. It is difficult, however, to determine the exact involvement of laypeople and clerics in the creation of new cults. The clergy, as we have seen, contributed to the formation of religious practices – including liturgical activity – in the localities. At Pontefract, York Minster, and Windsor the local clergy enabled – if not encouraged – the growing devotion to the new cults, usually in defiance of instructions from their seniors. It seems, however, that it was the laity which was gaining further influence in shaping religious, especially devotional, practices in late medieval England. R.N. Swanson listed the ways in which laypeople exerted authority in the church: by being responsible for providing vessels for liturgical practice, by employing priests in chantries, or by commissioning decorative projects, lay patrons were involved in the administration of parish life. These responsibilities, as Katherine French has suggested, “facilitated the development of parish cohesion, lay organization, and ultimately community identity”. To this lay involvement we may add the work of adopting and integrating new cults of political martyrs, through the foundation of chapels, commission of works of art on small and grand scale, and contribution to the propagation of the cult through music and liturgy.

Kathleen Kamerick has recently pointed out that the laity in late medieval England “became energetically engaged in creating the material culture of their

9 Vauchez, Sainthood in the Later Middle Ages, for example, p. 142: “...elements of popular origin and ecclesiastical influence are inextricably interwoven...local sanctity always retained a dual aspect”;
10 Swanson, Church and Society, pp. 255-58.
11 French, The People of the Parish, pp. 30-31. French also referred to the “rise of churchwardens” as an office which evolved in the later Middle Ages in order to oversee these obligations of the laity. Ibid., p. 68.
religion". We find this development in the field of cults of political martyrs too, where this 'energetic engagement' created and reflected new devotional practices. Whether private or public, images were an important part of these practices, as is reflected in the cults discussed in this work. In the private sphere, representations in Books of Hours were an important vehicle, although accessible (until the advent of print) only to affluent adherents. In the public arena - the shrine or the parish church - depictions of the political martyrs, as of saints in general, were available more widely to less privileged members of late medieval English society. Even if, in some cases, individuals and their families commissioned a stained glass window or a wall-painting depicting a martyr, in most cases images were a joint endeavour of groups of parishioners, of varied social situations. So, for example, in 1497 the maidens of the parish church of Walberswick (Suffolk) gathered money for the painting of King Henry VI's image. Public images of a martyr or saint, in this way, could become "a source of local identification", an element around which communality was enhanced. Through the activity of collecting the needed money (perhaps through a festivity of sorts), accompanying the process in which the image was made or installed, and finally celebrating the martyr and the communal achievement, local pride and sense of togetherness could have been boosted. Under the term 'public images' we find various types of representations, which served different functions, some more devotional than others. In the cults studied in this work we have encountered images of Lancaster, Scrope and Henry VI on stained glass windows,

12 Kathleen Kamerick, Popular Piety and Art in the Late Middle ages: Image Worship and Idolatry in England 1350-1500 (Basingstoke, 2002), p. 8.
13 Richard Marks, Images and Devotion in Late Medieval England (Stroud, 2004), p. 180; Duffy, p. 159.
14 Kamerick, Popular Piety, p. 114. Lay parochial activity as enhancing communal identity is discussed and emphasized in French, The People, for example pp. 174, 176.
15 This point is emphasized in Marks, Images and Devotion.
rood screens and murals. Statues and paintings, however, were a more likely focus of devotion, expressed by offering and bequeathing lights to burn before them.

The lighting of candles before images was a ritual commemoration, linked to expiation for the martyr's death. Adherents suffered with their martyr, offered material support for his cult (such as votive-offerings or lights in front of images), and invested time and good will in commemoration. Religious texts associated with those martyrs appeared, as we have seen, in various genres: hagiography, liturgical offices, *memoriae*, and simple short prayers. Although we have few details of their uses, we may assume that these texts formed part of liturgical celebration in honour of the martyr since, for two of the martyrs studied in this work - Lancaster and Henry VI - obits in calendars have survived, indicating the existence of a feast day. Yet these texts, as part of public ritual or private use, inform us also on lay involvement in shaping the religious experience. The model suggested by Richard Pfaff for the distribution of new, approved, liturgical feasts does not fully match our findings. Pfaff argued that a new feast will first appear in martyrologies; then in calendars of psalters or missals; and finally in calendars of Books of Hours, "which, perhaps because they are not concerned with liturgical observances, tended to have sometimes the most sparse and/or conservative (i.e. outdated) calendars".\(^{16}\) Although we have occasionally encountered dating difficulties, it seems that this 'gradual process' was one in which the laity was not a passive recipient, but rather a catalyzing factor. The laity did not receive the feast as the end of a process, but was part of that process. Late medieval English liturgy was, especially through the bridge which Books of Hours

created between lay piety and liturgical observance, "a mirror of the devotional changes...of the age", responding "to pressure from below". 17

A common feature of the imagery and liturgy which shaped the face of the cults of Lancaster, Scrope and Henry VI was the amalgamation of old martyrrological traditions, models and motifs, and new, contemporary references. Ideas on suffering, chastity and innocence, which were central to contemporary cults of virgin- and boy-martyrs, were articulated in cults of political martyrs too, creating models to be emulated as well as sources of power to be tapped. 18 Another way of constructing martyrs' images was by juxtaposing them, thus comparing them, with other saints and martyrs. These comparisons were made with historical figures from the recent past, as in the case of Scrope's juxtaposition with St William of York or Lancaster's with Thomas Becket, but also with older, more mythical saints and martyrs, such as Henry VI's association with St Edmund or Lancaster's link to St George. They drew on the adherents' pre-existing familiarity with these older saints and martyrs; the legends, the iconography and the ideas they represented, like virility, steadfastness or chastity. The depiction of the three martyrs studied in this work was embellished with that of older, more traditional saints, not only in order to legitimize the new cults (especially when no official canonization existed), but also to help underpin the new martyr's identity, his piety, virginity, courage, or his will to suffer tribulations. The juxtaposition of old and new enabled a few possible interpretations of the relationship: firstly, of the new saint as a follower of a traditional martyrrological or saintly role model, as is the case in the link of Lancaster with St George; secondly, of the new saint as a modernized,

17 Duffy, pp. 231, 45.
perhaps improved, version of the old saint, as with Scrope and St William of York; finally, of the new saint as a mirror-image of an earlier model, yet with several dissimilarities, which were highlighted through the juxtaposition. Henry VI’s association with St Edmund is an example: it showed Henry VI to be king, martyr and virgin, similarly to St Edmund, but, as the same time, it emphasized Henry VI’s youthfulness as opposed to the older martyr’s maturity.

In the process of creating new cults traditional ones were used, not always, however, in the same way or to the same extent. It seems to me that, whereas Lancaster’s and Scrope’s cults employed traditional models of sanctity as a central means of characterizing the new martyrs and their cults, Henry VI’s cult was different; since it presented a less traditional notion of martyrdom – it did not concentrate on Henry VI’s violent death but rather on his suffering during life – the traditional models of martyrdom which highlighted brutal death applied less. There was a need, therefore, to introduce a different martyrological model that will emphasize ideas of steadfastness in face of life’s tribulations and hardships – the biblical Job. In these ways the new cults mingled with the older ones, and contributed to the continuing relevance of religious symbols and figures and, at the same time, to the creation of new ones.

Reliance of the new cults on older traditions was manifested in other ways too. Iconographic representations were occasionally modeled on pre-existing traditions. Thus, for example, execution scenes seem to continue an earlier medieval tradition by depicting the executioner always on the left while the martyr is on the right; the sword always hanging in the air, ready to deliver the crucial blow; and the martyr usually portrayed as kneeling in prayer. We have encountered this iconographic model in the depictions of Lancaster’s and Scrope’s martyrdom. Another iconographic tradition
which the cults followed was of representing the martyrs with their status-symbols: Lancaster's shield and coat of arms; Scrope's archiepiscopal vestments; Henry VI's crown. In Henry VI's case it is noteworthy that the added status-symbols, the sceptre and the orb, were not a traditional emblem of the iconography of kingship in the period; they thus became an attribute of sorts of the saint. There is no consistency, however, in their use as attributes; whereas in some of the images the sceptre is held in Henry VI's right hand and the orb in his left, sometimes they change their location, the sceptre is in the left hand while the orb is in the right. It seems that the cult was slowly establishing a more stable iconographic representation of the saint, that relied less on pre-existing iconography, and tried rather to develop a new, independent tradition. In the liturgy we can also find continuity with earlier traditions. One that has been identified, for example, is the use which the author of the office to Lancaster made of an existing hymn for Easter, the *Pange lingua*, which the author followed, and that Lancaster's adherents presumably had been familiar with. It seems that although differences existed between the cults of Lancaster, Scrope and Henry VI, they nevertheless all relied, to varying extents, on traditional models for emulation. The most important martyrological tradition was, of course, that invoked by Christ and his Passion. By drawing on the similarities between a martyr's sufferings and those of Christ, hagiographers were employing the most important devotional idea of the later Middle Ages, that of Christ's redemptive suffering for humanity.

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The historical phenomena studied in this dissertation took place in a world inspired by Christ's Passion and its meanings. But martyrdom is cherished in other
By understanding the reasons, immediate as well as more diffuse, for the emergence of cults centered around men who died in the course of political conflict, we may understand better not only late medieval sensibility, but that of other societies, and, hopefully, our own. In a world in which men and women still choose to die for ideological and political causes, and are hailed as martyrs by some, understanding political martyrdom - its causes and practices - is more important than ever before. By understanding the allure of the martyr to kin and to the community of the living, we may avoid more unnecessary deaths.

19 In Muslim Shia, for example, the martyrdom of Imam Husain, grandson of Mohamed (d. 680), is ritually commemorated also today. For Imam Husain see Abu’l – Qásim Faizí, *The Prince of Martyrs: A Brief Account of the Imam Husayn* (Oxford, 1977); for ongoing commemoration of his martyrdom in Britain, see Esther Addley, ‘A Glad Day for Mourning’. *The Guardian Weekend*, 28 June 2003, pp. 20-25.
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1. Woman beating her husband: BL, Add. 42130 (The Luttrell Psalter), fol. 60r. By permission of The British Library.
2. A pilgrim badge depicting scenes from Lancaster's life: British Museum, Department of British and Medieval Antiquities, 1954. 5-2.1. © Copyright The Trustees of The British Museum
3. A pilgrim badge depicting Lancaster’s execution and ascendance to heaven: British Museum, M.L.A. 1984. 5-5.2. © Copyright The Trustees of The British Museum
4. Lancaster and St George: Bodleian, MS Douce 231, fol.1r. By permission of the Bodleian Library, University of Oxford.
5. Wall painting depicting Lancaster’s execution: St Peter ad Vincula church, South Newington (Oxfordshire). Photo: Tal Aisenberg
Lancaster's execution: BL, Add. 42130 (The Luttrell Psalter), fol. 56r. By permission of The British Library.
7. Seal depicting Lancaster’s execution: The National Archives (PRO), E329/20
8. Lancaster’s Coat of Arms: London, College of Arms, MS Jenyns’ Ordinary, fol. 3v (Lancaster’s Arms second from left in third row from top). By permission of College of Arms.
10. Scrope depicted as Archbishop: Window in the south choir transept clerestory of York Minster. Photo: Danna Piroyansky
11. Scrope with a young woman: YML, Add. 2 (The Bolton Hours), fol. 100v. © Dean and Chapter of York.
14. Offering box with initial H and towers: St George’s Chapel, Windsor Castle. 
By permission of the Dean and Canons of Windsor.
   Photo: Danna Piroyansky
16. Rood screen depicting Henry VI in St Michael and All Angels church, Barton Turf (Norfolk). Photo: Danna Piroyansky
17. Rood screen depicting Henry VI in St Catherine church, Ludham (Norfolk).
Photo: Danna Piroyansky
18. Wall painting depicting Henry VI holding a book in St Lawrence church, Alton (Hampshire). Photo: Danna Piroyansky
21. Rood screen depicting Henry VI in St Mary’s church, Whimple (Devon). Photo: Tal Aisenberg
22. Henry VI on a fly leaf in manuscript: Cambridge, Trinity College, MS O.8.35. By permission of the Master and Fellows of Trinity College Cambridge.
24. Rood screen depicting Henry VI in Binham Abbey, Norfolk. Photo: Danna Piroyansky
25. Woodcut showing Henry VI being invoked as saint: Bodleian, Bodl. MS 277, fol. 376v. By permission of the Bodleian Library, University of Oxford.
27. Rood Screen depicting Henry VI in St Peter and Paul's church, Eye (Suffolk). Photo: Danna Piroyansky. Copyright remains with the vicar and churchwardens.
APPENDIX 1

THE OFFICE FOR THOMAS OF LANCASTER IN

BL. MS ROYAL 12 C XII

Antiphona:
Gaude Thoma, ducum decus, lucerna Lancastrie
Qui per necem imitaris Thomam Cantuarie
Cuius capud conculcatur pacem ob ecclesie
Atque tuum detruncatur causa pacis Anglie;
Esto nobis pius tutor in omni discrimine.

Oratio:
Deus, qui, pro pace et tranquillitate regnicolarum Anglie beatum Thomam
martirem tuum atque comitem gladio persecutoris occumbere voluisti, concede
propicius, ut omnes qui eius memoriam devote venerantur in terries premia
condigna cum ipso consequi mereantur in celis, per dominum nostrum.

Prosa:
Sospitati dat egrotos precum Thome fusio;
Comes pius mox languentum adest in presidio;
Relevantur ab infirmis infirmi suffragio;
Sancti Thome quod monstratur signorum indicio
Vas regale trucidatur regni pro remedio.
O quam probat sanctum ducem morborum curatio!
Ergo laudes Thome sancto canamus cum gaudio,
Nam devote poscens illum statim procudubio
sospes regeditur.

Sequentia:
Summum regem honoremus dulcis pro memoria
Martiris, quem collaudemus summa reverencia.
Thomas comes appellatur stemate egregio;
Sine causa condemnatur, natus thoro regio.
Qui cum plebem totam cernit labi sub naufragio,
Non pro iure mori spernit letali commercio.
O flos militiae regalis, tuam hanc familiam
Semper conserves a mals, perducens ad gloriam! Amen.

Pange lingua glori os comitis martirium,
Sanguinisque preciosi Thome floris militiae,
Germinisque generosi laudis, lucis cornitum.
De parentis utriusque
regali pro sapia
prodit Thomas, cuius pater
proles erat regia,
matrem atque sublimavit
reginam Navarria.

Dux fidelis suum gregem
dum dispersum conspicit,
emulumque suum regem
sibi motum meminit,
mox carnalem iuxta legem
in mirum contremuit.

Benedicti benedictus
capitur vigilia;
agonista fit invictus
statim die tercia;
dire neci est addictus,
ob quod luget Anglia.

Proht dolor! azephalatur
plebis pro iuvamine,
suorumque desolatur
militum stipamine,
dum dolose defraudatur
per sudam Hoylandie.

Ad sepulcrum cuius fiunt
frequenter miracula;
ceci, claudi, surdi, muti,
membra paralitica,
prece sua consequuntur
optata presidia.

Trinitati laus et honor,
virtus et potencia
patri, proli, flaminique
sacro sit per secula,
que nos salvat a peccatis
Thome per suffragia. Amen.

O iam Christi pietas
atque Thome caritas
palam elucessit.
Heu! nunc languet equitas
viget et impietas,
veritas vilessit.
Nempe Thome bonitas
eius atque sanctitas
indies acressit,
Ad cuius tumbam sospitas
egris datur, ut veritas
cunctis nunc claressit.

Copiose caritatis Thoma pugil strenue,
Qui pro lege libertatis decertasti Anglie,
interpella pro peccatis nostris patrem glorie,
Ut ascribat cum beatis nos celestis curie. Amen.
APPENDIX 2

GEOGRAPHICAL DISTRIBUTION OF THOMAS OF LANCASTER'S ADHERENTS

Key
- Cultic activity during the fourteenth century
- Cultic activity during the fifteenth century
- Cultic activity during the sixteenth century

0 10 KM
APPENDIX 3

THE POEM FOR RICHARD SCROPE IN OXFORD, BODLEIAN LIBRARY,

BODL. 851

1 Quis meo capiti dabit effundere
Ut fontem lacrimas vultum suffundere
Per dies noctes que aquas deducere
Deflenti mortem presulis

2 Quid mirum effluam totus in lacrimis
Defleam lugeam tantas miserans
Procerum plebium strages inumeras
Nec (Nunc?) finis versimilis

3 Sancti paracleti sacra solemnitas
Willehmi presulis felix festiuitas
Pastoris humilis cedis severitas
Concursu gaudent temporis

4 Secunda feria post lucis medium
Ricardus anglie primas ad gladium
Ducitur ceditur migrans ad gaudium
Commutat yma superis

5 Pastor producitur plebis presencia
Et interdicitur mox audiencia
In primis promit tur ipsa sentencia
Ingressus quam preposteris

6 Iudex preproperus nulla dilacio
Nulla negocii examinacio
Grauis sentencie preceps probacio
Progressus temerarius

7 Nil sibi conscius presul non resonat
Nec latas canonis censuras fulminat
Sed prothomartyris exemplo geminat
Ne Christe noxam statuas

8 Non sacri temporis prodest presencia
Nichil nobilitas nil reuerencia
Persone ordinis nec preminencia
Hae habent uoces uacuas

9 Locus sentencie patris palacium
Iumento vehitur hunc ad supplicium
Cessauit penitus colle solacium
Capistro frenum cesserat

10 Tunc ait pontifex despectus congruit
Ornatus varius quia complacuit
Hinc mundi dominus Christus sustinuit
Cum pati penas venerat

11 Solatur comitem adolescentulum
Ne prorsus timeat mortis articulum
Certus obtineat celi cenaculum
Choruscis comes angelis

12 Ferula virgula satis sufficerent
Furentem frameam si non adicerent
Fedam infamiam sic procul pollerent
Vulgatam regnis singulis

13 Prodolor paruulum ense percutiunt
Propudor proprium sanguinem polluunt
Pronephas patrie primatem perimunt
polluti paricidio

14 Flexis poplicibus post pacis osculum
Offert carnifici columba iugulum
Sic liquit pontifex carnis ergastulum
Fert ictus quinque gladio

15 Mitis in moribus in pudicicia
Castus virtutibus clarus scientia
Lucidus stabilis in paciencia
Vernat laude multiplici

16 Baptismus sanguinis flaminis fluminis
Abstergit maculas cuiusque criminis
Hoc sacro tempore virtute numinis
Renato fonte triplici

17 Presuli comiti accessit tertius
Miles ex milibus ad penas socius
Membratim cripitur corpus quam totius
... ... viscera

18 Hic natu nobilis modestus in moribus
Artus iusticie constans intrepidus
Cultor ecclesie in fide feruidus
Viri verax ex uirtutibus

19 Ast thomam militum audax attrocitas
Symonem plebium furens ferocitas
Ricardum callide seu crudelitas
Obtruncant Christos domini
20 Annus milesimus CCCCinu
Quintus erat patri nouissimus
Dies quo patitur pastor piissimus
Octauus erat Junij

21 Ad sancti Stephani altaris titulum
Cuius prouerbij sumpsit capitulum
Preperat presuli sepulcri lectulum
Cuncorum deus prescius

22 Lectorem simplicem suplex expostulo
Ne patrem pollunt veneni poculo
Benigne audiat videat oculo
Factorum dei nescius

23 Quicquid ab aliis diuersim traditur
A probis plurimis sparsim asseritur
Quod pie paciens deuote moritur
De fine nullus hasitat

24 Si uera caritas monstrat miracula
Prosedet veritas nec offendicula
Reddetur improbitas per ulla secula
Scriptura sacra recitat

25 Si cause suberant deus ecclesia
Regnum res publica fedes iusticia
Pie presumitur pro paciencia
Omnia vincit veritas

26 Non queunt cetera penarum genera
Corpora lacera carorum funera
A plebe tollere amoris munera
Omnia suffert caritas

27 Thesaurus tollitur vasaque cetera
Corporis cameræ supellex varia
Capelle studij libros localia
Omnia fiscus ocupat

28 Non datur corporis funeri lintheus
Non numus minimus pro funeralibus
Nichil pauperibus nil creditoribus
Pietas prorsus exulat

29 Pena progreditur familiaribus
Census indicitur nudantur opibus
Nec veris creditur probationibus
Venenum est hijs venia

30 Post haec extenditur pena in plebis
Importabilibus exactionibus
Nemini parcitur sed innocentibus
Ingrata datur gracia

31 Anglorum recolens prima fastigia
Hunc horum intuens dira discidia
Cunctorum metuens simul excidia
Mutata miror prospera

32 Gens olim nobilis nunc nimis misera
Verbis instabilis in factis efferæ
In fide fragilis ut vilis vipera
Materna rodit viscera
Ignaui exteris bellis hostilibus
Cedunt se mundo plusquam ciuilibus
Trucidis horridis innaturabilibus
Cognato madent sanguine

Orbatur regio militis ducibus
Nudatur legio leccis militibus
Bachatur pugio cesis tironibus
Rarus fortis in agmine

Non timor domini honor ecclesie
Zelus rei publice cultur iusticie
Non virtus venie nulla spes gracie
Rigoris regnat gladius

Sub sene scismate presules dormiunt
Reges desipiunt proceres . . .
Raptores oprimunt & . . . peremunt
Nec (Nunc?) adest iudex . . .(maximus?)

Tuus delicie humani . .
Reos consiliat omnibus . .
Optat . . . . ab inforis
Nos vivos tradidit . .

Angusto utinam foret felicior
Qui regna regeret . . . melior
Aut theodosio sit moderacior
Non nimis vacas . . (mundis?)

Secura libera ques(?) consilia
Morum industria iusta imperia
Plata comoda priuatis publica
Sunt signa regni stabilis

40 Futa consilia & voluntaria
Domi luxuria fons ...
Egesta ... priuata copia
Sunt signa pacis labilis

41 Quis mihi tribuat ut annos pristinos
Reuolui videam & mores patrios
Redire rideam ut canos ultimos
In forma pace finiam

42 O summa deitas qui celis inseris
Presedes médiis medere miseris
Ut spectis infimis letemur superis
Beatus dona veniam. Amen.

* Stanzas 17-18 and 35-40 appear only in this manuscript, and not in BL, Cotton Faustina B ix.