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# History and Hagiography in Matthew Paris's Illustrated Life of Edward the Confessor

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FLORIDA STATE UNIVERSITY  
COLLEGE OF VISUAL ARTS, THEATRE AND DANCE

HISTORY AND HAGIOGRAPHY IN MATTHEW PARIS'S ILLUSTRATED  
LIFE OF EDWARD THE CONFESSOR

By

DEIRDRE ANNE CARTER

A Thesis submitted to the  
Department of Art History  
in partial fulfillment of the  
requirements for the degree of  
Master of Arts

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## ABSTRACT

In the mid-thirteenth century, the English monk, author, and artist Matthew Paris produced a rich collection of illustrated manuscripts. Although he is best known for his historical chronicles, Matthew also wrote and illustrated several saints' lives, including those of Saint Alban, Edward the Confessor, and Thomas Becket. The existing copies of these works reveal that Matthew frequently infused his saints' lives with additional historical material, blurring the lines between history and hagiography. This thesis focuses on the *Life of Edward the Confessor* (Cambridge, University Library, MS Ee.3.59) and explores the way in which Matthew visually represents the lengthy historical sequences that he has added to the more traditional account of the saint. I argue that these additions have a significant impact on the narrative and that they suggest that Matthew had an unusual understanding of how history and hagiography relate to one another. I begin with an exploration of the differing approaches that Matthew took in the illustration of his saints' lives as opposed to his chronicles and demonstrate that Matthew decorated both types of manuscripts with innovative images that were tailored to suit their accompanying texts. I then investigate the nature of Matthew's alterations to his *Life of Edward the Confessor* and argue that these historical additions provide a contextual frame for the hagiographic narrative by placing Edward's saintly life within the broader context of English history. Furthermore, I suggest that Matthew carefully designed the illustrations of this historical material in order to present his intended reader, Queen Eleanor of Provence, with a very special manuscript that suited her age, lineage, and status as an influential woman. I argue that Matthew's historical additions created a narrative that was not only spiritually affective, but also entertaining, educational, and representative of contemporary changes in the notion of both history and sainthood.



# CHAPTER ONE

## INTRODUCTION

In the mid-thirteenth century, Matthew Paris, a Benedictine monk at the English Abbey of St. Albans, produced a rich collection of illustrated manuscripts. In addition to his well-known historical chronicles, Matthew is credited with having written and illustrated several narrative manuscripts, including the hagiographic accounts of Edward the Confessor, Thomas Becket, and Saint Alban. Examination of the existing copies of these works reveals that Matthew frequently infused his saints' lives with additional historical material, creating a remarkable fusion of history and hagiography. Although these blended narratives are crucial to the understanding of Matthew's unusual role as the author and artist of both chronicles and saints' lives, scholars have yet to examine fully the importance of the historical material that Matthew has added to his hagiographies and the way that these additions are represented within the pictorial narrative. This thesis will focus on the Life of Edward the Confessor (Fig. 1; Cambridge, University Library, MS Ee.3.59) and explore the ways in which Matthew visually represents the lengthy historical sequences that he has added to the text and which provide a contextual frame for his hagiographic narrative. I will argue that these alterations to the more traditional account of Edward's saintly life affect the narrative in significant ways and demonstrate that Matthew had an unusual understanding of how history and hagiography relate to one another. Drawing comparisons from the text of the life and from the illustrations in his other narrative manuscripts and chronicles, I will consider the importance of Matthew's historical additions to the Life of Edward the Confessor as well as his conception of history, hagiography, and the ways in which these two genres could be visually represented to meet the needs of his audience.

Matthew's renown is based largely upon his work as a writer of historical chronicles. Shortly after the death of the St. Albans chronicler Roger Wendover in 1236, Matthew began recording historical events for the abbey, a task that he continued until his own death in 1259. In addition to writing the *Chronica Majora*, "one of the fullest and most elaborate of all medieval chronicles," as well as a number of shorter historical texts, Matthew used his status as the abbey's chronicler to establish relationships with many notable figures, including King Henry

III.<sup>1</sup> Matthew's talents, however, were not restricted to the writing of Latin historical texts. He also penned several narratives, including the Anglo-Norman verse lives of Edward the Confessor, Saint Alban, and Thomas Becket.<sup>2</sup> Furthermore, Matthew illustrated nearly all of his manuscripts with tinted line drawings, and he was among the first writers to place images within a historical text.<sup>3</sup> Although he was once thought to have produced these manuscripts while serving as the master of a large scriptorium at St. Albans, scholars now consider Matthew to have been an eccentric but gifted amateur who worked alone.<sup>4</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> Richard Vaughan, *Matthew Paris* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1958), 11, 13, 232; and Suzanne Lewis, *The Art of Matthew Paris in the Chronica Majora* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1987), 3-4, 8-9, 474 n. 11. Henry III seems to have been a friend as well as a professional contact. In 1257, Henry spent a week at St. Albans and even invited Matthew to the royal table and into the king's chambers so that they could continue their conversation. See Lewis, *Art of Matthew Paris*, 5.

<sup>2</sup> Matthew also wrote a Latin Life of Stephen Langton as well as a Latin Life of Edmund Rich, which he later translated into Anglo-Norman. Unfortunately, the surviving copies of these texts are not illustrated. For a transcription of the existing fragments of the Life of Stephen Langton, see "Vita Sancti Stephani Archiepiscopi Cantuariensis," in *Ungedruckte Anglo-Normannische Geschichtsquellen*, ed. F. Liebermann (Ridgewood, NJ: Gregg Press, 1966), 323-329. For a translation of the Latin Life of Edmund Rich, see Matthew Paris, *The Life of St Edmund*, trans. and ed. C. H. Lawrence (Oxford: Alan Sutton, 1996). For a transcription of the Anglo-Norman version, see "La Vie de Saint Edmond, Archevêque de Cantorbéry," ed. A. T. Baker, *Romania* 55 (1929): 332-381. An overview of these works and how they fit into Matthew's oeuvre of hagiographies can be found in Vaughan, *Matthew Paris*, 159-181. Another important illustrated narrative is Matthew's *Vitae duorum Offarum* (London, British Library, MS Cotton Nero D.i), which relates the story of the two kings who were said to have played a role in the foundation of St. Albans Abbey. Nevertheless, this story is neither hagiographic nor, in many ways, historical and is thus outside of the scope of this thesis. See Cynthia Hahn, "The Limits of Text and Image? Matthew Paris's Final Project, the *Vitae duorum Offarum*, as a Historical Romance," in *Excavating the Image: Manuscripts, Artists, Audiences: Essays in Honor of Sandra Hindman*, ed. David S. Areford and Nina A. Rowe (Burlington, VT: Ashgate, 2004).

<sup>3</sup> Lewis, *Art of Matthew Paris*, 36-37; and Nigel Morgan, *Early Gothic Manuscripts (I), 1190-1250* (London: Harvey Miller, 1982), 24-24, 28. Matthew's use of tinted drawings is characteristic of his general tendency to favor English styles and attitudes. The Anglo-Saxons employed tinted line drawings as early as the tenth century. The popularity of this style during the thirteenth century is often associated with Matthew, but he was certainly not solely responsible for its revival during this time. See Morgan, *Early Gothic Manuscripts (I)*, 28.

<sup>4</sup> George Henderson, "Studies in English Manuscript Illumination, Parts I and II," *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes* 30 (1967): 111-112; Morgan, *Early Gothic Manuscripts (I)*, 30-31; and Cynthia Hahn, *Portrayed on the Heart: Narrative Effect in Pictorial Lives of Saints from the Tenth through the Thirteenth Century* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2001), 283. For instance, several of the contemporary illustrated Apocalypse manuscripts were once attributed to Matthew and his "School of St. Albans," but the notion that he collaborated with other artists or that there was a large scriptorium at the monastery has since been dismissed. For a discussion, see Nigel Morgan, *Early Gothic Manuscripts (II), 1250-1285* (London: Harvey Miller, 1988), 12-13.

Early in his career, Matthew wrote and illustrated a Life of Edward the Confessor.<sup>5</sup> Unfortunately, his autograph manuscript has been lost, but most scholars agree that Cambridge University Library, MS Ee.3.59, produced between 1255 and 1260, presents a later copy, and indeed the only surviving copy, of Matthew's original work.<sup>6</sup> This manuscript's Anglo-Norman poem, entitled *La Estoire de Seint Aedward le Rei*, and the design of its sixty-four framed and tinted line drawings were first attributed to Matthew by M. R. James based on similarities to the images and texts found in Matthew's other manuscripts.<sup>7</sup> In addition, the writer of the *Estoire* claims responsibility for both translating and illustrating the text, and given the rarity of a single individual performing both of these tasks during the Middle Ages, this statement provides further support for James's argument.<sup>8</sup> More recent studies have almost unanimously accepted this attribution, although Nigel Morgan argues that scholars have been too eager to attribute such

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<sup>5</sup> The flyleaf of the Life of Saint Alban contains a note in Matthew's handwriting that mentions that he wrote and illustrated a Life of Edward the Confessor. See M. R. James, *La Estoire de Seint Aedward le Rei* (Oxford: Roxburghe Club, 1920), 20-21.

<sup>6</sup> For examples of arguments in favor of Matthew's creation of the manuscript upon which the Cambridge Life of Edward the Confessor is based, see Vaughan, *Matthew Paris*, 168-178; Henderson, "English Manuscript Illumination," 81, 85; Kathryn Young Wallace, introduction to *La Estoire de Seint Aedward le Rei* (London: Anglo-Norman Text Society, 1983), xvii-xxi; Lewis, *Art of Matthew Paris*, 476 n. 41; Suzanne Lewis, *Reading Images: Narrative Discourse and Reception in the Thirteenth-Century Illuminated Apocalypse* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995), 37; Paul Binski, "Reflections on *La Estoire de Seint Aedward le Rei*: Hagiography and Kingship in Thirteenth-Century England," *Journal of Medieval History* 16 (1990): 333-340; Paul Binski, *Westminster Abbey and the Plantagenets: Kingship and the Representation of Power, 1200-1400* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1995), 58; Paul Binski, "Abbot Berkyng's Tapestries and Matthew Paris's Life of St Edward the Confessor," *Archaeologia* 109 (1991): 92; Hahn, *Portrayed on the Heart*, 285, 392 n. 24-25; Victoria B. Jordan, "The Multiple Narratives of Matthew Paris' *Estoire de Seint Aedward le Rei*: Cambridge, University Library MS Ee.iii.59," *Parergon* 13, no. 2 (1996): 77-78; Françoise Laurent, "'A ma matere pas n'apent de vus dire...': *La Estoire de seint Aedward le rei* de Matthieu Paris ou la 'conjointure' de deux écritures," *Revue des Sciences Humaines* 251 (1998): 125; D. A. Carpenter, "King Henry III and Saint Edward the Confessor: The Origins of the Cult," *English Historical Review* 122 (2007): 885-886; Thelma S. Fenster and Jocelyn Wogan-Browne, introduction to *The History of Saint Edward the King*, by Matthew Paris (Tempe: Arizona Center for Medieval and Renaissance Studies, 2008), 25-26. The entire manuscript may be viewed online through the Cambridge University Library website at <http://www.lib.cam.ac.uk/MSS/Ee.3.59>.

<sup>7</sup> James, *La Estoire*, 17-34. Originally, this manuscript probably contained sixty-six images. A break in the text indicates that folio 35 is now missing, but it would almost certainly have been illustrated on both sides. For a list of all sixty-four remaining miniatures, see Appendix A of this thesis.

<sup>8</sup> According to Thelma S. Fenster and Jocelyn Wogan-Browne, the text reads: "Now I pray you, noble King Edward, to remember me, a sinner who has translated your story from Latin into French as my intelligence and skill allowed, so that the memory of you may be spread about. For laypeople who do not know how to read, I have also represented your story in illustrations in this very same book, because I want the eyes to see what the ears hear." See Matthew Paris, *The History of Saint Edward the King*, trans. Thelma S. Fenster and Jocelyn Wogan-Browne (see note 6), lines 3955-3966. This thesis will rely primarily on Fenster and Wogan-Browne's English translation (hereafter cited as *History of Saint Edward*) but will provide line numbers to facilitate consultation of the original Anglo-Norman in *La Estoire de Seint Aedward le Rei*, ed. Kathryn Young Wallace (see note 6).

works to Matthew and suggests that the *Estoire* originated in a Westminster or London workshop rather than at St. Albans.<sup>9</sup> Although this thesis accepts the many convincing arguments in favor of Matthew's responsibility for the original text and design of the pictorial cycle, the style and "royal character" of the Cambridge manuscript's miniatures do, in fact, suggest that the surviving copy was produced in Westminster or London, possibly for Edward I's queen, Eleanor of Castile.<sup>10</sup> The *Estoire's* dedication, however, states that the text and illustrations were originally made for her mother-in-law, Eleanor of Provence, who married Henry III in 1236. Matthew may have produced his original manuscript for this Provençal queen in order to commemorate her marriage, and evidence from the *Chronica Majora* suggests that he may have even attended the wedding.<sup>11</sup>

The other manuscripts under consideration have been dated and attributed to Matthew with varying degrees of certainty. The two main volumes of his most detailed historical work,

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<sup>9</sup> Nigel Morgan, "Matthew Paris, St Albans, London, and the Leaves of the 'Life of St Thomas Becket,'" *The Burlington Magazine* 130 (Feb. 1988): 95-96. Morgan reaches this conclusion by questioning the similarities of text, format, and size between the Life of Edward the Confessor and Matthew's other manuscripts and by suggesting a different translation of the passage from the *Estoire* that mentions the author's dual role. Morgan suggests that the translator of the *Estoire* states that he is presenting the images rather than claiming that he drew them. The original lines read: "Or vus pri, gentilz rois Aedward, / K'a moi pecchur eiez regard / Ki ai translaté du latin / Sulum mun sen e mun engin / En franceis la vostre estoire, / Ke se espanse ta memoire, / E pur lais ki de lettrure / Ne se vent, en purtraiture / Figuree apertement / L'ai en cest livret present, / Pur ço ke desir e voil / Ke oraille ot, voient li oil." See *Seint Aedward*, lines 3955-3966; and Morgan, "Matthew Paris," 85 n. 4. Binski later reassessed Morgan's conclusions, arguing that Morgan's article presents "a welcome corrective to too uncritical an acceptance of Matthew's influence," but Binski ultimately concludes that James's attribution is correct. See Binski, "Abbot Berkyng's Tapestries," 90-95. It is also worth noting that an earlier publication by Morgan and Richard Marks states that the Cambridge manuscript was based on an earlier copy by Matthew, and Morgan's more recent essay on the Trinity Apocalypse states that the text of the *Estoire* was probably originally written by Matthew. See Richard Marks and Nigel Morgan, *The Golden Age of English Manuscript Painting, 1200-1500* (New York: George Braziller, 1981), 15; and Nigel Morgan, "Illustrated Apocalypses of Mid-Thirteenth-Century England: Historical Context, Patronage and Readership," in *The Trinity Apocalypse*, ed. David McKitterick (London: British Library, 2005), 15.

<sup>10</sup> Binski, "Reflections," 335, 340; Binski, *Westminster Abbey*, 61; Binski, "Abbot Berkyng's Tapestries," 96-97; Fenster and Wogan-Browne, introduction, 27-28; and Morgan, *Early Gothic Manuscripts (II)*, cat. 123; Laurent, "*La Estoire*," 128 n. 13; Lewis, *Reading Images*, 37. Eleanor of Castile's wardrobe accounts indicate that she owned a Life of Edward the Confessor as well as a Life of Thomas Becket, and Matthew is known to have produced hagiographic accounts of both of these saints. See John Carmi Parsons, *The Court and Household of Eleanor of Castile in 1290* (Toronto: Pontifical Institute of Medieval Studies, 1977), 13.

<sup>11</sup> *History of Saint Edward*, lines 49-54; Wallace, introduction, xxi-xxiii; Vaughan, *Matthew Paris*, 2-3; and Lewis, *Art of Matthew Paris*, 9. Vaughan notes that the *Chronica Majora's* description of this event suggests that he was an eyewitness, and Matthew's later relationship with Henry III and other notable figures indicates that this may be true. Wallace attributes the original text and illustrations to 1236-1245, and other important Westminster events during this period for which Matthew's autograph copy may have been produced include the translation of Edward's body in 1241 and Henry III's restoration of Westminster Abbey in 1245.

the *Chronica Majora*, have been dated to the years between 1240 and the early 1250s (Cambridge, Corpus Christi College, MSS 26 and 16). With only a few exceptions, the one hundred and thirty tinted marginal illustrations found in these manuscripts have been attributed to Matthew's hand (Fig. 2).<sup>12</sup> The text and images in the Life of Saint Alban have also been solidly attributed to his hand, but the dating of this manuscript has ranged from the 1220s to the late 1250s (Fig. 3; Dublin, Trinity College, MS 177). Nevertheless, the Life of Saint Alban provides an important key to understanding Matthew's career because its distinctive *mise-en-page*, consisting of half-page framed miniatures set above the main text as well as an abbreviated version of the story in rubrics, is featured in each of his narrative manuscripts, including the Life of Edward the Confessor (Fig. 1).<sup>13</sup> The Life of Thomas Becket presents the biggest challenge to scholars studying Matthew Paris because only four leaves survive (Fig. 4; Private collection of the late Sir Paul Getty, Wormsley Library). Although it features the same page layout as the Alban and Edward manuscripts, it is certainly not in Matthew's hand, and unlike the Edward manuscript, there is not enough surviving textual evidence to establish a definitive attribution.<sup>14</sup>

## Statement of the Problem

In creating his Life of Edward the Confessor, Matthew departed from the more traditional account of the saint by adding a considerable amount of historical and contextual detail to the

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<sup>12</sup> Morgan, *Early Gothic Manuscripts (I)*, cat. 88. A third volume contains Matthew's *Chronica Majora* entries for 1254-1259, along with his abbreviated chronicle known as the *Historia Anglorum* (London, British Library, MS Royal 14.C.VII). Due to the short time span of this portion of the *Chronica Majora* and its fewer images, it is generally treated separately from the two manuscripts at Corpus Christi College, Cambridge. In this thesis, I will use "*Chronica Majora*" to refer to all three volumes, although I will typically draw comparisons from the Cambridge volumes. For BL, MS Royal 14.C.VII, see Morgan, *Early Gothic Manuscripts (I)*, cat. 92.

<sup>13</sup> Morgan, *Early Gothic Manuscripts (I)*, cat. 85; Vaughan, *Matthew Paris*, 177; Hahn, *Portrayed on the Heart*, 282-287; Lewis, *Art of Matthew Paris*, 384; and Florence McCulloch, "Saints Alban and Amphibalus in the Works of Matthew Paris: Dublin, Trinity College MS 177," *Speculum* 56 (1981): 785. Binski, Morgan, Hahn, and Lewis date the manuscript to the 1240s, which fits well with what is known of Matthew's life and career. The text has yet to be translated, but for transcriptions, see *La Vie de Seint Auban*, ed. Arthur Robert Harden (Oxford: Anglo-Norman Text Society, 1968); and *Vie de Seint Auban*, ed. Robert Atkinson (London: John Murray, 1876).

<sup>14</sup> Morgan, *Early Gothic Manuscripts (I)*, cat. 61; and Janet Backhouse and Christopher de Hamel, *The Becket Leaves* (London: British Library, 1988). Hahn, James, Vaughan, Henderson, Backhouse, and de Hamel all favor Matthew's authorship of the poem and design of the miniatures. Morgan questions these scholars' eagerness to attribute the Life of Thomas Becket to Matthew, arguing that it was most likely produced in London prior to 1240 and without any connection to Matthew. See Morgan, "Matthew Paris," 95-96; Vaughan, *Matthew Paris*, 168-178; Hahn, *Portrayed on the Heart*, 285; James, *La Estoire*, 28; Henderson, "Studies in English Manuscript Illumination," 79-80. For a transcription of the surviving text, see Paul M. Meyer, ed., *Fragments d'une Vie de Saint Thomas de Cantorbery* (Paris: Firmin Didot, 1885).

textual and pictorial narrative. The prominence of this historical material is not surprising considering the fact that Matthew's sources included not only the mid-twelfth-century *Vita Sancti Edwardi* written by Aelred of Rievaulx, but also a number of historical chronicles.<sup>15</sup> In fact, Paul Binski and Françoise Laurent have suggested that Matthew's decision to call his text an *estoire*, or history, rather than a *vie*, or life, is representative of the changes he made to the more traditional account of the saint.<sup>16</sup>

This manuscript opens with a series of images depicting King Edward's predecessors and the state of the kingdom before his rule. In the first eight miniatures, Edward plays a minor role in the narrative and only appears as he flees England with his mother and brother to avoid the violence of the invading Danes. The opening of folios 4v-5r begins with the peaceful arrival of the young Edward and his family in Normandy, but this scene becomes but a pause in the violent and fast-paced pictorial narrative that continues across these pages (Fig. 5). It is not until the ninth page that the more traditional account of Edward's saintly life begins, and later, after the death of Edward, Matthew returns to a more historically based narrative, omitting a number of posthumous miracles in favor of an account of the events leading to the Norman Conquest. Moreover, it is not only that Matthew has included these historical scenes, but also the way they are integrated into the larger narrative that makes this manuscript so extraordinary. Although he omits a number of the posthumous miracles included in earlier versions of the life, it is significant that the ones that he retains become woven into his added historical narrative.<sup>17</sup> Thus, a depiction of the Battle of Stamford Bridge faces a scene in which a number of people are healed at Edward's shrine, making the juxtaposition of secular and religious events very clear (Fig. 6).

Matthew's alterations to the more traditional version of the Life of Edward the Confessor change the narrative in substantive ways and suggest that he had an unusual understanding of how history and hagiography relate to one another. Despite his renown as one of the greatest medieval chroniclers and as one of the first to illustrate his historical manuscripts, scholars have

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<sup>15</sup> Wallace, introduction, xxiv-xxix; Fenster and Wogan-Browne, introduction, 41-42; and Laurent, "*La Estoire*," 126.

<sup>16</sup> Binski, *Westminster Abbey*, 57; and Laurent, "*La Estoire*," 136.

<sup>17</sup> Wallace, introduction, xxv-xxvi; and Laurent, "*La Estoire*," 148.

yet to address the relationship between the isolated marginal drawings scattered throughout his chronicles and the more dynamic illustrations that dominate the pages of his narratives (Figs. 1 and 2). My thesis will explore this issue in order to better understand the importance of Matthew's historical additions to the Life of Edward the Confessor and to gain insight into his understanding of how history and hagiography could be visually represented in ways that would satisfy the needs of his audience.

## State of the Literature

Matthew's diverse interests and many talents have generated an extensive body of literature by scholars in numerous fields of study. The most comprehensive analysis of Matthew's life and career remains the book first published by Richard Vaughan in 1958. Among Vaughan's many important contributions lies his assertion that the Life of Saint Alban, as well as the original copies of the Edward and Thomas Becket manuscripts, should indeed be attributed to Matthew.<sup>18</sup> Morgan's two-volume catalog of early Gothic manuscripts from the British Isles also provides a wealth of information on Matthew's career and includes a detailed entry for each of the manuscripts with which he is associated.<sup>19</sup>

More recently, scholars like Binski, Suzanne Lewis, and Cynthia Hahn have published more specialized art historical studies. Lewis's in-depth analysis of the many images found in the margins of Matthew's *Chronica Majora* provides valuable insight into his conception of history and the way in which it may be visually represented. Lewis, however, only briefly discusses the relationship between these images and those in the Life of Saint Alban, and she gives even less attention to Matthew's other narrative manuscripts.<sup>20</sup> Binski considers the Life of Edward the Confessor in several studies, one of which argues that Matthew updated previous versions of the narrative in order to provide Henry III with a model of proper kingship. Significantly, Binski has also noted that the manuscript's "fundamental character and strength as a narrative lie in its being both hagiography and chronicle, *vita* and *res gestae*."<sup>21</sup> Hahn has addressed each of

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<sup>18</sup> Vaughan, *Matthew Paris*, 46-48, 176. This book was reissued with a supplementary bibliography in 1979.

<sup>19</sup> Morgan, *Early Gothic Manuscripts (I)*, 30-31, and cat. nos. 61, 85, 87, 88, 89, 92; and Morgan, *Early Gothic Manuscripts (II)*, cat. no. 123.

<sup>20</sup> Lewis, *Art of Matthew Paris*, 109, 385.

<sup>21</sup> Binski, "Abbot Berkyng's Tapestries," 92. Also see Binski, *Westminster Abbey*, 50-94; and Binski, "Reflections."

Matthew's narrative manuscripts in her work and has also argued that they provided a guide to proper courtly behavior. In her book on illustrated saints' lives, Hahn argues that Matthew saw hagiography not as a record of events like a chronicle, but as a "medium endowed with the power of persuasion."<sup>22</sup> She suggests that Matthew sought not only favor from the court, but also his audience's belief in the authenticity of his narratives, which he attempted to secure by including details such as the text of important documents and allusions to the senses. Nevertheless, despite her acknowledgement of Matthew's use of such factual details, Hahn claims that contemporary materials, such as chronicles, had a limited effect on illustrated saints' lives.<sup>23</sup> Although this statement may fairly characterize the work of most medieval hagiographers, the substantial amount of historical information that Matthew has inserted into his accounts of Edward the Confessor and Saint Alban, not to mention his renown as a historical chronicler, suggests that Matthew's understanding of the relationship between history and hagiography deserves further consideration.

Two textual studies devoted to Matthew's Life of Edward the Confessor will be especially useful in my exploration of this issue. The first is the recent translation of the Anglo-Norman text published by Thelma S. Fenster and Jocelyn Wogan-Browne, which seeks to provide a more authentic reading experience than does the previous translation by considering not only the text but also the images and rubrics as integral components of the narrative.<sup>24</sup> The second publication is an article by Laurent in which she considers the literary genres that Matthew employed in writing the *Estoire*. Laurent argues that Matthew developed the historical character of previous versions of the narrative and that this meshing of history and hagiography is the work's most important contribution to hagiographic literature.<sup>25</sup> My thesis will build upon these ideas by examining the ways in which Matthew visually represents his historical additions to the *Estoire*. Because previous art historians have tended to focus on either the historical

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<sup>22</sup> Hahn, *Portrayed on the Heart*, 308. Also see Cynthia Hahn, "Proper Behavior for Knights and Kings: The Hagiography of Matthew Paris, Monk of St. Albans," *The Haskins Society Journal* 2 (1990): 237-248.

<sup>23</sup> Hahn, *Portrayed on the Heart*, 217, 307-316.

<sup>24</sup> *History of Saint Edward*. For the earlier translation, see *La Estoire de Seint Aedward le Rei*, in *Lives of Edward the Confessor*, trans. Henry Richards Luard (London: Longman, Brown, Green, Longmans, and Roberts, 1858), 161-311.

<sup>25</sup> Laurent, "La Estoire."



images in Matthew's chronicles or the hagiographic scenes in his narrative manuscripts, this study will address an important but neglected aspect of his career.

## Approach

The nature of my study requires that I use several approaches in my analysis of this issue. I will begin by examining the formal characteristics and narrative structure of the illustrations in Matthew's manuscripts. I will then focus on the Life of Edward the Confessor, exploring the nature of Matthew's alterations to previous versions of the narrative as well as the relationship between his images and their accompanying texts. Finally, I will consider the impact of Matthew's historical additions on his readers' understanding of the narrative.

The *mise-en-page* of the Life of Edward the Confessor and Matthew's other narrative manuscripts has a great effect on how these stories are understood (Fig. 1). The placement of the large horizontal images at the top of each folio creates a continuous and lively pictorial narrative that unfolds as the viewer's eyes move from page to page. In addition, Matthew divides many of these framed images into two or even three smaller scenes that create an "almost cinematic" experience.<sup>26</sup> By comparison, the illustrations found scattered throughout the margins of the *Chronica Majora* seem both more isolated and more static than those in his narratives (Fig. 2). Whereas the Life of Edward the Confessor relates a narrative by depicting a series of related and sequential events side-by-side, Matthew's marginal drawings sometimes conflate multiple actions into a single image that stands for an entire story. The difference between the narrative structure of Matthew's saints' lives and that of his chronicles sheds light on his understanding of history and hagiography, but these differences also make the narrativity of the historical images in the Life of Edward the Confessor all the more significant.

Comparison of Matthew's hagiographic manuscripts with earlier textual and pictorial versions of these narratives demonstrates the degree to which he emphasized the historical aspects of each saint's life. Furthermore, a word-and-image analysis of the Life of Edward the Confessor reveals that Matthew sometimes represents these historical additions differently in the pictures than he does in the text. Further complicating this issue is the combination on each page of image, poetic narrative, and rubric—three distinct sign systems that present the reader with

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<sup>26</sup> Hahn, *Portrayed on the Heart*, 285; Suzanne Lewis, "Narrative," in *A Companion to Medieval Art*, ed. Rudolph Conrad (Oxford: Blackwell Publishing, 2006), 93.

three slightly different versions of the narrative, which may be read separately or simultaneously.<sup>27</sup> Matthew's unusual role as both the author and the artist of the *Estoire* probably accounts for the generally complementary relationship between the two written texts and the narrative images, but this also makes it possible to reevaluate the significance of their differences. At times, the pictorial narrative reveals subtle but important shifts in attitude that have a significant impact on the way in which historical events are visually presented and explained to the viewer.

Matthew's dedication of his *Estoire* to Eleanor of Provence allows for a more thorough exploration of the impact of his historical additions on the audience's understanding of the narrative. In the hands of this foreign young woman, the Life of Edward the Confessor would have provided an accessible textual and pictorial introduction to the country in which she now reigned as queen. Furthermore, the subtle discrepancies between the texts and the images reflect conflicting attitudes regarding the politics of the Norman Conquest, and given the momentous importance of this event to the legitimacy and power of the Anglo-Norman aristocracy, the purpose and possible reception of these differences deserves further investigation. In addition, consideration of contemporary changes in the notions of both history and sanctity reveal that Matthew's historical additions to the Life of Edward the Confessor were part of larger trends, and the impact of Matthew's participation in these trends must be addressed more fully.

Consideration of Matthew's other manuscripts will provide greater insight into his conception of the relationship between history and hagiography. His chronicles demonstrate that visions, miracles, and other supernatural events played a significant role in his understanding of history, and each of his illustrated narratives reveals the various ways in which he was able to incorporate historical material into new kinds of stories.<sup>28</sup> In addition to the Life of Edward the Confessor, the Life of Saint Alban is particularly useful for this analysis because of Matthew's decision to continue the hagiographic narrative with a long series of images detailing the foundation of the monastery (Fig. 7). Although much of my comparative material will come from Matthew's narrative manuscripts and chronicles, I will also examine earlier illustrated saints' lives and histories in order to place Matthew's images within a broader art historical context.

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<sup>27</sup> Jordan, "Multiple Narratives," 79.

<sup>28</sup> Lewis, *Art of Matthew Paris*, 291.

## Outline of Chapters

This thesis consists of five chapters. Following this introduction, Chapters Two, Three, and Four will each address a specific aspect of Matthew's visual representation of both history and hagiography, and Chapter Five will offer a brief conclusion.

Chapter Two discusses the formal characteristics and narrative structure of Matthew's illustrations. I will consider the size, placement, and composition of the images in his narrative manuscripts as well as those in his historical chronicles. Furthermore, I will address relationships between images within individual manuscripts and explore the differing approaches that Matthew took in the creation of his narratives as opposed to his chronicles. Consideration of earlier illustrated hagiographies and histories demonstrates that Matthew employed a number of innovative artistic and narrative techniques in his illustration of each genre. I will argue that these innovations have a significant impact on how his manuscripts relay information to the reader but also that, in the end, both his chronicles and saints' lives have been illustrated with pictorial cycles that are appropriate to their respective accompanying texts.

Chapter Three focuses on Matthew's historical additions to the Life of Edward the Confessor. Using other pictorial accounts of Edward's life and the text written by Aelred as a basis for comparison, I will consider the nature of Matthew's alterations to the received narrative and demonstrate that this added historical material has a significant impact on the story presented by both the images and the texts. I will then explore the similarities and differences in his representation of these additions within the illustrations, the poem, and the rubrics in order to understand Matthew's conception of the possibilities of both verbal and pictorial narratives. At times, the discrepancy between the written texts and the images has a significant impact on the historical narrative, and I will examine these instances and suggest that when compared to the text, the miniatures in the Life of Edward the Confessor present a more English, as opposed to Anglo-Norman, view of history.

Chapter Four considers the audience of the Life of Edward the Confessor and explores the effect of Matthew's historical additions on his readers' understanding of the narrative. Because Matthew's manuscript was produced for members of the Anglo-Norman aristocracy, it is possible to consider how this manuscript was meant to function. I will consider the possibility that Matthew hoped to present his readers, most likely young aristocratic women from abroad, with a brief overview of English history and to depict these events in a way that would be both

edifying and entertaining. Nevertheless, the pictorial narrative's presentation of the Norman Conquest in a way that is more sympathetic to the Anglo-Saxons must be reconsidered in light of the manuscript's Anglo-Norman and aristocratic readers, but I will suggest that even this aspect of the historical narrative was designed with Eleanor in mind. Exploration of contemporary changes in the notion of sanctity and the nature of historical writing and illustration will show that Matthew's *Life of Edward the Confessor* also provided Eleanor with an especially cohesive historical narrative as well as a powerful and authentic example of English sanctity.

In Chapter Five, I will summarize the preceding chapters and offer some final thoughts about how Matthew's narrative manuscripts reveal his conception of the relationship between history and hagiography. Finally, I will conclude with a discussion of how my study contributes to the study of Matthew Paris, his manuscripts, and thirteenth-century manuscript illumination more generally and suggest some potential avenues for future research.

## CHAPTER TWO

### FORM AND FUNCTION IN ILLUSTRATED HISTORIES AND HAGIOGRAPHIES

The twelfth and thirteenth centuries witnessed important developments in the illustration of English manuscripts. Although this period marks the transition from Romanesque to Gothic art, other, though perhaps less visible, changes also profoundly affected the production of illustrated books. Indeed, even the artists themselves changed, and the calling of the monastic craftsman became the livelihood of the lay illuminator.<sup>1</sup> The types of manuscripts selected for artistic embellishment also shifted. In the decades immediately following the intense political and cultural upheaval of the Norman Conquest, the production of religious narrative art seems to have ceased altogether. Such pictorial cycles, often in the form of saints' lives, began to reappear in the 1120s, but the illuminators of these manuscripts lacked a firm tradition upon which to base their own illustrations, resulting in a variety of interpretations as to how narrative imagery should be employed.<sup>2</sup> Drawings also began to appear in historical chronicles, which had previously been considered unworthy of the costly and time-consuming artistic treatment accorded to Bibles and other religious manuscripts. Although a few historical illustrations may be found in manuscripts dating to as early as the 1130s, they did not become common until the fourteenth century, by which time bookmakers had begun to incorporate narrative historical illustrations into vernacular histories at the request of lay readers.<sup>3</sup>

Consideration of Matthew Paris's illustrated manuscripts within the context of these changes allows for a more accurate assessment of his contribution to English manuscript

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<sup>1</sup> Jonathan J. G. Alexander, *Medieval Illuminators and their Methods of Work* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1992), 95; and Morgan, *Early Gothic Manuscripts (I)*, 14 and 27-28. Morgan notes that although Gothic architecture emerged in the earlier twelfth century, the transition from Romanesque to Gothic manuscript illumination occurred in the late twelfth and early thirteenth centuries. He also identifies this period as the time in which the production of most manuscripts moved from the monastic scriptorium to the lay workshop.

<sup>2</sup> Otto Pächt, *The Rise of Pictorial Narrative in Twelfth-Century England* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1962), 12-14; and Lewis, *Reading Images*, 37.

<sup>3</sup> Beryl Smalley, *Historians in the Middle Ages* (New York: Scribner, 1974), 174-175; D. J. A. Ross, "Illustrated Manuscripts of Orosius," *Scriptorium* 9 (1955): 35-56; and Lewis, *Art of Matthew Paris*, 35-39.

illumination. Hahn devotes the final chapter of her book on illustrated saints' lives to a discussion of Matthew Paris, demonstrating that although he represents the end of the dominance of Benedictine models of sanctity and of the tradition of monastic book production, he also marks the emergence of new and innovative ideas about the possibilities of hagiographic and narrative art.<sup>4</sup> Lewis and other scholars have attributed a similar significance to Matthew's illustrated chronicles, concluding that even though he was certainly not the first to decorate a Latin historical text with images, his incorporation of such an extensive cycle of illustrations into the *Chronica Majora* was groundbreaking.<sup>5</sup> Nevertheless, despite Matthew's unusual status as both the writer and illustrator of not only chronicles, but also narrative manuscripts, scholars have yet to explore the relationship between these two facets of his artistic career.

This chapter will begin with an overview of earlier examples of English illustrated saints' lives and histories, followed by a discussion of Matthew's departure from these precedents. I will then explore the relationship between the images in his narrative manuscripts and those in his chronicles in order to shed light on the ways in which he approached the pictorial cycles in these two types of manuscripts differently. As I will demonstrate, Matthew's artistic innovations have a significant impact on how his manuscripts relay information to the reader, but, ultimately, he has illustrated both types of manuscripts with pictorial cycles that suit the function of their accompanying texts.

### **Earlier Illustrated Saints' Lives and Histories**

The earliest post-Conquest cycle of religious narrative images exists in an illustrated copy of the Life of Saint Cuthbert that was produced in Durham around 1120 (Oxford, University College, MS 165). This manuscript features fifty-five unframed colored outline drawings that are set within the text to mark chapter divisions, and because the chapter length determines the placement of these images, nearly all of the illustrations are separated from one another by several pages of text.<sup>6</sup> As Otto Pächt has shown, however, many of these images are able to stand

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<sup>4</sup> Hahn, *Portrayed on the Heart*, 282-317.

<sup>5</sup> Lewis, *Art of Matthew Paris*, 37; Smalley, *Historians*, 174; and Morgan, *Early Gothic Manuscripts (I)*, 138.

<sup>6</sup> C. M. Kauffmann, *Romanesque Manuscripts 1066-1190* (London: Harvey Miller, 1975), 66-67; and Pächt, *Pictorial Narrative*, 14. Kauffmann's list of the images included in this manuscript indicates that there are only five instances in which illustrations are placed on consecutive pages. Assuming that the pagination begins on the recto of the first folio, only two openings feature facing images.

alone as mini-narratives. For instance, the illustration in which Cuthbert prophesies that an eagle will bring food depicts the saint reassuring his companion, who is shown again on the right side of the image, this time snatching a huge fish from the claws of the bird whose arrival had just been predicted by Cuthbert (Fig. 8). Therefore, despite the physical separation between the image on one page and that on another page, many of the individual illustrations create a small narrative unit in which two separate moments are locked in a causal relationship with one another. The success of these mini-narratives is notable, for, as Pächt notes, “the history of narrative art is indeed but a series of repeated attempts to smuggle the time factor into a medium which by definition lacks the dimension of time.”<sup>7</sup>

A second illustrated Life of Saint Cuthbert, which dates to the late twelfth century, demonstrates the degree to which artists of this period were still experimenting with earlier models (London, British Library, MS Yates Thompson 26).<sup>8</sup> Like those in the Oxford Life of Saint Cuthbert, each of the miniatures in this manuscript is placed at the beginning of a chapter of Bede’s text and typically without a facing image, but despite the fact that the earlier manuscript was probably available to the Durham artist who created this later version, the two pictorial cycles are actually quite different.<sup>9</sup> The later manuscript features forty-six lavishly painted and framed full-page illuminations, each of which represents a single moment in time. The scene depicting the eagle’s arrival now shows Cuthbert’s companion only once as he listens

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<sup>7</sup> Pächt, *Pictorial Narrative*, 1, 14-15. Pächt suggests that in images such as this one, a single representation of the saint serves as a link between two different moments in time, thus demonstrating Cuthbert’s role as an agent of change. Hahn disagrees with Pächt’s interpretation, arguing that he ascribes this temporal shift to “artistic magic,” when it really lies only within the mind of the viewer. See Hahn, *Portrayed on the Heart*, 46-47.

<sup>8</sup> Morgan, *Early Gothic Manuscripts (I)*, 57-59; and Dominic Marner, *St Cuthbert: His Life and Cult in Medieval Durham* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2000), 39. Morgan dates the manuscript to c. 1200, but Marner has recently dated it to the 1180s.

<sup>9</sup> Francis Wormald, “Some Illustrated Manuscripts of the Lives of the Saints,” in *Francis Wormald: Collected Writings*, ed. J. J. G. Alexander, T. J. Brown, and Joan Gibbs (London: Harvey Miller, 1984), 51; Marner, *St Cuthbert*, 41-44; and Pächt, *Pictorial Narrative*, 20-21. There are only six instances in which two illuminations face one another. Four of these openings depict two separate scenes from a single chapter where the first image depicts an action whose consequence is then shown on the facing page. A fifth instance occurs within the prefatory material, where a portrait of Cuthbert faces an image of Bede, another instance of related images, but of subject and author rather than of narrative. The sixth occurrence, two images taken from separate chapters (24 and 25) of the text, do not relate to one another. For an English translation of Bede’s text, see Bertram Colgrave, *Two Lives of Saint Cuthbert: A Life by an Anonymous Monk of Lindisfarne and Bede’s Prose Life* (1940; repr. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1985).

to the saint's instructions to cut the fish in half so the eagle may eat its share (Fig. 9).<sup>10</sup> Because the images in both of these manuscripts are located within a few pages of their accompanying textual passages, readers were probably able to identify the scenes and moments depicted in the miniatures without much difficulty, but the audience of the illustrated Life of Saint Edmund that dates to around 1130 may have found such a task more difficult (New York, Pierpont Morgan Library, M. 736). Although this manuscript, like the later Life of Saint Cuthbert, features framed full-page painted illuminations, all thirty-two images are placed on facing pages that precede the written narrative and form what Lewis has called a "pictorial *vita* without a text" (Fig. 10).<sup>11</sup> Furthermore, discrepancies between these miniatures and the text that immediately follows may indicate that this pictorial cycle was designed to accompany a different version of the life and possibly even a different manuscript altogether, but the inexact correspondence between the text and the images does not prevent the illuminations from succeeding as a visual narrative.<sup>12</sup> A number of the miniatures use repetition and other narrative devices to indicate the passage of time from one moment to the next. For example, in Figure 10, the left page depicts the Danish invader, Ingvar, as he orders his messenger to visit Edmund and demand that he surrender, and the facing illumination shows Edmund seated on his throne as he refuses the Dane's request. Although the physical setting has changed, the repetition of the messenger and the way that the two principal characters stare at one another from opposite sides of the manuscript's gutter alerts the viewer to the presence of a progression of related events.<sup>13</sup>

The extensive narrative cycles that decorate the pages of these saints' lives provide a stark contrast to the doodles and sketches that were occasionally drawn in the margins of contemporary historical manuscripts. Nevertheless, the earliest English chronicle to receive

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<sup>10</sup> Morgan, *Early Gothic Manuscripts (I)*, 57-58; and Marner, *St Cuthbert*, 41, 72.

<sup>11</sup> Lewis, "Narrative," 93; and Kauffmann, *Romanesque Manuscripts*, 72-73.

<sup>12</sup> Elizabeth Parker McLachlan, *The Scriptorium of Bury St. Edmunds in the Twelfth Century* (New York: Garland Publishing, 1986), 78. McLachlan notes the possibility that the images were made for a different manuscript, but she indicates that it is more likely that they were designed for inclusion in this manuscript but based on the late eleventh-century *vita* inscribed at the end of the manuscript rather than for the twelfth-century text that follows the pictorial cycle. As shown by Oleg Grabar, viewers must already have some familiarity with a story in order to fully understand its depiction in a purely visual format, but the narrative devices in the Life of Saint Edmund would have made this process easier, allowing a viewer with even a minor understanding of the story to follow the narrative. See Grabar, "History of Art and History of Literature: Some Random Thoughts," *New Literary History* 3 (1972): 564.

<sup>13</sup> Lewis, "Narrative," 91-93.



artistic embellishment presents a short series of illustrations whose dominance over the text would not be surpassed for well over a century. The chronicle written by Florence and John of Worcester in the 1130s includes four drawings that are arranged in two registers on two facing pages (Fig. 11; Oxford, Corpus Christi College, MS 157). Each register illustrates one of Henry I's dreams, and in three of the images, the king's royal physician, Grimbald, appears to the left and describes the dream that is depicted in that register.<sup>14</sup> A note in the manuscript indicates that the illustrations were executed before the text, forcing the scribe to squash the words into the margins and the spaces between the drawings.<sup>15</sup> The fact that these images are so elaborate and were part of the original design of the manuscript, however, makes them quite exceptional, and one must look to manuscripts like the late twelfth- or early thirteenth-century copy of Henry of Huntingdon's *Historia Anglorum* to see a more typical example of early historical illustration (London, British Library, MS Arundel 48).<sup>16</sup> In contrast to the four large and colorful images in the Worcester chronicle, this manuscript includes only one small drawing placed in the lower margin beneath the text it illustrates (Fig. 12). Although the crowns and shields of the knights in the image bear the traces of a colored wash, this isolated *bas-de-page* drawing appears to have been something of an afterthought; the men's helmets touch the bottom line of text, and the scene stretches awkwardly up the left margin of the page.<sup>17</sup> Drawings like this one represent an important stage in the development of historical manuscript illustration and serve as a helpful basis for understanding the extensive series of images that Matthew would later place in the margins of his own chronicles.

Although illustrated historical and hagiographic manuscripts undoubtedly influenced Matthew's artistic endeavors, other types of art may have also helped shape his understanding of how images could be used to depict narratives. Indeed, it is the secular embroidery known as the

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<sup>14</sup> George Zarnecki, Janet Holt, and Tristram Holland, eds., *English Romanesque Art 1066-1200* (London: Widenfeld and Nicolson in association with the Arts Council of Great Britain, 1984), 102; and Kauffmann, *Romanesque Manuscripts*, 87-88. Also see Michael Camille, "Seeing and Reading: Some Visual Implications of Medieval Literacy and Illiteracy," *Art History* 8 (1985): 27, 45 n. 6. Camille suggests that these illustrations depict Grimbald in the act of describing Henry I's dreams because this emphasized the "oral origins" of the story. The artist's decision to create an image of Grimbald speaking probably provided a greater sense of reliability to readers in a time when things that were seen or heard were thought to be more trustworthy than the written word.

<sup>15</sup> Kauffmann, *Romanesque Manuscripts*, 88.

<sup>16</sup> Lewis, *Art of Matthew Paris*, 37.

<sup>17</sup> *Ibid.*, 479 n. 128.

Bayeux Tapestry that presents the clearest visual and narrative comparison to the pictorial cycles that appear in Matthew's narrative manuscripts.<sup>18</sup> This 230-foot-long strip of linen depicts the last days of Edward the Confessor's life and continues with a vivid account of the Norman Conquest, a series of narrative scenes explained by brief Latin tituli (Fig. 13). The figures' gestures direct the viewer's eyes from one scene to the next, taking the audience on what Pächt has called a "conducted tour through history."<sup>19</sup> Although there is still debate over whether the Bayeux Tapestry is English or French in origin, most scholars agree that it was produced in England within a couple of decades of the events of 1066.<sup>20</sup> If true, there remains the possibility that it is the sole survival of a widespread secular English narrative tradition that has literally disintegrated over the centuries.<sup>21</sup>

Each of these examples demonstrates the degree to which Matthew's illustrations were unique and, at the same time, representative of existing traditions. The Bayeux Tapestry and the illustrated copies of the *Historia Anglorum* and the Worcester chronicle show that English artists had developed an interest in visually representing historical events, but these works also indicate that the artists were still experimenting with different formats and types of illustration. Although the drawings in the *Chronica Majora* (Fig. 14) resemble the one at the bottom of the page in

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<sup>18</sup> In discussing the Life of Saint Alban, Henderson has also noted the similarity between the "rapid flow" of Matthew's narratives and the Bayeux Tapestry. See Henderson, "English Manuscript Illumination," 77. Because this work of art is an embroidery, some scholars have suggested that the Bayeux Tapestry should, in fact, be called the Bayeux Embroidery. I refer to it as the Bayeux Tapestry because this is the name by which it is best known. For a discussion of the issue and an argument in favor of calling it the Bayeux Embroidery, see Nicole de Reyniès, "Bayeux Tapestry or Bayeux Embroidery? Questions of Terminology," in *The Bayeux Tapestry: Embroidering the Facts of History*, eds. Pierre Bouet, François Neveux, and Brian Levy (Caen: Presses Universitaires de Caen, 2004), 69-76.

<sup>19</sup> Pächt, *Pictorial Narrative*, 10; and Shirley Ann Brown, *The Bayeux Tapestry: History and Bibliography* (Wolfeboro, NH: Boydell & Brewer, 1988), ix. For a detailed study of the narrative devices and structures in the Bayeux Tapestry, see Suzanne Lewis, *The Rhetoric of Power in the Bayeux Tapestry* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999), 1, 30-134.

<sup>20</sup> Brown, *Bayeux Tapestry*, 1, 31.

<sup>21</sup> Pächt, *Pictorial Narrative*, 11. Pächt notes that the unusual survival of this object is most likely due to its inclusion among the furnishings at Bayeux Cathedral. For an interesting discussion of the Bayeux Tapestry's incredible history from the fifteenth century to the present, see Andrew Bridgeford, *1066: The Hidden History in the Bayeux Tapestry* (New York: Walker, 2005), 26-47. Although it dates to the early eleventh century and is religious rather than historical, the Old English Hexateuch presents another example of Anglo-Saxon visual narrative. Like the Bayeux Tapestry, this manuscript is characterized by a close word-and-image relationship and "dramatic gesticulating figures," but the narrative images are placed in multiple registers and lack the pace of the Bayeux Tapestry. See Benjamin C. Withers, *The Illustrated Old English Hexateuch, Cotton Claudius B.iv: The Frontier of Seeing and Reading in Anglo-Saxon England* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2007), 63-64.

Henry of Huntingdon's *Historia Anglorum* (Fig. 12), Matthew's are certainly more detailed and colorful, even if they are a less prominent feature of the page than are those in the Worcester chronicle (Fig. 11). The sheer number of drawings in the *Chronica Majora* also distances it from other illustrated historical manuscripts and might indicate that Matthew's images function in a way similar to those of the Bayeux Tapestry, but the *Chronica Majora*'s isolated marginal drawings lack the narrativity of the embroidery's action-packed ribbon of images (Fig. 13). As mentioned, in this respect, the Bayeux Tapestry bears a stronger resemblance to the pictorial cycles in Matthew's narrative manuscripts, where scenes are placed in horizontal strips across the top of each page with explanatory tituli (Fig. 5). Although the images in the earlier Life of Saint Cuthbert often incorporate two moments into a single scene, these illustrative units, like the full-page illuminations in the later Life of Saint Cuthbert, seem to summarize the chapter that follows without necessarily working with the other images, often several pages away, to narrate a cohesive story (Figs. 8 and 9). In the Life of Saint Edmund, on the other hand, the close proximity between one image and another ensures that it is more cohesive, and the depiction of gestures, glances, and repetition further clarifies the narrative progression from one scene or moment to the next (Fig. 10). The placement of two large facing scenes on each opening, however, limits the speed with which the story may progress, whereas Matthew's narrative manuscripts sometimes display as many as five individual moments at once, allowing the viewer's eyes to scan the story more quickly (Fig. 5). As shown, this is only one of several ways in which Matthew departed from the existing models of illustration. The amount of variation among these earlier saints' lives and chronicles further suggests that he had no firmly established traditions upon which to base his own images, allowing him ample room for innovation. The impact of these departures on the relationship between the images in his chronicles and those in his narrative manuscripts, however, has yet to be explored.

### **Matthew's Illustrated Saints' Lives and Chronicles**

As mentioned, Matthew's role as a writer and illustrator of both chronicles and saints' lives presents scholars with a unique opportunity to study how a single individual in the mid-thirteenth century understood these two genres. At first glance, a comparison of Matthew's *Chronica Majora* with one of his narrative manuscripts, such as the Life of Saint Alban, might suggest that he cared much more about hagiography than he did about history. As noted by other

scholars, Matthew clearly gave his narrative manuscripts extra attention, and their illustrations are “far more mature, confident, and accomplished”<sup>22</sup> than the “much freer and sketchier” ones located in the margins of the *Chronica Majora*.<sup>23</sup> The remainder of this chapter will consider additional ways in which Matthew’s narrative and historical illustrations are both different and similar and will also address the question of how these images suit their respective accompanying texts.

Among the most noticeable differences between the images in Matthew’s narrative manuscripts and those in his chronicles is their size. The unframed drawings that dot the margins of the *Chronica Majora* are dwarfed by the large framed miniatures that dominate the pages of Matthew’s narratives. For example, in the chronicle, the scene depicting Saint Alban’s martyrdom is located in the lower margin beneath the second column of text, and although it remains a key feature of the page, this drawing is also clearly subordinate to the text above (Fig. 2). In contrast, when the same event is represented in the Life of Saint Alban, it is located prominently above the text within a tinted frame that stretches across the width of the page (Fig. 3). Upon closer inspection, it becomes clear that this version also includes additional details such as the delicate lines that carefully delineate each link in the executioner’s mail and the individual tufts of wool on the saint’s cloak (Fig. 15). Nevertheless, despite its diminutive size and lack of the finer details of the miniature from the life, the image in the *Chronica Majora* is not an insignificant and sketchy afterthought (Fig. 16). In addition to his use of tinting, Matthew’s attention to the quality and thickness of each line indicates that he considered his historical illustrations to be a significant component of his personal vision of history.

The way in which Matthew’s marginal drawings relate this history, however, is what most clearly differentiates the pictorial cycles in his chronicles from those in his narratives. As mentioned, the layout of the pages in these two types of manuscripts is fundamentally different, and this profoundly affects each set of images’ ability to function as a cohesive narrative. In the *Chronica Majora*, the images are scattered throughout the margins, and, at times, they are separated by many unillustrated pages of text, resulting in a sporadic series of images that are unable to tell a coherent story on their own. In fact, rather than relating a narrative, the drawings

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<sup>22</sup> Lewis, *Art of Matthew Paris*, 385. Also see Hahn, *Portrayed on the Heart*, 308.

<sup>23</sup> Morgan, *Early Gothic Manuscripts (I)*, 31.

in Matthew's chronicles represent separate historical events and lack a clear sense of narrativity even in one unusual opening where two images are not only placed side by side, but also depict two related events. The drawing of Alban's martyrdom does not relate to the columns of text above it (Fig. 16). Instead, Matthew placed it here to accompany the illustration on the facing page, which depicts King Offa's discovery of the saint's relics many years later (Fig. 17). Lewis notes the compositional similarities between these two drawings, arguing that the "analogues in visual structure connect events otherwise separated by almost five hundred years."<sup>24</sup>

Nevertheless, neither of these scenes employs the kinds of gestures and glances that alert the viewer to the presence of two related events, and although the two moments are related by a common subject, they do not form a narrative sequence, even though the death of Alban must take place in order for the relics to be discovered later. Another reason for their seeming independence may lie in the tendency of the images in the *Chronica Majora* to look relatively static and even iconic.<sup>25</sup> Whereas the miniatures in the Life of Saint Alban attempt to relate a narrative sequence in visual terms, the drawings in Matthew's chronicles often reduce several different moments or actions into a single image that represents the story as a whole.<sup>26</sup> For example, in his marginal illustration of Saint Alban's martyrdom, Matthew conflates the moment of the saint's grisly death with the preceding episode in which Alban miraculously caused a spring to spout water, which is represented beneath the beheading by a blue wavy line labeled *fons* (Fig. 16).<sup>27</sup> The corresponding image in the Life of Saint Alban portrays this same spring as a prominent feature of the landscape surrounded by a throng of thirsty unbelievers and reveals the degree to which Matthew has pared down this scene in order to represent both it and the martyrdom within the confines of the lower margin (Fig. 18).

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<sup>24</sup> Lewis, *Art of Matthew Paris*, 110.

<sup>25</sup> My use of the term "iconic" comes from the semiotic theories of Charles Sanders Peirce. As summed up by Mieke Bal and Norman Bryson, "the iconic is a quality of the sign in relation to its object; it is best seen as a sign capable of evoking nonexistent objects because it proposes to imagine an object similar to the sign itself." See Mieke Bal and Norman Bryson, "Semiotics and Art History," *Art Bulletin* 73 (1991): 189; and Charles S. Peirce, "Logic as Semiotic: The Theory of Signs," in *Semiotics: An Introductory Anthology*, ed. Robert E. Innis (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1985), 10-12.

<sup>26</sup> Lewis, *Art of Matthew Paris*, 59.

<sup>27</sup> *Ibid.*, 107. According to Lewis, the caption that accompanies this illustration says, "Slain Alban, you tear out your executioner's eyes, and the dried-up stream gives forth a fresh spring."

Like that of the *Chronica Majora*, the *mise-en-page* of Matthew's narrative manuscripts has a significant impact on their ability to tell a cohesive story through images. Although scholars have yet to agree on the origins of his characteristic arrangement of a large miniature at the top of each page with the accompanying rubric and poetic text below, there is no question that this format enabled Matthew to pursue new forms of visual storytelling (Fig. 1).<sup>28</sup> The placement of the images within horizontal frames at the top of each folio creates a lively pictorial narrative that develops and progresses with the turning of each page, resulting in a continuous stream of images akin to that of the Bayeux Tapestry (Figs. 5 and 13). Furthermore, Matthew's decision to divide many of these miniatures into two or even three smaller frames that depict interlinked narrative scenes provides what Hahn and Lewis have described as an "almost cinematic" experience.<sup>29</sup> Whereas the *Chronica Majora* often reduces a series of events to a

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<sup>28</sup> The origin of this *mise-en-page* is a question of fundamental importance to thirteenth-century English manuscript illumination. Much of the debate centers on the controversial dating and attribution of the Life of Thomas Becket. If this manuscript is, in fact, a copy of Matthew's own illustrated Life of Thomas Becket, Matthew must be credited with the formulation of this *mise-en-page* since it first appears in this manuscript and, slightly later, in the illustrated accounts of Saint Alban and King Offa that have been attributed to Matthew's hand. In contrast, an attribution of the Life of Thomas Becket to an unknown artist working in the 1230s would indicate that this design was borrowed by Matthew, rather than invented by him. This issue is further complicated by the fact that many of the English Apocalypse manuscripts produced in the mid-thirteenth century also use this page layout. Morgan notes that his dating of the manuscript to the 1230s indicates that the saints' lives probably influenced the Apocalypses. Lewis uses a more certain dating of the Alban manuscript (c. 1245) to suggest that it is equally possible that the reverse was true, but given the fact that the Apocalypses are frequently dated to 1255-1260, Morgan's argument seems more reliable. Furthermore, Morgan also suggests that the existing copy of the *Estoire* was produced in the same workshop as the Morgan Apocalypse (New York, Pierpont Morgan Library, MS M. 524), which indicates that Matthew's earlier autograph manuscript of the Life of Edward the Confessor was present and copied within a workshop that also produced Apocalypses during the 1250s. If the *mise-en-page* did originate with Matthew, the later copying of his Life of Edward the Confessor within a London workshop could account for the transmission of the *mise-en-page* from his saints' lives to the later Apocalypses. See Morgan, *Early Gothic Manuscripts (II)*, 64, 92-93; Morgan, *Early Gothic Manuscripts (I)*, 107-108; and Lewis, *Reading Images*, 37-38. In his very thorough discussion of this entire issue, Morgan concludes that the design of the Life of Thomas Becket probably did not originate with Matthew. See Morgan, "Matthew Paris." For arguments in favor of Matthew's involvement with the Life of Thomas Becket and the design of its *mise-en-page*, see Hahn, *Portrayed on the Heart*, 285; Hahn, "Absent No Longer: The Saint and the Sign in Late Medieval Pictorial Hagiography," in *Hagiographie und Kunst: Der Heiligenkult in Schrift, Bild und Architektur*, ed. Gottfried Kerscher (Berlin: Dietrich Reimer, 1993), 159; Backhouse and de Hamel, *Becket Leaves*, 13-19; Vaughan, *Matthew Paris*, 171-173; and James, *Estoire*, 26-28.

<sup>29</sup> Hahn, *Portrayed on the Heart*, 285; and Lewis, "Narrative," 93. Hahn and Lewis are not the first scholars to draw comparisons between modern film and medieval art. As early as 1934, Erwin Panofsky noted a number of similarities between these two forms of visual narrative. For example, he compares the text used in silent movies to the tituli used in many illustrated manuscripts, arguing that they both aided viewers' understanding of images whose meaning would have been difficult to grasp otherwise. See Erwin Panofsky, "Style and Medium in the Motion Pictures," in *Film: An Anthology*, ed. Daniel Talbot (New York: Simon and Schuster, 1959), 24-25. Lewis has offered a brief discussion of Panofsky's comparisons between cinema and medieval art, and she also draws upon film theory in her book on the Bayeux Tapestry, a work of art that she likens to documentary film. See Lewis, "Narrative," 90-91, 97; and Lewis, *Rhetoric of Power*, 7, 74-134. For another sophisticated use of film theory to analyze illustrated manuscripts, see Marilynn Desmond and Pamela Sheingorn, *Myth, Montage, and Visuality in*

single illustration, Matthew's narrative manuscripts, and the Life of Edward the Confessor in particular, tend to place individual but related actions side-by-side, emphasizing the temporal progression of a cohesive story. For example, folio 5r in the Edward manuscript depicts a conflict between Cnut and Edmund Ironside in which the latter is killed (Fig. 19). On the far left, a crowd of people peer over the edge of a tower and watch the two kings, both of whom are heavily armored and mounted on warhorses draped in elaborate trappings, collide in a heated battle, but each man appears to resist the blows of the other's sword. To the right of a cloud of dust kicked up by the Dane's horse, the kings are shown again, but this time they stand and embrace one another after Cnut's extension of an offer of truce to his worthy opponent. The next scene, however, depicts only Edmund as he slumps against the wall of an interior room after having been, literally, stabbed in the back. Although the implications of this final scene will be addressed more fully in Chapter Three, this miniature clearly presents the battle, the truce, and the death of Edmund as a series of related sequential events that may be read as a small narrative unit within the broader context of Edward's life.

In addition to providing a clear example of the narrative structure of manuscripts like those relating the lives of Edward the Confessor and Saint Alban, this miniature demonstrates the way in which the images in Matthew's narrative manuscripts tell stories, whereas the images in the chronicle illustrate events. In the Life of Edward the Confessor, the battle between Cnut and Edmund Ironside is the first of three related events that have been squashed into a single framed image, but when this event is depicted in the margin of the *Chronica Majora*, it stands alone (Fol. 14). Here, in what is one of the chronicle's more elaborate marginal illustrations, Cnut and Edmund race their horses toward each other, flanked by two towers full of concerned onlookers. Nevertheless, despite the detail and care with which Matthew has rendered this scene, the horses and their riders seem suspended in action when compared to the tangled figures of the *Estoire* miniature (Fig. 19).<sup>30</sup> More importantly, what was an isolated marginal scene in the *Chronica*

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*Late Medieval Manuscript Culture: Christine de Pizan's Epistre Othea* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 2003), 23-45.

<sup>30</sup> Of course, because Matthew's autograph copy of the *Estoire* is no longer extant, caution must be used in drawing conclusions from comparisons involving details such as the men's clothing or even the way they hold their weapons. Henderson and Binski have argued that the pictorial cycle of the Cambridge manuscript is probably not an exact copy of Matthew's original design and probably reveals the influence of its metropolitan artists. Even so, scholars like Hahn and Vaughan have shown that the surviving manuscript is probably a close copy of Matthew's original, despite the obvious update in style. See Henderson, "English Manuscript Illumination," 83; Binski, "Abbot

*Majora* is contextualized by the *Estoire*'s framed miniature, becoming a single, if crucial, component of a larger narrative rather than a lone iconic representation of an event.<sup>31</sup>

Although there are significant differences between the pictorial cycles in Matthew's historical and narrative manuscripts, these dissimilarities do not imply that he preferred hagiography to history. Certainly, the elaborate, continuous, and extensive series of miniatures in manuscripts like the Life of Edward the Confessor and the Life of Saint Alban are more lavish than are the pictures in the *Chronica Majora*, but the images in both types of manuscripts are also especially well suited to the texts they illustrate. Hagiographers sought, above all, to provoke a spiritual response in their audience, and the narrative format of the dazzling illustrations in Matthew's saints' lives make these stories come alive in the mind of the viewer in a way that encourages such a response.<sup>32</sup> In addition, like his marginal drawings, these miniatures also served as a source of entertainment and edification, but the iconic images in the *Chronica Majora* also performed important practical functions by serving as mnemonic devices and by helping the reader locate particular passages within the extensive text of the chronicle.<sup>33</sup> Of course, the primary purpose of such medieval chronicles was to record information about past and contemporary events, typically within a strictly chronological framework that denied readers the sense that a coherent story was being told.<sup>34</sup> In this respect, the sporadic and isolated

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Berkyng's Tapestries," 93; Vaughan, *Matthew Paris*, 221-222; and Hahn, *Portrayed on the Heart*, 284, 393 n. 24-25. The general appearance and placement of the images is more important to the present discussion than are any specific details. However, it is worth noting that, as Jonathan Alexander has shown, Matthew sometimes reused characteristic motifs, such as a specific pose for a horse falling in battle, and yet, he never depicted anything exactly the same twice, altering details such as hair and clothing to make each figure and image unique. Thus, there are differences and variety even among the illustrations that can be safely attributed to Matthew's hand. See Alexander, *Medieval Illuminators*, 109-111; and Lewis, *Art of Matthew Paris*, 434.

<sup>31</sup> It is unclear whether this scene was first placed in Matthew's Life of Edward the Confessor or in his chronicle. Morgan dates this volume of the *Chronica Majora* to c. 1240-1245, which is well within the range of dates proposed for Matthew's original copy of the *Estoire* (late 1230s or 1240s). Lewis's suggestion that Matthew consulted the *Estoire* when he executed the marginal drawing, however, indicates that Lewis may have reason to believe that this drawing was placed in the *Chronica Majora* at a later date. See Morgan, *Early Gothic Manuscripts (I)*, 138; and Lewis, *Art of Matthew Paris*, 173.

<sup>32</sup> Hahn, *Portrayed on the Heart*, 30; and Pächt, *Pictorial Narrative*, 1.

<sup>33</sup> Hahn, *Portrayed on the Heart*, 27; and Lewis, *Art of Matthew Paris*, 43-45, 49-50. On mnemonic devices, see Mary Carruthers, *The Craft of Thought: Meditation, Rhetoric, and the Making of Images, 400-1200* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998), 122; and Mary Carruthers, *The Book of Memory: A Study of Memory in Medieval Culture* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1990).

<sup>34</sup> Antonia Gransden, *Legends, Traditions and History in Medieval England* (London: Hambledon Press, 1992), 209-210; and Hayden White, "The Value of Narrativity in the Representation of Reality," in *On Narrative*, ed. W. J. T.



drawings in the margins of the *Chronica Majora* may be seen as representative of the entire chronicle tradition, which Lewis describes as “an awkward and disjunctive set of journalistic entries reported in chronological sequence.”<sup>35</sup> Nevertheless, as Chapter Three will demonstrate, Matthew’s narrative manuscripts reveal the development of new ideas regarding the ways in which history could be represented visually and textually and provide insight into Matthew’s understanding of both history and hagiography.

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Mitchell (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1981), 16. Gransden devotes a chapter to a useful discussion of the chronicle tradition in medieval England and Scotland. See Gransden, *Legends*, 199-238.

<sup>35</sup> Lewis, *Art of Matthew Paris*, 11.

## CHAPTER THREE

### HISTORY IN THE LIFE OF EDWARD THE CONFESSOR

Among the special characteristics of the hagiographic genre is its perpetual renewal. Hagiographers, in their efforts to inspire a meaningful response, ceaselessly revised and updated the lives of the saints in order to ensure these stories' continued relevancy to the spiritual and worldly needs and interests of contemporary audiences. Frequently, these modifications were due to changing hagiographic trends, but they could also result from more specific ideological, historical, and political concerns.<sup>1</sup> Despite the malleability of these narratives, however, hagiographers typically adhered to a number of basic tenets that allowed them to construct a spiritually affective story. For instance, in order to emphasize the parallels between the life and suffering of a saint and those of Christ, hagiographies typically disassociate the saint from the specific historical circumstances in which he or she lived. According to Hippolyte Delehaye, "historical persons are deprived of their individuality, removed from their proper surroundings, and in a way isolated in time and space, so that their image in people's minds is an incongruous and unreal one."<sup>2</sup> Given this general lack of interest in placing the saint into a specific historical context, Hahn's argument that chronicles had only a minimal impact on illustrated saints' lives is, perhaps, not surprising. In her discussion of manuscripts like the twelfth-century *Life of Saint Edmund* and Matthew Paris's *Life of Edward the Confessor*, Hahn even states that chronicle illustrations are useful "not as comparanda, but rather as contrasts to the Lives of saintly kings."<sup>3</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> Hahn, *Portrayed on the Heart*, 9, 35. For example, Hahn argues that the illustrations in the twelfth-century *Life of Saint Edmund* promote the monastery of Bury St. Edmunds as a pilgrimage center and present Edmund as a model of kingship for Henry I as well as an ideal candidate for the patron saint of England. See Cynthia Hahn, "Peregrinatio et Natio: The Illustrated Life of Edmund, King and Martyr," *Gesta* 30 (1991): 119-139.

<sup>2</sup> Hippolyte Delehaye, *The Legends of the Saints*, trans. Donald Attwater (New York: Fordham University Press, 1962). Hahn refers to this hagiographic conception of time as the "time of salvation." She argues that each saint was recognized as having once existed as a living individual but was also understood as being "ontologically one with all other saints and with Christ himself in an affirmation of the eternal." See Hahn, "Picturing the Text: Narrative in the *Life of the Saints*," *Art History* 13 (March 1990): 3.

<sup>3</sup> Hahn, *Portrayed on the Heart*, 217.

As shown in Chapter Two, it is true that the illustrations in Matthew's chronicles and saints' lives differ in terms of their visual appearance and placement, as well as in their ability to present a cohesive story, but consideration of the content of his narratives reveals that Matthew's work as a historical chronicler did, in fact, have a significant impact on his illustrated hagiographies.<sup>4</sup> Instead of placing Edward the Confessor and Saint Alban in Hahn's "time of salvation," Matthew portrays his saints as existing within a specific historical context, allowing their saintly lives to become part of a broader sequence of earthly events.<sup>5</sup> Several scholars have noted both the prominence and the significance of this historical material, and both Binski and Laurent argue that the blending of history and hagiography in the Life of Edward the Confessor is the manuscript's most important and original contribution to the hagiographic genre.<sup>6</sup> Despite her assertion that historical illustrations had little influence on saints' lives, Hahn does make note of Matthew's decision to place his hagiographic narratives within a broader historical context. She argues that by showing the saints' special role in history, Matthew demonstrates their ability to correct a world "thrown out of balance by human action."<sup>7</sup> Although this is certainly true in a number of cases, such as when Edward the Confessor posthumously intervenes to help the English win at the Battle of Stamford Bridge, Hahn's explanation cannot fully explain Matthew's decision to make such substantial alterations to his hagiographic narratives.<sup>8</sup> Furthermore, none

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<sup>4</sup> Binski raises the question of whether Matthew's hagiographies could have influenced his historical works, rather than the reverse. Unfortunately, the difficulties in deciphering the chronology of Matthew's manuscript production that prompted Binski to ask this question are the very obstacles to finding its answer. The issue depends largely on the dating and attribution of Matthew's *Estoire* and the *Flores Historiarum*, which bear a number of textual similarities that have been attributed to their common authorship. For a more thorough discussion of this problem, see Binski, "Abbot Berkyng's Tapestries," 93.

<sup>5</sup> See note 2.

<sup>6</sup> Binski, *Westminster Abbey*, 57-58; Binski, "Abbot Berkyng's Tapestries," 92; Binski, "Reflections," 338-339; and Laurent, "La Estoire," 150. Laurent's article focuses on the blending of history and hagiography within the text of the *Estoire*, and although Binski has offered a number of useful observations about Matthew's historical additions, he has not specifically addressed the impact of this material on the illustrations. Other studies that acknowledge Matthew's historical additions include Fenster and Wogan-Browne, introduction, 1-2; and Wallace, introduction, xxiv. Other scholars have found these additions less significant, and Antonia Gransden even states that Matthew's saints' lives are "of no historical value." See Gransden, *Historical Writing in England c. 550 to 1307* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1974), 358.

<sup>7</sup> Hahn, *Portrayed on the Heart*, 286.

<sup>8</sup> *History of Saint Edward*, lines 4147-4254.

of these scholars has specifically addressed the impact of Matthew's historical additions on the pictorial narrative as opposed to the textual narrative or the manuscript as a whole.

This chapter will begin with an examination of earlier illustrated saints' lives in order to reveal the degree to which Matthew's historical additions were unique, even within the highly variable tradition of hagiographic narrative. It will then focus on the Life of Edward the Confessor, first looking at the texts and images used in earlier accounts of Edward's life and then considering the nature of Matthew's alterations to these more traditional narratives. Matthew's unusual role as both the artist and the author of the *Estoire* also welcomes a more in-depth analysis of how the textual and pictorial narratives relate Edward's story. Consideration of the word-and-image relationships within the Life of Edward the Confessor will demonstrate that Matthew not only added a substantial amount of historical material to both the images and the written texts, but also that his pictorial narrative presents a slightly different and more anglicized, and perhaps even Anglo-Saxon, version of the historical circumstances that frame Edward's saintly life.

### **Time and History in the Lives of the Saints**

As mentioned, most medieval hagiographies avoid depicting the saint in a specific historical time and location. In the two illustrated copies of the Life of Saint Cuthbert discussed in Chapter Two, the textual and pictorial narratives both begin with Cuthbert's boyhood before continuing with an account of his life as a monk and bishop and finally ending with a series of posthumous miracles, and while the text sometimes mentions specific locations and people, the images give virtually no indication as to when or where the story takes place.<sup>9</sup> Furthermore, although most of the text comes from Bede's *Vita Sancti Cuthberti*, two chapters were taken from his *Ecclesiastical History*, but even these episodes address posthumous miracles rather than specific historical events.<sup>10</sup> The illustrated Life of Saint Edmund, however, includes a more substantial amount of historical material. For instance, it begins with a three-miniature preface

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<sup>9</sup> Morgan, *Early Gothic Manuscripts (I)*, 57-58; Kauffmann, *Romanesque Manuscripts*, 66-67; and Colgrave, *Two Lives of Saint Cuthbert*, 155-307.

<sup>10</sup> Chapters 44 and 45 were taken from Bede's *Ecclesiastical History* and immediately follow the original text of his Life of Saint Cuthbert. These chapters had been added to Cuthbert's story by the tenth century and quickly became a standard part of the narrative. Another seven miracles were added in the early twelfth century. See Kauffmann, *Romanesque Manuscripts*, 67-68.

that details the arrival of the Jutes, Angles, and Saxons and their subsequent victory over the Britons, and several scenes later, the pagan Danes arrive and begin their own oppression of the English people (Figs. 20 and 21).<sup>11</sup> Certainly, the first of these two series of images is similar to, though much shorter than, the historical sequence that Matthew has added to the Life of Edward the Confessor because it places the saintly life within a broader English context and provides background information that allows the viewer to understand the historical circumstances that led up to Edmund's reign as the king of East Anglia. According to Hahn, such sequences serve an important function in the life of a saintly king by establishing his genealogy and the legitimacy of his rule.<sup>12</sup> The second series of history-related images, however, is better seen within the context of Edmund's status as a martyr because it provides an expected and necessary introduction to the people and events that are responsible for his impending death. By depicting the Danes' invasion and their violence against Edmund's people, the pictorial narrative acquaints the viewer with the wickedness of the saint's persecutors and justifies his decision to resist them, even at the expense of his own life.<sup>13</sup> One additional scene that might be understood as placing Edmund's narrative within a specific time and place is the posthumous miracle in which the saint kills Sweyn, the Dane who, after Edmund's death, became king and oppressed the English people (Fig. 22). Yet, even this episode must be approached as a miracle story, rather than pure history, and in the pictorial narrative it has been removed from the normal chronology of events in order to place it next to the image of Edmund's Apotheosis, presumably to emphasize the importance of this popular miracle.<sup>14</sup>

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<sup>11</sup> The order of the relevant images is as follows: The Saxons, Jutes, and Angles cross the sea to invade Britain (fol. 7r); the invaders fight against the Britons and win (fol. 7v); the three tribes divide the island between them (fol. 8r); the Danes under Ingvar and Ubba land in Britain (fol. 9v); Ingvar attacks East Anglia (fol. 10r); and Ingvar commands his messenger to visit Edmund and demand submission (fol. 10v). See Kauffmann, *Romanesque Manuscripts*, 72-73; and McLachlan, *Scriptorium of Bury St. Edmunds*, 87-90.

<sup>12</sup> Hahn, *Portrayed on the Heart*, 218.

<sup>13</sup> Hahn discusses the importance of the judge or inquisitor in the lives of martyrs, and although no such figure appears in the Life of Saint Edmund, Ingvar the Dane essentially fulfills the role because it is under his direction that his men kill Edmund. For more on the conventions of martyrs' stories, see *ibid.*, 59-89.

<sup>14</sup> In the versions of the Life of Saint Edmund written by Osbert of Clare and Herman the Archdeacon, as well as in the Office for the Feast of Saint Edmund, this miracle appears earlier in the narrative, before the scene in which a cart with Edmund's relics safely crosses a narrow bridge. Here it is placed at the very end of the narrative. See McLachlan, *Scriptorium of Bury St. Edmunds*, 101. Matthew also depicts the death of Sweyn in the Life of Edward the Confessor, but he places it within the historical material at the beginning in order to establish Edmund as

Although the Life of Saint Edmund shows that not all of the saints' lives produced prior to Matthew's were completely devoid of historical information, an examination of his illustrated hagiographies reveals that he emphasized the historical elements of each saint's life to an unusual degree and that, at times, he did so without regard as to whether or not the episodes had any bearing on the life of the saint.<sup>15</sup> Matthew's Life of Saint Alban provides a good example of the way in which he places his hagiographic narratives within a larger historical context. Although the Anglo-Norman verse and illustrations of the life closely follow the mid-twelfth-century Latin prose version written by William of St. Albans, Matthew continues the visual narrative with a series of more historically based images that nearly doubles the length of the pictorial cycle and which, while related to Saint Alban's cult, is not directly related to his martyrdom.<sup>16</sup> This later sequence of miniatures begins with an account of Bishop Germanus of Auxerre's fifth-century journey to England to fight against the Pelagians, during which he also visited Alban's shrine, and it concludes with the story of King Offa's eighth-century discovery of Alban's relics and subsequent foundation of the monastery (Figs. 23 and 7).<sup>17</sup> Furthermore, some of these added miniatures, such as the scene in which a young girl named Geneviève makes a vow of chastity before Germanus, have virtually nothing to do with Saint Alban.<sup>18</sup> Although these images, like those that illustrate Matthew's poem, are accompanied by Anglo-Norman explanatory rubrics, the texts below are in Latin and only occasionally relate to the images

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Edward's forebear (Fig. 31). Hahn suggests that Matthew "sought out the Life of Edmund and quoted the earlier image." See Hahn, *Portrayed on the Heart*, 231.

<sup>15</sup> Although Matthew's unillustrated Latin Life of Saint Edmund of Abingdon will not be examined as part of this thesis, it is worth noting that, like Matthew's illustrated lives, it also contained a significant amount of added historical material. For a discussion of Matthew's alterations to the more traditional version of the Life of Saint Edmund of Abingdon, see C. H. Lawrence, introduction to *The Life of St Edmund*, by Matthew Paris (Oxford: Alan Sutton, 1996), 110.

<sup>16</sup> The last twenty-six images in this fifty-five page pictorial cycle depict Matthew's added historical scenes. Unfortunately, Matthew's manuscript contains the only surviving pictorial cycle of the Life of Saint Alban from the Middle Ages, but scholars have concluded that the historical additions are unique to Matthew's manuscript. It is unclear whether or not Matthew inserted any historical material into the very beginning of the narrative because the first leaf is missing. See Hahn, *Portrayed on the Heart*, 287; McCulloch, "Saints Alban and Amphibalus," 761, 775; Morgan, *Early Gothic Manuscripts (I)*, 131; and Vaughan, 178.

<sup>17</sup> Morgan, *Early Gothic Manuscripts (I)*, 130-131; and M. R. James, *Life of St Alban*, in *Trinity College Dublin MS E.i.40* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1924), 7-9.

<sup>18</sup> McCulloch, "Saints Alban and Amphibalus," 770.

above.<sup>19</sup> Nevertheless, Matthew's decision to employ the same narrative format of large framed miniatures throughout the entire pictorial cycle not only aids the viewer's understanding of the historical sequence, but also unites this series of images with the hagiographic narrative, ensuring that they are understood as a single story. Saint Alban's historical importance, as well as his significance to the community at St. Albans, is made clear, and it is this aspect of the narrative that Hahn has called Matthew's "most original contribution" to the manuscript.<sup>20</sup> Unfortunately, the fragmentary nature of the Life of Thomas Becket makes it difficult to draw any definitive conclusions as to whether or not it included similar historical additions. Nevertheless, it is worth noting that all eight of the surviving miniatures depict scenes that, while certainly pertinent to a hagiographic account of Becket's life, are politically oriented and might just as easily appear in an illustrated history (Fig. 4).<sup>21</sup>

### **Matthew's Historical Additions to the Life of Edward the Confessor**

The completeness of Matthew's Life of Edward the Confessor, as well as the existence of a number of other textual and pictorial versions of the narrative, allows for a more detailed study of how Matthew emphasized the historical aspects of Edward's story. Although the *Estoire's* sixty-four miniatures certainly present the longest surviving pictorial cycle of Edward's life, several others do exist, and these provide valuable insight into the ways in which Matthew departed from the more traditional hagiographic narrative. In terms of length, the best contemporary comparison to the *Estoire* is the series of images that once hung on the north side of the choir of Westminster Abbey. These tapestries, which were given to the abbey by Abbot Richard de Berkyng between 1222 and 1246, depicted nineteen episodes from the Life of

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<sup>19</sup> The images on folios 29v through 50r correspond to Matthew's Anglo-Norman text, and folios 51r through 63r contain the additional historical images. The texts below this second series of miniatures include Latin documents relating to the feasts of the invention and translation of Saint Alban, as well as the Latin text of the charter for the foundation of the monastery at St. Albans. The most notable instance in which a miniature corresponds to the text below is the image that depicts Offa presenting the charter to the monastery of St. Albans, which is inscribed above Matthew's transcription of the Latin charter itself (Fig. 7). See Hahn, *Portrayed on the Heart*, 287, 395 n. 38; Morgan, *Early Gothic Manuscripts (I)*, 131; James, *Life of Saint Alban*, 11-12, 14-15; and Harden, introduction to *La Vie de Seint Auban* (Oxford: Anglo-Norman Text Society, 1968), xiv.

<sup>20</sup> Hahn, *Portrayed on the Heart*, 287.

<sup>21</sup> The surviving fragments begin with Henry II's decision to exile all of Thomas Becket's relations and ends with Becket's return to England, just prior to his death. For color reproductions of the images as well as short descriptions, see Backhouse and de Hamel, *Becket Leaves*, 23-32.

Edward the Confessor, each of which was accompanied by two lines of Latin verse describing the scene above.<sup>22</sup> Unfortunately, virtually nothing is known of the tapestries following their removal from the church in 1644, but Robert Hare's sixteenth-century description of each scene has enabled scholars to consider the original appearance of these lost hangings.<sup>23</sup> Using Hare's descriptions, Binski has argued that the scenes of Edward's life that were depicted on the tapestries probably resembled those placed at the end of an illustrated Apocalypse manuscript from Westminster during the early fifteenth century (Cambridge, Trinity College, MS B.10.2).<sup>24</sup> Like the tapestries, this manuscript contains nineteen scenes from the Life of Edward the Confessor, and Binski argues persuasively that, despite a few differences, these two sets of images are so similar that the manuscript probably "reproduced the pictorial substance" of the thirteenth-century hangings.<sup>25</sup>

The relationship between these two pictorial cycles is significant because it helps establish the existence of a Westminster tradition of representing Edward the Confessor in a

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<sup>22</sup> Richard de Berkyng became abbot of Westminster Abbey in 1222 and died in 1246, but there is no further evidence to allow for a more precise dating of the tapestries. Binski suggests that they were most likely made prior to 1245, when Henry III began rebuilding parts of the abbey, but it is also possible, though less likely, that they were made in preparation of the new choir stalls. Tapestries were also hung on the south side of the choir, and these depicted twenty-three scenes from the Gospels. See Binski, "Abbot Berkyng's Tapestries," 85-86, 89.

<sup>23</sup> According to Binski, the last known record of the whereabouts of the tapestries is an early nineteenth-century note explaining that a fragment from one of the Gospel scenes was in the Jerusalem Chamber of Westminster Abbey, but no such information exists about the scenes from the Life of Edward the Confessor. M. R. James discovered Hare's descriptions in Cambridge, Gonville and Caius College, MS 391, and they were later printed by J. A. Robinson. See Binski, "Abbot Berkyng's Tapestries," 85; and John Flete, *The History of Westminster Abbey*, ed. J. A. Robinson (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1909), 24-29.

<sup>24</sup> Binski, "Abbot Berkyng's Tapestries," 86-88, 98 n. 24. The illustrated Apocalypse follows a series of images depicting the Life of Saint John, and both of these pictorial cycles date to the late fourteenth century. The Life of Edward the Confessor was added to the end of the manuscript in the early fifteenth century, but a series of images of Edward was probably intended when the manuscript was begun several decades earlier. For more information on this manuscript, see Lucy Freeman Sandler, *Gothic Manuscripts 1285-1385* (London: Harvey Miller, 1986), 2:176; and M. R. James, *The Western Manuscripts in the Library of Trinity College, Cambridge: A Descriptive Catalogue* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1900), 1:283-286.

<sup>25</sup> Binski, "Abbot Berkyng's Tapestries," 87. Despite the similarities in "substance," the two accounts of Edward's life probably looked quite different, not only because they were produced nearly 200 years apart, but also because the manuscript depicts two horizontal scenes on each page. Although it is true that both of the pictorial cycles include nineteen scenes from the Life of Edward the Confessor, each also includes several additional images that address the foundation of Westminster and other items of institutional significance that relate to Edward's saintly life. One example of the kinds of differences between the two cycles is the tapestries' depiction of Edward's vision of the drowning of the Danish king in one scene and Edward's explanation of his vision in a second, whereas the manuscript depicts only the vision itself. For the full descriptions of both series of images, see James, *Western Manuscripts*, 1:285-286; and Flete, *History of Westminster*, 27-29.



specific way.<sup>26</sup> Significantly, this Westminster version of Edward's life does not include the kinds of historical material present in the *Estoire*.<sup>27</sup> The Apocalypse manuscript and Berkyng's tapestries both begin with the death of Edward's father, King Ethelred, and continue with the saint's birth and a number of his visions and cures before finally concluding with a posthumous miracle (Fig. 24).<sup>28</sup> Furthermore, although some scenes, such as those depicting Ethelred's death and Edward's birth, certainly have historical relevancy, the Westminster cycles do not follow a strict historical chronology in representing these events. Thus, Ethelred's death appears before Edward's birth, even though Edward was over ten years old when his father passed away.<sup>29</sup> The decision to focus on Edward's saintly life, rather than historical fact, is, of course, consistent with the hagiographic narrative tradition, and in the case of the abbey's tapestries, it may have also been viewed as a more appropriate and compelling portrayal of the saint whose religious life was so important to those who walked the aisles below.<sup>30</sup> Yet, another mid-thirteenth-century illustrated account of Edward shows that the historical elements of his life were deemphasized even when paired with a secular text whose existence derived from the political upheaval caused by his death. The six painted illuminations that were tipped-in at the front of a luxury Abbreviate of Domesday Book focus on Edward's visions rather than on his historical significance or relevance to the text (Fig. 25; London, Public Record Office, MS E36/284).<sup>31</sup> The persistence of

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<sup>26</sup> Unfortunately, a number of thirteenth-century Westminster depictions of Edward the Confessor no longer exist. Because of Henry III's great affinity for the saint, monumental images of Edward were placed in several different places in Westminster Abbey, including the shrine area, the transept, and the chapter-house, as well as within the Painted Chamber of Westminster Palace and in the chapel of All Saints at Clarendon Palace. See Binski, "Abbot Berkyng's Tapestries," 88-89; Binski, *Westminster Abbey*, 49-50, 127-128; and Paul Binski, *The Painted Chamber at Westminster* (London: Society of Antiquaries of London, 1986), 39-40.

<sup>27</sup> Binski, "Reflections," 338; and Binski, "Abbot Berkyng's Tapestries," 88-89. According to Binski, this Westminster recension exhibits "exactly the staleness of a picture cycle catering for the inured outlook of longstanding routine observance," which is one way in which it may be differentiated from the *Estoire*. See Binski, "Reflections," 338.

<sup>28</sup> James, *Western Manuscripts*, 1:285-286; and Flete, *History of Westminster*, 27-29.

<sup>29</sup> Edward was likely born in 1005 or earlier, and Ethelred died in 1016. See Frank Barlow, *Edward the Confessor* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1970), 339.

<sup>30</sup> Binski describes the tapestries as having a liturgical emphasis. See Binski, *Westminster Abbey*, 54.

<sup>31</sup> Binski, "Abbot Berkyng's Tapestries," 88; Binski, *Westminster Abbey*, 62; Morgan, *Early Gothic Manuscripts (II)*, 91-92; Elizabeth M. Hallam, *Domesday Book through Nine Centuries* (London: Thames and Hudson, 1986), 42-44; and Madeline Harrison, "A Life of St. Edward the Confessor in Early Fourteenth-Century Stained Glass at Fécamp, in Normandy," *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes* 26 (1963): 28. Although Harrison and Hallam both date this Abbreviated Domesday Book to the first quarter of the thirteenth century, Morgan and Binski

this tradition of portraying Edward within a strictly hagiographic narrative is further demonstrated by the early fourteenth-century stained glass windows of Fécamp Abbey in Normandy, and despite Madeline Harrison's suggestion that the eleven images of Edward the Confessor in these windows were based on the *Estoire*, this series still lacks the historical emphasis of Matthew's textual and pictorial narrative.<sup>32</sup>

Consideration of Aelred of Rievaulx's *Vita Sancti Edwardi* allows for a more detailed exploration of the ways in which Matthew's account of Edward the Confessor departed from the hagiographic tradition established at Westminster.<sup>33</sup> Aelred composed this Latin prose life to commemorate Edward's canonization in 1161 and the translation of the saint's body to a new shrine in Westminster Abbey two years later. The text consists of thirty-nine chapters, which are explicitly divided into one book dealing with Edward's life and a second book that addresses a number of posthumous miracles. Given the fact that Aelred's text served as the basis for nearly all of the late medieval pictorial cycles of Edward's life, it is not surprising that it contains relatively little historical material beyond that which is essential to the hagiographic narrative.<sup>34</sup> Binski describes this text as a "concentrated and liturgically apt vision of the king," and John E. Lawyer has also noted Aelred's lack of interest in Edward's worldly and political activities.<sup>35</sup> For example, Aelred devotes a single paragraph to a description of Edward's family and predecessors before moving on to an account of Edward's prenatal election to the throne, and the text

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have suggested a later date of c. 1250-1260. It was produced in London, but there is no firm evidence of a direct link between this manuscript and Westminster. The connection between Edward the Confessor and the original writing of the Domesday Book lies in the fact that Edward's death without an heir led to the Norman Conquest, and William the Conqueror's commissioning of the Domesday survey at the end of 1085 allowed the Normans to assess the people and resources of this newly acquired realm. See Hallam, *Domesday Book*, 18-19.

<sup>32</sup> Harrison, "Stained Glass at Fécamp," 29. Binski disagrees with Harrison and argues that the similarities between the *Estoire* and the Fécamp windows derive from their mutual reliance on Aelred's twelfth-century text rather than any direct connection. See Binski, *Westminster Abbey*, 56-57, 210 n. 42-3.

<sup>33</sup> Although Aelred was not a monk at Westminster, he was a well-known monastic author, whom Abbot Laurence of Westminster asked to write a Life of Edward the Confessor for the abbey. For Aelred's dedication of the text to Laurence, see Aelred of Rievaulx, *Aelred of Rievaulx: The Historical Works*, ed. Marsha L. Dutton and trans. Jane Patricia Freeland (Kalamazoo, MI: Cistercian Publications, 2005), 127-129.

<sup>34</sup> John E. Lawyer, "Aelred of Rievaulx's *Life of Edward the Confessor*: A Medieval Ideal of Kingship," *Fides et Historia* 31, no. 1 (1999): 45, 53; and Binski, *Westminster Abbey*, 56-57.

<sup>35</sup> Binski, *Westminster Abbey*, 57; and Lawyer, "Aelred," 54.

concludes abruptly with the miraculous healing of a sick monk.<sup>36</sup> Aelred includes a number of such posthumous miracles, and one in particular allows him to discuss a specific historical event. In Chapter 34, Edward appears before the abbot of Ramsey in a dream and tells him to assure Harold that he, Edward, will protect the English at the Battle of Stamford Bridge, and Aelred goes on to explain Harold's victory over the Norwegian army.<sup>37</sup> Nevertheless, even this historical event is placed within the context of a miracle account, whereas many of Matthew's additions are more purely historical.

As mentioned in Chapter One, Matthew's decision to call his *Life of Edward the Confessor* an *estoire*, rather than a *vie*, is representative of the ways in which he altered Aelred's earlier text.<sup>38</sup> According to Peter Damian-Grint, *estoire* was the "historiographical term *par excellence*" during the twelfth century, and it always denotes the truthfulness and authority of a written historical narrative.<sup>39</sup> Matthew's selection of sources also provides clues to understanding the nature of his changes to the more traditional account of Edward's life. Although much of the *Estoire* is an imaginative translation of Aelred's *Vita*, Matthew also relied on a number of historical texts, most notably his own *Chronica Majora* and *Flores Historiarum*, as well as Aelred's *Genealogia Regum Anglorum*.<sup>40</sup> Most of the historical episodes that Matthew has either added or emphasized appear at the beginning or the end of the *Estoire*, thus framing the hagiographic narrative within the broader context of English history. Matthew begins with a description of the past kings of England before giving an account of Edward's family and their struggle to retain control of the kingdom under the constant threat of the Danish invaders (Figs.

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<sup>36</sup> Aelred, *Historical Works*, 131-132, 240-243.

<sup>37</sup> Lawyer, "Aelred," 53, 61; Aelred, *Historical Works*, 216-218; and *The Life of King Edward the Confessor*, ed. and trans. Frank Barlow (London: Thomas Nelson and Sons, 1962), xxxvi. This episode also provides confirmation of a prediction made by Edward earlier in the narrative, in which he stated that Harold and his brother Tostig would one day fight to the death. Indeed, Aelred explains that Tostig, who was allied with the Norwegians, was killed during the Battle of Stamford Bridge. For the scene describing Edward's prediction, see Aelred, *Historical Works*, 188-190.

<sup>38</sup> Laurent, "*La Estoire*," 136; Binski, *Westminster Abbey*, 57; and Fenster and Wogan-Browne, introduction, 1-2.

<sup>39</sup> Peter Damian-Grint, *The New Historians of the Twelfth-Century Renaissance: Inventing Vernacular Authority* (Rochester, NY: Boydell Press, 1999), 211, 220-221.

<sup>40</sup> Fenster and Wogan-Browne, introduction, 41-42; and Wallace, introduction, xxiv-xxix. Wallace notes that Matthew also may have consulted Henry of Huntingdon's *Historia Anglorum* and Ordericus Vitalis's *Historica Ecclesiastica*. For a general discussion of the importance of source selection as an aid to understanding medieval historical texts, see Chris Given-Wilson, *Chronicles: The Writing of History in Medieval England* (New York: Hambledon and London, 2004), 14-20.

26 and 19). The story then continues with the hagiographic narrative, which details Edward's transition from a boy to a king to a powerful saint and is, for the most part, the same story told by Aelred. After Edward's death, Matthew describes a few of the posthumous miracles from Aelred's text and also resumes his own historical narrative, which finally comes to a climactic end with an account of the Battle of Hastings (Fig. 27).<sup>41</sup> Although all of Matthew's added historical material is relevant to a biographical account of King Edward, many scenes are extraneous to the life of Saint Edward. One episode that seems particularly out of place in a hagiographic manuscript is the scene in which a dwarf fights a giant in order to restore the honor of Edward's half-sister, Gunnilda.<sup>42</sup>

Matthew's narrative, however, was not only affected by the addition of new material, but also by the omission of a number of episodes from Aelred's text. For example, six of Aelred's miracle stories are not included in the *Estoire*, even though they were important scenes in Aelred's narrative and in the earlier pictorial versions of the life. At one point, Matthew attempts to compensate for these omissions by naming each of the illnesses and afflictions that Edward has miraculously cured, and the corresponding miniature, which is located between an image of the Battle of Stamford Bridge and one of Harold's avarice, depicts a throng of visitors to Edward's shrine as they praise his healing powers (Fig. 28).<sup>43</sup> Matthew also deemphasizes the prenatal election of Edward, shifting the proof of the legitimacy of his rule away from an old prophecy and, instead, focusing on his genealogy.<sup>44</sup> Furthermore, unlike Aelred's clear division

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<sup>41</sup> More specifically, Matthew's added, or at least emphasized, historical episodes appear in the following illustrations: Kings Alfred, Edgar, and Ethelred seated among angels (fol. 3v); King Sweyn oppresses the English people, and the young Edward and his family flee to Normandy (fol. 4r); Edward's family arrives in Normandy, and King Sweyn is killed (fol. 4v); Edmund Ironside fights Cnut, the kings embrace, and Edmund is killed (fol. 5r); Alfred arrives in England, and Alfred stands before Harald Harefoot (fol. 5v); Alfred is tortured, and the English people are oppressed (fol. 6r); Queen Gunnilda's honor is vindicated (fol. 6v); Harthacnut dies (fol. 7r); Edward receives news of Harthacnut's death, and Edward sails for England (fol. 8v); King Harald Hardrada lands near York and defeats the Northumbrian army (fol. 31r); the Battle of Stamford Bridge (fol. 32v); Harold hoards treasure (fol. 33v); William the Conqueror lands in England (fol. 34r); Battle of Hastings (fol. 34v). See Wallace, introduction, xxiv-xxvi; Fenster and Wogan-Browne, introduction, 41-42; and James, *La Estoire*, 14-16.

<sup>42</sup> Although this scene is represented in the miniature on folio 6v, it has been severely damaged. For the descriptions of this scene in the poetic text and rubric, see *History of Saint Edward*, lines 506-531 and 4723-4728.

<sup>43</sup> *History of Saint Edward*, lines 4413-4444; Wallace, introduction, xxv-xxvi; and Laurent, "La Estoire," 146-147.

<sup>44</sup> Although Aelred devotes an entire chapter to this episode, Matthew simply states that Edward was "chosen king before he was born and called the blessed king." See *History of Saint Edward*, lines 854-855; and Aelred, *Historical Works*, 132-134.

between one section and the next, Matthew weaves historical scenes into the posthumous narrative, which ensures that the miracles involving Harold appear in their proper place within the larger historical sequence and also that Saint Edward's place in history is not forgotten.<sup>45</sup> This attention to chronology also contrasts with the Life of Saint Edmund and the earlier illustrations of Edward's life, each of which manipulated the sequencing of some of the more historically based scenes in order to create a more compelling hagiographic narrative.

Because Matthew was responsible for both the text of the *Estoire* and the design of its illustrations, the images in the Cambridge manuscript typically correspond fairly well with their accompanying written texts. Therefore, the poem's quick succession of historical events also appears in the large framed miniatures located at the top of each page, and, as discussed in Chapter Two, the format of these pictures ensures that the visual narrative is as lively and exciting as is Matthew's writing (Fig. 5). In addition, the poem's sometimes rough transition between historical and hagiographic episodes can be equally, if not more, jarring when visually represented.<sup>46</sup> In the opening of folios 32v-33r, a chaotic illustration of the Battle of Stamford Bridge faces a more subdued scene of miraculous cures and thanksgiving at Edward's shrine, thereby drawing attention to Matthew's juxtaposition of secular and religious history (Fig. 6). One further example of the generally complementary relationship between the textual and pictorial narratives is found at the very beginning of the manuscript. Matthew reveals the more historical character of his Life of Edward the Confessor with the poem's opening lines in which he describes the virtue of the kings of England before continuing with the first sequence of historical events, which, as Fenster and Wogan-Browne have suggested, "duplicates on a smaller scale his Latin chronicling enterprise."<sup>47</sup> Similarly, as noted in the rubrics, the first miniature in

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<sup>45</sup> Binski, "Abbot Berkyng's Tapestries," 92; Wallace, introduction, xxiv-xxv; Laurent, "*La Estoire*," 148; and Fenster and Wogan-Browne, introduction, 42.

<sup>46</sup> Christopher Baswell argues that while these textual transitions do often feel jarring, Matthew has also attempted to control them with "nicely calibrated shifts in diction and tone." See Baswell, "King Edward and the Cripple," in *Chaucer and the Challenges of Medievalism: Studies in Honor of H. A. Kelly*, ed. Donka Minkova and Theresa Lynn Tinkle (New York: Peter Lang, 2003), 21, 27.

<sup>47</sup> Fenster and Wogan-Browne, introduction, 12. The first lines of the poem read: "There is no country, realm, or empire in the world, I dare say, where there have been so many good and saintly kings as in the isle of the English, kings who, after their earthly reign, now reign in heaven. Some were saints, martyrs, and confessors, many of whom died for God. Others were strong and bold, like Arthur, Edmund, and Cnut, who by force and courage enlarged their baronial following." See *History of Saint Edward*, lines 1-12. Aelred's text, on the other hand, opens with a prologue that begins with a discussion of the importance of the written word in preserving the memory and deeds of great persons whose lives may inspire others and provide a model for emulation. See Aelred, *Historical Works*, 125-129.

the manuscript depicts Kings Alfred, Edgar, and Ethelred, each of whom exemplifies the qualities of a saintly king as described in the poem, but this image stands out from the others in this manuscript because it lacks the narrative and even cinematic qualities of many of the subsequent scenes (Fig. 26).<sup>48</sup> More importantly, however, this initial miniature resembles the portraits of seated kings that preface Matthew's historical chronicles, and to a viewer familiar with such texts, this image may have served as a visual indicator of Matthew's blending of history and hagiography throughout the rest of his *Life of Edward the Confessor* (Fig. 29).<sup>49</sup>

### **Text and Image in Matthew's *Life of Edward the Confessor***

The general correspondence between the *Estoire's* visual and written narratives indicates that Matthew believed his historical additions to the texts were worthy of the same artistic treatment accorded to the hagiographic narrative and also that he felt confident in the images' ability to relate effectively a historical narrative. Nevertheless, upon closer examination it becomes clear that the pictorial and textual narratives occasionally differ, and Matthew's role as both the author and the artist of the life makes it possible to reevaluate the significance of these differences. The presence of a miniature, a rubric, and a portion of the poetic text on each page complicates the relationship between word and image by presenting three slightly different versions of the narrative, which may be read separately or simultaneously. As noted by Victoria B. Jordan, this *mise-en-page* allows the pictorial cycle to "achieve an independence from the longer poem it purports to serve."<sup>50</sup> This notion that the miniatures function as more than "mere illustrations" of the text finds resonance in Hahn's concept of "pictorial hagiography," which

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<sup>48</sup> The rubric beneath this image reads: "Here are depicted in portraits the saintly kings whose fame endures, who were earthly kings and now are celestial kings. From their lineage came Edward, about whom this book has been written." See *History of Saint Edward*, lines 4687-4692.

<sup>49</sup> The image in the *Life of Edward the Confessor* may also be understood as representing Matthew's shift to a more genealogical explanation for the legitimacy of Edward's rule since the images of seated kings within the chronicles are organized in a way that stresses lineage and succession. Matthew includes portraits of seated kings in two of his manuscripts. The third volume of the *Chronica Majora* (London, British Library, MS Royal 14.C.vii) contains portraits of eight kings, and the *Abbreviatio Chronicorum Angliae* (London, British Library, MS Cotton Claudius D.vi) includes portraits of thirty-two seated kings. According to Morgan, illustrations of English kings also appear in the *Chronicle of Abingdon* and the *Universal Chronicle*, both of which are contemporary with but not related to Matthew's works. See Morgan, *Early Gothic Manuscripts* (I), 25, 142, 144, and cat. nos. 41 and 43b.

<sup>50</sup> Jordan, "Multiple Narratives," 86.

acknowledges the ability of images to construct a unique narrative.<sup>51</sup> The remainder of this chapter will examine specific examples from Matthew's *Life of Edward the Confessor* in which the textual and pictorial accounts of the added historical material differ from one another. At times, these differences have a significant impact on the story, allowing for a more thorough consideration of Matthew's understanding of the possibilities of both textual and visual narratives.

In a few instances the discrepancy between the written texts and the miniatures has a relatively minor effect on the narrative but still serves as a valuable indication of Matthew's understanding of the importance of his historical images. The juxtaposition of the Battle of Stamford Bridge and a scene at Edward's shrine on folios 32v-33r was discussed earlier as a visual representation of Matthew's jarring shifts between historical and hagiographic scenes within the text, but it also demonstrates the way in which Matthew's pictorial narrative sometimes privileges historical events (Fig. 6). Rather than describing the Battle of Stamford Bridge, the rubric on folio 32v discusses Edward's miraculous posthumous healing of a sacristan. The rubric that does address the battle appears on the previous page, beneath the miniature in which the abbot of Ramsey visits Harold to assure him of Edward's assistance, giving Harold the newfound confidence to prepare his men for the confrontation (Fig. 30).<sup>52</sup> Because Matthew decided to expand the pictorial account of these events that led to the Battle of Stamford Bridge, he was forced to choose between either an image of the combat or one of the miracle, and the fact that he chose to represent the battle as a full-frame miniature reveals his dedication to the historical elements of the life. Another example that demonstrates Matthew's attention to the visual representation of his historical narrative is the miniature that depicts the arrival of Edward and his family in Normandy to the left of an image of the death of King Sweyn of Denmark (Fig. 31). The poetic text, however, presents these events in a different order, stating that Edward and his family traveled to Normandy only after Sweyn's death and the arrival of

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<sup>51</sup> Hahn, *Portrayed on the Heart*, 348 n. 12.

<sup>52</sup> For the rubrics on folios 32r and 33v, see *History of Saint Edward*, lines 5143-5156. Although Fenster and Wogan-Browne state that the sacristan's story is not represented, it is possible that it has been incorporated into the scene at Edward's shrine that faces the battle scene (Figs. 6 and 28). In this image, a monk sits to the left of the shrine and reads a book, and this may represent the sacristan who has been healed along with the other figures around the shrine. See Fenster and Wogan-Browne, introduction, 110 n.75.

even more Danes.<sup>53</sup> Significantly, Sweyn's death occurred in 1014, whereas Edward's family fled to Normandy in 1013. It is, therefore, the pictorial narrative rather than the written text that presents these events in proper historical sequence.<sup>54</sup>

Another important word-and-image relationship within the Life of Edward the Confessor occurs on the very next page and reveals the ability of Matthew's narrative images to tell, if not create, their own story. As suggested in Chapter Two, the miniature on folio 5r presents as a series of three intimately related sequential events the battle between Cnut and Edmund Ironside, their subsequent truce and decision to share the kingdom, and Edmund's murder (Fig. 19). Although the image does not explicitly implicate Cnut in the death of Edmund, Matthew's decision to place these scenes together within a single action-packed frame and to draw attention to the repetition of the two figures encourages the viewer to find, or perhaps create, a link between one scene and the next.<sup>55</sup> The absence of any figures other than Cnut and Edmund also invites the viewer to believe that Cnut was the murderer because there is no one else present to blame. Nevertheless, the poem provides little evidence to support the miniature's implied allegation, stating only that "Edmund did not reign for long, for someone killed him treasonously in his forest manor."<sup>56</sup> Moreover, even though the rubric below the miniature explicitly raises the

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<sup>53</sup> *History of Saint Edward*, lines 201-237. The accompanying rubric only describes Ethelred's decision to send his family to Normandy for safety and states that they arrived peacefully (lines 4699-4704). The death of Sweyn is not addressed by any rubric. Also see Fenster and Wogan-Browne, introduction, 120 n. 32.

<sup>54</sup> Barlow, *Edward the Confessor*, 34, 339. The poem further confuses the historical chronology by stating that Ethelred fled to Normandy prior to Edward and Edward's mother and brother, but Ethelred actually arrived slightly later.

<sup>55</sup> The rubricated tituli provide the name of each figure to ensure that the viewer can differentiate between Cnut and Edmund each time they appear. These tituli and the men's clothing both ensure that the viewer understands the repetition of the figures and recognizes that three different moments are represented within the miniature. It is unfortunate that the titulus that is located just to the left of the structure in which Edmund lies dead has been damaged because the fact that Edmund points to it suggests that it was an important clue to understanding this image. Although the third line has been badly smudged, the first two lines say, "the soul of Edmund to Cnut," and since Edmund lies dead in the scene to the right, the damaged third line is of particular interest. It is possible that it says something similar to the titulus on the left side of the embracing figures, which states that "Cnut's soul is joined with Edmund's soul from this time and they are become [*sic*] the greatest of friends," but Edmund's gesture suggests that the smudged titulus may have said something that was not only different, but also important. See *History of Saint Edward*, 58 n. 4.

<sup>56</sup> *History of Saint Edward*, lines 365-367. The poem does, however, later state that "Cnut was king by force," but this probably refers to his battle with Edmund that led to their joint-kingship rather than to Edmund's murder (lines 414-418). In general, the text's portrayal of Cnut, like Harold, is somewhat ambiguous. While praising him as a "good Christian and a good ruler" who founded monasteries and whose death was mourned by all of England (lines 387 and 380-413), the poem also derides Cnut for his malicious plot to exile Edmund's family and to marry Queen Emma (Edward's mother) after Edmund's death (lines 368-379). Regardless, even if these latter remarks are



question of foul play, it makes no specific mention of the murder. Instead, it alludes to Cnut's weary and desperate decision to offer a truce under the pretense of a desire for peace with Edmund rather than his own fear of death, and it says, "Edmund fights Cnut. Cnut is the cleverer and knows more about cheating. He advises Edmund that they should share the crown, and by his fine promises he deceives him: Duke Edmund believes his advice."<sup>57</sup> Yet, when paired with the miniature, this rubric's emphasis on Cnut's trickery and wickedness could be understood as a further suggestion of his involvement in Edmund's death. It is unclear why Matthew may have wished to implicate Cnut, especially since most of the written accounts of Edmund's death state that a Danish traitor, hoping to gain Cnut's favor, killed Edmund and that Cnut later had the assassin put to death as revenge.<sup>58</sup> Matthew may simply have seen this miniature as a way to showcase his own interpretation of these events, and this possibility is supported by the fact that many of the marginal drawings in the *Chronica Majora* perform a similar function and express Matthew's own viewpoint even when his biases diminish the historical accuracy of the image.<sup>59</sup> In addition, Matthew frequently reveals not only an extraordinary sense of English pride, but also a strong dislike of foreigners, and by implicating Cnut in Edmund's death, Matthew creates a compelling visual narrative that addresses the danger of foreign threats to the political stability of his homeland.<sup>60</sup>

Matthew's English pride may have influenced his visual representation of the events leading to the Norman Conquest as well. Shortly after the death of Edward, the historical

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understood to suggest that Cnut was involved in Edmund's death, they are still less accusatory than is the miniature's depiction of this event.

<sup>57</sup> *History of Saint Edward*, lines 4705-4710. According to Fenster and Wogan-Browne, Cnut "brings the power of speech to the battlefield, where he uses it to defeat Edmund Ironside in a contest that, as Paris implies, he could not have otherwise won." See Fenster and Wogan-Browne, introduction, 37. Aelred's *Genealogia Regum Anglorum* also implies that Cnut deceived Edmund, as do the works of other medieval writers such as Roger Wendover and Henry of Huntingdon. See Aelred, *Historical Works*, 110-11; Roger Wendover, *Flowers of History*, trans. J. A. Giles (London: Bohn, 1849), 291-292; Henry of Huntingdon, *Historia Anglorum*, ed. and trans. Diana Greenway (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1996), 361; and R. M. Wilson, *The Lost Literature of Medieval England* (London: Methuen, 1970), 50-52.

<sup>58</sup> Aelred, *Historical Works*, 111-112; Roger Wendover, *Flowers of History*, 292-293; Henry of Huntingdon, *Historia Anglorum*, 361-363; and Wilson, *Lost Literature*, 54.

<sup>59</sup> Lewis, *Art of Matthew Paris*, 14, 75-76. For example, in the illustrations of seated kings in the *Abbreviatio Chronicorum*, Matthew includes a portrait of Edward's brother Alfred, who never reigned, rather than depicting Cnut's two sons, who occupied the throne for a total of eight years. See Lewis, *Art of Matthew Paris*, 156.

<sup>60</sup> *Ibid.*, 136.

narrative resumes with an image in which Harold sits on a throne and crowns himself king of England despite his earlier promise to allow William of Normandy to take the throne (Fig. 32).<sup>61</sup> Several scenes later, Edward heals Harold's gout, and then, as stated by the rubrics, "Saint Edward appears to an abbot at Ramsey who is a holy man. He instructs him to go on his behalf to King Harold; let him not be in despair or doubt about meeting the army of Norwegians, for Edward will be his warrant against death."<sup>62</sup> After hearing the abbot's message, Harold prepares his men for battle, ultimately leading them to victory with the aid of Saint Edward (Figs. 30 and 33). The next historical scene shows Harold seated upon his throne as he orders several men to empty heavy bags of riches into his coffers (Fig. 34), and the facing miniature, which unfortunately has suffered heavy damage, bears the faint traces of a representation of William's landing on the shores of England. The historical narrative then concludes with a chaotic image of the Battle of Hastings, although folio 35, which is now missing, may have originally depicted additional historical episodes (Fig. 27).<sup>63</sup> As a whole, these images portray Harold in a relatively positive light. The fact that he places the crown onto his own head, rather than receiving a proper coronation, suggests some impropriety on his part as does the image in which he hoards treasure, but overall, Harold does not appear especially villainous (Figs. 32 and 34).<sup>64</sup>

The poetic text and rubrics, however, portray Harold much more negatively. The rubric beneath the coronation scene says that Harold "wrongfully"<sup>65</sup> seized the crown, and the poem even states that, prior to the saint's death, "Harold thought it was high time for Edward to die!"<sup>66</sup>

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<sup>61</sup> While Edward lies on his deathbed, Harold swears to act according to Edward's wish that Duke William of Normandy (William the Conqueror) become king of England. See *History of Saint Edward*, lines 3895-3912.

<sup>62</sup> *Ibid.*, lines 5135-5141.

<sup>63</sup> The poetic text on folio 34v ends with a discussion of Harold's death and burial, and the text on folio 36r describes the translation of Edward's remains, which is pictured in the miniature above the text. Therefore, the missing folio probably contains Matthew's final thoughts on not only Edward's life, but also the Norman Conquest, making the loss of this folio especially unfortunate for any attempt to understand Matthew's attitude toward the Conquest or the relationship between history and hagiography in this manuscript. For the text of these two final pages, see *ibid.*, lines 4527-4686.

<sup>64</sup> Hahn discusses the implications of the scene in which Harold crowns himself, presenting it as a contrast to Edward's proper coronation. See Hahn, *Portrayed on the Heart*, 224.

<sup>65</sup> *History of Saint Edward*, lines 5099-5101.

<sup>66</sup> *Ibid.*, lines 4095-4102. Binski also discusses the texts' negative portrayal of Harold. See Binski, "Reflections," 341-343.

Furthermore, in return for Edward's help in the Stamford Bridge episodes, Harold had sworn to fulfill his earlier promise and to recognize William as the rightful king, but when Harold later refuses to give up the crown, Edward again warns the usurper to keep his promises. According to the poetic text, "Saint Edward reproached him often, through dreams and visions, but Harold simply made fun of him," and the poem mentions similar visionary admonitions several more times and states that Harold will eventually suffer as a result of underestimating the power of Edward's vengeance.<sup>67</sup> Curiously, these warnings never appear in the pictorial narrative, and given Matthew's decision to emphasize references to vision in many other instances throughout this manuscript, the omission of these posthumous warnings from the miniatures is perplexing.<sup>68</sup> Nevertheless, Matthew's inclusion of Edward's repeated warnings, as well as the other remarks discussed above, enables the poem and the rubrics to present Harold as a sinister man, a greedy king, and a disobedient Christian whose failure to heed Saint Edward's warnings results in his death at the Battle of Hastings. In contrast, William is presented as the rightful heir to the throne who sends Harold many letters, requesting that he fulfill Edward's requests, before finally consulting the Pope about his plans to "help the English."<sup>69</sup> After the Battle of Hastings, William even seeks out Harold's body to ensure that he receives a proper burial.<sup>70</sup> Therefore, although the images pay little attention to William and portray Harold in a moderate light, the textual accounts demonize the latter as a dangerous usurper whose transgressions must be righted by William's invasion.<sup>71</sup> Like the miniature depicting the murder of Edmund Ironside, the pictorial narrative of

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<sup>67</sup> *History of Saint Edward*, lines 4300-4302, 4483-4490, 5173-5174, and 4511-4520. Folio 31v shows Edward as he stands beside Harold's bed and assures him of an English victory at Stamford Bridge, and this may be understood as a representation of Edward's later warnings. However, the poem presents these as separate events and does not even indicate that Edward actually appeared in Harold's room, simply stating that Edward restored Harold's health.

<sup>68</sup> Noting the many images in which Edward cures blind men and experiences visions, Binski states that Edward was "pre-eminently a miracle worker for the eyes." See Binski, *Westminster Abbey*, 146. I have found that references to vision—whether by means of optical sight, dreams, or divine visions—appear in a majority of manuscript's miniatures. Matthew uses these instances of sight and insight to emphasize Edward's status as a charitable, peaceful, and pious king as well as a powerful saint.

<sup>69</sup> *History of Saint Edward*, lines 5190, and 4311-4326.

<sup>70</sup> *Ibid.*, lines 4631-4634.

<sup>71</sup> Rebecca Reader has shown that Matthew's manuscripts consistently depict Harold as a tyrannical usurper and William as pious and deserving of the crown, although Matthew harshly criticizes William's brutality towards the English during his reign from 1067 to 1087. See Rebecca Reader, "Matthew Paris and the Norman Conquest," in *The Cloister and the World: Essays in Honor of Barbara Harvey*, ed. John Blair and Brian Golding (New York: Clarendon Press, 1996), 127-128.

the Conquest presents Matthew's own and more anglicized vision of history, the implications of which will be discussed more thoroughly in Chapter Four.

Given Matthew's interests as a chronicler, the nature of the changes he made to his illustrated saints' lives is, perhaps, expected. Just as the title of the *Estoire* suggests, Matthew's alterations to the more traditional versions of the narratives place the life of each saint within its proper historical context, enhancing not only the sense that each saint once existed as a real and earthly individual, but also demonstrating the degree to which history and hagiography were inseparable elements of medieval life. In some ways, this mixture of sacred and secular history resembles Matthew's chronicles, which weave together the affairs of church and state to an exceptional degree and frequently reveal his penchant for miracles, visions, and other supernatural events.<sup>72</sup> In addition, like those in the *Chronica Majora*, the images in Matthew's saints' lives provided an additional outlet for sharing his own opinions and, at times, his own biases. It must be remembered, however, that these manuscripts were not created exclusively for Matthew's eyes, and Chapter Four will consider the impact and possible intended function of these historically grounded hagiographic narratives.

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<sup>72</sup> Lewis, *Art of Matthew Paris*, 135-136, 291. Lewis notes that although most chroniclers had a tendency to "compartmentalize their historical accounts to the point of composing two distinct histories of church and crown in separate but synchronized parallel columns," Matthew and his predecessor at St. Albans, Roger Wendover, wrote a remarkably unified version of history. The *Chronica Majora* was, however, less unusual in its inclusion of supernatural events, which played a significant role in most medieval historical accounts.

## CHAPTER FOUR

### THE HISTORY OF EDWARD THROUGH THE EYES AND EARS OF A QUEEN

Matthew's saints' lives present scholars with an extraordinary opportunity to study how one medieval artist tailored a series of manuscripts for a specific group of readers. A number of textual clues indicate that these manuscripts were popular among aristocratic and royal women in England, and this allows for some consideration of how of Matthew's historical additions may have influenced his audience's understanding of the narratives. The flyleaf of the Life of Saint Alban contains several notes in Matthew's handwriting that reveal crucial information about the audience and circulation of his saints' lives. The first note states, "If you please, you can keep this book until Easter."<sup>1</sup> A second note then says, "G., send, please, to the lady Countess of Arundel, Isabel, that she is to send to you the book about St Thomas the Martyr and St Edward which I translated and illustrated, and which the lady Countess of Cornwall may keep until Whitsuntide."<sup>2</sup> Beyond providing evidence that Matthew produced illustrated lives of Thomas Becket and Edward the Confessor, these notes also suggest that all of Matthew's saints' lives circulated amongst the ladies at the very highest levels of society. Of the women specifically mentioned, the Countess of Cornwall is the most significant, for she was the sister of Queen Eleanor of Provence.<sup>3</sup> Further textual evidence indicates that Eleanor, too, was familiar with Matthew's hagiographic manuscripts because she was both the owner and the intended audience of the Life of Edward the Confessor. Matthew begins the *Estoire's* dedication by saying, "Noble,

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<sup>1</sup> Vaughan, *Matthew Paris*, 170.

<sup>2</sup> Ibid. A third note says, "In the Countess of Winchester's book let there be a pair of images on each page, thus:" A list of saints and verses follows, and these were probably meant to be included in a psalter. For the Latin text of these notes and further discussion of their importance, see James, *La Estoire*, 20-25; and James, *Life of Saint Alban*, 15-16. Matthew also dedicated his unillustrated Life of Saint Edmund to Isabel, Countess of Arundel. See Lawrence, introduction, 107.

<sup>3</sup> James, *La Estoire*, 24-25; and Vaughan, *Matthew Paris*, 170-171. Richard Plantagenet, the Earl of Cornwall, was married three times, but his marriage to Sanchia of Provence in 1243 makes her the only wife to whom Matthew could have been referring. See James, *La Estoire*, 25.

well-born lady, Eleanor, rich queen of England, flower among ladies by virtue of your qualities and honors, I who have prepared this book for you put it in your care.”<sup>4</sup>

This information regarding the audience of these saints’ lives has led a number of scholars to speculate about how Matthew intended these manuscripts to function. In her examination of the lives of Saint Alban, Thomas Becket, and Edward the Confessor, Hahn suggests that Matthew updated his hagiographies in order to satisfy his aristocratic and female audience’s taste for romantic and chivalric stories. According to Hahn, miniatures like the one in which Alban converts Aracle, a pagan soldier, would have appealed to these women’s courtly sensibilities by showing them a humble and beautiful young knight who submits to his superior, albeit a saint rather than a king (Fig. 35). Aracle’s proper and courtly behavior could then be contrasted with that of the pagans who are shown savagely beating him at the right side of the miniature.<sup>5</sup> Similarly, Binski argues that Matthew provided his royal readers with a model of kingship by portraying Edward the Confessor as a reserved but strong king who exhibits the qualities of an effective leader.<sup>6</sup> Both of these studies, however, imply that Matthew hoped to present his female audience with lessons that dealt primarily with the proper behavior for royal and courtly men.<sup>7</sup> Elsewhere, Binski has given greater consideration to the special needs of readers like Eleanor of Provence and her daughter-in-law Eleanor of Castile, arguing that the Life of Edward the Confessor would have provided these foreign women with an introduction to

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<sup>4</sup> *History of Saint Edward*, lines 49-54. The dedication also refers to King Henry and his love for Edward, which indicates that Matthew refers to Eleanor of Provence rather than to her daughter-in-law, Eleanor of Castile. See lines 73-78.

<sup>5</sup> Hahn, “Proper Behavior,” 240-241. Hahn compares the central scene in which Aracle kneels before Alban to knighting ceremonies, arguing that Aracle places himself under Alban’s authority. Hahn notes that the scene in the Life of Edward the Confessor in which Queen Gunnilda’s honor is restored by a duel between a giant and a dwarf fits well with Matthew’s emphasis on romance. See Hahn, “Proper Behavior,” 239-240.

<sup>6</sup> Binski, “Reflections,” 345-348. Among the characteristics of good kingship that Binski attributes to Edward are fair taxation, willingness to consult counselors, and an even temper. Binski notes that these qualities were lacking in Henry III’s father, King John, and, therefore, needed to be revived during Henry’s reign. Binski also notes that although it is tempting to suggest that these qualities were emphasized in order either to teach or to please Henry III, there is no evidence that the king was familiar with this manuscript. See “Reflections,” 340. Nevertheless, given Henry’s devotion to Edward, it seems likely that he probably would have known about the *Estoire*.

<sup>7</sup> Although Hahn’s article begins with a discussion of how Matthew’s emphasis on courtly paradigms would have entertained his female readers, she focuses almost exclusively on lessons about male behavior, as suggested by the article’s title, “Proper Behavior for Knights and Kings.”

some of England's most distinguished saints.<sup>8</sup> Indeed, this objective is suggested by Matthew himself when he states that Eleanor of Provence's knowledge of Edward was particularly important due to Henry III's special affinity for the saint.<sup>9</sup> D. A. Carpenter has even argued that this statement makes it very probable that Henry commissioned this manuscript for his wife in order to ensure her familiarity with his favorite saint, a view that seems likely given Henry's patronage of other Edward-related works of art.<sup>10</sup>

The question of how this manuscript's audience understood Matthew's historical additions has received less attention from scholars. Because earlier saintly kings, such as Edmund, Alfred, Edgar, and Ethelred, appear within this historical material, Binski's argument that the manuscript introduced the two Eleanors to English saints would suggest that Matthew's additions played an important role in this function.<sup>11</sup> Fenster and Wogan-Browne argue that Matthew emphasized the historical circumstances of Edward's life and the consequences of his death in order to stress the importance of the legitimacy of the Normans' rise to power.<sup>12</sup> By portraying William the Conqueror, rather than Harold, as the rightful heir to the throne, Matthew

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<sup>8</sup> Binski, *Westminster Abbey*, 61; and Paul Binski, *Becket's Crown: Art and Imagination in Gothic England, 1170-1300* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2004), 124.

<sup>9</sup> In the dedication to the Life of Edward the Confessor, Matthew states that "I know that whatever your lord King Henry loves, you cherish and desire," and later says, "I tell you this for the sake of Saint Edward, whom King Henry loves, and I write in particular that it befits you to love and cherish Edward." See *History of Saint Edward*, lines 65-66 and 73-76. According to Carpenter, "the spiritual life of King Henry III revolved around his veneration for Edward the Confessor," and Henry even asked to be buried next to the saint. See Carpenter, "King Henry III," 865, 871.

<sup>10</sup> Carpenter, "King Henry III," 886. Henry initiated not only the creation of a new shrine for the saint, but also the rebuilding of Westminster Abbey, which had originally been built under Edward's patronage. In addition, Henry commissioned a number of monumental images of Edward, which appeared not only within the abbey, but also around his own bed within the Painted Chamber at Westminster Palace. See Binski, "Abbot Berkyng's Tapestries," 88-89; Binski, *Westminster Abbey*, 49-50, 127-128; Binski, *Painted Chamber*, 39-40. Also see Chapter 3, note 26 of this thesis.

<sup>11</sup> The discussion of saints at the beginning of the *Estoire* focuses exclusively on English saints and saintly kings. The only universally known saints that the manuscript mentions are Saint Peter and Saint John the Evangelist, both of whom appear within the hagiographic narrative, just as they did in Aelred's earlier text. See *History of Saint Edward*, lines 1-20.

<sup>12</sup> Fenster and Wogan-Browne, introduction, 18-25. According to Scott Waugh, support of the Anglo-Norman aristocracy's legitimacy was a common feature of the hagiographic accounts of Edward's life more generally and is, therefore, not a characteristic unique to the *Estoire*. See Scott Waugh, "The Lives of Edward the Confessor and the Meaning of History in the Middle Ages," in *The Medieval Chronicle III: Proceedings of the 3<sup>rd</sup> International Conference on the Medieval Chronicle, Doorn/Utrecht 12-17 July 2002*, ed. Erik Kooper (New York: Rodopi, 2004), 203.

supported Henry III's legitimacy as an Anglo-Norman king.<sup>13</sup> Although I agree with this explanation, it still neglects to consider the response of the manuscript's intended audience.

This chapter will consider additional ways in which Matthew's Life of Edward the Confessor may have both edified and entertained Eleanor of Provence and, possibly, Eleanor of Castile as well. Specifically, I will focus on Matthew's historical additions to the hagiographic narrative and demonstrate that these alterations represent more than a prolific chronicler's preoccupation with historical events. I will suggest that Matthew hoped to provide Eleanor of Provence with an accessible textual and pictorial introduction to not only English saints, as argued by Binski, but also to English history more generally. Furthermore, I will consider how Matthew may have manipulated this historical material in order to present the Norman Conquest in a way that would be pleasing to and supportive of the Anglo-Norman aristocracy. Of course, as discussed in Chapter Three, Matthew's pictorial cycle occasionally reveals his Anglo-Saxon sympathies, and these must be readdressed in light of this manuscript's audience. In addition, this manuscript reflects contemporary changes in both the notion of sanctity and the nature of historical writing and illustration, and I will show that it does so in ways that probably affected a thirteenth-century viewer's understanding of the narrative.

### **English History and Two English Queens from Abroad**

As mentioned, both of the women who may have owned copies of Matthew's Life of Edward the Confessor were English queens who had been raised abroad. Eleanor of Provence spent her childhood at her father's court in southern France, and like many other young aristocratic ladies, she was elegant, articulate, and particularly fond of epic and romance literature, including the Arthurian legends.<sup>14</sup> In the last months of 1235, Eleanor traveled to England in order to prepare for her upcoming marriage to Henry III. On the day of their wedding

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<sup>13</sup> Carpenter suggests that this may have been an important reason for Henry III's interest in promoting Edward and his cult. See Carpenter, "King Henry III," 882-885, 890.

<sup>14</sup> Margaret Howell, *Eleanor of Provence: Queenship in Thirteenth-Century England* (Malden, MA: Blackwell Publishers, 1998), 1, 4-7. Several decades earlier, Provence had been a center of troubadour poetry, and these poems' chivalric and courtly themes remained an important part of Provençal culture during Eleanor's childhood. In fact, for many years, the young Eleanor was even thought to have written a romance poem entitled *Blandin de Cornouailles* in order to catch Henry III's attention, but Howell suggests that this attribution is unfounded (7). For more on the troubadours' influence on Provençal culture, see Linda M. Paterson, *The World of the Troubadours: Medieval Occitan Society, c. 1100-c. 1300* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1993).



in January 1236, she was only twelve years old.<sup>15</sup> The circumstances of the marriage of Eleanor and Henry's son, Edward I, to Eleanor of Castile in 1254 were similar. This younger queen was probably also twelve years old at the time of her marriage, and she had spent her childhood in Castile with her family.<sup>16</sup> Like her Provençal mother-in-law, Eleanor of Castile enjoyed literature, and although she seems to have been most interested in history, records indicate that she owned copies of the lives of both Edward the Confessor and Thomas Becket, the former of which may survive as the extant copy of Matthew's *Estoire*.<sup>17</sup>

Although it is possible that both of these women were able to read Anglo-Norman, Matthew provides evidence that they may not necessarily have read the words of the *Estoire* themselves.<sup>18</sup> After relating the death of Edward, Matthew includes a brief prayer, in which he says: "For laypeople who do not know how to read, I have also represented your story in illustrations in this very same book, because I want the eyes to see what the ears hear."<sup>19</sup> Scholars

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<sup>15</sup> Ibid., 14-16; and Martha Biles, "The Indomitable Belle: Eleanor of Provence, Queen of England," in *Seven Studies in Medieval History and Other Historical Essays: Presented to Harold S. Snellgrove*, ed. Richard H. Bowers (Jackson: University of Mississippi, 1983), 113-114.

<sup>16</sup> John Carmi Parsons, *Eleanor of Castile: Queen and Society in Thirteenth-Century England* (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1995), 9.

<sup>17</sup> John Carmi Parsons, "Of Queens, Courts, and Books: Reflections on the Literary Patronage of Thirteenth-Century Plantagenet Queens," in *The Cultural Patronage of Medieval Women*, ed. June Hall McCash (Athens: The University of Georgia Press, 1996), 185; Parsons, *Court and Household of Eleanor of Castile*, 13; Binski, "Reflections," 339-340; Binski, *Westminster Abbey*, 61; Binski, "Abbot Berkyng's Tapestries," 96-97; and Fenster and Wogan-Browne, introduction, 27-28. There is also evidence that Eleanor of Castile may have owned illustrated Apocalypses. She and Edward I married at the monastery of Las Huelgas, the medieval home of the Beatus Apocalypse now at the Pierpont Morgan Library (M. 429), and they may have obtained a Beatus Apocalypse at this time. Interestingly, such a manuscript may have served as a model for the Trinity Apocalypse (Cambridge, Trinity College, MS R.16.2), which was produced in England, possibly also for Eleanor of Castile. See Morgan, "Illustrated Apocalypses," 5, 16. This would explain the Trinity Apocalypse's Spanish features, which indicate that this manuscript, like the Life of Edward the Confessor, was designed and illuminated with the status and heritage of its reader in mind.

<sup>18</sup> Howell notes that Eleanor of Provence had several Latin texts translated into Anglo-Norman, but it is unclear whether these were read by her or to her. According to Parsons, the output of Eleanor of Castile's personal scriptorium makes it "all but certain" that she was able to read her vernacular manuscripts. See Howell, *Eleanor of Provence*, 6; and Parsons, *Court and Household of Eleanor of Castile*, 13.

<sup>19</sup> *History of Saint Edward*, lines 3955-3966. This statement most likely refers to Gregory the Great's letter to Bishop Serenus of Marseilles, in which he states that images may be used to teach illiterate people. Interestingly, page 68 of the St. Albans Psalter, which was produced around 1120, includes the text of Gregory's letter in both Latin and Anglo-Norman, suggesting that this passage may have had special significance at the monastery. See Fenster and Wogan-Browne, introduction, 29 n. 104; Camille, "Seeing and Reading," 26; and Jane Geddes, *The St Albans Psalter: A Book for Christina of Markyate* (London: British Library, 2005), 68, 72. A color image and translation of page 68 of the St. Albans Psalter are available at the University of Aberdeen's St. Albans Psalter Project (<http://www.abdn.ac.uk/~lib399/english/translation/trans068.shtml>).

agree that this statement indicates that Matthew intended the audience of his saints' lives to view the miniatures while someone else presented the text orally, which was a common way to experience literature throughout the Middle Ages.<sup>20</sup> Thus, as noted by Jordan, the *mise-en-page* of this manuscript reveals Matthew's desire to appeal to an audience that could understand spoken Anglo-Norman but could not necessarily read it.<sup>21</sup> By placing each image above the corresponding passages from the poem and rubrics, Matthew ensured that Eleanor's eyes could, in fact, see what her ears heard (Fig. 1). Of course, it is possible that she also viewed this manuscript privately, and the *mise-en-page* would have facilitated this experience as well. The pictorial cycle ensured that all viewers, literate or not, could enjoy Matthew's story either alone or in the company of others, and the cinematic quality of the miniatures further enhanced the viewers' ability to comprehend the narrative progression from one scene to the next.<sup>22</sup> Moreover,

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<sup>20</sup> Many studies have commented on this passage from the *Estoire*. For examples, see Morgan, *Early Gothic Manuscripts* (II), 96; Lewis, *Art of Matthew Paris*, 49; Vaughan, *Matthew Paris*, 175-176; Dominica M. Legge, *Anglo-Norman in the Cloisters: The Influence of the Orders upon Anglo-Norman Literature* (Edinburgh: University Press, 1950), 24; Jordan, "Illustrated Narratives," 91-92; and Fenster and Wogan-Browne, introduction, 28-29. Richard K. Emmerson addresses the importance of simultaneous visual and aural reception to medieval audiences in his discussion of the Trinity Apocalypse, a manuscript that, as mentioned in note 17 above, may have also been produced for Eleanor of Castile. See Richard K. Emmerson, "Framing the Apocalypse: The Performance of John's Life in the Trinity Apocalypse," in *Visualizing Medieval Performance: Perspectives, Histories, Contexts*, ed. Elina Gertsman (Burlington, VT: Ashgate, 2008), 51-53. Both Joyce Coleman and Ruth Crosby have also discussed the importance of aural reception in the Middle Ages, and Crosby states that "the masses of the people read by means of the ear rather than the eye, by hearing others read or recite rather than by reading to themselves." See Ruth Crosby, "Oral Delivery in the Middle Ages," *Speculum* 11 (1936): 88; and Joyce Coleman, *Public Reading and the Reading Public in Late Medieval England and France* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996).

<sup>21</sup> Jordan, "Multiple Narratives," 92. Also see Legge, *Anglo-Norman in the Cloisters*, 29; and Camille, "Seeing and Reading," 42. Of course, the very fact that Matthew translated Aelred's Latin text to the vernacular shows that Matthew was trying to present his aristocratic readers with a version of Edward's life that they could understand more easily. In his *Life of Saint Edmund*, Matthew states that he translated the Latin text into the vernacular because Anglo-Norman was better understood by the laity and clerics alike. See Lawrence, introduction, 107; "La Vie de Saint Edmond," 343; and Fenster and Wogan-Browne, introduction, 32.

<sup>22</sup> Nevertheless, this is not meant to suggest that the miniatures were included specifically or even primarily for private viewing or to serve as a substitute for the textual narrative. Rather, I suggest that the narrative structure of the images would have made a more visually based "reading" of the narrative possible and that this may have been especially important to the Eleanors, both of whom probably faced some period of time in which they were somewhat unfamiliar with Anglo-Norman. Even Eleanor of Provence would have needed to familiarize herself with this language because the French spoken at her father's court was a dialect of Occitan, which was quite different from Anglo-Norman. See Howell, *Eleanor of Provence*, 6. Emmerson warns against assuming that the presence of such illustrations in vernacular manuscripts indicates that these books were made primarily for silent and private reception rather than for performative reading, stating that "the interrelation of images and texts—to be received by seeing, reading, and listening—is a feature of the medieval manuscript as a 'hybrid medium.'" See Emmerson, "Visualizing Medieval Performance," 52; quoting Kathryn Starkey, *Reading the Medieval Book: Word, Image, and Performance in Wolfram von Eschenbach's Willehalm* (Notre Dame, IN: University of Notre Dame Press, 2004), 97-129.

Matthew's use of both tituli and rubrics enabled people with a modest understanding of the written vernacular to read an abbreviated version of the story. Viewers with a full command of the language could then enjoy the pictures, the poem, and the rubrics or any combination of the three and could also select a different combination for each sitting.

As queens of England, both Eleanor of Provence and Eleanor of Castile would need to possess some knowledge of earlier English history, and the *mise-en-page* of the Life of Edward the Confessor ensured that they had an accessible textual and pictorial account of some of the major events from the later Anglo-Saxon period. Given these ladies' youth, the exciting narrative presented within the framed miniatures may have served as a particularly helpful and even enjoyable way to learn about English history and sainthood. In addition, the pictorial cycle, the poem, and the rubrics each present a fairly concise account of the historical events that occurred both before and after Edward's reign, and this may have also suited the needs and, perhaps, the attention spans of the two young queens. Indeed, Matthew may have seen his Life of Edward the Confessor as a way to present Eleanor of Provence with an abbreviated version of the kind of historical narratives enjoyed by other continental women who lived in England.<sup>23</sup> Although it is now lost, the earliest vernacular historical text for which patronage information exists was a life of Henry I commissioned in 1135 by his second wife, Adeliza of Louvain. Women such as Constance Fitzgilbert, who grew up in Normandy, also commissioned historical works in Anglo-Norman verse.<sup>24</sup> Furthermore, like the *Estoire*, most of these texts focus on events that had occurred within a few centuries of these women's lives.<sup>25</sup> Both Eleanor of Provence and Eleanor of Castile acquired similar historical manuscripts later in life, and, significantly, the former even

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<sup>23</sup> Diana B. Tyson, "Patronage of French Vernacular History Writers in the Twelfth and Thirteenth Centuries," *Romania* 100 (1979): 185, 221-222. According to Tyson, the patronage of vernacular historical manuscripts was most popular in England during the twelfth and early thirteenth centuries and became popular in France only after this period. In addition, many of these early vernacular histories were aimed at supporting the Anglo-Normans' lineage and legitimacy as rulers in England, which is also true of the *Estoire*.

<sup>24</sup> *Ibid.*, 191-202. According to Tyson, it is possible but unlikely that, as suggested by other scholars, Henry II's queen, Eleanor of Aquitaine, commissioned Wace's *Roman de Brut*, a twelfth-century poem about the kings of Britain. Tyson also notes that although men occasionally commissioned vernacular historical manuscripts, "women were the first to realize the interest that vernacular historiography could have for themselves and for their friends." See *ibid.*, 220, 193-195.

<sup>25</sup> *Ibid.*, 222.

owned a *Roman de Guillaume le Conquerant*, which suggests that her interest in the historical events depicted in the Life of Edward the Confessor continued throughout her lifetime.<sup>26</sup>

Although one could argue that Matthew's discussion of the Norman Conquest was simply the most logical way to lengthen his Life of Edward the Confessor, there are a number of reasons for believing that he had more specific motives for portraying this event in Eleanor of Provence's manuscript. As mentioned, the *Estoire's* favorable representation of William the Conqueror emphasized the legitimacy of the Anglo-Norman kings, but Matthew's historical manuscripts demonstrate that he also consistently acknowledged the magnitude of the Conquest's impact on the English people.<sup>27</sup> For example, in both his *Flores Historiarum* and his *Historia Anglorum*, Matthew severs English history at the year 1066, discussing the post-Conquest period only within the second volume of each text.<sup>28</sup> Furthermore, the *Estoire's* description of the events leading to the Conquest was not simply translated and adapted from a single historical work, but was instead carefully compiled from the accounts found in his *Flores Historiarum* and *Chronica Majora*, as well as Aelred's *Genealogia Regum Anglorum*.<sup>29</sup> This suggests that Matthew gave considerable thought to the way he presented this momentous event to Eleanor of Provence, and he may have done so to provide her with a definitive account of the Conquest that he hoped would shape her understanding of her new kin group's rise to power.

The discrepancies between the Life of Edward the Confessor's visual and textual representations of English history, however, require further consideration. As shown in Chapter Three, the pictorial narrative subtly reveals Matthew's Anglo-Saxon sympathies, whereas the

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<sup>26</sup> Parsons, "Queens, Courts, and Books," 176, 185. It is tempting to suggest that Eleanor of Provence's interest in William the Conqueror may have been inspired by Matthew's account of the Norman Conquest in the *Estoire*, but there is no way to know whether or not that was the case. For more information about the literary interests of Eleanor of Provence and Eleanor of Castile, who was particularly interested in history and ancestral matters, see Parsons, "Queens, Courts, and Books."

<sup>27</sup> The importance of the Norman Conquest is, of course, abundantly clear to modern scholars, but it was not until later in the twelfth century that English historians began to consider the Norman Conquest as "the great fracture." For example, Henry of Huntingdon structured his *Historia Anglorum*, which dates to about 1145, not around the Conquest, but according to the "five plagues," the fifth of which consisted of both the Danish and Norman invasions. See Given-Wilson, *Chronicles*, 118-119. Also see Smalley, *Historians*, 99.

<sup>28</sup> Given-Wilson, *Chronicles*, 119; and Reader, "Matthew Paris," 119 n. 5. Reader also notes that in the *Chronica Majora*, 1066 marks the beginning of Matthew's inclusion of rubricated page headers and illustrations of shields in the margins.

<sup>29</sup> Reader, "Matthew Paris," 122-123.

poetic text and rubrics depict foreigners, and the Normans in particular, in a more positive light. Thus, the text certainly would have pleased members of the Anglo-Norman aristocracy, and this may explain why a second copy of the *Estoire* was later produced for Eleanor of Castile. Nevertheless, the fact that the pictorial cycle of this second copy retains what are almost certainly Matthew's own pro-English sentiments suggests that medieval readers, like modern scholars, tended to overlook the differences between the viewpoint offered by the text and the one offered by the miniatures. During much of his career as a chronicler, Matthew boldly tested the boundaries of propriety by openly criticizing various kings and popes, and it was only in his later years that he revised and erased some of the *Chronica Majora*'s more offensive passages.<sup>30</sup> Given the fairly early date of Matthew's autograph copy of the Life of Edward the Confessor, it is possible that this pictorial cycle represents another instance in which Matthew, as a younger man, refused to suppress his own opinions and biases. He may have hoped that the differences between the texts and images were subtle enough to go unnoticed by most readers, but still substantial enough to influence someone like the young Eleanor of Provence, who might be expected to rely on the pictorial narrative rather than its corresponding texts. Therefore, Matthew may have intended for his Life of Edward the Confessor not only to teach Eleanor about English historical events that he felt were particularly significant, but also to inspire the young queen to regard the English people and their Anglo-Saxon heritage with greater respect than some of her Anglo-Norman forebears had done in the past.

### **Contemporary Changes in History and Hagiography**

Important developments in the notion of sanctity and the nature of historical writing and illustration occurred during the twelfth and thirteenth centuries. Chapter Two demonstrated that a general trend toward artistic experimentation fostered Matthew's creation of innovative artistic and narrative techniques specifically for both his chronicles and his saints' lives. Yet, given the amount of historical material that Matthew inserted into his Life of Edward the Confessor, the narrative format of these historical additions deserves further consideration. In the *Chronica Majora*, Matthew visually represents history as a sporadic series of unrelated events

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<sup>30</sup> Lewis, *Art of Matthew Paris*, 122; Vaughan, *Matthew Paris*, 64-65, 117-124; and Gransden, *Legends, Tradition and History*, 221-222. Gransden suggests that Matthew's decision to revise these passages resulted from the development of his personal friendship with Henry III.

that lack the narrativity of a cohesive story (Fig. 2). The narrative format of the miniatures in the Life of Edward the Confessor, however, creates a very different depiction of history (Fig. 5). By placing a sequence of related historical episodes side-by-side, Matthew ensured that his pictorial account of Edward presents not only an exciting narrative, but also a coherent historical narrative. Thus, it is only within his saints' lives that this great medieval chronicler was able to represent history in a cohesive visual format. Because contemporary bookmakers and patrons typically considered historical manuscripts to be unworthy of even minor artistic embellishment,<sup>31</sup> Matthew may have viewed his Life of Edward the Confessor as a safe venue in which to continue experimenting with new formats of historical illustration and, indeed, with a format that would suit the needs of Eleanor of Provence.

The cohesiveness of the Life of Edward the Confessor's added historical narrative is also significant in light of the changes in contemporary notions of historical writing. By the late twelfth century, writers had begun to differentiate between the work of the historian and that of the chronicler, arguing that true histories were elegantly written and structured around a theme, whereas chronicles adhered to a comprehensive and strictly chronological framework that often created "narrative unintelligibility."<sup>32</sup> Hayden White suggests that the chronicle's lack of focus, narrativity, and closure led to the general supposition that histories were superior.<sup>33</sup> Significantly, although Matthew's historical additions to the Life of Edward the Confessor generally follow their proper historical sequence, they form the kind of coherent and focused narrative that was characteristic of the new forms of histories rather than of traditional chronicles. Matthew clearly selected historical episodes based on their relevance to his intended narrative, and this allowed him to create a concise account of the events that occurred just prior to Edward's reign as well as those that occurred just after his death, concluding with the Battle of Hastings. Furthermore, by

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<sup>31</sup> Smalley, *Historians*, 174-175; Ross, "Illustrated Manuscripts at Orosius," 35-36; and Lewis, *Art of Matthew Paris*, 36-37.

<sup>32</sup> Gabrielle M. Spiegel, "Genealogy: Form and Function in Medieval Historical Narrative," *History and Theory* 22 (1983): 44; Gransden, *Legends, Traditions and History*, 199-201; and Lewis, *Art of Matthew Paris*, 11. Lewis notes that although the *Chronica Majora* presents a more compelling account of history than does the typical chronicle, it "still retains the thick woolly texture of the old monastic *omnium gatherum* in which the downfall of a great king must compete for attention with the birth of a two-headed calf." See Lewis, *Art of Matthew Paris*, 11, 14, 51.

<sup>33</sup> White, "Value of Narrativity," 16. White notes that the chronicle "often seems to wish to tell a story, aspires to narrativity, but typically fails to achieve it. More specifically, the chronicle usually is marked by a failure to achieve narrative *closure*. It does not so much conclude as simply terminate." See White, "Value of Narrativity," 5.

embedding his account of Edward's saintly life within these two historical sequences, Matthew was able to create what seems to have been his first and only cohesive visual and textual historical narrative consisting of a beginning, middle, and end.<sup>34</sup>

Matthew's decision to frame the hagiographic narrative within a larger historical context may also reflect contemporary concerns regarding saints' authenticity. André Vauchez and Michael Goodich have both shown that in the thirteenth century, and particularly after the Fourth Lateran Council of 1215, canonization proceedings began to demand more rigorous investigations of a saint's miracles and reputation as well as more reliable witness testimony. In addition, hagiographers sought to provide their texts with a greater degree of accuracy and objectivity in order to establish the saint's authenticity and reduce the possibility of any attacks against the cult.<sup>35</sup> In her discussion of the Life of Edward the Confessor, Hahn suggests that these concerns influenced Matthew's decision to include details such as the text of important documents and allusions to the senses, which were designed to persuade the audience of the narrative's authority.<sup>36</sup> It seems likely that Matthew's added historical sequences performed a similar function. By grounding Edward's saintly life within a specific and identifiable historical context, Matthew enhanced the sense that Edward once existed not only as an earthly individual, but also as a heavenly saint whose life of charity, piety, and faithfulness could be emulated by viewers such as Eleanor of Provence and Eleanor of Castile.<sup>37</sup>

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<sup>34</sup> Matthew's later Lives of the Offas also presents a fairly focused narrative, but it is largely a work of fiction rather than history. Although the Life of Saint Alban includes the visual and textual hagiographic narrative followed by two more historically based sequences of images, it forms a much less cohesive narrative, jumping from the life proper to the account of Bishop Germanus to King Offa's foundation of the monastery. See Hahn, "Limits of Text and Image," 37; and Morgan, *Early Gothic Manuscripts (I)*, 130-131. In addition, the sense of narrative closure provided by the finality of the Norman Conquest differs from traditional hagiographic accounts, which typically end abruptly after a series of posthumous miracles. See Hahn, *Portrayed on the Heart*, 43.

<sup>35</sup> André Vauchez, *The Spirituality of the Medieval West: From the Eighth to the Twelfth Century*, trans. Colette Friedlander (Kalamazoo, MI: Cistercian Publications, 1993), 149-150; André Vauchez, *Sainthood in the Later Middle Ages*, trans. Jean Birrell (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997), 39-40; Michael Goodich, *Vita Perfecta: The Ideal of Sainthood in the Thirteenth Century* (Stuttgart: Anton Hiersemann, 1982), 4.

<sup>36</sup> Hahn, *Portrayed on the Heart*, 307-308.

<sup>37</sup> Evelyn Birge Vitz has also addressed the blending of history and hagiography in the saints' lives of the late Middle Ages and Renaissance, but she comes to a different conclusion. In discussing the need for hagiography to provoke a spiritual response, she states that these more historical narratives mark the point at which hagiographers "lost sight of this central purpose of hagiography." See Evelyn Birge Vitz, "From the Oral to the Written in Medieval and Renaissance Saints' Lives," in *Images of Sainthood in Medieval Europe*, ed. Renate Blumenfeld-Kosinski and Tímea Szell (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1991), 113. The present study, however, suggests that this greater sense of authenticity would have heightened Eleanor's response to Edward and his life and provided

Although Matthew's reasons for adding such a substantial amount of historical material to his Life of Edward the Confessor must remain uncertain, this chapter has demonstrated that these additions cannot be dismissed as simply a chronicler's preoccupation with history or a hagiographer's desire to extend his account. His alterations to Aelred's earlier hagiographic narrative reflect contemporary issues regarding historical writing and saintly authenticity and almost certainly affected his audience's understanding of the narrative in a number of significant ways. He provided Eleanor of Provence and other viewers with a concise, entertaining, and educational account of some of England's most significant historical events, which were also of particular contemporary relevance. His combination of vernacular text and cinematic images, moreover, would have ensured the manuscript's accessibility to viewers of various ages and reading abilities. Nevertheless, these historical additions do not diminish the life's ability to function as a powerful hagiographic narrative. Indeed, given thirteenth-century concerns over the authenticity of saints, Matthew's historical additions probably heightened the sense that Edward was an authentic figure worthy of devotion. In the end, Matthew presented his viewers with a compelling depiction of both English history and English sainthood and showed that he understood his audience and the ways in which both history and hagiography could best serve its needs.

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an especially powerful model for emulation. The notion that history could affect its viewers in such a way is strengthened by the increasing value placed on history during the twelfth and thirteenth centuries. For more on contemporary audiences' growing interest in history, see M.-D. Chenu's essay entitled "Theology and the New Awareness of History," in *Nature, Man, and Society in the Twelfth Century: Essays on New Theological Perspectives in the Latin West*, trans. and ed. by Jerome Taylor and Lester K. Little (Chicago: University of Chicago, 1968), 162-201; and Nancy F. Partner, *Serious Entertainment: The Writing of History in Twelfth-Century England* (Chicago: University of Chicago, 1977).



## CHAPTER FIVE

### CONCLUSION

Matthew's manuscripts reveal that he possessed an exceptionally adventurous attitude regarding the textual and pictorial representation of both history and hagiography. By examining his chronicles, his hagiographic narratives, and the historical material that he added to these hagiographic narratives, this study has shown that Matthew understood how both history and hagiography could be represented and even manipulated to suit the needs and expectations of his readers. In his *Life of Edward the Confessor*, Matthew took the earlier narratives that were created by Aelred and various Westminster artists and transformed them into a new and unique account of Edward's life that was neither pure hagiography, nor pure history. To Matthew, these two genres seem to have been separate but related ways of understanding the world, which, when combined in a certain way, could create a remarkably rich and powerful narrative that would be both instructive and spiritually affective for his very special young reader, Eleanor of Provence.

I began with an exploration of the differing artistic and narrative techniques that Matthew employed in the creation of his saints' lives and chronicles. A comparison of these two types of manuscripts not only to each other, but also to other English illustrated hagiographies and histories shows that Matthew discovered new and innovative methods of visually representing each genre. The *Chronica Majora* presents an extensive series of isolated and iconic marginal drawings that parallels the character of the text's jumbled entries and serves important practical functions by helping the viewer to remember and to locate particular passages of text. In contrast, the cinematic pictorial cycles in Matthew's hagiographic manuscripts allow these narratives to come alive more easily in the mind and heart of the viewer, thus encouraging an affective response to the life and miracles of each saint. Therefore, although the images in the *Chronica Majora* indicate that Matthew recognized the chronicle's limited capacity for relating a narrative, he found a way to provide each type of manuscript with a pictorial cycle that suited the character and function of its accompanying text.

Nevertheless, Matthew's substantial alterations to the more traditional pictorial and textual accounts of the *Life of Edward the Confessor* raise questions about the character and

function of the *Estoire* and its images. I demonstrated that these historical additions provide a contextual frame for the hagiographic narrative by placing Edward's saintly life within the broader context of English history, albeit Matthew's own and sometimes biased understanding of this history. Furthermore, I argued that the Life of Edward the Confessor's textual and pictorial narratives as extant in the Cambridge manuscript were carefully constructed in order to suit Eleanor of Provence's needs and that the added historical material played a key role in Matthew's original design. By grounding Edward's saintly life within the context of English history, Matthew provided Eleanor with evidence that the saint was an authentic figure who deserved her devotion, and by weaving posthumous miracles into the account of the events of the Norman Conquest, he also demonstrated the saint's continued relevance to the spiritual lives of aristocratic people just like herself. Of course, these historical additions also had a practical function, and they presented Eleanor with an accessible pictorial and textual introduction to events from English history that she, as queen, would need to know. Moreover, the placement of these historical sequences within a hagiographic manuscript allowed Matthew to write a focused historical account and to illustrate it in a new narrative format. Indeed, as noted earlier, it is only within the blended narratives of his saints' lives that this renowned medieval historian was able to break free of the chronicle's narrative limitations and to produce a concise and cohesive historical narrative in either words or images.

This last point is significant in light of contemporary attitudes toward historical illustration. Most medieval chronicles were denied even minor artistic embellishment, and the marginal drawings in the *Chronica Majora* are typically regarded as a very early, if not the earliest, extensive series of historical images to have been placed within a manuscript.<sup>1</sup> Yet, despite Matthew's role in the development of a tradition of historical illustration in England, previous art historians have overlooked the importance of the historical sequences in the Life of Edward the Confessor. Although embedded within a hagiographic rather than a historical manuscript, these narrative images reveal new ideas concerning the way in which history could be visually represented. Further consideration of these miniatures may yield additional insight into both Matthew's career as an artist and author of historical texts and the development of not

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<sup>1</sup> For example, see Lewis, *Art of Matthew Paris*, 35-37; and Smalley, *Historians*, 174.

only historical illustration, but also of narrative historical illustration, which is generally assumed to have emerged in the decades following Matthew's death.<sup>2</sup>

By considering Matthew's visual representation of both history and hagiography, this thesis has explored an important but neglected aspect of Matthew's career and artistic production. In addition to providing a greater understanding of his conception of the relationship between these two genres, I have shown that Matthew's textual and pictorial additions to the Life of Edward the Confessor would have had a significant impact on how his audience understood the narrative. Furthermore, I suggest that this added historical material provides additional support for attributing the text of the *Estoire* and the design of its accompanying illustrations to Matthew. The lengthy historical sequence that concludes the pictorial narrative in the Life of Saint Alban presents a similar blend of history and hagiography and demonstrates that this was a feature of the illustrated saints' lives that have been solidly attributed to Matthew's hand. In addition, his general penchant for history and for artistic and narrative innovation also supports an attribution to Matthew. Finally, I suggest that the occasional political biases in the illustrated historical narrative also indicate that these miniatures derive from Matthew's own autograph Life of Edward the Confessor because the *Chronica Majora* unabashedly presents the same sentiments of English pride and xenophobia.<sup>3</sup>

In conclusion, the historical additions to the Life of Edward the Confessor are one of many ways in which Matthew carefully tailored his illustrated manuscripts to meet the needs of his audience. By placing Edward's saintly life within a broader historical context, Matthew was able to provide Eleanor of Provence with a compelling visual representation of both English history and English sainthood. Moreover, this blending of genres provided Matthew with an opportunity to experiment with new forms of historical illustration. Indeed, it is this fresh and innovative attitude that has ensured the preservation of Matthew's name, memory, and manuscripts for over seven hundred years, allowing modern readers to enjoy the same story created for a young queen in the thirteenth century.

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<sup>2</sup> Lewis, *Art of Matthew Paris*, 37; and Smalley, *Historians*, 135, 174-175.

<sup>3</sup> Lewis, *Art of Matthew Paris*, 12.

## **APPENDIX A**

### **LIST OF ILLUSTRATIONS IN THE LIFE OF EDWARD THE CONFESSOR**

- Fol. 3v    Kings Alfred, Edgar, and Ethelred seated among angels.
- Fol. 4r    King Sweyn oppresses the English people; Queen Emma flees to Normandy with her sons Edward and Alfred.
- Fol. 4v    Edward and his family arrive in Normandy; death of Sweyn.
- Fol. 5r    Edmund Ironside fights Cnut; the kings embrace; death of Edmund Ironside.
- Fol. 5v    Alfred arrives in England; Alfred stands before King Harald Harefoot.
- Fol. 6r    Alfred is tortured; oppression of the English people.
- Fol. 6v    Queen Gunnilda's honor is vindicated by a duel between a giant and a dwarf.
- Fol. 7r    Death of Harthacnut; Bishop Brithwold kneels before an altar.
- Fol. 7v    Brithwold dreams that Edward will become king with the blessing of Saint Peter.
- Fol. 8r    Brithwold describes his dream; the young Edward prays at an altar.
- Fol. 8v    Edward receives news of Harthacnut's death; Edward sails for England.
- Fol. 9r    Edward lands in England; coronation of Edward.
- Fol. 9v    Edward has a vision of the devil seated upon the Danegeld tribute.
- Fol. 10r    Edward sees a thief stealing from a chest in his bedchamber.
- Fol. 10v    Edward's nobles advise him to marry; Edward prays at an altar.
- Fol. 11r    Edward agrees to marry.

- Fol. 11v Reception of Edith; coronation of Edith.
- Fol. 12r Edward has a vision at Mass of the drowning of the Danish king; the Danish king falls overboard.
- Fol. 12v The Danish ship returns home; Edward reports his vision to his nobles.
- Fol. 13r Edward declares his intention to go on a pilgrimage.
- Fol. 13v Edward's pilgrimage is discussed at court.
- Fol. 14r Two English bishops travel to Rome.
- Fol. 14v The Pope receives the bishops.
- Fol. 15r The two bishops return to England.
- Fol. 15v A hermit has a vision of Saint Peter; the hermit commits his experience to writing; the hermit gives a letter to a messenger.
- Fol. 16r Edward receives a letter from the hermit, encouraging him to build a church for Saint Peter at Thorney.
- Fol. 16v Edward receives a letter from the Pope; Edward heals a cripple.
- Fol. 17r Edward carries the cripple on his back to an altar; the cripple kneels before the altar.
- Fol. 17v Saint Peter appears before a fisherman on a boat near Westminster.
- Fol. 18r Saint Peter consecrates Westminster Abbey.
- Fol. 18v Saint Peter and the fisherman draw up a net with two salmon; the fisherman carries the salmon to Bishop Mellitus.
- Fol. 19r Bishop Mellitus preaches; Edward orders the construction of Westminster Abbey.
- Fol. 19v An embassy is sent to Rome; the Pope receives the embassy.
- Fol. 20r The Pope bids farewell to the embassy; the embassy returns to England.

- Fol. 20v Edward receives the papal charter.
- Fol. 21r Edward has a vision of the Christ Child during the elevation of the Host.
- Fol. 21v Edward cures a scrofulous woman.
- Fol. 22r Edward washes his hands and the water cures a blind man; the man verifies the miraculous cure.
- Fol. 22v A second blind man arrives; Edward cures the blind man.
- Fol. 23r A woodsman suddenly goes blind; Edward heals the blind woodsman.
- Fol. 23v A man kneels before Edward; four blind men travel to Westminster.
- Fol. 24r The four blind men are healed by Edward's wash water; Edward washes his hands.
- Fol. 24v Earl Godwin's sons, Harold and Tostig, quarrel at a banquet.
- Fol. 25r Death of Earl Godwin at a royal banquet.
- Fol. 25v Edward has a vision of the Seven Sleepers of Ephesus.
- Fol. 26r Edward gives his ring to Saint John the Evangelist, who is disguised as a pilgrim.
- Fol. 26v Saint John meets two pilgrims; the pilgrims dine; Saint John gives the ring to the pilgrims.
- Fol. 27r The pilgrims give the ring back to Edward; Edward gives treasures to the poor.
- Fol. 27v Harold kneels before Edward; Edward attends Mass.
- Fol. 28r Edward has a vision of two monks from his childhood; Edward relates his vision.
- Fol. 28v Edward receives the last rites from a bishop.
- Fol. 29r Death of Edward; Saints Peter and John present Edward to Christ.

- Fol. 29v Edward is buried and sick people pray at the tomb.
- Fol. 30r Seven blind men travel to Westminster; the seven blind men are cured at Edward's tomb.
- Fol. 30v Harold crowns himself.
- Fol. 31r King Harald Hardrada lands near York; Harald Hardrada defeats the Northumbrian army.
- Fol. 31v Edward heals Harold's gout; Edward appears in a vision to the Abbot of Ramsey.
- Fol. 32r The Abbot of Ramsey speaks to Harold; Harold meets with his counselors.
- Fol. 32v The Battle of Stamford Bridge.
- Fol. 33r Miraculous cures at Edward's shrine.
- Fol. 33v Harold hoards treasure.
- Fol. 34r William the Conqueror lands in England.
- Fol. 34v The Battle of Hastings.
- Fol. 35 (folio is missing)
- Fol. 36r Edward's body is found incorrupt at the opening of his tomb in 1102; King Henry II kisses the corpse as it is translated to a new shrine in 1163.

## APPENDIX B

### FIGURES



Figure 1. Edmund Ironside fights Cnut; the kings embrace; death of Edmund Ironside (Full page). Life of Edward the Confessor. Cambridge, University Library, MS Ee.3.59, folio 5r. Source: Cambridge University Library's Digital Library.



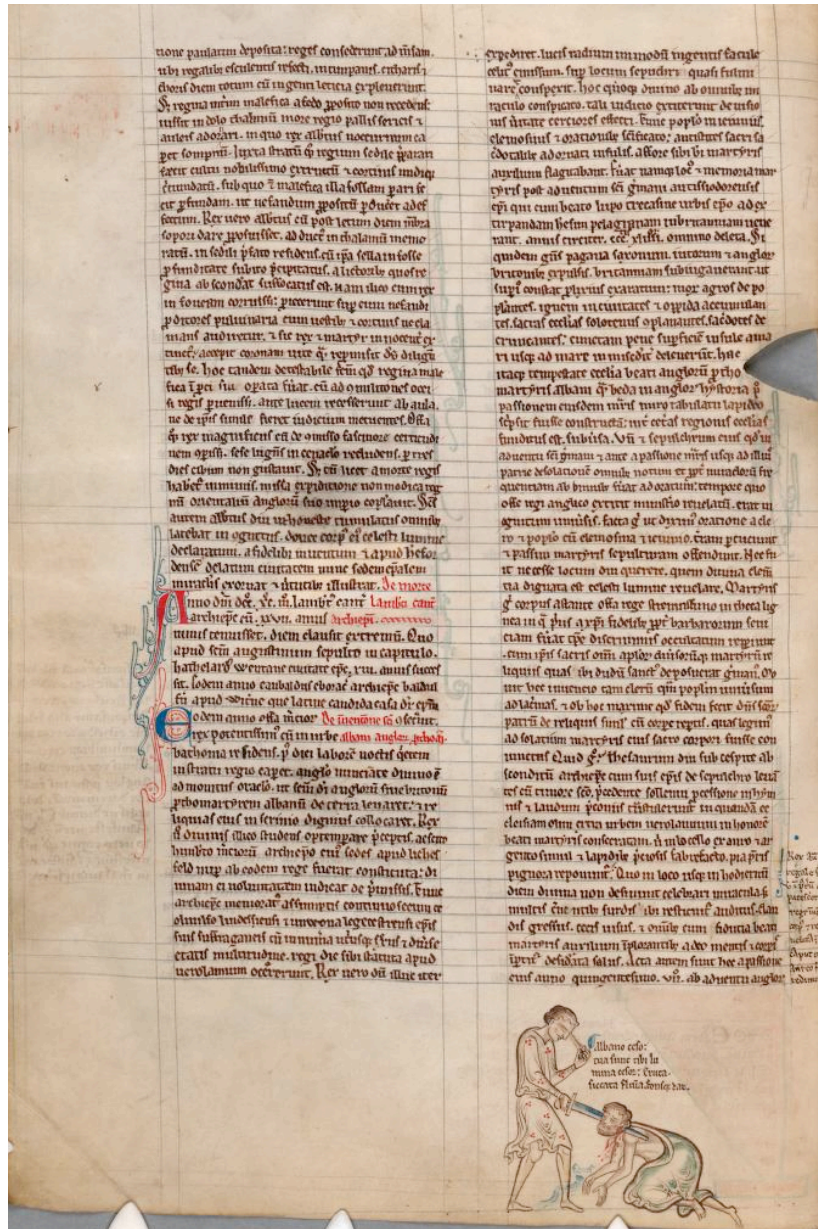


Figure 2. Martyrdom of Saint Alban (Full page). *Chronica Majora*. Cambridge, Corpus Christi College, MS 26, folio 58v. Source: Parker Library on the Web.

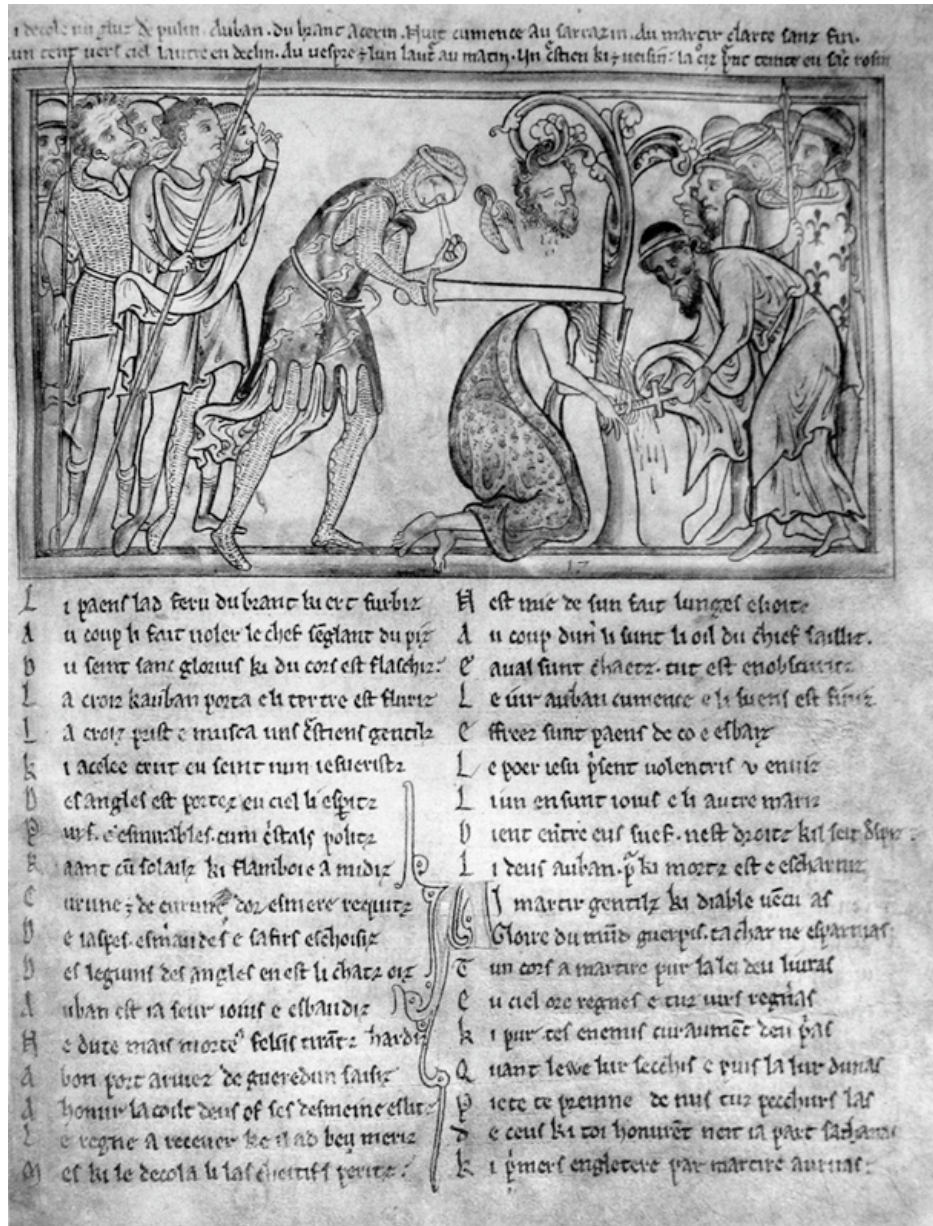


Figure 3. Martyrdom of Saint Alban (Full page). Life of Saint Alban. Dublin, Trinity College Library, MS 177, folio 38r. Source: James, *Illustrations to the Life of Saint Alban*.





Figure 4. Thomas Becket pronounces the sentence of exile on all his enemies; Becket argues his case before Henry II and Louis VII. Life of Thomas Becket. Private collection of the late Sir Paul Getty, Wormsley Library, folio 2r. Source: Backhouse and de Hamel, *Becket Leaves*.



Figure 5. Left: Edward and his family arrive in Normandy; death of Sweyn. Right: Edmund Ironside fights Cnut; the kings embrace; death of Edmund Ironside. Life of Edward the Confessor. Cambridge, University Library, MS Ee.3.59, folios 4v-5r. Source: Cambridge University Library's Digital Library.





Figure 6. Left: Battle of Stamford Bridge. Right: Miraculous cures at Edward's shrine. Life of Edward the Confessor. Cambridge, University Library, MS Ee.3.59, folios 32v-33r. Source: Cambridge University Library's Digital Library.

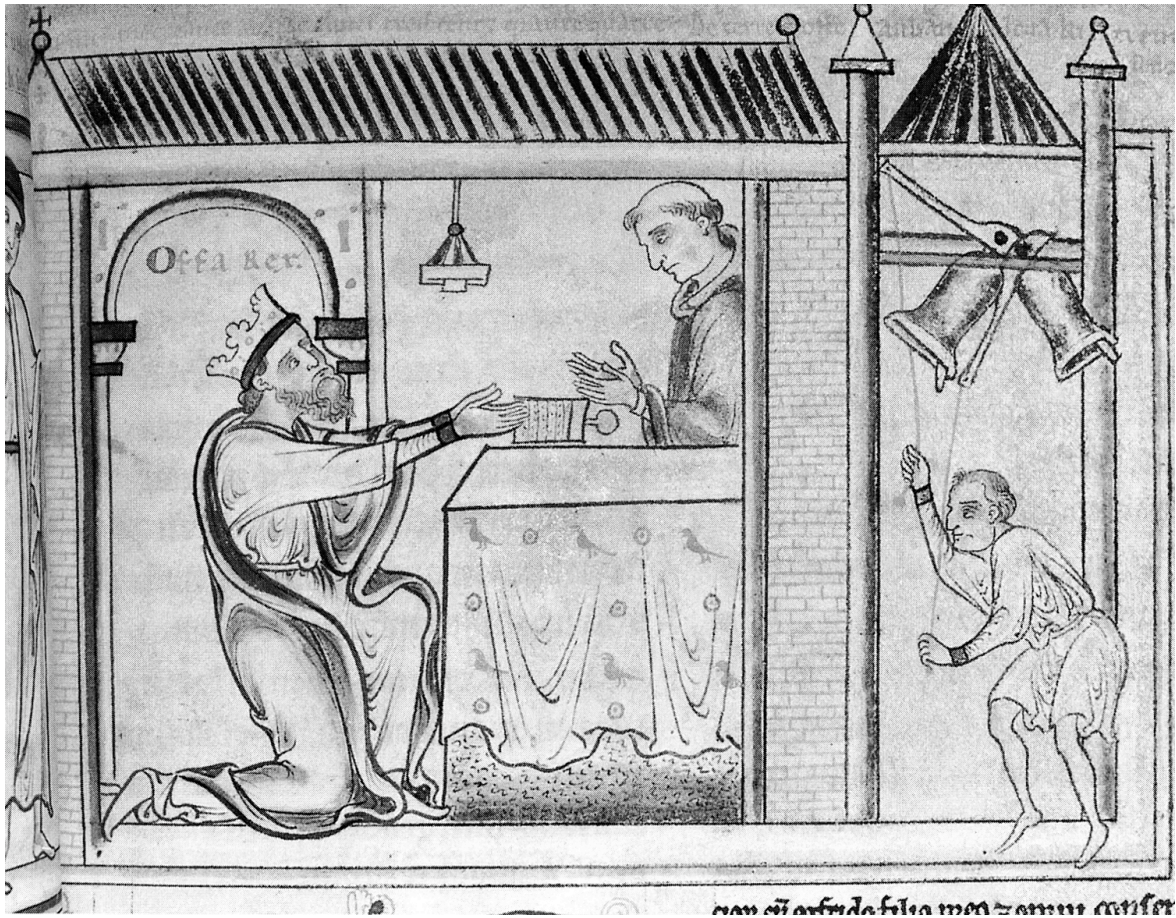


Figure 7. King Offa presents the charter to St. Albans and the bells are rung. Life of Saint Alban. Dublin, Trinity College Library, MS 177, folio 63r. Source: Hahn, *Portrayed on the Heart*.





Figure 8. Cuthbert tells his companion that an eagle will bring them food; an eagle brings a fish.  
Life of Saint Cuthbert. Oxford, University College, MS 165, page 41. Source: Hahn,  
*Portrayed on the Heart*.



Figure 9. Cuthbert and his companion share a fish with an eagle. Life of Saint Cuthbert. London, British Library, MS Yates Thompson 26, folio 28v. Source: Marner, *St Cuthbert*.



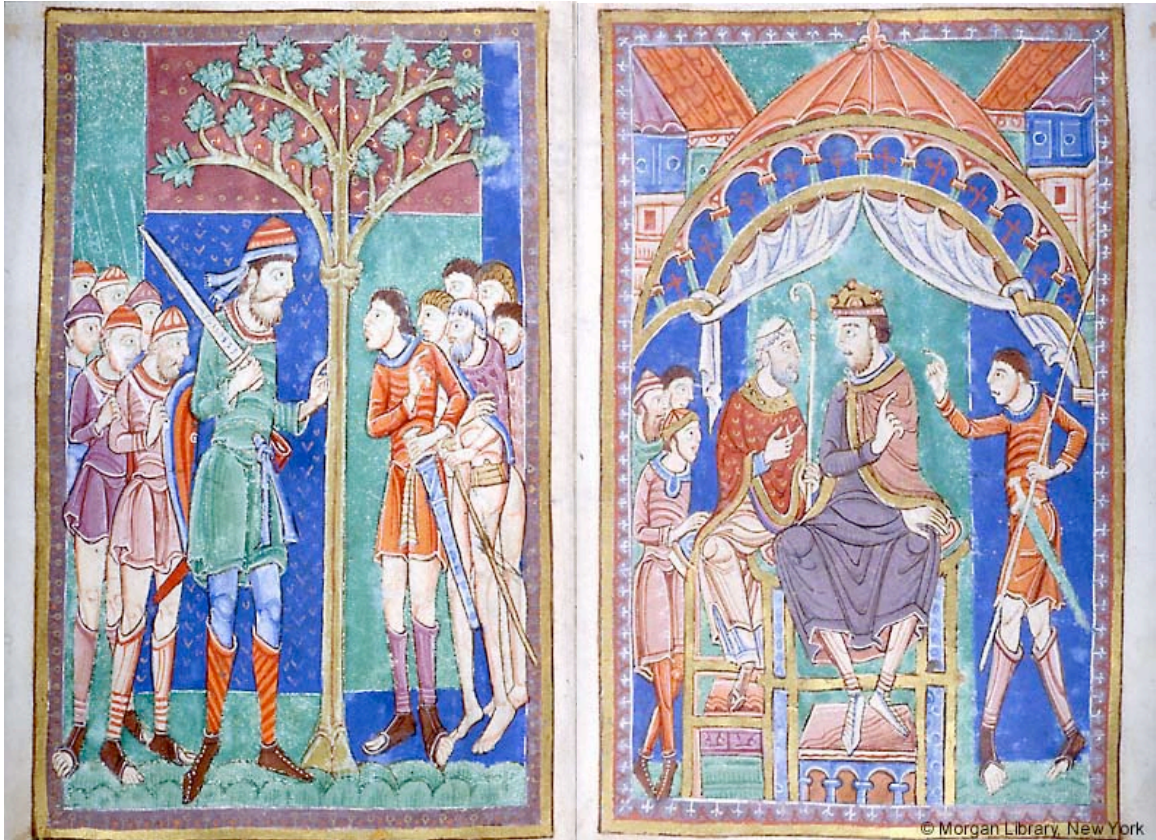


Figure 10. Left: Ingvar commands his messenger. Right: Edmund refuses Ingvar's command. Life of Saint Edmund. New York, Pierpont Morgan Library, M. 736, folios 10v-11r. Source: Corsair (Online Research Resource of the Pierpont Morgan Library).



Figure 11. Visions of Henry I as explained by his physician, Grimbald. Chronicle of Florence and John of Worcester. Oxford, Corpus Christi College, MS 157, page 382. Source: FSU Department of Art History Digital Database.



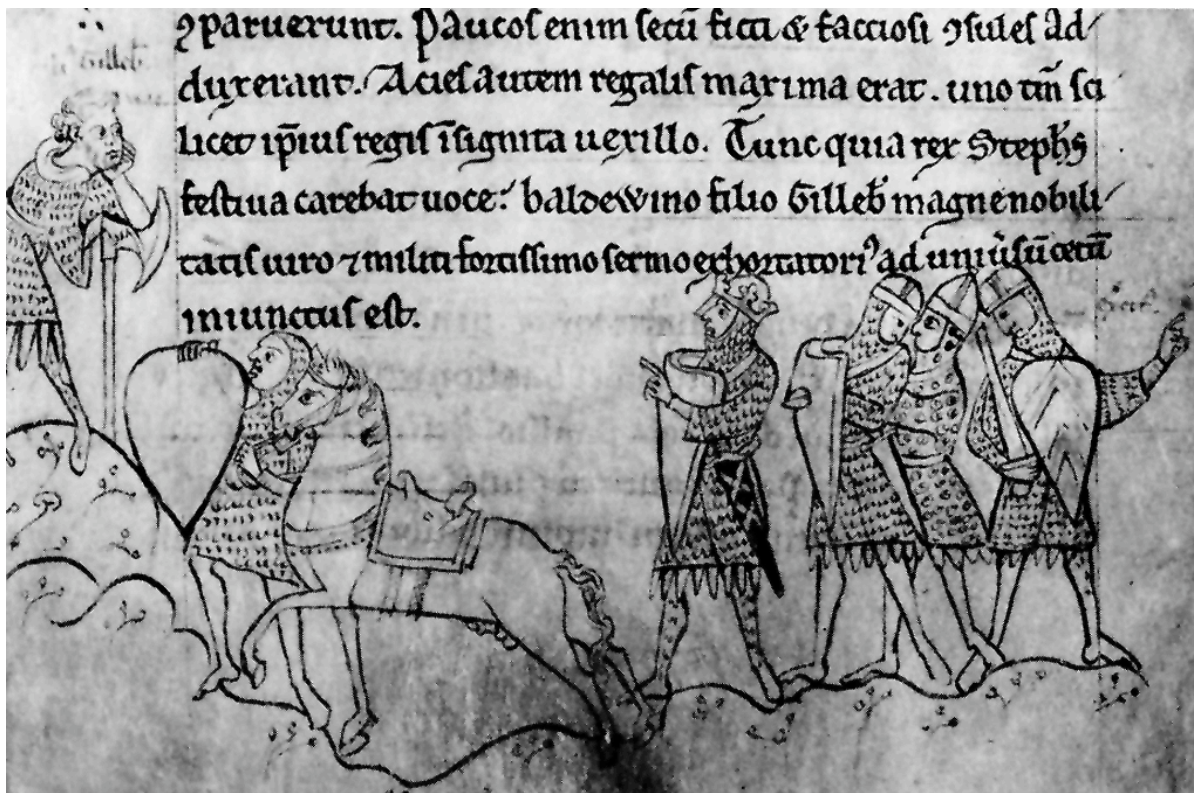


Figure 12. Baldwin FitzGilbert exhorting his troops. Henry of Huntingdon's *Historia Anglorum*.  
 London, British Library, MS Arundel 48, folio 168v. Source: Lewis, *Art of Matthew Paris*.



Figure 13. “Here Duke William comes to his palace with Harold / Where a certain clerk and Aelfgyva.” Bayeux Tapestry. Bayeux, Musée de la Tapisserie de Bayeux. Source: FSU Department of Art History Digital Database.



Figure 14. Combat between Edmund Ironside and Cnut the Dane. *Chronica Majora*. Cambridge, Corpus Christi College, MS 26, folio 80v. Source: Parker Library on the Web.





Figure 15. Martyrdom of Saint Alban (Detail). Life of Saint Alban.  
Dublin, Trinity College Library, MS 177, folio 38r. Source: Marks and Morgan, *English Manuscript Painting*.



Figure 16. Martyrdom of Saint Alban (Detail). *Chronica Majora*. Cambridge, Corpus Christi College, MS 26, folio 58v. Source: Parker Library on the Web.





Figure 17. King Offa discovers the relics of Saint Alban. *Chronica Majora*. Cambridge, Corpus Christi College, MS 26, folio 59r. Source: Parker Library on the Web.





Figure 18. Alban prays and causes springs to flow. Life of Saint Alban. Dublin, Trinity College Library, MS 177, folio 37v. Source: Hahn, *Portrayed on the Heart*.



Figure 19. Edmund Ironside fights Cnut; the kings embrace; death of Edmund Ironside (Detail). Life of Edward the Confessor. Cambridge, University Library, MS Ee.3.59, folio 5r. Source: Cambridge University Library's Digital Library.





Figure 20. The Saxons, Jutes, and Angles cross the sea to invade Britain. Life of Saint Edmund. New York, Pierpont Morgan Library, M. 736, folio 7r. Source: FSU Department of Art History Digital Database.



Figure 21. Ingvar burns a town. Life of Saint Edmund. New York, Pierpont Morgan Library, M. 736, folio 10r. Source: FSU Department of Art History Digital Database.





Figure 22. Saint Edmund appears to Sweyn and kills him. Life of Saint Edmund. New York, Pierpont Morgan Library, M. 736, folio 21v. Source: Corsair (Online Research Resource of the Pierpont Morgan Library).



Figure 23. Bishops Germanus and Lupus dispute with the Pelagians. Life of Saint Alban. Dublin, Trinity College Library, MS 177, folio 54v. Source: Morgan, *Early Gothic Manuscripts (I)*.



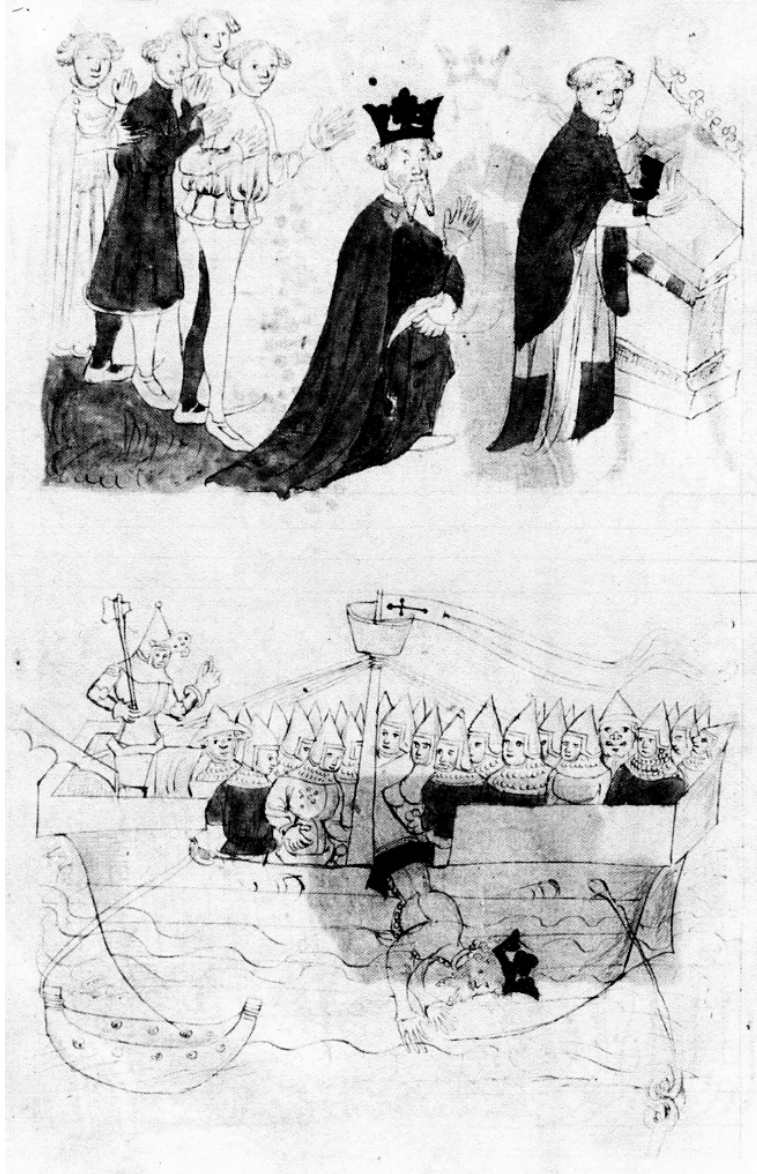


Figure 24. Edward kneels before a priest at an altar; Edward's vision of the king of Denmark's drowning. Cambridge, Trinity College, MS B.10.2, folio 40v. Source: Simpson, *English and Bohemian Painting*.



Figure 25. Edward's vision of the drowning of the king of Denmark; Edward's vision of the Seven Sleepers of Ephesus. Domesday Abbreviate. London, Public Record Office, MS E36/284, folio 2r. Source: Binski, *Westminster Abbey*.





Figure 26. Kings Alfred, Edgar, and Ethelred seated among angels. Life of Edward the Confessor. Cambridge, University Library, MS Ee.3.59, folio 3v. Source: Cambridge University Library's Digital Library.



Figure 27. The Battle of Hastings. Life of Edward the Confessor. Cambridge, University Library, MS Ee.3.59, folio 34v. Source: Cambridge University Library's Digital Library.





Figure 28. Miraculous cures at Edward's shrine. Life of Edward the Confessor. Cambridge, University Library, MS Ee.3.59, folio 33r. Source: Cambridge University Library's Digital Library.



Figure 29. Seated portraits of Henry II, Richard I, John, and Henry III. *Historia Anglorum* and *Chronica Majora*. London, British Library, MS Royal 14.C.vii, folio 9r. Source: Lewis, *Art of Matthew Paris*.





Figure 30. The abbot of Ramsey visits Harold; Harold speaks to his counselors. Life of Edward the Confessor. Cambridge, University Library, MS Ee.3.59, folio 32r. Source: Cambridge University Library's Digital Library.



Figure 31. Edward and his family arrive in Normandy; death of Sweyn. Life of Edward the Confessor. Cambridge, University Library, MS Ee.3.59, folio 4v. Source: Cambridge University Library's Digital Library.





Figure 32. Harold crowns himself. Life of Edward the Confessor. Cambridge, University Library, MS Ee.3.59, folio 30v. Source: Cambridge University Library's Digital Library.



Figure 33. The Battle of Stamford Bridge. Life of Edward the Confessor. Cambridge, University Library, MS Ee.3.59, folio 32v. Source: Cambridge University Library's Digital Library.





Figure 34. King Harold hoards treasure. Life of Edward the Confessor. Cambridge, University Library, MS Ee.3.59, folio 33v. Source: Cambridge University Library's Digital Library.

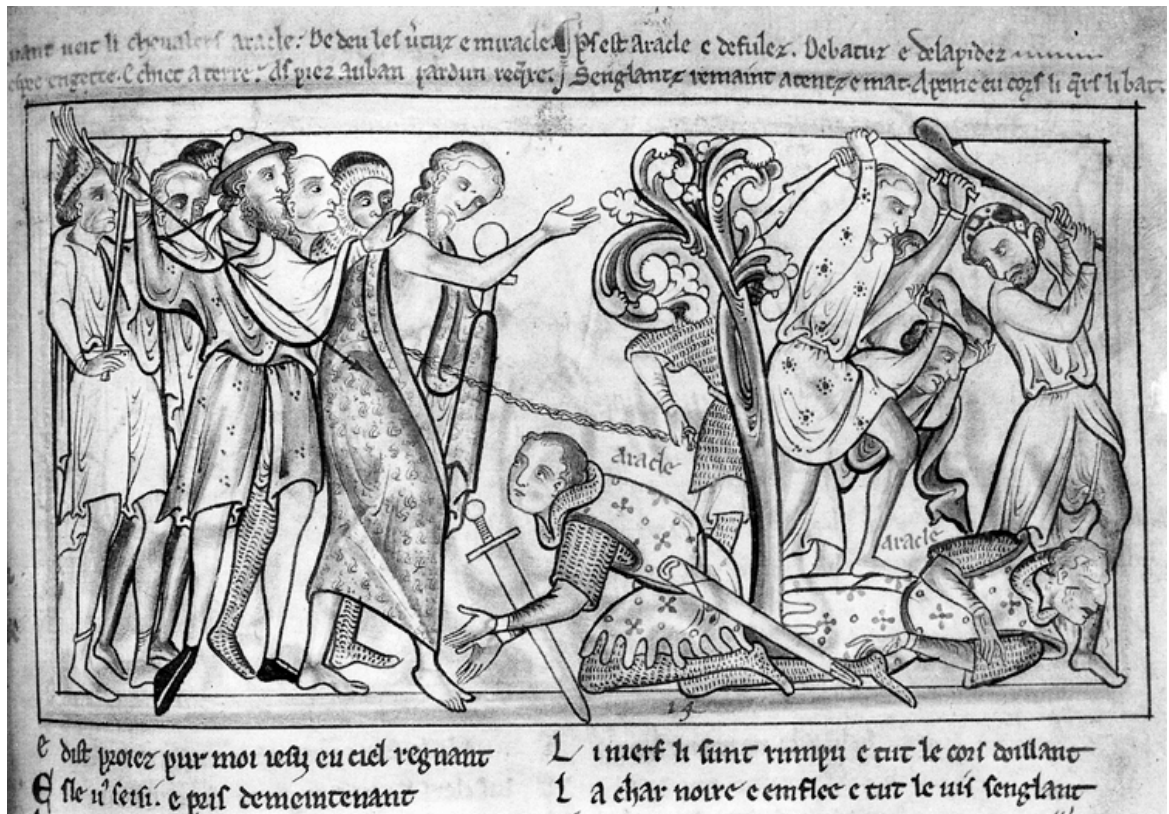


Figure 35. Alban's miracles convert the soldier Aracle; Aracle is beaten by the pagans. Life of Saint Alban. Dublin, Trinity College Library, MS 177, folio 37r. Source: Hahn, *Portrayed on the Heart*.

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Deirdre Carter received a Bachelor of Arts in Journalism from Indiana University in 2005. As a student at IU, Deirdre developed an interest in medieval archaeology and traveled to England to participate in excavations at Bamburgh Castle and Sedgeford. Upon returning to Indiana, she gained additional experience working with art objects at the Mathers Museum of World Cultures and with a private collection of African art. In 2006, Deirdre began a curatorial internship at the Loyola University Museum of Art in Chicago, where she worked until beginning graduate studies in Art History at Florida State University in Fall 2007. In early 2009, Deirdre began serving as the editorial assistant for *Athanor* and presented a paper based on her thesis at the Vagantes Graduate Student Conference. After receiving her Master's degree in Spring 2009, she will begin doctoral studies under the direction of Richard Emmerson at Florida State University, where she has been awarded the Patricia Rose Teaching Fellowship.