TRANSLATION, CANONIZATION, AND THE CULT OF THE SAINTS IN ENGLAND, 1160-1220

Elizabeth Hasseler

A thesis submitted to the faculty at the University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of Master of Arts in the Department of History (Medieval History).

Chapel Hill
2014

Approved by:

Marcus G. Bull

Brett E. Whalen

Robert G. Babcock

ABSTRACT

Elizabeth Hasseler: Translation, Canonization, and the Cult of the Saints in England, 1160-1220
(Under the direction of Marcus G. Bull and Brett E. Whalen)

The twelfth century marked a significant change in the way that saints were made. While previously sanctification had been a primarily local phenomenon, overseen by local bishops through the ritual practice of translation, throughout the twelfth century the development of formalized, juridical canonization processes allowed the papacy to oversee the process of making a new saint. This thesis addresses the nature of this shift, arguing that even as canonization proceedings became more common, the ritual of translation still retained significance as an act of local cult building. Focusing on the cults of Edward the Confessor and Thomas Becket, both of whom were canonized by the papacy and subsequently translated by their communities, this study will show that the translation ceremony remained significant through the twelfth century as a moment at which saints were commemorated, their lives narrated, and their remains enshrined within the sacral landscape of the community.

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

Thanks go first of all to my family and friends who have supported me throughout my time in school. Mother, Father, Tristan, and Mike, I wouldn't have been able to make it this far without your love and support.

Thanks go as well to my advisors, Professors Marcus Bull and Brett Whalen, who have been enormously supportive as I have embarked on my graduate career and worked through the Master's thesis. Your guidance has been invaluable in the writing of this paper, and I am looking forward to continuing to work with you as I begin the doctorate. Many thanks as well to Professor Robert Babcock, who was gracious enough to sit on my committee and advise me on my Latin.

Finally, thanks go to the Department of History at the University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill for providing me with the opportunity to pursue a graduate education and the financial support to do so. Thanks as well to my fellow graduate students, who are collectively the most supportive community of which I have ever had the pleasure of being a part, and who have provided their advice and support at every stage of this project.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

Appendix D	"Correspondence Concerning Edward's Canonization." Edited by Frank Barlow. In *Edward the Confessor*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1970: pp. 309-24.
"In translacione"	Aelred of Rievaulx. *In Translacione Sancti Edwardi Confessoris*. Translated by Tom License. In Peter Jackson, "In Translatione Sancti Edwardi Confessoris: The Lost Sermon of Aelred of Rievaulx Found?" *Cistercian Studies Quarterly* 40 (2005): 68-83.
Benedict of Peterborough, *Miracula S. Thomae*	Benedict of Peterborough. *Miracula S. Thomae Cantuariensis*. Edited by J.C. Robertson. In *Materials for the History of Thomas Becket*. Rolls Series 67, pt. 2. London: Longmans, Green, Reader, and Dyer, 1875-85.
William of Canterbury, *Miracula S. Thomae*	William of Canterbury. *Miracula S. Thomae Cantuariensis*. Edited by J.C. Robertson. In *Materials for the History of Thomas Becket*. Rolls Series 67, pt. 2. London: Longmans, Green, Reader, and Dyer, 1875-85.
MTB	*Materials for the History of Thomas Becket*. Edited by J.C. Robertson. Rolls Series. Volume 67. 7 volumes. London: Longman, green, Reader, and Dyer, 1813-1882.
"Thirteenth-Century Office"	"Office for the Translation of Thomas of Canterbury." In Sherry Reames, "Reconstructing and Interpreting a Thirteenth-Century Office for the Translation of Thomas Becket." *Speculum* 80 (2005): 118-70.
RS	*Rerum Britannicarum Medii Aevi Scriptores* (Rolls Series). 1858-1911.
Sermon III	Edited by Phyllis Roberts. In *Selected Sermons of Stephen Langton*. Toronto: Pontifical Institute of Mediaeval Studies, 1980.
Tractatus	Stephen Langton, *Tractatus de Translatione Beati Thomae*. Edited by Jacques-Paul Migne. Patrologia Latina 190, cols. 407-24.
Vita beati Ædwardi	Osbert of Clare. "La Vie d'Edouard le Confesseur par Osbert de Clare." Edited by Marc Bloch. *Annalecta Bollandiana* 41

Introduction

The supporters of Edward the Confessor who wrote to Pope Alexander III in 1161 to achieve his recognition as a saint each phrased his petition in one of two ways. Some asked that Alexander canonize (*canonizare*) Edward by adding his name to the *catalogus sanctorum*. Others, on the other hand, asked for the pope's permission to "elevate his body, lifted from the ground, to a worthy tomb."[1] Similarly, when Alexander issued a bull of canonization for Thomas Becket a decade later, he declared not only that he would inscribe Becket's name in the catalogue of the saints, but also that the monks of Christ Church ought to now elevate Becket's body to an appropriate shrine "for the salvation of the faithful and the peace of the universal church."[2]

The interest of these writers in both the canonization and the translation of saints Edward the Confessor and Thomas Becket neatly illustrates the nature of the transition in the way that saints were made in the late twelfth and early thirteenth centuries. Traditionally sanctification had been a local phenomenon. Many early medieval saints' cults were not authorized in any formal way.[3] If any institutionalized authorization of a cult did take place,

---

[1] Frank Barlow, *Edward the Confessor* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1970), Appendix D, no. 5: "a terra levatum et condigna theca repositum in publicas tocius populi gratulationes in ecclesiae sullimare."

[2] *Materials for the History of Thomas Becket,* ed. J.C. Robertson, Rolls Series 67/7 (London: Longmans, Green, Reader, and Dyer, 1875-85), no. 784, pp. 545-6: "pro salute fidelium et pace universalis ecclesiae."

[3] Catherine Cubitt examines the qualities of popular cults in Anglo-Saxon England in her article "Sites and Sanctity: Revisiting the Cult of Murdered and Martyred Anglo-Saxon Royal Saints," *Early Medieval Europe* 9 (2000): 53-83; see also her "Folklore and Historiography: Oral Stories and the Writing of Anglo-Saxon History," in Elizabeth M. Tyler and Ross Balzaretti, eds., *Narrative and*

it typically occurred at the episcopal level through the ritual procedure of translation, in

which an individual's remains were removed from their resting place and reinterred

elsewhere in the presence of the diocesan bishop.[4] Because the establishment of the saint's

body in an accessible tomb was the precursor to the development of a full cultic program of

veneration, including liturgical commemoration and veneration by pilgrims, elevation in the

presence of the bishop effectively served as an act of authorization.[5] Throughout the early

Middle Ages, translation was used to launch new cults, as well as to promote, reenergize, or

relocate preexisting ones.[6]

  In the wake of the church reform movement of the eleventh century, however, as a

newly powerful papacy was increasingly able to assert its primacy over an extensive,

interconnected ecclesiastical network, popes began to reserve their right to pronounce final

---

History in the Early Medieval West (Turnhout: Brepols, 2006): 189-223; and Julia M. Smith, "Oral and Written: Saints, Miracles, and Relics in Brittany, c. 850-1250," *Speculum* 65 (1990): 309-43.

[4] Paul Fouracre, "The Origins of the Carolingian Attempt to Regulate the Cult of the Saints," in James Howard-Johnson and Paul Antony Hayward, eds., *The Cult of the Saints in Late Antiquity and the Middle Ages: Essays on the Contribution of Peter Brown* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1999): 143-66.

[5] Peter Brown, *The Cult of the Saints: Its Rise and Function in Latin Christianity* (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1981). On the practice of translation, see particularly Patrick Geary, *Furta Sacra: Thefts of Relics in the Central Middle Ages* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1978); Martin Heinzelmann, *Translationsberichte und andere Quellen des Reliquiencultes,* Typologie des sources du Moyen Âge occidental, vol. 33 (Brepols: Turnhout, 1979); Alan Thacker, "The Making of a Local Saint," in Alan Thacker and Richard Sharpe, eds., *Local Saints and Local Churches in the Early Medieval West* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2002): 45-74; Yitzhak Hen, *Culture and Religion in Merovingian Gaul, A.D. 481-751* (Brill: Leiden, 1995), 107-120; and David Flood Appleby, "Hagiography and Ideology in the Ninth Century: The Narrative Descriptions of the Translation of Relics," Unpublished Ph.D. Dissertation (University of Virginia), 1989.

[6] The term "translation" (*translatio*), when used in the context of the cult of the saints, had a wide range of meanings and associations throughout the Middle Ages. At its most basic level, it referred to the movement of the body of a saint from one location to another, and so could involve the relocation of a saint within the same church or the transferal of the body from one church to another. It could also be used as a term to describe the literary genre that narrated such occasions. In this paper, the term "translation" will be used to refer to the ceremonial reburial of a saint's body in an elevated shrine.

judgment on the sanctity of a candidate.[7] They were aided by the development of a more

sophisticated judicial and administrative apparatus at the papal curia, and in particular by the

increasingly important role played by papal legates, who extended the reach of the popes into

areas that had traditionally been on the periphery of western Christendom.[8] The papacy of

Alexander III (1159-81) was a particularly important period during which many of these

innovations were used to pass judgment on would-be saints. Alexander and his legates heard

twelve petitions for canonization, six of which were approved. In the bulls of canonization he

issued, Alexander developed a consistent rhetoric of papal jurisdiction over the act of

canonization that drew on the strong claims to papal privilege, which had first been

expressed by reforming popes such as Gregory VII in the late eleventh century.[9] The

reservation of the papal right to canonize was eventually codified during the papacy of

Innocent III in the canons of the Fourth Lateran Council of 1215 and in several collections of

papal decretals.[10]

       The development of canonization therefore fits neatly into a broader narrative about

---

[7] On church reform and the rise of the papal monarchy, see especially Gerd Tellenbach, *Church, State, and Christian Society at the Time of the Investiture Conflict* (Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1940); Colin Morris, *The Papal Monarchy: The Western Church from 1050 to 1250* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1989); Kathleen G. Cushing, *Reform and the Papacy in the Eleventh Century: Spirituality and Social Change* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2005); U.-R. Blumenthal, *The Investiture Controversy: Church and Monarchy from the Ninth to the Twelfth Century* (Philadelphia: University of Philadelphia Press, 1988); and H.E.J. Cowdrey, *Pope Gregory VII, 1073-1085* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1998).

[8] See particularly Ian Robinson, *The Papacy 1073-1198: Continuity and Innovation* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1990), 146-78.

[9] E.W. Kemp, "Pope Alexander III and the Canonization of Saints," *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society* 27 (1945): 13-28.

[10] It is worth noting that the earliest decretal collections that included texts relating to the papal right to canonization were all of Anglo-Norman origin. See André Vauchez, *Sainthood in the Later Middle Ages*, trans. Jean Birrell (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1997), 28; Christopher Cheney, *Pope Innocent III and England* (Stuttgart: Anton Hiersemann, 1976), 52; and E.W. Kemp, *Canonization and Authority in the Western Church* (London: Oxford University Press, 1948), 102.

the development of the papal monarchy in the long twelfth century. Translation, on the other hand, tends to fall by the wayside in scholarship of the cult of the saints in this period. This belies the fact that the practice did not fade into obscurity in the wake of the development of canonization proceedings. The ceremony was still commonly used as the capstone to a successful canonization. Edward the Confessor and Thomas Becket were both translated after the announcement of their canonization. So too were most of the English saints canonized over the course of the thirteenth century.[11] These translation events were usually lavish, representing a significant outlay of resources, and they were often considered worthy of mention by contemporary chroniclers. It therefore seems unlikely, as some historians have suggested, that the translation ceremony lingered on as a vestigial feature of saints' cults, devoid of any actual significance.[12] How, then, did the significance of the translation ceremony change in the wake of the development of papal canonization, which had to a large degree taken over its traditional significance as an authorizing event?

Little answer is to be found in the existing scholarship on the history of papal canonization.[13] Historians have instead tended to focus on the view from the papal curia. E.W. Kemp, in his influential 1948 monograph *Canonization and Authority in the Western Church,* traced the development of papal claims to jurisdiction over the cult of the saints

---

[11] These included SS. Gilbert of Sempringham (can. 1202); Wulstan of Worcester (1203); Hugh of Lincoln (1220); William of York (1226); Edmund of Abingdon (1246); and Richard of Chichester (1262).

[12] See for example Heinzelmann, *Translationsberichte*, 100-1: "As the papacy reserved the canonization of saints for itself in the thirteenth century, most significantly at Lateran IV, *translationes* largely lost their inherent significance, although they continued to be used by bishops up until the 17th century."

[13] A useful overview of recent work in the field of canonization studies is provided in Sari Katajala-Peltomaa, "Recent Trends in the Study of Medieval Canonization," *History Compass* 9 (2010): 1083–1092.

from their earliest origins in the Merovingian period until the twentieth century.[14] This

narrative formed the foundation on which recent historians, such as Thomas Wetzstein,

Michael Goodich, and Gàbor Klaniczay, have based more detailed studies of the precedents

claimed and the procedures used in individual canonization proceedings.[15] Their work has

illuminated the development of what can be identified as a standardized, judicial

canonization procedure by the late thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, which was based on

the interview of witnesses and the compilation of detailed evidential dossiers, and which was

informed by theological understandings of the nature of the miraculous.[16] As with Kemp's

work, however, their scholarship has remained focused on the papal side of the canonization

proceedings to the neglect of an understanding of how the cults of canonized saints were

established or developed.

In his magisterial *Sainthood in the Later Middle Ages*, André Vauchez laid the

foundations for such a study into the effect of papal canonization on the cult of the saints.[17]

In this work, Vauchez outlined several major trends that affected expressions of sanctity in

the late medieval period. Firstly, the willingness of the papacy to canonize recently deceased

---

[14] Kemp, *Canonization and Authority*.

[15] See particularly Thomas Wetzstein, *Heilige vor Gericht: das Kanonisationsverfahren im Europäischen Mittelalter* (Köln: Böhlau, 2004); Thomas Wetzstein, "*Iura Novit Curia*: Zur Verfahrensnormierung der Kanonisationsprozesse des späten Mittelalters," in Gàbor Klaniczay, ed., *Procès de canonisation au Moyen Âge* (Rome: Ecole française de Rome, 2004): 259-87; Michael Goodich, *Miracles and Wonders: The Development of the Concept of Miracle, 1150-1350* (Aldershot: Ashgate Variorum, 2007); and Gàbor Klaniczay, "Proving Sanctity in the Canonization Process: Saint Elizabeth and Saint Margaret of Hungary," in *Procès de canonisation au Moyen Âge*, 117-48.

[16] On the theology of miracles, see Michael Goodich, "Reason or Revelation: The Criteria for the Proof and Credibility on Miracles in Canonisation Processes," in *Procès de canonisation au Moyen Âge,* 181-97; Goodich, *Miracles and Wonders*; and Thomas Wetzstein, "'*Virtus morum et virtus signorum?'* Zur Bedeutung der Mirakel in den Kanonisationsprozessen des 15. Jahrhunderts," in Martin Heinzelmann, Klaus Herbers, and Dieter R. Bauer, eds., *Mirakel im Mittelalter: Konzeptionen, Erscheinungsformen, Deutungen* (Stuttgart: Steiner, 2002): 351-75.

[17] Vauchez, *Sainthood in the Later Middle Ages*.

figures led to a decisive movement away from the veneration of the apostles and martyrs of the early church towards that of more "modern saints." This shift had an impact on liturgical practice, as the popes' willingness to enter the feast days of modern saints into the calendars of the Roman church was echoed throughout western Europe.[18] Secondly, by the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, the increasingly rigid judicial procedures for determining the validity of sanctity claims had begun to privilege particular modes of sanctity above others, leading to a divergence between the types of sanctity expressed in those cults approved by the papacy and those that flourished free of papal influence.[19] The former category included both ecclesiastics and religious as well as laity whose holiness was attested to by extensive written documentation. The latter often tended to include local men or women who had met violent ends and who had become the object of local celebration, despite the fact that they were rarely made the subjects of hagiographical texts.[20]

Vauchez's study is invaluable not least for the scale of his quantitative research. On a broad scale, he began to identify important ways in which the development of canonization affected the ways in which sanctity was experienced and expressed in the late Middle Ages. However, the sheer breadth of Vauchez's work precluded his ability to examine individual cases closely or to explore the impact of the trends he outlined on cults at an on the ground level. This thesis will provide such a close analysis of the cults of Edward the Confessor and Thomas Becket. These well-known figures were the first English saints formally canonized by the papacy, and their cults are illuminated by a rich set of congruent source types, including saints' lives, sermons, liturgies, and architectural evidence, which allows for

---

[18] Vauchez, *Sainthood in the Later Middle Ages,* 105-10.

[19] Vauchez, *Sainthood in the Later Middle Ages,* 141-5.

[20] Vauchez, *Sainthood in the Later Middle Ages,* 145-56.

comparison as well as contrast. The cult of Edward the Confessor will be examined first. Alexander III canonized Edward in 1161. His body was translated two years later in a prestigious ceremony attended by King Henry II and presided over by the renowned Cistercian abbot Aelred of Rievaulx, who used the opportunity to develop a sophisticated portrait of royal kingship intended to inspire the current king to responsible rulership. Despite these promising beginnings, however, enthusiasm for St. Edward quickly waned. This study will suggest that it was in fact the program of Christian kingship articulated at the translation ceremony that made St. Edward an unattractive patron, both to the wider public and, ironically, to the king at whom it was directed.

The cult of Thomas Becket will be explored next. Though he immediately became the object of a popular cult and was quickly canonized, the Canterbury monks were not able to translate Becket's body for another fifty years due to a long series of conflicts and misfortunes. Nevertheless, as this thesis will demonstrate, it was at the translation ceremony of 1220 that Archbishop Stephen Langton re-established the cult in the form it would retain for the next three centuries. He elevated Becket's body out of the cathedral crypt into a new, spectacular shrine at the apex of the church, integrating the cult into the sacred landscape of Canterbury Cathedral and establishing his shrine as the focal point of the church's commemorative and devotional practices. As we will see, Langton also used the translation ceremony as an opportunity to re-narrate Becket's history in order to emphasize his apostolic way of life and miracle working capabilities, thus increasing his popularity among pilgrims.

In the course of these case studies, the significance of the translation ceremony that followed the act of papal canonization will become clear. The proclamation of a papal bull of canonization was seen as a necessary precondition to the veneration of either man as a saint.

However, the canonization process served only as an act of authorization, after which the pope delegated the responsibility for establishing a cult around the memory of the new saint to the local supporters. It was in this capacity that the translation ceremony remained central to the cult of the saints in the high and late Middle Ages. The development of the cults of Edward the Confessor and Thomas Becket highlights several ways in which the practice of translation remained an important moment of cult creation: the ceremony served to promote the prestige of the cult as well as that of its supporters; it provided an opportunity to narrate the subject's life, spiritual capabilities, or saintly persona; and, through the establishment of the saint in an elevated shrine, it defined a space for commemorative, liturgical, and devotional practices in honor of the saint's memory. Far from becoming an archaic, vestigial practice in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, this study argues that the ritual of translation in fact remained central to the establishment and functioning of saints' cults.

This has implications for how historians ought to study the development of the cult of the saints in the high and late Middle Ages. An examination of the contingent circumstances that shaped the emergence of individual cults helps to disrupt a tendency towards a teleology that portrays the development of the regularized canonization procedure in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries as somehow inevitable. Instead, it highlights the fact that canonization, like many of the prerogatives claimed by the papacy in this period, developed slowly and unevenly. Its development was not the consequence of any clearly planned program of the papacy, but rather the result of a gradual process of dialogue between the papal curia and local communities, one which could be negotiated or manipulated to the benefit of either party. Only by examining the view from the localities, as well as from Rome, can historians bring this process of negotiation into clearer focus.

Finally, this study will also be of interest to scholars of Edward the Confessor and Thomas Becket. At first glance, these cults appear to have little direct connection beyond that of distinctive contrast, with Edward embodying concepts of Christian kingship and Becket symbolizing the freedom of the church from royal domination. However, the relationship between the saints was not one of simple opposition between competing symbols of *regnum* and *sacerdotium.* Instead, the contexts and concerns underpinning the two cults often come into clearer focus when they are put into conversation with one another. The supporters of each cult drew on a shared set of symbols and discourses to become participants in a larger, enduring dialogue that negotiated current issues such as the shifting nature of English kingship in the wake of the Norman Conquest; the respective authorities of the king and pope over the affairs of the church in England; and the ideals and virtues that ought to characterize a holy Christian life, whether it was lived by a king or bishop. These conversations were often most clearly evident in the cultic programs developed at the saints' translation ceremonies. Scholarship that ignores the continuing significance of the practice of translation therefore risks missing out on important themes that informed the development of the new cults and helped to situate them within a broader social and religious landscape.

Edward, King and Confessor, 1160-3

As the first English saint formally canonized by the papacy, Edward the Confessor (d. 1066) is a useful figure through whom to examine the processes used to create a new saint in the twelfth century. This section will explore the various strategies used to establish the cult of St. Edward at Westminster Abbey following his canonization. As we will see, the elevation of the new saint's body in 1163 was a vital moment in the development of the cult. It announced

Edward's sanctity to a large crowd of influential attendees, whose presence helped to enhance and promote the prestige of the new cult and the Westminster community. Moreover, the translation represented an opportunity to define the type of sanctity that Edward was to embody. The Cistercian abbot Aelred of Rievaulx, who composed several news texts for the occasion, developed a sophisticated model of Christian kingship at the translation that was intended to inspire Henry to emulation of the saint. These strategies, as well as their ultimate effectiveness, will be investigated in turn. First, however, we must look at the processes used to create the new cult in order to get a clearer idea of the role that the translation ceremony continued to play after the development of papal canonization had coopted its traditional authorizing function.

Edward's canonization represented a remarkable success for a saint who had enjoyed few supporters throughout the prior century. Even at Westminster, few individuals seem to have treated the king as worthy of veneration as a saint. An early anonymous work, known as the *Life of King Edward who Rests at Westminster* (ca. 1067), did celebrate Edward as a saint and provided several stories of miracles worked at his tomb.[21] However, the primary purpose of this text was to serve as an encomium for Edward's widow, Edith, and her family the Godwins. Edward was only a secondary concern to its author, despite the title the work has come to bear, and it does not seem to have stimulated widespread veneration of the deceased king at Westminster. In the early 1080s, the monk Sulcard, who composed a brief tract on the early history of Westminster Abbey, praised Edward as a wise king and a "new Solomon" but pointedly stopped short of referring to him as a saint, as had the author of the anonymous

---

[21] Frank Barlow, ed., *The Life of King Edward Who Rests at Westminster Attributed to a Monk of Saint Bertin* (London: Nelson, 1962).

Life. [22] Nevertheless, the idea of Edward's potential sanctity seems to have reemerged briefly

in 1102, when Abbot Gilbert Crispin and Bishop Gundulf of Rochester opened Edward's

tomb, possibly with the intention of stimulating a cult. They discovered the king's body to be

incorrupt; however, nothing ultimately came of this early *inventio.*[23] Although some notion

of Edward's potential sanctity seems to have persisted and to have been periodically revived

in the decades following his death, it does not appear that the king had any dedicated

devotees in the late eleventh or early twelfth centuries who were willing to expend the energy

necessary to establish a cult of St. Edward at Westminster.

The notable exception was the prior of Westminster in the 1130s and 1140s, Osbert of

Clare, who enthusiastically but single-handedly led an attempt to earn recognition of

Edward's sanctity.[24] Perhaps because he found little local support, Osbert decided to pursue

his project by appealing to the papacy. He first received the benediction of Bishop Henry of

Winchester and King Stephen, who both wrote letters in support of Edward's canonization.[25]

Osbert then approached the papal legate in England, Alberic of Ostia, to whom he submitted

an introductory letter and a new *Vita beati Ædwardi regis Anglorum* he himself had

---

[22] Bernard Scholz, ed., "Sulcard of Westminster: 'Prologus de construccione Westmonasterii,'" *Traditio* 20 (1964): 59-91.

[23] Aelred of Rievaulx, *Vita S. Edwardi,* ed. by Marsha L. Dutton, trans. by Jane Patricia Freeland in *Aelred of Rievaulx: The Historical Works* (Kalamazoo: Cistercian Publications, 2005), ch. 37.

[24] Although Osbert likely obtained Abbot Gervase's consent before pushing his bid for Edward's canonization, the prior appears in the surviving evidence to have been the sole active campaigner at Westminster for the project. He had evidently attempted to promote enthusiasm for the king within the monastery. In his *Vita,* Osbert remarked that he had preached Edward's virtues at Westminster as well as its daughter house of canonesses at Kilburn. Moreover, he added ten new miracle stories to his new *Vita*, in nine of which he himself played a central and instigating role. See Barlow, *Life of King Edward,* 157-60; Rachel Koopmans, *Wonderful to Relate: Miracle Stories and Miracle Collecting in High Medieval England* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2011), 99.

[25] J. Armitage Robinson and Edward William Williamson, eds., *The Letters of Osbert of Clare, Prior of Westminster* (London: Oxford University Press, 1929)*, nos. 16-18.

written.[26] Somewhat curiously, Osbert declared that the "exaltation of saints" (*exaltatio sanctorum*) was among the duties of the legate, and he seems to have hoped that Alberic himself would pass final judgment on his case.[27] There was no precedent for this, however, and Alberic advised Osbert to take his petition to Rome and submit it directly to the pope. Osbert did so, taking with him his *Vita* and the letters of the legate, the bishop of Winchester, and the English king. In Rome, Osbert seems to have won the personal regard of Pope Innocent II.[28] However, the pope criticized Osbert's petition for lacking the wider support of the English church, telling him that "such celebrations ought to be made on behalf of the honor and success of the entire kingdom and ought to be equally sought by the entire kingdom."[29] Moreover, troubling political news from England reached the papal curia at about the same time as Osbert. In June 1139 Stephen had arrested the bishops of Salisbury and Lincoln and seized several of their castles out of a suspicion that they supported his rival for the English throne, the Empress Matilda. Although the incident was soon settled in Stephen's favor, it may have made the pope wary of acceding to Stephen's request for the canonization of his royal forebear.[30] Innocent rejected Osbert's petition, forcing him to return

---

[26] Osbert of Clare, *Vita beati Ædwardi regis Anglorum,* ed. Marc Bloch, "La Vie d'Edouard le Confesseur par Osbert de Clare," *Annalecta Bollandiana* 41 (1923), 116-20; John Crook, *English Medieval Shrines* (Woodbridge: The Boydell Press, 2011).

[27] *Letters of Osbert,* no. 16.

[28] In his letter to the Westminster convent denying Osbert's petition, the pope praised the prior "for the virtue of his honesty and distinguished way of life." *Letters of Osbert,* no. 19.

[29] *Letters of Osbert*, no. 19: "quia, cum tanta festivitas debeat fieri ad honorem et profectum totius regni ab omnio regno partier debet postulari."

[30] Edina Bozoky, "The Sanctity and Canonisation of Edward the Confessor," in *Edward the Confessor: The Man and the Legend*, edited by Richard Mortimer (Woodbridge: The Boydell Press, 2009), 181.

to Westminster empty handed.[31]

After Osbert's failed bid for canonization, Edward faded back into textual obscurity. Several decades later, in 1160, Abbot Lawrence of Westminster set in motion a new project to earn papal recognition of Edward's sanctity. Like Osbert, Lawrence began by marshaling support within England for the canonization. This time, however, Lawrence was able to muster the full force of the English church and crown behind his project. A large number of petitioners, including the papal legates Henry of Sts. Nereus and Achilles and Otho of St. Nicholas in Carcere Tulliano, various members of the English church, and King Henry II himself wrote letters in support of Lawrence and Edward, thirteen of which are still extant.[32] The writers of these letters characterized Lawrence's canonization bid as a project dear to the entire English church. The claim made by one petitioner that Edward was "famous and known by the English people and the entire church" may have been an overstatement of his popularity, given the lack of interest in an Edwardian cult in the preceding century. [33] However, the sheer number of writers who lent their pens to Lawrence's project were able to provide a convincing rebuttal to Innocent II's earlier complaint that the petition ought to

---

[31] *The Letters of Osbert,* no. 19.

[32] Letters survive from King Henry II; cardinal legates H. (most likely Henry of St. Nereus and Achilles) and Otho of St. Nicholas in Carcere Tulliano; Archbishop Roger de Pont-l'Eveque of York; Bishops William of Norwich, Hilary of Chichester, Nigel of Ely, Henry of Winchester, Jocelin of Salisbury, and Gilbert Foliot of Hereford; Abbot William of Reading; an unidentified monk R., possibly of St. Andrew's in Rochester; H., "beati N. minster;" and a member of Malmesbury, possibly its abbot Gregory. The letters survive in a single codex, Vatican Library MS Latin 6024 ff. 150^v – 151^v, on which see Z.N. Brooke, "The Register of Master David of London," in *Essays in History Presented to R.L. Poole,* ed. H.W.C. Davis (Oxford, 1927): 227-45. The letters were originally printed, with many errors of transcription, by Francisco Liverani in his *Spicilegium Liberanium* (Florence, 1863), but have since been reprinted by Frank Barlow as Appendix D in his *Edward the Confessor,* pp. 309-324.

[33] Barlow, *Edward the Confessor,* Appendix D, no. 13: "celebre enim et notum habet Anglorum populus et ecclesia tota quod gloriosus eorum rex Eduwardus, dum adhuc in carne viveret, carnem omnimode servavit."

enjoy the support of the entire English church.

Moreover, while Innocent may have been put off by Stephen's aggressive move against the bishops of Salisbury and Lincoln in 1139, Alexander conversely had a strong incentive to view Lawrence's petition favorably. Since his disputed election in 1159, Alexander had struggled to consolidate his position against Frederick Barbarossa and the imperial antipope, Victor IV. After a short period of calculated vacillation, Henry II had recognized Alexander as rightful pope in July 1160.[34] Now, only months later, while the threat posed by Barbarossa and Victor still loomed large, Henry presented the canonization of one of his monarchical ancestors as a suitable reward that Alexander ought to be willing to bestow upon his valuable supporter.[35] The English petitioners were not subtle about making this suggestion either. Six of the thirteen extant letters reference the schism or remind Alexander of Henry's support in that conflict, while several allude to the support that the English church had always given the papacy.[36]

Alexander himself seems to have recognized the extraordinary nature of the English petition. Until this point, it had been traditional for deliberations and declarations of the canonization of saints to take place in the context of synods or church councils.[37] In a break with tradition, however, Lawrence, delivered his petition directly to Alexander at the papal curia. "Diligently noting the constancy of the devotion and the strength of the faith which

---

[34] Anne Duggan, "Henry II, the English Church and the Papacy, 1154-76," in Christopher Harper-Bill and Nicholas Vincent, eds., *Henry II: New Interpretations* (Woodbridge: The Boydell Press, 2007), 168.

[35] Kemp, *Canonization and Authority*, 82.

[36] These include the letters from the cardinal legates, Roger of York, Gilbert Foliot, Nigel of Ely, the abbot of Reading, and H.; see Barlow, *Edward the Confessor,* Appendix D, nos. 2, 3, 5, 8, 10, and 11.

[37] Kemp, "Pope Alexander III and the Canonization of the Saints," 16.

you show for your mother the holy Roman church," Alexander declared himself persuaded by Lawrence's testimony and agreed to his petition "so that we might favor and more readily honor you, the dearest and especial sons of the church with the sincere charity in the Lord."[38] He announced Edward's canonization in a bull issued from Anagni on February 7, 1161, in which he affirmed that he had inscribed Edward's name in the *catalogus sanctorum*.[39] At that point, he also exhorted Abbot Lawrence and the chapter of Westminster to "glorify and honor the body of the confessor" so that he would enjoy "the same deserved praise on earth, as the Lord glorifies him with in his grace in heaven."[40] When the news reached Westminster, the assembled community, "all applauding and approving, gave great praises to the glory of God and his confessor." They then began to prepare to elevate Edward's body in order to carry out Alexander's exhortation and in order to ensure that King Edward might, at long last, have an established cult.[41]

The development of the cult of Edward the Confessor was a lengthy process that spanned almost a full century. It is fairly indicative of the standard processes used to create new saints in the second half of the twelfth century. It is clear that both Prior Osbert and Abbot Lawrence saw it as useful or even necessary to attempt to receive the papacy's permission before establishing their cult. From there, the process became one of negotiation between the saint's local supporters and the papal curia. In both instances, the papal legates

---

[38] Barlow, *Edward the Confessor,* Appendix D, no. 14: "ut vos sicut karissimos et speciales ecclesie filios sincera caritate in domino diligamus."

[39] Barlow, *Edward the Confessor,* Appendix D, no. 14.

[40] Barlow, *Edward the Confessor,* Appendix D, no. 14. debitis preconiis honorandum in terris, sicut eundem confessorem dominus per suam gratiam glorificavit in celis."

[41] Richard of Cirencester, *De regum Anglorum,* ed. J.E.B. Mayor, Rolls Series 30/2 (London: Longmans, Green, Reader, and Dyer, 1863-9), 323: "universis applaudentibus assentientibus et Deum voce magna laudantibus de glorioso Domini confessore."

mediated the process of petitioning. Although Alberic of Ostia was reluctant to oversee the

canonization process independently, both he and his counterparts in the 1160s, Henry and

Otho, advocated for Edward's canonization when the Westminster petitioners took their case

to the papal curia. Ultimately, though, it was the pope who made the final decision whether

or not to canonize the candidate.

The process of canonization was thus one of conversation and negotiation between

Westminster and Rome. However, once the bull of canonization had been promulgated and

Edward's sanctity declared, the process of establishing his cult at Westminster became the

responsibility of his local supporters, as Alexander made clear when he enjoined them to

translate Edward's body and accord it the appropriate veneration. We should therefore now

examine the various ways in which the Westminster community established their new cult by

elevating the saint's body. As we will see, the translation ceremony was an important

moment of cult creation because it ritually installed Edward's cult at Westminster and

announced his sanctity to a large and prestigious crowd.

For the Glory of the Church and St. Edward: The Translation of 1163

The elevation of Edward the Confessor's body to a new shrine positioned behind

Westminster Abbey's main altar on October 13, 1163 was a well-attended event. Many of the

prelates who had written in support of Edward's canonization two years earlier were present,

as were at least seven English magnates.[42] Most notably, though, King Henry II himself

---

[42] According to Richard of Cirencester, the attendees included Bishops Gilbert of London; Henry of
Winchester; Nigel of Ely; Robert of Lincoln; William of Norwich; Jocelin of Salisbury; Walter of
Rochester; Hilary of Chichester; Bartholomew of Exeter; Richard of Chester; Godfrey of St.
Andrew's in Rochester; Arnulf of Lisieux; Abbot Hugo of St. Edmund's in Bury; Abbot Gregory of
Malmesbury; and the earls of Leicester, Norfolk, Essex, Arundel, Cornwall, Salisbury, and Pembroke.
De regum Anglorum, 326.

presided over the translation. The ceremony therefore declared the existence of the new cult

to a large and prestigious audience. It was not only the Westminster community who

benefitted at the translation ceremony, however. It also proved to be a useful stage upon

which King Henry II could promote his association with the royal saint in order to boost his

own prestige. This section will first explore how the king's presence and participation shaped

the translation ceremony, before returning to analyze its significance to the Westminster

community.

King Henry's interest in Edward the Confessor in the early 1160s is perhaps best

understood in the context of his desire to strengthen and define his own kingship in the early

years of his reign. Henry's peaceful succession to the throne in 1154 had signaled the end of

the civil war between Stephen, Henry's mother the Empress Matilda, and, since 1149, Henry

himself. From early in his reign, Henry was concerned with the restoration of royal powers

that had eroded during the civil war. He vigorously pursued his claim to lands and rights that

had been granted out by Stephen or assumed by local powers in the absence of a strong

central government, while in the ecclesiastical realm, he asserted the ability of the king to

settle matters of church rights, appointments, and litigation.[43] A saintly patron like Edward

had the potential to provide a powerful symbol of royal authority for Henry as he pursued

these goals.

In addition, Henry seems to have been particularly interested in shaping his "dynastic

memory" in the early 1160s and may have intended to incorporate Edward into this project.[44]

---

[43] W.L. Warren, *Henry II* (Berkley: University of California Press, 1973), 262-300; Duggan, "Henry II, the English Church and the Papacy."

[44] The phrase is Charity Urbanski's. See her *Writing History for the King: Henry II and the Politics of Vernacular Historiography* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2013), 71-82.

In 1160, around the same time as Edward's canonization, Henry commissioned the poet Wace to write a vernacular history of his Norman ancestors. When Wace's *Roman de Rou* proved unsatisfactory, he replaced him with Benôit de Sainte-Maure, who produced the verse *Chronique des ducs de Normandie* celebrating the triumphant history of the dukes of Normandy.[45] Henry also presided over the translation of the bodies of two of his Norman ducal ancestors, Richard I and Richard II, at the church of Sainte-Trinité in Fécamp in 1162. This ceremony not only honored the dukes' memory, but also underscored Henry's descent from their line and his hereditary right to the duchy of Normandy.[46]

Shortly after the translation of the two dukes, Henry returned to England, and in October 1163 was present to participate in the translation of St. Edward. Abbot Lawrence had delayed the ceremony until Henry's return from the continent so that the king could be present, and Henry took an active role in the ceremony.[47] The monks unwrapped Edward's body for the king to examine, and Henry, "with as much fear as reverence touched it with his hands." Aided by several of his magnates, Henry then ceremonially carried the chest containing Edward's body in procession through the cloister before and back to the choir, where the body was elevated into its new shrine.[48]

Henry's participation in the translation of St. Edward demonstrated his ability to command a sacred ritual such as the enshrinement of a saint who had been declared holy by

---

[45] Glyn S. Burgess, trans., *The Roman de Rou* (Isle of Jersey: St. Helier, 2002); Carin Fahlin, ed., *Chronique des ducs de Normandie* (Uppsala: Almqvist & Wiksells, 1951).

[46] Urbanski, *Writing History for the King,* 75-6.

[47] Richard of Cirencester, *De regum Anglorum*, 323: "dilate est usque in reditum suum et eidem servata sacri corporis revelatio."

[48] Richard of Cirencester, *De regum Anglorum,* 325: "praesentem illam regiae personae maiestatem oculis vidit manibusque quantum timor et reverentia permiscere tractavit."

the pope himself. Though the ability to create a saint no longer resided in the ritual of translation, Henry still clearly viewed the act of overseeing the elevation of a saint's body as an inherently authoritative one, particularly considering that the ceremony was attended by many of the preeminent prelates and magnates of the realm. The glorification of Edward the Confessor's remains also dignified the English kingship. Henry's early interest in Edward's cult suggested his potential interest in adopting Edward as a saintly patron, whose status as a king of England would presumably resonate with his own. As a performance of the sacral qualities of kingship, moreover, the ceremony could not have come at a more opportune time. Only days earlier, many of the attendees at the translation ceremony had gathered for a synod at Westminster, which had seen the first rumblings of conflict between the king and his new archbishop, Thomas Becket.[49] The fact that Becket would launch an ultimately unsuccessful bid for the canonization of his own predecessor, Archbishop Anselm of Canterbury, in May 1163 suggests that the archbishop recognized the potential symbolic value that a royal saintly patron could provide to Henry in a protracted conflict between church and crown.[50]

The translation of Edward's body was therefore a significant occasion for Henry II as a performance of his royal authority. It was the monks of Westminster, though, who stood to gain the most from Edward's canonization and elevation. According to Richard of Cirencester, it was not the king, but rather the monks who had originally revived interest in King Edward. For them, Edward's sanctity was revealed by the incorrupt state of his body. Sometime in 1160, a group of monks had approached Abbot Lawrence to complain that their "precious treasure," Edward's incorrupt body, remained buried below the ground. They

---

[49] Warren, *Henry II*, 465-70.

[50] Koopmans, *Wonderful to Relate,* 124-5; Kemp, *Canonization and Authority,* 83.

begged him to glorify the king with all the honor he deserved.[51] Why this idea was more

appealing in 1160 than it had been in 1139 is unclear. Regardless, as we have seen, Lawrence

soon gained the support of many of the English bishops, the papal legates, and the king. After

Alexander's promulgation of the papal bull, on the night before the translation, Lawrence,

along with the prior and three specially chosen monks, entered the church secretly at night in

order to inspect their "precious treasure" and ensure that it was as unspoiled as it had been

sixty years earlier. When they opened Edward's tomb, the pristine state of the body caused

them to rejoice. Edward's beard and hair were soft and white, and he was dressed in gilded

vestments, a round miter, and purple boots. Buried with him were several relics, which

Lawrence removed from the coffin, leaving behind only a ring on the king's finger.[52] Days

later, in front of the king, archbishop, and the English church, they placed his body in a new,

richly ornamented shrine. The *feretrum* in which Edward's body lay was surrounded by a

gold and silver *capsa* which, according to Osbert of Clare, had originally been gifted to the

keepers of Edward's tomb by William the Conqueror. Edward's shrine thus acted as a visual

reminder not only of the wealth, power, and prestige of the Westminster community, but also

of the esteem showed to Edward's memory by the first Norman king of England, which was

now renewed by Henry's presence at the enshrinement.[53]

      Edward's new shrine was elevated directly behind Westminster's main altar. In this

position of honor he joined St. Peter as a holy patron of the Abbey. The church had originally

been consecrated in the apostle's name, and according to legend, a vision of the apostle had

---

[51] Richard of Cirencester, *De regum Anglorum,* 319.

[52] Richard of Cirencester, *De regum Anglorum,* 324-5. This is the ring that, according to legend, Edward had given to St. John the Evangelist and which was later returned to him by the saint. See Aelred of Rievaulx, *Vita S. Edwardi*, 196-200.

[53] Osbert of Clare, *Vita beati Ædwardi regis Anglorum*, 159-60.

appeared over the Thames during the original dedication of the church.[54] In the eleventh

century, it was King Edward's personal devotion to St. Peter that had first brought him into

association with the Abbey. Early in his reign, his hagiographers claimed, Edward had

prayed to St. Peter for the deliverance of his people from the impending invasion of the

Danes. The apostle granted his prayer by giving him a vision of the Danish king drowning at

sea.[55] When he learned that his vision had been true and the Danish king had in fact drowned,

Edward vowed to travel to Rome to give his thanks to St. Peter. Edward's advisors, however,

were fearful of the kingdom falling into chaos in his absence and managed to convince him

not to undertake the pilgrimage. In recompense the king rebuilt and re-founded Westminster

Abbey.[56]

What is more, in the course of corresponding with Pope Leo III regarding the

commutation of his pilgrimage vow, Edward was able to win confirmation from the pope of

an important set of liberties for the Abbey: "we decree that it was confirmed by apostolic

authority, and that it shall always be a house of monks, and that it shall not be placed under

any layperson except for the king. And whatever privileges you wish to establish there

concerning the honor of God, we grant and confirm most strongly by our authority, and we

damn those who infringe upon them with an eternal curse."[57] Later, in the 1120s or 1130s,

---

[54] Sulcard, *Prologus de construccione Westmonasterii,* ch. 2; Emma Mason, *Westminster Abbey and its People c. 1050 – c. 1216* (Woodbridge: The Boydell Press, 1996), 2.

[55] Aelred of Rievaulx, *Vita S. Edwardi,* ch. 9.

[56] Aelred of Rievaulx, *Vita S. Edwardi,* ch. 10.

[57] Aelred of Rievaulx, *Vita S. Edwardi,* ch. 11: "Cui loco quidquid contuleris vel collatum est vel conferetur, ut ratum sit apostolica auctoritate praecipimus, et ut semper habitatio monachorum sit, et nulli laicae personae nisi regi subdatur. Et quaecunque privilegia ibi constituere volueris ad honorem Dei pertinentia, concedimus et robustissima auctoritate confirmamus, et infractores eorum aeterna maledictione damnamus."

Osbert of Clare forged a series of charters that reaffirmed liberties he claimed had been granted on the authority of Edward the Confessor and St. Peter.[58] Over the course of a century, as their dual authority was invoked in protection of the prerogatives of the church, the legacies of St. Peter and King Edward became closely intertwined in the memory of the Westminster community. The monks therefore stood to gain from the elevation of Edward's body on October 13 because his shrine served as a visual sign of his spiritual authority and the prestige of their church, which was backed by both royal and apostolic power. As they had recognized, a powerful saintly patron like Edward did their church no good if his body remained buried below the pavement. By integrating his shrine with the Abbey's main altar in a prestigious ceremony attended by the king and his magnates, the Westminster community ensured the saint's continued presence in the Abbey's affairs, both spiritual and otherwise.

The translation ceremony on October 13, 1163 saw the fulfillment of Alexander's injunction that "the body of that confessor ought to be glorified and honored with the same deserved praise on earth, as the Lord glorifies him with in his grace in heaven."[59] The elevation of the saint's body from beneath the ground to a shrine lifted above the pavement of the church mimicked the passage of his soul from earth to heaven and made the implications of Alexander's bull of canonization tangible. In a more mundane sense, the

---

[58] Barlow, *The Life of Edward the Confessor,* 157; Emma Mason et al., ed., *Westminster Abbey Charters, 1066 – c. 1214* (London: London Record Society, 1988), 9-11; Bokozy, "The Sanctity and Canonisation of Edward the Confessor," 176-7.

[59] Barlow, *Edward the Confessor,* App. D, no. 14: "corpus ipsius confessoris ita glorificandum censuimus, et debitis preconiis honorandum in terris, sicut eundem confessorem dominus per suam gratiam glorificavit in celis, ut videlicet signis meruit et virtutibus optinere."

ceremony was an opportunity for self-promotion, giving the Westminster chapter the chance

to announce the prestige of their new cult to the many influential people who were present.

This was not only restricted to the monks of Westminster: as we have seen, the ceremony

also allowed King Henry II to associate himself with his spiritually powerful royal forebear,

boosting his own prestige at a moment when such concerns were at the forefront of his mind.

The translation ceremony therefore represented the inception of the cult and helped to define

its institutional affiliations. It also helped to lay the grounds for the continuation of devotion

to the saint. As we will see, one of the main ways in which this was accomplished was

through the production of new commemorative texts that established the character that the

saint would acquire in the years to come.

To Light a Candle: Textual Commemoration at the Translation

Among the crowd at the translation ceremony was one of Abbot Lawrence's kinsman, the

renowned Cistercian abbot Aelred of Rievaulx. If Henry II and the Westminster community

viewed Edward's translation as an opportunity for self-promotion, Aelred saw it as a valuable

chance to expound on Edward's spiritual values and provide a didactic interpretation of his

life and deeds. He did so through the composition and dissemination of two new

commemorative texts that celebrated Edward's sanctification and provided a narrative of his

saintly life, death, and afterlife. In these texts Aelred developed a powerful portrait of holy

Christian kingship that he intended as a model for Henry II.[60] This section will first explore

---

[60] This subject has attracted considerable attention from scholars. See particularly John Bequette's fine article, "Ælred of Rievaulx's *Life of Saint Edward, King and Confessor:* A Saintly King and the Salvation of the English People," *Cistercian Studies Quarterly* 43 (2008): 17-40; as well as Dutton's introduction to Jane Patricia Freeland's edition of *Aelred of Rievaulx: The Historical Works*, pp. 1-37; Katherine Yohe, "Ælred's Recrafting of the Life of Edward the Confessor," *Cistercian Studies*

the defining elements of Aelred's portrayal of Edward as king and saint, before considering

the reception of Aelred's project by King Henry and the wider public.

Aelred of Rievaulx, who was one of the most important figures in the twelfth-century

English Cistercian movement, was also a celebrated writer and preacher who left behind a

large corpus of histories, treatises, saints' lives, and sermons that reflect his interest in

pastoral duty, the monastic vocation, and right ways of living.[61] For the occasion of St.

Edward's translation, Aelred produced a new *Vita Sancti Edwardi,* as well as a sermon that

he delivered at the ceremony on the theme of Luke 11:33: "no man lighteth a candle, and

putteth it in a hidden place, nor under a bushel; but upon a candlestick, that they that come in,

may see the light."[62] This verse illustrates a motif, recurring throughout these two texts, of

images of light, illumination, and vision.[63] St. Edward, the candle, when elevated to his

shrine, "ceaselessly illuminates the goodness of almighty God."[64] In his *Vita* and sermon,

Aelred developed a sophisticated portrait of Christian kingship that was informed by his own

study of the monastic vocation.

In many ways, Aelred's vision of Edward's holy kingship was distinctly monastic. He

---

Quarterly 38 (2008): 177-89; and John E. Lawyer, "Aelred of Rievaulx's Life of St Edward the Confessor: A Medieval Ideal of Kingship," *Fides et Historia* 31 (1999): 45-65.

[61] Aelred Squire, *Aelred of Rievaulx: A Study* (Kalamazoo: Cistercian Publications, 1981), 51-71.

[62] Historians have until recently assumed that the text of Aelred's translation sermon did not survive. However, Peter Jackson makes a convincing argument that a heretofore unpublished sermon contained within a manuscript held at Peterborough Central Library is in fact Aelred's sermon from October 13, 1163. See Peter Jackson, "*In translacione sancti Edwardi confessoris*: the Lost Sermon by Ælred of Rievaulx Found?" *Cistercian Studies Quarterly* 40 (2005): 45-64. Jackson's article is followed by an edited text and translation of the sermon by Tom License, pp. 66-83.

[63] Joanna Huntingdon, "Saintly Power as Model of Royal Authority: the 'Royal Touch' and Other Miracles in the Early Vitae of Edward the Confessor," in Brenda Bolton and Christine Meek, eds., *Aspects of Power and Authority in the Middle Ages* (Turnhout: Brepols, 2007), 338.

[64] "*In translacione*," 82-3: "ubi signis et miraculis incessanter omnipotentis Dei bonitas illucessit." All translations from this sermon are Tom License's; see n. 62 above.

portrayed Edward as distinguished by a humility and simplicity that contrasted with his

exalted status. In several stories, Aelred demonstrated Edward's willingness to provide

charity to the indigent. One of the more notable miracles associated with the saint was the

story in which he carried a crippled beggar on his back into Westminster Abbey, ignoring the

jeers of onlookers. When they arrived in the church, the beggar was miraculously cured of

his ailment.[65] As portrayed by Aelred, Edward was also possessed of a reserved countenance,

rarely smiling or laughing and often lapsing into silent contemplation in the midst of a

banquet or celebration.[66] Finally, and most importantly, Edward remained a virgin even after

his marriage to Edith. As Joanna Huntingdon has shown, Aelred developed the theme of

Edward's virginity to make it a central aspect of his sanctity that informed every other aspect

of his sanctified life, and which was responsible for the preservation of his body in a state of

miraculous incorruption after his death.[67]

To further develop his portrait of Edward as a righteous Christian king, Aelred also

compared him to several Old Testament leaders who had led their people to prosperity and

salvation. Like Moses, Edward delivered peace to a devastated kingdom and bestowed laws

and justice upon his people.[68] In the "perpetual peace" that triumphed after his aversion of

the Danish threat,

> all England rejoices, which this holy king endowed with laws, with customs adorned,
> tamed at his command, educated by his sagacity, strengthened by his faith, molded by
> his example, raised up by his authority, ornamented with sanctity, and, leveling

---

[65] Aelred of Rievaulx, *Vita S. Edwardi,* ch. 13; "In translacione," 71.

[66] Aelred of Rievaulx, *Vita S. Edwardi,* ch. 26.

[67] Joanna Huntington, "Edward the Celibate, Edward the Saint: Virginity in the Construction of
Edward the Confessor," in Anke Bernau, Ruth Evans, and Sarah Salih, eds., *Medieval Virginities*
(Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2003): 119-39.

[68] "*In translacione*," 75-7.

superiors and inferiors to a certain equality, ordered throughout its realm with judgment and justice. [69]

Edward cultivated a sense of justice and fairness not only through his institution of laws, but also by his own deeds: "that which he taught with words, he fulfilled with actions, and those same things he advised to be done he demonstrated in his own actions beforehand."[70] In this way Edward was similar to Solomon. Like the king of Israel, "the whole world desired to see his face that it might hear the wisdom God put into his heart (3 Kings 10:23-4)."[71]

Finally, Aelred believed that Edward was an ideal king because he ruled in cooperation with his magnates and in deference to the pope. We have already seen how Edward yielded to his advisors by commuting his pilgrimage vow because they feared for the peace of the realm.[72] In the realm of the Church, Edward was distinguished by his close relationship and cooperation with the papacy, which went beyond his personal devotion to St. Peter. When he was forced to commute his pilgrimage vow, Edward, "wanting everything to be done in accordance with Catholic truth…and so that apostolic teaching might be presented to others for their salvation," sent a delegation to Rome consisting of three bishops-elect: Ealdred, archbishop of York, Giso, bishop of Wells, and Walter, bishop of Hereford.[73] This

---

[69] "*In translacione*," 77: "letetur, inquam, Anglia, quam totam rex iste sanctus legibus instituit, moribus ornauit, domuit mandato, erudiuit consilio, firmauit fide, formauit exemplo, extulit auctoritate, decorauit sanctitate, et superior cum inferioribus ad quondam equalitatem reducens, totum regnum in iudicio et iusticia composuit."

[70] "*In translacione*," 75: "quod autem uerbis docebat, operibus adimplebat, et que monebat eadem prius faciens in seipso facienda premonstrabat."

[71] "*In translacione*," 79.

[72] Aelred of Rievaulx, *Vita S. Edwardi,* ch. 10.

[73] Aelred of Rievaulx, *Vita S. Edwardi,* ch. 10: "itaque rex sanctus de omnibus curam gerens, omnia secundum catholicae veritatis regulam fieri volens omnibus etiam prodesse desiderans, ut ipse de suis securior efficeretur, et aliis ad salutem doctrina apostolica praeberetur, cum Aeldredo Eboracensi archiepiscopo duo mittuntur in pontificatum electi, Guiso scilicet ad ecclesiam Wellensem Walderus vero ad Herefordensem."

delegation put Edward's plan for the commutation of his vow to Pope Nicholas in person

while also receiving their consecration directly from the pope. Moreover, Aelred portrayed

the relationship between Edward and Pope Nicholas as very warm. In the letter he sent with

the bishops to Rome, Edward asked that Nicholas "pray for me and for the peace of my

kingdom and institute a continuous and solemn commemoration of the whole English people

before the bodies of the holy apostles." Nicholas, for his part, warmly acceded, bestowing

upon the king the blessings of St. Peter.[74]

Throughout both his sermon and *Vita,* Aelred made it clear that his primary intended

audience was King Henry II, whom he urged to follow in St. Edward's example:

> We ought to imitate the great justice of a great king…the particular glory of our
> Henry is his physical descent from a holy family. We believe that he [Edward]
> promised you to us for the consolation of all England, and we have learned that while
> dying he described your actions in a prophetic parable; for we rejoice that in you as a
> cornerstone the two walls of the English and Norman peoples have come together.[75]

The "prophetic parable" to which Aelred refers was the so-called "vision of the green tree"

which Edward purportedly experienced on his deathbed. This was the primary narrative tool

that Aelred used to try and bridge the difficult gap posed by the Norman Conquest, which

separated Edward's bloodline from Henry's. According to this vision, the troubles that beset

England upon Edward's death would be remedied "when a green tree, having been cut from

---

[74] Aelred of Rievaulx, *Vita S. Edwardi,* chs. 16: "ego quoque pro modulo meo, augeo et confirmo donationes et consuetudines pecuniarum quas sanctus Petrus habet in Anglia, et ipsas pecunias collectas cum regalibus donis mitto vobis, ut oretis pro me et pro pace regni mei, et continuam ac solemnem memoriam instituatis totius gentis Anglicae coram corporibus sanctorum apostolorum."

[75] Aelred of Rievaulx, *Vita S. Edwardi,* prologue: "Imitanda enim est tanti regis tanta justitia; mirari dulce est in tot divitiis et deliciis tanta continentia: de sancta ejus progenie traxisse carnis originem, Henrici nostri specialis est gloria. Ipsum te nobis in totius Angliae consolationem credimus promisisse, ipsum te prophetica parabola jam in extremis agentem didicimus designasse, in quem velut lapidem angularem Anglici generis et Normannici gaudemus duos parietes convenisse."

its trunk and set apart from its own root at the space of three yokes, returns to its trunk and is

restored to its old root." Aelred interpreted the "root" of the tree to mean the descent of "a

direct line of succession from Alfred…to Saint Edward." The tree would be returned to its

root "when the glorious King Henry [I], to whom the honor of the entire kingdom had

passed…took as his wife [Edith] Mathilda, great-great-niece of Edward, joining the seed of

Norman and English kings and through the intervening work of marriage making two into

one." This union between Henry's maternal grandparents yielded, after three generations, the

current king who Aelred believed would "join the two people like a cornerstone."[76]

The interest Henry showed in his saintly predecessor in 1163 must have seemed to be

a promising sign that he might be willing to take Aelred's advice to heart. However, the

abbot's hope that Henry would take up Edward's legacy proved to come to little. After taking

advantage of the valuable political opportunity that the translation ceremony of 1163

represented, Henry seems to have lost all interest in St. Edward. No further textual evidence

survives that connects the two kings.[77] Neither did Henry forge a close relationship with

Edward's church and community at Westminster. On the contrary, Emma Mason sees the

later relationship between the king and the Abbey as contentious, with Henry frequently

appropriating the latter's landholdings, placing their abbots under amercement, and gifting

his clerks with Westminster benefices.[78] When he died in 1189, Henry II was buried in

---

[76] Aelred of Rievaulx, *Vita S. Edwardi,* ch. 30: "Accessit ad radicem arbor*,* quando gloriosus rex Henricus in quem totum regni decus transfusum est, nulla necessitate cogente, nulla spe lucri urgente, sed ex infuso ei amoris affectu abneptem Edwardi Mathildem duxit uxorem, semen regum Normannorum et Anglorum conjungens, et interveniente opere conjugali de duobus unum faciens."

[77] Bernhard Scholz, "The Canonization of Edward the Confessor," *Speculum* 36 (1961), 55; Mason, *Westminster Abbey and its People*, 286-7; Paul Binski, *Westminster Abbey and the Plantagenets: Kingship and the Representations of Power, 1200-1400* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1995)*,* 52.

[78] Mason, *Westminster Abbey and its People,* 286-7.

Fontrevrault Abbey in Anjou, where his son and successor, Richard I (r. 1189-99) would also be buried ten years later.

Ultimately, the genealogical contortions that Aelred had worked out in his parable of the green tree do not seem to have swayed Henry, who consistently tied his hereditary right to the throne back to his maternal grandfather, Henry I, instead.[79] As we have seen, Henry showed more interest in his Norman ancestry than in England's Anglo-Saxon past. Nor does the portrait of Christian kingship Aelred developed in the person of St. Edward seem to have inspired Henry to emulate his mode of rule. On the contrary, the saintly values that Aelred associated with Edward, with their emphasis on the monastic traits of humility and contemplation, was likely to have been profoundly unappealing to an active king like Henry who was engaged in the reassertion of his royal prerogatives. Edward's virginity, championed by Aelred as one of the saint's defining features, must have been particularly unappealing to the king. As historians like Charity Urbanski have argued, Henry remained troubled about ensuring his succession by his eldest son, Henry the Young King, whom he had coronated as co-ruler in 1170.[80] In this regard, Edward, whose failure to produce an heir had ended the rule of the Anglo-Saxons in England, did not represent a useful model on which Henry could base his claims to strong, hereditary kingship. Finally, Edward's deference to the papacy was also likely to be unattractive to Henry, who throughout his reign energetically defended his right to direct the English church.

In the absence of the cult's most logical supporter, the Westminster community also failed to promote a popular cult around Edward the Confessor's memory. The translation

---

[79] Urbanski, *Writing History for the King,* 79-82; Warren, *Henry II,* 262-3.

[80] Urbanski, *Writing History for the King,* 66-70.

ceremony of October 1163 had not established a cultic program conducive to such popular veneration. As a king and virgin, Edward's major modes of sanctity were neither accessible to nor imitable by a wide audience. Neither was Edward attractive as a miracle worker whose intercession might be sought by pilgrims. It seems likely that his shrine had a base pierced with *foramina,* large, round holes into which worshippers could climb to get as close as possible to the body of the saint.[81] However, no contemporary textual evidence survives to support the idea that Edward's shrine, whether designed with pilgrims in mind or not, ever became the focus of popular devotion. In his *Vita,* Aelred had stressed the virtues Edward had exhibited during life rather than those that had manifested after his death. Osbert of Clare, in his earlier work, had added five stories of posthumous miracle working to those stories already in circulation. However, Aelred did not add any more recent stories of miracle working.[82] Whether this was because no new incidents had been recorded by the Westminster community in the previous three decades, or because such stories were extraneous to Aelred's didactic project, is unclear. Nevertheless, it seems clear that St. Edward never

---

[81] This is how the mid-thirteenth-century illustrator of Matthew Paris's *Estoire de Seint Aedward le Rei,* who had most likely seen the tomb, depicted the structure. In several places, the illustrator of the *Estoire* also showed Edward's shrine surrounded by worshippers, who appear to be seeking the intervention of his miracle-working capabilities. However, the illustrations seem to have been based on stories written down in the late eleventh century, and may not have reflected the late twelfth century reality. The manuscript is found at Cambridge, University Library, MS Ee.iii.59, and has been published in facsimile by M.R. James, *La Estoire de Seint Aedward le Rei* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1920). Illustrations of the shrine are found on fols. 29v, 30r, 33r, 36r. See also Crook, *English Medieval Shrines,* 189-191; Stephen Lamia, "The Cross and the Crown, the Tomb and the Shrine: Decoration and Accommodation for England's Premier Saints," in Stephen Lamia and E.V. Del Alamo, eds., *Decorations for the Holy Dead: Visual Embellishments on Tombs and Shrines of Saints* (Turnhout: Brepols, 2002): 39-56.

[82] These final five chapters of Osbert's *Vita beati Ædwardi* were not included in the manuscript on which Marc Bloc based his edition of the text. However, as Frank Barlow has shown, they were first written by Osbert before appearing in Aelred's *Vita.* See Barlow, *The Life of King Edward,* 157.

achieved widespread popularity or became the object of frequent pilgrimage.[83] After the concerted effort that saw him canonized in 1161 and the solemn performance of his sanctity at the translation ceremony in 1163, Edward's cult once more sunk into obscurity, only to be revived by Henry's grandson, Henry III (r. 1216-72), several decades later. Personally devoted to St. Edward, Henry ultimately rebuilt the Abbey in the Gothic style, commissioned a new shrine for Edward in 1269, named his heir and eventual successor after the saint, and had himself buried alongside Edward in Westminster Abbey in 1272.[84]

Although Edward the Confessor initially proved to be an unattractive patron to king and laity alike, his translation ceremony was still significant as an important moment of cult creation at which his community established a cohesive program for the veneration of their saint. We have seen how the grand ceremony headed by Abbot Lawrence and King Henry II in October 1163 displayed the prestige of the new saint to the assembled crowd of magnates and prelates. Moreover, through Aelred of Rievaulx's production of a new sermon and *Vita S. Edwardi,* the ceremony provided the saint with the character that he would retain for decades to come. These programs can be usefully compared and contrasted with those developed at the translation of Thomas Becket. Edward the Confessor's posthumous fate differed sharply from that of the archbishop, who only seven years after Edward's translation became the second English saint canonized by Pope Alexander III. As we shall see, while many of the cult building strategies employed at Thomas Becket's translation were similar to those that had been used at Westminster, Thomas Becket quickly became one of the most popular

---

[83] Binski, *Westminster Abbey and the Plantagenets*, 53; Barlow, *The Life of King Edward,* 163.

[84] David Carpenter, "King Henry III and Saint Edward the Confessor: The Origins of the Cult," *English Historical Review* 122 (2007): 865-91; Binski, *Westminster Abbey and the Plantagenets,* 52-120.

saints not only in England, but throughout Western Europe.

The Cult of Thomas Becket, 1170-1220

Popular devotion to Thomas Becket arose spontaneously soon after news of the archbishop's scandalous murder began to spread. Pilgrims began to flock to Becket's tomb in Canterbury's crypt, seeking to draw on the healing powers for which he was rapidly becoming known. Despite Becket's quick popularity and canonization by Alexander III in 1173, however, his body was not able to be elevated into a shrine until fifty years later. This section will explore the early development of St. Thomas's cult from his murder in December 1170 up to his translation in July 1220. It will first examine the process of Becket's canonization and indicate several ways in which it compared and contrasted with that of Edward the Confessor twelve years earlier. It will then explain why the gap between canonization and translation was so lengthy, which will make it clear that the solution devised for the housing and functioning of the cult in the early 1170s was only ever intended to be a temporary measure. As we will see, the external circumstances that prevailed in 1220 finally allowed for the reestablishment of the cult on more stable foundations.

Becket's murder on December 29, 1170 in Canterbury Cathedral at the hands of four knights of King Henry II shocked Western Europe. Within days of his death, a large number of people throughout England began to report the working of miracles in his name.[85] Over the next several years, reports of miraculous occurrences only grew more prevalent, ultimately providing Benedict of Peterborough and William of Canterbury with massive volumes of material for the miracle collections they began to compile shortly after Becket's

---

[85] Koopmans, *Wonderful to Relate,* 146.

death. Over the following decades, dozens of secondary cult centers sprung up throughout Europe, as the foundation of new chapels and churches dedicated to St. Thomas, the dissemination of his relics and miracle-working capabilities, and the insertion of his feast day into liturgical calendars spread veneration as far afield as Poland and Hungary.[86]

Despite Becket's almost immediate popularity within England and farther afield, however, the ultimate outcome of his murder remained unclear for almost a year and a half. King Henry, whom many blamed for instigating the murder, quickly departed for Ireland, seemingly unrepentant.[87] Pope Alexander III confirmed an interdict on Henry's continental lands at the Council of Sens in January 1171. However, in April the pope also lifted the sentence of excommunication that Becket had placed upon the bishops of London and Salisbury and reinstated the archbishop of York to his see, a sign of forgiveness towards Becket's former foes that came worryingly easily to many of Becket's supporters. At Christ Church, support for the deceased archbishop had built swiftly among the monks, despite perceived past slights, such as his conflict with Prior Odo and the urbane lifestyle he had affected while chancellor of the king.[88] The monks' discovery of a lice-ridden hair shirt

---

[86] Anne Duggan, "The cult of St Thomas Becket in the thirteenth century," in M. Jancey, ed., *St Thomas Cantilupe Bishop of Hereford: Essays in his Honour* (Hereford: Friends of Hereford Cathedral, 1982), 24-9.

[87] See Marcus Bull, "Criticisms of Henry II's expedition to Ireland in William of Canterbury's Miracles of St Thomas Becket," *Journal of Medieval History* 33 (2007): 107-29, on reactions at Christ Church to Henry's Ireland campaign.

[88] On the basis of Prior Odo's inimical relationship with Archbishop Becket before the latter's murder, some historians, including M.F. Hearn, "Canterbury Cathedral and the Cult of Thomas Becket," *The Art Bulletin* 76 (1994), 19-52, and Francis Woodman, *The Architectural History of Canterbury Cathedral* (London: Routledge, 1981), 86-8, have argued that the Canterbury monks were slow to support Becket's cult. Koopmans, *Wonderful to Relate*, 141, rebuts this argument by indicating the multitude of activities that members of the convent carried out to support the cult in its early years, including appointing Benedict of Peterborough and William of Canterbury to collect the stories of miracles that issued from his tomb, composing a liturgical office for his feast day, and dispatching a contingent to Rome to seek Becket's canonization. R.W. Southern, "The Monks of Canterbury and

beneath Becket's archiepiscopal vestments as they cleaned his corpse likely went some ways

to convincing them of his piety, and the stories of miracles worked in his name that began to

circulate only days after his murder indicated that Becket's death for his cause had earned

him the status of martyrdom.

This was at first a somewhat controversial designation. Caesarius of Heisterbach, in

his *Dialogus miraculorum,* recorded a supposed debate held at Paris between theologians

Peter the Chanter and Master Roger over Becket's legitimacy as a martyr. According to

Caesarius, while Peter supported Becket as God's martyr, Roger argued that Becket had

deserved to die for his contumacy towards Henry II.[89] To Becket's supporters, however, his

martyrdom was self-evident. John of Salisbury, the writer of one of his earliest biographies,

quoted Augustine of Hippo that it was the cause, not the punishment, that made the martyr,

asking "what cause was more just, more holy than his?"[90] John was clearly frustrated at the

lack of papal response regarding Becket's status in the months following his death. In an

open letter addressed to William of Sens early in 1171, which circulated widely throughout

France, John asked the archbishop to

> instruct me in my ignorance whether it is safe, without papal authority, to address him
> in the celebration of mass and other public prayers among the catalogue of martyrs, as
> one with control over salvation, or whether as with any other who has died, we are
> still bound to make intercession for his soul, one whom God has glorified with such

---

the Murder of Archbishop Becket," (Canterbury: The Friends of Canterbury Cathedral, 1985), 13-18,
provides a more nuanced view of the relationship between the Christ Church convent during Becket's
life time than Woodman and Hearn, and agrees with Koopmans that they were among the earliest of
his posthumous supporters.

[89] Beryl Smalley, *The Becket Conflict and the Schools: A Study of Intellectuals in Politics* (Totowa,
N.J.: Rowman and Littlefield, 1973)*,* 201-2; John W. Baldwin, "A Debate at Paris over Thomas
Becket between Master Roger and Master Peter the Chanter," *Studia Gratiana* 11 (1967): 119-32.

[90] John of Salisbury, *Vita S. Thomae,* in *Anselm & Becket: Two Canterbury Saints' Lives,* ed. Ronald
E. Pepin (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2009), ch. 22.

clear evidence of miracles.[91]

John of Salisbury's frustration notwithstanding, the canonization of Thomas Becket

in fact proceeded quite quickly. In many ways the procedure was similar to that that had been

followed for Edward the Confessor a decade earlier. The Christ Church convent sent a

delegation directly to Rome in 1171 to request that Alexander III consider the martyred

archbishop as a candidate for canonization. Alexander, who seems to have acted cautiously

due to the as-yet-unsettled political situation, instructed his legates Albert of San Lorenzo

and Theodwin of San Vitale to "seek to know the truth" of the monks' petition, and to "write

to us about the miracles and make known to us the certainty of the thing with all diligence."[92]

Although the process by which the legates examined and judged Becket's sanctity went

unrecorded, they evidently worked quite quickly. On March 12, 1173, Alexander

promulgated letters addressed to the monks of Christ Church, the English bishops, and

legates Albert and Theodwin announcing that, "having considered the glory of his merits

which were nobly illuminated in his life… we have solemnly canonized him and decreed that

he ought to be added to the canon of holy martyrs." [93] He also commanded that St. Thomas's

feast day be celebrated throughout Christendom and that the Christ Church chapter elevate

Becket's body to an appropriate shrine "for the salvation of the faithful and the peace of the

---

[91] *The Letters of John of Salisbury,* ed. W.J. Milnor and C.N.L. Brooke, vol. 2 (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1986), no. 305, p. 737: "ut nostrum paruitatem uestra instruat eruditio, an citra Romani pontificis auctoritatem tutum sit in missarum sollempniis et aliis publicis orationibus eum in cathalogo martyrium tamquam salutis praesidem inuocare, an adhuc ei, quem Deus tantis miraculorum clarificauit indiciis quasi alii defuncto orations subuentorias teneamur exoluere."

[92] Stanley Chodorow and Charles Duggan, eds., *Decretales Ineditae Saeculi XII* (Vatican City: Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, 1982), no. 36: "nobis miracula conscribentes diligentia omni et studio adhibito rei certitudinem significetis."

[93] *MTB* VII, no. 784, pp. 545: "considerata gloria meritorum quibus in vita sua magnanimiter claruit… solemniter canonizavimus, et eum decrevimus sanctorum martyrum collegio annumerandum."

universal church." [94]

Shortly afterwards, in a striking but perhaps very shrewd about face, Henry II made

the appearance of buying into Becket's cult as well. After publicly purging himself of guilt

for his role in the murder and reconciling with the church in the presence of legates Albert

and Theodwin at Avranches in May 1172, Henry performed a remarkable act of penitence at

Becket's tomb on 12 July, 1174.[95] He walked two miles from the lepers' hospital at

Harbledown to Canterbury Cathedral, the last leg of it barefoot. There, in the cathedral's

crypt, he prostrated himself before Becket's tomb, where he allowed himself to be flagellated

by the Christ Church monks.[96] To observers, the efficacy of the king's penitence was made

evident when the very next day he received news of the capture of the king of Scotland at

Alnwick, signaling the beginning of the end of a great rebellion that had been the most

serious threat to his rule thus far.[97] What is more, Henry visited Becket's tomb as a pilgrim at

least nine more times during his reign.[98] Whether he recognized the value of associating

himself with Becket's perceived power or the danger of allowing his enemies space to

appropriate Becket as an anti-royal symbol, Henry's voluntary association with the saint only

---

[94] *MTB* VII, no. 784, pp. 546: "elevetis in altum, et patrocinium eius, pro salute fidelium et pace universalis ecclesiae."

[95] Anne Duggan, "*Ne in dubium:* The Official Record of Henry II's Reconciliation at Avranches, 21 May 1172," *English Historical Review* 115 (2000): 643-58.

[96] Edward Grim, *Vita S. Thomae archiepsicopi et martyris,* in *MTB* II, 445-7; Ralph de Diceto, *Ymagines Historiarum,* ed. W. Stubbs, in *The Historical Works of Master Ralph de Diceto, dean of London,* Rolls Series 68/1, 383-5.

[97] William of Canterbury, *Miracula S. Thomae,* in *MTB* I, 490-1; William of Newburgh, *Historia rerum Anglicarum,* ed. Richard Howlett, in *Chronicles of the Reigns of Stephen, Henry II, and Richard I,* Rolls Series 82/1, 187-9.

[98] Thomas Keefe, "Shrine Time: King Henry II's Visits to Thomas Becket's Tomb," *Haskins Society Journal* 11 (2003): 115-22; Nicholas Vincent, "The Pilgrimages of the Angevin Kings of England, 1154-1272," in Colin Morris and Peter Roberts, eds., *Pilgrimage: The English Experience from Becket to Bunyan* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002): 12-45.

increased the legitimacy and prestige of St. Thomas's cult at Canterbury.

With this rapid succession of victories for Becket's supporters at Canterbury in 1173 and 1174, the thoughts of the Christ Church community could now turn to the glorification of Becket's body and the establishment of his cult at the cathedral. Shortly after the murder, the monks had removed Thomas Becket's body to the crypt for safekeeping, constructing a heavy, cage-like structure over his tomb in response to threats from their enemies to disturb or steal the body.[99] Even ensconced deep within the crypt, Becket's tomb proved popular with huge crowds of pilgrims who desired to pray before the saint's body. More prestigious visitors to the tomb in the crypt included Henry II; Philip, Count of Flanders; Lotario dei Conti di Segni, the future Innocent III; and King Louis VII of France. However, the tomb in the crypt was not a viable permanent solution for Becket's cult. The situation was unsatisfactory for everyone involved. It did not reflect the honor due a major saint. Moreover, it removed St. Thomas from the sacred space of the cathedral proper and from inclusion in the liturgical life of the chapter. Finally, the enclosed space hindered the circulation of pilgrims around Becket's tomb.

John of Salisbury's concerns about how to properly honor Becket's memory, as well as Pope Alexander's exhortation to the monks to elevate the saint's body to an appropriate shrine, are indicative of the fact that the Christ Church community would have desired to establish Becket's cult on a more stable and permanent foundation shortly after his canonization in 1173. They were prevented from doing so for the next fifty years, however, by a long series of unfortunate events. On September 5, 1174, only one day after Becket's successor as archbishop, Richard of Dover, returned to England after a lengthy appeal of his

---

[99] *MTB,* IV, pp. 78-9.

election in Rome, the east end of Canterbury Cathedral burned down. The next decade was dedicated to the rebuilding of the cathedral by the architects William of Sens and William the Englishman, who constructed two new large chapels to house Becket's relics at the apex of the cathedral.[100] According to the monk Gervase of Canterbury, the chapter intended to postpone Becket's translation into the new east end until the completion of the chapel that was to house his shrine, "for reason argued that it was fitting that the genuine privilege of his translation ought to be most solemn and carried out in public."[101] Before the completion of the chapel, however, an extended conflict between the Christ Church monks and Archbishops Baldwin (1185-90) and Hubert Walter (1193-1205) delayed the possibility of such a solemn and public translation.[102] Although the conflict was resolved by 1201, Pope Innocent III's appointment of theologian Stephen Langton to the archbishopric after Hubert's death in 1207 incurred the strenuous objections of King John. The ensuing conflict ultimately saw England placed under papal interdict; archbishop and convent forcibly exiled from Christ Church between 1207 and 1213; and Langton suspended from his office by Pope Innocent III from 1215-16.[103]

---

[100] Gervase of Canterbury, *Tractatus de combustione et reparatione cantuariensis ecclesie,* in W. Stubbs, ed., *The Historical Works of Gervase of Canterbury,* Rolls Series 73/1 (London: Longmans, Green, Reader, and Dyer, 1879-80): 3-29. See also Woodman, *The Architectural History of Canterbury Cathedral*, 87-130; Jonathan Foyle, *Architecture of Canterbury Cathedral* (London: Scala publishers Ltd., 2013), 66-105; Hearn, "Canterbury Cathedral and the Cult of Thomas Becket," 19-52; and Peter Draper, "Interpretations of the Rebuilding of Canterbury Cathedral, 1174-1186: Archaeological and Historical Evidence." *Journal of the Society of Architectural Historians* 56 (1997): 184-203.

[101] Gervase of Canterbury, *Tractatus de combustione,* 26: "decet enim, et persuadet ratio ut hujus autentici privilegii translatio valde solemnis sit et divulgata in mundo."

[102] *The Letters of Pope Innocent III (1198-1216) Concerning England and Wales,* ed. Christopher Cheney and Mary Cheney (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1967), nos. 763-4; Cheney, *Pope Innocent III and England*, 303-25.

[103] F.M. Powicke, *Stephen Langton* (London: Merlin Press Ltd., 1965), 129-163.

Finally, by 1220, more favorable circumstances prevailed that allowed for the translation of Thomas Becket's body. King John had died in 1216, and with the departure of papal legate Pandulf from England, Stephen Langton's influence within Henry III's minority government had become significant.[104] Earlier in 1220, Langton had displayed this influence in a series of prestigious events meant to signify reconciliation, peace, and unity within England after the protracted conflicts between himself, King John, and Pope Innocent III.[105] In February, Pope Honorius III issued a bull of canonization for Bishop Hugh of Lincoln (d. 1200) following Langton's heading of a commission tasked with investigating and pronouncing judgment on his sanctity. Then in May, Langton re-crowned the thirteen-year-old king in a lavish ceremony at Westminster Abbey. In many ways, Becket's translation in July 1220 was a capstone to this series of events. It brought together the king and the most important members of the English church and, as we will see later, it was distinguished by a rhetoric that declared the English church and crown to have been united under a new peace.

On a pragmatic level, Langton must have been aware of the potential that Becket's cult had to benefit Christ Church as a source of prestige, spiritual vitality, and income, particularly in the wake of the interdict and exile of the previous decade, which had considerably damaged Canterbury's primatial position in the English church. The translation was more than just a useful occasion for political posturing, however. Over the course of the last fifty years, St. Thomas had become the center of the spiritual life of Christ Church,

---

[104] D.A. Carpenter, *The Minority of Henry III* (London: Methuen, 1990), 254-6.

[105] See the argument made by R. Eales in "The Political Setting of the Becket Translation of 1220," In Thomas S. Friedman and Thomas F. Mayer, eds., *Martyrs and Martyrologies* (Oxford: Blackwell Publishers, 1993), 129: "the ceremony of 1220…marked the success of his [Langton's] attempts to reimpose order and arbitrate between conflicting parties in the kingdom, wiping away the memory of his suspension by Innocent III in 1215-16, and justifying the faith which the new pope, Honorius III, had in him."

Canterbury, and the translation in July 1220 finally allowed Becket's central position to be reflected in the way the cult operated at Canterbury. We will now examine how his translation altered the experience of St. Thomas's cult within the cathedral.

Thomas Becket and Canterbury Cathedral

As we have already seen, one of the most noteworthy characteristics of Thomas Becket's cult was its extensive and almost immediate appeal, both in Canterbury and farther abroad. However, at Canterbury Cathedral, Becket's body continued to lie in its unornamented tomb at the far end of the cathedral's crypt. As this section will show, the translation of Becket's body into a more suitable shrine was the culmination of long-standing desires to pay the saint due reverence by elevating his body from below the ground and lifting him towards heaven, and, in doing so, to integrate his cult more smoothly into the ritual life of the church.

This former objective was thoroughly achieved in the course of the translation ceremony of 1220, which was by all accounts a lavish display of wealth and prestige. All of the chroniclers who recorded the translation made particular mention of the magnificence of the occasion, with Walter of Coventry declaring that it was impossible to fully describe "the liberality and luxury with which Archbishop Stephen of Canterbury cheerfully extended himself to all those who had arrived to devote themselves to the translation of the martyr, both the wealthy and the poor, foreign and local."[106] Walter may not have been exaggerating. According to fourteenth-century records, the archbishops of Canterbury were still paying off

---

[106] Walter of Coventry, *Memoriale fratris Walteri de Coventria,* ed. William Stubbs*,* Rolls Series 58/2 (London: Longmans, Green, Reader, and Dyer, 1872-3), p. 246: "de liberalitate autem et sumptuosa dapsilitate quam praefatus Stephanus Cantuariensis archiepiscopus omnibus ad martyris translationem devote venientibus, tam divitibus quam pauperibus, et tam advenis quam indigenis, mente hilari studuit praetendere, superfluum esset per singula enarrare."

the debts Langton had incurred to pay for the translation a century later.[107]

Much of this expense must have gone towards construction of the shrine itself.

Crafted by the artisans Walter of Colchester and Elyas of Durham, the shrine was luxuriously

ornamented with "the purest gold of Ophir and the most precious jewels, and with

workmanship even costlier than the material."[108] The setting of Becket's golden shrine was

equally magnificent. The Trinity Chapel, as rebuilt by architect William the Englishman at

the apex of the cathedral's new east end, itself resembled a sumptuous reliquary for the

martyr's body. The polychromatic hues of marble that adorn the chapel, including dark

Purbeck, purple porphyry, and lighter rose and cream, imbue the space with jewel-like

tones.[109] This impression is further enhanced by the exceptional *opus Alexandrinum* floor

mosaic positioned directly in front of the shrine, which is matched in England only by the

thirteenth-century Cosmati pavement surrounding Edward the Confessor's shrine at

Westminster Abbey.[110] Pride of place, however, goes to the magnificent cycle of stained

glass in the ambulatory and clerestory windows, which was completed shortly before the

translation and which remains partially extant. These windows depict scenes from the life

and miracles of St. Thomas, further imbuing the Trinity Chapel with his presence.[111]

---

[107] Ranulph Higden, *Polychronicon,* ed. J. Rawson Lumby, Rolls Series 41/8 (London: Longmans, Green Reader, and Dyer,1865-86), 200; Thomas of Burton, *Chronica monasterii de Melsa (Meaux),* ed. E.A. Bond, Rolls Series 43/1 (London: Longmans, Green, Reader, and Dyer, 1866-8), 406.

[108] Matthew Paris, *Historia Anglorum,* Rolls Series 44/2 (London: Longmans, Green, Reader, and Dyer, 1866-9), 241-2: "de auro obrizo purissimo et gemmis pretiossimis, artificio materiam superante."

[109] Paul Binski, *Becket's Crown: Art and Imagination in Gothic England, 1170-1300* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2004), 5.

[110] Foyle, *Architecture of Canterbury Cathedral,* 110-13.

[111] See M.A. Michael, *Stained Glass of Canterbury Cathedral* (London: Scala Publishers Ltd., 2004); Madeliene Harrison Caviness, *The Windows of Christ Church Cathedral, Canterbury* (London: Oxford University Press, 1981); Anne F. Harris, "Pilgrimage, Performance, and Stained Glass at

The shrine's position, as well as its adornment, clearly reflects the centrality of

Thomas Becket's cult within the recently reorganized spiritual landscape of Canterbury

Cathedral. The horseshoe-shaped Trinity Chapel is elevated above the choir and presbytery

and sits directly behind the archbishop's throne. To the east of the Trinity Chapel, William

the Englishman added a new semi-circular chapel at the apex of the cathedral in order to

house the other major Becket relic, the *corona,* or the piece of his head lopped off in 1170.[112]

The Corona and Trinity Chapels represent the crowning features of a sacred space already

dense with the tombs and altars of Becket's archiepiscopal and saintly predecessors.[113]

Elevated above these other tombs, Becket's shrine would have been visible from the choir

and nave of the cathedral, providing a visual cue to the centrality of the cult of Thomas

Becket within Canterbury Cathedral.[114]

The reorganization of the east end with Thomas Becket positioned at the apex of the

cathedral reflects Christ Church's reorientation over the previous five decades from a

monastic cathedral to one of the leading sites of popular pilgrimage in western

Christendom.[115] In addition to placing the saint's body in a magnificent setting more worthy

of his dignity, the translation allowed for the smoother functioning of pilgrimage within the

cathedral. After 1220, Canterbury possessed four pilgrimage sites relating to the cult of St.

Canterbury Cathedral," in Sarah Blick and Rita Tekippe, eds., *Art and Architecture of Late Medieval Pilgrimage in Northern Europe and the British Isles* (Leiden: Brill, 2005): 243-81.

[112] The Corona relic was bringing in oblations at least by 1199, when the earliest shrine accounts are extant. See Benjamin John Nilson, *Cathedral Shrines of Medieval England* (Woodbridge: The Boydell Press, 1998), 147-8.

[113] See Gervase of Canterbury, *Tractatus de combustione,* 9-11; Eileen Robertson Hamer, "Christ Church, Canterbury: The Spiritual Landscape of Pilgrimage," *Essays in Medieval Studies* 7 (1991): 59-69.

[114] Foyle, *Architecture of Canterbury Cathedral,* 104.

[115] Diana Webb, *Pilgrimage in Medieval England* (London: Hambledon Press), 45-61.

Thomas: the Martyrdom in the northwest transept, where Becket had been struck down; the site in the crypt where his tomb had stood for fifty years; the shrine in the Trinity Chapel; and the Corona Chapel.[116] Pilgrims entered at the west end of the church, passed through the nave, and stopped at the Martyrdom site before going down a flight of stairs to the crypt. They emerged from the crypt in the south aisle of the choir, then headed east to the Trinity Chapel.[117] The ambulatory surrounding the chapel provided access to Becket's shrine as well as the Corona chapel. These two sites made up the core of the pilgrimage experience at Canterbury. Archaeologists' unearthing of a huge volume of pilgrims' badges, many of which were shaped as small iron *ampullae* in order to hold the curative "Becket water" available at the shrine, is one indication of how popular Becket's healing powers continued to be throughout the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries.[118] It was only in the 1530s, when King Henry VIII's commissioners dismantled Becket's golden shrine and destroyed many of the Becket windows, that the cult at Canterbury ceased to function.[119] The translation of Thomas Becket in July 1220 therefore helped to establish the cult on the foundations that it would maintain for the next three centuries.

Preaching, Martyrdom, and Penitence at the Translation Ceremony of 1220

It did so not only through the spatial reorganization of the cult, but also through the

---

[116] Hearn, "Canterbury Cathedral and the Cult of Thomas Becket," 44; Foyle, *Architecture of Canterbury Cathedral,* 110.

[117] Hearn, "Canterbury Cathedral and the Cult of Thomas Becket," 44-7.

[118] Brian Spencer, *Pilgrim Souvenirs and Secular Badges* (Woodbridge: The Boydell Press, 2010), 38-72; Anne Duggan, *Thomas Becket* (London: Arnold Publishers, 2004), 234-4.

[119] See Eamon Duffy, *The Stripping of the Altars: Traditional Religion in England, c. 1400 – c. 1580* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2005), 412.

systematic rearticulation of Thomas Becket's saintly persona to more appropriately suit

current needs. As at Westminster, new texts composed for the occasion outlined the history,

virtues, and character of St. Thomas in ways that reflected how the needs and expectations of

Becket as a holy patron had shifted over the previous fifty years. The texts produced at

Canterbury in 1220 included two sermons as well as a new liturgical office for the day of the

translation (July 7), which was henceforth celebrated as a secondary feast day for St. Thomas.

This section will address in turn each source-type, sermon and liturgical office, in order to

show how they spoke to the needs of the cult in the early thirteenth century.

It is first worth acknowledging the significant contribution that Archbishop Stephen

Langton made to the translation ceremony, in both a logistical and a spiritual sense. For a

theologian like Langton with an interest in pastoral care, Becket's translation was a

spiritually significant occasion, rife with exegetical overtones and valuable as an opportunity

to preach Becket's worth as an intercessor and as a model of spiritual perfection. Although

Langton, like Aelred of Rievaulx, recognized that the translation of a saint's body was a

valuable opportunity to promote spiritual values, the archbishop had emerged from a very

different intellectual and spiritual milieu than that inhabited by the Cistercian abbot. Before

his election to the cardinal-bishopric of St. Chrysogonus in 1206 and then to the

archbishopric of Canterbury in 1207, Langton had spent almost twenty-five years in the

Parisian schools of theology, where he produced a large corpus of writings that included

commentaries on the Old and New Testaments as well as *questiones* for disputation in the

schools.[120] At Paris, Langton had been associated with a number of other masters, including

Peter the Chanter, Peter Comestor, and Robert of Courson, whose interests included topics of

---

[120] Powicke, *Stephen Langton,* 23-74.

practical spirituality.[121] Langton himself was dedicated to contemporary ideas of reform that

involved both the purification of the priestly caste as well as the promotion and regulation of

lay piety.[122] Langton had met Innocent III at the schools in Paris and was present at the

pope's Fourth Lateran Council in 1215.[123] He later demonstrated his dedication to Innocent's

reforming ideals when he passed sixty canons heavily influenced by those propagated at

Lateran IV at a provincial council held in Oxford in 1222.[124]

      Langton's dedication to spiritual reform was also evident in his prolific career as a

preacher. Hundreds of his sermons, many of which were originally delivered in the

vernacular to lay audiences, remain extant.[125] Langton preached two sermons on Thomas

Becket shortly after the translation ceremony. The first, which is known as the *Tractatus de

translacione beati Thomae,* was delivered on the second anniversary of the translation and

likely represents an expansion of the sermon the archbishop had delivered at the ceremony

itself.[126] In the *Tractatus,* Langton expanded upon the tropological significance of the

---

[121] John Baldwin, *Masters, Princes and Merchants: The Social Values of Peter the Chanter and his Circle,* two volumes (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1970), vol. 1, 25-31, 49; Beryl Smalley, *The Study of the Bible in the Middle Ages* (Notre Dame, IN: University of Notre Dame Press, 1964), 196-263.

[122] Phyllis B. Roberts, *Stephanus de Lingua-Tonante*: *Studies in the Sermons of Stephen Langton* (Toronto: Pontifical Institute of Mediaeval Studies, 1968), 110.

[123] By 1215, however, Langton's falling out with Innocent meant that he played little active part in the proceedings. See Cheney, *Pope Innocent III and England*, 389; Powicke, *Stephen Langton*, 75-101.

[124] C.R. Cheney, "Legislation of the Medieval English Church (Continued)," *English Historical Review* 50 (1935), 389-400.

[125] J.B. Schneyer, *Repertorium der lateinischen Sermones des Mittelalters, für die Zeit von 1150-1350* (Münster: Aschendorf, 1969-71) lists over six hundred sermons attributable to Stephen Langton. Phyllis Roberts, in her *Studies in the Sermons of Stephen Langton,* focuses on 122 specific sermons.

[126] See Phyllis Roberts, *Thomas Becket in the Medieval Latin Preaching Tradition* (The Hague: Martinus Nijhoff International, 1992), no. 124. Although Roberts dates the *Tractatus* to July 1221, at that time Langton was in Rome, not Canterbury. If the sermon was indeed preached on an anniversary of the translation, as the language of the sermon suggests, the earliest possible date would be 7 July

elevation of saint's bodies, developing the idea that the tombs of martyrs stimulate the contemplation and imitation of Christian virtues among the laity. The second sermon was delivered at Rome on December 29, 1220. Langton had just delivered a relic of St. Thomas to Pope Honorius III, and he took the opportunity presented by Becket's feast day to promote his saint at the papal curia.[127] Despite their rather divergent settings and purposes, both sermons reflect a distinct shift in the way that Becket had come to be portrayed since the 1170s. Each will be examined in turn.

Stephen Langton developed the theme of the *Tractatus* around Zacharias 9:15-16: "drinking, they shall be inebriated as it were with wine, and they shall be filled as bowls, and as the horns of the altar. And the Lord their God will save them on that day, as the flock of his people: for holy stones shall be lifted up over his land." In Langton's reading, these "holy stones" (*lapides sancti*) refer first of all to the martyrs, who like stones are "solid in their steadfastness, strong in their righteousness, and strong in the face of torments."[128] The *lapides* also refer to the tombs and shrines in which the bodies of the martyrs were laid to rest. One of the most important functions of these "holy stones" was as *memoria,* mental stimuli that evoked contemplation of the saint's covenant with God and spurred the viewer to follow in their pious example.[129] If the translation was therefore valuable as an opportunity to

---

1222. See Walter of Coventry, *Memoriale*, 246; Waverly Annals, ed. H.R. Luard, *Annales Monastici,* Rolls Series 36/2 (London: Longman, Green, Reader, and Dyer, 1825-91), 294.

[127] Appendix to the *Quadratus,* in *MTB,* vol. 4, 427; Walter of Coventry, *Memoriale,* vol. 2, 246.

[128] *Tractatus,* ch. 33: "solidi fuerunt in constantia, fortes in justitia, duri contra tormenta."

[129] *Tractatus,* ch. 9: "therefore when we today recall how a great stone was raised in a shrine, that is, how the glorious martyr Thomas was elevated to his tomb, let us direct the understanding of our heart to this stone, and let us strive to fix the love of our mind on it, so that it may be able and willing to be a witness to our devotion" ["cum igitur hodie recolamus, qualiter lapis grandis in sanctuario sit erectus, id est Thomas martyr gloriosus de tumulo elevates, ad hunc lapidem cordis dirigamus intellectum, et defigere studeamus in eo nostrae mentis affectum, ut devotionis nostrae testis esse

46

present the saint to the laity as a template for right behavior, which of Becket's virtues would

be most appropriate as *exempla*?

In the fifty years since Becket's death, commentators had developed a fairly

consistent image of Becket's sanctity. Much of this image construction had taken place

within the context of the period of uncertainty between Becket's death in 1170 and his

canonization in 1173. In these first few years after his death, Becket's hagiographers

emphasized the unjust and sacrilegious nature of his murder, his status as a martyr who had

died in the defense of the liberty of the church, and the culpability of King Henry II for his

death.[130] It is true that the Christ Church monks' discovery of Becket's hair shirt had also

spurred the development of another image of Becket as a *bonus pastor* who lived humbly and

in dedication to his flock.[131] However, because many of St. Thomas's early biographers,

particularly John of Salisbury and Herbert of Bosham, had been members of Becket's inner

circle and still had a stake in the legacy of his cause, it was his role as a martyr that they

emphasized. These early writers argued that Becket's death in the defense of the liberty of

the English church not only made him as worthy as the martyrs of the early church, but was

also comparable to the death of Christ on the cross.[132] In the decades that followed, therefore,

the *causa beati Thomae* became synonymous with the fight for ecclesiastical liberty, and

prelates in such disparate regions as Norway, France, Italy, and Castile eagerly took up

---

possit et velit."

[130] Michael Staunton, *Thomas Becket and his Biographers* (Woodbridge: The Boydell Press, 2006), 184-215.

[131] Jennifer L. O'Reilley, "The Double Martyrdom of Thomas Becket: Hagiography or History," *Studies in Medieval and Renaissance History* 7 (1985), 197-213; Staunton, *Thomas Becket and his Biographers,* 75-96.

[132] See John of Salisbury, *Vita S. Thomae,* ch. 21.

Becket's legacy as a defender of the church.[133]

However, this image of the blood-soaked martyr was less appropriate for the

translation ceremony in 1220 than it was for the early biographies. As we have just seen,

Langton was eager to use Becket and his elevation to lead the laity to a proper Christian life.

Martyrdom was not a particularly useful pastoral model from which to draw examples for the

laity. Moreover, at the translation ceremony, as well as at the other prestigious events in

which he participated in 1220, Langton promoted a tone of reconciliation and unity, rather

than one of accusation or ecclesiastical righteousness, to help move the English church past

the crisis of John's reign. In his translation sermon, therefore, Langton did not emphasize

Becket's death at the hands of Henry's knights, due to its connotation of conflict between

church and crown. Instead, in the presence of the young King Henry III and a multitude of

the laity, Langton developed a concept of a more imitable bloodless martyrdom. Whereas

earlier commentators had likened Becket to Christ because of his death in defense of the

church, in the *Tractatus* Langton expanded on the ideas of martyrdom and *imitatio Christi* to

include the sacrifice of bodily comfort and the full devotion of one's life to Christ:

> we transfer a precious stone when we undertake to exhibit our devotion to the
> translation of the martyr in whatever way we are able. So the word of scripture
> alluded to above [Zach. 9:15-16] is fulfilled in us, and through this veneration of he
> who gave himself as an offering to the Lord, we sacrifice our living bodies as an
> offering to the Lord, so that we may cut back harmful concupiscence and perverse
> desires.[134]

And again: *imitatio Christi* is achievable by "those who, being unable to sacrifice themselves

for Christ, on account of love for him nevertheless disdain all things that pass away, humble

---

[133] Duggan, "The cult of St Thomas Becket," 24-9.

[134] *Tractatus,* ch. 31: "nos igitur lapidem pretiosum transtulimus, cum translatione martyris
obsequium quale potuimus, exhibere curavimus. Ut itaque supra positum scripturae verbum impleatur
in nobis, ob venerationem ipsius, qui se pro Domino hostiam obtulit, carnem nostrum Domino
viventem hostiam immolemus, ut a nobis concupiscentias noxias et prava desideria resecemus."

their flesh, and bind themselves more closely to their deserved heaven."[135]

Langton further developed his concept of bloodless martyrdom in the sermon he preached at Rome in December 1220. The tone of the Rome sermon differs somewhat from the *Tractatus* due to the circumstances in which it was delivered. Away from Canterbury, Langton appeared to have been more willing to discuss Becket's conflict with Henry II, the persecutions and exile he suffered at the hands of the king, and the violent and unjust nature of his death. Nevertheless, in the Rome sermon Langton also emphasized Becket's virtue as a stimulus of and a model for lay piety, describing Becket's holy way of life in terms very comparable to those he had used in the *Tractatus*. He developed a distinction between what can be called "red martyrdom," which Langton likened to the rose, and "white martyrdom," which he compared to the lily. The red rose symbolized the blood shed at Becket's murder and the "barbs of persecution" Becket suffered at the hands of Henry II.[136] The white lily, conversely, symbolized the asceticism and bodily denial that Langton had detailed in the *Tractatus*. Just as the lily grows in the harsh conditions of the valley, so too did Becket develop an austere lifestyle for himself through fasting, vigils, and the wearing of the hair shirt beneath his finer clothes.[137]

As we have seen, many of Becket's earliest biographers did praise him as a *bonus pastor* as well as a martyr who died in defense of the church. Several of them had also

---

[135] *Tractatus,* ch. 30: "quibus licet non sit datum pati pro Christo, pro ejus tamen amore labentia cuncta despiciunt, carnem affligunt, et ad promerenda coelestia se potenter accingunt."

[136] Phyllis Roberts, ed., *Selected Sermons of Stephen Langton* (Toronto: Pontifical Institute of Mediaeval Studies, 1980), no. III, ch. 4: "rosa designat martyrium. Rosa crescit super spinam. Spina est caro; rosa super spinetum est martyrium in corpore afflicto. Vel spinetum potest dici Anglia, quia aculeo persecutionis non cessat ecclesiam infestare."

[137] Sermon III, chs. 6-7: "lilium in altum crescit, calamus eius hispidus est et asper…huius uero altitude fuit aspera, quia in altitudine sua asperam uitam ducens carnem coegit seruire spiritui, et omnem uictus mollicem asperitate mortificationis exclusit."

already used the lily and the rose, common symbols from patristic exegesis, to compare the

two sources of Becket's sanctity.[138] What Langton did for the first time was to place a

stronger emphasis on Becket's "white martyrdom" than on his murder, which for earlier

writers like John of Salisbury had been the primary source of Becket's spiritual potency. As

has been suggested, this shift was caused by a change in the primary needs of the cult since

the early years after Becket's death. This can perhaps be most clearly illustrated by

comparing the liturgical office for Becket's feast day (Dec. 29), which was composed in the

early 1170s, with the office for the translation written in the 1220s.[139] The former is, as

Sherry Reames puts it, a "fiercely partisan document."[140] Both the prose lessons and the

verse chants describe the scene of Becket's murder and the iniquity of his treatment by the

king's cronies in vivid detail. The office for the translation, on the other hand, consciously

rejects the dark tone of the feast day office in favor of a celebration of the saint's life and

thriving memory. The first responsory of the feast day office, "studens livor/Thome

supplicio/Thome genus/damnat exilio" is directly refuted by the corresponding verse of the

---

[138] See Jennifer L. O'Reilley, "The Double Martyrdom of Thomas Becket;" O'Reilley, "*Candidus et Rubicundus:* An Image of Martyrdom in the *Lives* of Thomas Becket," *Annalecta Bollandiana* 99 (1981): 303-14.

[139] Several versions of both the feast day office and the translation office are extant. The office for the feast day examined here is often referred to as *Studens livor* and is the principal office for the feast of St. Thomas. It has been attributed to Benedict of Peterborough, who also compiled the *Miracula S. Thomae.* The office for the translation is more textually problematic. Sherry Reames has provided a convincing reconstruction of an early version by drawing on the chants from British Library MS Stowe 12, fols. 270r-271v and the lessons from BL Cotton Appendix 23, fols. 140r-141r: "Reconstructing and Interpreting a Thirteenth-Century Office for the Translation of Thomas Becket," *Speculum* 80 (2005): 118-70. On the textual history of the two offices, see also Kay Brainerd Slocum, *Liturgies in Honour of Thomas Becket* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2004).

[140] Sherry Reames, "The Remaking of a Saint: Stephen Langton and the Liturgical Office for Becket's Translation." *Hagiographica* 7 (2000), 21. The argument rehearsed here is drawn from the research clearly and extensively laid out by Sherry L. Reames in that article and in her "Thirteenth-Century Office."

translation office, "Absorbetur/pleno jam gaudio,/livor tristi/precedens odio."[141] The office

for the translation, which was almost certainly composed by Langton himself or under his

close supervision, instead celebrates the peace that was established with the sanctification of

Thomas Becket and renewed with his translation. This was a peace that included the king as

well as the church: "The holy martyr is 'the stone that the builders refused," because 'he has

become the cornerstone.' For just as the corner of the wall is made of two stones coming

from two different directions and becoming as one, so too the martyr brought together the

crown and priesthood, which come as it were from different directions, together in harmony

as one."[142]

By 1220, therefore, the emphasis had shifted from pronouncing condemnation and

seeking retribution for Becket's murder to celebrating the gifts that he had given to the

English church, crown, and people. The saint's elevation into "a jeweled burial place" was

particular cause for celebration.[143] The office for the translation hails Becket's shrine as a

destination for pilgrims where Becket often worked miracles for the benefit of the laity.

Several lessons recount miracles that St. Thomas worked when his body was translated,

including the rescue of a drowning boy, the healing of a sick girl, and the resurrection of a

dead man:[144] "sight is given to the blind, speech to the mute, proper gait to the lame; thus the

---

[141] Office for the feast of St. Thomas, responsory 1: "Spite, eager for the punishment of Thomas, condemns his family to exile;" translation is from Slocum, *Liturgies in Honour of Thomas Becket,* p. 174. Office for the translation, responsory 1: "Now the spite preceding bitter hatred is engulfed by abundant joy;" translation is from Slocum, p. 270.

[142] Reames, ed., "A Thirteenth-Century Office," lection 4; Ps. 117(118).22; Matt. 21.42: "beatus martir 'lapis est quem reprobaverunt edificantes,' quia 'factus est in capud anguli.' Quia sicut lapis angularis duos parietes ex diverso venientes conjungit in unum, sic gloriosus martir regnum et sacerdotium quasi veniens ex adverso, per passionem suam consentire fecit in unum."

[143] Reames, ed., "A Thirteenth-Century Office," responsory 4.

[144] Reames, ed., "A Thirteenth-Century Office," nocturn 2, antiphon 2; lesson 8; nocturn 2, antiphon 3.

translation of Thomas is honored."[145] Becket's status as a saintly intercessor who bestowed

his aid (*subsidium*) on those who venerated him was a major pillar of his reputation that,

along with his exemplification of Christian virtue, made him so widely popular.

Accordingly, Langton developed the idea of Jubilee to commemorate the translation.

This was a Hebraic tradition that celebrated the fiftieth anniversary of the death of a martyr.

It was, according to the office for the translation, "a year of remission or forgiveness"

dedicated to the remission of sin. "Thus, just as heavy debts and servitude used to be remitted

according to law in the year of jubilee, so too are the burdens of sin forgiven in the Jubilee

year of the translation of the martyr."[146] Langton had chosen the date for the ceremony

carefully so that it would coincide with the calculation of Jubilee described in Leviticus

25:10.[147] According to Walter of Coventry, Pope Honorius III granted the attendees at the

translation indulgences totaling 540 days, a remarkable amount for the occasion.[148] This was

celebrated in the office for the translation: "Pope Honorius granted us the remission of

punishments, lest the reason for Jubilee should cease."[149] Langton's new concept of Jubilee,

which continued to be celebrated at Canterbury every fifty years, thus helped to perpetuate

the popularity of Becket's cult for centuries to come.

---

[145] Reames, ed., "A Thirteenth-Century Office," responsory 9: "cecis visus,/ mutis locucio,/ claudis datur/ recta progressio;/ sic ornatur/ [Thome] translatio." The translation is Slocum's, *Liturgies in Honour of Thomas Becket,"* 290.

[146] Reames, ed., "A Thirteenth-Century Office," lection 2: "sicut enim in lege anno jubileo onera indebita et servitutes consueverunt remitti, sic et in anno jubileo translationis ipsius martyris onera penitentium remittuntur."

[147] "Thou shalt sanctify the fiftieth year, and shalt proclaim remission to all the inhabitants of thy land: for it is the year of jubilee." See Raymonde Foreville, *Le jubilé de saint Thomas Becket du XIIIe au XVe siècle (1220-1470): Êtude et documents* (Paris: S.E.V.P.E.N., 1958).

[148] Walter of Coventry, *Memoriale,* 246.

[149] Reames, ed., "A Thirteenth-Century Office," responsory 3: "dante papa / nobis Honorio / que penarum / fit relaxacio: / Jubilei ne cesset racio."

The celebration of Jubilee was a shrewd capstone to Stephen Langton's cultic

program that allowed the energy offered by the translation ceremony to be renewed every

fifty years. As at Westminster, then, the translation of Thomas Becket in 1220 was a vital

moment of cult building. As we have seen, it allowed a systematic rewriting of the Becket

narrative in both sermon and liturgical office that brought St. Thomas's reputation as a

martyr and defender of the Church into line with his primary status as an object of popular

pilgrimage. This pastoral program complimented the reorganization of the space in the east

end of Canterbury Cathedral, which made Becket's new shrine the focus of the spiritual

landscape and facilitated the movement of pilgrims through the church. Becket had become

popular well before his translation, and even before his canonization as a saint. His cult had

managed to function for several decades in the absence of a proper space for veneration.

However, it was the translation ceremony in 1220 that provided Langton with the opportunity

to synthesize the preexisting elements of Becket's cult into a newly cohesive, and ultimately

highly successful, cultic program that confirmed Canterbury's reputation as a center of

penitence, pastoral care, and pilgrimage for the next three centuries.

Conclusion

This study opened by pointing to the language used by both the pope and the English

churchmen during the canonization processes of Edward the Confessor and Thomas Becket

as a sign of the continued connection between the procedures of translation and canonization

in the late twelfth and early thirteenth centuries. Edward's supporters asked Pope Alexander

III not only to canonize the king, but also to grant them permission to elevate his body into a

"worthy tomb." Similarly, in the bull of canonization for Thomas Becket, Alexander

announced that he had added the new saint's name to the *catalogus sanctorum,* and then also exhorted the new saint's keepers to place his body in an appropriate shrine. Having explored the translation and canonization of each saint in considerable detail, how ought we now read these exchanges between Rome and the English communities?

It is clear that both Alexander and the saints' supporters fully expected that it should be the pope who passed final judgment on whether or not an individual ought to be treated as a saint. However, although it was the pope who issued the bull of canonization, the responsibility for the development of the cult belonged to the local communities. For the supporters of Edward and Becket, the most important consequence of a successful canonization bid was not that the pope placed the saint's name on the abstract "catalogue of saints." Instead, it was important because it meant that they were able to begin to develop a cult around the memory of their patron. This is why the translation ceremony remained significant even after the development of papal canonization: it was an important moment of local cult creation that followed the act of authorization in Rome.

The examples provided by the cults of Edward the Confessor and Thomas Becket help to illuminate the many ways in which the translation ceremony was important in this capacity. Firstly, and most significantly, the ceremony established the saint in a shrine, which provided a space for the devotional practices that defined the cult. We have seen how the elevation of the body of Thomas Becket from the awkwardly positioned tomb in the cathedral crypt into the sumptuously decorated Trinity Chapel reorganized the sacred landscape of Canterbury Cathedral, centering the spiritual life of the church at his shrine and facilitating the movement of pilgrims throughout the space. Secondly, the ceremony also served as a ritual performance of sanctity, institutional affiliation, and prestige. At

Westminster, the new cult of St. Edward was given legitimacy and increased visibility by the presence of the king, as well as that of a large crowd of magnates, bishops, and abbots.

Finally, the ceremony provided an opportunity to define or reshape the persona of the saint. Both ceremonies stimulated the production of new commemorative texts, such as Aelred of Rievaulx's *Vita S. Edwardi* and Stephen Langton's *Tractatus de translatione beati Thomae.* These texts did not only commemorate and promote the histories of the saints. The authors of the saints' lives, sermons, and liturgical offices we have examined also portrayed their subjects in such a way that reflected the current concerns of the cult and community. At Westminster, Aelred of Rievaulx's concern was to provide a guide to good rulership for a king whose reign marked the end of decades of chaos and civil war. Similarly, at Canterbury, Langton shifted the emphasis away from Becket's bloody murder towards his value as a spiritual *exemplum* and heavenly interlocutor. This reflected not only his project of fostering reconciliation in the English church after the turmoil of King John's rule, but also the primary role that Becket now played as an object of popular pilgrimage.

Because the translation ceremony served as a moment of self-promotion and self-definition, the practice can provide an important glimpse into the ways in which different religious communities engaged in broader conversations about issues such as the nature of kingship, the role of the papacy within the English kingdom, and the characteristics of royal, monastic, and lay piety. It was suggested at the beginning of this paper that Edward the Confessor and Thomas Becket did not represent simple, opposing symbols of *regnum* and *sacerdotium.* We have seen how Henry II rejected the model of pious, monasticized Christian kingship represented by Edward the Confessor as he negotiated the establishment of his own royal authority along different lines. Similarly, although Becket did represent a powerful

symbol of the struggle for the liberty of the church to many people, his memory was also honored by King Henry II and many of his royal ancestors through acts of pilgrimage and largesse. Decades later, Becket's memory would be coopted once more by King Henry III and the leaders of his regency government, who presented Becket as a symbol of a new peace that united church and crown. We can see how the translation ceremony represented a powerful moment in which various actors could performatively or narratively engage with one or more of the polysemic layers of meaning that the figure of the saint offered.

This thesis has therefore demonstrated the value of expanding the scholarship on the development of canonization in the high and late Middle Ages to examine not only what was happening at Rome, but also how local cult supporters negotiated the process and established the cults of their newly canonized saints. Only by gaining a clearer view of the negotiation of papal authority in the high and late Middle Ages by communities such as Westminster and Christ Church, Canterbury can we fully appreciate its implications for the social, political, and religious lives of Western Christendom.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Primary Sources

Aelred of Rievaulx. *Vita S. Edwardi*. In *Aelred of Rievaulx: The Historical Works,* translated by Jane Patricia Freeland and edited by Marsha L. Dutton. Kalamazoo: Cistercian Publications, 2005: 123-244.

--. *The Genealogy of the Kings of the English.* In *Aelred of Rievaulx: The Historical Works,* translated by Jane Patricia Freeland and edited by Marsha L. Dutton. Kalamazoo: Cistercian Publications, 2005: 39-122.

--. *Lament for King David, King of the Scots*. In *Aelred of Rievaulx: The Historical Works,* translated by Jane Patricia Freeland and edited by Marsha L. Dutton. Kalamazoo: Cistercian Publications, 2005: 45-70.

--. *In translacione sancti Edwardi confessoris.* Translated by Tom License. In Peter Jackson, "In Translatione Sancti Edwardi Confessoris: The Lost Sermon of Aelred of Rievaulx Found?" *Cistercian Studies Quarterly* 40 (2005): 68-83.

Barlow, Frank, ed.. "Correspondence Concerning Edward's Canonization." In *Edward the Confessor*. Appendix D. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1970: 309-324.

--, ed. *Vita Ædwardi qui apud Westmonasterium requiescat.* Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1992.

Benedict of Peterborough. *Miracula S. Thomae Cantuariensis*. In *Materials for the History of Thomas Becket,* edited by J.C. Robertson. Rolls Series 67, pt. 2. London: Longmans, Green, Reader, and Dyer, 1875-85.

Benôit de Sainte-Maure. *Chronique des ducs de Normandie,* edited by Carin Fahlin. Uppsala: Almqvist & Wiksells, 1951.

Chodorow, S. and Duggan, C., eds. *Decretales Ineditae Saeculi XII*. Vatican City: Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, 1982.

Edward Grim. *Vita S. Thomae, Cantuariensis archiepiscopi et martyris.* In *Materials for the History of Thomas Becket,* edited by J.C. Robertson. Rolls Series 67, pt. 2. London: Longmans, Green, Reader, and Dyer, 1875-85.

Gervase of Canterbury. *Tractatus de combustione et reparatione cantuariensis ecclesie.* In *The Historical Works of Gervase of Canterbury,* edited by W. Stubbs. Rolls Series 73, pt. 1. London: Longmans, Green, Reader, and Dyer, 1879-80: 3-29.

--. *Actus pontificum cantuariensis ecclesie.* In *The Historical Works of Gervase of Canterbury,* edited by W. Stubbs. Rolls Series 73, pt. 2. London: Longmans, Green, Reader, and Dyer, 1879-80: 325-14.

John of Salisbury. *Vita Sancti Thomae Martyri.* In *Anselm & Becket: Two Canterbury Saints' Lives by John of Salisbury,* edited by Ronald E. Pepin (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2009): 73-95.

Legg, J.W, ed. *Missale ad usum ecclesie Westmonasteriensis.* Henry Bradshaw Society 12. London: Harrison and Sons, 1891-7.

Luard, H.R., ed. *Annales de Waverleia.* In *Annales Monastici.* Rolls Series 36, pt. 2. London: Longmans, Green, Reader, and Dyer, 1825-91.

Matthew Paris. *Historia Anglorum.* Edited by Frederic Madden. Rolls Series 44. London: Longmans, Green, Reader, and Dyer, 1866-9.

Millor, W.J., Butler, H.E., and Brooks, C.N.I., eds. *The Letters of John of Salisbury.* Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1986.

Osbert of Clare. *Vita beati Eadwardi regis Anglorum.* Edited by Marc Bloch, in "La Vie d'Edouard le Confesseur par Osbert de Clare." *Annalecta Bollandiana* 41 (1923): 64-123.

Proctor, F. and Wodsworth, C., eds. *Breviarium ad usum insigne ecclesie Sarum.* Farnborough, UK: Gregg International Publishers, 1970.

Ralph de Diceto. *The Historical Works of Master Ralph de Diceto, Dean of London.* Edited by W. Stubbs. Rolls Series 68, 2 volumes. London: Longmans, Green, Reader, and Dyer, 1876.

Ranulf Higden. *Polychronicon.* Edited by J. Rawson Lumby. Rolls Series 41, pt. 8. London: Longmans, Green, Reader, and Dyer, 1865-86.

Reames, Sherry, ed. "Office for the Translation of Thomas of Canterbury." In Sherry Reames, "Reconstructing and Interpreting a Thirteenth-Century Office for the Translation of Thomas Becket." *Speculum* 80 (2005): 118-70.

Richard of Cirencester. *De regum Anglorum.* Edited by J.E.B. Mayor. Rolls Series 30, pt. 2.

Roberts, Phyllis, ed. *Selected Sermons of Stephen Langton.* Toronto: Pontifical Institute of Mediaeval Studies, 1980.

Robertson, J.C., ed. *Materials for the History of Thomas Becket.* Rolls Series 67, 7 volumes. London: Longmans, Green, Reader, and Dyer, 1875-85.

Robinson, J. Armitage and Williamson, Edward William, editors. *The Letters of Osbert of Clare, Prior of Westminster.* London: Oxford University Press, 1929.

Roger of Wendover. *Flores historiarum.* Edited by H.G. Hewlett. Rolls Series 84, pt. 2. London: Longmans, Green, Reader, and Dyer, 1886-9.

Stephen Langton, *Tractatus de Translatione Beati Thomae*. Edited by Jacques-Paul Migne. Patrologia Latina 190, cols. 407-24.

Sulcard of Westminster. *Prologus de construccione Westmonasterii*. Edited by Bernhard Scholz. In *Sulcard of Westminster: Prologus de construccione Westmonasterii*." *Traditio* 20 (1964): 80-91.

Thomas of Burton. *Chronica monasterii de Melsa (Meaux).* Edited by E.A. Bond. Rolls Series 43, pt. 1. London: Longmans, Green, Reader, and Dyer, 1866-8.

Tolhurst, J.B.L., ed. *The Monastic Breviary of Hyde Abbey*. Henry Bradshaw Society 78, pt. 4. London: Harrison and Sons, 1932-42.

Wace. *The Roman de Rou,* translated by Glyn S. Burgess and with the text of Anthony J. Holden. Isle of Jersey: St. Helier, 2002.

William of Canterbury. *Miracula S. Thomae Cantuariensis.* Edited by J.C. Robertson. In *Materials for the History of Thomas Becket,* edited by J.C. Robertson. Rolls Series 67, pt. 2. London: Longmans, Green, Reader, and Dyer, 1875-85.

Walter of Coventry. *Memoriale fratris Walteri de Coventria.* Edited by William Stubbs. Rolls Series 58, pt. 2. London: Longmans, Green, Reader, and Dyer, 1872-3.

William of Malmesbury. *Gesta Pontificum Anglorum*. Edited by M. Winterbottom, *The History of the English Bishops.* Two volumes. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 2007.

William of Newburgh. *Historia rerum Anglicarum.* Edited by Richard Howlett in *Chronicles of the Reigns of Stephen, Henry II, and Richard I.* Rolls Series 82, pt. 1. London: Longmans, Green, Reader, and Dyer, 1884-9.

Secondary Works

Appleby, David Flood. "Hagiography and Ideology in the Ninth Century: The Narrative
     Descriptions of the Translation of Relics." PhD Dissertation. University of Virginia,
     1989.

Bäärnhielm, Göran and Myrdal, Janken. "Miracles and Medieval Life: Canonization
     Proceedings as a Source for Medieval Social History." In *Procès de canonisation au*
     Moyen Âge, edited by Gàbor Klaniczay. Rome: Ecole française de Rome, 2004: 101-
     16.

Baldwin, J.W. "A debate at Paris over Thomas Becket between Master Roger and Master
     Peter the Chanter." *Studia Gratiana* 11 (1967): 119-32.

--. *Masters, Princes, and Merchants: The Social Views of Peter the Chanter and His Circle.*
     Two volumes. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1970.

Barlow, Frank. *Edward the Confessor.* Berkeley: University of California Press, 1970.

--. *Thomas Becket.* Berkeley: University of California Press, 1986.

Bartlett, Robert. "The Hagiography of Angevin England." *Thirteenth Century England* 5
     (1993): 37-52.

Bequette, John P. "Ælred of Rievaulx's *Life of Saint Edward, King and Confessor*: A Saintly
     King and the Salvation of the English People." *Cistercian Studies Quarterly* 43
     (2008): 17-40.

Binski, Paul, *Westminster Abbey and the Plantagenets: Kingship and the Representations of*
     Power, 1200-1400. New Haven: Yale University Press, 1995.

--. *Becket's Crown: Art and Imagination in Gothic England, 1170-1300.* New Haven: Yale
     University Press, 2004.

--. "Reflections on the *La estoire de Seint Aedward le rei:* Hagiography and Kingship in
     Thirteenth-Century England." *Journal of Medieval History* 16 (1990).

Blumenthal, U.-R. *The Investiture Controversy: Church and Monarchy from the Ninth to the*
     Twelfth Century. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1988.

Böhmer, Heinrich. *Kirche und Staat in England und in der Normandie im XI. und XII.*
     Jahrhundert. Leipzig: Scientia Verlag Aalen, 1968.

Bozoky, Edina. "The Sanctity and Canonisation of Edward the Confessor." In *Edward the*
     Confessor: the Man and the Legend, edited by Richard Mortimer. Woodbridge: The
     Boydell Press, 2009: 178-90.

Brien, E.L.O. "The Cult of St. Edward the Confessor: 1066-1399." Unpublished D. Phil, University of Oxford, 2001.

Brown, Jennifer N. "'Cut From its Stump:' Translating Edward the Confessor and the Dream of the Green Tree." In *Lost in Translation?,* edited by D. Renevey and C. Whitehead. The Medieval Translators, volume 12. Turnhout: Brepols, 2009: 57-69.

Brown, Peter. *The Cult of the Saints: Its Rise and Function in Latin Christendom* Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1981.

Bull, Marcus. "Criticisms of Henry II's expedition to Ireland in William of Canterbury's Miracles of St Thomas Becket." *Journal of Medieval History* 33 (2007): 107-29.

Carpenter, D.A. *The Minority of Henry III.* London: Methuen, 1990.

--. "King Henry III and Saint Edward the Confessor: The Origins of the Cult." *English Historical Review* 122 (2007): 865-91.

Cheney, Christopher. *Innocent III and England.* Stuttgart: Hiersemann, 1976.

Chibnall, Marjorie. "The Translation of the Relics of St Nicholas and Norman Historical Tradition," in her *Piety, Power and History in Medieval England and Normandy.* Aldershot: Ashgate, 2000.

Cowdrey, H.E.J. *Pope Gregory VII, 1073-1085.* Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1998.

Crook, John. *The Architectural Setting of the Cult of Saints in the Early Christian West, c. 300-1200.* Oxford: Clarendon Press, 2000.

--. *English Medieval Shrines.* Woodbridge: The Boydell Press, 2011.

Cushing, Kathleen G. *Reform and the Papacy in the Eleventh Century: Spirituality and Social Change.* Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2005.

Dalton, P., Insley, C., and Wilkinson, L.J., eds. *Cathedrals, Communities and Conflict in the Anglo-Norman World.* Woodbridge: The Boydell Press, 2011.

Delooz, P. "Towards a Sociological Study of Canonized Sainthood in the Catholic Church." In *Saints and their Cults: Studies in Religious Sociology, Folklore and History,* edited by S. Wilson. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1983.

Draper, Peter. "Interpretations of the Rebuilding of Canterbury Cathedral, 1174-1186: Archaeological and Historical Evidence." *Journal of the Society of Architectural Historians* 56 (1997): 184-203.

Duffy, Eamon. *The Stripping of the Altars: Traditional Religion in England, c. 1400 – c. 1580.* New Haven: Yale University Press, 2005.

Duggan, Anne. "The cult of St Thomas Becket in the thirteenth century." In *St Thomas Cantilupe Bishop of Hereford: Essays in his Honour,* edited by M. Jancey. Hereford: Friends of Hereford Cathedral, 1982: 21-44.

--. "John of Salisbury and Thomas Becket." In *The World of John of Salisbury,* edited by Michael Wilks. Oxford: Blackwell, 1984.

--. "*Ne in dubium*: The Official Record of Henry II's Reconciliation at Avranches." *English Historical Review* 115 (2000): 643-58.

--.*Thomas Becket.* London: 2004.

--. *Thomas Becket: Friends, Networks, Texts, and Cult.* Ashgate: Variorum, 2007.

--. "Henry II, the English Church and the Papacy, 1154-76." In *Henry II: New Interpretations,* edited by Christopher-Harper Bill and Nicholas Vincent. Woodbridge: Boydell Press, 2007: 154-83.

Eales, R. "The Political Setting of the Becket Translation of 1220." In *Martyrs and Martyrologies,* edited by Thomas S. Friedman and Thomas F. Mayer. Oxford: Blackwell Publishers, 1993: 127-39.

Eales, R. and Sharpe, R., eds., *Canterbury and the Norman Conquest: Churches, Saints and Scholars, 1066-1109.* London: Hambledon Press, 1995.

Farmer, Sharon. *Communities of Saint Martin: Legend and Ritual in Medieval Tours.* Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1991.

Fentress, James and Wickham, Chris. *Social Memory.* Oxford: Blackwell Press, 1992.

Finucane, Ronald. *Miracles and Pilgrims: Popular Beliefs in Medieval England.* New York: St. Martin's Press, 1995.

Folz, Robert. *Les saints rois du Moyen Âge en Occident (VIᵉ – XIIIᵉ siècles).* Brussels: Société des Bollandistes, 1984.

Foreville, Raymonde. *Le Jubilé de Saint Thomas Becket.* Paris: S.E.P.V.E.N., 1958.

--, ed. *Thomas Becket dans le tradition historique et hagiographique.* London: Variorum Reprints, 1981.

Fouracre, Paul. "The Origins of the Carolingian Attempt to Regulate the Cult of Saints." In *The Cult of Saints in Late Antiquity and the Middle Ages: Essays on the Contribution*

of Peter Brown, edited by James Howard-Johnson and Paul Antony Hayward. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1999: 143-166.

Gaposchkin, M. Cecilia. *The Making of Saint Louis: Kingship, Sanctity, and Crusade in the Later Middle Ages.* Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2008.

Geary, Patrick. *Furta Sacra: Thefts of Relics in the Central Middle Ages.* Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1978.

--. *Living with the Dead in the Middle Ages.* Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1994.

Gelin, Marie-Pierre. "Gervase of Canterbury, Christ Church and the Archbishops." *Journal of Ecclesiastical History* 60 (2009): 449-63.

Goodich, M., "The Politics of Canonization in the Thirteenth Century: Lay and Mendicant Saints." *Church History* 44 (1975): 294-307.

--. "Reason or Revelation: The Criteria for the Proof and Credibility on Miracles in Canonization Processes." In *Procès de canonisation au Moyen Âge,* edited by Gàbor Klaniczay. Rome: Ecole française de Rome, 2004: 181-97.

--. *Lives and Miracles of the Saints: Studies in Medieval Latin Hagiography.* Aldershot: Ashgate Variorum, 2004.

--. *Miracles and Wonders: The Development of the Concept of Miracle, 1150-1350* Aldershot: Ashgate Variorum, 2007.

Grassi, J. "The *Vita Aedwardi Regis:* the hagiographer as insider." *Anglo-Norman Studies* 26 (2004): 87-102.

Harris, Anne F. "Pilgrimage, Performance, and Stained Glass at Canterbury Cathedral." In *Art and Architecture of Late Medieval Pilgrimage in Northern Europe and the British Isles*, edited by Sarah Blick and Rita Tekippe. Leiden: Brill, 2005: 243-81.

Hawkins, Joy. "Seeing the Light? Blindness and Sanctity in Later Medieval England." In *Saints and Sanctity,* edited by Peter Clarke and Tony Claydon. *Studies in Church History* 47. Woodbridge: The Boydell Press, 2011: 148-59.

Hayward, Paul Antony. "Demystifying the Role of Sanctity in Western Christendom." in *The Cult of Saints in Late Antiquity and the Middle Ages: Essays on the Contribution of Peter Brown,* edited by James Howard-Johnson and Paul Antony Hayward. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1999: 115-142.

Head, Thomas. *Hagiography and the Cult of the Saints: The Diocese of Orléans, 800-1200.* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1990.

Hearn, M.F. "Canterbury Cathedral and the Cult of Thomas Becket." *The Art Bulletin* 76 (1994): 19-52.

Heinzelmann, Martin. *Translationsberichte und andere Quellen des Reliquiencultes.* Typologie des sources du Moyen Âge occidental, vol. 33. Brepolis: Turnhout, 1979.

Hen, Yitzhak. *Culture and Religion in Merovingian Gaul, A.D. 481-751.* Leiden: Brill, 1995.

Hen, Y. and Innes, M., eds. *The Uses of the Past in the Early Middle Ages.* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000.

Herrick, Samantha Kahn. *Imagining the Sacred Past: Hagiography and Power in Early Normandy.* Cambridge, M.A.: Harvard University Press, 2007.

Huntington, Joanna. "Edward the Celibate, Edward the Saint: Virginity in the Construction of Edward the Confessor." In *Medieval Virginities,* edited by Anke Bernau, Ruth Evans, and Sarah Salih. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2003): 119-39.

--. "Saintly Power as Model of Royal Authority: the 'Royal Touch' and Other Miracles in the Early Vitae of Edward the Confessor." In *Aspects of Power and Authority in the Middle Ages,* edited by Brenda Bolton and Christeen Meek. Turnhout: Brepols, 2007: 327-44.

Jones, L. "From *Anglorum basileus* to Norman Saint: The Transformations of Edward the Confessor." *Haskins Society Journal* 12 (2002): 99-120.

Jansen, Stefanie. *Wo ist Thomas Becket? Der ermordete Heilige zwischen Erinnerung und Erzählung.* Husum: Matthisen Verlag Ingwert Paulsen, 2002.

Jordan, Alyce A. "Rhetoric and Reform: The St Thomas Becket Window of Sens Cathedral." In *The Four Modes of Seeing: Approaches to Medieval Imagery in Honor of Madeline Harrison Caviness,* edited by Evelyn Staudinger Lane, Elizabeth Carson Pastan, and Ellen M. Shortell. Burlington, VT: Ashgate Publishing, 2009: 547-64.

Katajala-Peltomaa, Sari. "Recent Trends in the Study of Medieval Canonizations." *History Compass* 8 (2010): 1083-92.

Keefe, Thomas. "Shrine Time: King Henry II's Visits to Thomas Becket's Tomb." *Haskins Society Journal* 11 (2003): 115-22.

Kemp, E.W. "Pope Alexander III and the Canonization of the Saints." *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society* 27 (1945): 13-28.

--. *Canonization and Authority in the Western Church.* London: Oxford University Press, 1948.

Klaniczay, Gàbor, ed. *Procès de canonisation au Moyen Âge.* Rome: Ecole française de Rome, 2004.

Kleinberg, Aviad. "Canonization Without a Canon." In *Procès de canonisation au Moyen Âge,* edited by Gàbor Klaniczay. Rome: Ecole française de Rome, 2004: 7-18.

Koopmans, Rachel. *Wonderful to Relate: Miracle Stories and Miracle Collecting in High Medieval England.* Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2011.

Krötzl, Christian. *Pilger, Mirakel und Alltag: Formen des Verhaltens im skandinavischen Mittelalter, 12. – 15. Jahrhunderts.* Helsinki: S.H.S., 1994.

Lamia, Stephen. "The Cross and the Crown, the Tomb and the Shrine: Decoration and Accommodation for England's Premier Saints." In *Decorations for the Holy Dead: Visual Embellishments on Tombs and Shrines of Saints,* edited by S. Lamia and E. V. Del Alamo. Turnhout: Brepols, 2002: 39-56.

Lifshitz, Felice. "Beyond Positivism and Genre: 'Hagiographical' Texts as Historical Narrative." *Viator* 25:1 (1994): 95-114.

--. *The Norman Conquest of Pious Neuestria: Historiographic Discourse and Relic Cults, 684-1090.* Toronto: Pontifical Institute of Mediaeval Studies, 1995.

Mason, Emma. *Westminster Abbey and its People, c. 1050 – c. 1216.* Woodbridge: The Boydell Press, 1996.

-- et al., eds. *Westminster Abbey Charters, 1066 – c. 1214.* London: London Record Society, 1988.

Michael, M.A. *Stained Glass of Canterbury Cathedral.* London: Scala, 2004.

Morris, Colin. *The Papal Monarchy: the Western Church from 1050 to 1250.* Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1989.

Mortimer, Richard, ed. *Edward the Confessor: The Man and the Legend.* Woodbridge: The Boydell Press, 2009.

Nilson, Benjamin John. *Cathedral Shrines of Medieval England.* Woodbridge: The Boydell Press, 1998.

Nora, Pierre. "Between History and Memory: Les Lieux de Mémoire." *Representations* (1989): 7-24.

Oppitz-Trotman, Gesine. "Penance, Mercy and Saintly Authority in the Miracles of St Thomas Becket." In *Saints and Sanctity,* edited by Peter Clarke and Tony Claydon. *Studies in Church History* 47. Woodbridge: The Boydell Press, 2011: 136-47.

O'Reilley, Jennifer L. "*Candidus et Rubicundus*: An Image of Martyrdom in the *Lives* of Thomas Becket." *Annalecta Bollandiana* 99 (1981): 303-14.

--. "The Double Martyrdom of Thomas Becket: Hagiography or History." *Studies in Medieval and Renaissance History* 7 (1985): 197-213.

Pfaff, Richard. *The Liturgy in Medieval England.* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2009.

Powicke, F.M. *Stephen Langton* London: Merlin Press Ltd., 1965.

Reames, Sherry L. "The Remaking of a Saint: Stephen Langton and the Liturgical Office for Becket's Translation." *Hagiographica* 7 (2000): 17-34.

--. "Reconstructing and Interpreting a Thirteenth-Century Office for the Translation of Thomas Becket." *Speculum* 80 (2005): 118-70.

Remensnyder, Amy, *Remembering Kings Past: Monastic Foundation Legends in Medieval Southern France.* Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1995.

Roberts, Phyllis B. *Thomas Becket in the Medieval Latin Preaching Tradition.* The Hague: Martinus Nijhoff International, 1992.

Robinson, Ian. *The Papacy 1073-1198: Continuity and Innovation.* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1990.

Rollason, David. *Saints and Relics in Anglo-Saxon England.* Oxford: Blackwell Press, 1989.

Rosenthal, J.T. "Edward the Confessor and Robert the Pious: Eleventh Century Kingship and Biography." *Medieval Studies* 33 (1972): 7-20

Rosser, Gervase. *Medieval Westminster 1200-1540.* Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1989.

Scholz, Bernhard. "The Canonization of Edward the Confessor." *Speculum* 36 (1961): 38-60.

--. "Sulcard of Westminster: 'Prologus de construccione Westmonasterii.'" *Traditio* 20 (1964): 59-91.

Sigal, Pierre-André. "Histoire et hagiographie: les Miracula aux XIe et XIIe siècles." *Annales de Bretagne et des Pays de Vouest*. 87 (1980): 237-57.

--. *L'Homme et le miracle dans la France médiévale (XIe-XIIe siècle).* Paris: Editions du Cerf, 1985.

Slocum, Kay Brainerd. *Liturgies in Honour of Thomas Becket.* Toronto: University of

Toronto Press, 2004.

Smalley, Beryl. *The Becket Conflict and the Schools: A Study of Intellectuals in Politics.* Totowa, NJ: Rowman and Littlefield, 1973.

Spencer, Brian. *Pilgrim Souvenirs and Secular Badges.* Woodbridge: The Boydell Press, 2010.

Spiegel, Gabrielle. "The Cult of St Denis and Capetian Kingship." In *Saints and their Cults: Studies in Religious Sociology, Folklore and History,* edited by Stephen Wilson. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1983.

Southern, R.W. "The First Life of Edward the Confessor." *English Historical Review* 58 (1943): 385-400.

Squire, Aelred. "Aelred and King David." *Collecteana Cisterciensia* 22 (1960): 356-77.

--. *Aelred of Rievaulx: A Study.* Kalamazoo: Cistercian Publications, 1981: 51-71.

--. "The Monks of Canterbury and the Murder of Archbishop Becket." Canterbury: The Friends of Canterbury Cathedral, 1985.

Tellenbach, Gerd. *Church, State, and Christian Society at the Time of the Investiture Conflict.* Oxford: B. Blackwell, 1940.

Thacker, Alan. "The Making of a Local Saint." In *Local Saints and Local Churches in the Early Medieval West,* edited by Alan Thacker and Richard Sharpe. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2002: 45-74.

Staunton, Michael. *Thomas Becket and his Biographers.* Woodbridge: The Boydell Press, 2006.

Urbanski, Charity. *Writing History for the King: Henry II and the Politics of Vernacular Historiography.* Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2013.

Vauchez, André. *Sainthood in the Later Middle Ages.* Translated by J. Birrell. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997.

Veal, Joannes. *The Sacramental Theology of Stephen Langton and the Influence upon him of Peter the Chanter.* Rome: Officium Libri Catholici, 1955.

Vincent, Nicholas. "The Pilgrimages of the Angevin Kings of England, 1154-1272." In *Pilgrimage: The English Experience from Becket to Bunyan,* edited by Colin Morris and Peter Roberts. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002: 12-45.

Ward, Benedicta. *Miracles and the Medieval Mind: Theory, Record, and Event, 1000-1215.*

Aldershot: Ashgate, 1982.

Warren, W.L. *Henry II.* Berkeley: University of California Press, 1973.

Webb, Diana. *Pilgrimage in Medieval England.* London: Hambledon Press, 2000.

Wetzstein, Thomas. "'*Virtus morum et virtus signorum?'* Zur Bedeutung der Mirakel in den Kanonisationsprozessen des 15. Jahrhunderts." In *Mirakel im Mittelalter: Konzeptionen, Erscheinungsformen, Deutungen,* edited by Martin Heinzelmann, Klaus Herbers, and Dieter R. Bauer. Stuttgart: Steiner, 2002: 351-75.

--. *Heilige vor Gericht: Das Kanonisationsverfahren im Europäischen Mittelalter.* Köln: Böhlau, 2004.

--. "*Iura Novit Curia:* Zur Verfahrensnormierung der Kanonisationsprozesse des Späten Mittelalters." in *Procès de canonisation au Moyen Âge,* edited by Gàbor Klaniczay. Rome: Ecole française de Rome, 2004.

Winterbottom, M. "Notes on the life of Edward the Confessor." *Medium Aevum* 56 (1987): 82-4.

Woodman, Francis. *The Architectural History of Canterbury Cathedral.* London: Routledge, 1981.

Yarrow, Simon. *Saints and their Communities: Miracle Stories in Twelfth Century England.* Oxford: Clarendon Press, 2006.