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The *Liber miraculorum* of Simon de Montfort:

Contested sanctity and contesting authority

in late thirteenth-century England

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The *Liber miraculorum* of Simon de Montfort:

Contested sanctity and contesting authority in late thirteenth-century England

by

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The *Liber miraculorum* of Simon de Montfort: Contested sanctity and contesting authority in late thirteenth-century England

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Simon de Montfort, earl of Leicester, led a parliamentary reform movement and rebelled against Henry III of England beginning in 1258. After the earl was killed at the battle of Evesham, August 4, 1265, he became the center of a saint's cult that persisted into the next century despite both royal and papal prohibition. A collection of miracle stories attributed to him, called a *Liber miraculorum*, shows how the continuing rebellion's supporters managed covertly to transmit stories about the new St. Simon to the keepers of his shrine. This information also reveals who these supporters were, why they turned to an illicit saint for help, and how the priorities of this covert cult often distort the appearance of these figures in Simon de Montfort's *Liber miraculorum*. The first two chapters of my dissertation locate Simon de

Montfort in a long line of saintly royal opponents, dominated by bishops, stretching back to Thomas Becket. As with the earl's contemporary, Louis IX of France, de Montfort's role as a prominent crusader contributed both to his political reforms in life and his aura of sanctity after death, despite his status as a layman. The third and fourth chapters analyze the *Liber miraculorum* using quantitative and prosopographical methods, as well as methods previously used in the history of medieval business to uncover networks of intermediaries. This permits a reconstruction of the process of writing the miracle text, the role of oral interactions, and the ways in which these processes adapted to changing circumstances. In the last two chapters, contemporary legal records are used to identify figures in the miracle text and show that, since Simon's sainthood was a product of political upheaval, shifts within his own political faction weakened his cult. A decline in rebel support, which was often independent of official suppression, marked the decline of Simon's cult, despite some renewed interest in the 1270s and in the fourteenth century. Moreover, the decline in the cult registered differently among clerical and lay adherents who appear in the *Liber miraculorum*, as the laymen among the rebels made a separate peace with the king.

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LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

AHR	*The American Historical Review*
Ann. Mon.	*Annales monastici*. H. Luard, ed. 5 vols. London: Longman, Green, Longman, Roberts, and Green, 1864 – 9.
Bémont	Bémont, C. *Simon de Montfort, comte de Leicester, sa vie, son role politique en France et en Angleterre*. Paris: Picard, 1884.
CPR	*Calendar of the Patent Rolls Preserved in the Public Record Office*. London : H. M. Stationery Office, n.d.
DBMR	Treharne, R. and I. Sanders, eds. *Documents of the Baronial Movement of Reform and Rebellion, 1258-1267*. Oxford: Clarendon, 1973.
EHR	*The English Historical Review*
Farrer	Farrer, W., ed. *Honors and Knights' Fees*. 3 vols. London: Spottiswoode, Ballantyne & co., 1923-1925.
Halliwell	*The Chronicle of William de Rishanger*. J. Halliwell, ed. Camden Society, o.s., 15. London: Nichols and Son, 1840.
Labarge	Labarge, M. *Simon de Montfort*. London: Eyre & Spottiswoode, 1962.
Liber Feodorum	*Liber feodorum: The book of fees, commonly called Testa de Nevill*. London: H. M.

	Stationery Office, 1920-31.
Lm MS	BL MS Cotton Vespasian A. vi., fol. 162v – 83r.
Maddicott	Maddicott, J. *Simon de Montfort*. Cambridge University Press: Cambridge, 1994.
Monasticon	*Monasticon Anglicanum*. W. Dugdale, ed. London: Longman, 1817 – 30.
Peerage	Cokayne, G., ed. *The Complete Peerage of England, Scotland, Ireland, Great Britain and the United Kingdom*. London: The St. Catherine Press, 1910-59.
PRO	Public Record Office
Prothero	Prothero, G. *The Life of Simon de Montfort, Earl of Leicester, with special reference to the parliamentary history of his time*. London: Longmans, Green, and Co., 1877.
Vauchez	Vauchez, A. *Sainthood in the Later Middle Ages*. J. Birrell, trans. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997.

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Introduction

This project grew out of a search for the origins of the political ideas embodied in the English baronial reform movement of 1258 – 1267. Sources for this period present the political difficulties in strongly religious terms, and they are almost uniformly hostile to king Henry III. Rather than trying to read around the rhetoric of these sources to find out "what really happened," this dissertation investigates an explicitly religious document in order to understand how contemporaries saw and represented their situation, hyperbole and all. England in the thirteenth century was in a position analogous to that of third-world countries more recently: domestic elites colluded with foreign ones to expropriate the wealth of the country. In my dissertation, I argue that outrage, building up over many years, due to Henry III's misrule and the exploitation of England constituted a demand for a counterbalance to the king. Simon de Montfort, Earl of Leicester, fulfilled that role. After his death, de Montfort's reputation for personal piety, his perceived commitment to the principles of reform even at his own expense, and his standing as a crusader made it possible for his cult of personality to persist in the form of a saint's cult, the last in a long line of anti-royal saints of this kind. Like the popularity of the reform movement de Montfort led in life, his posthumous cult drew support from a wide range of English society, reaching far beyond political elites.

Beginning with Thomas Becket and continuing for roughly a century, few saints appeared in England who were not royal opponents. As a customary means of

resisting royal abuses of power, however, they gradually declined during the thirteenth century due to a change in the way saints were made. The reforms of the Roman Church, though delayed in England by the interdict under king John, included the creation of a papal monopoly on the recognition of sanctity through canonization. Canonization was by the late thirteenth century a lengthy and expensive process of investigation; only kings had the resources to support a canonization inquest. The very powers against whom Simon de Montfort was deployed as a saint, therefore, had been newly empowered to vet sanctity. Despite the importance of official sanctity, however, new saints continued to appear in thirteenth-century England. Simon de Montfort was recognized in England as a saint precisely because he was seen as a bulwark of resistance against the same two authorities who now controlled sainthood, but because of this perception his canonization was out of the question. Simon's cult was the last to be raised against an English king in the tradition of Becket. Cults that later figured in royal politics were the creation or tool of political elites, often kings themselves.

Since the crisis of Henry III's bad government affected both laymen and the English Church the documents of this period, mostly recorded by churchmen, carry a substantial religious component. There are few sources from this period that are not also strongly anti-royal, which has created a problem for modern historians. Intent on avoiding the perceived bias of their sources, scholars have set aside the tone of these

sources and some sources like the *Liber miraculorum* of Simon de Montfort[1] have been almost entirely ignored. The crisis in government, therefore, which was also a religious crisis, persists as a problem of documentation since the sources seem untrustworthy. The collection of miracles attributed to a St. Simon de Montfort is the record of a cult that was under tremendous pressure not to exist, pressure that came from both secular and religious authorities. Those who participated in its creation were thereby resisting those authorities, by rejecting the verdict of the battle of Evesham and by venerating a saint lacking papal imprimatur. Since Simon de Montfort, in life, had become the embodiment of resistance and reform, the depth and breadth of participation in his cult represents the scope of the reform movement's popularity, which reached far beyond the political and religious elites of the time. Many of these supporters appear only in the miracle stories they told. Other more substantial figures appear in greater personal detail in the *Liber miraculorum* than they do in any other source. The nature and variation of the contents of the *Liber miraculorum* record the measures taken by those who chose to venerate de Montfort as a saint despite the dangers involved. Variations in these characteristics register changes in veneration strategies as the situation of the cult and the political situation in England, which had given rise to the cult, both continued to change. Since de Montfort was the last of England's anti-royal saints that was not created by political elites for the purposes of royal intrigues, his *Liber miraculorum* is a document depicting sanctity and the politi-

[1] BL MS Cotton Vespasian A. vi., fol. 162v – 83r. Hereafter "*Lm* MS." Printed in *The Chronicle of William de Rishanger*, ed. J. Halliwell, Camden Society, o.s. 15 (London: Nichols and Son, 1840). Hereafter "Halliwell."

cal significance of sanctity in moment of profound transition. By the cult's second year, other figures began to supply the demand for a popular champion and leader of reform, fulfilling the role previously played by both the living and the sainted Simon de Montfort. As a result his cult declined despite attempts at the shrine and Evesham abbey to revive and extend his popularity. Later attempts to create saints' cults as tools of royal politics in England, despite their elite support, would encounter the same popular indifference.

* * *

My dissertation makes a contribution to the field of medieval hagiography by demonstrating that a *liber miraculorum*'s contents can be read as records of a cult's operation despite the tendency of those who wrote the document to impose a regular order on the information provided by outsiders. So far as I am aware, my quantitative studies of formulae within the text and my reconstructions of the oral exchanges that blur the lines between separate paragraphs, and therefore between putatively discrete accounts, are original contributions. My primary source is a hagiographical text in the sense that it is a composition concerning a holy person. In this dissertation, I argue that the *Liber miraculorum* of Simon de Montfort was produced by members of Evesham abbey in Worcestershire beginning shortly after de Montfort's death at the battle of Evesham on August 4, 1265. This original catalog was given a prologue in 1274 and continued to accumulate miracle stories until about 1280. The surviving

manuscript, however, does not date from this period; is a fourteenth-century copy. Variations in the formulae and other characteristics of the document demonstrate that more than one person produced the original, but the surviving copy is in a single hand. Furthermore, I will propose that evidence of the oral exchanges between the abbey's scribes, who wrote the document, and the pilgrims to Simon's shrine, who served as sources for the collection's stories, is also preserved in the text. These details allow a partial reconstruction of the changing circumstances confronting both the religions community at Evesham and those who made pilgrimages there despite official prohibitions of the cult. Details of the lives of the individuals and religious communities named in the *Liber miraculorum* fit well with the way that they appear in the text. Thus, drawing together evidence from format, content, and context, I show that this text can shed new light on these human and institutional subjects, providing information that is not available anywhere else.

Other scholars who analyze this type of source the way I do have long recognized that hagiographical texts are not limited to saints' lives.[2] Collections of stories of a saint's miracles were often written prior to and used as sources for *vitae*.[3] Such miracle collections may be further divided into the liturgical versions, used for church

[2] P.-A. Sigal, "Histoire et hagiographie: les miracula aux XIe et XIIe siècles," *Annales de Bretagne et des pays de l'Ouest* 87 (1980): 239. M. Goodich, "Sexuality, Family and the Supernatural in the Fourteenth Century," *Journal of the History of Sexuality* 4, no. 4 (1994): 493 – 4. F. Lifshitz, "Beyond Positivism and Genre: Hagiographical texts as historical narrative," *Viator* 25 (1994): 101.

[3] Miracle collections date to the fifth century, Sigal, "Histoire et hagiographie," 240 - 1. M. Bull , "Views of Muslims and of Jerusalem in Miracle Stories, c. 1000 – c. 1200: Reflections on the study of first crusaders' motivations," in *The Experience of Crusading,* vol. 1, *Western Approaches*, ed. M. Bull and N. Housley (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003), 13 – 38.

ceremonies, and the narrative versions, used for preaching.[4] The latter texts were usually preserved in their original format, whereas the requirements of the liturgy often led to the extensive reworking of the contents.[5] Although Simon's *Liber miraculorum* has received limited attention, the use of other hagiographical texts as historical sources, including miracle collections, has become increasingly common despite this type of text's emphasis on supernatural events. The differences between hagiographical texts and texts more commonly used in medieval history are not as great as they may seem.[6] Supernatural events, for instance, are not uncommon in chronicles, and yet this feature has not had the effect of disqualifying chronicles as sources.[7] Since miracle collections were commonly less reworked than *vitae*, they bear the closest resemblance to chronicles in that they contain serial accounts of occurrences which, Although miraculous, are situated in current events and related by a contem-

[4] F. Dolbeau, "Les hagiographes au traveil: Collecte et traitement des documents écrits (IXe-XIIe siècles)," in *Manuscrits hagiographiques et travail des hagiographes*, ed. Martin Heinzelmann (Sigmaringen, 1992), 49.

[5] M. Lapidge, "Editing Hagiography," in *La critica del testo mediolatino,* ed. Claudio Leonardi, *Biblioteca di medioevo latino* 5 (Spoleto, 1994), 242 – 3.

[6] See Lifshitz, "Beyond Positivism and Genre," 96n4 for a summary of the failed program of developing a functional distinction between hagiography and historiography in the Middle Ages. She points out that even liturgical texts concerning saints were called "*historiae*," ibid., 97.

[7] Stories from miracle collections frequently found their way into more courtly historiographical forms, ibid. 27. M. Bull, "Views of Muslims," 27.

porary observer or observers.[8] Miracle collections, furthermore, are often richer in psychological detail than most chronicle accounts.[9]

Reading hagiographical texts is not, however, a matter of disengaging the miraculous details from the non-miraculous.[10] Rather, the narrative must be placed in its proper context and time and then read as a whole.[11] This approach has two primary justifications. First, events are portrayed as miraculous because they were perceived by contemporaries as being miraculous, even though the situations as described do not always require divine intervention to account for them. Events presented as miraculous often do not seem to us today to require a miracle in order to explain the basic facts as presented in the text. Filtering out the miraculous from a miracle collection would not leave us with much, and it is not necessary. The presence of miracles in any medieval text is therefore not necessarily a problem for the historian seeking to establish "what happened." In Simon de Montfort's *Liber miraculorum*, for instance, most of the purported miracles are "healings" of various medical conditions, some after conventional medical help had already been sought. That the cure is attributed to the intercession of a "St. Simon" and not to the previous

[8] D. Rollason, "The Miracles of St. Benedict: A window on early medieval France," in *Studies in Medieval History Present to R. H. C. Davis,* ed. H. Mayr-Harting and R. Moore (London: Hambledon, 1985), 74. G. Whatley, "*Opus Dei, Opus Mundi*: Patterns of conflict in a twelfth-century miracle collection," in *De Cella in Seculum: Religious and secular life and devotion in late medieval England,* ed. Michael Sargent (Southampton: Camelot Press, 1989), 82.

[9] Writing hagiography meant writing history, Dolbeau, "Les hagiographes au traveil," 52. Sigal, "Histoire et hagiographie," 237, stresses the utility of hagiography for a history of daily life and *mentalités*.

[10] Marcus Bull lays out the deficiencies of what he calls the "circumvention" approach. M. Bull, *The Miracles of Our Lady of Rocamadour: Analysis and translation* (Woodbridge: Boydell, 1999), 11 – 16.

[11] Rollason, "Miracles of St. Benedict," 79.

work of doctors or to the natural recuperative powers of the afflicted person is a choice made by the narrator. Alternately, a child said to have been dead is similarly said to have been revived miraculously, according to the narrator or narrators. Dreams, no matter how fantastic their content, need no explanation at all. In most of the *Liber miraculorum's* stories, the modern reader does not need to explain the miraculous since it is only inferred by the narrator and does not need to doubt the narrator necessarily since the inference of the miraculous was a common and accepted feature of the period.

The second reason we cannot simply read around the miracles in such a text is that the miraculous was the point of the record. Our sources portray particular instances as being miraculous and attribute them to the intervention of a particular saint. The hagiographer's purpose was to prove that a saint continued to protect and aid a particular community.[12] Miracles themselves had to be recorded, or this proof would fade from memory. Our narrators' selections and emphases, therefore, are as much a part of the documents' significance as the narratives' contents themselves.[13] A miracle collection's choices and emphases become clear when we replace the document into its documentary, social, and political contexts. A saint's miracle text did not allow for shading or degrees when it came to portraying their community's friends and

[12] Sigal, "Histoire et hagiographie," 241 – 2. A hagiographer might also, however, wish to reactivate a moribund saint's cult, ibid., 242. Aird provides an example of the latter, W. Aird, "The Making of a Medieval Miracle Collection: The *Liber de translationibus et miraculis Sancti Cuthberti,*" in *Northern History: A review of the history of the north of England and the borders*, vol. 28, ed. G. Forster (London: Maney, 1992), 6.

[13] Rollason, "Miracles of St. Benedict," 79 - 81. M. Bull, *Miracles of Our Lady*, 76.

enemies,[14] making for stark and pointed representations as in the struggles between the Premonstratensian abbey of Ninove and the laity of nearby Flanders.[15] A saint's cult might even be actively deployed against these enemies, as is clear from the miracles of Sainte Foy.[16] In such cases, an enemy's means were always the worst and most cruel, their motives always the lowest and most indefensible.[17] The social standings of a religious community's adversaries, furthermore, can show the development of a more complex taxonomy of nobility in the context of endemic violence.[18] Omissions and distortions, however, could be more subtle. Sharon Farmer has shown that Although a thirteenth-century miracle collection's clerical record keeper might have different attitudes toward labor and poverty than those of his poor male sources, both obscured the value of women's work, which only emerges when female witnesses were questioned directly.[19] Reading such sources carefully, Farmer is elsewhere able to detect and describe the function and importance of informal networks

[14] Bull, "Views of Muslims," 36. Aird, "The Making," 18.

[15] For a good example of such tension, see A. Bijsterveld, "Conflict and Compromise: The Premonstratensians of Ninove (Flanders) and the laity in the twelfth century," in *Negotiating Secular and Ecclesiastical Power: Western Europe in the central Middle Ages*, ed. A. Bijsterveld, H. Teunis, and A. Wareham, International Medieval Research 6 (1999), 171 – 2.

[16] The *Liber miraculorum* of Sainte Foy shows the saint actively supporting the Peace of God and Truce of God movements of the tenth and eleventh centuries against the local nobility, P. Sheingorn, *The Book of Sainte Foy* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1995), 13 – 15. Aird, "Miracle Collection," 14 – 16.

[17] Bijsterveld, "Conflict and Compromise," 173, 177. M. Bull, "Views of Muslims," 36.

[18] Rollason, "Miracles of St. Benedict," 82 – 5.

[19] S. Farmer, "Manual Labor, Begging and Conflicting Gender Expectations in Thirteenth-Century Paris," in *Difference and Genders in the Middle Ages*, S. Farmer and C. Pasternack, ed. (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2003), 7 – 14. Gender correlated strongly with the bent of a witness' testimony in the mid-fifteenth-century canonization inquiry of Vincent Ferrer, L. Smoller, "Miracle, Memory, and Meaning in the Canonization of Vincent Ferrer, 1453 – 1454," *Speculum* 73, no. 2 (April 1998): 429 – 54.

of support in late thirteenth-century Paris, widely relied upon by the poor of Paris, but otherwise invisible in our sources.[20]

Miracle collections are particularly well suited as sources for "cultural assumptions and cognitive habits,"[21] in part because they were not the product of individual writers.[22] Instead, the stories in a *liber miraculorum* are almost always the product of an encounter between a member of a religious community dedicated at least in part to a particular saint and a devotee of that saint from the outside world. Both the sicknesses that were so often the subject of these miracle stories, and their miraculous cures, were social events. If miracle collections do in fact "get the historian close enough to glimpse the operation of some important cultural values and perceptions," these are the joint perceptions of the community comprising a saint's cult.[23] Some combination of family members, neighbors, strangers, and members of the religious community frequently witnessed both the sickness and its cure; very few miracles were private affairs. Representing these episodes was therefore the joint venture of a changing community, the result of their common credence in a saint's intercessional power.[24] Although outsiders are the occasion for the stories, they frequently disappear from the text itself. In the *Liber miraculorum* of Simon de Montfort, as I will show, the sources of the miracle stories are often whole, undiffer-

[20] S. Farmer, "Down and Out and Female in Thirteenth-Century Paris," *AHR* 103, no. 2 (April 1998): 347 – 50, 359.

[21] M. Bull, "Views of Muslims,"13.

[22] Rollason, "Miracles of St. Benedict," 79, compares the scribes who actually recorded the stories to "editors," stressing that they were not "authors."

[23] Rollason, "Miracles of St. Benedict," 81. Bull, "Views of Muslims," 29.

[24] M. Bull, *Miracles of Our Lady*, 16 – 20.

entiated communities, and sometimes no source is given at all. The actual recorders themselves usually disappeared as well.[25] Identifying the person who actually set the account down is furthermore inhibited by their limited opportunities to impose order on the text, since so much of the information was specific to recent events, and formulae governed only a portion of the material in longer accounts.[26]

There is as yet no work on the interactions between scribes and sources in producing miracle collections.[27] Research on similar interactions, however, has been done in recent years in the reconstruction of medieval trade relationships from the textual evidence in notarial records. Kathryn Reyerson identifies intermediaries and their linkages, including informal networks among marginal figures, essential to the operation of notaries in southern France between the mid-thirteenth and mid-fourteenth centuries.[28] As with the editors of miracle collections, notaries relied on information gleaned from oral interactions and yet had to produce a record of standing, and they arrived at remarkably similar solutions of format and representation.[29] These records include details of the physical environment of the trade, showing go-

[25] P.-A. Sigal, "Le travail des hagiographes aux XIe et XIIe siècles: Sources d'information et méthodes de rédaction," *Francia* 15 (1987): 149 – 82. Bull, insists that identifying an individual monk responsible for the collection is not important, since the *liber miraculorum* is a community production, and stresses that most miracles collections were joint productions by two or more members of the community, *Miracles of Our Lady*, 27, 54.

[26] Dolbeau, 56. Sigal, "Histoire et hagiographie," 251. Bull, *Miracles of Our Lady*, 31.

[27] R. Finucane, *Miracles and Pilgrims: Popular beliefs in medieval England* (London, 1977), 9 - 10, attempts a speculative reconstruction of encounters between pilgrims and religious communities, but his source for this reconstruction is unclear. Sigal, "Le travail," 169, associates the exchange of information with the delivery of offerings such as candles. For candle-bearers as likely sources of information, see below, Chapter Four, 196 – 7, 245.

[28] K. Reyerson, "Reflections on the Infrastructure of Medieval Trade," in *Trading Cultures: The worlds of western merchants, essays on authority, objectivity, and evidence*, ed. J. Adelman and S. Aron (Turnhout: Brepolis, 2001), 7 – 14.

[29] Ibid., 85.

betweens in subtle ways, sometimes lumping them in with formal witnesses, sometimes listing them as present when they were absent, and even indicating when preliminary conversations shaped presentations later preserved in records.[30] Reyerson concludes that the form of the records is a function of the personal interaction and that variations in formulae therefore reflect variations in interactions.[31] Laurie Nussdorfer, considering documents from early modern Rome, shows that the range of common notarial records varies regionally, but that these variations were also paralleled by differences in the performance of the rituals associated with business records.[32] The relationship between the nature of the exchange of information and its representation on the page is strongly evident in the *Liber miraculorum* of Simon de Montfort.

The scholarly methods used by Reyerson and Nussdorfer to study notarial documents can be applied to this miracle collection, but only in the sense that the two kinds of documents - notarial records of business transactions on one hand, and *libri miraculorum*, on the other - were produced under similar circumstances and represent the activity of groups. Actual notaries were not widely known in England during the period under consideration in this study, when various indigenous systems of record

[30] Ibid., 27, 30. All are characteristics shared with the entries of the *Liber miraculorum* of Simon de Montfort, see below, Chapters Three and Four. Compare Bull, *Miracles of our Lady*, 36.

[31] K. Reyerson, "Rituals in Medieval Business," in *Medieval and Early Modern Ritual: Formalized behavior in Europe, China and Japan*, ed. J. Rollo-Köster (Leiden: Brill, 2002), 82 – 4.

[32] L. Nussdorfer, "Writing and the Power of Speech: Notaries and artisans in baroque Rome," in *Culture and Identity in Early Modern Europe (1500-1800): Essays in honor of Natalie Zemon Davis*. ed. B. Diefendorf and C. Hesse (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1993), 109 – 110, examples, 111 – 114. For regional variations in notarial formulae, see J. Martin, "Perception and Description," 114 – 118.

keeping were still in use.[33] Where notaries do appear they are exclusively foreigners and are almost uniformly concerned with foreigners' business.[34] Notary publics would eventually be imported by the Archbishop of Canterbury in 1279, and by king Edward I in 1288.[35] Training for notaries was not available in England until the fourteenth century.[36] Since notaries public in the late thirteenth century were licensed by the pope, their involvement in de Montfort's cult was impossible.[37] Where notaries were involved in certifying miracle collections, they worked as part of canonization processes, making their association with the *Liber miraculorum* of Simon de Montfort even more unlikely.[38] Thus, Although the text of de Montfort's miracles shares with notarial documents an interchange between oral and written presentation, and a reliance on verbal formulae, not to mention a sense that events ought to be properly re-

[33] P. Chaplais, "Master John de Branketre and the Office of Notary in Chancery, 1355 – 1375," *Journal of the Society of Archivists* 4, no. 3 (April 1971): 169. P. Zutshi, "Notaries Public in England in the Fourteenth and Fifteenth Centuries," *Historia. Instituciones. Documents* 23 (1996): 421. For England's systems of record keeping, and their limitations, see M. Clanchy, *From Memory to Written Record: England, 1066 – 1307* (Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University Press, 1979), 235 – 6. Clancy notes some examples of partial imitations of notarial practice beginning in 1277, ibid., 243.

[34] The first notarial instruments appear in 1257, C. Cheney, "Notaries Public in Italy and England in the Late Middle Ages," in *The English Church and its Laws in the 12th – 14th Centuries: Essays by Christopher Cheney* (London: Variorum Reprints, 1982), 175 – 6, Zutchi, "Notaries Public," 421.

[35] Chaplais, "Master John," 170. R. Finucane, "Two Notaries and their Records in England, 1282 – 1307*," Journal of Medieval History* 13, no. 1 (March 1987): 1.

[36] Zutshi, "Notaries Public," 424.

[37] Chaplais, "Master John," 169. Cheney, "Notaries Public," 175. Finucane, "Two Notaries," 1. Clancy, *From Memory*, 242. Notaries public were also licenced by the Emperor, but there were uncommon in England and were finally banned by Edward II in 1320. Zutshi, "Notaries Public," 422.

[38] For an example of notaries working on a late thirteenth-century miracle collection, see O. Redon, "Miracles authentifiés et archivés à Sienne depuis 1287," in *Notai, Miracoli e Culto dei Santi: Pubblicità e autenticazione de sacro tra xii e xv secolo*, ed. Raimondo Michetti (Milan: A. Giuffrè, 2004), 157 – 82. Notaries were an essential intermediary in the canonization process, giving accounts of miracle stories a more imporessive and offical appearance, see L. Viallet, "L'Écriture du Notaire, Entre Mémoire de Dieu et Mémoire des Hommes: Réflexions à Partir des Inscriptions 'Hors-Formulaire' (XIVe-XVIIe Siècles)," in *Notai, Miracoli e Culto dei Santi,* 238. Notaries might certify a miracle collection, but outside a canonization process their imprimatur did not guarantee canonization, see T. Nyberg, "The Notarial Certification in the Canonization Processes in Northern Europe: The case of Birgitta of Sweden," in *Notai, Miracoli e Culto dei Santi,* 406 – 7, 418.

corded for posterity, it was produced by monks most likely uninformed by developing notarial practices.

My dissertation also makes a contribution to the field of English political history by demonstrating that the *Liber miraculorum* of Simon de Montfort can be used as a historical source, despite the text's irregularities, to examine the nature and significance of this posthumous saint's cult as both a religious and political phenomenon. Work by political historians on the cult of Simon de Montfort shows little interest in his *Liber miraculorum* as a historical source for the thirteenth century and little familiarity with hagiography generally. Simon de Montfort's biographers mention his posthumous cult only in passing.[39] Biographies, however, are usually concerned with the living. Instead, the phenomenon of a "St. Simon de Montfort" has since 1929 figured in a number of articles concerned with the larger issue of sanctified political resistance to English kings, articles that are primarily concerned with much later figures and events.[40] Applying de Montfort's *Liber miraculorum* to later cults

[39] G. Prothero, *The Life of Simon de Montfort, Earl of Leicester, with special reference to the parliamentary history of his time* (London: Longmans, Green, and Co., 1877), 357. Prothero also included translations of five miracles (#3, #6, #11, #77, and #116) from the *Liber miraculorum* as "interesting specimens of the superstition of the time," ibid., 371 - 3. C. Bemont, *Simon de Montfort, comte de Leicester, sa vie, son role politique en France et en Angleterre* (Picard: Paris, 1884), xv, 248. Labarge mentions only the miraculous portents before Simon's death, M. Labarge, *Simon de Montfort* (London: Eyre and Spottiswoode, 1962), 256. John Maddicott cites the contents of three miracles (#113, #88, and #72) as evidence of anguish and continuing controversy after Simon's death, J. Maddicott, *Simon de Montfort* (Cambridge, New York: Cambridge University Press, 1994), 346 – 7.

[40] J. Russell, "The Canonization of Opposition to the King in Angevin England," in *Anniversary Essays in Mediaeval History by Students of Charles Homer Haskins* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1929), 279 – 90. J. McKenna, "Popular Canonization as Political Propaganda: The cult of Archbishop Scrope," *Speculum* 45, no. 4 (October 1970): 608 – 23. Finucane, *Miracles and* Pilgrims, 131 – 5, 169 – 70. D. Cox, *The Battle of Evesham: A new account* (Evesham: Vale of Evesham Historical Society, 1988). J. Theilmann, "Political Canonization and Political Symbolism in Medieval England," *Journal of British Studies* 29, no. 3 (July 1990): 241 – 66. T. Heffernan, "'God hathe schewed ffor him many grete miracules': Political canonization and the *Miracula* of Simon de Montfort," in *Art and Context in*

seems especially odd since all of these authors recognize the document as the product of a thirteenth-century cult despite its survival only in a fourteenth-century copy.[41] None of the authors argues or suggests that the contents of the *Liber miraculorum* reflect the activities and attitudes of the century in which the surviving copy was produced. Fourteenth-century political controversies may, however, have led to a renewed interest in Simon de Montfort, which could account for the production of the surviving copy of his *Liber miraculorum*.

In his 1929 survey of religious figures of anti-royal significance from Thomas Becket's martyrdom to the end of the fourteenth century, Josiah Russell briefly addresses the "political saint," Simon de Montfort.[42] The *Liber miraculorum*, he suggests, was an "early catalog" of Simon's miracles and was remarkable for its figures' wide range of social backgrounds. The sheer number of clergy in the text, he points out, probably meant that they had been responsible for promoting Simon's cult.[43] If Russell's cursory examination of the text errs in any significant way, it is in taking at face value the text's many examples of entire villages and communities bearing witness to particular miracles. Russell assumes that these references were another indi-

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Late Medieval English Narrative: Essays in honor of Robert Worth Frank, Jr., ed. R. Edwards (Cambridge: Brewer, 1994), 177 – 92. C. Valente, "Simon de Montfort, Earl of Leicester, and the Utility of Sanctity in thirteenth-century England," *Journal of Medieval History* 21 (1995): 27 – 49. S. Walker, "Political Saints in Later Medieval England," in *The McFarlane Legacy: Studies in late medieval politics and society*, ed. R. Brinell and A. Pollard, The Fifteenth Century Series 1 (Stroud: Alan Sutton, 1995), 77 – 106. For a summary of pre-twentieth-century treatments, see D. Waley, "Simon de Montfort and the Historians," *Sussex Archaeological Collections* 140 (2002): 65 – 70.

[41] The absolute latest date suggested for the collection of stories of de Montfort's miracles is 1274, see below, 19.

[42] "In the person of Becket resistance to the king had been canonized." Russell, "Canonization of Opposition," 281.

[43] Ibid., 283, 286.

cation of the cult's popularity.[44] John McKenna, in his article on the posthumous cult of Archbishop Scrope in the fifteenth century, considers Simon's cult to be the result merely of "political manipulation of popular religious enthusiasm" and compares Simon's "political" and "popular" sanctity to what he considers to be the religious propaganda surrounding his own subject.[45]

The best work on the cult of Simon de Montfort to date has been by Ronald Finucane. Finucane, who also describes de Montfort as a "political saint" and refers to "popular canonization,"[46] notes the survival of Simon's popularity as a saint into the fourteenth century. Finucane's study is particularly useful for his demographic analysis. He observes that Simon de Montfort's cult, judging by the contents of his *Liber miraculorum*, had the second highest proportion of male to female beneficiaries in England, next to the cult of Thomas Becket. Simon's cult also attracted more male than female pilgrims overall, which is unusual. Among the saints considered in Finucane's study, Simon de Montfort's cult exhibited the highest proportion of lay elite of any English cult.[47] In other respects, Finucane finds that de Montfort's cult was unusual. Geographically, the concentration of pilgrims within a twenty radius was the same as that within a forty mile radius, whereas for most saints' cults pilgrims are

[44] Ibid., 287. For the problems of witnesses' identities, see below, Chapter Four.
[45] McKenna's research centered on Tudor England. McKenna, "Popular Canonization," 608 – 9.
[46] Finucane, *Miracles and Pilgrims*, 33, 133.
[47] Ibid., 135.

mostly from nearby. Most of the figures in the *Liber miraculorum*, however, lived further than forty miles away.[48]

David Cox's 1988 work on the battle of Evesham has been the best evaluation of the material evidence, including the *Liber miraculorum,* of Simon de Montfort's cult, although the author limits himself to a brief description of the material and does not engage Finucane's demographic analysis. Unlike Finucane, however, Cox does not dismiss the text as corrupt due to the problems of its dates.[49] Noting that only some the dates given in the text are reliable, Cox identifies many of the points of origin for persons mentioned in the text, and is able to relate some of the details in the miracle text to Evesham's surroundings.[50] His only serious error is in dating the prologue to 1266 when it is clearly dated 1274 in the text.[51] Both Finucane and Cox wrote too early to benefit from more recent scholarship that has replaced the former consensus that the years between Henry III's death and Edward's return from crusade in 1274 were a time of remarkable quiet and stability. In fact, the opposite was true.[52]

[48] Most cults exhibit a drop off in popularity beyond twenty miles. Finucane, *Miracles and Pilgrims*, 169.

[49] See below, Chapter Three, 145n16.

[50] Cox, *Battle of Evesham*, 21 – 4. An even shorter summary of his analysis appears in D. Cox, "The Battle of Evesham in the Evesham chronicle," *Historical Research* 62, no. 149 (1989): 340-4, 337; and nn. 2 and 4.

[51] Cox, *Battle of Evesham*, 23. Cf., *Lm* Ms fol. 169v., Halliwell, 68. The author ignores "in Edwardi secundo anno," and focuses instead on the phrase "hoc anno revoluto" which precedes it. The date applies to the prologue, not necessarily the story. Cox is almost certainly in error about the source of this story, though this is an issue he does not specifically analyze, and may also be wrong about the timing and significance of the miracle story. Cox's misreading may also be the result of his error in dating the investment of Kenilworth to June, instead of January, 1266. See A. Lewis, "Roger Leyburn and the Pacification of England, 1265 – 67," *EHR* 214 (1939): 200.

[52] Finucane, *Miracles and Pilgrims*, 134. Cf. J. Maddicott, "Edward I and the Lessons of Baronial Reform," in *Thirteenth-Century England* I (1985), 1, 30. R. Huscroft, "Robert Burnell and the Government of England," *Thirteenth-Century England* VIII (1999), 59 – 70. See below, Chapter Five, 234.

For this reason, neither writer recognizes the significance of the fact that the prologue to the *Liber miraculorum* was dated 1274.[53] There has been little work of any value on the cult of Simon de Montfort since that of David Cox. None of the scholarship on English political history considered here shows that their authors have made any use of the available scholarship on hagiography generally or *libri miraculorum* in particular.[54] It is also not clear that any of these authors who refer to miracles from de Montfort's text had examined the manuscript.

John Theilmann's consideration in 1990 of Simon de Montfort's cult as an example of "political symbolism" credits England's political elite with a grasp of the nature of sainthood that was more technical than that of their social inferiors.[55] Theilmann assumes that the cult was begun, by whom is not clear, for political reasons, and that popular veneration sustained it.[56] Thomas Heffernan, writing in 1994, assumes that Simon de Montfort had simply taken refuge in the language of religion, while alive, in order to compensate for the political disadvantage of having been la-

[53] For the events of this period in the *Liber miraculorum*, see below, Chapter Five, 297 - 8.

[54] Above, 14 – 18. Heffernan, however, makes a point of citing modern works on hagiography at the beginning of his article, but none of these works or their content make any subsequent appearance in Heffernan's notes or his analysis. The presence of these citations makes Heffernan's disparagement of the sources on Simon de Montfort's cult as "hagiological" all the more perplexing, T. Heffernan, "God hathe schewed," 190. The article's analysis suffers from its author's insistance on this distinction, which is not useful. As Lifshitz has pointed out, Heffernan's substution of "sacred biography for "hagiography" suffers all the faults of the previous, failed program of defining a "hagiography" that can be distinguished from "history," Lifshitz, "Beyond Positivism," 101n30, and above in this introduction, n6.

[55] J. Theilmann, "Political Canonization," 243. Where the lay elite are supposed to have received this education is unclear. However, we should not assume, as he does, that "the commonality had a vaguer grasp of the technical niceties or the holy attributes of a particular saint." See L. Smoller, "Defining the Boundaries of the Natural in the Fifteenth Century: The inquest into the miracles of St. Vincent Ferrer (d. 1419)," *Viator* 28 (1997): 335n4.

[56] J. Theilmann, "Political Canonization," 241.

beled a traitor; and that after his death, his adherents did the same.[57] This approach ignores the history of the English Church under Henry III and suggests a lack of familiarity with the sources on de Montfort's life. Though Finucane's work was available to him, Heffernan assumes that most of the figures in the miracle text were local and close. The author furthermore manages to garble the process for measuring, a feature common to almost every paragraph in the text.[58] Heffernan does note, however, that variations in the *Liber miraculorum's* formulae indicate that more than one person was at work on the text.[59] Also writing in 1994, Claire Valente assumes from the date of the text's prologue, the second year of Edward I's reign, or 1274, that the monks of Evesham did not start collecting Simon's miracle stories until that date.[60] Although there are problems with dates elsewhere in the text, there are also several uncorrupted dates prior to 1274. Valente furthermore assumes that Franciscans dominated the cult, due to Simon de Montfort's association with prominent Franciscans during his life, and because of the Franciscan authorship of some contemporary texts praising him as a reformer and a saint.[61] Franciscans, however, are not the most common clergymen in the *Liber miraculorum* and among friars are even outnum-

[57] T. Heffernan, "God hathe schewed," 178, 180.

[58] Heffernan, "God hathe schewed,"190n26. Measuring refers to the practice of matching a length of string to the length of an afflicted person's body, or of the afflicted limb. The string is then used as a wick for an offering candle to be given to the saint's shrine. See Finucane, *Miracles and Pilgrims*, 95.

[59] Heffernan, "God hathe schewed," 188.

[60] Valente, "Simon de Montfort," 30.

[61] Ibid., 35.

bered by the Dominicans.[62] I use the miracle collection to show the nature and variation of clerical support for Simon's cult.

The most recent article, Simon Walker's 1995 "investigation of the nature of political society in later medieval England," reviewed much of the material already covered in this summary.[63] As Theilmann had done, Walker lumps Simon de Montfort's thirteenth-century cult with other saints' cults from the fourteenth century. Walker assumes that the *Liber miraculorum* was produced between the battle of Evesham and the Dictum of Kenilworth, October 1266.[64] As I will show, however, much of the material is reliably dated later. Walker concludes that Simon de Montfort's cult, unlike cults in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, ultimately failed because it never "developed" to the point where it could appeal to everyone and remained fixed in terms of its friends and enemies.[65] What this analysis overlooks is that every other cult in Walker's article had eventually been taken over by royal interests and had received royal support. Miracle collections like the *Liber miraculorum*, furthermore, are not the place to look for signs of reconciliation since they tend to be black and white in their depiction of the outside world.[66]

[62] See below, Chapter Six.
[63] Walker, "Political Saints," 79.
[64] Ibid., 96.
[65] Ibid., 97.
[66] Bull, "Views of Muslims," 36. Aird, "The Making," 18. Bijsterveld, "Conflict and Compromise," 171 – 2.

All preceding scholarship on Simon de Montfort's cult either focuses on or assumes the existence of a category of sainthood called "political."[67] What political sainthood is, for these scholars, is not always clear, but the use of this category is fundamental to their association of de Montfort's cult with political trends in other thirteenth and fourteenth century cults (such as I have summarized above). These scholars also used the term to distinguish the "political" cults that they consider from those of still other saints.[68] Josiah Russell identifies Simon de Montfort and Thomas Lancaster[69] as political saints because, he argues, they were recognized as saints due to their political activity.[70] Miracle stories, he argues, represent the strong emotions

[67] The term "political" as a descriptor seems to be used to refer to laymen who became saints, since they are exceptional. Saints outside the clergy are not as common, and during the high Middle Ages saints would also become rare among the secular clergy as asceticism in life became more important. Andre Vauchez offers a related phrase that is perhaps more useful than "political saint." Popular saints, he says, tended to be people of modest backgrounds, the exceptions being "political martyrs" which he defines as those seen in their own time as defenders of the people. Simon de Montfort and Thomas Lancaster, because of their high status, are exceptions to his rule for local saints, A. Vauchez, *Sainthood in the Later Middle Ages*, trans. J. Birrell (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997), 157n1. The two men constitute a class of "popular saint," according to Vauchez, where violent death is a common characteristic. Simon and Thomas are listed among those killed during political conflicts, ibid., 149. Vauchez errs in claiming that the *Lm* MS is superior to the one used in Halliwell, ibid., 149n13, when it is in fact the same MS used by Halliwell.

[68] Laymen made into saints were not necessarily political in a way that saints who had been clergy were not. See Chapter Two, p. 117 - 8 and n. 129. In Laura Smoller's work on the fifteenth-century canonization inquest of St. Vincent Ferrer, she notes that "Cardinals also tended to reject as inauthentic any miracles attributed to their own political enemies…." Smoller, "Defining the Boundaries," 341 – 2.

[69] Executed by Edward II in 1322. After queen Isabella and her lover Roger Mortimer deposed and murdered Edward II in 1327, they persuaded the young Edward III to promote Thomas Lancaster's cult, portraying him as having been martyred by Edward II in order to justify that king's assassination. McKenna cites the cult of Thomas Lancaster as the crucial unifying force for the rebels who finally defeated and deposed Edward II. McKenna, "Popular Canonization," 609. Theilmann, "Political Canonization," 251. J. Bray, "Concepts of Sainthood in Fourteenth-Century England," *Bulletin of the John Rylands University Library of Manchester* 66, no. 2 (Spring 1984): 56 – 8. Walker, "Political Saints," 82. Isabella and Mortimer's support for the rebel's cult had the further effect of associating archbishop Robert of Winchelsea's own nascent cult with that of Thomas Lancaster, when in fact the archbishop's opposition to Edward had not extend beyond his concerns for ecclesiastical rights. Russell, "The Canonization of Opposition," 284. Bray, "Concepts of Sainthood," 46 – 7.

[70] Russell, "The Canonization of Opposition," 285.

surrounding the figure's life and cause. Regardless of their content, the stories have a political significance because venerating a former royal opponent as a saint was a safe way to show hostility to that king. The *Liber miraculorum*, as I will show, is more specific about what de Montfort meant to those who sought his help as a saint. Continuing opposition to the king, therefore, could avoid or counteract accusations of treason if that opposition was based in a saint's cult.[71] This political use of a saint's cult, according to Russell, was a uniquely English phenomenon. Royal opponents in France, he notes, did not become saints.[72] John McKenna accepts Russell's formulation and uses political sanctity as evidence of a growing lay-piety in the fourteenth century that English kings learned they must control.[73] "Upon the accession of Henry IV in 1399," according to John McKenna, "the new Lancastrian dynasty could draw on decades of royal experience with the techniques for opposing anti-royal popular cults, and the methods by which pro-royal saints could increase popular support for the crown."[74] The methods available to kings in the late thirteenth century, however, were far more crude, were not particularly effective, and did not include the creation of pro-royal saints.

Theilmann inverts the order of subject and modifier in the phrase "political saint," identifying instead a sanctified politics as the basis for de Montfort's cult in

[71] Ibid., 286, 288.
[72] Ibid., 290.
[73] McKenna, "Popular Canonization," 609.
[74] Ibid., 610. "By the fifteenth century the political utilization of popular cults was a recognized instrument of political factionalism, a double-edged sword of royal and anti-royal policy." Ibid., 611.

particular.[75] The cult of Simon de Montfort, Theilmann claims, was a political tool created by political actors, and any support for a St. Simon below the level of the political elite is merely incidental. The miracles, Theilmann observes, are mostly healings and therefore cannot be read as statements of support for de Montfort's politics.[76] As I will show, however, the language used in the *Liber miraculorum* to describe Simon de Montfort, not to mention the descriptions of heated debates (always resolved in Simon's favor by a miraculous display), quite clearly indicates otherwise. The author's point of reference, however, is the very different political and religious program of Richard II over a century later. Beginning in 1387, Richard II attempted to revive the cult of Edward II and to create a cult for Richard's deceased favorite, Robert de Vere.[77]

Walker notes the sharp decline in the number of English bishop-saints beginning in the fourteenth century and claims that broader changes in Christianity resulted in a different kind of saint, political saints, whose claim to sainthood came mainly from their violent deaths.[78] Walker agrees with Russell that this was largely an Eng-

[75] Theilmann, "Political Canonization," 246.

[76] Ibid., 247.

[77] Richard II also endowed Edward's chapel at St. Peter's, maintained royal agents at the papal curia between 1391 and 1394 to pursue a canonization inquest, and met with English prelates to discuss Edward II's miracles. Theilmann, "Political Canonization," 253. Walker, "Political Saints," 79. Richard also claimed to be in possession of a golden eagle brought to him by the Virgin Mary that contained Thomas Becket's chrism, and Richard tried without success to have the archbishop re-annoint him. The archbishop refused on the grounds that Richard's coronation anointing could not be repeated. Theilmann, "Political Canonization," 256 – 8. Richard furthermore commissioned a diptych which may have used images of Richard's ancestors to depict St. Edmund Martyr, Edward the Confessor, and John the Baptist. Edward II was apparently the model for St. Edmund Martyr, Edward III for Edward the Confessor, and the Black Prince for John the Baptist. Ibid., 260 – 61 and n61.

[78] Walker, "Political Saints," 78.

lish phenomenon but offers a few exceptions from continental Europe.[79] These political saints constituted an inversion of the model of the holy monarch, a model that had made anti-royal cults effective.[80] The saints themselves reflect a collective representation of the ideals of a society, but ultimately, Walker points out, this representation is not enough to sustain a saint's cult. Instead, successful political saints are those that eventually come to address the crisis of kingship that produced that saint. If the cult cannot appeal to the whole kingdom, drawing together both sides of the previous conflict, then that cult will die out. To make this argument, Walker, like McKenna, works backward from the example of the cult of Archbishop Scrope ,[81] who became a Yorkist saint and Lancastrian martyr despite his role in the deposition of Richard II. In this way, Scrope was transformed from a rebel to a staunch royal supporter, an opponent of usurpation completely incompatible with the career of Simon de Montfort.[82]

From my perspective, however, the political implications of the cult of Simon de Montfort, however, are not evidence of a political inception or intent. The cult of Simon de Montfort was built on the reputation of the living man. If the cult at Eve-

[79] Walker, "Political Saints," 80.

[80] Ibid., 86. Felice Lifschitz argues for a decline in the sanctity of kings in twelfth-century Europe generally, a decline that resulted from their pursuit of new, secular justifications of their power, Lifschitz, "Beyond Positivism," 95 - 114. See also Russell, "The Canonization of Opposition," 289 – 90.

[81] Richard Scrope, archbishop of York, executed by Henry IV in 1405 for his support of a baronial uprising in the north despite the refusal of the Justiciar to try the case and the desperate attempts of the archbishop of Canterbury to reach York in time to intervene. Executing Scrope was a fundamental miscalculation by Henry IV, according to McKenna, and it crippled the Lancastrian dynasty from its inception. McKenna, "Popular Canonization," 611. From this point on, Yorkists and Lancastrians would create saints' cults from figures thought to have been martyred by the other side, producing two competing lineages of royal saints. Walker, "Political Saints," 83 – 6.

[82] McKenna, "Popular Canonization," 618 – 19.

sham had a political significance, it was because the living Simon de Montfort had had a political significance. Contemporaries might have recognized certain opportunities presented by widespread recognition of Simon de Montfort as a martyr and a saint, but there is no evidence that they produced or directed his veneration. Lay elite participation in Simon's cult, as reflected in his *Liber miraculorum*, does not always differ qualitatively from that of non-elite laymen; the former are simply present in greater numbers than in any other cult of this time and place. This feature was simultaneously the cult's strength and the reason for its eventual decline.

I would furthermore argue that by lumping these later examples together with de Montfort's cult, these authors have misconstrued it. Thus, these authors have missed an opportunity to apply the lessons of de Montfort's cult to their understanding of the cults that followed. After Simon de Montfort, other saints emerged whose cults also had implications for royal politics, whose veneration was also widespread and immediate, and whose veneration also persisted in spite of prohibition. Many of these cults, however, survived only because they were pressed into the service of a king or a claimant to the throne, a condition that never applied to de Montfort's cult. Conversely, royal cults built from scratch tended not to succeed, but rather kings succeeded in using cults as tools of royal power when they could co-opt a cult with a pre-existing base of support. Most historians have not considered the possibility that the appropriated, rather than the manufactured, cults had some element or impetus that was prior to, and not subject to, magisterial control.

Beginning in the fourteenth century, according these historians, saints whose cults had implications for the success or failure of English kings, especially those kings who faced baronial opposition, could be adopted and adapted by royal authority or by a baronial opposition. A saint could even be made from whole cloth, although the most successful cults were those that had some support prior to their political appropriation for the purposes of royal legitimation. These pro-royal cults did not simply support the regime that created them; they also colored the perceptions of events immediately prior to their advent by virtue of their status as the previous regime's martyrs. Kings had to be careful, however, to avoid making martyrs of their own, since these figures could be used against them as new saints under the well established mode of anti-royal cults. Based on the evidence these historians have presented, I am inclined to agree with their characterization of these cults. However, the phenomena they describe are dissimilar from the cult of Simon de Montfort. Although it is possible that the cult of Simon de Montfort may have inspired or influenced later ones, the historians considered above have not approached the issue this way and have instead presented a class of phenomena in which each example is read the same way. Simon de Montfort's posthumous cult fits none of these later patterns and is instead more closely related to earlier cults of English bishops from Thomas Becket to Robert Grosseteste, making de Montfort's cult the end of their line and not the beginning of the sort of political saint seen after the thirteenth century.

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Simon de Montfort came to England in 1230 to pursue a claim to the honor of Leicester inherited from his father, also named Simon de Montfort, known for his role in the Albigensian Crusade. For reasons that have been forgotten, Simon de Montfort either brought or quickly acquired a reputation as an exceptional military leader and therefore rapidly rose to prominence in court, campaigns, and diplomacy.[83] In 1238, he married king Henry III's sister, Eleanor. Although this match would normally have been a tremendous step forward, de Montfort overreached himself and thus alienated both Henry and the king's political opponents, lay and ecclesiastic. The king claimed that his sister had been seduced by Simon and the Earl never realized the full extent of the financial gains that should have come with his marriage to Eleanor. Others in England simply resented the earl's meteoric rise and considered him a parvenu.[84] Henry was in the habit of promoting his continental relatives to offset native barons who had grown powerful and independent during the king's minority. Though de Montfort would eventually lead this nativist faction, he was initially associated with the king's foreign friends, even if he was estranged from his new brother-in-law.

Isolated and financially frustrated, de Montfort left England on crusade in 1240. The earl's cousin, Philip de Montfort, was lord of Tyre, and Simon found that he was considerably more popular in the Holy Land than he had been back in England. He was even offered the stewardship of the Kingdom of Jerusalem. Returning to the English court, de Montfort was only coldly reconciled with Henry; over the

[83] The best single work on Simon de Montfort remains J. Maddicott, *Simon de Montfort* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994), 9 – 12. See below, Chapter One.
[84] Maddicott, 15 – 21.

course of the 1240s the two men drifted apart.[85] The earl's subsequent assignment as the king's lieutenant in Gascony, a notoriously difficult post which had already driven a wedge between the king and his former lieutenant, his own brother, led inevitably to a widening rift between de Montfort and the Henry. The king's investigation of de Montfort's tenure in Gascony in 1252 was universally seen in England as a kangaroo court that rehabilitated the Earl in the eyes of the political opposition.[86] Thereafter, when the king's exorbitant demands for new taxation, disastrous foreign policy, and his utter untrustworthiness finally drove the barons into revolt in 1258, Simon de Montfort's public grievances with the king combined with his military reputation to make him the natural leader of a new open opposition to the king which essentially returned Henry to the control of a regency.[87]

The committees, offices, and legislation of the baronial government, under their Provisions promulgated at Oxford in 1258, were dominated by de Montfort and his allies and retinue. The Provisions government aimed at more than redressing baronial grievances and restraining a king, as had been done earlier in the century through Magna Carta. They went further by reinserting themselves into the processes of government and attempting to restore the order, regularity, and accountability to the organs of that government which it had had during the regency. Simon de Montfort, however, because of his connections with the French court, was absent from England for a considerable part of the early period of reform and rebellion while

[85] Ibid., 29 – 31. See below, Chapter Two.
[86] Maddicott, 106 – 24.
[87] Ibid., 153 – 70. See below, Chapter One.

negotiating a peace with Louis IX.[88] In England, the baronial government was unstable by nature, as greater and lesser barons fought over whether to extend the new protections of the king's vassals to all vassals in England; prominent men (including de Montfort) squabbled over the division of spoils. Henry's son, the Lord Edward, complicated the balance of power by first joining the opposition, if only to gain independence from his parents' control of his finances, and later abandoning the barons when he had what he wanted. The king chafed under the new quasi-regency and occasionally wrested control of the government from the barons. However, his reputation turned every one of his political victories into a public relations disaster since, outside of a small circle of friends, the king was despised. His return to power after the battle of Evesham in 1265 was a cause for alarm to churchmen and laymen all over England.[89]

Simon de Montfort appeared as a political victim of the king after his trial over Gascony, and in 1261 he continued to play that role, abandoning the kingdom rather than the Provisions, and returning as a crusader against its enemies. When he did regain control of the government after defeating the royalists at the battle of Lewes in 1264, his *de facto* rule was short-lived and uncertain. Simon de Montfort's victory was merely a reprieve. As a result of his growing isolation, he resorted to some of the same tactics the king had used to consolidate his control: vesting power in a few close favorites and family members and acquiring money by any means

[88] Maddicott, 172 – 8.
[89] Ibid., 218 – 19.

available.[90] The Earl made powerful enemies. Some reformers abandoned the Earl and turned to the Lord Edward who, in 1265, outmaneuvered and killed de Montfort at the battle of Evesham.[91] Despite de Montfort's betrayal of the principles of the reform movement in his last months, noted bitterly by some of his most important allies, after his death he was seen as a martyr by that movement's supporters outside the court. Furthermore, killing de Montfort left England with the hated Henry, who now lived down to his reputation as a feckless leader by enabling his followers to disinherit every Montfortian, no matter how lukewarm, and many other innocent lords besides. This political miscalculation turned victory into renewed conflict; those former reformers who had nothing to lose continued to fight for another two years, even without de Montfort.[92]

* * *

Chapter One lays out the major features of the period's political crisis and reform and Simon de Montfort's place in them in order to show how Simon could be seen as a saint. The political experiences of the period of Henry's minority led the king and his barons to develop very different political expectations, producing an escalating series of political confrontations. Simon de Montfort's prominence as a military leader

[90] Ibid., 296 – 8.
[91] Ibid., 341 – 3.
[92] The best work on this remains the unpublished thesis of C. Knowles, "The Disinherited, 1265 – 80: A political and social study of the supporters of Simon de Montfort and the resettlement after the Barons' War," (Ph.D. thesis, University of Wales Aberystwyth, 1959).

made him the only figure of sufficient stature to head the baronial opposition. Once the political struggle between Henry III and his barons erupted into open conflict, that conflict provided an opportunity and venue to express the various agendas that would continue to shape Simon de Montfort's cult of personality after his death. His experiences while on crusade, I argue, seem to have informed his political career. Crusading, however, did not merely sanctify Simon de Montfort's politics. I argue that experiences in the crusader states provided Simon de Montfort with a model for his marked change in political tactics after 1241. I lay special emphasis on those events in which the earl's actions were widely known. His pursuit of his own interests early in the period of reform and rebellion as well as his gradual abandonment of the very principles of the reform movement toward the end of his life may complicate our assessment of de Montfort, but his faults and failures were not known outside a small circle of political elites at that time. His reputation survived his failings as a reformer. In the form of his posthumous cult that reputation also survived the man himself. This chapter advances the argument of the dissertation by showing that later, heroic depictions of Simon de Montfort, of the kind that register in his miracle stories, did not have to be invented after the fact but instead correspond to the living man's reputation.

Where Chapter One argues for a de-emphasis of certain elements of de Montfort's career in order to understand how he could be seen as a saint by contemporaries, Chapter Two attempts to emphasize the significance of a line of bishop saints and the importance of the aura of crusading in the political history of the pe-

riod. When we consider the ubiquity of political sanctity and sanctified politics in this period, the phenomenon of Simon de Montfort's posthumous cult appears as part of two well established patterns. First, a community of politically active English bishops repeatedly opposed Henry's attempts to install compliant men in key church positions. Some of these political opponents of the king were posthumously regarded locally as saints, and some of these were also canonized. Second, rebels and royalists invested secular, military enterprises with religious significance by designating them as crusades throughout the thirteenth century. A medieval king's misrule was as much a religious crisis as a political one; questions concerning the nature of authority were inseparable from the issue of legitimate authority. This debate was not restricted to clergymen, nor was the Barons' War the only instance of secular rebels invoking divine authority against royal power, often through the language of crusade. Henry III had prevented many prominent *crucesignati* from fulfilling their vows; Simon de Montfort, himself from a famous crusading family, offered in his movement an outlet for the crusading impulse. The critical phase of the period of reform and rebellion was also a struggle to monopolize the mantle and perquisites of the crusader. The Montfortians succeeded when they were able to maintain this monopoly and failed when Rome and the royalists began to compete with them. This chapter advances the argument of the dissertation in two ways: by showing that the saintly role assigned to Simon de Montfort after death was already well established and by showing that the earl's political program was invested with a religious significance that was both prior to his death and independent of clerical support.

Chapter Three begins my analysis of the text of the *Liber miraculorum* itself, attempting to account for the document's eccentricities in order to recover its utility to the history of the period. In the context of the cult's official suppression, it is possible to use these eccentric features to deduce how the text was produced and by whom. Changes in vocabulary, emphasis, and content suggest that there is an older, core text within a later, bracketing text that introduces and then continues the miracle collection. The text's producers developed a series of formulae to order certain kinds of information common to most entries. The text often violates its own formulae, however, or creates new ones that govern only portions of the total text. A quantitative study of the scribal formulae of the text demonstrates their continuous change and can also explain apparent contradictions by positing corruptions of the original version by its fourteenth-century copyist.

Chapter Four further examines the text's content in order to reveal yet another group involved in the *Liber miraculorum*'s production: the various pilgrims who brought stories to Evesham. The relationship between pilgrim and scribe sometimes is made clear in the text. Changing ways of representing pilgrims and of listing witnesses reveal a probable change in scribe within the older portion of the text. In comparison, the chapter examines related entries within the *Liber miraculorum* in order to reveal patterns of interaction between the scribes of the text and the pilgrims who brought the stories of miracles attributed to Simon to his shrine. Over time, the changing circumstances surrounding pilgrimages to Evesham affected the way that information, particularly multiple stories, was reported to the cult's monastic scribes.

The scribes in turn attempted to cope with the changing presentation of information by developing new formulae for recording that information.

Chapter Five identifies prominent laymen in the *Liber miraculorum* and places their miracle stories in the context of what we know about their lives from other sources. The successive layers of composition, collection, and preservation in the *Liber miraculorum* register the religious significance and opportunity of each crisis in government. The struggle, both legal and armed, of those dispossessed after the battle of Evesham formed the backdrop of the cult's establishment and perhaps prevented its decisive suppression. People who had already lost much for their association with Simon de Montfort's cause appear in the records of his cult, continuing to seek assistance from him as a saint. Thus the disorder that followed Henry III's death was the occasion of the *Liber miraculorum's* re-collection and continuation. Once placed against these events, however, it becomes apparent that both politics and sanctity were changing more quickly than the cult's adaptations. Consequently, as St. Simon would became irrelevant, the cult died. Identifying figures in the *Liber miraculorum* also allows us to check the contents of this fourteenth-century manuscript against the records of the late thirteenth century. The picture that emerges is one frozen in August of 1265, in which figures who subsequently changed political sides are still portrayed in the political postures they had adopted at the time of de Montfort's death.

In a similar fashion, Chapter Six attempts to identify prominent clergy who appear in the *Liber miraculorum* and to place them in their historical context. These

figures usually appear in the text in groups, and the largest groups appear when laymen of standing in England were absent from Evesham for some time. There are virtually no identifiable religious communities in the miracle collection that did not have some grievance against the king and his supporters, whether before or after Simon de Montfort's death. Furthermore, the accounts that were either brought by clergy, or referred to them, frequently contain at least some evidence of the continuing controversy surrounding Simon de Montfort's career and his sanctity. The separate peace struck with Henry by most of the lay rebels, in August of 1267, did not affect the situation of those clergy who had supported the Montfortian cause; itinerant justices traveling the country later ensured that these religious figures were punished.

The *Liber miraculorum* shows signs of the cult's decline as more and more time passed between datable miracles. The collection draws to a close after 195 paragraphs. "Decline," however, is an inadequate model for the death of Simon de Montfort's cult. The varying appearance and then disappearance of different kinds of pilgrims, high-status laymen, and members of the clergy passes through distinct phases. The qualitative change in these appearances over time, rather than their simple numerical decline, represent the changing circumstances of the cult. The intersection of political and religious upheaval that had produced it was receding into the recent past. New controversies gripped the country, and a new generation of leaders came to power. Simon de Montfort, as a counterbalance to the misrule of Henry III, managed to persist after his death in the minds of his supporters as a saint; but even in this form he could not survive his old adversary's death and the absorption of the re-

bels' reforms into the practices of a transformed government. The saint suffered from the success of the cause for which the living man had fought and died, and the success of reform was marked by the failure of the cult.

Chapter One[1]

The Making of a Thirteenth-Century English Saint

The career of Simon de Montfort has led his biographers to frame the discrepancy between his public persona and his actual actions as a central theme of his life.[2] The reformer was not always true to his own principles; and by the end of his life, he had become very much like the man he eventually replaced as the *de facto* king of England. Due to this emphasis, the phenomenon of de Montfort's posthumous cult has been held with suspicion. How could he be seen as a saint when his actions were not always in accord with his own supposed principles? The tension, however, between Simon de Montfort the politician and the St. Simon of the *Liber miraculorum* is one common to medieval saints.[3] The reputation of sanctity was so much more important than the actual life of a person venerated as a saint that saints did not need to have

[1] Elements of this chapter were first presented at the Midwestern Medieval Conference, 2003.

[2] This controversy dates to the latter years of Simon de Montfort's life. G. Prothero, *The Life of Simon de Montfort, Earl of Leicester, with special reference to the parliamentary history of his time* (Longmans, Green, and Co.: London, 1877), and C. Bémont, *Simon de Montfort, comte de Leicester, sa vie, son role politique en France et en Angleterre* (Picard: Paris, 1884), are still useful for the primary sources transcribed in their appendices. The interpretation of M. Labarge, *Simon de Montfort* (London: Eyre and Spottiswoode, 1962), conforms to the work of Treharne and Sanders, the standard work at that time. All of this, however, has been superceded by J. Maddicott, *Simon de Montfort* (Cambridge, New York: Cambridge University Press, 1994), hereafter "Maddicott," and most of my account of the living Simon de Montfort is based on this work. For a summary of pre-modern historians, see D. Waley, "Simon de Montfort and the Historians," *Sussex Archaeological Collections Relating to the History and Antiquities of the County*, 140 (2003): 65 – 70, as well as the introduction to J. Halliwell, ed., *The Chronicle of William de Rishanger: Of the barons' war, the miracles of Simon de Montfort*, Camden Society o.s. no. 15 (London, 1840), i - xlii.

[3] D. Weinstein and R. Bell, *Saints and Society: The two worlds of Western Christendom, 1000 – 1700* (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1982), 9.

been actual persons.[4] This chapter accounts for contemporary perceptions of Simon de Montfort that made it possible, after his death, for his contemporaries to see him as a saint.

As a result of the disastrous reign of Henry III, the English barons and the English Church saw their situation as so dire that they perhaps could have raised up almost any person as their champion in life and as a saint after death. Simon, however, was seen to fit contemporary expectations of a saintly life despite his status as a layman, being similar in many respects to king Louis IX of France, who was later canonized. Whatever Simon de Montfort's personal failings may have been, and toward the end of his life they were considerable, a desperate people were willing to overlook or ignore them, when they knew about his failings, because he was Henry III's opponent. The earl's life and the manner of his death, moreover, meant that those who venerated him as a saint had plenty of material from which to draw in order to make his sanctity plausible. The purpose of this chapter is to reframe the political history of the Barons' War and the actions of its two most powerful figures in order to distinguish between their actions on the public political stage and those actions that were known only to a select few.

The misrule of Henry III and the rise of the English reformers in the second half of the thirteenth century are well documented.[5] Significantly, Henry III does not

[4] Weinstein and Bell provide the example of St.Christopher, ibid. St.Frideswide, for example, may not have been based on a real person, H. Mayr-Harting, "Functions of a Twelfth-Century Shrine: The Miracles of St.Frideswide," in *Studies in Medieval History Present to R. H. C. Davis,* ed. H. Mayr-Harting and R. Moore (London: Hambledon, 1985), 193 – 206.

seem to have derived much if any benefit from de Montfort's slide into corruption and self-aggrandizement. The barons' cronyism and corruption were insufficient to damage their reputation for reform or alter the king's reputation for exploitation and neglect. While high-level defections from de Montfort's faction could and would be critical, as in the case of Gilbert de Clare, Earl of Gloucester, these elite crises of conscience do not seem to have been matched by an erosion of the general opinion of Simon that later made possible the perceptions of his sanctity after death. In their own day, the difference between Simon and Henry remained in black and white to their adherents and detractors. Reaction to the consequences of Henry's misrule constituted a demand for better rule, a need supplied at first by Simon de Montfort and later by the new king, Edward I. In the years before the young Edward's accession, however, Simon's adherents were more numerous and vocal than his detractors, while Henry confronted an opposite state of affairs. For each side, there was no middle ground, and the armed confrontation between the two camps would continue long after de Montfort was killed. The *Liber miraculorum* leaves no doubt about the root of Simon's sanctity: he was a martyr for justice.[6]

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[5] Many of the most important documents of the Barons' War are reproduced in facing-page translation in R. Treharne and I. Sanders, eds. *Documents of the Baronial Movement of Reform and Rebellion, 1258-1267* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1973), hereafter "*DBMR*," which also includes a survey of the period of unrest, ibid., 1 – 60. Still in use are F. Powicke, *King Henry III and the Lord Edward: The community of the realm in the thirteenth century* (Oxford: The Clarendon Press, 1947), and *The Thirteenth Century, 1216-1307*, 2nd ed., (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1962). The standard works on Henry III, are D. Carpenter, *The Minority of Henry III* (Berkeley : University of California Press, 1990), and *The Reign of Henry III* (London: The Hambledon Press, 1996).

[6] "*et sicut nos credimus te martirizatum pro justitia…*" #84; Halliwell, 84. "*Sicut credo comitem Symonem pro justitia terrae et veritate martirizatum…*" #88; Halliwell, 85. A nun, distrought after a gruesome vision of de Montfort's mutilation, curses God: "*asserendo ipsum esse injustum eo quod proderet justos et innocentes…*" #122; Halliwell, 91.

The Misrule of Henry III

Henry III did not simply turn his subjects against himself. The king also dismantled the very means and practices established for mediating between himself and his barons. He created a crisis and he ensured the intractability of that crisis. Though Henry seems to have thought that he played on the same international stage as Louis IX of France and later Alfonso X of Castile, in reality the king of England was unable to keep even his own kingdom in order and therefore accomplished nothing of consequence outside it. After the removal of the formal checks on the king's power, and at a time when so many of Henry's English subjects did not have their king's ear, his barons could negotiate with him only collectively and informally, and then only when Henry's difficulties forced him to turn to them. The barons' repeated demands for an end to the king's misconduct and that of his foreign favorites, however, met repeatedly with obstruction and feigned cooperation from Henry. Ultimately, the king's failure to rule justly, as his barons saw it, and the absence of any real option to restrain the king's actions left only direct confrontation.[7]

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[7] The standard works on Henry's struggle with his barons are E. Jacob, *Studies in the Period of Baronial Reform and Rebellion, 1258-1267*, 2nd ed. (New York: Octagon Books, 1974). R. Treharne, *The Baronial Plan of Reform, 1258-1263*, 2nd. ed. (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1971). Treharne and Sanders, *Documents of the Baronial Movement*. Carpenter, "What Happened in 1258?" in *War and Government in the Middle Ages: Essays in honour of J. O. Prestwich* (Woodbridge: Boydell and Brewer, 1984), 106 – 19. The best recent survey of the material, however, is John Maddicott's biography of Simon de Montfort (op. cit.). The best and most recent analysis of the technical details of the legal issues is P. Brand, *Kings, Barons and Justices: The making of enforcement of legislation in thirteenth-century England* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003).

Simon de Montfort began his career in England more as an example of Henry's misrule than a challenge to it. New arrivals from across the Channel, like de Montfort, acquired important titles in England that might have gone to native barons. Since possession of lands also meant position at court, these transactions contributed to the native barons' political disenfranchisement. As early as 1236, Matthew Paris wrote that Henry was ignoring the counsel of his native subjects in favor of that of his foreign friends, who convinced him to "extort" money from his nobles continuously. The barons were alarmed "to see so many foreigners fattening on their property,"[8] including those who had arrived relatively empty handed. Simon de Montfort by himself was not necessarily objectionable. Strictly speaking, he was a Norman, not simply "French," and therefore was only slightly foreign. Simon's rapid advancement, however, meant that he was at first seen as another example of the misrule he would later confront.

The earl's marriage to the king's sister, not his Norman origin, was responsible for his early estrangement from native leaders.[9] In mid thirteenth-century England, continental imports varied in their perceived foreignness. The king's mother, for instance, was a Poitevin, and her immediate kin received advancement early on in Henry's reign with little objection. However, Henry later gave significant advancement to Frenchmen from further afield, especially to his Lusignan half-

[8] *Matthew Paris' English History*, trans. J. Giles (London: Bohn's, 1852 - 1854), hearafter "*EH*," I:67. Matthew Paris, despite his reliance on rumor and love of sensationalism remains "the chief authority for the general history of Henry III's reign," Gransden, *Historical Writing in England, c. 550 – c. 1307* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1974), 408. St.Albans' location and the importance of its hospitality put Paris in an excellent position to meet important people and collect gossip, ibid., 360 - 1.

[9] Prothero, 44. Labarge, 47 – 8. Maddicott, 21, 38.

brothers and at the expense of native barons.[10] These men were newcomers and neither they nor Henry did anything to ease their introduction into English politics. William de Valence received the earldom of Hertford and Geoffrey de Lusignan the barony of Hastings. Guy de Lusignan, it was said, was so enriched that he did not have enough horses to carry off all the money he had received in England.[11] While these gifts might have been necessary to buy continental allies and secure Gascony's northern frontier,[12] this rationale would have been cold comfort to the English since it was only Henry's bungling in Poitou that made such a strategy necessary. Moreover, even if this were Henry's strategy, it would eventually be a wasted effort thanks to the king's further miscues in Gascony itself. Hertford, Hastings, and other possessions remained in the hands of the Lusignans after the alliances these gifts cemented had become useless. Compared to the king's half-brothers, Simon de Montfort was less alien to native-born English barons.

The king also arranged politically significant marriages with foreigners and did so without the usual baronial counsel. Simon de Montfort's marriage to the king's sister Eleanor, however, was a source of friction between the king and his Earl rather than a bond between the brothers-in-law or an advantage for the earl.[13] Henry accused Simon of seducing Eleanor and claimed that the marriage had gone forward only because she feared she was pregnant.[14] Simon de Montfort was very close to power and wealth, but

[10] Prothero, 70, 88. Labarge, 154. Maddicott, 12 – 8, 151 – 2.
[11] *EH,* II:417.
[12] As Maddicott has argued, 127.
[13] *EH,* II:120-122.
[14] Maddicott, 38.

had little actual security. While Simon benefited somewhat from Henry's generosity, little of the lands and incomes the Earl held as the king's brother-in-law would pass to the earl's descendents; and would instead revert to Henry upon Eleanor's death. Tensions over her dowry would drive the two men apart and ,after 1258, even became a factor in negotiations with France. In the meantime, Simon's advantageous marriage made him a symbol of England's exploitation to those unlikely to sympathize with the dynastic frustrations of a foreign interloper. The wedding ceremony, carried out in secret, enraged Edmund Rich, archbishop of Canterbury, and alienated him from Simon, who otherwise would have been a powerful political ally against Henry.[15] It is also possible that Simon's marriage to Eleanor weighed on the Earl personally since she was supposed to have taken a vow of celibacy after her first husband's death.[16] Simon de Montfort had married as high as he could in England but failed to gain much wealth or political influence or prestige.

As for other prominent barons, Henry III interfered destructively in their interests and also allowed his foreign adherents to do the same. Henry's Lusignan half-brothers seem to have felt a sense of immunity in England. They had a free hand in the countryside, according to Matthew Paris, inveterate collector of rumors; he described the foreigners' assaults in apocalyptic terms.[17] He also claimed that Poitevins had poisoned some of the English and that there were still other assassins in England who would continue poisoning native leaders. A blue liquor had been found in costrel jars which

[15] C. Lawrence, St.*Edmund of Abingdon: A study in hagiography and history* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1960), 168, 257.
[16] Maddicott, 38, 86-7.
[17] *EH,* II:510-511.

proved lethal when fed to several dogs. Paris also claimed that other unnamed nobles had been poisoned, including laymen of rank and men of learning. The alleged poison's symptoms closely match those Paris described in the death of bishop Robert Grosseteste: victims suffered pain and fatigue, a loss of hair, nails and teeth as well as ulcerous sores and a sloughing-off of skin. The English nobility, he said, lived in suspicion of their household staff.[18] The Waverly chronicle also describes a conspiracy, saying that "numerous foreigners" planned to poison all the magnates, depose Henry, and assume control of England. When the barons seized control in 1258, one of the first cases tried by their new judiciary was that of Walter Scotteny, accused of having poisoned the Earl of Gloucester and many others "to satisfy the vengeance" of those whom the barons had expelled.[19] A rumor of assassination that had motivated the foreigners' expulsion afterward took on new life as a rumor of revenge for that expulsion, one that justified expulsion. These accusations show what some people were willing to believe about Henry's friends and how much the barons saw themselves at risk. Ultimately, the English barons were willing to think the worst about their king, and they were convinced that the continental intruders at court had the king's protection, even from the repercussions of violent acts. Reform and xenophobia would eventually become indistinguishable.

Henry had also failed to protect his nobles' rights of advowson from papal encroachment.[20] This power of appointment to church positions was very much a kind of property right and persisted despite centuries of controversy over the liberty of the

[18] Ibid., III:297.
[19] Ann. Mon. II:349; III:211. *EH,* III:329-330.
[20] Carpenter, *Henry III*, 463 – 4.

Church from lay control. From an English perspective, losing this right was just one more form of foreign expropriation. Once a church appointment was removed from the control of native, lay landholders, one more piece of property was in the hands of a foreigner, in this case the pope, and he was likely to appoint still more foreigners. In 1231, this issue erupted into armed confrontation as Robert Thwenge, a Yorkshire landholder, led an armed and masked band under the name "William Wither," terrorizing alien appointees and telling their tenants to withhold rents. While Thwenge and his men were responsible for little actual violence, the incident had political implications at home and abroad. Complicity with Thwenge, as well as other charges, "most of them very fantastic," were used to unseat Hubert de Burgh.[21] The barons wrote to pope Gregory IX to complain about the loss of what they saw as their property, only to find the pope hostile.[22] Laymen, of course, were not the only ones to suffer from papal provisions. The baronial letter pointed out the curia's appointees were supposed to have been replaced upon their death by locally appointed men, but in reality Roman was succeeded by Roman. Eventually, Rome would make a separate peace with English barons over lay advowson, agreeing to respect established property rights. But the curia then turned its full attention to gathering all appointments in the gift of the English Church under Roman control.

[21] Powicke, *The Thirteenth Century,* 45-6.

[22] *EH,* I:230-232; Gregory IX corrected the one instance which the barons had used as an example, 232-233, and 233-234, but the practice continued.

The Vulnerability of the English Church

Matthew Paris claimed that foreign clergy had succeeded in gaining English appointments only because they were acquisitive, not competent and that they would drain their English benefices of revenues and deprive monks and canons of their accustomed liberties.[23] Understandably, English churchmen were not kind to their foreign competition and showed them in a very poor light. Many appointees were often too tied up in the same politics of the curia that had secured their English posts in the first place, and appointees did not always come to England to perform their duties. Resistance to the installation of these absentee clerics, however, was punished. The archbishop of York was excommunicated after protesting the appropriation of the revenues his see, while it had been held vacant longer than was necessary, and also the king's ransacking of church property during the contested election.[24] Those foreign clerks who did come to England invented tithes to defraud religious houses of their revenues, sometimes on the spot and at times even with the support of papal letters.[25] Otto, a legate in the 1230s, refused to return to Rome even when called by Gregory IX.[26] Master Martin, his high-living successor, had to be chased out of the country.[27] Paris records Grosseteste's purported death-bed lament that if anyone dared to oppose the appointment of incompetent Roman clerics, "he is suspended, excommunicated, and the war waged against him is

[23] Ibid., I: 50.
[24] Ibid., III:248.
[25] Ibid., I:54, 280.
[26] Ibid., I:119.
[27] Ibid., II:23, 56.

sanctified."[28] Paris portrays Henry, at best, as incapable of protecting his subjects. At worst, he appears as a collaborator in their exploitation.

The papacy played more than a supporting role, however, and engaged in its own direct extortions. In 1256, several English convents received papal letters "reminding" them each of alleged debts of 500 marks to unspecified merchants. The following year a new papal decree required all bishops-elect to come to Rome and make an offering for their offices. Paris worried that the costs of purchasing positions, which as simony should have been illegal, combined with the expenses of travel and the graft associated with gaining access to the pope, would bankrupt any honest cleric.[29] The papacy also had support from clerics seen in England as foreign infiltrators. Peter Aigueblanche, Bishop of Hereford, who had been one of Henry's first French clients, went to Rome in 1255 posing as the "procurator" of the English Church. In this assumed capacity, he signed over all the religious houses of England to Sienese and Florentine bankers as a way of underwriting Alexander IV's debts. The chronicler of Bury St. Edmund's wrote that this fraud had the full blessing of the pope: "would that one could say he had been mislead."[30] Bishop Robert Grosseteste of Lincoln had become so alarmed by the growth of the wealth of foreigners in England that he ordered its calculation. According to Paris, the amount came to more than 70,000 marks, more than three times Henry III's annual revenue.[31]

[28] Ibid., III:45.
[29] Ibid., III:248-249.
[30] *The Chronicle of Bury St. Edmunds*, ed.and trans. A. Gransden (London: Nelson's Medieval Texts, 1964), 20.
[31] *EH,* III:7-9.

Henry had failed to protect his barons' property rights in the church and had failed to protect his national Church from extortion. Unfortunately, English churchmen did not suffer under Henry's reign solely by default. In 1238 Henry began his own depredations with a long and unfortunate struggle over who would be his appointment to Winchester. The king wanted to install yet another Lusignan, in this case his uncle William de Savoy, who was already bishop-elect of Valencia. Failing at Winchester, Henry tried again at Chester, which required the ouster of the newly elected bishop. When this failed, William appealed for the pope's help and received a position at Liège, from which he continued to agitate for the see of Winchester until he was apparently poisoned the following year.[32] Henry tried again at Winchester, with various unwelcome candidates, in 1239, 1241, and 1244. The youngest Lusignan, Ethelmar, received money "extorted from each bishop and abbot, one after another.[33] Probably Henry's greatest appointment was that of queen Eleanor's uncle, Boniface of Savoy, as archbishop of Canterbury. According to Paris, the new archbishop was guilty of every sin in the calendar, acquisitiveness, tyranny, and improper consecrations, which may have received undue emphasis as a result of the archbishop's controversy with Paris' beloved St. Albans.[34] When English prelates refused Henry's requests for money in 1250, Boniface began showing up unannounced, eating his hosts out of house and home

[32] William at Winchester, ibid., I:135; closeness to Henry, III, 29; at Chester, 136; at Liège, 171; poisoned, 241.
[33] *EH,* II:247.
[34] Ibid., III:305; see also 498.

and then cursorily excommunicating them.[35] As with other foreign favorites, Henry refused to hear any complaints against his wife's uncle.[36]

English churchmen were also not immune to French assaults. In 1252 the king's half-brother William de Valence and his retainers broke into the bishop of Ely's house and drank themselves sick. Three days later, William's brother Geoffrey de Lusignan violently expelled all the guests at St. Albans so that he might monopolize the monks' hospitality. The abbot, Paris said, was powerless to object, "especially as the English are effeminate, and are trodden under-foot, whilst foreigners lord it over them. Under a tyrannical king, everything is crowded together on a precipice, and is exposed to danger and ruin."[37] Even worse than being displaced by foreigners, English nobles and churchmen were at their mercy. Complaints about these abuses show fears of a partnership between Henry and Rome to despoil England in which each stood by the other to protect their mutual material interests. In 1255 pope Innocent IV sent a legate with orders to excommunicate anyone interfering with either the distribution of lands to French nobles or the appointment of Romans to English churches and monastic communities.[38] With this support, foreign nobles funneled money out of England. When the rebellion began in 1258, Richard Grey intercepted a cache of money being smuggled out of the country at Dover; more was found at the New Temple at London.[39] The papacy continued to support Henry III after the rebellion, absolving him of his oath to

[35] Ibid., II:345.
[36] Ibid., II:347.
[37] Ibid., II:535-536.
[38] Ibid., III:136.
[39] Ibid., III:293.

observe the Provisions of Oxford and excommunicating the rebels. Simon de Montfort had, however, seized the ports and prevented the legate's entry. English prelates were not interested in carrying out the Pope's sentence.[40] Henry's barons came to believe that he encouraged, allowed, and even participated in fraud, extortion, and violent acts against his own people, that he handed out money, lands, benefices, and marriages to foreigners, which should have gone to native-born nobles, even in violation of nobles' rights of advowson and even the liberties of the churches in question. And in order to do this he had perverted the traditional and natural form of his own government.

The Absence of Checks and Balances

Henry's father and predecessor, John, had died shortly after issuing, and then annulling, Magna Carta, and young Henry spent the next decade under the control of a regency.[41] While monarchs who emerge from a lengthy minority to rule in their own right are often jealous of their power, suspicious of the former regents, and therefore liable to surround themselves with richly rewarded favorites,[42] Henry was additionally so politically inept and susceptible to manipulation as to suggest, as Simon de Montfort once observed, that he may have been mentally deficient.[43] Although Henry was not fit to govern, he had nevertheless altered the structure of his government to bring himself into more direct control of its functions. Central

[40] Ibid., III:333 and 351; *Bury-St.Edmund's*, 26-27.

[41] J. Holt, *Magna Carta*, 2nd. ed. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1992), 389 – 90. Carpenter, *The Minority*, 19 – 20, 64 – 9.

[42] Emperor Henry IV is another example.

[43] During the king's humiliating retreat from Poitou, Henry, Simon said, was incapable of governing, and should be locked up like Charles the Simple. Prothero, 106. Maddicott, 31-2.

government in England in this period consisted of two unequal halves: the royal household's offices of the justiciar, chancellor, and wardrobe on one hand and those vassals summoned personally by the king to fulfill their feudal obligation of counsel on the other.[44] Members of the social group from which the king chose such counselors, the earls and barons, had gradually come to assume that their obligation to provide counsel to the king was actually a right to give counsel. The 1217 reissue of Magna Carta was very different from the original charter in that it was granted willingly by a king, albeit a child king, it was not annulled, and the emergency clause of the original, which provided for legal, armed resistance to the king had been removed.[45] Combined with the experience of the regency government, this new issue of the Charter placed the king in council with his peers, not in opposition to them. Seen this way, the barons' experience with the 1217 reissue of Magna Carta had raised the assumption of the right to give counsel to the level of established practice. Government during the regency relied on this greater participation of the baronage to fill the offices of government. During Henry's long minority, Henry's youth reduced his actual contribution to government. His ministers, the justiciar and chancellor especially, grew in authority to fill this vacuum and were responsible to the nobility in a way that they had not previously been. Furthermore, these officials were clearly conscious of being

[44] For the specific issues in the early regency, see Carpenter, *The Minority*, 50 – 55.

[45] For the 1217 reissue of Magna Carta, see Holt, *Magna Carta*, 382 – 9. Holt reaffirms Powicke's much earlier observation, *Thirteenth Century*, 4-5, that contemporary perceptions of Magna Carta's political significance and role in government changed between 1215 and 1217. After the mid-thirteenth century, however, the post-1215 developments were assumed to have been part of the original version signed at Runnymede. Holt provides examples of legal cases demonstrating this confusion, *Magna Carta*, 397 – 405. Brand, *Kings, Barons and Justices*, 391, contrasts the legislation of the government under baronial control with the actual scope of Magna Carta.

answerable to the nobility and often put off major decisions until all parties were present.[46] Fashioned by function, the minority government left a lasting impression on the barons that good government was "open and controllable," and returning to this form of government, with its ministers as a brake on royal power, was a central baronial demand.[47] Once king Henry had grown to majority, however, he would try to reclaim the power that he thought he should have.[48]

As Henry III reached adulthood he gradually dismantled the regency government. He expected to be able to select his own counselors without contradiction, and to be guided in policy only by his conscience. In 1234 he eliminated the position of the justiciar. Four years later he took his seal from the chancellor, rendering the position meaningless, and entrusted the seal to minor officials entirely dependant on himself. By 1244 Henry had formally dissolved the office of the chancellor. There was now no break, even ceremonially, on Henry's power, since his seal could be affixed to anything he wished. In each case, the power of these offices reverted back to Henry, and he and his adherents abused it at the expense of his other subjects.[49] The lack of a separate legal or bureaucratic authority meant that what checks there were on the king's powers would be improvised and informal. Negotiations between Henry III and his barons in the two decades before the Provisions of Oxford produced no resolution but followed a

[46] Carpenter, *The Minority*, 407-409.

[47] Ibid., 407.

[48] Henry insisted throughout his reign that he should be as free to run England as any landholder was to run his own property. See M. Prestwich, *English Politics in the Thirteenth Century* (New York: St.Martin's, 1990), 14 – 16, 27. Prothero, has a summary of the king's position that, while it is based on a baronial tract, the *Song of Lewes*, is substantiated by the royalist chronicler Matthew of Westminster and also in Matthew Paris' *Chronica Majora*, Prothero, 178 – 81.

[49] Prothero, 145. M. Prestwich, *English Politics*, 24.

regular pattern. In order to break this cycle, the restoration of formal government and its customary process became the barons' central demand.[50] The result was a series of pointless back and forth struggles stretching over years that did nothing to address the underlying structural problems of England's political culture. This state of affairs would eventually lead to direct confrontation between Henry and his barons.

In 1244 Henry was pressed by his obligation to support papal ambitions in Sicily, as well as by a debt which he had incurred trying to buy the support of the Gascons against his brother.[51] By 1248 the king was reduced to appropriating what he could not afford and issuing IOUs which he was not expected to honor. Henry generally encountered initial resistance, usually due to continuing grievances, as in the London Parliament of 1248, when the king stood accused of driving foreign merchants out of England and native merchants into hiding, of ruining abbeys and bishoprics with his extortions, of holding wardships longer than was lawful, and of forcibly contracting marriages for their profitability to him and his foreign friends. Clause 37 of Henry's 1217 Magna Carta, for instance, protected all merchants traveling into, out of, and within the country unless they were from a nation at war with England. Increasingly, the barons and clergy attempted to cooperate with each other against the crown, presenting a united front against new taxes which would fall on both groups. While the barons considered Henry's 1244 request for new taxes, they were approached by representatives of the English Church, who asked if they would abide by the clergy's

[50] Carpenter, *The Minority*, 395.
[51] Paris was concerned to show what he considered Henry's duplicity, Gransden, 369.

decision in the matter. The barons replied that they would need the consent of the whole barony, much as they would have in the days of the minority. To represent both groups, the barons and clerics formed a committee, consisting of the archbishop-elect of Canterbury, three bishops, four earls, two barons, and two abbots.[52]

Henry's Sicilian entanglements, however, also provided him with an opportunity to divide his clergy from the nobility. Innocent IV instructed the English clergy that so long as Henry could fulfill his obligations to the pope, they should give Henry what he had requested. Henry also attempted to intimidate them, privately, one cleric at a time; eventually they left Westminster. While Henry used offers to submit to excommunication to secure agreements with his barons and prelates, it was clear to them that, with his papal contacts, Henry was, in fact, conceding nothing. Paris claimed that, while the king had been excommunicated by his native prelates, he could, "for a sum of money, obtain absolution for the transgression."[53] They usually expressed these grievances in terms of violations of Magna Carta and demand a return to the more formal government of the minority, including greater representation for the barons in such a government. Instead of removing the counselors who were deemed foreign, Henry agreed to add three counselors, Earl Warrenne, William Ferrers, and John Fitz Geoffrey, to his private council. These were considered more representative of the

[52] *EH,* II:9.
[53] *EH,* III:83.

king's "liege and natural subjects."[54] Terms offered the king could only come from this body, and these decisions would be promulgated "to all in general." [55]

Contrary to the tradition established by Henry's ancestors, the king had refused to form a government, holding instead all powers of the Crown for himself personally, to the harm of England. The king only promised to do better and the parliament adjourned inconclusively.[56] The barons' complaints still centered around a demand for a council. This council would reinstate the treasury and chancery, which could both oversee the king's affairs and check his actions by electing its officials themselves.[57] Furthermore, they insisted that they be allowed to elect a body of twelve nobles that would include a treasurer and chancellor as well as control the size of any financial assistance given the king. This committee, when it finally met, resolved to draw up a new charter, one specifically addressing problems of justice and backed by threat of anathema. The barons and prelates were to elect four counselors, of which Henry would need at least two to hear any cases. These ministers would also oversee the treasury in order to ensure that the money granted by would be properly spent. This new body also constituted a check on the power of the nobles, who could not meet without the presence of the four. But the limits on the king were farther-reaching. Any document sealed without the presence of the chancellor was invalid. No minister could be replaced except by "the free consent of all." Also, the king's personal circle was to be purged: "Those who have been hitherto suspected, or who are least necessary, shall be removed

[54] *EH,* I:44-45.
[55] Ibid., II:9.
[56] Ibid., II:254-256.
[57] Carpenter, *Henry* III, 410; *EH,* II:8-9.

from the side of the king."[58] As lord, as master, as father, he said, he had every right to do as he wished. The servants were attempting to make a slave of their master. Paris claimed that the barons saw Henry's outburst as proof that he was under the influence, if not the control, of the foreigners in his council.[59]

The disputes between Henry and his barons over the proper form of government and royal revenues appear to have produced a repeating pattern. Each side had different expectations of the negotiations. Henry wanted money, while the barons hoped at each turn to exchange that money for a definitive return to a form of government like that of the minority, and expected reissues of Magna Carta ensure it. In the years before the Revolt, the barons' memory of the minority and their idea of Magna Carta's significance gradually emerged in the details of the negotiations. As Henry dismantled the minority government, the demands by the English Church and barons' for a reversal of course grew louder. These demands, however, probably stiffened Henry's resolve to be an independent king in what he believed was his ancestors' tradition. As each side alienated the other, the power of the purse became the primary means by which the barons tried to coax Henry into adopting their idea of just government. This cycle of bad-faith negotiations finally ceased to be an effective means of reconciliation or dispersal of confrontational tension in the 1250's. However, even once the barons turned to open rebellion, these patterns of conflict continued to guide the actions of the king, the barons, and the clergy. England's barons and prelates did not trust their

[58] *EH,* II:11-12.
[59] Ibid., II:267.

sovereign with the full power of the Crown, nor did it trust his friends. Henry, on the other hand, refused to alienate either his authority or his associates. Disagreeing over prerogatives, neither side could get what it wanted. The barons were refused their demands for a new government and Henry was denied additional income.

These periodic demands probably stiffened Henry's resolve. He responded by attempting to divide the barons from the prelates and so conquer both. Each disappointment also taught the barons not to trust their king. Conscious of their right to counsel the king, and recalling the division of Crown authority under the regency, the newly self-aware community demanded a new government.[60] As each side hardened against the other, the power of the purse became the primary means by which the barons tried to coax Henry into adopting their idea of just government. By 1248, both the king and his barons agreed that royal appropriations were the main problem, though they differed over its cause. The king had resorted to appropriating what he could not afford, issuing IOUs which he was not expected to honor. His barons accused him of driving foreign merchants out of England and native merchants into hiding. Henry, however, saw his own extreme measures as a natural consequence of the state of his treasury, which was the fault of the barons, not the king. His opponents in parliament replied that since Henry needed to resort to requisitioning, he had to be deprived of the power of his own purse. Nothing was resolved in the parliaments of that year, which were reduced to shouting-matches. There was no reissue of Magna Carta, no threat of excommunication

[60] Carpenter, *The Minority*, 410. *EH,* II:8-9.

to ensure the charter, and nothing to stop Henry from squeezing the Londoners to make up for what his barons would not give him.[61]

The Emergence of Simon de Montfort as a Focus of Opposition

The year 1248 also marked the beginning of Simon de Montfort's public alienation from Henry. The earl, who had been on crusade six years earlier, had planned to join Louis IX on the new crusade called by Innocent IV.[62] Instead, he accepted the task of pacifying Gascony, whose inhabitants rejected Henry's ducal authority. Simon de Montfort's experiences in Gascony were almost certainly a formative stage and an influence on later activities in the period of reform and rebellion in England; and many of his retinue in Gascony would stick by the Earl until his death.[63] Gascony, when de Montfort arrived, was to its inhabitants an artificial administrative unit. Gascons did not see themselves as having any collective identity and certainly did not recognize any countywide authority. There also was no common law, as in England, and no accepted process for resolving local conflicts. Simon de Montfort's attempt to change this situation and introduce order turned much of Gascony against him. In Gascony, there were only factions; when negotiations failed, violence was the only recourse. Furthermore, the name de Montfort was despised in much of Gascony, since it was still associated with his father, also named Simon de Montfort, and therefore with the

[61] *EH,* II:254-6.
[62] Bémont, 12, 19. Carpenter, *Henry III*, 110. Maddicott, 75 - 6.
[63] Carpenter, *Henry III*, 110 – 13.

excesses and brutality of the Albigensian Crusade.[64] Therefore, when Innocent IV rebuked the Gascons, saying that their disobedience was keeping an important crusader like Simon de Montfort from accompanying Louis IX to the Holy Land, his message was received in a way the pope did not intend.

Because the situation in Gascony was apparently intractable from the outset, de Montfort asked for and received promises from Henry for a greater level of financial support and a freer hand to deal with the Gascons than any of the earl's predecessors had enjoyed, including Henry's brother, Richard of Cornwall.[65] Because he was a de Montfort, however, any action he took was going to be seen by the locals in the worst light possible. Furthermore, since the most disobedient of Henry's vassals in Gascony, Gaston de Béarn, was also his queen's cousin, Simon's inevitable conflicts with the Gascons would also mean conflict with Henry's kinsman. Henry's foreign kinsman presented Simon's fulfillment of his duties in Gascony as criminal and unprovoked assaults. Wherever de Montfort had clashed with Gascon opponents of Henry III's authority, the king blamed not his enemies but his lieutenant. Simon de Montfort was also left with the bill for improving the king's castles in Gascony.[66] Henry launched an inquiry into de Montfort's administration of the duchy in 1251 and the following year summoned the Earl and all aggrieved Gascons to England. Whatever Henry had intended, the spectacle of what effectively became de Montfort's trial only elevated the earl's public standing and worsened the king's. Too easily, and regardless of actual

[64] Maddicott, 110.
[65] Ibid., 116. For Richard's experiences in Gascony, see Carpenter, *Henry III*, 40, 91 – 2.
[66] Powicke, *The Thirteenth Century*, 108 – 13, 115. Maddicott, 111.

events in Gascony, the confrontation could be seen as yet another instance of foreign relatives manipulating a gullible king at the expense of one of his barons. The public breach between the two men was Henry's loss and the earl's gain. In England, the earl's clash with Henry removed the taint of royal favor and high marriage.

With the accession in 1252 of Alfonso X, 'the wise,' in Castile, the English were worried he would revive Castile's claims on Gascony.[67] The new king announced his arrival on the European scene with a sudden campaign against his Iberian rivals. Rumors spread that Alfonso had Moorish allies and he was planning an invasion not just of Gascony but of England itself. Gaston de Béarn declared for Alfonso. Henry's trust in his wife's cousin was now even more to his discredit as a leader, and de Montfort's treatment of the man must have seemed prescient. Gascony passed to the supposed control of prince Edward, who was then thirteen years old.[68] In reality, de Montfort remained on the continent, his authority a dead letter, and cultivated his relationships with the French court, where he was in better standing than at home. Later, in 1259, these connections would make him a more effective advocate for England's interests than Henry had been. Finally, de Montfort would continue to cultivate the network he had begun in Gascony and was cool to Henry's sporadic attempts at reconciliation.[69]

By 1253 Henry needed money again, this time to support his crusade, and he asked for a tenth of church revenues. Henry offered a renewal of Magna Carta and was willing to agree to automatic sentences of excommunication against its violators. He

[67] Via Arthur of Brittany, most likely murdered by king John. Maddicott, 108.
[68] Carpenter, *Henry III*, 118 -19.
[69] Powicke, *The Thirteenth Century*, 113 – 14. Maddicott, 115 – 17.

and the barons and prelates wore ceremonial robes, carried candles, and recited a long formula of anathema, including the contents of the charter itself. According to Paris, Henry refused personally to hold his candle, giving it to a cleric, and Grosseteste noticed the king covering his heart throughout the ceremony.[70] Even if this was only Matthew's dramatic foreshadowing, it is appropriate, since Henry indeed wasted no time breaking the charter. As a result, the barons and prelates resolved that they would not grant the king's exceptionally ruinous request unless he not only renewed Magna Carta but also granted them an irrevocable right to choose a justiciar and chancellor. The barons agreed to offer these terms in private council, where the king's supporters warned that he would never agree. When the demands were made, Henry simply stared at the nobles in silence. Eventually, they left.[71]

In addition to the rift between Henry and de Montfort, Gascony had also contributed to the later Barons' War in an unlikely fashion.[72] In mobilizing England for the coming invasion in 1254, Henry established a precedent by sending two sheriffs to each county to promise an extension of liberties in exchange for a new royal aid. The Provisions barons would later use the same system four years later for promulgating and soliciting support for the Provisions of Oxford.[73] Resolution of the false crisis with Castile came quickly, and together with other developments radically altered the political order of both western Europe in general and England in particular. In a

[70] *EH,* III:25-26; *Bury-St.Edmund's*, 19.
[71] *EH,* III:119-120.
[72] Powicke, *The Thirteenth Century*, 117.
[73] Henry's first request for an aid, made without this provision, had failed in 1252, Maddicott, 119 - 20.

marriage alliance that included yet another promise of crusade, Edward married Alfonso's daughter Eleanor. Henry exchanged a promise to support Alfonso against Navarre with another promise to deal mildly with de Béarn, which is to say that Henry gave much in an arrangement in which England received almost nothing in return.[74] The stage seemed set for Europe-wide, joint assault on the Muslim world envisioned beginning in the mid-thirteenth century.[75] Henry's brother Richard was a claimant to the German throne, a crusader's truce with France held while Louis was away. All the major powers of western Europe were at peace where they were not actually allied. Unfortunately, one of those powers was headed towards political collapse.

Henry's stock in England continued to decline, though he remained on the continent and immersed himself in international affairs. Under the influence of papal agents, Henry agreed to take over the disastrous papal assault on Sicily from Innocent

[74] Powicke, *The Thirteenth Century*, 116 – 18.

[75] Southern, 281-5. Maddicott, 41, 98. Pope Urban IV (1254 – 61) was especially intrigued by the possible implications of the Mongol advance westward during his pontificate, but Christian Europe's hopes were based on misinformation. In 1221, during the Fifth Crusade, a rumor spread that "Prester John" or "King David" had freed Frankish prisoners in Asia because they were Christians and had sent them to Antioch. Later, in 1248, a letter from the Armenian Constable Smbat, known in western Europe through the writings of Vincent of Beauvais, claimed that Chinggis Khan granted special protections to the Christians in his empire. The two stories seem to have become confused and variations circulated for decades. Louis IX was told in Cyprus in late 1248 or early 1249 that qaghan Guyug had been baptized. Thomas of Cantimpre's *Bonum universale de apibus* and Joinville's *Life of Saint Louis* both offered Christian versions of the Mongolian myth, in which their principle god, Tenggeri, had given them everything on earth, but had changed the story into one of a universal Christian mission. See P. Jackson, "Hulegu Khan and the Christians: the making of a myth," in *The Experience of Crusading*, vol. 2, ed. Peter Edbury and Jonathan Phillips (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003), 207 - 8. Even considering the sources of the time, however, enough information as to the real acts and objectives of the Mongols was available that the expectations of a joint eastern and western Christian Crusade against the Muslim world, expectations that reached a peak in the 1260s, should have been discarded. For instance, in 1248 the Mongol general Eljigidei told Louis IX that Chinggis Khan had specifically ordered that no religion be shown any special favor. Also, in 1253 the Flemish Franciscan William of Rubruck wrote that he had been expressly forbidden by the Mongols to refer to Hulegu as a Christian, despite his Christian ancestry. Ibid., 206 - 7.

IV. The king furthermore agreed to assume the debts that Rome had already accumulated in trying to take the island. When Louis returned in 1254, Henry offered up Normandy and Poitou as the price of continued peace, necessary to the prosecution of this new crusade against the Hohenstaufen in Sicily.[76] In the space of a few weeks, Henry had abandoned his promised and oft-deferred crusade to the Holy Land, broken his promise to accompany Alfonso on his crusade against north Africa, capitulated to France over Normandy and Poitou after years of war, all to assume ruinous debts to gain Sicily for his younger son Edmund. Henry furthermore did so without consulting anyone outside his mostly foreign inner circle, exacerbating both his political and fiscal crises at a time when political dialogue had collapsed. The mechanisms and offices of government that had performed this kind of political mediation in the past and that had developed so much during his minority were gone.

Simon de Montfort as the Leader of Reform

While the difficulties of the English political class may seem diverse and unrelated, and while they were certainly not peculiar to thirteenth-century England, their confluence led to the elite rebellion that in turn opened the door for nationwide revolt and reform. Across Europe, baronial associations of all kinds were confronting their respective monarchs, but it was in England that the king was especially incapable of

[76] Powicke, *The Thirteenth Century*, 119.

dealing with them.[77] An April, 1258 parliament at Winchester, called to address trouble with the Welsh and the expenses of Henry's obligations in Sicily, became an opportunity for confrontation. In the week before, a struggle over advowson between one of the king's foreign favorites and a native baron, John fitz Geoffrey, escalated into violence. This controversy dominated the concerns of the English faction at parliament, but Henry refused to hear the complaint of the injured party. It is difficult to imagine an incident that could have more completely encapsulated the longstanding grievances of the native nobility against their king than the grievance John fitz Geoffrey brought to the April parliament. Additionally, it is just as difficult to imagine Henry aggravating the political situation any more than he did by ignoring it.

Neither the controversy over advowson, nor the Lusignan assault, nor the king's failure to give justice was new. However, the simultaneous frustration of the barons summarized above, reverses in Wales, and ruinous demands from the papacy over Sicily meant that the April parliament proved to be a confrontation of a different kind. As a result of the incident and the king's inaction, Simon de Montfort, Earl Richard of Gloucester, Earl Roger Bigod of Norfolk, the aggrieved John fitz Geoffrey, and others then formed a sworn confederacy and confronted Henry in arms, calling themselves "le commun de Engletere," demanding the expulsion of aliens as well

[77] Powicke, *Thirteenth Century*, 130. M. Clanchy in his *England and its Rulers, 1066 – 1272* (Oxford: Blackwell, 1983), 212 – 16, summarizes the other monarchs facing baronial rebellions in this period: Emperor Frederick II in 1245, Sancho II of Portugal in the same year, James I of Aragon in 1264, Alfonso X of Castile in 1272 and again ten years later.

as the formation of a Committee of 24 members, split evenly between the king's opponents and supporters, with the authority to reform the entire kingdom.[78]

I would argue that this is the key difference between the Magna Carta rebellion and that of the Provisions. The barons in 1258 were attempting to reestablish the practices of the regency government, which would entail both the reinstitution of the offices Henry had disposed of and their accountability to the barons, not just the king. Rather than call for an observance of supposedly traditional limits on royal power as Magna Carta had done in 1215, under Henry the barons demanded a formal place in government as their right, not subject to the king's approval, and believed that this right was guaranteed them under the 1217 reissue of the Great Charter. The experiences of the barony under the regency government had only reinforced this view, but Henry did not share it. Previous calls for reform under Henry III, once he was of age, had only called for a return to the use of officials and peers as a break on the king's power and a guarantor of his good behavior. Now the king's critics would formalize their participation in the formation of policy, which they saw as having been their right all along. The Committee of Twenty-Four, as demanded by the *Commun*, drew members from both the Commune and the king's parties in a process whereby each side nominated candidates from its own number and then elected members from the slate put forth by the opposite side. This process ensured that each side would be rep-

[78] Strictly speaking, to be in arms in the Middle Ages meant to be in armor, not necessarily bearing weapons. However, Henry is supposed to have asked the barons if they had come to kill him, so the threat was perhaps not purely symbolic. *DBMR*, 76-89. For a discussion of the significance of "commune" in this context, see M. Clanchy, *England and its Rulers,* 263 – 83.

resented only by men acceptable to the other faction. Five Montfortians including the Earl himself were part of the baronial twelve.

When this committee met in June at the Oxford parliament,[79] it coincided with a mustering for a new campaign against the Welsh. A larger number of lesser gentry were therefore present at the time and place of parliament than would otherwise have been the case.[80] Though not formally a part of parliament, they began to circulate petitions, and their grievances were joined with those of the earls in a broader program of reform. The result was the Provisions of Oxford,[81] produced by the Committee of Twenty-Four as a plan for the reform of the entire government, including the Committee itself. On this larger political stage, furthermore, an argument broke out between Simon de Montfort and William de Valence, one of the king's representatives on the Committee and a notorious foreigner; and de Montfort had to be physically restrained.[82] This clash overshadowed the earlier controversy surrounding John fitz Geoffrey.

Not satisfied with the first Committee of twenty-four, frustrated with the obstreperousness of the king's Lusignan half-brothers on the Committee, or perhaps emboldened by the support of the greater assembly at the Oxford muster, the baronial party expelled the Lusignans and the other foreigners whom Henry had chosen to represent his interests, along with the other foreigners who had been the target of the confederation from the beginning. On this second committee, the Montfortians occu-

[79] *DBMR*, 90 – 7.
[80] Bémont, 161, 176. Maddicott, 156-7.
[81] *DBMR*, 96 – 113.
[82] Maddicott, 154.

pied four of the barons' seven seats, whereas the king retained only three of his original twelve representatives.[83] This smaller committee, with a narrower political base, then gave itself a much larger brief, granting itself the power to appoint and supervise the new royal ministers, the chancery, and the justiciar. Montfortians furthermore dominated the new committee's other appointments, controlled the Cinque Ports and other important castles, and made up a sizable portion of the new committee formed to negotiate with the king for what he most wanted: a new tax. Simon de Montfort was also the military leader of this baronial party since, as the rest of the period of reform and rebellion shows, even Henry turned to de Montfort's aid every time new incursions by the Welsh interrupted the two men's ongoing struggle.[84]

Character and Ideals

While Simon de Montfort was a significant figure in the events summarized above, his motivations are hard to glean from the available sources. The fundamental impediment to understanding the earl's politics is that while he pursued his own personal advantages throughout the period of reform and rebellion, he also supported reforms that were contrary to the interests of the greater barons, such as himself. John Maddicott, in his biography of Simon de Montfort, explores the perplexing tensions between his personal and familial interests on the one hand and his reformist zeal on the other and concludes that Simon's opposition to Henry III can be attributed

[83] Maddicott, 158.
[84] Ibid., 159 - 61.

as much to the earl's financial difficulties and smoldering disagreements over his administration of Gascony as to any reforming zeal. Administering Gascony as well as his own estates had been de Montfort's education in lordship and the exercise of power. His responsibilities also brought him into contact and even conflict with some of the leading reformist churchmen in England at that time. Simon received a harsh lesson from Robert Grosseteste in the latter's idea of Christian lordship after the Earl extorted 500 marks from the burgesses of Leicester for his trip to Rome in 1238.[85] The correspondence of the Franciscan Adam Marsh also registers regular criticism of de Montfort's seigneurial administration.[86] Grosseteste furthermore gave de Montfort a copy of his treatise on tyranny and just rule, a work which had been part of the bishop's presentation before the pope in 1251.[87] If Simon de Montfort had any earnest political principles, they seem to have been rooted in his faith and learned slowly from harsh teachers. Pursuing good government, therefore, even at great personal risk, may have been a natural extension of Simon de Montfort's religious discipline.[88] Applied to national political reform, these principles resemble the diocesan reforms of the clerics who influenced de Montfort: an emphasis on the pastoral responsibilities

[85] Grosseteste menaced de Montfort with the punishments in the afterlife for those who preyed on the poor. Maddicott, 28, 99.

[86] For an example of Marsh's corrective correspondence with de Montfort, see Bémont, 62.

[87] See below, Chapter Two, 123 - 4. Southern, 281-5. Bémont, 88 – 9. Maddicott, 94 – 5.

[88] Labarge characterizes de Montfort's influence on the reforms of the Provisions government as "the application of Christian principles to government" as articulated by Robert Grosseteste, Labarge, 76 – 7.

of lordship, rather than its opportunities for exploitation, as well as the necessity of policing the activities of bailiffs and other proxies in order to eliminate corruption.[89]

Simon de Montfort's public reputation for personal piety would seem to support the hypothesis that his politics and faith were intertwined. His association with Franciscans like Grosseteste and March apparently went beyond friendship, since the Earl displayed evidence that he had absorbed their teaching. During de Montfort's trial over the administration of Gascony, Matthew Paris says the Earl mocked Henry III's confessions for being worthless, since they lacked contrition and penance.[90] After his death, one of his sons gave Simon's personal copy of the *Summae de Vitiis et de Virtutibus* to a Dominican friary in Paris.[91] Maddicott notes that de Montfort's conspicuous piety paralleled that of king Louis IX of France.[92] William Rishanger, a monk of St. Albans and continuator of Paris' chronicle, claimed that de Montfort rose each night at midnight and prayed until dawn.[93] The Provisions of Oxford were said to be a turning point in Simon's religious life. After 1258 he began to wear a hair shirt, dressed only in the cheapest cloth, and restricted his food and drink. Paris claims that de Montfort was very cautious about taking the oath on the Provisions, which was an elaborate, ceremonial affair.[94] Oaths particularly worried de Montfort after

[89] For Maddicott, this includes Walter Cantilupe, bishop of Worcester (d. 1266). Cantilupe and Grosseteste were engaged in diocesan reforms which Maddicott compares to the later work of the baronial reformers. Ibid., 80 – 4, 167 - 9. Bémont, 91 – 2, considered the parallels to be intriguing but impossible to prove. Prothero bases his entire analysis of de Montfort's politics on their presentation in the *Song of Lewes*, written six years after the Provisions of Oxford, Prothero, 178 – 81.

[90] Bémont, 46. Maddicott, 87.

[91] Maddicott, 85.

[92] Ibid., 90.

[93] Ibid., 88 - 9.

[94] Maddicott, 162. For the text of the oaths, see *DBMR*, 100 - 3

his marriage to Eleanor, since she was supposed to have taken a vow of chastity after the death of her first husband. Paris claimed that de Montfort's guilt over his wife's oath was what led him to take the cross in 1247.[95] Guilt may also have led de Montfort to provide for the poor in his will, claiming that he had abused them in his position as Earl of Leicester.[96] Maddicott claims that de Montfort's provisions for the poor were not particularly generous. In paragraph 82 of the *Liber miraculorum*, however, the prior of Holy Cross abbey in Waltham is finally convinced that St Simon can help him after the prior has a vision in which the Earl is embraced by a crowd of the poor.[97] For details of personal piety, they seem to have been remarkably public. Simon de Montfort's displays of conscience and self-denial made him appear to be the antithesis of the king he opposed.

Opposing Henry III, however, could and did lead to great personal reward for de Montfort. No sooner had reform gained momentum in 1258 than Simon began demanding money owed him by the king.[98] Here we have in broad strokes the contradictory actions of Simon de Montfort the reformer. When reform began in 1258, he immediately sought personal advantage, but he also pursued reforms contrary to the interests of barons such as himself and at great political cost. We cannot simply label Simon de Montfort either an earnest reformer or an opportunist. Where we have clear evidence, the implications are contradictory. While actual events, therefore,

[95] Maddicott, 86.
[96] Halliwell, 83 – 4. Maddicott, 100, 177. For the text of de Montfort's will, written by his son Amaury, see Bémont, 328.
[97] #82; Halliwell, 83 – 4.
[98] Maddicott, 153.

would continue to drive powerful political figures among the reformers apart, de Montfort remained the leader of the reformers. While even some of de Montfort's contemporaries claimed that his principles were merely a smoke-screen for his advancement of his family and friends, Maddicott argues that as a pious person of his age Simon's sense of providence would allow him to see personal advantage as the reward for pursuing a Christian course of action, regardless of how his contemporaries might criticize him; the two might not have seemed contradictory at the time.[99] Considering that de Montfort was not simply enriching himself but was in fact trying to escape a desperate financial situation and to provide for his sons, Maddicott's explanation seems plausible. Henry III's self-inflicted political difficulties, culminating in the crisis of 1258, represented a clear opportunity. The April parliament, in Maddicott's view, marked the beginning of a coalescence between "the general and local resentments of clergy, gentry and baronage [and] the particular and private grievances of some members of the higher nobility."[100] That the Earl's pursuit of his own interests, which did alienate certain elites, did not damage his public reputation was due to the fact that some of de Montfort's less altruistic activities were not widely known.

Simon de Montfort could also have derived inspiration for his political activities from another source, one that did not depend on the clergy for guidance. His participation in the crusades in the early 1240s brought him into contact with a Levantine baronial party led by one of his kinsmen, and the language de Montfort's associates

[99] Maddicott argues that Simon arrived at his political program of 1258 as a way to resolve the tension between his personal difficulties and principles, Ibid., 77-8. For Maddicott's critical discussion of the evidence for Simon de Montfort's exemplary personal piety, 84 – 9.

[100] Maddicott, 106.

later used in England shows that he drew on these experiences to assure barons like himself of a place in the processes of government. This influence, however, is difficult to document. Nonetheless, I argue that it is no coincidence that Simon and Philip de Montfort were the leaders of baronial factions in disputes with central authorities. Previously, the influence of de Montfort's crusading activity on his reformist program has received scant attention, and instead emphasis has been laid on the significance of the aura of the crusades on de Montfort's reputation in England, which was considerable. The son of a prominent crusader,[101] de Montfort also maintained significant ties to the crusader states, and his cousin Philip was the leader of the baronial opposition there.[102] An enormous number of Europe's military and ruling caste move though the Levant and Europeans remained remarkably well informed about events in the Holy Land. In particular, letters from Jerusalem, intended for the Archbishop of Canterbury, also wound up via the English Franciscan Adam Marsh in the hands of Simon de Montfort.[103]

The main obstacle to the evaluation of the English barons' concept of their movement in 1258 and thereafter is the absence of consensus about the meaning of the word they used to describe themselves. Without a clear sense of what the barons meant, it is difficult to know either how they understood their crisis or how they in-

[101] Prothero, 37; Labarge, 16 – 17, 20 – 1, Maddicott, 110.

[102] For the connections between Philip and Simon de Montfort, see Labarge, 137, 268; Maddicott, 184. For Philip de Montfort and the baronial opposition at Acre, see below, 88 – 98 and Maddicott, 30.

[103] Simon Lloyd, *English Society and the Crusades 1216-1307* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1988), 38-40. Nicholas Vincent, "England and the Albigensian Crusade," in *England and Europe in the Reign of Henry III (1216-1272)*, 67-98.

tended to address it. The word they did use, however, links the baronial movement in England to the baronial movement in the crusader states. The word the reformers used to describe their movement in Anglo-Norman French was *commun*,[104] which in the Middle Ages had unavoidable revolutionary connotations and was associated with urban uprisings of organized, skilled labor, but also applied to baronial movements in England and the Kingdom of Jerusalem. Since communes organized urban guilds and burgesses against an agrarian, feudal, or episcopal authority, however, the use of the term by the barons appears almost ironic. Why would they invoke the practice that elsewhere had challenged the authority of their own social order? There are two problems with associating the common meaning with the barons' meaning. First, the word and its contemporary translation from Anglo-Norman French into other languages, especially Latin, in the documents of the baronial movement render its meaning ambiguous in modern English, since the Latin cognate *communitas* is easily associated with the modern English meanings of "community." Second, *commun* was not the only word employed in the period of reform and rebellion and was not the only word used in other related English conflicts. Finally, the word *commun* has a completely unrelated meaning in modern English, further complicating the task of interpretation. Between ambiguity and variety, then, it is easy to misconstrue what the barons' meant by the word and therefore the definition and scope of their movement as they understood it.

[104] *DBMR*, 104-5. On the baronial government's use of Anglo-Norman for drafting legislation, see P. Brand, *Kings, Barons and Justices*, 197.

The word *commun*, due to its association with confrontation and upheaval, usually appeared during times of crisis. London declared a commune in 1191, reasserting after Henry II's death the rights they had had from Stephen and Henry I before him.[105] In 1205, all English males twelve years and older swore an oath as part of a *commun* to defend the nation from invasion, and this was repeated in 1214.[106] The infamous distraint clause of the 1215 Magna Carta used the word to describe those who would physically confront the king if he violated the charter's other provisions.[107] During the period of reform and rebellion, the baronial party used the word to describe the armed association that confronted Henry III in 1258;[108] and they would later revive the use of the word in early 1264, when the Mise of Amiens voided the entire Provisions government. Four of these instances are closely associated with fear of invasion or with xenophobia generally. The common defense of a

[105] G. Williams, *Medieval London, From Commune to Capital* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1970). 1-8; M. Prestwich, *English Politics*, 129-30; Clanchy, *England and its Rulers,* 267-9

[106] Michael Prestwich dismisses the examples from 1205 and 1215 out of hand, and points out that earlier confrontations between Henry III and his barons did not use the word at all. Moreover, the Paper Constitution of 1244 used the Latin word *universitas* to describe the faction opposing the king. Therefore, Prestwich argues, the use of *commun* was fluid, and in 1258 had a meaning closer to the modern English abstract notion of "community." Prestwich, *English,* 129-30. Clanchy, *England and its Rulers,* 268-9.

[107] 1215 Magna Carta, clause 61. J. Holt, *Magna Carta*, 468 – 72.

[108] Treharne's definition is even more restricted and technical, limiting the meaning of the word in the Provisions of Oxford to the king's tenents-in-chief, specifically. This more limited definition cannot account for the baronial movement as it was actually manifest, since it ignores the range of factions, feudal and otherwise, who supported reform in 1258 and 1259, a deficiency which is shared by the magisterial assumptions of his overall analysis. Treharne, *Baronial Plan of Reform*, 67. Prestwich works backward from the absence of the word *commun* in the 1311 Ordinances which, while produced by a similar confrontation between and English king and his barons, is an approach that suffers the same teleological flaws as working backwards from later notions of "parliament." The barons of 1311, however, were aware of the failure of England's *commun* after 1258. The barons of 1258 could not have drawn on later examples. Instead, thanks to the upheavals of the twelfth century, the barons had examples of *commun* available to them in England and elsewhere. Prestwich, *English Politics*, 130-33.

community or its rights from some threat considered to be external to that community lead to the invocation of commune, when all other means of negotiation have failed.

The use of the word is an unequivocal declaration of confrontation and a call for solidarity. However, did the barons use this word? The word appears during dire crises, and in England the word was used in crises associated with a fear of foreigners. All of these factors applied to the situation of 1258. Finally, even the commune of London avoided using the word *commun* except in times of political confrontation when other means of reconciliation had failed, making the extremely inflammatory connotations of the word clear.[109] The language of the Provisions of Oxford changes from Latin to Anglo-Norman at precisely the same point where it begins to record the oath, below, of those for whom the latter would have been their first language.[110]

> Ceo iura le commun de Engletere a Oxneford
>
> Nus, tels et tels, fesum a sauer a tute genz, ke nes auum iure sur seintes Evangeles, e sumus tenuz ensemble par tel serment, e premettuns en bone fei, ke chescun de nus a tuz ensemble nus entre eiderums, e nus e les nos cuntre tute genz, dreit fesant, e rens pernant ke nus ne purrum sanz mes fere, salue la fei le rei e de la ne prendra de tere ne de moe-

[109] Williams, *Medieval London*, 5, provides several examples of alternatives to the word "community," such as *universitas*, and of the crises in which it was most prominently used.

[110] Ibid., 5, notes that *commun* and *communauté* were interchangeable in Londoners' usage. Treharne, *DBMR* 96n, speculates that the Provisions and other documents switched between Latin and French depending on their intended audience: Latin for the clerks, French for the sherrifs. In the case of the oaths sworn by "*le commun de Engletere*," however, the oath-takers are not the audience.

ble, par que cest serment purra estre desturbe, u en nule ren empeyre. E si nul fet encontre ceo, nus le tendrms a enemi mortel.[111]

As a baronial program, the declaration of Simon de Montfort's faction must be considered in the language of the barons themselves. Michael Prestwich acknowledges the similarities of language between the commune of 1258 in England and the commune of the knights in the Kingdom of Jerusalem in 1241, as first noted by Joshua Prawer.[112] Prawer drew a close comparison between the two groups swearing collective oaths, or *conjuratios* of barons, and places the similar language of their oaths side by side. Yet Prawer also observes that while the participants in both cases used the word *commun* and swore oaths as in a commune, they did not as a result create new governments along the lines of French and Italian cities or of London; while they did occasionally draw political support from the burgesses, this practice was neither new nor newly institutionalized. The similarities between the barons' use of *commune* and its meaning to the *commun* sworn at Acre end here. The knights at Acre were responding to Fredrick II's perceived threat to their unique form of gov-

[111] *DBMR*, 100; translated, *DBMR*, 101: "This is the oath of the community of England at Oxford – We, so and so, cause all people to know that we have sworn on the Holy Gospels, and by that oath are bound together, and promise in good faith, that each of us and all together will help each other and our people, against all men, that we ill do justice and take nothing that we cannot take without doing wrong, saving our fealty to the king and to the crown. And on the same oath we promise that henceforth none of us will take any thing, in land or in goods, whereby this oath can be disturbed or in any way impaired. And if anyone opposes this, we will treat him as a mortal foe."

[112] Prestwich, *English Politics*, 130-33. J. Prawer, *Crusader Institutions* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1980), 59. Prawer also notes the difference between French and Latin formulations for "*commun*," ibid., 63.

ernment.[113] Once the crisis had passed, moreover, appeals to *commun* in the Kingdom of Jerusalem disappeared. Since England and Jerusalem's institutions of government were not similar, Prawer argues, the ideas of commune were not transferable.[114] Institutions, however, are not the place to look. Instead, the Montfortians appropriated aspects of the crusader states' political practice and applied them to the admittedly different government and political context of England. Similarities of process are concealed by differences in government institutions.

Another objection to the comparison of the Jerusalem and English communes might be that since the word appears in England long before the 1241 oath at Acre, the latter instance cannot account for the use of the term or concept in the period of reform and rebellion. If there were English precedents, why should we turn to the political experiences of the knights in the Crusader states to explain the appearance of *commun* in England? However, the events 1258 differed from earlier English confederations in that de Montfort's uprising saw the first use of the word in conjunction with a specifically baronial *conjuratio*.[115] While *commun* had appeared before, it had been on a national level or had been limited to one urban community and had invoked national unity against foreign invasion. Invocations of crusade had been used by one English faction against another prior to 1258, but 1258 was the first time that invocations of *commun* had been used in the same way, as the rallying cry of one faction

[113] Ibid., 66.
[114] Ibid., 60.
[115] The baronial group mentioned in clause 61 of the 1215 Magna Carta referred to a committee of 25 that would only be formed under the circumstances specified in that clause. A *conjuratio* would therefore not exist until those conditions were met.

against another. The fact that the term was deployed in internal politics is the crucial difference between the Montfortians' use of the term commune and its appearance during John's reign. Furthermore, the commune's location in a baronial *conjuratio* is also the crucial similarity between the 1241 commune at Acre and the 1258 commune at Oxford. Aside from the usefulness of the word's inflammatory connotations, in this period it would have announced that lesser men were banding together against their lord out of necessity, to protect their interests. This process was the one invoked by the barons, and their use of it was in fact similar to the 1241 oath at Acre.

Simon de Montfort himself is the final connection. When the *conjuratio* at Acre declared a commune, it asked Emperor Fredrick II to make Simon de Montfort his lieutenant as Governor of Jerusalem.[116] The commune was the later Montfortians' model of resistance and Acre was almost certainly their precedent. The process of commune offered a structure and sanction for the barons' confrontation with Henry III, but the specific example of the crusader states provided an example of political participation unlike anything in Europe at that time. Or, in a more limited application of this comparison, we could say that Simon de Montfort, specifically, borrowed political strategies from his kinsman Phililp de Montfort in Jerusalem to build networks of political officers and obstruct royal encroachment on baronial, or de Montfort's, prerogatives.

[116] J. Riley-Smith, *The Feudal Nobility and the Kingdom of Jerusalem, 1174 – 1277* (London: Macmillan, 1973), 207 – 9. Prothero, 53, only considers this incident as proof that de Montfort went on crusade. Bémont, 13, and Maddicott, 30, suggest that the earl's family connections won him the nomination. Curiously, none of these authors speculate as to what influence the experience may have had on Simon de Montfort.

Political activity in the Kingdom of Jerusalem was unusual in that members of even the lowest status were peculiarly active and consequential, a situation already reflected in the law of the Kingdom of Jerusalem less than a century after its establishment. Through the 1166 *Assise sur la Ligece*, even rear-vassals were peers and had responsibilities and rights vis-à-vis the king of Jerusalem that paralleled their relationships with their more immediate lords.[117] The most important venue in which they exercised these rights was in the interpretation of law in court. In theory, no man could lose his lands or be imprisoned without the judgment of his peers, and rear vassals might even sit in judgment on their superiors, since they were all technically peers. Regardless of whether a case was heard in a noble's court or the kingdom's high court, it would be heard by the lord and a minimum of two knights, called *conseils*. They would then confer in a separate chamber and return to render their verdict. What made the eastern system unique was the reliance on *conseils* who advised their client and were also present as legal authorities in their own right. When the court reached a consensus on what the lost law was, that collective conclusion became an authority in its own right, called a *recort*. The resulting judgment constituted a precedent, albeit in a judicial system entirely dependent on this oral culture. A *recort* only had force if anyone saw fit to remember it later.

[117] P. Edbury, "Reading John of Jaffa," in *The Experience of Crusading*, vol. II: *Defining the Crusader Kingdom*, ed. P. Edbury and J. Phillips (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003), 153.

In the thirteenth century however, there was no extant copy of the *Assise sur la Ligece.*[118] The entire political and legal system of the Kingdom of Jerusalem relied on continuing, collective memory of it. John of Jaffa and Philip of Novara did write law books in the second half of the thirteenth century but admitted that none of them had any standing in court. Instead, much of their writings are devoted to describing the intellectual and social skills necessary to succeed in convincing one's peers at court that one had properly remembered the law. Since no one in the thirteenth-century Second Kingdom appears to have known exactly what the *Assise* said, we must consider what may have shaped the Jerusalem knights' depiction of their past and, by extension, their present law. The egalitarian nature of the Kingdom of Jerusalem's law, considered in combination with the fact that it had to be remembered by those it also enabled, suggests something other than faithful representation. The pretext of remembering the law in the second kingdom promoted knights' consensus to the level of ancient law, and the knights of Jerusalem used this subterfuge against attempts to consolidate Imperial control of the kingdom.[119]

[118] When, in 1187, Saladin had retaken Jerusalem, the loss was strategic and psychological, but it was also legal and historical. The laws of the Kingdom of Jerusalem, kept in the Holy Sepulcher, were lost. When Christians later regained the Holy Land they created a second Kingdom which had to imagine its roots in the first one. The accompanying demographic change probably contributed to this disorientation, since knights of the first kingdom were not all returned to their lands in the second. Their lands had new owners, ones who claimed they held their lands from no one but God. In political and legal terms, the slate had been wiped clean. Riley-Smith, *The Feudal Nobility,* 133-4.

[119] This system was successfully deployed against Fredrick Barbarossa, when the assembled knights "read" the Assise sur la Ligece to counter the Emperor's disinherison of several of them. Conveniently, no one could agree what the law had actually said. Some insisted that the *Assise* had allowed for violent resistance against an offending lord, but others did not remember it that way. This posture offered the threat of civil war without the risks of openly threatening it. Edbury, "Reading John of Jaffa," 147, 151.

We should not imagine that the Imperial party in the Kingdom was oblivious to the creative license offered by this system or to its utility to the baronial party. John of Arsur, the Imperial regent's representative, summoned an enormous council at Acre in 1251, 64 years after the loss of the laws and complained about the chaos and anarchy of the legal and political system. His proposal was modest and showed a knowledge of and respect for local custom. He suggested that they restore order and consistency to their legal system by gradually accumulating a written record of court proceedings as they happened. The resulting written legal record was intended to replace gradually their oral representations of legal memory. In order to ensure that nothing was lost or overlooked, no court should be allowed to meet without a scribe. While the law would remain customary, at least it would become definite, as precedents ceased to be forgotten or ignored as the *conseil* pleased. Without actually challenging the knights of Jerusalem to stop inventing precedent at their convenience, the Imperial regent's plan would eventually pin them down to one set of rules, depriving them of a powerful weapon against central control. Philip de Montfort, lord of Tyre, accepted the lieutenant's suggestion with the condition that the *recorts* would still have precedence over any written precedents. Records could be made, but written accounts of law would have no legal standing. The established process of recalling the law would remain, even if the remembered law was different from the newly recorded law. Both sides clearly knew exactly what the knights of Jerusalem were doing, and each side knew that the other knew it. But the knights defended their custom of controlled chaos, preserving the power of their consensus at the expense of the titu-

lar ruler of Jerusalem. Since the High Court did not add the scribe John of Arsur had wanted until 1284, long after the baronial party had been defeated, we do not know for sure whether the second confrontation over the regent occurred in 1264, 1265, or 1266.[120]

Custom and hearsay as a basis for law may appear to be a recipe for anarchy, and there was plenty of that in the Second Kingdom and in England. However, it can also be an opportunity for the formation of broad consensus. No one person could make a *recort*, and all those involved in a suit were also members of the peerage, an unusually extended peerage, but still part of ruling society. Were these decisions to have been made through a system unanswerable to the military elite, violent resistance to authority would have made the crusader states even less stable. England faced similar problems and came to a remarkably similar solution. If institutions and laws could not establish the connection between political change and upheaval in Jerusalem and England, personal connections and direct experience could. Simon de Montfort had direct, personal knowledge of the commune sworn at Acre. At the very least, Jerusalem's fractious knights offered Simon de Montfort the stewardship of Jerusalem during his time in the Levant, giving some indication of the esteem in which he was held there.[121] Whether or not the English barons were imitating the knights of the Kingdom of Jerusalem during the period of reform and rebellion in general, de Montfort in particular seems to have learned from his cousin's example. Installing

[120] Riley-Smith, *The Feudal Nobility,* 140 - 2.
[121] Ibid., 30. M. Clanchy, *England and its Rulers,* 269.

his adherents in important new offices in the Provisions government closely resembles the lord of Tyre's networks of clientage. Simon de Montfort was furthermore in contact with Philip de Montfort during the critical years of 1258 and 1259.[122]

There is no sense in comparing the contents of the Provisions with suits at court in the east. Instead, the operation of the Provisions government secured much the same role for its barons as the practice of *recorts* gave the knights of Jerusalem. The baronial government's subsequent legislation, often referred to as the Provisions of Westminster, shows a concern for ensuring the right even of English rear vassals to plead any case in any court, as was commonly done in the east. Simon's insistence on including and protecting all members of feudal society, regardless of their ability to reward him politically, would eventually cost him his support among the more powerful. In England, of course, there was written law, but Henry III had rendered it a dead letter. Magna Carta, which Simon's barons used more as a rallying-cry than a document, was threatened more by the king than by any infidel. The key difference between 1215, when rebellion sought to ensure some of the rights that the knights of the Kingdom of Jerusalem enjoyed in the east and which they believed they had enjoyed in the past, and this second round of reform beginning in 1258 is the insertion of the disaffected parties into the political process from which they believed they had been alienated.

The knights of the Kingdom of Jerusalem had an answer to the question plaguing the English barons for most of the thirteenth century: what do you do when

[122] Maddicott, 102, 184, 190.

your lord breaks the law?[123] Both the loss of the Holy Sepulcher in Jerusalem and the weakness of Henry III in England constituted opportunities for desperate segments of knightly society to reconstruct their worlds, just as weak monarchs had provided the opportunity for other charter movements around the turn of the century. In practice, the kind of social contract that the English barons believed was being violated in their own country became, in Jerusalem, formal law at the hands of a well spoken *conseil*, who could be the poorest and most powerless knight in the Holy Land, as long as he was persuasive. An especially gifted pleader could make social progress through that skill, since a *conceil's* services were a kind of feudal obligation unique to the Kingdom of Jerusalem. Manorialism was not as much a part of feudal relations in the Holy Land as it was in western Europe, since the setting was urban and the incomes were derived from trade. Service in court, as part of political networks of clientage, took the place of lands in cementing ties between military and political elites. The most influential *conseils* were closely associated with the leaders of the baronial party in the Kingdom of Jerusalem.[124]

England, however, was not the only country whose reformers may have derived inspiration from their experiences on crusade. While John Maddicott observes that Louis IX began his own reforms in France after returning from crusade in 1254, he suspects that Simon de Montfort's drive for reform, if not its actual content, was the inspiration of Louis' own reforms in France. The two men had extensive contact

[123] Edbury, "Reading John of Jaffa," 153.
[124] Ibid., 151.

during their careers as reformers.[125] However, the two men's reforms were substantially different in emphasis; Louis was primarily concerned with official corruption. A more likely explanation, though it can only be speculation, is that they derived their separate inspirations from a common sources: the unique context, crises, and solutions of politics in the crusader states. Through their experiences as crusaders, de Montfort in the early 1240s and Louis IX at the end of that decade, the king and the Earl would have seen their problems differently; and they in fact proposed different solutions.

Behavior Versus Reputation During the Provisions Government

Regardless of Simon de Montfort's commitment to or location in the reform movement, he was absent from England for most of 1259, during which time the reform government drafted the reformist legislation collectively known as the Provisions of Westminster.[126] Much of what de Montfort actually did during this period was not commonly known in England at the time, and his influence on reform was indirect and inconsistent. From November 1258 until January, 1260, the Earl was frequently on the continent negotiating a peace treaty with France on behalf of Henry III. This work was where his personal interests came most clearly to the surface. Since his wife shared her brother Henry III's claims to lands on the continent, de Montfort's

[125] Maddicott, 167-9.
[126] *DBMR*, 136 – 49.

personal interests were unavoidably involved.[127] Never happy with the settlement of his wife's claim to her first husband's lands, and still angry over not receiving a dowry from his own marriage to Eleanor, Simon abused his position by asserting his wife's claim to her French inheritance. Louis, for his part, demanded that Henry III of England and his two siblings, including Simon's wife, renounce all claims to former Angevin possessions in France. (Henry would later claim that this had been Simon's idea.) Simon then offered to sell Eleanor's concession to Henry for more than 36,000 marks, at a time when he must have known the king was nearly bankrupt. Furthermore, the deal would have restructured other arrangements to the disadvantage of the earls of Gloucester and Norfolk. When de Montfort perhaps mistakenly agreed to a new version of the treaty which did not mention Eleanor, he seems to have panicked, changing his position to an absurd demand that Eleanor's claims in France receive formal recognition from Louis. Eventually, Louis IX himself bought off de Montfort.

In the meantime the political situation in England had deteriorated. The greater barons, who through the Provisions of Oxford had reformed the king's household and punished corruption among his officials, were now resisting further reform demanded by the lesser knights that would similarly restrict the greater barons' powers in their own lands. Simon de Montfort's support, when he was briefly in England in early 1259, was instrumental to the passage of these reforms, known collectively as the Provisions of Westminster. He pressed the Earl of Gloucester to accept the same

[127] Bémont, 182-5. Maddicott, 181.

limits on his own seigneurial authority that the reformers had imposed on the king. Simon's pressure was sufficient to remove Gloucester's opposition, but de Montfort's insistence on principle, at least at this stage, opened a rift between the two leading members of the confederation.[128] It was Edward, however, who led a revolt of these lesser knights and thus ensured the extension of reform from the king's household to English lordship generally. Edward's party got most of what it had wanted, but the limitations placed on the barons' exploitation of their own tenants and vassals alienated many of the greater magnates from the cause of reform.[129] Since Simon de Montfort had been absent when Edward assumed the leadership of the more radical reformers, the prince bore much of the baronial animosity personally, even though de Montfort had supported the Provisions of Westminster. Therefore, while Simon de Montfort could claim some credit for the Provisions of Westminster among the lesser gentry, he had limited his personal confrontation with the other members of the original baronial confederation that had produced the Provisions of Oxford, and his pursuit of his own self interests in France remained virtually unknown in England. The Earl had struck the perfect balance between political cost and credit.

Simon de Montfort also continued to benefit from clashes with Henry III. With the treaty of Paris complete, Simon had no remaining negotiating leverage against Henry, and his usefulness to the king as a negotiator with Louis IX was greatly diminished. Henry's characteristically tin-eared politics, however, kept

[128] Ibid., 179 – 80.
[129] *DMBR*, 136-47. Prothero, 224 – 5. Maddicott, 223. Brand, *Kings, Barons and Justices*, 94 – 6.

Simon relevant. The king took this opportunity to recover his lost independence by putting Simon on trial for obstructing the peace with France.[130] If the king had simply ignored Simon, he might have found an opportunity eventually to defeat the reformers politically, since they were divided among themselves. Instead, Henry attacked both Simon and the Provisions government, which had the effect of eliding the two. When Henry forbade parliament to meet, Simon seized the opportunity and tried to convene it anyway on his own authority.[131] Henry's efforts were further complicated by his son's struggle for independence. Edward wanted direct access to the revenues of his appanage and resented his parents' attempts to purge his retinue of his apparently undesirable adherents from the Welsh March.[132] Simon, for his part, welcomed the trial, since it gave him an opportunity to highlight Henry's violations of the Provisions. Louis IX also saw an advantage in Henry's missteps, and sent the archbishop of Rouen to speak in Simon's defense.

Fortunately for Henry, this phase ended inconclusively. When the Welsh invaded in October, 1260, Simon de Montfort became indispensable once again as Henry's best general. At the October parliament, Simon and Edward cooperated to ensure the appointment of a justiciar, chancellor, and treasurer who were amenable to both their interests. Henry attempted to remove the sheriffs installed by the Provi-

[130] Bémont, 176. Labarge, 186 – 8. Maddicott, 196 – 8.

[131] *DBMR*, 170-72. Simon de Montfort was convinced by the Justiciar, Hugh Dispenser, to postpone the February 2 parliament, Maddicott, 193.

[132] For Edward's defection, see Bémont, 187-8. Though married and technically in charge of Gascony, Edward did not yet have access to the revenues of his estates. Maddicott, 194. Peace with France, furthermore, threatened to permanently deprive him of his lands in Gascony, and Edward spent much of 1260 on the continent trying to solidify his control of them, Labarge, 189.

sions government, and ordinary knights all over England rallied to Simon by reinstalling the original, reformist sheriffs.[133] While de Montfort's support among the lesser knights and in the counties increased, among the more powerful barons real reform was in retreat. Simon de Montfort conceded to their demands for a partial repeal of the Provisions of Westminster legislation, giving them a freer hand with their own tenants. In return, they promised to police themselves. Only Henry's repeated disingenuousness and his attempts to return to the *status quo ante* gave the Provisions government any legitimacy.[134] The challenge to Simon, it seemed, was over. So however was the period of radical reform. In order to shore up his support among the greater barons, de Montfort agreed to several reversals of the program present, in at least an embryonic form, at the Oxford parliament of June, 1258. Eyre courts would no longer hear grievances against the lesser knights' lords, and the rotation of sheriffs was terminated.[135] Simon, with new allies among the powerful, had conceded his way back into power.

As a result, Simon de Montfort's support fluctuated among the lesser knights, and a partial reissue of the Provisions of Westminster did little to help.[136] Prince Edward's Marcher retainers gave Simon their support but only when Queen Eleanor tried to separate them from her son. Henry could not have been unaware of the weakness of de Montfort's arrangements, and the king continued to seek support from abroad to improve his domestic position. In January, 1261, he accepted Louis IX's

[133] Maddicott, 212.
[134] Ibid., 192 – 7.
[135] *DBMR*, 190-3. Maddicott, 199.
[136] Ibid., 226.

offer to adjudicate between the king and de Montfort, placing the entire program of reform on trial. Although Louis was personally amenable to Simon, the aliens who had been expelled from England had in many cases arrived at the French court, where they told their version of events unchallenged by any other account.[137] Henry also sent a very large armed force to Oxford, the apparent seat of reformist fervor, to intimidate de Montfort's supporters there.[138] Finally, Henry received an annulment of his oath to the Provisions from pope Alexander IV in late May.[139] Henry had begun to assert himself directly and was able to replace the sheriffs installed by Edward and Simon.

But Henry had overreached himself. The memory of the king's misrule was still too fresh, and the barons balked at the prospect of returning to his direct rule. For Henry, the greatest obstacle to reestablishing his own firm and stable control was his own reputation for ruinous mismanagement of the country. Furthermore, Henry quickly lost his papal ally. Word of Alexander's death reached England shortly after Henry's bull of absolution, and Simon went personally to Rome to secure a guarantee of the Provisions from the new pope, Urban IV.[140] A general revolt in England surprised Henry, as gentry and freeholders attacked the Eyre courts and the new sheriffs. Henry took refuge in the Tower from late June to late July.[141] Fear of Henry's return to power, stoked by his own ham-handed attempts, fueled a nationwide lawlessness

[137] Ibid., 204-5.
[138] Ibid., 254.
[139] Bémont, 190-1. *DBMR*, 238-41.
[140] Ibid., 238 – 41. Maddicott, 213.
[141] Ibid., 208-10. Bémont, 200.

from which Simon could draw strength but not actually control. Had the king mounted a coup d'état in his own court, he might have been able to secure his authority. By the end of 1261, Henry felt compelled to reissue the legislation of the Provision's parliament, often called the Provisions of Westminster. The gesture failed to win Henry any support and was instead interpreted as a sign of weakness. Over the winter of 1261-62, Henry had to buy allies and count on the defection of those personally alienated by de Montfort.[142] The resulting treaty of Kingston-on-Thames gave Henry the appearance of victory, but in reality he ruled only his own court. Simon, however, had again lost power but left for France rather than violate his oath to the Provisions, playing the part of the uncompromising reformer.[143] By the middle of 1262, England was left with the despised Henry, whose court immediately welcomed back the exiled aliens.[144] Simon waited patiently for Henry to repeat the mistakes of the late 1250s, and in October, the Earl brought Urban IV's bull confirming the Provisions to England and quickly disappeared back over the channel.[145] Preachers, whether coordinated or voluntary, continued to stoke support for de Montfort and reform, as Henry's supporters noted in despair.[146] The Marcher barons in Edward's retinue were largely replaced with French ones, recreating in the prince's circle a mi-

[142] Maddicott, 214.
[143] Bémont, 193, 195.
[144] Maddicott, 216.
[145] Ibid., 219.
[146] Ibid., 221, 228-9. One of these preachers was tried by the eyre courts sent to root out Simon de Montfort's supporters, see Jacob, *Studies in the Period of Reform and Rebellion,* 224 – 5, and J. King, "The Friar Tuck Syndrome: Clerical Violence and the Barons' War," in *The Final Argument: The Imprint of violence on society in medieval and early modern Europe*, ed. D. Kagay and L. Villalon (Woodbridge: Boydell, 1998), 40.

crocosm the national crisis of 1258.[147] These disaffected nobles were quick to play on national dissatisfaction with Henry's alien court. Renewed revolt by the Welsh made it easy to paint the new order as unable and unwilling to protect England.

By mid-1263, de Montfort was able to return, appearing untainted by compromise and again needed by a nation in crisis. Simon made a great sweep around London, gathering supporters and demonstrating the literal limits of Henry's rule, but de Montfort did not attack the city. He was not in complete control. The conditions that had made de Montfort's return possible by making it seem necessary also contributed to increasing disorder. The notion of reform in England had changed subtly but with dire consequences. What had begun as specific baronial grievances against specific foreign barons became a nationwide assault on foreigners. Simon de Montfort's new peace with Henry included a general expulsion of all foreigners from England, but rebels began to take this matter into their own hands, and reform became synonymous with xenophobic violence.[148] Simon's new Marcher allies were responsible for the worst of the chaos and used this new, radical mode of reform as an excuse to raid aliens, royalists, and others, committing acts of theft and violence under the pretext of nationalist justice.[149]

[147] Ibid., 223.
[148] Ibid., 229-322.
[149] Maddicott, 225-6, 232. For the surprising and short-lived alliance between Simon de Montfort and the Marcher Barons, see D. Carpenter, "A Noble in Politics: Roger Mortimer in the period of baronial reform and rebellion, 1258-1265," in *Nobles and Nobility in Medieval Europe*, ed. A. J. Duggan (Woodbridge, 2002), 182-203, and S. Stewart, "Simon de Montfort and his Followers, June 1263," *EHR* 119, no. 483 (2004): 965-9.

At this time, religious justifications for the besieged Provisions government became increasingly overt. References to Christian government and the direct involvement of the bishops in Simon's activities were part of a new zealotry that would come to also include justifications for the reformers' attacks on English Jews. When Henry briefly returned in April, Simon moved quickly to confront him but the king escaped, after which the rebels took their frustration out on London's Jews in an extraordinary frenzy of violence.[150] John fitz John, a prominent Montfortian who also appears in the *Liber miraculorum*, is said to have killed the leader of London's Jewish community with his bare hands.[151] At the end of June, London rioted after Edward robbed the New Temple to pay his foreign retainers. The rioters' victims were the same as elsewhere in the country: aliens, royalists, and courtiers. Bowing to Simon's populism, the Mayor joined the rebels and disenfranchised the aldermen of London in favor of the folkmoot and guilds.[152] The possessions of the king's Savoyard relatives were looted and a mob pelted the queen with garbage when she tried to leave the city.[153] Royalist forces nearly caught de Montfort in an ambush on London bridge, and for the first time de Montfort had his men display crusaders' crosses. Sympathetic Londoners opened the gates and allowed Simon and his followers to escape, however, before there was any fighting.[154]

[150] Bémont claims, without justification, that this episode contributed to the young Earl of Gloucester's alienation from de Montfort, Bémont, 203.
[151] Maddicott, 267. Halliwell, 67; *Lm* MS, fol. 163r. Halliwell, 98; *Lm* MS, fol. 177v.
[152] Maddicott, 234.
[153] Maddicott, 234-6.
[154] Prothero, 254. Maddicott, 247.

Violence had been rising since the beginning of the decade, and now its diffuse lawlessness coalesced into an instrument of politics between two distinct parties. Simon's inability to direct these forces into a coherent political agenda, or to deliver peace and order, quickly cost him the moral high ground he had had upon his return. Religious rhetoric could not compensate for attacks on religious figures themselves; foreign clergy, or those suspected of being on the fence, were at risk.[155] The political costs of the chaos accumulated only slowly for de Montfort. Simon's latest reversal began at the Michaelmas parliament.[156] The reformers were unhappy with the distribution of the looted foreigners' goods, Simon's opponents wanted reparations for his victims, and Henry was ironically beginning to look like a figure of law and order.[157]

This disorder probably undermined the reformers' case when it was finally submitted to Louis IX's adjudication in late 1263.[158] Despite Louis' earlier approval of the Provisions, negotiations for Henry's return to England quickly turned into a reconsideration of the entire program of reform. After a winter spent in fear of a French invasion, 1264 began with Louis' total rejection of the Provisions and the acts of the Provisions' government in his decision, given at Amiens in January. The reformers, who considered their movement to be a holy cause, were shocked at its rejection by the pious Louis IX, and they refused to accept it.[159] Simon's Marcher allies now abandoned him which, while depriving him of their support, also improved

[155] Bémont, 201-4. Maddicott, 236.
[156] Ibid., 243, 244-6.
[157] Ibid., 237-8.
[158] *DBMR*, 252-79.
[159] *DBMR*, 280-91. Prothero, 256 – 60. Bémont, 204-7. Maddicott, 255-8.

his image at home and abroad. Simon de Montfort was the only Earl on the reformers' side, but he compensated by securing the support of most of England's bishops.[160] Another way of describing his situation is that whereas in 1258 de Montfort had been a sort of *primus inter pares* in the baronial party, by 1263 he was the sole face of reform.

On October 16, Henry and Edward, now reconciled, escaped to France.[161] With the rift now open and the two factions publicly maneuvering for a final confrontation, Simon appealed at the last moment to put the entire issue to the nation's prelates. This offer was hardly a generous one considering the general support de Montfort still enjoyed among the nation's clergy, and nothing came of it.[162] The royalists, led by Henry and Edward, and the Montfortians met at Lewes, in Sussex, on May 13, 1264. Simon de Montfort was able to take advantage of a lack of discipline in Edward's wing of the royalist forces, and he took both Henry and Edward prisoner. The victory at Lewes, seen as divine judgment by the anonymous Franciscan author of *The Song of Lewes*, overshadowed the chaos and injustice of the preceding year.[163] However, the victory de Montfort had won at Lewes did more for his reputation than for his political situation. He had Henry and Edward as hostages, but what could he actually do to them if the royalists rose up again? He had secured the reinstatement of the Provisions and had purged the captive king's court, but the remaining issues

[160] Maddicott, 248.
[161] Ibid., 244.
[162] Ibid., 270.
[163] Bémont, 210 – 12. Maddicott, 272-9. Written shortly after de Montfort's victory, Carpenter, *Henry III*, 277. For the text, see C. Kingsford, ed., *The Song of Lewes* (Oxford: The Clarendon Press, 1890).

were left to a body of commissioners, selected according to Oxford's procedure for electing proctors, charged with producing a settlement usually called the Mise of Lewes.

In fact, the subsequent period shows de Montfort in a very poor light. The program of reform and de Montfort's negotiations with Henry, which were now the same process, seem to have been useful to de Montfort only as means of delaying, hoping that Henry's alliances would fall apart. The parliament held between June and August 1264 drew up a new Ordinance which was to structure England's government until the work of the Mise committee was completed. They were almost certainly negotiating in bad faith, since the Mise of Lewes was in fact never completed.[164] Henry was to abide by an imposed council or else he would be deposed and his son disinherited.[165] In the meantime, the victory at Lewes became a kind of license for even more of the extra-legal seizures of property and wealth that had tarnished de Montfort's career in the year leading up to that battle. Simon de Montfort profited directly from these seizures, often at the expense of the looters, who were his supporters themselves.[166] The June parliament was furthermore concerned with the dual threat of a papal legate and queen Eleanor's French invasion force. Ominously, the Marcher barons, who had supported de Montfort from late 1262 through late 1263, did not attend.[167] Simon considered this a challenge to his authority and immediately

[164] Prothero, 282 – 5. Labarge, 247. Maddicott, 272 – 8.
[165] *DBMR*, 294-301. Bémont, 212-14. Maddicott, 285-9.
[166] One figure in the Liber miraculorum is slow to ask for Simon's aid "because he deprived me of many goods," ("*Sic, quia privavit me multis bonis*.") #77; Halliwell, 83.
[167] Maddicott, 285.

moved against the Marchers, receiving the submission of several castles; but the threat of an invasion from France forced him to accept an inconclusive peace in late August. While Simon rightly regarded the invasion as the greater threat, it was this break with his former allies, one among many, that was the beginning of the end for him.[168]

What followed was, next to his later martyrdom, perhaps the most important event in shaping de Montfort's public image and disseminating that image to even remote communities in England. In early July, de Montfort summoned the entire feudal host of England to defend the country from invasion. In addition to this mobilization, de Montfort furthermore summoned men from every county and hundred in England and ordered that they be funded and equipped by their communities according to their community's size and wealth. Their mustering in Kent was without question the largest gathering in England of any kind in the period. Simon stoked their sense of purpose with propaganda disseminated in every community, stressing that England was about to be overrun and obliterated by an alien menace, rather than retaken for Henry. Whether stage managed or not, the political theater's impact cannot be disregarded. No other figure in the period had the advantage of public exposure on this scale.[169]

The less public and more devious Simon de Montfort, however, continued to negotiate with Eleanor across the channel, apparently intent on drawing out the pro-

[168] Prothero, 314 – 16. Bémont, 221-7. Maddicott, 289 - 90.
[169] Maddicott, 290-3.

ceedings, knowing that the queen's resources were limited and that her invasion force would eventually dissipate. On August 12, 1264, the papal legate threatened to excommunicate the Montfortians if Henry was not returned to complete and independent power. Simon responded by abandoning even the pretense of the Mise of Lewes process and insisting that the Ordinance and the Provisions run without a date of expiration. Any further hostile action by Henry, according to this arrangement, would lead to Edward's disinherison.[170] The legate was not deterred. On September 24 he issued a bull of excommunication which was to become effective if in fifteen days his original demand of capitulation was not met. The Montfortians intercepted the bull at Dover, tore it to pieces and dropped in the sea. On the other side of the Channel, de Montfort's letter of reply was also dropped into the sea at Wissant since the messenger refused to land. The bull of excommunication was renewed in late October, albeit across the channel at Hesdin, but Urban IV had died and the legate's authority lapsed.[171] Eleanor's force had also disbanded; there were no further threats from abroad.

Simon de Montfort also now had few active enemies at home. The Marchers had asserted themselves again in November of 1264 but quickly found that it was easier to drag out negotiations with de Montfort than actually fight. The leaders of the revolt agreed to a sort of limited exile, a year and a day in Ireland, but found endless pretexts to delay leaving. The real problem de Montfort faced was from his own sup-

[170] Ibid., 294-7.
[171] Prothero, 312. Bémont, 225. Powicke, *Henry III*, 482. Maddicott, 300.

porters. The parliament summoned in early 1265, which ran through March, should have been an assembly very friendly to de Montfort's interests. This assembly is remarkable for being the first to which the knights and burgesses were summoned in any significant number, and abbots and priors were conspicuously numerous among the prelates in attendance.[172] Simon, however, was losing his stature as a reformer and instead became a target of reform himself. He had alien mercenaries as his bodyguard. He took a one-third share in the raids of the pirates operating out of the Cinque Ports. He had stopped trying to get his wife's dowry paid and was instead moving to partially disinherit the lord Edward. Simon de Montfort's exploitation, and the exploitation he sanctioned in his followers, were not much different from Henry's behavior before the creation of the Provisions government.

More immediately important was de Montfort's shabby treatment of his closest supporters. In late April or early May, the new Earl of Gloucester, Gilbert de Clare, finally accused de Montfort of violating the Provisions, which he certainly had been doing for some time.[173] Gilbert de Clare and John Giffard lost valuable hostages to de Montfort after the battle of Lewes, and they were the first to desert his side.[174] Gilbert de Clare went to the Marchers and Giffard helped Edward to escape while pretending to have him in his custody. On May 28, 1265, Edward swore to de Clare that he would preserve Magna Carta and expel aliens from the kingdom. By taking this oath, Edward, who had supported de Montfort and the reformers between 1259

[172] Ibid., 303, 309.

[173] The old earl, with whom de Montfort had clashed over the Provisions of Westminster in early 1259, had died in 1262. M. Prestwich, *English Politics*, 44.

[174] Prothero, 328. Labarge, 251.

and 1261 if perhaps for his own reasons, was now effectively the leader of the reform movement and was attracting de Montfort's defectors.[175] Edward surprised the forces of Simon de Montfort's son, Simon, at Kenilworth and then fell on the remaining Montfortians at Evesham, where on August 4 de Montfort was trapped in a loop of the river Avon.[176] Unlike the battle of Lewes, Evesham was a wholesale slaughter, and a detachment of knights entered the battle with the express purpose of surrounding and murdering de Montfort, which they did. If the prologue of the *Liber miraculorum* is to be believed, the royalists pursued the fleeing rebels even into the church of Evesham abbey and killed them there.[177] Simon de Montfort's death and disgraceful dismemberment, interpreted by his admirers as a martyrdom,[178] saved de Montfort's reputation from de Montfort himself.

In the years leading up to the battle of Evesham, the crimes attributed to Henry and his adherents, even if they were exaggerated or untrue, were an important gauge of public sentiment. Perhaps there was a need among those affected by Henry's misrule for a counterbalance or a champion. Henry's attacks on his own Church, for instance, were a monumental miscalculation since even the anointed king could not compare to de Montfort's reputation for piety, and for his name's association with the crusades. For de Montfort, standing against these people and their alleged crimes was what

[175] Ibid., 312, 322, 328-9. Bémont, 231-4.
[176] For the battle of Evesham, see Maddicot, 340-44, and D. Cox, *The Battle of Evesham: A new account* (Leeds: Maney and Son, 1988).
[177] *Liber miraculorum*, prologue, Halliwell, 67.
[178] See below, Chapter Two, 127, 130 - 2.

made him a hero to many, even if by the end of his life and career he had begun to abuse power in a way indistinguishable from that of his opponents. The virtues attributed to Simon de Montfort, however qualified by his actual deeds, were the basis for a public persona that persisted after his death. Henry had failed to appreciate the political culture of England as badly as de Montfort had Gascony's. Ultimately, neither Henry nor Simon could escape what people were willing to believe about him.

While the motivations of Simon de Montfort remain controversial, the phenomenon of his sanctity was unambiguous. Since the Earl had been the only effective counterbalance to the king in life, it is not surprising that for many Simon continued to perform that function after death. If de Montfort's sainthood had received the kind of royal support that had become necessary for successful canonizations in this period, historians would find themselves considering which aspects of the earl's reputation were useful enough to the regime of Henry III to justify the expense of a canonization process. Since the opposite is the case, and de Montfort was a dead rebel and his cult was suppressed, any consideration of that phenomenon must begin with his appeal to the enemies of the king.

For a time, the sanctified Simon served to balance an equally demonized king. Given time, de Montfort's emulation of Henry's misrule would certainly have begun to erode his support even outside the tiny elite Simon had begun to exploit. As it was, Henry's return to power also enabled a wave of retaliatory violence that engulfed England and ensured armed conflict for another few years. These more recent wrongs both obscured de Montfort's own failings in his followers' eyes and made his

sainthood necessary and useful against their continuing persecution. Henry, for his part, did nothing to discourage this perception and contributed actively to the continuing crisis even after the victory won for him at Evesham. Simon de Montfort could continue to influence the outcome of the conflict; for a time after 1265, his absence was no more a hindrance to his influence than it had been in 1259. To those for whom this idealized Simon de Montfort was the only counterbalance to what they could believe Henry was doing or had allowed to happen, their relationship with the rebel, or for that matter with their king, did not change when de Montfort died. He continued to be an important figure in their world, just as he had been in life. If the inconsistency between Simon de Montfort's reputation and his real activities has baffled some commentators since the Earl's own day, we need only consider which actions were the most public, and which rumors were most common, to see his unreal persona take on a life of its own.

There is a striking difference in tone between modern political histories of thirteenth-century England and the sources from that period. The rumors, fears, and international ambitions of the late thirteenth century do not fit well into the sober tone of modern political historians. For this reason, much of what seems to have motivated the principle actors at various times is commonly shorn off our modern historical narratives. The resulting situation is perhaps confusing to historians who, having all the surviving documents in front of them, wondered why contemporaries were unperturbed by the actual shades of grey. Rumor, usually left aside by political history, is nevertheless a kind of evidence in its own right. In the next chapter, I will attempt

to restore some of these elements that are not usually thought to be a part of the history of the Barons' War or the development of Parliament, but were nevertheless unavoidable controversies at critical points and may even be overlooked sources for the ideas and goals of political change in late thirteenth-century England.

Chapter Two[1]

A Crusader in a "Communion of Saints":[2]

Political sanctity and sanctified politics

Where the first chapter stressed the divide between the widely known and the merely well documented actions of Simon de Montfort, this chapter will attempt to restore to the history of this period those elements that, while of supreme importance to the political actors and audience of their time, have become secondary, irrelevant, or marginalized in the political histories produced by our time. Sainthood was unavoidably involved with episcopal politics, and English politics in this period were waged under the ever-present specter of the crusades. Only when these issues, so important to contemporaries, are included in our historical narrative can the phenomenon of Simon de Montfort's sanctity, which otherwise appears peripheral now, be shown to be as central as it clearly was in its day.

English saints in the thirteenth century were drawn almost exclusively from the more prominent bishops who had been part of the political opposition to the king. Bishops in north-western Europe, compared to the rest of Western Christianity, had always loomed unusually large in their communities and as such were likely to figure

[1] Elements of this chapter were first presented at the International Congress on Medieval Studies, 2004.

[2] The application of this phrase to the anti-royal saints that I discuss in the first half of this chapter first appears in Josiah Russell, and was later adopted by John McKenna, J. Russell, "The Canonization of Opposition to the King in Angevin England," in *Anniversary Essays in Mediaeval History by Students of Charles Homer Haskins* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1929), 279 – 90. J. McKenna, "Popular Canonization as Political Propaganda: The Cult of Archbishop Scrope," *Speculum* 45, no. 4 (October 1970): 608 – 23.

in political conflicts.[3] English bishops in particular were drawn into conflicts between monarchs and their barons. The king of England in turn was not a purely secular authority. Liturgical features of English coronation ceremonies constituted the king as the technical equal of a deacon, though Robert Grosseteste warned Henry III not to assume that he had any religious authority.[4] English bishops persisted in the role established by Thomas Becket's martyrdom and became for a time the customary checks on royal power, especially when institutional checks were failing or being dismantled. By 1258, however, there were no episcopal figures of this stature.[5] Secular opponents, like de Montfort, also seized the opportunity to challenge a king whose authority had been compromised, but they still could not do so without considerable support from the English Church. Rebels could and did invest their opposition to the king with the trappings of a crusade. The precedent for this had been established by the Magna Carta barons at the beginning of the century.

Simon de Montfort's reputation as a crusader helped him to assume a leadership role in the period of reform and rebellion. After his death it allowed him to join, in the eyes of the surviving rebels, a communion of saints even though he was a lay-

[3]Vauchez, 168, cites Hugh of Avalon, Bp. Lincoln; Edmund Rich of Abingdon, Abp. Canterbury; Robert Grosseteste, Bp. Lincoln; and Robert Winchelsea, Bp. Lincoln as examples in 168-9n37. Vauchez also generalizes that Scandinavian and "Anglo-Saxon" bishops from the twelfth through fifteenth centuries were known to criticize kings for moral lapses, abuses of power, and for tolerance of Jews and usurers, ibid., 202 – 3, 294. See also S. Walker, "Political Saints in Later Medieval England," in *The McFarlane Legacy: Studies in late medieval politics and society*, ed. R. Britnell and A. Pollard (New York: St. Martin's, 1995), 80.

[4]Powicke, F. *King Henry III and the Lord Edward: The community of the realm in the thirteenth century* (Oxford: The Clarendon Press, 1947), I:124. Cf., the discussion in J. Theilmann, "Popular Canonization and Political Symbolism in Medieval England," *Journal of British Studies* 29, no. 3 (1990): 244-5 and n. 8, though he overstates, in my opinion, the degree to which English kings were able to monopolize religious symbols of power.

[5] Vauchez, 170, and n. 42.

man.[6] After Simon's death, the rebels holding out at Ely in 1267 invoked the three bishop-saints, Edmund Rich, Richard Wych, and Robert Grosseteste, along with "others," in defiance of Cardinal Ottobono's ultimatum.[7] These saints were all closely associated with Simon and his cause, leaving us to wonder who the "others" were. The baronial faction, however, never successfully monopolized the moral high ground that came with the mantle of the crusader. By the battle of Evesham, both the Montfortians and the royalists were wearing crusaders' crosses. In the years following de Montfort's death Edward would build his own political inner circle through the use of the crusading ideal. The struggle to monopolize the symbolism and perquisites of crusaders was ongoing, and the Montfortians ultimately lost.

In life, Edmund Rich, Richard Wych, and Robert Grosseteste differed among themselves in their notions of reform and differed at times with Simon de Montfort. Together, however, they constitute the core of the English Church's resistance to the depredations of king and pope in the thirteenth century.[8] They cooperated in life, and after death they supported each other's cults. Out of step with developments on the continent, English standards of sanctity preserved older notions of sainthood and of representing sanctity.[9] These qualities are evident in the careers of Simon's fellow

[6] The other great crusading layman saint of this generation is Louis IX.

[7] Halliwell, 63. Powicke, *Henry III*, II:540, and *The Thirteenth Century, 1216-1307,* 2nd ed. (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1962), 57.

[8] Maddicott, 79-84.

[9] In England, Bishops as saints, families of saints, and an emphasis on numerous, rather than individually well documented, miracles were still common characteristics of sainthood in the thirteenth century even though sainthood on the continent began to emphasize ascetics, evidence of a virtuous

activist saints of the thirteenth century.[10] The fact that so many of these saints were bishops is by itself significant in this period when the broader thirteenth-century trend on the continent was away from the secular clergy and in favor of mendicants.[11] As I have already mentioned, powerful bishop saints who are also royal opponents are themselves a distinguishing characteristic of the English and Scandinavian churches in the Middle Ages.[12] Eight politically active English bishops were considered saints between 1170 and 1313; four were canonized.[13] During this confrontational period, in which the English Church resisted royal candidates and royal control, all of these figures were opposed to the king. Put another way, in the thirteenth-century England produced only two saints who were not royal opponents.[14]

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life in addition to miracles, and rigorous new standards of evidence. See Vauchez, 168 and n.37; 290, nn. 22, 23; 292n28; 294, 398; 506n15. On the new standards for miracles and recorded evidence, ibid., 579 – 81. G. Whatley, "*Opus Dei, Opus Mundi*: Patterns of conflict in a twelfth-century miracle collection," in *De Cella in Seculum: Religious and secular life and devotion in late medieval England,* ed. M. Sargent (Southampton: Camelot Press, 1989), 83. Hugh of Lincoln's cult fell afoul of changing standards, C. Lawrence, *St. Edmund of Abingdon: A study in hagiography and history* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1960), 27. For changing ideas about miracles and sanctity, see B. Ward, *Miracles and the Medieval Mind* (Philadelphia, 1982), 19 – 24, and F. Lifshiz, "Beyond Positivism and Genre: Hagiographical texts as historical narrative," *Viator* 25 (1994): 104 – 106, for *libri miraculorum*, 106 and n. 55.

[10] The best single example is St. Edmund and his miracles, below, 101.

[11] Vauchez, 290n22.

[12] Vauchez, 168 and n.37, 294.

[13] Vauchez lists, 169n38, Bp. Hugh of Lincoln; Abp. Stephen Langton; Edmund Rich of Abingdon, Apb.; Robert Grosseteste, Bp. Lincoln; Richard of Wych, Bp. Chichester; Thomas Cantilupe, Bp. Hereford; Abp. Robert Winchelsea. Hugh, Edward, Richard, and Thomas were canonized.

[14] Aside from those listed above, St. Hugh of Lincoln the younger, alleged martyr of the Jews, and Thomas de la Hale, killed by the French during a raid on Dover were venerated as saints in thirteenth-century England. Cf. Vauchez, Table 32, pp. 492-3. See P. Grosjean, "Thomas de la Hale: Moine et Martyr á Douvres en 1295," *Analecta Bollandiana* 77 (1954): 167 – 91.

Nowhere is the politics of sanctity clearer than in the career of the first in this community of resisting saints, Thomas Becket.[15] His martyrdom was useful to an English Church intent on continuing Becket's defense of the privileges obtained during the feeble rule of Stephen, against the reforming efforts of Henry II. Despite the speed of St. Thomas' canonization it was not initially assured,[16] nor did St. Thomas begin his career as a national saint or even one necessarily of Canterbury.[17] Vauchez points out that a similar martyrdom thirteen years later in the very different context of Vicenza did not create a similar tradition and did not lead to canonization.[18] Rather, the fit between St. Thomas' "political and religious context"[19] on one hand and his martyrdom on the other shaped his significance as a saint and ensured his canonization. Thus established, the pattern of St. Thomas exerted a strong and shaping influence on later English saints.

Hugh of Avalon,[20] bishop of Lincoln, continued Becket's struggle against Henry II's extension of secular power at the expense of the English Church, excommunicating his forester, and he later resisted Richard I.[21] Hugh's synodal decree in 1186 that justice in episcopal courts was not for sale and could not be delayed or de-

[15] † 1170, canonized 1173. F. Barlow, *Thomas Becket* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1986).

[16] Vauchez, 152-3n34, cites Caesarius of Heisterbach's *Dialogus miraculorum*, 357, to show doubt, early on, concerning Thomas Becket's miracles.

[17] Russell, "Canonization of Opposition," 280-1, notes St. Thomas' appropriation as a local saint by his native London.

[18] Vauchez, 168.

[19] Ibid.

[20] † 1200, canonized 1220. Not to be confused with St. Hugh of Lincoln, the younger, a boy purported to have been martyred by the Jews in 1255. Gerald of Wales, *The Life of St. Hugh of Avalon, Bishop of Lincoln 1186-1200*, ed. and trans. R. Loomis (New York: Garland, 1985).

[21] Russell, "Canonization of Opposition," 281 – 2.

nied was the basis for clause 40 of Magna Carta in 1215.[22] In 1198, Hugh led the opposition of the English prelates to Richard I's demand for new taxes for his foreign wars. Richard ordered that the bishop be disseised but found that no one was willing to carry out the order.[23] Hugh later joined the rebellion against John, holding a castle in Newark, but after John's death the bishop also helped the papal legate restore order.[24] Hugh of Lincoln's hagiographer, Adam of Eynsham, was concerned to fit Hugh into the new emphasis on an ascetic lifestyle, a central component of Innocent III's reforms, with the emphasis on an aristocratic background which had been so common in older *vitae*.[25] Hugh was canonized in 1220, the same year that Archbishop Stephen Langton translated St. Thomas' relics on the fiftieth anniversary of the latter's martyrdom.[26]

Stephen Langton had been Innocent III's compromise candidate in the disputed Canterbury election of 1205 which, thanks to John's resistance, escalated into the interdict of 1207-1213.[27] John relented only when Philip II of France seized on the situation as grounds for a just invasion. Once installed, Langton immediately moved to bolster his position by citing the coronation charter of John's Norman

[22] J. Holt, *Magna Carta*, 2nd ed. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1972), 449.

[23] Richard is said to have wished he could turn his mercenaries loose on Hugh of Lincoln. F. Powicke, *Stephen Langton: The Ford Lectures delivered in the University of Oxford in Hilary Term 1927* (London: Merlin Press, 1965), 19.

[24] D. Carpenter, *The Minority of Henry III* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1990), 58, 86.

[25] Vauchez, 290, nn. 22, 23; 292n28; 398; 506n15.

[26] Ibid., 144 – 5.

[27] Powicke, *Stephen Langton*, 78 – 81.

predecessor, Henry I.[28] It is possible that Langton saw Magna Carta as a reissue of this oath.[29] In reality, however, Henry I had largely ignored his oath. But by the early thirteenth century, it was remembered as a precedent for limited royal power; by publicly reading it Langton had turned the tables on his own king.[30] Contemporaries certainly counted Stephen Langton as a supporter of the rebels. Innocent III noted that new revolts against John in 1213 coincided with the Archbishop's return from Rome.[31] In fact, Langton played a more subtle role. He pronounced the end of the interdict on England only after John agreed to reforms, and he also interceded on behalf of northern rebels, temporarily avoiding civil war.[32] Stephen was, however, more than an adjudicator between the king and his barons. The archbishop himself had written that a king deserved obedience only when he acted with proper counsel.[33] When Langton refused to hand over the strategically important castle of Rochester, John denounced him as a traitor and, as Richard had done with Hugh of Lincoln, ordered Langton disseised, though again without effect.[34] The archbishop went on to build a coalition with England's unhappy barons, transforming their narrow demands into the national program of reform that produced Magna Carta.[35] The archbishop of

[28] In the second edition of his work, Holt now agrees with Powicke and Clanchy that Stephen Langton brought the oath to the barons' attention. Ibid., 122, 128. Holt, 222 – 6, 270; M. Clanchy, *England and its Rulers, 1066 – 1272* (Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1983), 194 – 5. Michael Prestwich remains unconvinced. M. Prestwich, *English Politics in the Thirteenth Century* (New York: St. Martin's, 1990), 66.

[29] Powicke is alone in this opinion, Powicke, *Stephen Langton*, 122ff.

[30] Holt, 116, 163.

[31] Ibid., 220, 282.

[32] Ibid., 280 – 1.

[33] Powicke, *Stephen Langton*, 95.

[34] Holt, 362, 375. D. Carpenter, *The Reign of Henry III* (London: Hambledon Press, 1996), 46 – 7.

[35] Holt, 280 – 7.

Canterbury is given adjudicative powers in clauses 25, 37, and 46 of the 1215 version of the charter.[36] After the death of John, the rebels were defeated by the supporters of the young Henry III. But where the rebellion had failed its program of reform succeeded.[37] Archbishop Langton continued to insist on a government that observed Magna Carta.[38]

The archbishop saw himself as a successor of Thomas Becket and was particularly concerned to preserve and cultivate the traditions of the English Church. For instance, he persuaded Henry III to adopt Edward the Confessor as his patron saint.[39] In 1222, the archbishop presided over the council of Oxford, which finally brought the reforms of Fourth Lateran to England.[40] For Langton, the council's emphasis on episcopal duties was an opportunity to assert episcopal power.[41] In 1224 he pressed the young king to reissue Magna Carta and he denounced William Briwere for advising the king to do otherwise.[42] Like Hugh, Langton would later use church councils in 1225 to present a united front against Henry III's demands for a tax on clerical property.[43] The archbishop did, however, support the young king's rule and person-

[36] Ibid., 286 – 7.
[37] Ibid., 379.
[38] Ibid., 286.
[39] Powicke, *Thirteenth Century*, 18, 23 - 4.
[40] Interdict and civil war meant that England was not represented at and was largely unaware of the reforms of Fourth Lateran. Ibid., 24.
[41] Ibid., 450.
[42] Stephen Langton had been in Rome when Magna Carta was reissued in 1216 and 1217. Holt, 379. J. Holt is, however, alone in the opinion that the archbishop believed that Magna Carta had lapsed by 1224, necessitating a reissue, ibid., 401 n.
[43] Powicke, *Thirteenth Century*, 501 – 2.

ally redistributed a number of English castles on his own authority to ensure that they were in the hands of loyalists.[44]

Matthew Paris' later *vita* for a St. Stephen Langton survives in several fragments.[45] Curiously, however, the story Paris tells in the *vita* is remarkably different even from the version of events in his own *Chronica Majora*. In the *vita*, Stephen Langton falls out with Innocent III after refusing to pay a fee for his consecration as archbishop and he is summoned to Rome to be punished. In the chronicle, however, the two men become estranged after the papal legate had encroached on Canterbury's interests and property and the archbishop later goes to Rome of his own free will.[46] In Paris' *vita*, Innocent sends Stephen Langton back to England in order to get rid of him, but in Paris' chronicle Langton is not allowed home until there was relative calm between John and his barons.[47] Overall, the *vita* portrays Stephen Langton as England's defender against Rome. In this sense, the *vita* is a product of the time in which it was written. Although Paris' work may not be very useful for a history of the early thirteenth century, therefore, it may be useful as an indicator of attitudes toward Rome and Henry III in the mid-thirteenth century.[48]

Both Stephen Langton and Edmund Rich, as archbishops of Canterbury, excommunicated violators of Magna Carta.[49] The similarities, however, were more than

[44] Powicke, *Henry III*, I:56 – 60.
[45] Printed in F. Liebermann, "Bericht über Arbeiten in England während des Sommers 1877," *Neues Archiv de Gesellschaft für ältere deutsche Geschichtskunde* IV (1879): 323 – 9.
[46] R. Vaughan, *Matthew Paris* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1958), 160.
[47] Ibid., 161.
[48] Carpenter, *Henry III*, 137.
[49] Powicke, *Thirteenth Century*, 421. Holt, 396.

superficial. Both archbishops had employed Elias of Dereham in their administrations, whom Powicke called one of "the most determined clerical supporters of the baronial movement."[50] Edmund Rich of Abingdon[51] was also connected with Robert Grosseteste, having succeeded him as chancellor of Oxford before Edmund succeeded Stephen Langton as both archbishop and royal opponent.[52] As in Langton's time, episcopal activism would find common cause with widespread discontent and attract ambitious secular figures. Edmund's brief alliance with Richard Marshall in 1234 led to the removal of Peter des Roches as Henry's proxy within the minority government, an event which precipitated Henry's direct rule.[53] Despite the Edmund's cooperation with baronial dissent in a conflict that closely prefigures the Barons' War, his significance as Henry III's political opponent has not received due emphasis,[54] except by Clifford Lawrence who argues that Edmund was a more vigorous opponent of the king than has previously been allowed.[55] Although he was a less assertive reformer than Stephen Langton he could not have avoided controversy. Consecrated archbishop during the outbreak of civil war, Edmund moved quickly to mediate between the king and his barons. But he also supported the baronial complaints against royal officials and even preached a sermon on the dangers of bad counselors

[50] Ibid., 283.

[51] † 1240, canonized 1246.

[52] Ca. 1235, E. Jacob, "St. Richard of Chicester," *The Journal of Ecclesiastical History* VII, no. 2 (1956): 177. Noting the connections between Edmund Rich, Robert Grosseteste, Richard Wych, and Thomas Cantilupe, Powicke writes that "episcopal households were the nursuries of talent and, occasionally, of sanctity." Powicke, *Thirteenth Century*, 487.

[53] Carpenter, *The Minority*, 394, and *Henry III*, 58.

[54] For instance, the archbishop appears only with reference to de Montfort's marriage in Maddicott, 22, 26-7. Michael Prestwich only discusses Edmund's protest at the treatment of native barons and his opposition to episcopal criticism of Richard the Marshall, Prestwich, *English Politics*, 56, 68.

[55] Russell, "Canonization of Opposition," 282. Lawrence, *St. Edmund*, 159-60.

and the corruption of the court.[56] Edmund informed Henry III that his rights as king were only the rights of a freeman writ large.[57] When Henry's sister Eleanor married Simon de Montfort, the king waited until Edmund was out of the country before consenting to the union.[58]

The death of the baronial leader, Richard the Marshall, and the removal of Peter des Rivaux from his several offices brought the war quickly to an end.[59] The remainder of Edmund's archiepiscopate shows him to have been an opponent of the expansion of royal prerogatives. Before his death en route to Rome in 1240, Archbishop Edmund had fought the appointment of Peter Aigueblanche to the see of Hereford and been involved in the controversial election at Winchester. From the perspective of the present day, Richard Marshall's death softened Edmund's political profile, first, because it meant the quick resolution of the civil war and removed the popular figure whom the archbishop had supported. Thereafter, Edmund quickly became bogged down in more mundane controversies. Second, the perception of foul play rewrote Edmund into the temporary role of presenting a single and isolated accusation against the king, rather than opposing a broad program of royal encroachment. Once Henry denied any knowledge of a plot to assassinate Richard, the confrontation may appear as a discrete incident quickly resolved. The archbishop's actual support of the barons against Henry's overreaching, so similar to Langton or de Montfort's strug-

[56] Ibid., 131.
[57] Powicke, *Thirteenth Century*, 68.
[58] Maddicott, 26 – 7.
[59] Lawrence mentions but doubts Henry's alleged role in an "assassination" of Richard the Marshall. For Archbishop Edmund's role in the crisis of 1234, see Lawrence, *St. Edmund*, 130-7.

gles, disappears behind Edmund's litigation with his own chapter and the temporary drama of a prominent figure's death. Similarly, accounts of the bishop's activity in 1240 are complicated by his death and overshadowed by the need of other English prelates to fit him into the Becket mold through the invention of an exile parallel to that of St. Thomas. As a result, Edmund's opposition to the king's appointments appears more parochial than principled in the light of possible personal concerns.[60]

Interest in Edmund as a saint followed quickly after his death in 1240, and his cult was briefly as large as Becket's.[61] During Edmund Rich's canonization inquiry, however, Innocent IV's canonization reforms clashed with English notions of sanctity. St. Edmund had the wrong kinds of miracles, or at least the initial English inquest failed to report them properly, the pope had asked for quality over quantity while the saint's English cult reveled in the sheer number of his miracles. English witnesses also did not understand why they needed to go to Rome to certify their testimony.[62] St. Edmund's brother and two of his sisters had their own local cults at the time. But this fact, while important to his supporters, was no longer the kind of thing that impressed Rome. The presence of saints in the family was not a part of the new

[60] Ibid., 171.

[61] Powicke, *Thirteenth Century*, 56 - 7. Simon's cult was second to Becket's in the proportion of men to women and in the number of high-ranking ecclesiastics, but had a greater number of nobles and was just as likely to draw pilgrims from distances greater than 40 miles. R. Finucane, *Miracles and Pilgrims: Popular beliefs in medieval England* (London, 1977), 135, 169.

[62] Powicke, *Thirteenth Century*, 17- 18. Archbishop Albert also records the outright rejection of a miracle by a cardinal, Vauchez, 50n73; 481n3. Innocent IV rejected the initial miracula, demanding quality over quantity, Vauchez, 54. Letters of postulation date from 1240, printed in Lawrence, *St. Edmund*, 7-8, 320, 326.

official criteria for an individual's sainthood.[63] Ernest Jacob has quite rightly seen Edmund as part of a group of prelates struggling to frustrate "the king's determination to have a docile and manageable bench of bishops, largely recruited from his own civil servants." Also included in this group were Robert Grosseteste and Richard of Wych, who saw to the founding of Edmund's cult.[64]

The telltale idiosyncrasies of English saints were not always the product of long national experience or holdovers predating new claims of a papal monopoly on sainthood. Becket, martyred in 1170, stands out as a bishop saint and as a model for English saints. The process of creating St. Edmund Rich's saintly persona required that his *vita* present the details of his life in a way that would fit that model. One of Edmund's hagiographers, Matthew Paris, reinvented Edward's trip to Rome as exile, a parallel with the events near the end of Becket's life.[65] Edmund had been accompanied by his chancellor, Richard of Wych, the future bishop of Chichester and prominent royal opponent, whom Paris also fit into the St. Thomas model by comparing Richard with John of Salisbury, who had accompanied Becket to Pontigny in the twelfth century. The expectations of a saintly life in general, and of an English archbishop saint in the model of St. Thomas in particular, exerted a strong influence on

[63] Vauchez., 179. Edmund's mother, one of his sisters, and his brother were all credited with miracles. Finucane, *Miracles and Pilgrims*, 137. Having sainst in the family was also an important characteristic of Simon de Montfort, whose father and son worked miracles, and of St. Thomas Cantilupe, whose uncle William, Bishop of Worcester, also had a local cult, Vauchez, 179n70. Finucane, *Miracles and Pilgrims*, 131.

[64] Jacob, "St. Richard," 179.

[65] For the creation of the exile story, see Lawrence, *St. Edmund*, 168-82, and Vaughan, *Matthew Paris*, 167. This "exile" had supposedly been prophesied by Thomas Beckett, Matthew Paris, *Vita S. Edmundi*, printed in Lawrence, *St. Edmund*, 222 - 89.

how events would be remembered and recorded. Both defenders of ecclesiastical liberties had been driven into exile by a grasping king, matching St. Edmund's travels to those of St. Thomas borrowed from the latter's aura of sanctity. Public enmity between Henry III and his archbishop may have misled contemporaries, explaining why they might see Edmund's departure in 1240 as exile. Certainly the king himself did nothing to disabuse them of that assumption when he opposed the saint's canonization. In this way, even a widespread misconception can serve as a useful gauge of the tenor of a controversy and the preconceptions of its participants. Successful rumors after all are rarely ones that strain belief.

Matthew Paris' sources, however, included Richard Wych himself,[66] so the parallel between the saints may not have been concocted by the author but may rather be an example of how a participant in the story and avid partisan of the episcopal cause in England saw the situation himself. Paris' *vita* of St. Edmund is more stridently xenophobic than his other works, as is the case with the fragments of his *vita* of St. Stephen Langton. The legate Otho receives a favorable treatment in Paris' *Chronica Majora*, but in St. Edmund's *vita* the author laments that prince Edward's baptism and Edmund Rich's consecration as archbishop were carried out by such a hostile and haughty foreigner.[67] As with Paris' *vita* for Stephen Langton, the author seems to have given freer reign to his anti-papal and anti-foreigner feelings in his hagiography than in his other writings, and this is likely a function of the time Ed-

[66] Vaughan, *Matthew Paris*, 165 – 6. Powicke, *Thirteenth Century*, 57.
[67] Vaughan, *Matthew Paris*, 167.

mund's *vita* was written, when tensions with the papacy were rising. The Latin version of St. Edmund's *vita* can be dated to between June 9, 1247 and 1253.[68] The Anglo-Norman version of St. Edmund's *vita* can also be dated and seems to have been written shortly after 1253.[69] This latter version is also dedicated to Isabella des Forz, who witnesses paragraph 158 in the *Liber miraculorum* of Simon de Montfort.[70]

Edmund had relied heavily on his able and reformist chancellor, Richard of Wych,[71] since, as Edmund's modern biographer has noted, the archbishop did not like temporal affairs: "It appears that the chief function of Edmund's chancellor was to ensure his master a quiet life."[72] Richard of Wych, as bishop of Chichester, is at the very least significant to this community of saints because he provides a further connection between Edmund Rich and Robert Grosseteste. Richard's active opposition to the king began with his contested election and was therefore likely to have been somewhat involuntary. Richard is not, however, an unwitting and local example of what his superiors opposed on principles on a national scale. Richard was an obstacle to the royal program before his election as an active member of this episcopal party, and later after his death, as a member of this community of saints. Richard had probably met Edmund when the former began study at Oxford, where Edmund was teaching, in 1216. When Grosseteste left Oxford in 1235 to become the bishop of

[68] Ibid., 165.
[69] Ibid., 177 – 9.
[70] Lawrence, *St. Edmund*, 75, and Vaughan, *Matthew Paris*, 179.
[71] † 1253, canonized 1262.
[72] Lawrence, *St. Edmund*, 131 and n. 2.

Lincoln, he wanted Richard as his chancellor, only to find that Richard had already assumed that position for Edmund at Canterbury.[73]

Over the next five years the Archbishop and the bishop of Lincoln fought a mostly losing battle against Henry III's extension of control over the English Church. It was during this controversy that the Archbishop and his chancellor left England in 1240 to seek papal support, in the episode that Paris rewrote into the archbishop's self-imposed exile. Ernest Jacob, taking Matthew Paris' account at face value, implicates Richard in this struggle between king and bishops, saying he had "burned his boats."[74] Without his sponsor, Richard may have feared going home. Instead, he remained abroad and worked to establish his master's cult at Pontigny, where Richard saw to it that St. Edmund had an oratory three years before his canonization. Then, moving to Orleans, Richard studied theology with the Dominicans and cultivated a new asceticism that, according to his *vita*, he practiced to the detriment of his own health. Ordained a priest by the bishop of Orleans, Richard was now prepared to take advantage of a developing opportunity.[75]

While Richard had been abroad, another early sponsor of St. Edmund's cult, Ralph de Neville, bishop of Chichester, had died.[76] Ralph had been squarely in the episcopal party's camp; entire passages from his letters of postulation appear in St. Edmund's earliest *vita*. Henry III immediately moved to fill de Neville's vacancy at

[73] Jacob, "St. Richard," 177-8.
[74] Ibid., 179. *St. Richard of Chichester, The Sources for his life*, D. Jones, ed., Sussex Record Society 79 (1993), 94-5.
[75] *Vita Sancti Ricardi*, 94-5. Jacob, "St. Richard," 179-80.
[76] February, 1244. Lawrence, *St. Edmund*, 34, 80. Jones, *St. Richard*, 13.

Chichester with the justice of the forest, Robert Passelewe, in order to move that see out of the episcopal bloc and join it to the royal party.[77] Henry had already begun to move some of the see's possessions into Passelewe's, and therefore royal, control. Passelewe was in fact elected by the canons at Chichester, but Robert Grosseteste himself intervened in the bishop-elect's confirmation.[78] The bishop of Lincoln humiliated Passelewe by posing questions of canon law far over his head, successfully staging a rejection of the king's careerist candidate as unqualified. Henry persisted for just over two years, despite Richard's consecration by the pope in 1245. Though Innocent IV had initially supported the candidacy of Robert Passelewe, the pope also accepted the results of that candidate's failed confirmation. When Richard of Wych was elected afterwards, Innocent supported that candidate, too, despite royal opposition. Jones concludes that the king even kept Bishop Richard out of his see by force.[79]

Like Grosseteste, Richard pursued diocesan reforms that emphasized pastoral care and the removal of secular influence from clerical affairs.[80] As bishop, Richard was known for his work to extend the reforms of the Fourth Lateran Council to his own diocese and for his preaching and fundraising efforts during the crusading fervor

[77] Powicke, *Henry III*, I:363n2.

[78] Jones, *St. Richard*, 13 – 14, 95 - 6. Jacob, "St. Richard," 180. Henry III's candidate, Robert Passelewe, was an unqualified candidate, and was intended to be a royal operative, as Henry II had intended Becket to be, bringing the irony of St. Thomas' creation of a line of opposition bishops full circle.

[79] Jones suggests that the men at arms mentioned in *Calendar of the Close Rolls, 1242-7*, 306, 352, had been sent to Tarring to keep Bishop Richard out of Chichester for a time, though the editor also admits that Wych's location is not firmly established for these dates. Jones, *St. Richard,* 15; 238 I, 14, n. a.

[80] Powicke, *Henry III*, I:287.

of the late 1240s and early 1250s.[81] Richard's circle of reformist bishops did not just preserve a tradition of resistance to royal power, it also continued to reinforce its authority through the production of new saints from their own numbers. Bishop Richard joined the second inquest into the life and miracles of St. Edmund, to whom the bishop had already built a chapel at Chichester. Henry finally dropped his resistance to the cult in 1246, and the bishop soon attended two translations of St. Edmund's relics.[82] If Richard was no longer the king's enemy, he was one of the most visible patrons of the king's enemy's cult.

Preaching the crusade brought Richard to Dover early in 1253, where at the invitation of the master of the Hospital of St. Mary, the bishop established another chapel to his former patron, St. Edmund. Richard died the next day, according to Bocking, crowds of people from Dover to Chichester tried to touch the body as he was returned to his see.[83] Henry, according to Ralph of Bocking, opposed Richard's cult, but St. Richard's canonization succeeded in 1262, while the barons had control of the government and Henry III was not in a position to oppose the recognition of his former opponent.[84] Richard's resistance to the king appears at first glance to have been the most local or parochial of this group. His candidacy at Chichester became, in any case, an example of the overall trend that his two greatest patrons had opposed generally. The fight over the election of Chichester was not simply another battle

[81] Cf. Jacob, "St. Richard," 183-7; Jones, *St. Richard*, 3-4, 19-21.

[82] Ibid., 19. Jones notes that Bishop Richard's indulgences for a visit to St. Edmund's shrine included a remission of ten years and 295 days, and that this was much larger than the only other remissions, granted by the pope and the papal legate. See also Lawrence, *St. Edmund*, 319-26.

[83] Jones, *St. Richard*, 5, 21, 139.

[84] Ibid., 74, 121, 263.

against royal encroachment but was instead a contest between two national political factions: a royal one and an episcopal one, each attempting to install its own, proved operative. St. Richard's hagiographer, Ralph Bocking, reinforces this picture of the bishop as an effective royal opponent.[85]

In his *vita*, the young St. Richard appears as St. Edmund's energetic servant, whose service to the episcopal cause spared the archbishop the daily stress of political controversy so that he could focus on spiritual matters.[86] In this case, whom would the king's agents have confronted in the struggle over the sees of Hereford and Winchester? The division of labor between the archbishop and his chancellor helps to explain why the former could appear as a mild figure and why the latter, lesser was more important to the episcopal cause than may first appear. Once Richard the chancellor's role in Edmund's archiepiscopacy and sainthood are made clear, bishop Richard of Chichester's own political career and sainthood can appear in their proper significance. Ralph of Bocking's *vita* of St. Richard, like Paris' second *vita* for St. Edmund, is dedicated to Isabella des Forz, mentioned above.[87]

As with Simon de Montfort, Robert Grosseteste's lack of canonization has meant that he rarely appears in the company of his contemporary English saints. The bishop of Lincoln is generally remembered instead as a reformer and early scientist and for his work at Oxford and with the recently arrived Franciscans. His sainthood

[85] Jones, *St. Richard*, 83-159.

[86] "*domini sui archiepiscopi studens per omnia providere quieti quem sciebat optimam partem cum Maria eligere partier et diligere…*" and "*Gratulabatur archiepiscopus se cancellarii sui sollicita discretione ac discreta sollicitudine ab exteriorum tumultibus liberari*." Ibid., 92-3.

[87] Ibid., 8 and n. 3.

remains a footnote. Although the living Grosseteste is often associated with Simon de Montfort, it is important to note that their relationship was not without friction. Grosseteste was concerned to mold Montfort's behavior as a lord and baron; both the bishop and Adam Marsh guided Simon, sometimes with harsh criticism, to behave according to their idea of a Christian Earl and soldier, particularly during Simon's administration of Gascony.[88] The bishop upbraided Simon for exploiting his tenants and praised him for cracking down on the Jews under his jurisdiction. Robert Grosseteste was also Simon de Montfort's likely source on the history and importance of Magna Carta.[89]

As a royal opponent in his own right, Grosseteste had urged the papal legate Otho to refuse support for Henry III's tax on the clergy until the king had addressed domestic ecclesiastical grievances.[90] The bishop also managed to hold episcopal opposition together with baronial resistance against Henry's demands for additional in 1244.[91] Grosseteste had also clashed with Henry III over the question of bastardy. Since the bishop considered canon law to be above English law, he did not bother to answer the king's written request to rule on the issue of whether children conceived before their parents were married were bastards or legitimate and was cited for contempt.[92] Robert Grosseteste's own politics were more concerned with papal, rather than royal, intrusions into the affairs of the English Church. The studies for which he

[88] Prothero, 93. Carpenter, *Henry III*, 236, 229. Maddicott, 79-80, 99-100.
[89] Carpenter, *Henry III*, 231.
[90] In 1237, Powicke, *Thirteenth Century*, 453.
[91] Powicke, *Thirteenth Century*, 78.
[92] Ibid., 70 - 1.

is known had led him to the conclusion that papal provisions and appeals to papal courts, with their attendant corruption, were a sign of the apocalypse and that the members of the papal curia were worse than those who had crucified Christ.[93] On a trip to the curia in 1251, he told them as much. Innocent IV's response was simply to stop dealing with the bishop of Lincoln directly; he then installed a relative in a benefice in Lincoln. Far from mounting a crusade with Simon de Montfort, perhaps to relieve Christians in central Asia, Grosseteste had become irrelevant, even in his own diocese.[94] He died shortly thereafter.

Miracles followed immediately, including oil welling up from his tomb, which was next to that of St. Hugh of Avalon at Lincoln.[95] The bishop and chapter of Lincoln requested canonization processes for Robert Grosseteste in 1254, 1285, and 1307.[96] Robert's cult flourished before requests for a canonization inquiry and later persisted in spite of the lack of canonization. In 1257, a rumor circulated that Gros-

[93] R. Southern, *Robert Grosseteste: The growth of an English mind in medieval Europe*, 2nd ed. (Oxford: Clarendon, 1992), 289-91. Maddicott, 98-9.

[94] Southern, *Robert Grosseteste*, 281-5. Prothero, 142 – 3.

[95] "*Nam post ipsius obitum, bonorum omnium Retributor Altissimus operari dignatus est pro eodem plurimi miracula manifesta. Inter quae, tumba marmoreal ejusdem viri Dei oleum purissimum repetitis vicibus, plurimis in ecclesia presentibus, emanavit*." Schalby, *Martyrologium*, in *Giraldi Cambrensis: Opera*, ed. J. Dimock (London: Longman, 1877), Appendix E, vii:205. See also Paris *CM*, V, 419ff. For Grosseteste's death, Paris is closer in time while Schalby used resources at Lincoln now lost, A. Gransden, *Historical Writing in England, vol. 1, c. 500 to c. 1307* (London: Routledge, 1996), 310 and n. 99. See also Southern, *Robert Grosseteste*, 10, 20, 308-9; Vauchez, 429; and

[96] "Et licet decanus et capitulum Lincolniense pro canonizatione ejusdem sedi apostolicae scripserint vicibus repretitis, muniti literis regularibus, et procerum regni tam clericorum quam laicorum, miracula ad invocationem Dei ob merita dicti viri facta testificantibus, una cum vita et conversatione ejusdem, in nullo, ante confectionem praesentis tractatus, qua de causa Deus novit, proficere potuerunt." Brewer believes that 1307 was the main effort, which would have been a very bad time for St. Robert's cult to attract the attention of the Avignon papacy. Brewer, *Giraldi Cambrensis*, 206 and n. 1. Vauchez, 72.

seteste had in fact been canonized.[97] English bishops continued to issue indulgences for pilgrimages to Robert's tomb as late as 1345.[98] The saint's well known association with the Franciscans somewhat mitigated the stigma of having been a secular, at least to other Franciscans. Robert is referred to as "*sanctus*" in the chronicle of Salimbene da Parma.[99] To the participants of Simon's cult, Robert Grosseteste was a saint, and the two continued to cooperate after death as they had in life. In Simon de Montfort's *Liber miraculorum*, witnesses from Lincoln testify that a mute boy's parents measured[100] him to St. Robert, bishop of Lincoln, on the Sunday before the battle of Evesham. The next day, the boy woke and asked why they were in Lincoln, since the saint had gone to Evesham to help his brother, Simon. Also, the boy said, Simon would die the following Tuesday, St. Robert's aid notwithstanding.[101] Robert of Carlingstoke testified to his own cure by St. Simon, whom he had invoked upon hearing of the earl's death. But he had only sought this cure after being measured to "St. Robert and to other saints" to no effect; this is, after all, recounted in Simon's *Liber miraculorum*.[102] The *Liber miraculorum* refers to "Saint" Simon twice as many times as it does "Saint" Robert.[103]

[97] E. Kemp, "The Attempted Canonization of Grosseteste," in *Robert Grosseteste: Scholar and Bishop*, ed. D. Callus (Oxford: Clarendon, 1955), 243 – 4.

[98] Ibid., 92n25. This included Bishop Dalderby of Lincoln in 1314. Brewer, *Giraldi Cambrensis*, 206n1, gives an example of devotion to the cult of St. Robert as late as 1345.

[99] Vauchez, 189 – 90 and n.100.

[100] Measuring refers to the practice of matching a length of string to the length of an afflicted person's body, or of the afflicted limb. The string is then used as a wick for an offering candle to be given to the saint's shrine. See Finucane, *Miracles and Pilgrims*, 95.

[101] #13; Halliwell, 70.

[102] #127; Halliwell, 92.

[103] The *Liber miraculorum* refers directly to Simon de Montfort as a "saint" six times, #9, #11, #91, #116, #185, #191. This does not count the indirect speech of Peter de Saultmareis in the story of

The cults of the saints discussed above may have been well established by 1258. However, after 1253, all of the episcopal leaders considered above were dead. When the crisis between Henry and his barons escalated into confrontation and gathered momentum among the lesser gentry, there was no English clergyman of the stature of Hugh, Stephen, Edmund, Richard, or Robert to perform the role of episcopal leader. Instead, that role seems to have defaulted to Robert Grosseteste's erstwhile protégé, Simon de Montfort, despite the fact that he was a layman. His association with Grosseteste could connect him with this communion of saints and de Montfort's personal piety and the manner of his death might fit the expectations of a saintly life and death. Simon de Montfort, however, had another quality, one well known to contemporaries, that transformed his status as a layman from something to overcome, in order to achieve sainthood, into a positive advantage.

One of the reasons that Simon, as a layman, was able to fulfill this role and eventually join the communion of saints was his association with the crusades. Crusading, as Maurice Keen noted in 1984, was a sacral element of the European warrior caste, prior to and independent of the Church's cultivation of a distinctly Christian soldier and of the Crusades.[104] In England the sanctification of a political enterprise was already a well established practice. One of the Magna Carta barons, Robert Fitzwalter, had called himself the "marshal of the Army of God and of the Holy Church." Philip of Albini, fighting for the young Henry III in 1217, styled himself

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the miracle of the spring. "Saint" Robert, bishop of Lincoln, or "the bishop-saint," appears in unmistakable context, in #13 and #127 for a total of three times.

[104] See M. Keen, "Chivalry, the Church and the Crusade," in *Chivarly* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1984), 44 – 63.

"the Commander of the Militia of Christ," and pope Honorius III issued crusading indulgences to the English fighting Louis.[105] Simon de Montfort was the son of a prominent figure of the Albigensian Crusade. The Earl of Leicester took the cross and went on crusade in from 1240 to 1242, though we know very little about what he did there.[106] Simon's struggle in England was marked with Crusading imagery, just as the previous round of rebellion and reform concerning Magna Carta had been. The struggle to appear as the legitimate standard bearer for the crusades in England was not new and was not unique to the Barons' War. The Crusades had clearly been on the minds of the baronial opposition to king John as well. But in Simon's own day, his association with the crusades, his crusading and miracle-working father, the political opposition to Henry III, Robert Grosseteste, and de Montfort's martyrdom in 1265 all fit him for this communion of saints.[107]

During the period of reform and rebellion, de Montfort claimed to have taken the cross against "the enemies of English liberties and of the Church," enemies he compared to pagans.[108] Michael Prestwich and others, however, have erred in characterizing these elements as example of how "the church influenced politics under John and Henry III." The Church, English or Universal, did not initiate the appropriation of crusading for the purposes of civil war. Instead, English prelates came to the support of Magna Carta rather late, and were somewhat marginal at the beginning of the

[105] M. Clanchy, *England and its Rulers*, 203.
[106] Prothero, 52. Maddicott, 109, suggests that Simon's time in the Holy Land may be when he gained his reputation as an exceptional military leader, but any record of such an event is lost.
[107] Finucane, *Miracles and Pilgrims,* 131.
[108] Maddicott, 219, 355.

Barons' Revolt in 1258. The impetus to crusade was not located exclusively in the Church, nor did the Church control the forms that crusading took.

The relationship between crusading and rebellion, however, was not just a metaphor. Simon's frustration at not being able to return to crusading at the end of the 1240s may have contributed to his rebellious drive. Simon's assignment to Gascony kept him out of Louis IX's crusade, but it was also at this point that he began building his own political network within his English retinue.[109] For the English barons in general, complaints of being kept from crusade were not a side issue but were instead prominently mentioned in the barons' complaints to Louis IX, which led to the disastrous Mise of Amiens in 1264 and to the Barons' War.[110] Henry's interference with his barons' crusading plans, as he attempted to incorporate them into his own, had been a point of controversy throughout his reign. Gregory IX had cooperated with Henry III of England in 1238 in keeping de Montfort and others home in England. In 1250 Innocent IV kept English barons from fulfilling their crusading vows while he persuaded Henry III to transform his planned crusade into his disastrous Sicilian adventure.[111]

St. Simon was not the only thirteenth-century English saint to go uncanonized, nor was he the only one to owe his celebrity at least partially to his opposition to the king. St. Simon was certainly not the only saint deployed, after his death, against

[109] Prothero, 85 – 90. C. Tyerman, *England and the Crusades, 1095-1588* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1988), 109-10.

[110] R. Stacey, "Crusades, Crusaders and the Baronial *Gravamina* of 1263-1264," in *Thirteenth Century England* III (1989), 137-150.

[111] Tyerman, *England and the Crusades,* 109, 113. M. Clanchy, *England and its Rulers*, 238-9.

royal authority. Ultimately, the Montfortians lost their monopoly on the mantle of the crusader. Rome and the royalists progressively reestablished a claim to the imagery and ideas of crusading and used them to challenge the Montfortians. Beginning in 1263, papal agents, including John de Valenciennes, were sent to preach a new crusade in England, with a view toward drawing support away from de Montfort.[112] The Lord Edward borrowed from de Montfort's strategy at the battle of Evesham, marking his men with red crosses to offset the Montfortian force's white ones.[113] After Simon's death, when Gilbert de Clare's occupation of London threatened to reopen the civil war, Ottobono responded by preaching the crusade at St. Paul's. He repeated this tactic at other places where Montfortian support reappeared: at Lincoln in October, 1267, and at Northampton during the June 1268 parliament.[114] The Lord Edward, however, finally succeeded in monopolizing crusading for the royalist faction by directing its energies out of the kingdom.[115] In June of 1268, the Lord Edward took the cross with Ottobono for a crusade to Jerusalem.[116] Montfortians opposed Edward's crusade, claiming that foreigners would seize on their absence as an opportunity for invasion.[117] Moreover, crusading was the royalists' opportunity to continue to hold on to Montfortians' lands even after the peace of July 1267, since crusaders

[112] B. Beebe, "The English Baronage and the Crusade of 1270," *Bulletin of the Institute of Historical Research* 48, no. 118 (November 1978): 129-30.
[113] Maddicott, 340-44.
[114] Powicke, *Thirteenth Century*, 219.
[115] Tyerman, *Crusades*, 124.
[116] Beebe, "English Baronage," 130.
[117] Tyerman, *Crusades*, 126 and n. Beebe, "English Baronage," 127-48

were exempt from repossession as long as they were on crusade.[118] Edward's crusade, whether he intended it or not, built the inner circle of his new reign in much the same way that de Montfort had built his in Gascony.[119]

Defeated as a crusader, de Montfort persisted as a saint. After his death at the battle of Evesham on August 4, 1265, contemporary notice of Simon's martyrdom and sainthood was immediate and dramatic. Accounts of the battle in chronicles deploy unmistakable Biblical imagery from the Christ's crucifixion; darkness and storms link Christ's sacrifice with that of this latest martyr.[120] Simon's death was also compared to Thomas Becket's.[121] As with Becket, the mutilation of Simon's body magnified the sense of his martyrdom. Walter of Hyde's "Song on the Death of Simon de Montfort" compared Simon's death to the martyrdom of St. Oswald, whose saint's day followed the battle.[122] The separate parts of Simon's body were the subject of miracles: the trunk did not bleed when stabbed, the members exuded sweet

[118] Beebe, "English Baronage," 137-9.

[119] Ibid., 136.

[120] "*Quod vir iustus paciatur / Satis liquet et probatus / Per magna tonitura*." Walter of Hyde, "Song on the Death of Simon de Montfort," *EHR* 11 (1896): 318. "*Eadem hora per diversa regni loca tot fiebant tonitrua, tanta subsecuta est obscuritas et opacitas druans fere per dimidium unius horae spatium, quod amnibus terrorem inestimabilem induceret, ipsa etiam mirabilis aeris inmutatio tam subito superveniens*." Halliwell, 47, "*Coelum signa dabat, quoniam sol non radiabat, Et motum terrae dedit hora ferissima guerrae. Dum sic bellatur, Domini gens dum creuciatur, Tunc pluit et tonuit, imbres dedit aetheris ira, Ingens grando fuit, quo possis dicere mira;*" *Halliwell*, 142. See the Furness Chronicle in *Chronicles of the Reigns of Stephen, Henry II and Richard I*, ed. R. Howlett, Rolls Series (1885), I:548. *The Chronicle of Bury St. Edmunds*, ed. and trans. A. Granden (London: Nelson's Medieval Texts, 1964), 31. Robert of Gloucester, *Metrical Chronicle*, ed. W. Wright (Rolls Series, 1887), II:765.

[121] *Chronicle of Melrose*, ed. J. Stephenson (London, 1856), 233. "*Mès par sa mort, le cuens Mountfort conquist la victorie, Come ly martyr de Caunterbyr, finist sa vie; Ne voleit pas li bon Thomas qe perist seinte Eglise, Ly cuens auxi se combati, e morust sauntz feyntise*." *Political Poems and Songs of England from the Reign of John to that of Edward II*, ed. T. Wright (London: Camden, 1839), 125 - 6.

[122] "*Comes regi sociatur / Qui Oswaldus nuncupatur / Equa per certamina.*" Walter of Hyde, "Song on the Death," 317.

oils, and some severed limbs miraculously moved or performed miracles for Simon's admirers. The parts of his body were said not to rot, and it allegedly reassembled itself.[123] Outside the *Liber miraculorum* itself there are numerous contemporary references to miracles both generally and specifically,[124] and Simon's enemies and detractors even experienced miraculous revenge.[125] Simon's miracles also persisted despite his excommunication.[126] All of these endorsements of Simon's martyrdom and sainthood, however, must be set against the dangers of recording them at all. Entries in chronicles of Furness and Lanercost for 1265 claim it was dangerous to mention Simon's sainthood.[127] Other chronicles altered their entries to obscure or qualify earlier statements.[128] The surviving fourteenth-century manuscript of the *Liber miracu-*

[123] On the miracles of the trunk, see Robert of Gloucester, II:765. Melrose, 232. For accounts of myroblytism, *Chronicon de Lanercost*, ed. J. Stevenson (Edinburgh: 1839), 77. Moving members, ibid., 82. Miracles of individual members, Melrose, 225-7. Reassembly of severed members, Furness, 548; Ann. Mon. IV:178.

[124] "*et quoniam pro pace terrae et veritate interfecti sunt, innumerabilia per ipsos, ut dicitur, a Domino fiunt miracula*." Gervase of Canterbury, II:243. "*invictissimi viri constantiam insuperabilem, fidei peritatem, et pacienttiam et invisibilen, infra breve tempus suae mortis, crebris cepit ostendere* miraculis." Halliwell, 49. "*De quo Simone fert fama celebris quod multis post obitum radiavit miraculis, quae propter metum regium non prodierunt in publicum*." *Chronica monasterii de Melsa*, ed. E. Bond (London: Longmans, Green, Reader, and Dyer, 1866), 131. Furness, 548. Robert of Gloucester, II:762. Melrose, 225-35. *Chronica Johannis de Oxenedes*, ed. H. Ellis, Rolls Series (1859), 299. Ann. Mon. II:365; IV:172.

[125] Melrose, 233-4. Lanercost, 88, 95.

[126] Gervase of Canterbury claims that Clement IV revoked the sentence of excommunication: "*Miserat etiam dominus papa legato quandam litteram in qua dominus papa absolvit dominum Symonem de Munfort comitem Leycestriae, et omnes qui cum eo occubuerunt, et omnes qui actu vel voluntate ei consentiebant*;" Gervase of Canterbury, II:247. Labarge, 257. The Chronicle of Lanercost, however, claims de Montfort's body was exhumed and re-excommunicated by the legate Ottobono, Lanercost, 77.

[127] Furness, 548. Lanercost, 76-7.

[128] Altered passages are noted in Lanercost, xxi-xxii. Rishanger, 26n2. The insertion of "*ut dicitur*," in Gervase of Canterbury, II:243, quoted above. A sentence in the Chronicle of Bury St.Edmunds, saying that some people regarded Simon de Montfort as a saint and that miracles had been reported, has been scraped away but can still be read, see Gransden, 396, 401, and Plate XIb. For Furness' cautiousness, ibid., 421.

lorum has itself lost most of its first two pages at the least.[129] The fears of chroniclers and our manuscript's anonymous vandal show that St. Simon was significant enough to be dangerous to some. Certainly, the royalists thought so. The Dictum of Kenilworth prescribed corporal punishment for anyone who claimed Simon de Montfort was a saint or that there were any miracles attributed to him.[130]

The possibility of a St. Simon de Montfort was clearly plausible enough, in the years following his death, to warrant suppression. How is it that the phenomenon of Simon de Montfort's sainthood came to seem marginal to modern historians?[131] In thirteenth-century England there was nothing anomalous about such a saint. The political role of religious figures, and the sanctification of secular leaders through the crusades, were commonplaces of the period. As I have shown, political sanctity was the norm, not the exception. The position of the English Church, or more specifically the struggle over its wealth, was unavoidably political, and clerical saints were not immune to politics.[132] Conversely, the sanctification of a military enterprise or investing a military leader in the Middle Ages with a spiritual significance would not have been bizarre, it was cliché.

[129] *Lm* MS, fol. 162r and v.
[130] October 30, 1266. *DBMR*, 322.
[131] See above, Introduction, 14 - 18.
[132] Although my argument concerns thirteenth-century England, this observation could be made elsewhere. For instance, in Laura Smoller's analysis of the supernatural in the fifteenth-century canonization inquest of St. Vincent Ferrer she notes that while inadequately documented or contradictory evidence would be discarded "Cardinals also tended to reject as inauthentic any miracles attributed to their own political enemies, but here they were following a different sort of reasoning altogether." L. Smoller, "Defining the Boundaries of the Natural in Fifteenth-Century Brittany: The inquest into the miracle of Saint Vincent Ferrer (d. 1419)," *Viator* 28 (1997): 341 – 2.

At the beginning of the thirteenth century, Langton's success against John put him in opposition to Innocent III who had voided Magna Carta. Langton's popularity and his posthumous reputation as a miracle-working saint could not overcome the political enmity of the papacy; despite the popularity of the saint in England, he was never canonized in Rome. The fact that Robert Grosseteste also never achieved canonization whereas a less famous figure like Richard of Wych, who died in the same year, achieved canonization might at first appear to be something of an anomaly. As a bishop, Richard went on to have an exemplary career as a reformer and died while preaching Innocent's crusade. Although Richard continued to antagonize the king, he did so without engaging in any further controversy with Rome. Robert Grosseteste, on the other hand, cut a vastly greater figure in England at that time, but this was precisely because of his energetic opposition to papal provisions and to royal/papal collaboration in the exploitation of the English Church. So while Richard and Robert were on the same side in England, their differing relationships with Rome determined the very different courses of their respective saint's cults. Ultimately, Innocent IV had a greater impact on these English saints than they, especially St. Robert, had had on him. The canonization of Richard rather than Robert is symptomatic of the growing difference between sanctity generally and an increasingly distinct official sanctity. This distinction was clear enough to the Lollards, who revered a St. Robert untainted by canonization.[133] This contrasting treatment reflects the different and incompatible priorities of the communities constructing the men's posthumous identities.

[133] Southern, *Robert Grosseteste*, 308-9.

This is the context of the cult of St. Simon de Montfort. This communion of saints, canonized and uncanonized, whose cults gathered momentum without waiting for official sanction and continued to operate even after being denied it, and whose members supported each other's cults before joining that communion in death, ensured a continuity of opposition to royal authority. They are also linked in other ways. Their households employed some of the same people, they occupied some of the same offices and positions, their *vitae* had sources and authors in common, and Isabella des Forz appears as a patroness or participant in three of these anti-royal cults.

A successful canonization in this period required a successful and complex relationship among Rome, the saint *in vita*, the community asking for a process, and increasingly the king of the country where the saint's cult had appeared. Simon de Montfort's combative relationship with both temporal and religious authority led to both the formation of his cult and its repression; the two phenomena are closely linked. One of the key components of St. Simon's appeal, his opposition to alien prelates installed in England by the pope, ensured that he never would be canonized. Also the growing importance of canonization in Christendom was not always reflected in the cult of every English saint. Tensions between John and the papacy in the early twelfth century and between the Roman and English Churches later in the century meant that, from Rome's perspective, English piety was somewhat behind the times. This was also true of English sanctity. Supporters of English saints could pursue the additional recognition of canonization for their saint in the thirteenth century,

but this no more meant that they recognized a papal monopoly on the making of saints than did similar requests in the twelfth century or before. By the end of the century, in any case, canonization inquests were prohibitively expensive, and during the late 1260's, the French pope Clement IV was not receptive to English saints. The cult of Simon de Montfort, therefore, was not unusual in a late thirteenth-century English context, even without canonization or even a request for a canonization inquiry.

English saints without papal sanction continued to appear in the thirteenth century, Simon being one of these. Simon's *Liber miraculorum* marks him as a saint in this time and place, and more specifically as an English saint of his time. St. Simon's miracles, like those of St. Edmund Rich of Canterbury, adhere to an older standard of sanctity, rather than those being encouraged by the reforms begun by Innocent III. The two saints, therefore, have more in common than might appear if one considers only that one is canonized and one is not. Both were saints whose cults opposed the extension of the king's power beyond his proper authority. St. Simon was the patron saint of an ongoing rebellion which, to its supporters, had to succeed because it aimed at Christian government. Simon's miracles, bestowed on his supporters or inflicted on his detractors, were reminders that the ongoing baronial rebellion had divine sanction. Simon's suffering and miracles are portrayed by his admirers and venerators as a continuation of his campaign in life. While alive, his piety and asceticism uniquely suited him to the role of defender of the Church and of those un-

able to protect themselves from the consequences of Henry III's reign.[134] The disaffected of England who had made a Norman interloper into a national hero while de Montfort was alive also made him into a saint after his death. In thirteenth-century England, both the figure of defender and of saint were familiar and the transition between them was as intuitive as it was traumatic. Sanctified opposition to the king was already a commonplace, and St. Simon was in good company.

[134] "*Thomas martis nuncupatur, / Sicut Christus, sicut datur / Symon pro iusticia. ... Symon gratis passus fuit / Et pro terra cesus ruit, / Thomas pro ecclesia*." Walter of Hyde, "Song on the Death," 317. Melrose, 232-3. Halliwell, 143, 144-6. *Lament*, 125-7. Halliwell, 48. Bury-St.Edmund's, 31, 34-5. Ann. Mon. IV:148, 138, 150. Robert of Gloucester, II:766. Maddicott, 88 – 9, 312.

Chapter Three

Inconsistent Consistencies:

Scribal formulae in the *Liber miraculorum* of Simon de Montfort

Among the texts introduced at the end of the last chapter, the *Liber miraculorum* of Simon de Montfort is the largest sustained work describing him as a saint. This text contains the specifics of the miracle stories only hinted at, sometimes rather cautiously, in those other texts. As is the case with many of those other texts, however, the surviving manuscripts are often ones produced some time after the events they describe. Most of our sources survive only as later copies. The question then arises as to how we can approach the *Liber miraculorum* as a late thirteenth-century text when our only manuscript is a fourteenth-century document. David Cox dates the surviving manuscript of the *Liber miraculorum* to 1323 at the earliest by a reference to the events of that year in a text bound with de Montfort's miracle collection.[1] This evidence, however, may not be relevant.[2] The present binding of the *Liber miraculorum* seems to have been done at the British Museum bindery in the nineteenth century. The volume may have been bound prior to this, since the final foliation was not confirmed until 1884. The beginning of the manuscript, folio162, seems to be a sin-

[1] BL MS Cotton Vespasian A. vi., fols. 134-161, preceding the *Liber miraculorum*. D. Cox, "The Battle of Evesham in the Evesham Chronicle," *Historical Research* 62, no. 149 (1989): 337. D. Cox, *The Battle of Evesham, a New Account* (Evesham: Vale of Evesham Historical Soc., 1988), 21n137.

[2] I am indebted to Dr Justin Clegg, Curator of the Department of Manuscripts at the British Library, for the following observations in this paragraph on the binding of the *Lm* MS.

gle folio. Folios 163-170 are composed of four bifolia. Folios 171-183 are in seven bifolia, with the last being trimmed to leave 13 folios in the quire.

The foliation of the *Liber miraculorum* would seem to argue against the reliability of Cox's approach, since there is no physical evidence linking the *Liber miraculorum* to the text that immediately precedes it in the present volume. There is no guarantee that the two documents were originally produced at the same time and place. Any manuscript in the Cottonian library, however, may have been brought together in the sixteenth century, rather than the Middle Ages. John Maddicott allows for 1323 as the earliest possible date, judging by the hand of the *Liber miraculorum* manuscript, but believes it was produced in the late fourteenth century.[3] Dating the text by the hand at least provides us with a general notion of when the text was created. Neither author, however, dates the document's contents to that time. In fact, no author published on the subject of the *Liber miraculorum* has ever identified any portion of its contents that betray it as a composition as being from a time later than 1280. Absent any reliable physical evidence, the contents of the *Liber miraculorum* are the best way to date the creation of the original. The popularity of St. Simon was in steep decline within five years of his death. There are no instances of the cult's revival in the fourteenth century outside the preservation of the *Liber miraculorum*. The producer or producers of the fourteenth-century manuscript made no attempt to standardize the contents, style, or vocabulary of the text, marking it as a joint produc-

[3] See O. de Laborderie, J. Maddicott, and D. Carpenter, "The Last Hours of Simon de Montfort: A New Account," *EHR* 115, no. 461 (April 2000): 385-95.

tion of two or more individuals, probably over time. Although we have references, therefore, to reports of miracles attributed to Simon de Montfort from the period 1265 – 1280, independent of the *Liber miraculorum,* there are no such references in the fourteenth century. Instead, the degree and nature of the support for the cult, both elite and not, lay and clerical, changes according to the fluctuating political situation in England between 1265 and 1280. We can not only date the text to the late thirteenth century by its contents, we can date some of its contents to late 1265 or shortly after August 1267.

Identifying the figures in the *Liber miraculorum*, we find none of the anachronisms we would expect to find if the text had been composed in the fourteenth century, the period that produced the sole surviving copy of the text. The fourteenth-century text does not make the mistake of referring to members of the de Ros, Giffard, de la Mare, or Botiler families as *dominus*, or any other indicator of noble status. These families would not achieve that status until the end of the thirteenth century, but by the earliest time the manuscript could have been made that elevation would have been almost a generation in the past. If someone were altering or adding to the text of the *Liber miraculorum* in the fourteenth century, an anachronistic reference to such status would be a very easy mistake to make.[4] What errors there are, as will be shown below, are limited to the clear corruption of written dates, errors that move events further back into the thirteenth century and earlier than they could have hap-

[4] Members of these families are correctly identified in the *Liber miraculorum* in paragraphs #17, #59, #115, #129, #177, and #191, of the 195 paragraphs. See below, Chapter Five.

pened. It is not plausible that the person who produced the manuscript under consideration could simultaneously be so ignorant of the period 1265 – 1280 and at the same time so accurate as to the names and conditions of the figures in it. Although there are errors, therefore, they are not plausible ones and are better explained as corruption and confusion than as fourteenth-century compositions. Although the political upheavals of the fourteenth century may explain the occasionally renewed interest in a St. Simon, resulting in the copy of his miracles that survives, those events and controversies have not perceptibly affected the contents of the *Liber miraculorum*.

This chapter draws on a quantitative study of language in the *Liber miraculorum* to consider some of the formulae used to represent classes of information in the miracle entries. The manner in which dates, numbers, witnesses, and even Simon de Montfort himself appear in the text varies from one part of the document to another, as does the language that described the occurrence of miraculous cures in the text. Collectively, these variations provide clues as to when and by whom different paragraphs in the *Liber miraculorum* were recorded.[5] The formulae addressed in this chapter are the often repeated, stock phrases used in accounts, now recorded in the

[5] For this miracle text's context, see the miracle collections of St. Odulph and St. Wistan, other saints at Evesham, see *The Chronicle of Evesham*, ed. W. MacRay (London: Longman, 1862), Appendix I, 313 – 37. For the miracle collections of other saints in Simon's "communion of saints," see J. Robertson, ed., *Materials for the History of Thomas Becket, Archbishop of Canterbury* (London: Longman, 1875), vol. II. C. Lawrence, *St. Edmund of Abingdon: A study in hagiography and history* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1960). D. Jones, ed., *Saint Richard of Chichester: The sources for his life* (Lewes: Sussex Record Society, 1995). The original *Liber miraculorum* of St. Louis, Simon's contemporary and fellow crusader, is lost, but an Old French translation, prepared by a Franciscan friar at the request of Louis' sister, survives; P. Fay, ed. *Les miracles de Saint Louis* (Paris: Librarie Ancienne Honore Champion, 1932). See J. Le Goff, "Saint de l'Eglise et saint du peuple: les miracles officiels de saint Louis entre sa mort et sa canonisation (1270 – 1297)," in *Histoire sociale, sensibilités collectives et mentalités* (Paris: Presses Universitaires de France, 1985), 169 - 80.

195 indented paragraphs of the *Liber miraculorum* manuscript, to represent dates, numbers, and names (both those used for Simon and those used for witnesses), as well as the vocabulary used to describe circumstances surrounding miracles of healing, and the locations of events.[6]

I will show that despite some continuing inconsistencies in all these formulae, the extant text of 195 paragraphs does grow more consistent at the same time that the amount of space granted to each miracle becomes greater. The overall patterns of inconsistencies and consistencies, as well as the increasing length of the entries, may indicate that the scribe of the surviving fourteenth-century manuscript[7] may have had trouble reading some portions of his source manuscript. The copyist appears to have refrained, however, from correcting errors and irregularities in the source manuscript, perhaps because he tried to reproduce the source as it was. The fourteenth-century copy, moreover, has either included or introduced errors into the text, something which is not always clear in the printed edition. Once understood, the text's variations provide a picture of its production, which I will attempt to reconstruct below

[6] The use of formulae to regularize the presentation of the kinds of information common to most entries is characteristic of *libri miraculorum*, M. Bull , "Views of Muslims and of Jerusalem in miracle stories, c. 1000 – c. 1200: Reflections on the study of first crusaders' motivations," in *The Experience of Crusading,* vol. 1: *Western Approaches*, ed. M. Bull and N. Housley (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003), 26. For content structures in medieval notarial contracts, see K. Reyerson, "Reflections on the Infrastructure of Medieval Trade," in *Trading Cultures: The worlds of western merchants, essays on authority, objectivity, and evidence*, ed. J. Adelman and S. Aron (Turnhout: Brepolis, 2001), 25 – 6. For examples of the kinds of formulae used by formally trained notaries, in equally formal canonization inquests, see L. Viallet, "L'Écriture du notaire, entre mémoire de dieu et mémoire des hommes: Réflexions à partir des inscriptions 'Hors-Formulaire' (XIVe-XVIIe Siècles," in *Notai, Miracoli e Culto dei Santi: Pubblicità e autenticazione de sacro tra xii e xv secolo*, ed. Raimondo Michetti (Milan: A. Giuffrè, 2004), 238 – 41, 243 – 5, 252 – 3.

[7] *Lm* MS, fols. 162v – 183r.

and in the following chapter. Chapters Five and Six will relate the changes in the structure of the text to the wider events of the continuing rebellion.

The *Liber miraculorum* manuscript originally covered at least 21 leaves, but most of the contents of the first leaf have been scraped off and it is impossible to know how much else has been lost. The manuscript is in a single hand. The scribe has indented each paragraph to leave room for large but simple capitals in red ink. Beginning at folio 172 and continuing to the manuscript's end, the copyist began filling in the empty space at the bottom of each paragraph, between the end of the last sentence and the right margin, with a single, oscillating or wavy line.[8] This is the only physical characteristic, aside from the mutilation of the first folio, that distinguishes any one section of the document from another. The fourteenth-century copyist missed many opportunities to correct grammatical errors and to elaborate on terse and unadorned entries of the first half of the list of miracles to make them match the longer entries of the later part of the text.[9] One of the rubricated capitals is clearly the wrong letter to begin the paragraph.[10] On one hand, filling in only some of the blank spaces with wavy lines and failing to correct some of the errors in the source text which I will consider below, does not inspire confidence in the copyist's ability. But, on the other, it does not suggest a personal investment on the copyist's part in the content of the document. None of the content of the text suggests that it was cor-

[8] I.e., #91 to the end; Halliwell, 85 - 195.

[9] It is unclear what if any investment the fourteenth-century copyist had in his work on the *Liber miraculorum*. Compare, *Ann. Mon*., IV:xvi. The late thirteenth or early fourteenth-century copyist whose hand links the chronicles of Osney and Wykes for the years 1284 - 90 apparently had little or no idea what he was copying.

[10] An "A" instead of a "Q" for "Quidam." Halliwell, 92, corrects this without mention in #128.

rected or added to in the fourteenth century. If anything, the copyist seems to have paid too little attention to what he was copying. One possible explanation for these errors is that some of the material was in poor condition when it was copied. There is also no document-wide pattern to the dates to suggest that the same sort of error was made throughout the text. The pattern of the corruption of dates, place names, and grammatical errors, considered below, seems to be confined to the first part of the fourteenth-century copy.

After the parchment scraping ends and the text becomes legible, what remains of the *Liber miraculorum's* prologue lists the dead and captured from the battle of Evesham and the damage done to the monastery as the fight spread from the battle-field and into the abbey's buildings, including its church. This section was apparently an account of Simon de Montfort's martyrdom, used to introduce the miracle stories.[11] The introduction concludes with a miraculous discovery of a spring at the spot where de Montfort was killed and the explicit date 1274.[12] Then the style abruptly gives way to highly formulaic entries common to most of the rest of the text. The list of miracles starts with six entries concerning Simon's spring or its water.

[11] Virtually all surviving *libri miraculorum* include a prologue, P. –A. Sigal, "Le Travail des Hagiographes aux XIe et XIIe Siècles: Sources d'information et méthodes de rédaction," *Francia* 15 (1987): 144 – 82. The battle story in the prologue of the *Liber miraculorum* of Simon de Montfort appears in six other manuscripts. For the five Latin versions, including the *Lm* MS, see D. Cox, "Evesham Chronicle," 337 – 345. For a version in Anglo-Norman French and evidence of other versions, now lost, of the events described in the prologue, see de Laborderie, "The Last Hours," 378 – 412.

[12] "*in Edwardi secundo anno*," Halliwell, 68.

The entries are uneven in quality throughout, with the first 100 or so accounts being inferior to the rest of the text in composition, Latin, and formulaic regularity.[13] The style and format seem to stabilize slightly after midway, and the final dozen entries exhibit a larger Latin vocabulary and fewer grammatical errors than most of the earlier entries. They contain significantly more detailed stories, and they are noticeably longer; entries vary in length from ten to 463 words.[14] The last 17 paragraphs constitute slightly less than 9% of the total number of entries but are so much longer and detailed than any other part of the text that they make up 20% of Halliwell's printed edition and slightly less than 22% of the manuscript. The final 33 paragraphs, 35% of the printed text, all include the names of the people experiencing the miracles. This stretch of regularly documented miracles is more than twice as long as any other such segment of the document. Whereas the first two thirds of the entries concern miracles occurring over only four years, the last third of the text concerns incidents stretched out over ten years. All but one of the *Liber miraculorum*'s entries for London occur in this final section. The dates for the miracles in the last segment begin in 1274, as does the prologue. I am inclined to believe that these facts point to a period of renewed activity.[15] Rather than rely on these general impressions of the text's characteristics, however, the identifiable formulae of the text must be understood before any one of the miracle stories can be placed in its proper context.

[13] For example, "Oogredeford" inexplicably for "Gredeford," #12; Halliwell, 70. A name is omitted, #14; Halliwell, 71. "venire" appears for "venit," #19; Halliwell, 71.

[14] #24 and #184, respectively.

[15] Henry III died in November 1272, and Edward did not return from crusade until two years later, making this period of two years an opportunity for Simon de Montfort's suppressed cult to renew its activities.

Dates

The dates in the *Liber miraculorum* are the most discussed of the document's troubling features. Ronald Finucane, for instance, eventually abandoned his program of mapping the miracles in the text after he concluded that the dates were corrupt.[16] Some of them, for instance, predate Simon's death in 1265. David Cox concluded that these dates must be copyist errors.[17] In paragraph four, sleeping at Simon's spring cures Alice of New Burton's three-year-long case of paralysis in "on St. Edburga the Virgin's day … 1259."[18] There is definitely something wrong with this date since the appearance of Simon's spring was thought to be a miracle accompanying his death almost six years later. The story of the spring's discovery, appended to the description of the battle but dated 1274, has led Claire Valente to the unlikely conclusion that the spring was not discovered until nine years after Simon's death and that the stories of the *Liber miraculorum* were recorded beginning at this time.[19] Two further examples, also early in the text, are also unlikely to have been accurately dated. Jordan of Botolestone's son Thomas lost his sight and speech "in the Vigil of

[16] R. Finucane, *Miracles and Pilgrims: Popular beliefs in medieval England*, (London, 1977), 131-5, also personal communication from the author.

[17] Cox, *Battle of Evesham,* 39.

[18] #4; Halliwell, 69. Text in table 3.1, below. This would be either June 15 or July 18, depending on whether the recorder or witness had in mind the tradition of Thanet or Winchester, respectively.

[19] C. Valente, "Simon de Montfort and the Utility of Sanctity," *Journal of Medieval History* 21 (1995), 45-6 and especially n. 90. There is no reason to assume that the date of the account was meant to date the event described. The spring is also independently attested under 1265 in the Furness Chronicle, *Chronicles of the Reigns of Stephen, Henry II and Richard I*, ed. R. Howlett, Rolls Series (1885), I: 548. The geology of the spring, now called Battle Well, means that it is usually dry during the summer, D. Cox, *Battle of Evesham*, 23 – 4.

St. Matthew, 1258," and after being measured to the Earl he was cured.[20] Perrus Leicester's nephew was revivified by being measured to the Earl after drowning on "the Friday of Matthew the Apostle … 1259."[21] These miracles only could have occurred only after Simon's death on August 4, 1265, since measuring the afflicted person or part of the body produced a length of wick used to make offering candles, and candles were sent to the shrines of saints.[22] Regardless of the stories' dates, their content makes this conclusion clear. However, it should be noted that the fact that miracles are dated within Simon's lifetime is not itself a problem since other English saints of the thirteenth century exhibited miracles *in vita*.[23] For instance, the miracle in paragraph 14 clearly occurs *before* the battle of Evesham. A mute six-year-old boy had been measured to St. Robert, bishop of Lincoln, and afterwards his family decided they should go to Lincoln in person. They arrived on the Sunday before the battle of Evesham (i.e., August 2, 1265), and the boy slept until the next day. When he woke up, he spoke for the first time in his life and asked why his family has brought him to Lincoln when St. Robert, the boy explains, is at Evesham to help Earl Simon. St. Robert is described as Simon's brother, and the boy foretells the earl's

[20] #23; Halliwell, 72. September 21, 1258. The possibility that Thomas had been blind *since* 1258 cannot be ignored. "Measuring" refers to the practice of matching a length of string to the length of an afflicted person's body, or of the afflicted limb. The string is then used as a wick for an offering candle to be given to the saint's shrine. See Finucane, *Miracles and Pilgrims*, 95.

[21] #33; Halliwell, 74. Beginning September 19, 1259.

[22] Ronald Finucane speculates that a votive candle burning at a shrine might serve as a proxy for a beneficiary who could not make a pilgrimage, and alternately that the affliction was supposed to be bound up in, and burned along with, the wick. An exceptionally long wick could be folded, braided, or made into a coiled candle. See Finucane, *Miracles and Pilgrims*, 94 - 5.

[23] Thomas Cantilupe, for instance, had both *in vita* and *post-mortem* miracles, cf., Vauchez, 306n106.

death on the following day.[24] There is nothing necessarily wrong with the dating of this miracle. The details of Alice's cure, however, along with the stories of Thomas and Perrus Leicester's nephew, do not indicated that their miracles were *in vita* but rather that something has gone wrong with the text. Likewise, Lady Mable's cure of heart disease is unlikely to have occurred in 1208, as it is dated, since Simon was not yet born, much less dead and said to have been martyred.[25] Overall, all of the five references to specific dates that appear before paragraph 106 are clearly corrupt, though when this corruption took place is unclear.[26]

The dates in the *Liber miraculorum* are also remarkable for their variations in style, as can be seen in the table below. Most of the references to years from paragraph 106 to the end of the *Liber miraculorum* spell out at least part of the year in Latin, rather than using Roman numerals.[27] For instance, Hugh de la Dale, a Premonstratensian abbot, was suddenly paralyzed on "the Sunday after the feast of St. Mark the Evangelist," while at the court of the justiciar, in Derby. Despite being so close to a royal official, who would presumably be hostile to Simon's cult, an unnamed person "prudently" suggested that Hugh be measured to the Earl, which he was while in full view of a number of monks from his abbey. He was cured, and John, the abbot's canon, brought Hugh's offering of thanks, a candle made from that measuring, to

[24] #14; Halliwell, 71.
[25] #80; Halliwell, 83.
[26] I.e., the date in the prologue, #4, #23, #33, and #80. #27 simply refers to the first year after the war. See Table 3.1.
[27] The exceptions are #130 and #144. On numbers in the *Liber miraculorum*, see the section immediately following.

Evesham at an unspecified date later in "*anno gratiae M. cc. sexagesimo xx*."[28] In another example, Robert the Deacon is said to have insulted Simon at a feast, despite his host's warnings, "in the second year after the battle of Evesham."[29] This manner of representing the date avoids spelling out the year in Roman numerals, which may have been the source of confusion in some of the dates.

Table 3.1: Dates in the *Liber miraculorum*

Paragraph	Date	quote
introduction	After November 16, 1274	*et hoc anno revoluto, in Edwardi secundo anno*
#4	June 15 or July 18,[30] 1259	*Nocte sanctae Eadburgae Virginis … Annogratiae M cc lix ;*
#23	September 21, 1258	*in vigilia sancti Mathaei, anno gratiae M cc lviij*
#27	August 4, 1265 – August 4, 1266	*primo anno belli*
#33	September 19 - 20, 1259	*a die Veneris sancti Mathaei Apostoli, usque ad diem sequentis … M cc lix*
#80	ca. August 15, 1208	*anno gratiae M cc viij circa assumptionem*

[28] "*In signum sanitatis, dictus abbas misit candelam suam apud Evesham per Johannem canonicum. suum de Babapekewelle, anno grative M. cc. sexagesimo xx*." #106; Halliwell, 88.

[29] I.e., some time during the year beginning August 4, 1266. #113; Halliwell, 89.

[30] St. Edburga's day was observed on July 18 in Winchester and on June 15 in Thanet. The year, 1259, is an obvious error.

		beatae Virginis
#106	Apr. 28, 1280?	*Die Saboti post festum sancti Marci Evengelistae … M cc sexagesimo xx*
#113	August 4, 1266 – August 4, 1267	*Secundo anno post bellum Evesham*
#120	August 26 1266	*die Mercurii proximo ante festum Decollationis sancti Johannis Baptistae, anno gratiae Millesimo cc lxvi*
#127	late August, 1265	*Audivit comitem Symonem in bello mortuum*
#130	September 14, 1265	*In vigilia sanctae Crucis, anno gratiae M. cc. lxv.*
#137	After December 25	*die dominica proximo ante nativitatem Domini anni praesentis*
#144	March 19, 1269	*die Martis, in septimana Paschae, anno gratiae M cc lxix*
#173	June 12, 1272	*die sanctae Trinitatis anno gratiae M cc septuagesimo secundo*
#185	May 26, 1273	*die Veneris in festo sancti Dunstani anno gratiae M cc lxx tercio*
#187	May 18, 1273	*die Assencionis Domini, anno gratiae M cc septuagesimo tercio*
#188	June 3, 1274	*festum sanctae Trinitatis … anno Domini*

#192	May 20, 1274	*Millesimo ducentesimo septuagesimo quarto a Pentecosten, anno gratiae M. cc. septuagesimo quarto*
#193	August 1, 1278[31]	*Anno domini M. cc. septuagesimo octavo, die Veneris proxima post festum beati Petri ad Vincula*
#195	September 8, 1277	*die Lunae proximo ante nativitatem beatae Marice, anno Domini M. cc. septuagesimo vij*

By itself, the change from years written exclusively in Roman numerals to years mostly spelled out at least in part in Latin would perhaps not seem significant. This change, however, occurs at the same time in the text that the years cease to be clearly wrong. Beginning with paragraph 113 and continuing until the end, most of the dates are also in order. Reginald Ritgon of Oxford regained sight in his left eye on the Wednesday before the feast of St. John the Baptist's decollation, "*anno gratiae Millesimo cc lxvi*."[32] The next date given is attached to what is clearly a retrospective account of a miracle that happened when word came of Simon de Montfort's death.

[31] The dating for this entry, like so much of the last several paragraphs of the text, is more complicated. The beneficiary was at church in Fleetbridge, London, from August 1 through Christmas 1278, then left for Evesham between May 21 and 27, 1279. She arrived August 1, 1279, and went to Simon's spring the following day and was cured.

[32] #120; Halliwell, 91. August 25, 1266.

The date here is attached to the miracle and does not date the entry.[33] A Franciscan friar's kidney stones fell to the ground when he got up on the morning of "*die Martis, in septimana Paschae, anno gratiae M cc lxix*."[34] On the day of the Holy Trinity, "*M. cc. septuagesimo secundo*," a two year old girl named Eleanor was revived after drowning in a fish pond in Lincolnshire.[35] A woman known to us only as Isabella had lived on London Bridge for half a year, during which time she was unable to move any part of her body. When she did not speak for three days, she was taken for dead. But by the advice of one of her friends, she was measured to the Earl on the Friday in the feast of St. Dunstan, "*M. cc. lxx. tercio*," and was revived "by the grace of God and by the merits of St. Simon."[36] Simon de Pateshull, lord of Bletsoe in Bedfordshire, was feared almost dead of a heart condition on Ascension, "*anno gratiae M. cc. septuagesimo tercio*."[37] We are even told that he was measured to the Earl around noon, after which he was healed. Two of the exceptions to this rule are out of sequence only by a matter of days.[38] Of all the dated miracles between paragraph 106 and the end, only paragraph 127 is clearly out of chronological sequence; the year is also in Roman numerals.

Three different chronologies appear in three different sections of the text. First, the introduction is dated 1274. Second, impossible dates appear shortly after

[33] "*Audivit comitem Symonem in bello mortuum*," #127; Halliwell, 92. The dream in #27 is also clearly in the past, and is used to preface the miracle in #29. See below, Chapter Four, 203 - 5.
[34] #144; Halliwell, 96. March 19, 1269
[35] #173; Halliwell, 101. June 12, 1272; revived by measuring.
[36] #185; Halliwell, 105. May 26, 1273.
[37] #187; Halliwell, 106. May 18, 1273.
[38] #185 and #187, a difference of eight days; #188 and #192, a difference of 14 days; #193, which concerns event stretching over a year and a day, begins before the events of #195.

the introduction, although some of the events can be dated to around the time of the battle of Evesham by the text's content. Finally, the dates settle into a more or less chronological series about halfway through and continue until the end of the text. Six of these latter dates are not in order but are close enough in date for these discrepancies to be symptomatic of the process of reporting, rather than a corruption of the text or the result of collecting separate texts. There is no reason to assume that the miracles' sequence must correspond with the date they occurred. Miracles would have been recorded in the order reported to Evesham, producing only a loose correlation between the sequence of events and the text's chronology. The dates, read closely, are not necessarily problems for the text. In considering the relationship among dates, miracles, and the different dated entries, I am inclined to agree with David Cox, who concluded that the miracles "were evidently written up as they came in."[39] The dates that include years which are obviously impossible are all early in the text and written in Roman numerals. These impossible dates are the almost certainly the result of poor copying or perhaps the poor condition of the text being copied. The fourteenth-century scribe was probably unfamiliar with the history of Simon de Montfort and the battle of Evesham, which would explain why he included a date as early as 1208 without comment or correction. Taken into consideration along with other seemingly problematic features of the text, the variations among the dates are easily accounted for. Finally, it should be noted that the date of the introduction, which I

[39] D. Cox, *The Battle of Evesham*, 39n137. P. –A. Sigal, "Histoire et hagiographie: les miracula aux XIe et XIIe siècles," *Annales de Bretagne et des pays de l'Ouest* 87 (1980): 250 – 3, and "Histoire et hagiographie: les Miracula aux XIe et XIIe siècles," *Annales de Bretagne et des pays de l'Ouest* 87 (1980): 178 – 80.

will argue was written around nine years after the miracles that follow it, is the only date in the text that is given in regnal years: the second year of Edward the king.[40]

Numbers

Since the dates in the *Liber miraculorum* after a point do not exhibit any impossibilities and begin to fall into a semblance of order only after changing style from Roman numerals to Latin words, perhaps our fourteenth-century scribe had more difficulty reading the numerals and introduced the errors himself. Monastic hands changed significantly between 1265 and 1325.[41] In order to explain why the dates have been so poorly presented, I have examined the use of numbers to represent figures other than the year. These numbers, whether numerals or written out as whole words, are most often used in the *Liber miraculorum* to define lengths of illness or infirmity. Days, weeks, months, and years are numbered, sometimes including half-periods. There are also modifiers like "…and more."[42] A scribe emphasizes that a man could not move without the use of *two* crutches, not just one. There were six villagers from that place. There were nine open sores on his leg. The child had reached the age of five.[43] Of the 93 paragraphs containing numbers, only 26 of the figures are represented in Roman numerals. Although the Roman numerals appear throughout the

[40] Halliwell, 68.

[41] See B. Bischoff, *Latin Palaeography: Antiquity and the Middle Ages*, trans. D. Cróinín and D. Ganz (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1991), 129, 135, and plates 14 and 16.

[42] Eg., "*per xij. annos et amplius*," #7; Halliwell, 69. "*per dimidium annum et amplius*," #123; Halliwell, 91.

[43] A representative sample of the various uses of numbers in the *Liber miraculorum*, taken from #43, #45, #46.

text, they are concentrated in the first half. Only eight figures are written entirely in Roman numerals after paragraph 100, which is about the point where Latin dates start, and none appears after paragraph 157. As is the case with the dates, formulae for representing information generally became more reliable, more specific, and less varied after about paragraph 100.

Naming Formulae in the *Liber miraculorum*

The scribes of the *Liber miraculorum* use different formulae to refer to Simon de Montfort in different parts of the text.[44] Of the 195 paragraphs in the *Liber miraculorum*, only ten contain no reference to Simon.[45] The rest refer to him in a total of twenty different ways, using combinations of seven basic terms: *Comes, Simon, martyr, sanctus, de Montfort, beatus*, and finally Simon's *merita* in the abstract.[46] Simon is frequently named more than once in a single entry, the scribe usually (but not always) uses a different form each time. Therefore, Simon appears as either "the Earl," or "Simon," or some combination of the two, 284 times in 195 paragraphs. "Earl" is the most common word in the *Liber miraculorum* used to refer to Simon, appearing 180 times either by itself or in one of six different set phrases.[47] Simon is called "Earl Simon" 89 different times. He is called simply "the Earl" 78 times. He is also called

[44] David Cox uses variations in the ways Simon de Montfort's name appears in two manuscripts describing the battle of Evesham in order to distinguish between original and interpolated content, D. Cox, "Evesham Chronicle," 338 – 9.

[45] These occur throughout the text, from #8 to #192.

[46] For "earl," "Simon," "martyr," "saint," "de Montfort," and "blessed." "Merits" appears, for example, as "*per merita Sancti*," #9; Halliwell, 70.

[47] "*Comes*" appears in various forms 180 times.

by his full name, "Earl Simon de Montfort," twice and "the holy Earl" once.[48] The "merits of the Earl" appears seven times, the "merits of Simon the Earl" occurs twice, and the "merits of the martyr, Simon the Earl" appears once.[49] "Simon" is the next most common way of referring to the saint, appearing 102 times, either by itself or in one of eight different phrases. In addition to those forms cited above, these forms include "*Sancti Simonis*," and "*beato Simoni*," each of which appears three times,[50] and "Simon de Montfort," which appears in four different entries.[51] The "merits of St. Simon" appears once.[52] "Merits" appears with reference to Simon in six different phrases, though never by itself. One entry claims a miracle has occurred through "the merits of the saint."[53] One late paragraph includes the unique phrase, "by the merits of St. Simon," mentioned above. In total, the *Liber miraculorum* credits Simon's "merits" in one form or another some twelve times.

The most common way to refer to Simon, other than by his Christian name or earthly title, is to refer to his status as a *martyr*. Five different phrases designate Simon as a martyr, appearing in eight different places in the text. One person is measured simply "to the martyr."[54] Simon's spring is called "the martyr's" spring in

[48] "*Comitem Simonem de Monteforti*," #7, and #69; "*Sanctus Comes*," #91.

[49] "*merita Comitis*," from #36 through #158; "*merita comitis Simonis*" appears twice in #161; "*meritis martiris Symonis comitis*," #144.

[50] "*Sancti Simonis*," #11, #116, #191; "*beato Simoni*," #32, #189, #193. Note that the hierarchy of sanctus, beatus, and venerabilis developed only after this period. *Sanctus* and *beatus* were still interchangeable. Vauchez, 85, 87, 95 - 6.

[51] "*Symon de Montforti*," #50, #84, twice in #184.

[52] "*merita sancti Symonis*," #185; Halliwell, 105.

[53] #9; Halliwell, 70.

[54] "*mensuratus ad martirem*," #10; Halliwell, 70.

two separate paragraphs.[55] Simon is "our martyr" on three occasions.[56] The remaining two forms involving the term martyr have been mentioned above. Simon is also referred to as "*sanctus*" in one phrase or another on six occasions.[57] The word appears in four different phrases, already mentioned, and never by itself. Notably, Simon's surname "de Montfort" appears only six times in the text in any form, exactly one seventeenth the frequency of the appearance of "Simon."[58]

Not all of the ways in which Simon de Montfort is named constitute formulae. Eight of the 20 different phrases used to refer to him are unique to a single paragraph. Of the twelve remaining combinations that appear at least twice, one of these, "*merita comitis Simonis*," repeats only within the space of a single entry.[59] This leaves eleven different phrases that constitute what I will call "naming formulae." The most common naming formulae are those that also appear earliest in the *Liber miraculorum*. "Earl Simon" appears 89 different times in the text, including in the first and the last paragraphs. The second most common form, "the Earl" appears 79 times between the second paragraph and the second-to-last paragraph. These two formulae each appear in the text at least ten times more frequently than any other formula. On only seven occasions is a miracle is attributed to "the merits of the Earl." He is "St. Simon," "our martyr," and "the blessed Simon" in three different paragraphs each, distributed with almost perfect evenness across the text.

[55] #12 and #84.
[56] "*martirem nostrum*," #29, #133, #177.
[57] #9, #11, #91, #116, #185, #191.
[58] #7, #50, #69, #84, twice in #184.
[59] #62; Halliwell, 78.

The remaining naming formulae, however, are distributed in the text in distinct patterns. Formulae for naming Simon are more varied in the first half of the document than in the second half. In the first 100 of 195 paragraphs, there are 18 different ways to refer to Simon. The second half of the text uses only eight different forms. Of the seventeen forms that repeat four or fewer times in the text, eleven do not appear after paragraph 97. There are only two unique forms in the second half of the document: "*meritis martiris Symonis comitis*" at paragraph 144 and "*merita sancti Symonis*" in paragraph 185. Just as the construction of entries for miracle stories is more standardized after paragraph 97, references to Simon are also more specific: in the first half of the text, the saint is most often simply "the Earl," whereas in the second "Earl Simon" is the most common form.

Witness Formulae

Formulae governing the representation of witnesses also vary in form and distribution in the *Liber miraculorum*. Of the text's 195 paragraphs, 38 contain no reference to a witness.[60] These are scattered over the whole of the document, from the fifth to the last entry. But unlike the naming formulae considered above, miracles without witnesses often appear in groups. Two thirds of the entries between paragraphs 17 and 25, for instance, are unattributed. Ten of the entries in a particularly confused stretch

[60] The most important post mortem miracle in Matthew Paris' vita of St. Edmund is also unattested. Lawrence, *St. Edmund*, 278 – 9. The miracles of St. Odulph and St. Wistan, incorporated into the Chronicle of Evesham, also have no attestations and instead end with prayers: "*per Eum Qui vivit et regnat percuncta saeculorum saucula: Amen*." *Chronicle of Evesham*, 320. "*Qui cum Patre et Spiritu Santo vivit et regnat Deus peromnia saecula saeculorum; Amen*." Ibid., 324.

of text, between paragraphs 41 and 66, contain no witnesses. None of the last seven paragraphs refer to witnesses at all.

Among the remaining 157 entries that do identify their sources, there are seventeen different formulae. Ten of these are unique to the paragraph in which they appear. Of the remaining seven witnesses formulae, none appears fewer than four times. Four paragraphs contain two witnessing formulae each, so there are 161 instances of witnesses being named among the 195 paragraphs. The concept of testimony appears variously in four formulae as either a noun or a verb: witnesses "maintain testimony,"[61] or they "testify,"[62] that something happened, or they simply "are witnesses."[63] These are also the most common combinations, accounting for 133 appearances of witnesses, or almost 85% of all attributed entries. The most common form uses some combination of "of this," referring to the incident, and the verb *perhibere*, referring to their testimony.[64] This simple combination appears 92 times in the text, between paragraphs 7 and 186. Forms using "testify" as a verb or "witness" as a noun are the next most common, occurring 42 times between paragraphs 1 and 187.[65] Among the less common forms, a paragraph may also refer to the witnesses of a previous entry. A witness can also be said simply to have told a story.

[61] "*perhibet testimonium*," #9; Halliwell, 70.
[62] "*Unde hoc testatur*," #2; Halliwell, 68.
[63] "*testes sunt*," #1; Halliwell, 68.
[64] Combinations of "*de hoc*," or "*unde*," with come combination of the verb "*perhibere*,"
[65] "*Hujus rei testes sunt*" or "*Unde hoc testatur*" or "*De hoc testificatus est*" See notes 39 and 40, above.

Tokens, usually candles, are said to have been sent "as a sign" of the cure having happened.[66]

The witnessing formulae are distributed in the text in distinct patterns, including patches of distinct regularity and irregularity. Although the witness formulae of the two halves of the *Liber miraculorum*, divided roughly at paragraph 100, contain their own internal variations, the characteristics distinguishing the formulae of each half of the text from each other constitute significantly greater differences. Thirteen of the seventeen different witness formulae appear within the first 100 paragraphs; thus, meaning that in the last 95 paragraphs there are only four new forms. Formulae involving the phrase *de hoc* disappear after paragraph 49. Ten of the total formulae disappear after paragraph 127. From this point to the end, there are only three repeating forms and three unique ones. The verb *perhibere*, while common in the first half of the text, appears in the second half almost to the exclusion of every other form.[67] Finally, candle bearers do not appear clearly as witnesses until paragraph 106, and the formula governing the appearance of tokens also does not appear until this point in the text. The section between paragraphs 41 and 66, mentioned above, is especially irregular, containing more than half of all the unique forms of witness attribution in the *Liber miraculorum* in the space of only 25 entries.

The change in the Latin and the formulae of the scribe in this section is unmistakable. The formulaic, almost monotonous listing gives way in this portion of the

[66] "*in signum*," between #106 and #188.

[67] I.e., forms of the Latin verb "*perhibeo*," which appear in a third of the first 100 paragraphs, but in well over half of the latter 95 entries.

text to more detailed but also more confused entries. The appearance of witnesses at this point becomes erratic. Two witnesses appear in the middle of their accounts,[68] and another prefaces its account.[69] Two paragraphs are clearly linked, being "from the same place," but no witnesses are given at all.[70] Richard the carpenter from Hereford witnesses his own miraculous recovery from an injury he sustained working on a mill, and also reports a story of Simon's assistance at a difficult childbirth, though where Richard heard this story is unclear.[71] William, rector of Warrington, brought a "measuring candle"[72] from his sister Alicia, along with the story of her cure. He also told the scribe the story of an unnamed man who knew from a dream that William had earth from the spot where Simon had died that would cure the man's illness.[73] In the absence of formulae, this uneven segment of the text may more clearly represent interactions between scribe and pilgrims. Furthermore, these accounts are substantially longer and more detailed, and the text includes direct speech for the first time since the story of the spring, part of an overall effusiveness that often strains the scribe's Latin.[74] This portion of the text also includes the first instance of the formula *statim convaluit*, or "he/she recovered immediately," so common to the rest of the text.[75]

[68] #59; Halliwell, 78 and #67; Halliwell, 78 - 80.
[69] #63; Halliwell, 79.
[70] #55 and #56. "*de eodem loco*," #56.
[71] #67; Halliwell, 79 - 80.
[72] "*Willelmus, qui candelam mensuratam apud Evesham detulit,*" #70; Halliwell, 80 – 1. .
[73] #70 and #71; Halliwell, 80 - 1.
[74] Halliwell notes several grammatical errors in this portion of his edition, 77 – 82.
[75] #55; Halliwell, 77. See below, on formulae for healing language.

The most significant change in the appearance of witnesses in the *Liber miraculorum*, however, is the increasing distinction between those persons appearing under the formulae for witnesses, on one hand, and the person or persons mentioned as actually delivering the story to the scribe, on the other. The way in which witnesses appear in the rest of the text, after paragraph 66, begins to include more explicit attributions for stories that are separate from the witnesses listed according to the text's formulae. Scribes move references to the pilgrims out of the witness section of their entries, which are almost always the end of their paragraph, and place them at the opening of the account. In each case, the first named person is telling the story of his own miracle and then goes on to tell about other miracles from his area, his own, his family's, or other's cures and miracles. For example, the cures of David and his brother William, of dropsy and deafness respectively, appear in adjacent paragraphs.[76] David, however, appears at the beginning of the first and larger of the two paragraphs and is identified by his place of origin. William is identified only in the second and shorter of the two paragraphs as David's brother. A witness citation appears in David's paragraph, not his brother's, as "the whole village of Cordebregge."[77] Also, the prior of Holy Cross in Waltham said that at first he had been hesitant to call on the Earl to help with a deadly but unspecified illness. But the prior then had a dream in which a crowd of the poor rushed up to Simon, embracing him. This vision seems to have been sufficient proof of Simon's sanctity for the prior, who

[76] #78 and #79; Halliwell, 83.
[77] "*De hoc perhibet tstimonium tota villata de Cordebregge*." #78; Halliwell, 83.

then woke up, vomited, and was cured. He told this story to the scribe's own prior,[78] presumably that of Evesham, along with other stories from his abbey: the miraculous cures of a lay brother suffering from a stroke and an insane cook.[79]

This new relationship between the source of the story and the person physically recording that story also appears in the stories of Gregory of Grandon, rector of the church of Sapcote, Leicestershire. The cure of his inflammation of the face and neck by measuring precedes three of his other stories, each prefaced by linking language. "The same man recounted" how he had also been cured of gout by sitting in Simon's chair at Kennelworth castle and thinking about the earl.[80] "The same man also told us about his cow," the next entry continues, that had not eaten for fifteen days. After Gregory had bent a penny to Simon, the cow "immediately ate greedily and was cured."[81] "The same man" told the scribes about the lady of Grandon's bird. Although dead, lacerated, and half-eaten, it recovered without any apparent mark after being measured to the Earl.[82] The cure of Matilda of Bradwell's fever, by being measuring "to the Earl," appears without pilgrim or witness.[83] However, the next entry begins with "Also, a certain person told us about his son," who was also cured of a fever and "by the same means."[84] The witnesses then appear under the formula of

[78] "*sicut ipse narravit priori nostro*," #82; Halliwell, 83 - 4.
[79] #82 and #83; Halliwell, 83 - 4.
[80] "*Idem narravit*," #101; Halliwell, 87.
[81] "*Item idem de bove suo dixit*," "*statim avide comedit, et convaluit*." #102; Halliwell, 88. Like measuring, penny-bending was performed over or near the afflicted person or area of the body and was then sent to the saint's shrine as part of an offering. Special coin-like disks might also be used. See Finucane, *Miracles and Pilgrims*, 94-5.
[82] "*mortua, dilacerate, et medietate comesta*," presumably by another animal, #103; Halliwell, 88.
[83] #107; Halliwell, 88.
[84] "*Item, quidam narravit de filio suo*," "*simili modo*," #108; Halliwell, 88.

"*de hoc perhibet*" as the "whole village of Bradwell." Although there is no identifiable pilgrim who has supplied the story, the scribe has told us that he at least had a source. The "certain person," however, contrasts with "the whole village"; the account contradicts itself about it sources.

Some sources are made more explicit. William de la Horste is named at the beginning of his account of Robert the deacon, who was suddenly paralyzed at a party after accusing the Earl of every crime imaginable.[85] Only after Robert had promised William that he would never say anything against the Earl again was he finally released from his paralysis. Since Robert is also said to have lost the powers of speech and movement during his immobilization, it is not clear how he is supposed to have made this promise. In the following paragraph, William goes on to tell a more mundane miracle story, relating how a cleric also named William had been cured of a "complaint of the blood" by both measuring and by bending a penny.[86] At the end of William's two stories he also appears in the formal list of witness, which has again grown to include the vague but ubiquitous "many others." Unlike the earlier portion of the text, the reader no longer has to infer in each instance the identity of the actual source of the story. The witnesses in paragraph 138 appear at the end of their account and are listed in the same manner as witnesses to a deed.[87] Although some pilgrims are folded into larger groups of formally listed witnesses, this scribe often tells us

[85] #113; Halliwell, 89.
[86] "*sanguinis passionem*," #114; Halliwell, 89 - 90.
[87] "*hiis praesentibus*" Halliwell, 94 – 5. Eg. PRO E 40/2418.

clearly who his actual sources are. The significance of this distinction between witnesses and the actual teller of the story is the subject of the following chapter.

Healing Language Formulae

The words used to describe how a person had been healed or to announce that healing had occurred show the greatest variety and least consistency among the formulae of the *Liber miraculorum*. This greater variety is likely due to the often unavoidable relationship between the words, especially verbs, used to describe the healing and the condition being cured. Someone can be said to "receive" their eyesight back because that is what they have lost.[88] Someone "is able" to do something again, in the sense that for a time they could not.[89] A child is "revived" from the dead or is "resuscitated" because they were in fact thought to be dead for a time.[90] Someone "rises" because they were infirm.[91] None of these phrases would apply, for instance, to a fever. Verbs describing childbirth do not apply to other kinds of conditions. Although each of these examples appears at least twice, the language could not have been used to describe other circumstances. Therefore, we cannot use the appearance of this language as an example of scribal choice or difference. Instead, these phrases are instances of the scribe's applying language appropriate to the miracle. There are 29 instances of these phrases or even more specific language being used to describe how

[88] "*Recepit*" appears four times between #7 and #193.
[89] Variations on "*potuit*" appear in #8 and #193.
[90] "*Revixit*" appears four times between #29 and #195. "*Resuscitata*" appears three times between #85 and #160.
[91] "*Surrexit*" appears in ten paragraphs between #32 and #140.

a person was healed that are unique to that instance or unique or to a particular condition. None of the repeating ones are peculiar to or concentrated in any portion of the text. Ten of the last 22 miracles, however, are described in language unique to the individual paragraphs, which is consistent with the broader vocabulary demonstrated by that scribe. Miracles are described with words appropriate to their operation rather than a set form. Also, of the seven instances where miracles do not involve healing, none occurs after paragraph 115.

There are 157 other instances where the language used to describe the cure is generic, using one of seven words or phrases: 92 subjects "got better," while nine "recovered," two could now perform a function "at will," fourteen regained their "health" in some way, while for four subjects their symptoms "disappeared," and 21 people "got better immediately."[92] The first and last very similar forms are the most common and are very similar. Together, they account for 113 different instances of healing, almost 72% of instances of generic healing language, and appear between the first paragraph and paragraph 189. The difference between the two related formulae is the adverb "immediately," in this case *statim*, which first appears at paragraph 55.[93] This is the most common phrase used to emphasize the immediacy of a cure. By itself, *statim* is still the most common adverb used for this purpose. A differently phrased emphasis on the immediacy of the cure first appears at paragraph 21, where a

[92] "*Convaluit*," "*recuperavit*," "*ad libitum suum*," "*curatus*," "*sanatus factus est*," "*evanuit*," and "*statim convaluit*," respectively.

[93] "*Statim*," which appears for the first time in any context at # 33; Halliwell, 74, modifying "*apparuit*" and "*respiravit*," in the case of a person regaining consciousness.

person is said to have recovered "without delay."[94] This second phrase appears five times between paragraphs 32 and 105. *Continuo*, "immediately," appears only twice, and the adverb *cito*, or "quickly," is used awkwardly once.[95] Once the immediacy of the miracle appears as a point of emphasis for the first time in paragraph 21, it seems to become more important, appearing in over half the miracles between paragraphs 123 and 143 before declining again in frequency, although one cure is said to have taken place "after a short while."[96]

Most of the formulae for healing language do not appear in any pattern or concentration in the text. That something could now be done "at will," however, appears only twice and close to the beginning, at paragraphs 9 and 15. Simple phrases using the word *sanitas*, or "health," cluster thickly at the end; half of its appearances are in the last seventeen paragraphs. Once again, the first half of the document exhibits a greater variety of formulae, in this case three times as many: twelve in the first half compared with four in the second. For once, however, the second half of the document uses a greater variety of total terms outside formulae. Nine of the twelve unique forms occur after paragraph 100. Progressively, the language becomes tailored to the individual story as the stories themselves become longer and more detailed.

[94] "*sine mora*," #21; Halliwell, 72.
[95] #50; Halliwell, 76.
[96] "*mox*," #110; Halliwell, 89.

Location

The *Liber miraculorum*'s scribes occasionally refer to the place where an encounter between a pilgrim and a scribe was taking place. Other entries refer to where the miracle took place or seemed to take place, as was the case with the cryptic reference to "the place where the Earl was," above. In the process of naming witnesses, the scribe recording the miracles in paragraphs 130 through 133 reveals the scribes' location. Even though he explicitly links these four miracles at one point, the result is a confusing knot of entries whose details do not correlate well.[97] First, we are told that measuring failed to cure Richard, son of John and Alice, who had been unable to walk since birth. Undeterred, his mother followed a person, whose name we are not given, to Evesham. There, keeping vigil at Simon's tomb until the middle of the night, Richard was cured. Alice, Nicholas Grate, his wife Sara, John Herteber, and the entire village of Inteberg appear as witnesses to the cure.[98] The next entry describes the apparently unrelated cure of Rosa Tholus, who realized the cause of her headaches after tumors appeared near her eyes and grew to the size of eggs. This entry lacks any attribution; we are only told that she was measured to the Earl and cured.[99] However, the next entry tells the story of Nicholas Grate's wife, whose paralysis was not completely cured by measuring. She went to Simon's tomb on crutches and spent the night, a story very similar to the one her husband witnessed. This entry's attestation is unique in the *Liber miraculorum*: the witnesses will be

[97] #130 – #133; Halliwell, 93 - 4.
[98] #130; Halliwell, 93.
[99] #131; Halliwell, 93.

given in the next story, the miracle experienced by John,[100] another pilgrim arriving on crutches. John does indeed witness the next miracle, his own, along with an un-named woman from his village, "and especially these:" Richard and Hugh Hunt, Richard and Adam the cleric from Odebury, and Richard Childson. This attestation is a new manner of introducing witnesses in the *Liber miraculorum*, in addition the scribe continues, "Moreover we saw the above four miracles and the relevant people one by one."[101] For the first time in 118 entries, miracles have clearly happened at the place where the scribe was writing. We know this because the scribe is telling us that he is also a witness. Furthermore, Simon's tomb has reappeared as a location for the first time since the story of the paralyzed man who *dreamed* that he was keeping vigil at Simon's tomb.[102]

Shortly after this example there is another group of entries witnessed by members of the monastery of Evesham and listed in this same style, combining a consistent witnessing formula with indications that the scribe was writing at Evesham. Robert, the chaplain and vicar of Evesham, had suffered from spasms in both his legs for some time. Measured to the Earl, he recovered, according to the lord abbot of Evesham himself, brother William of Hekelinges, the monastery's librarian and also at that time Robert's confessor, and "the entire convent." These witnesses appear in a

[100] "*Testes hujus rei sunt qui scribuntur in curatione Johannis consequente*." #132; Halliwell, 93.

[101] "*Praescripta autem quatuor miracula vidimus et personas singulorum*." #133; Halliwell, 93 - 4.

[102] #50. The closest any miracle had been since then was in the town of Evesham itself, since the story was brought by someone representing "the whole village of Evesham," and not by a member of the religious community there. #104; Halliwell, 88.

format reminiscent of a title or deed,[103] very similar to the language in John of Fekham's cure. The witnesses are also clearly not the only source for the story. The next entry begins, "The same Robert also tells us…," and contains the story of a paralyzed monk from another monastery, who was cured after his deceased abbot and an unnamed knight appeared to him in a dream and told him to get back to work. The witnesses that appear at the end are "the entire convent of Bruer along with the abbot."[104] However, in both cases, the scribe has mentioned that his actual source was Robert, who received the first miracle. These the last miracles to occur unequivocally at Evesham until the end of the document and there are also far fewer named witnesses after this point. Between the above story of the Evesham chaplain's miracle and Evesham's next appearance there is a stretch of twelve paragraphs with no reference to Evesham at all.[105] This gap occurs within a large segment of 32 miracles with the kind of vague "here with us" references seen earlier in the *Liber miraculorum*.

References to where miracles occurred and where they were recorded vary throughout the text. If the miracles were recorded in chronological order we would expect that they would reflect first local and then broader events as word spread, but this is not what we find. The apparent location of the scribe oscillates between Evesham and a vague elsewhere or elsewheres, between clearly defined locations and unclear ones. The first six miracles all concern Simon's spring. The last of this group, in which the water from Simon's spring miraculously changes into beer to hide from

[103] "*Hiis praesentibus*, " #138; Halliwell, 94 - 5.
[104] #139; Halliwell, 95.
[105] #138 – #170; Halliwell, 94 - 100.

royalists guarding the road to Evesham, is an indicator of how suppression of the cult made pilgrimages dangerous.[106] The next nine miracles all either occur or are recorded in Evesham, including several at Simon's tomb. Subsequently, there is a stretch of 89 miracles, from paragraphs 16 to 105, in which there is only one specific reference to Evesham among cryptic references to "where the Earl was buried," and no references to his spring until even later.[107] When Evesham does appear, it is as a destination for a pilgrim who received a cure on the way. Whether he ever reached his destination is unclear, so this cannot be counted as an event taking place or being recorded in Evesham.[108] All other references to places in the *Liber miraculorum* are places where a miracle has occurred before being reported to the scribes, wherever they were.

[106] #6; Halliwell, 69.

[107] The one exception being a madman chained up in the choir, #36. Cryptic references, #41, #68. Spring reappears, #179; Halliwell, 102 - 3.

[108] #22; Halliwell, 72.

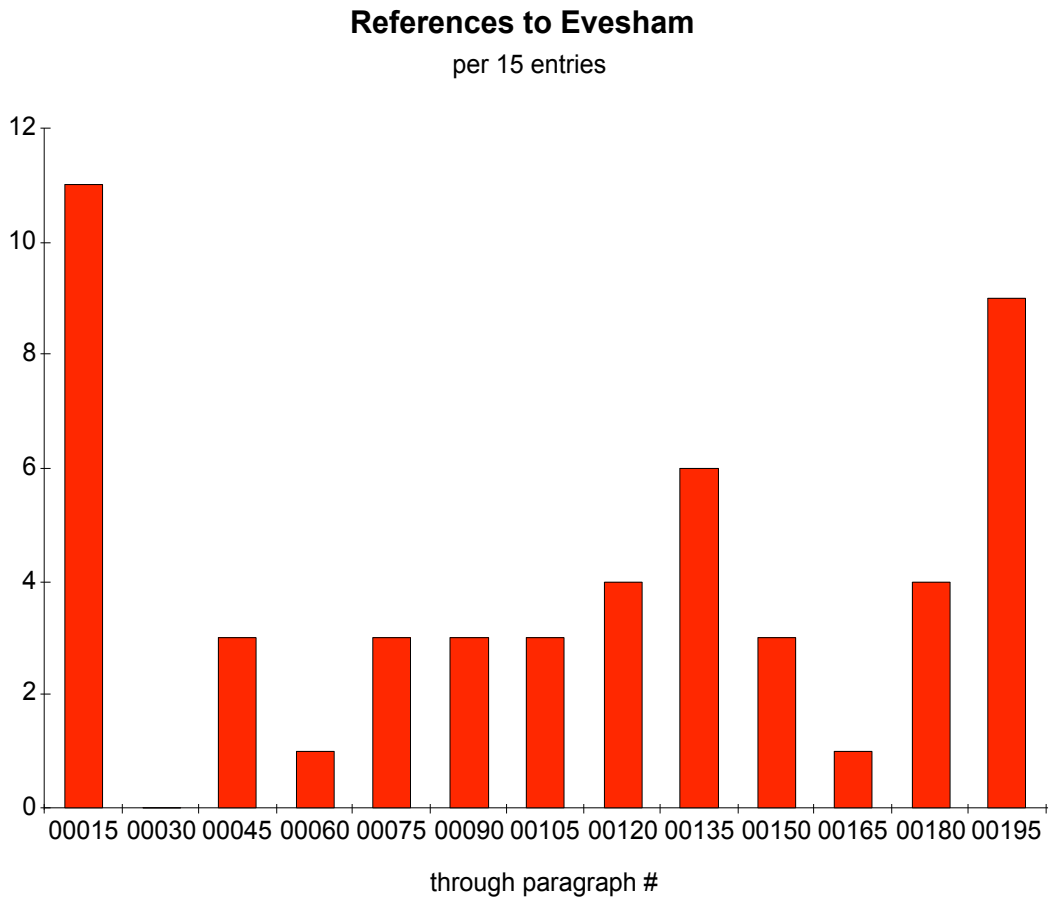

Table 3.2: References indicating occurrences at Evesham, per 15 entries

Over the course of the text, the sense of location continues to change. Instead of going to Simon's spring for a cure, beneficiaries are said to have come to the scribe of the text in order to report and give thanks for a miracle that has already occurred elsewhere. Instead of keeping vigil at Simon's tomb, the pilgrim is said to have gone

to the place where the Earl died.[109] Paragraph 47 contains the first reference to an offering candle, meaning that the miracle occurred elsewhere after a measuring of the afflicted person or limb or animal. Often the candle bearers are third parties, sent by the miracle's recipient. The beneficiary, pilgrim, or candle bearer has come "to us," not "to Evesham," to tell the story and has then gone on to make a pilgrimage to an Evesham.[110]

If the scribes had to record these stories some place other than Evesham this would correspond well with the known events following Simon's death: the suppression of the cult, the provision of guards near Evesham, and the removal of Simon's remains from the choir at Evesham. When Evesham begins to appear more frequently in the text, after about paragraph 170, members of the abbey of Evesham also appear along with a continuous stream of offering candles. A beneficiary is measured in Evesham. The abbot of Evesham appears as a witness and the prior relates a story he heard elsewhere. Vigils are once again held at a sepulcher. A pilgrim wanders between the churches of St. Mary and St. Egwin until he receives a cure.[111] Can we then assume that after a time, miracles returned to Evesham? Repression of the cult either failed, was not maintained, or the cult adapted to the means of repression. Clearly, however, after a space in which the cult's difficulties are registered in the text both implicitly and explicitly, the cult was able to function. Although we must

[109] "*locum in quo dictus Comes vivus fuit et mortuus humiliter requisivit et visitavit*," #68; Halliwell, 80.

[110] E.g., #20; Halliwell, 70.

[111] Measuring at Evesham #104, abbot of Evesham #129, new references to a tomb #130, St. Mary's and St. Egwin's #170.

be cautious about using the miracles as a diary of the cult, since entries are only loosely chronological, their contents match what we know about the events of the time. The focus of actual military resistance had moved away from Evesham and Kenilworth by the end of 1266 and was then situated in London briefly and then at the Isle of Ely. Simon's cult was apparently freer to operate at Evesham, after an intermediate period of pointed suppression, between the fall of 1266 and late winter 1269, and again between the summer of 1272 and the fall of 1278.[112] There are other possible periods of disruption; for instance another gap of twelve entries without reference to Evesham that also exhibits very poor composition and organization.[113] There are no further explicit references to the cult's suppression, however. In the following chapter, I will consider the *Liber miraculorum*'s changing relationships with and representations of the pilgrims who came to Evesham. Laid alongside the inconsistencies examined here, the text's eccentricities provide a clearer picture of its production.

The scribe's or scribes' apparent return to functioning openly at Evesham, beginning at paragraph 129, and the subsequent stabilization of their text's formulae might reflect the cult's improving condition during a period in which the keeping of St. Simon's *Liber miraculorum* has passed to more literate or at least less distracted hands. Unfortunately, this portion of the text is not reliably dateable so we cannot match the apparent conditions of the cult to the events of the time. Accounting for

[112] I.e., between #120 and #144, and between #173 and #195. See Table 3.1, above. The number of miracles per year was substantially lower in the latter period.

[113] #53 - #65; Halliwell, 77 – 79.

the unevenness in the text this way is, I think, too simplistic. Though a clandestine group of monks at Evesham working furtively would have had little opportunity to settle on procedures and standards, "inconsistencies" is too simple an explanation. As a large section of the text in fact shows, our scribes did not establish or maintain standards on any large scale. Maintaining the record of St. Simon's miracles might have been hazardous and inconvenient, but it clearly was not impossible. Considering that the distance between the town and the battlefield was about one mile and that the spot where Simon de Montfort was killed was supposed to be the location of his spring, participants in Simon's cult could have made a virtue of necessity, visiting a spot outside Evesham. Also once the saint's body had been taken out of the choir of the abbey church and buried elsewhere, this location, too, could have become another location of opportunity, close enough to Evesham for pilgrims to find it, but far enough from unsympathetic local eyes.[114] Once royal and papal attentions were focused elsewhere, Evesham's remote location would become an advantage, and the new abbot, appointed by the papal legate Ottobono, would find himself without outside support.

Details of the cult's repression are explicit in the text. The quality of the composition varies enormously.[115] Dates are also written down in a variety of different ways that

[114] #41 and #68.

[115] One of the worst examples is #33; Halliwell, 74, which also contains the impossible date, 1259. The scribe seems to bungle a particularly dramatic moment, when an armed knight appears in a dream, and commands one of de Montfort's detractors, "*Comede: aut gustabis aut interibis; melius est co-*

confused the fourteenth-century copyist, who does not seem to have known anything about the period and events in the text. After the first fifty and certainly after the first 100 paragraphs, some earlier formulae have disappeared in favor of a shorter list of new formulae, more systematically applied. From paragraph 106 to the end, the manner of presenting dates has stabilized, or at least presents no further problem to the later copyist. Measuring may have implied candles, and candles may have implied candle bearers, but now candle bearers are also bringing stories of St. Simon's miracles that took place elsewhere. Moreover, these sources are cited more specifically, separate from the greater masses of people who never came to Evesham to say what they saw. This pattern appears in the beginning of the cult's second year, since a story appears that is told (after the fact) as having occurred in the second year after the battle of Evesham.[116]

The change in references to place, especially to Evesham, is consistent with other changes in the text. Measuring candles do not appear until after Evesham disappears from the text for some time.[117] Haphazard relations with actual pilgrims leave the scribe unclear as to how to represent his sources, and he improvises a series of representations that do not appear elsewhere in the text.[118] Many witnesses are not mentioned at all and others are anonymous, perhaps by choice. Scribes seem increasingly intent on emphasizing the speed with which St. Simon can perform miracles.

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medere carnes crudas quas [*sic*] *vivas*," which is difficult to explain unless we alter the ultimatum. # 72; Halliwell, 81. See below, Chapter Six, 300.

[116] #113; Halliwell, 89.

[117] The first candle appears in #47; Halliwell, 75 – 6.

[118] Above, 160 - 2. More than half of the unique references to witnesses occur between #41 and #66; Halliwell, 75 - 79.

Other types of miracles, not involving healing, disappear from the text. Eventually, after a space of 68 paragraphs, St. Simon's tomb and his spring reappear briefly, and miracles are witnessed by the cult's scribes themselves.[119] At this point, the cult is operating more or less openly at Evesham.

Toward the end of the text, during a stretch covering several years, virtually every recipient of St. Simon's miracles is named, but witnesses start to disappear. We may assume that people are witnessing their own miracles, but we cannot be sure. The stories are progressively more detailed as they become more rare. More time passes between stories. Stories are coming from far away rather than nearby, and many are finally coming from London. In the following chapter, I will show how the appearance of other features and characteristics link otherwise separate entries in the *Liber miraculorum*, allowing me to reconstruct the interaction between the pilgrims who were the sources of most of the stories and the scribes who recorded them in the text. These changing relationships help us further reconstruct the chronology of St. Simon's cult and the production of the text.

[119] Evesham last appears clearly at #36, Halliwell, 74, and does not reappear clearly in the text until #104, Halliwell, 88.

Chapter Four

Making a "Whole Village" out of a Pilgrim:

Scribes and pilgrims in the *Liber miraculorum*

While my research begins with the stories in the surviving Latin text of Simon de Montfort's *Liber miraculorum*, those stories began in the oral versions of pilgrims who visited the text's scribes in the late thirteenth century.[1] The text's scribes were involved in a joint venture with pilgrims of all types who were the sources for accounts of the miracles attributed to the Earl after his death.[2] The text of the *Liber miraculorum* and the oral sources of its stories lie on opposite sides of the process of the making of that text. The nature of that process is not always clear, but changes over the course of the text show that the process itself changed over time. The circumstances surrounding pilgrimages to Evesham also appear to have changed over

[1] "'Out there,' … was precisely what most miracles were about – the domain of outsiders who either brought the news of a miraculous event to a shrine or experience a miracle in the sight and hearing of those who recorded it, before (usually) disappearing back into the world." M. Bull, "Views of Muslims and of Jerusalem in miracle stories, c. 1000 – c. 1200: Reflections on the study of first crusaders' motivations," in *The Experience of Crusading,* vol. 1, *Western Approaches*, ed. M. Bull and N. Housley (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003), 29 - 31. The text's scribes were almost certainly members of the abbey of Evesham (eg. "*priori nostro*," #82; Halliwell, 83 – 4) but little can be gleaned from the text about their particular identities. See below, Chapter Six, 324 – 27.

[2] In this way, pilgrims to Evesham who brought stories of Simon de Montfort's miracles and the scribes who recorded them functioned in a way analogous to medieval brokers and notaries. See L. Nussdorfer, "Writing and the Power of Speech: Notaries and artisans in baroque Rome," in *Culture and Identity in Early Modern Europe (1500 – 1800)*, ed. B. Diefendorf and C. Hesse (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1993), 103 – 18. Kathryn Reyerson uses notarial records to uncover "the networks of contancts, subordinate personnel, and support services that facilitated the making of a business deal." See K. Reyerson, "Reflections on the Infrastructure of Medieval Trade," in *Trading Cultures: The worlds of western merchants, essays on authority, objectivity, and evidence*, ed. J. Adelman and S. Aron (Turnhout: Brepolis, 2001), 7 – 34, and "Rituals in Medieval Business," in *Medieval and Early Mondern Ritual: Formalized behavior in Europe, China and Japan*, ed. J. Rollo-Koster (Leiden: Brill, 2002), 81 – 103.

time. These changes are reflected in the ways pilgrims appear in the text, sometimes linking different parts of the text. Furthermore, this relationship is another characteristic that changes from one place to another in the text. I use this information to reconstruct the shifting relationships between the pilgrims who were the sources for the *Liber miraculorum* and the scribes who recorded it. Plural scribes, working under changing and sometimes difficult circumstances, arrived at different methods at different times to represent the sources of their stories and thus establish an authoritative account. Pilgrims of varying types found different ways to bring the stories of Simon's miracles to the scribes. Although their goals are further removed from the text, since they did not produce it, their motivations may be easier to recover than those of the scribes. The pilgrims' central aim was to give or convey thanks for a miracle already performed. In the course of telling their stories, it is the details of the pilgrims' lives, rather than of the scribes' lives, that found their way into the record. The interaction between these two groups, with their different but related difficulties, and their unequal control over the content of the text as recorded, produced the *Liber miraculorum*.

This chapter is concerned with features of the *Liber miraculorum* that are objective characteristics of the text, but ones that cannot be accounted for without inference and speculative reconstruction of the processes involved in their production. The most important objective characteristic of the text that must be explained is why the individual paragraphs of the *Liber miraculorum* are not discrete narratives. I will show how irregularities in formulae or certain details often reveal connections be-

tween the text's separate accounts. Paragraphs often contain references to locations, witnesses, and other characteristics of other paragraphs' contents, revealing groups of two or more related entries. Stories repeat, pilgrims return to tell more stories, groups of pilgrims arrive en masse and overwhelm the scribes with different stories at the same time, and still other figures brought the scribes the stories of those who, for whatever reason, did not come to Evesham personally. The accounts' connections allow us to borrow detail from one paragraph to explain another, giving us a fuller picture of the text's creation. In this chapter, I have adopted the somewhat artificial approach of considering the repeating stories first and then looking at different kinds of relationships among different stories, even though the issues surrounding these kinds of connections and the examples of these phenomena overlap in the text.

Explaining the relationships between the entries requires reconstructing the activities of the cult's participants. The examples considered in this chapter below were produced by a range of different kinds of encounters. A single pilgrim encountering more than one scribe might produce multiple entries and even multiple versions of the pilgrim's account. The encounter between a scribe and multiple pilgrims sometimes led to a confused written version of their stories. At other times, a pilgrim bringing multiple stories presented the scribe with problems of representation, since the pilgrim usually played different roles in different stories. That is, the pilgrim could be the subject of the miracle, or a witness to the miracle, in addition to being the source of the story. Over time the scribes had to contend with these changing

scenarios, and the methods they adopted are reflected in the text.[3] The scribes' limited control over their own text at times reveals and at times obscures the relationship between the text's sources, the pilgrims, and their accounts. A remarkable encounter between a scribe and a pilgrim source might lead to the inclusion of an unusual remark that reveals that pilgrim's identity, or at least their presence. Alternately, the difficult circumstances of meeting with scribes at all might leave little record of a story's source. These irregularities reflect the circumstances confronted by the extended community that was responsible for propagating the stories.

Furthermore, the text's scribes and their sources had different priorities. Those of the scribes seem to have lain in preserving as many stories, attested to by as many witnesses, as was possible, rather than reconciling the account to produce a seamless, coherent whole.[4] The preservation of rough material means that the text is a record of more than an author's or authors' intent. Although the scribes have clearly selected and represented their material according to their perceptions, the text has not been consistently standardized[5] and preserves evidence of its creation. The historian is still, however, frustrated since we can see the actual source of the infor-

[3] Formulae in notarial records are the product of the transaction being recorded. When the transaction changes, the records change in structure and formulae, Reyerson, "Rituals in Medieval Business," 84.

[4] P. –A. Sigal, "Histoire et hagiographie: les miracula aux XIe et XIIe siècles," *Annales de Bretagne et des pays de l'Ouest* 87 (1980): 144 – 5. These priorities reflect, depending on your perspective, either a thirteenth-century English culture of sanctity or one insufficiently reformed. Consider the example of St. Edmund Rich of Canterbury's canonization, above, Chapter Two, 92 – 3 and n.9, and Vauchez, 54.

[5] Marcus Bull asserts that writers of miracle collections "tempered the imposition of narrative clarity, literary style and theological sophistication" on the accounts brought to them. Bull, "Views of Muslims," 30 – 1. Notaries did the same in representing discussion within a guild, Nussdorfer, "Writing and the Power of Speech," 108.

mation only occasionally, and we have to wonder what else has been lost. When a story repeats with variations, we have to wonder how reliable any of the accounts are. The scribes' sources, however, were intent on telling their own stories. Different members of a group of witnesses told slightly different stories at different times. In some accounts the details of their stories overwhelm the scribes' Latin vocabulary, forcing the use of the pilgrims' vernacular.[6] At other times the jumble of detail on the page indicates that the scribe had no opportunity to order the information into a coherent account, indicating that their own contribution to the story has been reduced.

Whereas the scribe sometimes recorded the name or origin of his source, the named pilgrim is often not identical to those witnesses listed using the *Liber miraculorum*'s formulae.[7] Most often, a representative from a particular locale appears specifically as a witness in the narrative, only to be replaced at the end of the entry by their locale's "entire" population as witnesses. The text's scribes represented witnesses to the miracle and sources for the account differently, using different language and placing them in different parts of the account, either as the result of a conscious decision or because the scribes dealt with actual pilgrims who brought stories differently than they did with figures who were merely said to have witnessed miracles. Read carefully, the connections between different entries and the subtle language that

[6] This is especially true of the text's medical terms, for example "tylys" for consumption in #51; Halliwell, 76; and "flores" for an unknown illness in #87; Halliwell, 85.

[7] See above, Chapter Three, 161 - 4.

differentiates between specific persons and generic communities of witnesses reveals patterns of interaction between the scribes and their actual sources.[8]

Where the text's formulae break down, it is easier to recreate the encounter between pilgrim and scribe.[9] The scribe or scribes responsible for recording miracle stories developed new formulae for representing witnesses, "the same [person's name]," "[person's name] told," and "just as [he/she] recounted,"[10] to accommodate the pooling of accounts in single pilgrim. These pilgrims often appear both among the witnesses listed at the end of their paragraphs and elsewhere.[11] These formulae then disappear from the text when groups of pilgrims briefly reappear in single miracle entries and in one group of related entries.[12] The witnessing formula for tokens sent "as a sign" of a miracle, usually offering candles, also appears beginning at paragraph 106 and will continue nearly to the end of the text.[13] Candles, however, appear in the text before the development of this formula.[14] Any miracle mentioning meas-

[8] Kathryn Reyerson describes her task this way: "It is the details underpinning the notarial contracts that I am currently attempting to tease out of the textual evidence to reconstruct the medieval market environment." Reyerson, "Relections," 7 – 8.

[9] The deviations in some accounts from the order that the regularity of most of the other accounts has led the reader to expect, represent a comparative absence of order imposed by the scribe, and a correspondingly greater degree of information or presentation unique to the encounter between pilgrim and scribe that produced the anomalous account. Compare, L. Smoller, "Defining the Boundaries of the Natural in Fifteenth-Century Brittany: The inquest into the miracles of Saint Vincent Ferrer (d. 1419)," *Viator* 28 (1997): 334, 335, 337.

[10] "*Idem*_____," "_____*narrav*-," and "*sicut recitav*-." For witnessing formulae, see above, Chapter Three, 145 – 53.

[11] Notarial contracts often show their informal contacts "in subtle ways, not explicitly active, yet very frequently listed among the witnesses in notarial acts." Reyerson, "Refletions," 14.

[12] I.e., between #115 and #142. Groups of two or more pilgrims also appear at #158, #178, and #179, but these entries are spaced widely in time. For the dating of miracles, see above, Chapter Three, 128 – 36.

[13] "*in signum*," which occurs four times between #106 and #188.

[14] #47; Halliwell, 75 – 6.

uring could be assumed to have produced a candle that was then sent to Evesham.[15] The story of the miracle may have changed hands along with the candle. The use of proxies and signs indicates that St. Simon's cult has become a long-distance affair. Other pilgrims, however, may have become fixtures at Evesham, remaining in the area or returning regularly. The stories they delivered at different times are not clearly related in the text. Whatever miracles they may have sought for themselves, however, do not appear. The *Liber miraculorum* does not record failed miracles.[16]

Repeating Stories

The most obvious relationship among paragraphs of the *Liber miraculorum* is common content. Some miracle stories appear more than once. Their repetition, however, is never exactly the same. The simple fact of the reappearance of a given person's miracle or miracles is not necessarily the result of simple or single causes, as an analysis of stories' contents will show. Instead, the disorganized activities of different scribes working over time, or even at roughly the same time, the continuation of the *Liber miraculorum* in 1274, and finally the copying of the text in the fourteenth century, have resulted in unreconciled, multiple accounts and have obscured the relationships between these accounts. Variations in how Henry's name is rendered, word choice, and detail, furthermore, mean that this feature is not always readily apparent.

[15] Measuring refers to the practice of matching a length of string to the length of an afflicted person's body, or of the afflicted limb. The string was then used as a wick for an offering candle to be given to the saint's shrine. See R. Finucane, *Miracles and Pilgrims: Popular beliefs in medieval England* (London, 1977), 95.

[16] The *Liber miraculorum* does, however, record partial cures, as with Isabella of Studley, blind for over seven years, who recovered some sight in one eye #7; Halliwell, 69.

Reconciling the dissimilar iterations of individual stories can tell us more about how the text was made.

Three stories in the *Liber miraculorum* are repeated in a second paragraph. The story that opens the text is one of these repeated accounts, repeating with some variation in paragraph 53.

> Henry Chaunteler a layman had gout in his loins, so bad that for three days he could not get around, without the aid of crutches; running by chance, however, into a certain man from Muckton bearing water in a certain container, from the spring which was called Earl Simon's, he asked that he might give him some of the aforementioned water, in a quantity that he might hold in his hand. The man agreed and gave [the water], and, when the site of the gout had been washed, he recovered. Of this thing the witnesses are John of Britford, the chaplain, Richard Cappell his son, and many others.[17]

> Henricus Chanteler of Bretfortone, a layman, having gout in his loins, so that for three days he could not get around without the aid of

[17] Halliwell, 68:
#1 - *Henre Chaunteler laicus guttam habens in renibus, ita quod vix per tres dies incedere non potuit, nisi cum sustamento baculi; hic autem obvians casu quidam homini de Mucletone deferenti aquam in quodam vase, de fonte qui dicebatur Comitis Simonis, petiit ut eidem daret de aqua praedicta ad quantitatem quam tenere posset in manu. Qui eidem concessit et dedit, et, cum locum guttatum linisset, convaluit. Hujus rei testes sunt Johannes de Bretfortone capellanus, Ricardus Cappell' filius ejus, et plures alii.*

crutches; of this maintains testimony the whole village of Bretfortone.[18]

The duplicate accounts are linked by the name of the person receiving the miracle, "Henre Chaunteler" in paragraph 1, "Henricus Chanteler" in paragraph 53. The version of this story in paragraph 1 is much more detailed. In the second version, Henry's story is reduced to an account of half the size of the original, and the mode of healing has disappeared from the story entirely. Halliwell, in his nineteenth-century printed edition, simply supplied the missing text in brackets using the most common description of the mode of a miracle, measuring for an offering candle, even though there is no such language in the text.[19] Halliwell does not, however, seem to have noticed the repetition of the story. The first version gives the witnesses as John, the local chaplain, and Richard "his son,"[20] and several others. John the Chaplain has also disappeared from the second version. Henry's cure in the second account is attested by "the entire town of Bretfortone," with no persons specifically mentioned.[21]

One explanation for the two versions is that the two exchanges between scribe and pilgrim that produced the two versions did not involve the same people. The

[18] Halliwell, 77:
#53 - *Henricus Chanteler de Bretfortone, laicus, guttam habens in renibus, quod vix per tres dies incedere non potuit, nisi cum sustentatione baculi; De hoc perhibet testimonium tota villata de Bretfortone.*

[19] Halliwell does not indicate that he is inferring the supplied text. Without access to the manuscript, this might lead the reader to assume that the editor was reconstructing an obscured passage, when in fact this space in the manuscript is occupied by a single dot. *Lm* MS, fol. 167v.

[20] "*filius ejus*", #1, presumably Henry's.

[21] #53; Halliwell, 77.

Britford pilgrims told their story because either they or the scribe with whom they were speaking was not involved in the first telling of the story. If the story had been reported to the same person at the same time, why would that scribe have recorded the story twice, and why would he have rendered it differently on the page? Also if the two versions were reported at different times,[22] the conditions under which they were reported would have been different, the earlier version being closer to or in the middle of the chaos that followed the battle of Evesham. If the version in first paragraph is to be believed, the miracle happened as a result of drinking water from Simon's spring, which Henry acquired through an unlikely chain of events. Someone from Muckton may have heard of de Montfort's death and took water from Simon's new, miraculous spring with him and later met Henry on the road near Britford. I assume that the road mentioned was near Britford because the pilgrims cited, like John the Chaplain, were from Britford and because a healthy man with a vase of water can travel further faster than a sick man on crutches. Henry, moreover, asks for the water, rather than being offered it, and so would already have had to have heard about St. Simon and his well.

It seems unlikely that Britford's chaplain took the story of the miracle to Evesham in time for it to be the first miracle in the *Liber miraculorum*. Britford, in Salisbury, is 80 miles south of Evesham. Muckton, in Lincolnshire, is 180 miles northeast of Evesham. The space involved in this story makes it seem improbable,

[22] None of the specific dates between #1 and #53 are uncorrupted, so there is no way to explain the story's dual appearance using differences over time.

and the time involved makes it nearly impossible, for this story to have been the first account received at Evesham. Some editorial sorting of the stories between the time they were reported and the time the *Liber miraculorum* was collected or recopied was almost certainly necessary, if we interpret the account this way. The next few accounts, furthermore, are from Canterbury, Gloucestershire, and Leicester, respectively; the Britford miracle has not necessarily been moved ahead of more plausible candidates for early miracles, but all of the first six paragraphs involve Simon's spring or its water. The story of the miracle in paragraph two does not indicate how its beneficiary received water from Simon's spring.[23] Paragraph three states specifically that the miracle did not happen until the beneficiary and others were returning home from Evesham.[24] Not until paragraphs four, five, and six are miraculous events happening at or in the immediate area of Evesham.[25] In the last of these, furthermore, a young girl has been sent to bring back water from the spring, only to be confronted by royalists suppressing the cult. This story involves two miracles. The first miracle occurs near Evesham when the water disguises itself as beer in order to fool the "*ministrales castelli*" sent to suppress the cult.[26] The second miracle occurs further away, when the girl's mother drinks the water, which has changed back from beer, and she is cured. Taken in this context, therefore, the details of space in the first miracle of the *Liber miraculorum*'s list are not unusual, but the first half-dozen paragraphs may

[23] Halliwell, 69

[24] Ibid., 69 – 70.

[25] Alicia de Novereis Burton spends the night at Simon's spring,#4; Halliwell, 69. Ralph, a cleric from Sepham Burland, is cured at the spring, #5; Halliwell, 69. a woman from Elmeley sends her daughter to Simon's spring to bring back water, which she does, #6; Halliwell, 69.

[26] #6; Halliwell, 69. *DBMR*, 322.

have been collected to complement the miraculous discovery of the spring described in the prologue dated 1274.

Another possible explanation of Henry's story is that he and John the Chaplain from Britford and the anonymous man from Muckton were on the road to Evesham after hearing about de Montfort's death. The Britford pair were seeking a cure for Henry, and they encountered the Muckton man somewhere in the Evesham area. Henry had had to resort to crutches for only three days, according to the story; it would have taken him longer than that to travel from Britford to Evesham, regardless of means. Perhaps Henry traveled the last three days on crutches, his condition aggravated by travel. This interpretation makes better sense out of the account in the first paragraph but is not supported by any evidence. The second version of Henry's story, in paragraph 53, appears as part of a group of three miracles from Britford, and it is in that context that I will consider the second version more fully below.[27] For the purposes of considering the story's repetition here, it is sufficient to point out that John the Chaplain was not necessarily present to tell the second version, and in fact his name does not appear. Overall, the second version of Henry's miraculous cure seems to be a simplification of the first, but this is misleading. The two accounts are dissimilar in how they record Henry's name, word choice, detail, and in the way they represent their actual sources. The means of the cure has been omitted completely and the representation of the witnesses are qualitatively different. The details of a given version do not seem to have depended on the other, since their duplicate ap-

[27] For the appearance of groups of pilgrims in the *Liber miraculorum*, see below, 199ff.

pearance is the result of an oversight. Instead, I will argue below that the differences between the two versions are products of separate exchanges between pilgrim and scribe.

Because the paragraphs of the *Liber miraculorum* are often not discrete narratives, the different encounters between pilgrim and scribe are revealed by the content's wider context. The details of two versions of the subsequent story are sufficiently different that the two versions must be read together to reconstruct the events they describe.

> John Benedict of Tortynton in Sussex, having a son who was mute and deaf for a long time, measured to the Earl, in the middle of the night he called to his mother, "Take me to the church in Evesham." She, frightened, said, "You can talk." He said, "Yes, because an old man stood before me saying, 'because you have my name, you will be well.'" Of this maintain testimony Lady Hawise de Pevile [sic], and lady Johanna de Lamare [sic], noble wives.[28]

> Simon son of Jon Bundiht, of Tartrintonne near Arundel, was inhibited by a most serious infirmity in all his members for two and a half years,

[28] Halliwell, 90:
#115 - *Johannes Benedist de Tortynton de Suthsex, habens filium mutum et claudum longo tempore, mensuratus ad Comitem, media nocte clamavit ad matrem, "Perduc me ad ecclesiam de Evesham. Illa turbata ait, "Potes loqui." A[i]t ille, "Sic, quia astitit mihi senex dicens, quia habes nomen meum sanaberis." De hoc perhibet testimonium domina Hawysa de Pevile, et domina Johanna de Lamare, nobiles mulieres.*

> that he could in no way move any of his body's members. He was measured to Earl Simon, all of his members immediately recovered health, and coming to Evesham with many of his neighbors, he affirmed the truth of this thing by testimony; and of this maintain testimony lady Johanna de la Mare, and lady Hawise de Newylle, and many others.[29]

Neither entry lists the parents as witnesses, even though in the story they are present during the miracle. Instead, "domina Hawysa de Neville, et domina Johanna de Lamare, nobiles mulieres," are said to attest to the version in which a specter heals a boy sharing his omitted name. As for the second version, the young Simon and his neighbors are said to have come to Evesham to tell his story, and Simon, the son, gave his own testimony concerning his miracle. The fact that the child's name finally appears, and appears at the beginning of the entry, would seem to support this conclusion. The witnesses, however, are then listed again as "domina Johanna de la Mare, et domina Awysa de Newylle, et plurimi."[30] Once again, Halliwell overlooked the repetition, probably because he is also in error with one of the witness' names in the latter version, although I should point out that he does not claim to have standardized

[29] Halliwell, 101 – 2:
#177 - *Symon filius Johannis Bundihit, de Tartrintonne juxta Arundelle, gravissima in omnibus membris suis per duos annos et dimidium detentus infirmitate, ita quod penitus nullum corporis sui membrum movere potuit. Iste mensuratus ad comitem Symonem, omnium membrorum suorum statim recuperavit sanitatem, et accedens apud Evesham cum multis vicinorum suorum, testimonio hujus rei veritatem affirmavit; et de hoc perhibuit testimonium domina Johanna de la Mare, et domina Awysa de Newylle, et plurimi.*

[30] Halliwell, p. 90

the names in the *Liber miraculorum*. The first Lady mentioned, however, is clearly "Hawysa de Nevile," although the characteristic right loop in that hand's capital "N" makes it easy to mistake it for a modern capital "P."[31]

Once the relationship between the two accounts is recognized, details from each can be used to explain the other. The boy, whose illness varies in the two versions, is told that he will be cured because he has the same name as someone who spoke to him in his sleep. Only in the second version, however, are we told that the child's name is Simon, explaining who it was that had appeared to him in the first version. We know that Simon the child has been cured of muteness because he can talk and that this has been done by Simon the saint, because of the dream. In the second version, however, to which the boy himself testifies, the mode of his eventual healing was measuring. He was not healed by a dream. So Although one version helps us make sense out of the other, each version describes a different healing by a different mode. The two versions may not be two different versions of the same story at all, therefore, but rather two miracles accruing to one person, both miracles having two witnesses in common. Simon, though unnamed in the first version, says he wants to go to Evesham. He may only have been able to do this, however, after being cured of the illness described in the second account, which kept him from moving. Once he was able to move, he finally made his way to Evesham, testifying to the later account.

This explanation also helps to explain the repeating story of Henry Chandler. Why would John tell Henry's story twice, assuming that he was present for the sec-

[31] *Lm* MS, fols. 173v – 174r.

ond version, even though he is not listed as a witness? The different renderings of Henry's name may indicate that John, or some other witness common to both versions, told Henry's story twice because they were speaking with a different scribe and could not be sure that this one had heard the story. This explanation would also help to account for the reappearance of the story told by Hawise de Neville and Joan de La Mare. The oral participants in the cult make their presence known by repeating a story when they meet a scribe different from the one they had told their story the first time, in the process revealing the presence of multiple scribes. The accounts seem to have been recorded by different people, since critical details vary in a way not explained by their omission in one or the other version during copying.

Plural scribes may have been at work on one text, or perhaps separate texts were produced simultaneously from the accounts of various pilgrims who came to Evesham. One scribe, picking up where another had left off, might have recorded a story told for a second time by a second pilgrim, or a story still in circulation at Evesham due to a pilgrim's or pilgrims' visit. Henry's stories suggest that scribes changed over time, but we cannot explain all repetitions in the same way. Just as the variations in detail of repeated information in the account do not depend on each other, since they only appear again because they had been reported separately, the phenomenon of repetition in the *Liber miraculorum* is not the result of any single cause. When the story of William de la Rye's cure repeats, for instance, it does so in a way different from the other two instances of repetition.

> William de la Rye, a knight from Northamptonshire, having an acute fever, was measured to the Earl, and the following night he recovered completely.
>
> William de la Rye near Northampton, having acute [sic] measured to Earl Simon, he recovered. All his neighbors bear witness to this.[32]

The first account lists the beneficiary, his status, origin, and complaint, and the mode of his miraculous recovery. The second version repeats his name and origin, repeats the miracle with only a slight variation in wording, and then adds an attestation. The first account says that William recovered the following evening, whereas the second version only says that he recovered. The adverb *prorsus*, "completely," is unique to this entry in the *Liber miraculorum*. These entries are only six paragraphs apart, close enough that they appear on the same side of the same folio of the fourteenth-century manuscript. The two versions are close enough that Halliwell has noticed the redundancy this time and has supplied the word "fever" in the second version where the manuscript contains no description of the illness.[33] The scribe, perhaps recognizing that this was a redundant entry, stopped in mid-account to omit the information he already had (the mode of healing) and finished instead with a witness clause, which is

[32] Halliwell, 96 - 7:
145 - Willelmus de la Rye, miles in Norhamtoneshyre, habens acutam febrem, mensuratus ad Comitem, et sequente nocte prorsus convaluit.
151 - Willelmus de la Rye juxta Northhampton, habens acutam [sic] mensuratus ad comitem Symonem, convaluit. Unde perhibent testimonium omnes convicanei sui.

[33] "Acutam" ends one line and "mensuratus" begins the next. *Lm* MS, fol. 177r.

completely lacking in the first version. Put together, the two accounts have all of the information usually included in a miracle entry. Unlike Henry Chandler and Simon Benedict's stories, this instance of duplication is almost certainly the result of a single scribe receiving information on a single event from plural pilgrims.[34] If the fourteenth-century copyist were responsible for the duplication, moreover, and then became aware of it halfway through the second version, I would expect him to scrape the latter off and continue with the next paragraph. There would furthermore be no reason for him to tack on a witness formula. If he had done so, perhaps for appearances' sake, I would expect him to use a more common form and not one that appears in only two other places in the text.[35] Once again, the fourteenth-century copyist has passed along information that he might have corrected if his intent had been to produce a single, coherent account, or that he might have rendered more coherently if the text were his own composition.

Understanding the second version of Henry Chandler's story in relation to others from the same place also helps to explain it as an example of duplicate stories. In the case of Henry's two stories, we can be reasonably sure that different people reported the same person's miracle, since the witnesses are different; it is possible that they reported the miracle to a different scribe, since it was not rejected as redun-

[34] In the case of the second version of Henry Chandler's miracle, the omission of a passage describing the cure would seem to be similar to the omission in the second version of William de la Rye's cure. However, the second Chandler paragraph goes on to include an attestation. If the description of the cure was omitted because that information was already known to be recorded, why would the scribe also include such an attestation, since that information appears in the first version, too? I attempt to explain this variation, below, by using the second Chandler paragraph's context in its Britford provenance.

[35] "*omnes convicanei*" appears at #95 and #150.

dant. Simon Benedict's story, reported in person, might have been recorded by the same scribe if he accepted it as the continuing story of Simon's separate cures. For Simon's two stories, it seems that some of the same people reported the same person's different miracle, perhaps but not necessarily to the same scribe over time. The scribe recording the second version of William de la Rye's cure, however, seems to have been aware that paragraph 145 already had some of the information he needed and went on to record additional information that he did not have in the first version. In this case it is possible that different people reported the same person's single miracle to the same scribe at times that were close enough for the scribe to record only what he needed in paragraph 151.

Repetition, therefore, Although seemingly a simple phenomenon, can result from quite different circumstances, as reflected in the contents of the repetitions themselves. Accounting for the reappearance of stories and variations among their versions helps reconstruct the kinds of exchanges between pilgrim and scribe that produced the *Liber miraculorum*. Henry Chandler's reappearance demonstrates that scribes changed over time. The Warrington stories show that more than one person might bring the same story from the same place. William de la Rye's two paragraphs show that scribes were aware of the problem posed by multiple accounts and gathered different information from different pilgrims.

Entries Related by Source or Sources

Of the *Liber miraculorum*'s 195 paragraphs, 57 are related to at least one other entry by their common source or by commonalities among their sources. This simple fact, affecting almost 30% of the text, is often obscured by the scribes' emphasis on witnesses rather than the stories' actual sources. Those identified as witnesses in the *Liber miraculorum* were not necessarily the person or persons who brought their story to the scribes. The story as it appears on the page is often attested to by an anonymous multitude rather than the person we can sometimes detect in the text who went to the scribes and vouched for that multitude. Sources were not always pilgrims to de Montfort's shrine. In most of the cases where a witness is specified, that person is someone close to the beneficiary, for example the beneficiary's spouse, an ill monk's prior, the parents of a child raised from the dead, or the owner of an animal miraculously cured.[36] In some cases, the beneficiaries themselves came to Evesham to deliver their promised offering, almost always a candle, sometimes carved in a shape appropriate to the nature of the miracle. These pilgrims attest to their own miracles.[37] In some cases, persons other than the miracle's beneficiary served as candle bearers and brought the wax effigies when the beneficiary could not. These people are sometimes named as witnesses at the end of the account, sometimes listed separately from witnesses elsewhere in the account, indicating their role as sources, and in other in-

[36] C.f., #29, # 22, #93, #103, respectively.

[37] Where witnesses appear in *The Miracles of Our Lady of Rocamadour* they are the beneficiaries attesting to their cures while fulfilling a vow of pilgrimage, M. Bull, *The Miracles of Our Lady of Rocamadour: Analysis and translation* (Woodbridge: Boydell, 1999), eg. 109, 146 – 7, 182.

stances the presence of these sources can be inferred even where they are not mentioned at all.

Aside from concerns about the transition from laymen's oral stories to the written "legal briefs"[38] of the more cautious clerics who accumulated evidence of Simon's sanctity, examining the operation of Simon's cult through the *Liber miraculorum* requires a careful consideration of how the scribes transformed their sources into witnesses. How these figures appear variously as witnesses and sources changes over the course of the *Liber miraculorum*. Many entries have both. Relationships between entries that indicate a common source for the stories often have to be inferred. Such vague groups of people appear in formulae such as "the rest of his family," "the entire convent," or simply "and many others" in just over half of the text. However, a third of those entries are also accompanied by a reference to some specific person as well. This person is not necessarily the scribe's source for that story. The fact that sources and witnesses were not always the same people is not evidence of an intent to deceive but is instead a product of the ways in which the cult's scribes and pilgrims reconciled their different priorities. These compromises changed over time, resulting in varying representations of witnesses and sources in the text. In order to document their saint's sanctity, the cult's scribes were concerned to record the identity of those who had witnessed the miracles. In keeping with older English prac-

[38] The coinage and comparison are Benedicta Ward's, *Miracles and the Medieval Mind* (Philadelphia, 1982), 110 – 15, which is perhaps a useful metaphor. Mayr-Harting, I think, goes too far in suggesting that this similarity means that the narratives therefore constitute as kind of suit or plaint, since by the time the account has been recorded the miracle has already happened. H. Mayr-Harting, "Functions of a Twelfth-Century Shrine: The Miracles of St. Frideswide," in *Studies in Medieval History Present to R. H. C. Davis*. ed. H. Mayr-Harting and R. Moore (London: Hambledon, 1985), 197.

tices of collecting miracle stories, the emphasis is on producing numerous witnesses. The scribes never claim to have interviewed the entire population of a village where the miracle occurred. Recording the names of those who actually came to the scribes, in contrast, was not always a priority to the scribes. The pilgrims, for their part, needed to emphasize the reliability of their story. They would claim that their entire village or other community had seen the miracle, and the scribes had no reason to question them. That the miracle was witnessed by a large number of anonymous "witnesses" is part of the story brought to the cult's scribes by their source. In other words, "the entire village" is said to testify to something because a pilgrim or pilgrims say that they do.[39]

Both sources and scribe seem to have been happy to have a quantity of witnesses to the merits of St. Simon. Even when the apparent source has been mentioned over the course of the narrative, by the end of the entry the cult's scribes have altered the identity of the stories' actual sources in creating as many witnesses as possible. The scribes, however, only occasionally provide any mention of their sources. The identity of the person who brought both miraculous story and the huge attestation is often lost along with his or her oral narrative. Witnesses could therefore appear in the text where the source is still anonymous. The exchange of information often resulted in the transformation of the source of that information into a generalized crowd of witnesses. Reconstructing these exchanges, their actual

[39] "Relatively impersonal or collective speaking prevailed; the notary usually represented the oral not as highly individualized but as the voice of a guild officer or of the group as a whole." Nussdorfer, "Writing and the Power of Speech," 108.

of witnesses. Reconstructing these exchanges, their actual participants, and their circumstances is the purpose of the rest of this chapter.

Many of the entries in the *Liber miraculorum* are related to one or more other entries, usually nearby in the text, by a common source or related sources. Even where there at first seems to be no clear source at all, pairs or larger clusters of miracles from the same location provide clues as to the identity of the source. As with other characteristics in the text, the nature of these groupings varies from one part of the *Liber miraculorum* to another. Before paragraph 55, these connections are regional.[40] Groups of pilgrims traveled together to Evesham or to wherever the cult's scribes could be found and collectively witnessed two or more miracles. After paragraph 55 there is only one instance of such a large group. Beginning at paragraph 65 and continuing through to the end, the related entries are linked to one another either by an explicit witness or an implicit source.

Stories Associated by Sources' Common Origin

Early on in the *Liber miraculorum*, groups of miracles appear linked by the origins of the people in them. These people may or may not be the scribe's source for the story, and they sometimes appear as traveling in a group from that place to Evesham, whether or not they came to Evesham on their way to somewhere else. Where the *Liber miraculorum* records groups of pilgrims in the text telling their stories, the

[40] One possible exception in this early part of the text is the pair of the miracles received by Thomas Cantilupe's hawk and his seneschal, #18 and #19, respectively. Neither account mentions places or witnesses, but the relationship between the two beneficiaries is explicit in the text.

process of recording often seems haphazard. Stories from one group are scattered among other unrelated stories. Some stories make sense only when read with others. The way that the entries' contents link them into pairs or clusters of miracles, as I have mentioned, changes over time. Between paragraphs 18 and 66 there are seven groups of two of more miracles, usually but not always in sequence, that are related by the common origin of their sources. Even within this smaller, early series of related groups of entries, however, the nature and appearance of connections between them varies.

The first two clearly related miracle stories are connected by virtue of their association with bishop Thomas Cantilupe's household.

> The sparrow-hawk of master Thomas Cantilupe for two days threw up all the food that it ate, which for this kind of bird is a sign of death, measured to the Earl, he recovered.
>
> The seneschal of the aforementioned master Thomas, named Nicholas, had for a long time suffered from some kind of gout; to come [sic] to the Earl, he recovered.[41]

[41] Halliwell, 71:
#18 – *Auticipiter magistri Thomae de Cantulupo per duos dies ejecit omnia alimenta quae receperat, quod est signum mortis hujusmodi avis, mensuratus ad Comitem, convaluit.*
#19 – *Senescallus praedicti magistri Thomae, nomine Nicholao, per magnum tempus de quadam gutta laboravit; venire [sic] ad Comitem, convaluit.*

The miracles are linked by the reference *praedicti* and by the fact that they both concern Thomas Cantilupe's household. Thomas had been Simon de Montfort's chancellor in the final year of the baronial government. He had also been present at the battle of Evesham, and this fact might explain the presence of his hawk and his seneschal, rather than other more domestic elements of his household. Thomas Cantilupe went into exile shortly after the battle of Evesham. Although he was received into the king's peace February 10, 1266, he did not personally return to England while Henry was alive.[42] The unclear phrase "to come to the Earl"[43] was probably intended to indicate that Nicholas the seneschal came to Simon's shrine and in the process passed these stories on, not long after the battle of Evesham. Considering his office, his Montfortian affiliation, and the continuing hostilities, it seems unlikely that Nicholas would have been traveling alone.

Five paragraphs later, three terse entries appear together in a way that shows them to be related. Each of the miracles is explicitly linked by the word *item* at the beginning of the second and third entries, making them part of a group with the first entry:

> Thomas son of Jordan of Botolestone, in the vigil of St. Matthew, in the year of grace 1258, deprived suddenly of sight, and speech, measured to the Earl, he recovered.

[42] Or, as Powicke has it, Thomas "returned to study and lecture in theology in Paris." M. Powicke, *The Thirteenth Century, 1216 – 1307* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1953), 488.
[43] "*venire ad Comitem, convaluit.*" #19; Halliwell, 71.

> Also, Agnes of the same place, as if despairing of her health, recovered.
>
> Also, the son of Jacob of Fancote, submerged in a certain spring for a half day, measured he recovered.[44]

The second miracle happened to someone from the same place as the first miracle, but the location of the person in the third entry linked by the word *item* is unclear. The *Liber miraculorum's* copyist has indented all three exactly the same way, making them as uniformly separate as every other paragraph in the text and yet two are clearly linked by place and all three by the way in which they were written down.[45] There is not enough information here to indicate who the scribe's source was. The pilgrim or pilgrims may have included any combination of Thomas, Jordan, Agnes, or Jacob, or perhaps someone else. None of the entries include witnesses so there are fewer opportunities to find connections.

Two stories brought by Irish pilgrims appear separately, divided by an unrelated entry. The first of these has nothing to do with St. Simon, and it is unclear why it appears in his *Liber miraculorum*:

[44] Halliwell, 72:
#23 - *Thomas filius Jordani de Botolestone, in vigilia sancti Mathaei, anno gratice M. cc. lviij., privatus subito visu, et loquela, mensuratus ad Comitem, convaluit.*
#24 - *Item, Agnes de eodem loca, quasi de sanitate desperata, convalult.*
#25 - *Item, filius Jacobi de Fancote, submersus in quodam fonte per dimidiam diem, mensuratus convaluit.*
[45] *Lm* MS, fol. 165v.

> Christiana an Irish woman, in the first year of the war, having gout for five years; she dreamed that she should go to the tomb of St. Ulsinus,[46] and take some of the earth, and take it with her, and so she did, and was cured. And before she returned to her own, that earth was changed into salt. Of this the witnesses are Robert her husband and Richard her son, and several many others.[47]

Robert and Richard appear to have come to Simon's shrine and told the story of someone dreaming about another saint's miracle sometime between de Montfort's death and early August, 1266. Two entries later more members of her family appear. Taken together, the contents of the two paragraphs help explain each other and confirm suspicions that Robert and Richard had actually come to the scribe.

> Richard Seypo, an Irish knight, had a wife pregnant and feverish, and, because of suffering and pain, she lost the power of speech; the doctors despaired and said, "either the child will die or the mother." A little later she turned and vomited, and bore a beautiful boy, but stillborn. The aforementioned Richard bent a penny to our martyr, over the mother and the boy, and the boy returned to life and the mother

[46] In St. Alban's; a mid-tenth-century saint.

[47] Halliwell, 73:

#27 - *Christiana Hibernia, primo anno belli, habens guttam per quinque annos; ista sompniavit ut iret ad tumbani sancti Wlsini, et acciperet de pulvere, et secum asportaret, et ita fecit, et convaluit. Et antequam ad propria veniret, pulvis ille mutatus est [in] salem. Hujus testes Rogerus vir ejus et Ricardus filius ejus, et plures alii.*

> was well; and they gave the name, Simon de Montfort. Also, the aforementioned Richard, having chest pains for a year, in a similar fashion recovered. The witnesses to this thing, the said Richard, along with his entire household.[48]

The appearance of the first Irish miracle in the *Liber miraculorum* is difficult to explain unless we assume that Richard and his family are each the same in both accounts and then read them together. Christiana would then appear to be Richard's mother. Richard's wife, who had had such a difficult pregnancy, has no name. Their son Simon de Montfort, named apparently as a way to thank "our martyr" for saving him, would then be the grandson of Christiana and her husband Roger from the first miracle. Their accounts now appear in the *Liber miraculorum* among unrelated stories from Hereford, Northampton, and Kent; Christiana's story stands by itself, an apparent aberration, and Richard's miracles are lumped together nearby in a single paragraph.

If we reconstruct the encounter between pilgrims and scribe, as a way to account for the appearance of these two stories, it appears that a group of Irish pilgrims managed to locate a scribe of Simon's *Liber miraculorum*. Christiana's story proba-

[48] Halliwell, 73:
#29 - *Ricardus Seypo, miles Hiberniae, habuit mulierem pregnantem et febricitantem, et, propter maesticiam et dolorem, perdidit loquelam, physici desperaverunt et dixerunt, "Aut peribit puer aut mater." Post paululum versa est ad vomitum, et peperit masculum elegantem, sed abortivum. Dictus Ricardus plicuit denarium ad martirem nostrum, super matrem et puerum, et revixit puer, et sanata est mater; et dederunt nomen, Simon de Montfort. Item, dictus Ricardus, habens cardiacam passionem per annum, simili modo convaluit. Testes hujus rei, dictus Ricardus, cum tota familia sua.*

bly seemed irrelevant to the scribe, since it has nothing to do with Simon. After recording the witnesses, the scribe began recording the more obviously apropos account of lord Andrew of Kenelstone's kidney stones, whose terse entry contributes barely three lines in the printed edition, now stuck between sixteen lines of ill organized Irish miracle stories.[49] The Irish pilgrims persisted, as we can tell from the second paragraph of their stories, which were actually relevant to St. Simon. Read this way, these three paragraphs tell us two things about the encounter between pilgrims and scribe. First, Christiana and the other Irish pilgrims were talking to the scribe at the same time as lord Andrew. Second, by putting the two Irish accounts together we can see that Christiana had been trying to explain how it was they had come to Simon's shrine in the first place, but she was interrupted. Our copyist, working more than a half century later, left things as they were and the tumult of parallel, simultaneous narratives is now distributed unevenly in our serial account.[50]

Nine entries later, another group of pilgrims from Warrington, Lancashire,[51] appears in the record. Six stories from Warrington appear over the space of seven paragraphs, mixed in with unrelated stories:

> Margery of Laburd from Weruntone, having a spasm, and dysentery, and hallucinations in her head, for five weeks; whence on account of

[49] #28; Halliwell, 73.

[50] Ronald Finucane reconstructs a similar scene at the tomb of St. Becket, Finucane, *Miracles and Pilgrims*, 9–10.

[51] The location is spelled five different ways in seven entries: it appears variously as "Weruntone," "Werintone," "Weryntone," "Weryngtone," and "Werynton."

her suffering she lost her memory; measured to the Earl, and, a penny bent, she recovered. Of this maintains testimony the entire village of Waruntone.

Alyne of Famelesburye, having a certain unknown infirmity for five weeks; measured to the Earl, she recovered. Whence the aforementioned village maintains testimony.

Wyon of Werintone felt gout in his right leg for two years. He dreamed that he was in the place where the Earl was, and it appeared to him that the Earl breathed over him, and all infirmities vanished.

Gilbert of Weryntone having prickly gout for four years, measured to the Earl he recovered. Of this maintains testimony the entire village of Waringtone.

James of Weryngtone had gout, which is called "the fistula," for nine weeks; measured to the Earl, and, a penny bent, he recovered. These six from the village called "upon-Merle," the one on that river.

> Robert de Verelle son of Gilel having gout for fifteen days to the point of death; measured he recovered. Witnesses as above from Werynton.[52]

A number of features complicate reconstructing the events that produced these passages. First, the accounts are confused and overlapping and seem poorly written. An unrelated entry, mixed in between the stories of James and Robert, for example, confuses the gender of the subject.[53] We are told that there are six pilgrims from Warrington, but only in their fifth entry. Further confusing the matter, Halliwell has misread Werynton as "Serynton" in the last paragraph, even though the account also says "witnesses are as above."[54]

[52] Halliwell, 74-75:

#39 - *Margaria de Laburd de Weruntone, habens spasmum, et dissenteriam, et fantasma in capite, per quinque septimanas; unde prae dolore amisit memoriam; mensurata ad Comitem, et, denario plicato, convaluit. De hoc perhibet testimonium tota villata de Weruntone.*

#40 - *Alyne de Famelesburye, habens quandam infirmitatem ignotam per quinque septimanas; mensurata ad Comitem, convaluit. Unde praedicta villa perhibet testimonium.*

#41 – *Wyon de Werintone sensit guttam in gambam dexteram per duos annos. Iste sompniavit quod fuit in quodam loco ubi Comes erat, et videbatur, ei, quod Comes sufflavit super eum et tota infir mitas evanuit.*

#42 - *Gilbertus de Weryntone habens guttam nimis pungitivam per quatuor annos; mensuratus ad Comitem, convaluit. De hoc perhibet testimonium tota villata de Weringtone.*

#43 - *James de Weryngtone habuit guttam, quae dicitur fetre, per ix. septimanas; mensuratus ad Comitem, et, denario plicato, convaluit. Isti sex de villa praenominata super Merle, hoc super illam aquam.*

#45 - *Robertus de Verelle filius Gilel habens guttam per xv. dies usque ad mortem; mensuratus, convaluit. Testes ut supra de Serynton.*

On "Serynton," see below, 206n54.

[53] Alicia of Weredech is said to have been "*mensuratus*," instead of "*mensurata*." #44; Halliwell, 75.

[54] "*Testes ut supra…*" *Lm* MS, fol. 167r. The placename in #45 is clearly "Werynton." An example of the copyist's capital letter "S" appears at the end of #44, "Stretforde-schire," directly above on the same folio. These two letters, "W" and "S," are not similar in this hand. For other instances of the copyist's letter "W," see *Lm* MS, fol. 166v in #39, #41, #42, and #43.

What we seem to have is not so much a group trying to get its story across as it is an example of pilgrims who seem to be competing with each other over who has the greatest miracle. For Wyon, Gilbert, James, and Robert, each cure is greater than the one before it because each person's gout was worse than the one before: gout; prickly gout; gout with a fistula; nearly lethal gout. It is unlikely that they had lined up in order of increasing severity of symptoms and then reported them to the scribe one by one. The competitive dynamic in the group had taken root, if only among the men, before they arrived. As each man reported his cure, he could one-up the previous pilgrim by coming up with symptoms worse than those he had just overheard from the pilgrim in front of him.[55] Aside from the group's internal dynamic, however, their representation in the text reveals a quirk of scribal priorities that may shed light on the rest of the text. All of the residents of Warrington appear as witnesses for both Margery's cure and for Wyon's. The witnesses for Robert's cure are listed simply as "*ut supra*."[56] Many other entries name their witnesses in this same general manner. The text also says specifically that there were six pilgrims from Warrington present.[57] This reference appears in one entry that is part of a group of entries from that place; there are no other references to Warrington nearby in the text. Therefore, these six pilgrims were almost certainly Margery, Alyne, Wyon, Gilbert, James, and Robert. We can furthermore conclude that the six persons mentioned over these

[55] Kathryn Reyerson notes similar evidence of oral exchanges influencing how information was subsequently recorded, see Reyerson, "Reflections," 30.

[56] Halliwell has it as "*Testes ut supra de Serynton*," Halliwell, 75, mistaking both the hand and the reference. *Lm* MS fol. 167r.

[57] "*Isti sex de villa praenominata super Merle*," above.

seven paragraphs were the actual sources and that they vouched for the "whole village" that appears in three of the entries. In paragraphs 39, 40, 42, and 45 the pilgrims' entire village witnessed the cures of Margery, Alyne, and Gilbert, specifically, and Robert's cure, by extension. That information, however, is a part of the story they have brought to the cult's scribes. Read together, this group of related entries is perhaps the clearest example of the difference between witnesses and sources.

As with the Irish and Warrington groups, the connections between three consecutive miracle stories from Britford are not explicit. The witnesses for two of these three accounts, however, are explicitly named individuals, not vague or generalized groups. Sources and witnesses have, at least partially, been merged:

> Philip of Bretfortone a layman with an infirmity, which is called *tylys*, suffered so much from the aforementioned infirmity, that, because of the anguish of his suffering, he was believed by all present to be going the way of all flesh. He was measured to the Earl, he recovered. Of this maintain testimony John the Chaplain of Bretforton, and Alicia his servant, and the wife of the same Philip.

> Agnes wife of William Alexander of Bretforton, suffering with an acute fever and pregnant; measured to Earl Simon, she recovered. Of this thing the witnesses [are] John Bretfortone the chaplain, and William her husband, and William Saxilanus.

> Henricus Chanteler of Bretfortone, a layman, having gout in his loins, so that for three days he could not get around, unless with the aid of a crutch. Of this maintain testimony the whole village of Bretfortone.[58]

All three stories are linked by their common location: the beneficiary and one of the witnesses in the first account, the beneficiary and two of the witnesses in the second account, and the beneficiary and the witnesses of the third account are all from Britford. The appearance of three consecutive miracles from Britford suggests that they represent a single encounter between the cult's scribe and one or more people from Britford. Unlike other examples of related entries, however, the names of the pilgrims appear clearly among the witnesses of the first two accounts. We do not need to infer their operation as sources as in the case of the Warrington miracles, above. The way in which the miracles are attested, however, varies. "John the Chaplain of Bretforton" appears among the witnesses of the first of the Britford miracles, and "John Bretfortone the chaplain" witnesses the second. He is not, however, named in the third Britford miracle at all, where the story of Henry the Chandler and the cure of his gout from the beginning of the *Liber miraculorum* reappears. John at first appears

[58] Halliwell, 76-77:

#51 - *Philippus de Bretfortone laicus infirmitate, quae tylys vocatur, in tantum artabatur infirmitate praedicta, quod, propter angustiam ejusdem passionis, credebatur ab omnibus qui aderant viam universue carnis ingressurum. Qui ad Comitem mensuratus, convaluit. De hoc perhibet testimonium Johannes capellanus de Bretforton, et Alicia serviens illius, et uxor ipsius Philippi.*

#52 - *Agnes uxor Willelmi Alexandri de Bretforton, acuta febre laborans et pregnans; ad comitem Simonem mensurata convaluit. Hujus rei testes Johannes Bretfortone capellanus, et, Willielmus vir ejus, et Willielmus Saxilanus.*

#53 - *Henricus Chanteler de Bretfortone, laicus, guttam habens in renibus, quod vix per tres dies incedere non potuit, nisi cum sustentatione baculi. De hoc perhibet testimonium tota villata de Bretfortone.*

explicitly along with other named people who are closely connected to the miracle's beneficiary. In the third account, however, the witnesses have reverted back to the "whole village of Britford," rather than the specific villagers of Britford who are listed as present, and not John the Chaplain who had witnessed this same miracle when it appeared before.

When Henry Chandler's cure first appears, in the first miracle of the *Liber miraculorum*, examined above,[59] John the chaplain of Britford appears as a witness, just as he does in the first two miracles in this group from Britford. But here in the last of the latter three stories from Britford, the miracle with which he had been so closely associated before is not attested by him. Why would John be omitted in this second version of a story he has already told, and why would he not attest to the third of these three miracles if he appears in the other two? If the scribe recognized the story as redundant, and John the Chaplain was the source, why would he not appear in the attestation? Or if the scribe recognized the redundancy, as was apparently the case in William de la Rye's second miracle above and was simply omitting the details of the cure because they were already in the *Liber miraculorum*, why did the scribe go on to include an attestation different from that of the earlier version?

The answer, I think, is that John the chaplain was not actually present when these three miracles from Britford were reported to the scribes. If John the Chaplain, who witnessed the first version, had actually been present when the story was related a second time to the cult's scribes, why would he have repeated the story? Where

[59] #1; Halliwell, 68.

people of high status appear with others in witness formulae, moreover, the high status witnesses always come first, even when they are clearly not present at Evesham.[60] When John disappears from the witnesses, the details of the cure also disappear. Therefore, the first version contains a specific attestation and specific details, while the second version contains only the most general attestation and simplifies the entire story. The second version of Henry Chandler's story, unlike the second version of William de la Rye's story, does not add information unavailable in the first version but instead contradicts it. John the Chaplain's presence among the witnesses in the first two of the Britford miracles is not necessarily evidence that he was there. His absence from the witnesses of the third miracle, however, is evidence that he was not there.

Instead, some combination of Philip, his anonymous wife, the two Alicias, Agnes, and the two Williams were more likely to have been the scribe's actual sources and to have presented John the Chaplain's name as a witness. Their direct experience of their own miracles, as opposed to their acquaintance with only some of the facts of Henry the Chandler's separate cure, would furthermore explain why their stories are written and attested differently from Henry's. John the Chaplain may have played some prominent role in the miracles of Philip and Agnes, perhaps as a clergyman performing the measuring. If so, this would explain why he appears as a witness to their cures. Perhaps John the Chaplain, as a clergyman, was an advocate of de

[60] For instance, the "Lady Countess of Gloucester" appears as the first witness to the cure of her sick horse in #3 even though the miracle entry specifically says that her armed retainer was the one who went back to Evesham to tell the story that now appears in the *Liber miraculorum*. Halliwell, 68 – 9. See Sigal, "Histoire et hagiographie," 243 – 4.

Montfort's cult in Britford and his advocacy of the cult influenced the decision of these miracles' sources to travel to or through Evesham and relate these stories. If John had encouraged Philip and Agnes to seek the help of this particular saint, he might have done so by citing Henry's cure to demonstrate the power or "merit" of St. Simon. This scenario would explain why Philip and Agnes were familiar with the basic details of Henry's cure but did not report the full story.

If the above interpretation is correct, then we should be not assume that every person cited by name must have been present before the cult's scribes. Sources may appear variously in haphazard references or as witnesses, but each group of related entries must be read carefully to reconstruct the encounter between pilgrim and scribe, as in the following example.

> Matilda of a village that is called Raddestone, in the county of Northhampton, had for some time been fatigued by some kind of gout, which by no art of doctors was able to be cured, although she had made great expenditures for the sake of regaining her health; measured to the Earl Simon, she recovered immediately after measuring.
>
> Agnes, from the same place, was sick unto death, she was anointed with all the sacraments of the church, after which her body, as if dead, was placed in the area [for the dead], a her neighbors members recalled to memory Earl Simon, and they measured the same woman to

> the same. Immediately the sick woman recovered, by the merits of the Earl, just as she said.[61]

While the two miracles are linked by a common origin, the actual source is only incidentally present at the very end. The events occurred "just as she said" they did. This portion of the text also includes the first instance of the formula *statim convaluit*, or "he/she recovered immediately," so common to the rest of the text.[62] The dramatic use of the adverb *statim* in these two stories, to emphasize the immediacy of the cure, may also link them. The word itself has not appeared since paragraph 38, and the healing formula *statim convaluit* does not appear again until paragraph 65. In the Warrington miracles, the common origin of each of the six pilgrims was given in each entry. Here, however, Agnes' place of origin is only described as the same as Matilda's. None of these characteristics is convincing by itself. Taken together, however, it seems either that Agnes, whose presence before the cult's scribes is established at the end of her story, was the source for both accounts, or that she and Matilda traveled together. The scribe makes no other attempt to substantiate the story; no other witnesses are named, not even anonymously.

[61] Halliwell, 77:
#55 - *Matildis de villa quae appellatur Raddestone, in comitatu Norhamton quadam gutta per multa tempora fatigata, quae nulla arte medicorum potuit curari, licet magnas expensas fecisset pro sanitate recuperanda; mensurata ad comitem Simonem, statim convaluit post mensurationem.*
#56 - *Agnes, de eodam loco, usque ad mortem infirmata, quae omnibus sacramentis ecclesiasticis inuncta, postquam corpus ejus tanquam mortuum in area collocatum, propinqui ejus ad memoriam reduxerunt comitem Simonem, et ipsam mulierem ad ipsum mensuraverunt. Statim infirma convaluit, per merita Comitis, prout asserebat.*

[62] #55; Halliwell, 77.

The witnessing formulae of the *Liber miraculorum*, already inconsistent, break down between paragraphs 41 and 66.[63] Two witnesses appear in the middle of their accounts,[64] and another prefaces its account.[65] The next group of related entries makes no reference to witnesses at all. Since this omission means that there are fewer opportunities to mention people or place names, the relationship between these entries is less evident than previous examples.

> Avicia daughter of Alan of Derby very certainly dead, measured to Earl Simon, she recovered resuscitated.
>
> Ralph Pur', son of Gilbert and Alicia of Dereby, both by his parish priest, who closed the eyes of the same, and by other neighbors, was judged dead. To Earl Simon measured, he immediately recovered, re-suscitated.
>
> Ralph de Derby, a furrier, from his childhood sick with an illness in his right leg, through which he had one leg larger than the other, and feeling a constant decay in the bone of his leg, but not around the heart, was gravely infirm, he saw in sleep Earl Simon come to him, and saying thus, "you are sick with mortal illnesses; but rise in the

[63] Chapter Three, 160 - 2. This is the most uneven segment of the already highly irregular stretch, #55 – 73; Halliwell, 77 - 82.
[64] #59 Halliwell, 78. #67; Halliwell, 79 - 80.
[65] #63; Halliwell, 79.

> early morning, and you will go to the place at Evesham in which I was alive and dead, and you will recover your whole health." Which when he did, he recovered from all his infirmities.[66]

The three accounts are linked by a common origin. Furthermore, the beneficiary of the first miracle may be the mother of the beneficiary of the second. Ralph, in the third miracle story, does not appear to be related to any other figure. The first two accounts are also much shorter and less detailed than the third. Finally, the condition set in the last entry is that Ralph must go to Evesham to be cured. The other two miracles were effected through measuring. Of the three beneficiaries, therefore, only Ralph seems to have come to Evesham and located the cult's scribes.

Over the course of these first seven examples of groups of related entries, the way in which groups of pilgrims appear in the text changes. These changes describe a symmetrical arc: groups of pilgrims can at first be inferred from the material, then are explicit in the text, and finally the groups recede from view again. The first two groups are related by a common origin in either a place or a household. Members of

[66] Halliwell, 79:

#64 - *Avicia filia Alani de Derebi certissime mortua, mensurata ad comitem Simonem, convaluit resuscitata.*

#65 - *Radulfus Pur', filius Gilberti et Aliciae de Dereby, tam a sacerdote suo parochiali, qui clausit oculos ejusdem, quam ab aliis vicinis, mortuus judicatur. Ad comitem Simonem mensuratus, statim convaluit resuscitatus.*

#66 - *Radulfus de Derby, parmentarius, a puericia sua in gamba dextra infirmitate gravatus, per quam habuit gambam unam grossiorem alia, et sentiens continue corosionem in osse ipsius gambae, sed non circa cor, gravatus infirmitate, vidit in sompnis comitem Symonem sibi assistere, et dicentem sic, "Mortalibus infirmitatibus gravatus es; sed surge summo mane, et adeatis locum apud Evesham in quo vivus fui et mortuus, et sanitatem plenam recuperabis." Quod dum fecit, convaluit de omnibus infirmitatibus suis.*

Thomas Cantilupe's household make up the connected entries of paragraphs 18 and 19, but no sources appear in the narrative. The language "also" and "from the same place" link paragraphs 23 through 25. By comparison, the next three groups of related entries show their sources much more clearly. The miracles of the Irish family, in paragraphs 27 and 29, are linked by detail and common witnesses, several of whom are named. Their report was at first interrupted by that another pilgrim when they did not make clear what their story had to do with Simon.[67] Only once they completed their story in a second paragraph did the relevance of the first paragraph become clear, and the witnesses clearly join the two paragraphs despite the paragraph in between them. The six pilgrims from Warrington, between paragraphs 39 and 45, have a common origin, a common complaint, are identified as being part of a group, and are named. Next, a group of pilgrims from Bretforton brought three stories from their village, including the reiteration of the first miracle story of the *Liber miraculorum*. Their stories, between paragraphs 51 and 53, are linked by witnesses who are themselves further linked by family and service. All three groups of related entries show their sources meeting openly and in large groups with the cult's scribes. This state of affairs, however, changes quickly. The last two groups of related entries described above share the kind of implicit links that appear in the first two groups. Pilgrims from Northhampton and Derby appear in sequence, but aside from their proximity and origin there is nothing to hold the groups of stories together. Another possible

[67] Compare Christiana's story in #27 with that of Lord Andrew, rector of Kenelstone, #28. These two stories are followed by Richard Seypo's story, in #29, which helps explain why Christiana's story appears in Simon de Montfort's *Liber miraculorum*. See above, 203 - 5.

explanation might be that the first two and last two sets of related entries were each brought by individual pilgrims and do not reflect group visits to Evesham or to where the cult's scribes could be found. Read this way, in the first seven examples of groups of related entries only the third, fourth, and fifth groups of related miracle stories reflect group pilgrimage and reporting.

However, multiple stories from individual pilgrims are usually compressed into single paragraphs in the *Liber miraculorum*, especially in the case of miracles accruing to a single family.[68] Furthermore, when single pilgrims brought multiple, unrelated miracles to the scribes, the pilgrims and their accounts appear in the text in ways unlike those summarized in the paragraph above. Their appearance in the text, considered below, does not resemble that of any of the groups described above. I am inclined, therefore, to attribute the first, second, sixth, and seventh groups of related entries to encounters between the cult's scribes and two or more pilgrims from a common location. This explanation is supported by the fact that variations in witnessing formulae in this same segment of the text follow this arc exactly. The miracles of the first two sets of related entries have no witness citations. The middle three groups clearly list their witnesses. Specific pilgrims appear, who are also the present sources, in addition to absent multitudes of family members, whole villages, and "many others." The last two sets of related entries, like the first two, omit references to any witnesses at all, even anonymous ones. In fact, witness formulae begin to

[68] E.g., #29, considered above, 204.

break down entirely in the portion of the text containing the last two groups of related entries.

The absence of witnesses in the first and second, and sixth and seventh group of related entries, moreover, means that there are fewer names to provide further connections among the entries. There are also fewer members of each group of pilgrims recorded for us. This overall decline in groups and in the size of those groups is also evident in the appearance of pilgrims in the nearby paragraphs of the *Liber miraculorum*, paragraphs that are not related to any other entry. Groups of pilgrims appear in four individual entries between the first paragraph and paragraph 59. Thereafter, no group of pilgrims appears in a single entry for 56 paragraphs.[69] No group of pilgrims appears at all after the group from Derby, above, for 49 entries, or more than a quarter of the total entries in the text. Positing a relationship between the way pilgrims have appeared in the above examples and the events in England after the battle of Evesham is probably not possible because none of the dates given prior to paragraph 113 are reliable. The content of Christiana's story, in paragraph 27, refers retrospectively to "the first year after the war."[70] Her account is confused, however, in that it does not make clear what happened in her dream and what she actually did. Although it is tempting to relate the decline in the size of pilgrim's parties to the promulgation of the Dictum of Kenilworth, the end of the siege of Kenilworth, and the opening of a

[69] With the exception of a husband and wife at #86, there are no groups of pilgrims explicitly or implicitly mentioned in the text between #59 and #115.

[70] "*Christiana Hibernia, primo anno belli, habens guttam…*" #27; Halliwell, 73.

second rebel front in the Isle of Ely in Kent, none of this can be stated with any certainty.

Multiple Stories from Individual Sources

With the exception of the stories of a single group of pilgrims, considered below, pairs of groups of entries that can be related show a completely different kind of relationship after paragraph 59. This change is a function of a shift in the patterns of reporting miracles. As large pilgrimages became scarce, multiple stories were more often reported by individual pilgrims. The scribes developed new witnessing formulae to cope with this change. Multiple miracles from a single location and brought by a single source will be the rule among groups of related entries in the *Liber miraculorum*, with one exception, from paragraph 67 to the end of the text. The fact that individual pilgrims brought two or more stories to the cult's scribes does not necessarily reflect a decline in the cult's popularity since the number of accounts in the first year is very high. Only slightly more than half of the miracles dateable to the first year of the cult contain groups of pilgrims. Paragraph 113 is the first paragraph to refer clearly to events after August 4, 1266;[71] there have been no references to groups of pilgrims since paragraph 66. A comparable quantity of stories was therefore being relayed by different means. Although the quantity of material does not decline, it does vary. Responding to these changing conditions, the scribes improvised new

[71] "*secundo anno post bellum Evesham*…" #113; Halliwell, 89.

ways of recording the stories brought to them. An example of a transitional mode appears at paragraph 67:

> Richard of Hereford the carpenter, while he was repairing the pool of a certain mill, a pile of wood fell on his feet, and so buried them that he was not able to move himself; whence by others he had himself moved to a certain house: whence, placed in a bed, by the advice of some of them he had a plaster put on his feet; and since he was suffering in the worst way after the positioning of the plaster, and felt a pain that he could not endure, by their advice he had his feet measured to Earl Simon. And, this done, the pain seemed alleviated, whence, the plaster removed, his feet appeared entirely restored to health , for that reason he got up, and did his work, just as he was previously accustomed. Also the same Richard brings word that Agnes, wife of Reginald Mamworde, while she was pregnant, and despairing of her life due to the continuous pain she endured, measured to Earl Simon, immediately gave birth, and escaped the danger she had feared; and this by the merits of the aforementioned Earl.[72]

[72] Halliwell, 79-80:

#67 - *Ricardus de Herforde carpentarius, dum esset in reparatione stagni cujusdam molendini, quaedam strues lignorum cecidit super pedes ejus, et eos ita contrivit quod se movere non potuit; unde per alios fecit se deportari in domum quandam: unde, eodem in lecto quodam collocato, de consilio quorumdam apponi fecit emplastrum super pedes ejus; et cum ultra modum gravaretur post appositionem emplastri, et dolorem sentiret quem ferre non posset, de eorum consilio pedes suos fecit mensurari ad comitem Simonem. Et, hoc facto, dolor apparuit levigatus, unde, emplaustro deposito, appa-*

This entry is the clearest example of multiple stories related by individual reporting. Although some of the examples attributed to encounters between the cult's scribes and groups of pilgrims discussed above could have been brought by individuals, the pattern adopted here makes the stories' single source unambiguously clear. The scribe has, however, not divided the accounts into their own paragraphs in this case, perhaps because this was the first time he had had to record multiple miracles from a single pilgrim.

The next instance shows that the scribe has divided similarly reported accounts into their own paragraphs. In this case, the stories are presented in the opposite order, with the pilgrim's own miracle appearing second: William, the rector of Warrington, first tells his sister's story and then follows with an account of his own cure.

> Alicia sister of William, the rector of the church of Warrington, suddenly sustaining an inflammation on the right side of her head and across her all the way to the neck, for which reason she wondered also if she was to be suddenly extinguished by death, she however by the advice of those assisting her was measured to the Earl, she recovered. To this thing maintains testimony the said William, who brought her candle to Evesham.

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ruerunt pedes sui omnino sanitati restituti, per quod surrexit, et opera sua fecit, sicut prius consuevit. Idem, etiam Ricardus detulit quod Agnes, uxor Reginaldi Mamworde, dum esset praegnans, et de vita desperata propter dolorem continuum quem paciebatur, ad comitem Simonem mensurata, statim partum edidit, et de periculo quod timebat evasit; et hoc meritis praedicti Comitis.

> It is to be remembered that the said William told us of a certain miracle, saying that when he, after the battle of Evesham was over, had carried away with him some of the earth where the Earl fell in the field, and had put it in a certain cloth under guard, and a certain person, a layman by name sick and near death, so that he had received the ecclesiastical sacraments, and had lain without speech for two days; Earl Simon appearing to him in his sleep, as it seemed to him, told him that he should ask the said William that he might give to him some particle of the memorial earth that he had in his power; and that he should mix it in water, and should drink it. Which when it had been done, the said infirm man regained health.[73]

These two accounts specifically name their source as William, the rector of Warrington, which was also the place of origin for the group of six pilgrims mentioned earlier. In this case, William has brought more than one story, neither of which involves

[73] Halliwell, 80-1:

#70 - *Alicia soror Willeimi rectoris ecclesiae de Werinton, subito in dextra parte capitis et per faucem dextram usque ad collum inflaturam sustinens, per quam dubitabatur eam morte subitanea extingui, haec autem de consilio quorumdam eidem assistencium ad comitem Symonem mensurata, convaluit. Hujus rei testimonium perhibuit dictus Willelmus, qui candelam mensuratam apud Evesham detulit.*

#71 - *Memorandum quod dictus Willelmus quoddam mirabile nobis retulit, dicens quod cum ipse, post bellum apud Evesham commissum, de terra ubi Comes jacuit in campo secum asportasset, et in panno quodam sub custodia collocasset, et quidam laicus nomine [sic] infirmabatur usque ad mortem, ita quod ecclesiastica sacramenta recepisset, et sine loquela per biduum jacuisset; comes Symon eidem in somno apparens, ut sibi videbatur, dixit ei, quod praecaret dictum Willelmum ut aliquam particulam eidem donaret de terra memorata quam habuit in sua potestate; et quod misceret in aqua, et ea uteretur vos declutiret [sic]. Quod dum factum fuisset, dictus infirmus sanitatem recupavit.*

There is no name given for the layman in William's second story, nor is there a lacuna in the manuscript: "n*omine*" ends one line and "*infirmabatur*" begins the next. *Lm* MS, fol. 169v.

his own cure or other miracle. Instead, he has fulfilled his sister's obligation to Simon for her cure by bringing her measuring candle to Evesham. Delivering her story along with the candle provides the opportunity to pass along the story of an unnamed man's cure. The second story contains a double miracle: the anonymous beneficiary is informed that William possesses the miracle-working earth in a dream and then by consuming it he is cured. Simon's cult seems to have been well known in Warrington. Alice is cured by measuring at the recommendation of plural persons who were nursing her through her illness. The unknown beneficiary of the second story's miracles has either learned of Simon's cult through a dream or has decided to keep the source of his information concerning William's secret supply of Evesham dirt a secret by representing it as a dream. The need for secrecy may also explain the omission of his name, since the point at which his name was omitted is unclear. There are no witnesses in the second account, perhaps because the method of reporting the two stories has joined them at the end of one paragraph and the beginning of the next. The scribe has not attempted to maintain the common sequence of beneficiary, complaint, miracle, and witness in the second story, which appears with less structure.

Most instances of single pilgrims reporting plural miracles, however, appear in the *Liber miraculorum* in the opposite order, with the pilgrim reporting his own story first and then following with others' accounts. This relationship reappears in the next two related entries.

> David of Cordebrege in Berkshire, with dropsy for seven weeks, so swollen inflated that he could hardly move or see. This one measured to Earl Simon, without delay he recovered. Of this maintains testimony the whole village of Cordebrege.
>
> William, brother of the same David, deaf for three years, measured in a similar way, gloriously recovered.[74]

These two stories specifically mention measuring, but no candles associated with the attestation appear. Candles and their transportation may be inferred in other accounts where they are not specifically mentioned. Although David appears as a link between the stories and is the probable source, the witness citation is simply "the whole village of Cordebregge." This attestation seems to stand for both miracles, again joining the two in a transitional phrase. Alternately, the scribe may have felt that the introduction of William as David's brother was sufficient reference to the story's actual source. This explanation would be consistent with the example of Richard of Hereford, the carpenter above who told his own story first and then attested to someone else's miracle.

[74] Halliwell, 83:
#78 - *David de Cordebrege de Berkeshire, ydropicus per vij. septimanas, in tantum inflatus quod vix incedere vel videre potuit. Hic mensuratus ad comitem Symonem, sine mora convaluit. De hoc perhibet testimonium tota villata de Cordebregge.*
#79 - *Willelmus, frater illius David, surdus per tres annos, simili modo mensuratus, gloriose convaluit.*

Three entries after the stories of the cures of David and his brother William, two more stories appear that have been brought by a single pilgrim. Once again, the pilgrim's own story appears first. Scribes have moved sources out of the witness section of their entries, almost always the end of the paragraph, and placed them at the opening of the account. In each case, the first named person is telling the story of his own miracle and then goes on to tell about other miracles from his area, his own, his family's, or other's cures and miracles.

> The Prior of Holy Cross at Waltham, afflicted by a grave infirmity, just as he narrated to our prior, almost to death; the brothers standing around him cried and said, "It would be good for you to be measured to Earl Simon," but he refused saying, "far be it from any religious to make a vow without the instruction of the prelate." In the middle of the night it seemed to him in sleep that he saw Earl Simon among a multitude of the poor who ran to him and sweetly embraced him. Waking he had a certain nausea, and vomited, and thus recovered.
>
> A lay-brother of the same monastery struck by a paralysis on his right side, measured, in a similar fashion, he recovered. The insane cook from the same place, by the merits of the martyr, is gloriously healthy

> was gloriously healed. The witnesses [are] the prior of the same place.[75]

Here the beneficiary appears to want to establish that he at first resisted the idea of invoking a problematic St. Simon. The prior has justified his resort to Simon's repressed cult with his dream, which seems to have been sufficient proof of Simon's sanctity. One possible explanation for the additional layer of cautiousness appearing in this story is that it may not have been told to a member of the community at Evesham by someone who had traveled there in person for that purpose. The actual source of the story is Evesham's prior. Had the prior from Waltham gone to Evesham to deliver a measuring candle and tell his story, why would that story have passed through another member of the Evesham community? If the Waltham prior had at first told his story to Evesham's prior, why would he not have referred the pilgrim to the cult's scribes? A better explanation would seem to be that if the two priors had met outside Evesham on an occasion having nothing to do with Simon's cult, each would have had to have been careful in judging the other's politics before a story involving Simon as a saint could be told. Professing an initial resistance to being

[75] Halliwell, 83-4:

#82 - *Prior sancte Crucis de Waltham, gravi infirmitate detentus, sicut ipse narravit priori nostro, usque ad mortem; fratres circumstantes fleverunt, et dixerunt, "Bonum est ut sis mensuratus ad comitem Symonem;" at ille negavit, dicens, "Absit aliquo religioso facere votum, sine praecepto proelati." Nocte media videbatur ei in sompnis quod vidit comitem Symonem inter multitudinem pauperum sibi occurrentem, et dulciter amplectentem. Evigilans habuit quandam eructationeni, et fecit vomitum, et sic convaluit.*

#83 - *Frater laycus de eodem coenobio paralisi in dextra parte percussus, mensuratus, simili modo, convaluit. Cocus ejusdem loci freneticus, per merita martiris, gloriose sanatus est. Testes [sic] dictus prior ejusdem loci.*

measured to a St. Simon would offer the Waltham prior an opportunity to abort or alter the story if that story seemed to be eliciting an unwelcome response. As with the anonymous man's dream in the story of William, the rector of Warrington, the role of the dream provides a suspiciously convenient role in obscuring the transmission of information concerning Simon's cult. Such deniability would have been useful, and was probably indispensable, to people exchanging information of a potentially dangerous nature. It is unclear if the Evesham prior has contributed anything of his own to this story. The appearance of the Waltham prior's story followed by others results in pair of miracles that appear no different from those pairs of stories related by their source and beneficiary in person.

The pattern for recording multiple stories from a single pilgrim, thus established, allows us to infer the origin of stories that Although clearly related, lack an identified pilgrim source. The following two accounts, which are the next example of related miracle accounts occurring in the *Liber miraculorum*, at first appear to be related only by the fact that they are consecutive stories from the same general region.

> Thomas a cleric from Canterbury, son of Robert Yve, having falling sickness for forty days, measured to the Earl, he recovered; nor did the infirmity return to him again. Of this maintain testimony John the vicar of Sellinge in Kent, and several others.

> Alice of Chileam in Kent, a credible woman, tells of a certain four-year-old boy, the son of Wolkokam Cant, named Alexander, who in a fight among servants by chance fell into the fire, and he lay for almost half an hour, and four welts upon him; and thus he was in his eyes and other members almost burned up. This one measured to Earl Simon, was immediately and gloriously cured without any marks. The witnesses to this thing [are] the whole multitude of Kent.[76]

In the first story, it seems reasonable to conclude that John the vicar is the actual source and that the phrase "several others" represents a generalization common in witness attributions. The second account also appears to have both a specific source and a generalized group of witnesses, but the former appears at the beginning of her account rather than among the witnesses at the end. The difference between "*narravit*" and "*perhibet testimonium*" in the witnessing formulae of the two accounts is not what suggests a distinction between the roles of the various, named people in them but rather the sequence and manner in which they appear is a consequence of their different function. If it is not a coincidence that two miracles from Kent appear

[76] Halliwell, 85:

#89 - *Thomas clericus Cantuariensis, filius Roberti Yve, habens morbum caducum per xl. dies, mensuratus ad Comitem, convuluit; nec infirmitas ultra ad eum rediit. De hoc perhibet testimonium Johannes vicarius de Sellinge in Cancea, et plures alii.*

#90 - *Alicia de Chileam, in Cancea mulier fidedigna, narravit de quodam puero quadrennio, filio Wolkokam Cant, nomine Alexander, qui in conflictu serviencium casu cecidit in ignem, et jacuit ibidem fere per dimidiam horam, et quatuor rybaldi super eum; et sic fuit in oculis et caeteris membris fere adustus. Hic mensuratus ad comitem Symonem, statim gloriose curatus est sine omni laesura. Testes hujus rei universa multitudo Canc'.*

together in the *Liber miraculorum*, then Alice may have brought them both, or she may have traveled in a group that included John the vicar. Specifically named witnesses, appearing in conjunction with witnesses, were not necessarily among those who met with the scribes.[77] Although it is unlikely that Alice was traveling entirely alone, we cannot assume that John's appearance in his account means that he was actually present. The most plausible explanation for these two stories appearing together is that Alice brought John's account with her to Evesham, justifying his appearance as a witness without requiring his presence as a pilgrim.

As I have shown, pilgrims usually tell their own story, or the story of the person most closely related to themselves, before telling other's stories. Pilgrims work outward from themselves and their families, relating miracles stories from a wider and wider social circle. The source of the next group of related entries, for instance, describes his own cures, then his animal's cure, and then another person's animal miracle.

> Gregory of Grandun, rector of the church of Sapcote, having his whole face swollen together with his neck most severely, measured to the Earl, on the Tuesday after Theophany, he recovered.

[77] There are cautionary examples among the instances of repeating stories, in which specifically named witnesses appear in the second version of their stories at a time in which they either might not have been or could not have been at Evesham. John the Chaplain of Britford, in #53, and Hawise de Neville, in #177, are, respectively, examples of these kinds of unreliable attestations.

> The same one says narrates, when he was in the castle of Kenelworth after the war, he contracted prickly gout; remembering the place where the Earl was accustomed to sit, he went there, and there adored, and the gout immediately went away.
>
> Also the same one told us about his cow, who did not eat for fifteen days; a penny being bent to the Earl, immediately it ate eagerly, and recovered.
>
> Also he told of a certain bird belonging to the lady of Grandon, dead, lacerated, and half-eaten, measured and by the merits of the Earl it gloriously, without mark, was resuscitated.[78]

The second miracle seems to have been earlier than the first, since Gregory says he was in Kenelworth castle after the battle of Evesham, and is told in retrospect. These stories also progress from the most common kind of account, the cure of Gregory's illness, to stranger stories, ending with one of the oddest stories in the *Liber miracu-*

[78] Halliwell, 87-8:

#100 - *Gregorius de Grandun, rector ecclesiae de Sapecote, habens totam faciem inflatam una cum collo ultra modum, mensuratus ad Comitem, die Martis post Theophaniam, convaluit.*

#101 - *Idem narravit, cum esset in castello de Kenelingworth post bellum, accidit ei guttam pungitivam [sic]; recolens de loco ubi Comes sedere solebat, accessit, et ibi adoravit, et guttam statim evanuit.*

#102 - *Item idem bove sue dixit, qui non comedit per xv. dies; denario plicato ad Comitem, statim avide comedit, et convaluit.*

#103 - *Item narravit de quadam ave dominae de Grandone, mortua, dilacerata, et medietate comesta, mensurata et per merita Comitis gloriose, sine laesura, resuscitata est.*

lorum. We have to wonder if the scribe at this encounter stopped recording Gregory's stories after hearing about the reconstituted bird. The source here is clear, if perhaps of questionable reliability.

Other pilgrims may have tried to avoid being named. Even in the absence of a named source, this scribe is now careful to mention that he at least has one, as in the second paragraph below.

> Robert Alan of Bruelle in Oxford, having a wife named Matilda, she suffered with fevers and severe pains of the head and neck for three years; measured to the Earl, she recovered.
>
> Also, a certain person told us about his son named Ralph, suffering with a fever for seven years, just as bad at night, measured in a similar fashion to the Earl, he recovered. The whole village of Bruelle bears testimony to this.[79]

Matilda's cure by measuring of her fever appears without source or witness. However, the beginning of the next account links that paragraph with the previous one by saying "also" without naming the source. The formula is the same as those consid-

[79] Halliwell, 88:
#107 - *Robertus Aleyn de Bruelle ultra Oxoniam; habens uxorem nomine Matlidam, haec paciebatur febribus et valla dura capitis et colli per tres annos; mensurata ad Comitem, convaluit.*
#108 - *Item quidam narravit de filio suo nomine Radulpho, laborante febribus per vij. annos, tantum noctibus, simili modo mensuratus ad Comitem, convaluit. De hoc perhibet testimonium tota villata de Bruelle.*

ered above. The second story mentions the source for the first one by naming that person at the beginning of the second account. The scribe maintains this pattern even when he does not name his source. Although the source remains anonymous, the scribe still tells us that he has one.[80]

The next pair of related accounts continues these patterns of reporting first the stories closest to the pilgrim and of naming that source at the beginning of the a subsequent account that relates to someone further from the pilgrim. In this case, the first story is not a personal miracle but rather something the pilgrim had witnessed. This paragraph also contains an example of miraculous revenge in which Simon is said to have harmed his enemies and detractors.[81]

> William de la Horste of Bulne tells of a certain neighbor of his, Robert the deacon. In the second year after the battle of Evesham, it happened that the said William gave a large party. Among the partygoers a dispute arose about the Earl. Whence the said Robert impugned the Earl to the highest degree immoderately, and attributed every ill; the

[80] Three of the miracles in Ralph of Bocking's *vita* of St. Richard are also anonymously attested, though not in the same formulae: "*Fertus quoque relatu fide dignorum asserente quod…*" Book I, 125 – 6. "*Prefato miraculo haut multum dissimile de quadam Agnete, cognomine Bataylle, de villa de Suwik certa relatione contigisse refertur*" Book II, 145. "*Sub religione quoque presiti sacramenti fideliter refertur quod…*" Book II, 148.

[81] These kinds of miracles are often referred to as "Old Testament" miracles, W. Aird, "The Making of a Medieval Miracle Collection: The *Liber de translationibus et miraculis Sancti Cuthberti,*" in *Northern History: A review of the history of the north of England and the borders,* ed. G. Forster, vol. 28 (1992), 7. A. Bijsterveld, "Conflict and Compromise: The Premonstratensians of Ninove (Flanders) and the laity in the twelfth century," in *Negotiating Secular and Ecclesiastical Power: Western Europe in the central Middle Ages*, ed. A. Bijsterveld, H. Teunis, and A. Wareham, International Medieval Research 6 (1999), 167 – 83.

> lord of the house, namely the said William, said, "Do not insult the Earl." In the midst of this, the said Robert lost the power of speech, nor could he move either hand or foot, but sat as if dead, finally with the prayers of the partygoers he breathed a little. And, by the advice of the said William, he swore that from then on he would never say bad things about the Earl, and thus he escaped the danger.
>
> The same William told of a cleric named William de Hylamtre, having an affliction of the blood, measured and a penny bent he recovered. The witnesses of this thing are the said William and many others.[82]

William appears specifically as the source at the beginning of each of his two stories. The first miracle is very much William's personal miracle. He directly confronts one of Simon's detractors, followed by a miraculous reinforcement of his command. William's second story contains a miracle that happened to someone else. Although the details of the first story would seem to suggest that the miracle happened in front of

[82] Halliwell, 89-90:

#113 - *Willelmus de la Horste de Bulne narravit de quodam vicino suo, Roberto diacono. Secundo anno post bellum Evesham, contigit quod dictus Willelmus fecit magnum convivium. Inter convivantes lis mota est de Comite. Unde dictus Robertus ultra mensuram vituperavit Comitem, et universa mala proposuit; a[i]t dominus domus, scilicet dictus Willelmus, "Nolite detrahere Comitem." Inter haec dictus Robertus perdidit loquelam, nec potuit movere manum vel pedem, sed sedit quasi mortuus tamen orationibus convivantium parum respiravit. Et, concilio, dicti Willelmi, promisit quod de caetero nunquam adversa de dicto Comite diceret, et sic de periculo evasit.*

#114 - *Idem Willelmus recitavit de clerico nomine Willelmo de Hylamtre, habens sanguinis passionem, mensuratus et denario plicato convaluit. Testes hujus rei dictus Willelmus et plures alii.*

several people, there are no witnesses named. In the second story, William appears a second time among the witnesses and others are mentioned.

Until this last pair of entries, groups of related miracles have appeared every few paragraphs, whether related by the common origin of several sources or by the stories' origin in a single source. After William's two stories there is a gap of sixteen entries before any relationship among entries again appears. Although this may seem insignificant, the next group that does appear is also the first time that a group of pilgrims have clearly traveled together to Evesham en masse since the pilgrims from Britford, above.[83] Furthermore, in individual entries near this point in the text, groups of clearly present pilgrims all attesting to a single miracle also reappear. There has been a gap of 71 entries since pilgrims in any significant number have appeared in an account.[84] After a lull, it seems that pilgrims have returned openly and in larger numbers. In the case of this next group of miracles, it would have been nearly impossible to disguise their intent as pilgrims seeking miracles, since three of the travelers were being carried in wheelbarrows.

> Richard from the parish of Inteberg, the son of John Fili, and paralyzed since birth, who had feet and legs pointing in opposite directions for five years, was not able to get around by any means, was measured to Earl Simon by Alicia his mother, and was taken to Evesham in a cer-

[83] #51 – 53; Halliwell, 76-77. See above, 184 – 89.
[84] I.e., between #59 and #130.

tain wheelbarrow during the vigil of the Holy Cross, in the year of grace 1265.[85] While the aforesaid mother of the same one went together with the boy to the tomb of Earl Simon, until the middle of the night they had persevered in vigils and prayers, the said boy by the merits of the martyr got up, and he was made healthy in all his members, just as he had always desired. The witnesses to this thing are the mother of the boy, and Nicholas Grate, and Sara his wife, John Hertiber, and the whole village of Inteberg.

Rosa Tholus suffered a certain pain in her head, by which all her sense organs were bound with pains, such that she feared to be deprived of her senses; her eye had a tumor and bigger than the size of an egg, measured to the Earl, she immediately recovered.

Alice, wife of Nicholas Grate of Inteberg, for half a year and more, in her upper legs, feet, and lower legs, felt such great weakness and pain, that the aforesaid was not able to move her members. She was measured to Earl Simon, and brought to Evesham in a certain wheelbarrow, and until about the middle of the night applying herself to vigils and prayers, she sensed enough of a lessening of her sickness that she was

[85] September 14. This date's year is the only one clearly out of sequence between #113 and the end of the document that cannot be account for by the process of reporting. See above, Chapter Three, 151.

able to walk with the aid of a crutch. The witnesses to this thing are those written in the following cure of John.

John of Fekham, son of Thomas Adelard, for two and a half years was paralyzed in his upper and lower legs, and was led to Evesham in a wheelbarrow, who without the aid of two crutches for the aforesaid time was not able to get around, by the merits and help of our martyr he recovered, so much that he threw away his crutches and walked away entirely healthy. The same one maintains testimony about himself, along with the village of Fekham, and especially these: Richard Hunte, Richard of Odebury, Hugh Hunte, Richard Chyldessone, Adam the cleric from Odebury. We saw the aforementioned four miracles, moreover, and persons individually.[86]

[86] Halliwell, 93-4:

130 - *Ricardus de parochia de Inteberg, filius Johannis Fili, et contractus a nativitate, qui gambas et pedes habuit per quinquennium bifurcatas, nullo modo valens incedere, per Aliciam matrem suam ad comitem Symonem mensuratus, et in reda quadam Evesham adductus sere in vigilia sanctae Crucis, anno gratiae M^{o}. cc^{o}. lxv^{o}. Cum mater ipsius praedicta una cum puero ad sepulcrum comitis Symonis, usque ad mediam noctem in vigiIiis et orationibus perseverasset, dictus puer meritis martiris surrexit, et in omnibus membris suis sanus factus est, ita quod ad voluntatem suam incessum habuit. Hujus rei testes sunt mater pueri, et Nicholas Grate, et Sara uxor illius, Johannes Herteber, et tota villata Inteberg.*

131 - *Rosa Tholus passionem quandam sustinuit in capite, cujus omnia organa sensuum doloribus constringebantur, tantum quod dubitabat sensu privari; cujus oculus habuit tumorem et grossidiorem ad mensuram ovi, mensurata ad Comitem, statim convaluit.*

132 - *Alicia, uxor Nicolai Grate de Inteberg, per dimidium annum et amplius, in gambis, pedibus, et tibiis, tantam sensit debilitatem et molestiam, quod praedicta, membra movere non potuit. Quae ad comitem Symonem mensurata, et in reda quadam apud Evesham advecta, et usque fere mediam noctem vigillis et orationibus insistens, tantam de infirmitate sensit allevacionem, quod baculo sustentata potuit incedere. Testes hujus rei sunt qui scribuntur in curatione Johannis consequente.*

133 - *Johannes de Fekham, filius Thomae Adelard, per duos annos et dimidium gambis et tibiis contractus, et apud Evesbam in reda adductus, qui sine duorum baculorum adjutorio per dictum tem-*

The place name Inteberg links the first and third miracles. The first named witness of the first miracle is also the husband of the beneficiary of the third miracle. The end of the third miracle specifically refers to the recipient of the fourth, saying that their attestations are the same. The second story of this group would seem to be unrelated to the others until we come to the end of the last story, which refers to four miracles; Rosa Tholus' cure is therefore part of the set. Measuring, the mode of her miracle, is unique in the group. Keeping a vigil at Simon's tomb cures Alice and Richard's son John, and the mode of John of Fekham's cure is not given. All four are present before the cult's scribe, since he says specifically that he personally saw all four people and their cures. These words cannot refer to the witnesses in that paragraph since five are named, not four. This groups is the largest and last such group of pilgrims clearly present in the *Liber miraculorum*. The Inteberg group is the last example of a groups of pilgrims during a period of overall decline.

Five entries after John of Fekham's cure, two stories appear that have been brought by Robert. Robert, however, did not need to travel to Evesham since he was already the chaplain and vicar there, of either St. Mary or St. Egwin's churches in Evesham.[87] He does not appear to be a part of Evesham abbey.

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pus incedere non potuit, meritis et adjutorio martiris nostri convaluit, ita quod baculis abjectis omnino sanus abcessit. Idem de seipso testimonium perhibet, una cum villata de Fekham, et specialiter hii, ----Ricardus Hunte, Ricardus de Odebury, Hugo Hunte, Ricardus Chyldessonne, Adam clericus de Odebury. Praescripta autem quatuor miracula vidimus et personas singulorum.

[87] Cf. #170; Halliwell, 100.

Robert, chaplain and vicar of Evesham, had a spasm in his upper and lower legs for a long time, measured to Earl Simon, he immediately recovered. With these people present, the lord Abbot of Evesham, brother William de Hekelinges, the monastery's librarian, at that time Robert's confessor, and the whole monastery.

Also, the same Robert tells of a certain monk of Bruer, paralyzed for seven years. This monk saw in sleep John his abbot already dead, along with a certain knight walking around the hospital, and, when they had come to the bed of the infirm one, the knight said to the abbot, "Who is that?" The abbot said, "he was a noble singer of psalms." The knight came to him, and, touching, said, "Rise in the name of Jesus, and perform your office!" and immediately he arose healthy, praising God and Earl Simon. Of this maintains testimony the entire monastery of Bruer, along with its abbot.[88]

[88] Halliwell, 94-5:

138- *Robertus, capellanus et vicarius de Evesham, habens spasmum in gambis et tibiis longo tempore, mensuratus ad comitem Symonem, statim convaluit. Hiis praesentibus, domino abbate de Evesham, fratre Willielmo de Hekelinges, librario monasterii, tunc confessore illius Roberti, et toto conventu.*

139 - *Item, idem Robertus recitavit de quodam monacho Bruerie, paralitico per septem annos. Iste monachus vidit in sompnis Johannem abbatem suum jam defunctum, una cum milite quodam circuente infirmariam, et, cum ad lectum venissent infirmi, dixit abbati miles, "Quis est iste? " A[i]t abbas, "Nobilis psalmicinos fuit." Miles accessit ad eum, et, tetigens, dicens, "Surge in nomine Jhesu, et fac officium tuum!" et statim surrexit sanus, laudans Dominum et comitem Symonem. De hoc perhibet testimonium totus conventus Bruerie cum abbate.*

Robert's two stories follow the usual pattern. His miracle appears first, and then some other miracle he had heard about appears next. His miracles differ, however, in that his own miracle story is less detailed than that of the anonymous monk. Robert's cure seems to have provided the occasion to report the second miracle. The presence of two named members of Evesham abbey, including the abbot, as well as the generalized witnesses, "the entire monastery," suggest that Robert was measured there. Although Robert had heard about one of Simon's miracles before, he only reports it after his own cure. The dream in the second miracle is also different from the dreams considered so far in this chapter in that the dream itself conveys no information, so there is no reason to speculate that the dream here has come to stand for some other transfer of information. Instead, the dream seems to be the mode of the monk's cure; there is no measuring or other gesture associated with the miracle.

Since Robert would presumably have had prior opportunities to report the second miracle, we have to wonder why he did so only once he had his own. Although it would be tempting to generalize from Robert's example and suggest that reporting miracles was a kind of offering, like a measuring candle or a penny, no formula in the *Liber miraculorum* is entirely consistent. Most pilgrims report their own miracles first and then those of others. The second of two exceptions to this rule, however, follows Robert's stories four paragraphs later.

> Brother Lawrence of Cornwall, of the order of friars minor, before the feast of the blessed Virgin, was judged by different doctors to have a

bitter fever; while suffering from this, recalling the merits of the Earl to memory, he immediately recovered from his infirmity. The witness is Nicholas de Gulac.

Brother Nicholas de Gulac, of the same order, having stones and feeling the most severe pain, so that his surgeon proposed to cut him; and the same brother, despairing of health and life, would in no way permit surgery. Finally, he turned himself to God, that through the merits of His martyr Simon the Earl He might deign to cure him. Astonishing thing, the following day around the third hour, when he rose from his bed to urinate, the stone fell at his feet, no pain preceding or following, completely cured on Tuesday, in the week of Easter, in the year of grace 1269. Of this maintains testimony the entire monastery at Oxford.[89]

Once again, the apparent source appears at the end of the first account and the beginning of the second, even though the sequence of reporting his own and others' mira-

[89] Halliwell, 95-6:

143 - *Frater Laurencius Cornibiensis, ordinis fratrum minorum, contra festivitatem beatae Virginis, a discretis physicis in amaria febre adjudicatus; in passione sua praedicta, Comitis merita ad memoriam reducens, statim de infirmitate convaluit. Testis frater fuit Nicholaus de Gulac.*

144 - *Frater Nicholaus de Gulak, de eodem ordine, habens calculum et gravissimum dolorem senciens, ita ut suus cyrurgicus eum incidere proposuisset; et idem frater, de salute et vita desperatus, nullatenus incidi permisisset. Convertit tandem se ad Dominum, ut meritis sui martiris Symonis comitis eum curare dignaretur. Mira res, in crastino circa horam terciam, cum surrexisset a lecto ut commingeret, cecidit calculus ad pedes ejus, nullo dolore praecedente aut sequente, plene curatus die Martis, in septimana Paschae, anno gratiae M^{o}. cc^{o}. Ixix. De hoc perbibet testimonium totus conventus Oxoniae.*

cles has been reversed. Both of Nicholas' stories, moreover, involve a relatively rare mode for their miracles, that of simply remembering Simon.

The remaining groups of related of stories were reported over a much longer period of time than the examples above. As time passed, interest in Simon's cult declined and fewer entries were made each year. Therefore, a gap of several entries covers a larger stretch of time. Nicholas reported his accounts, above, in early 1269. The following pair of stories appears between that paragraph and one dated to mid-1272.[90]

> William Pikerings of Canterbury had a sick boy near death; measured to Earl Simon, he recovered. And, as a sign of his health, he brought a wax boy to Evesham. Of this maintains testimony the entire parish of St. Andrew in Canterbury.
>
> The same William Pikerings, of the same village, having a boy with a swollen left knee so inflated that it deprived him of the strength to move his foot, measured to Earl Simon, all inflammation immediately disappeared. As a sign of health, he brought another boy made out of wax. The witnesses are as above.[91]

[90] #173, Halliwell, 101.
[91] Halliwell, 97:
152- *Willelmus de Pikeringes Cantuariensis puerum infirmatum habuit usque ad mortem; mensuratus ad comitem Symonem, convaluit. Et, in signum sanitatis, detulit puerum apud Evesham de cera. De hoc perhibet testimonium tota parochia sancti Andreae Cantuariensis.*

Apparently, William has personally brought two wax figures of his boys to Evesham. There is no reference to a pilgrimage by anyone in his family. No figure in the stories could be said to be the source. This explanation would also seem to account for the next pair of related entries, dateable to after mid-1272.[92]

> A certain woman from Canterbury, named Agnes, the wife of Henry the doctor, struck by a certain severe gout in her right hand, and afflicted for a year and a half, so that she was not able to move her hand, she believed she had completely lost that [limb]; so, immediately the hand was measured to the Earl, she recovered perfect health. And as a sign of this thing, she sent to Evesham to the said Earl Simon a hand made out of wax. To this thing maintains testimony all her neighbors.
>
> Thomas Atteheye, a certain man from Canterbury, having cold gout in all his members, so that he could neither walk, nor move any member of his body; and he suffered for a year. That one, measured to Earl Simon, immediately recovered, and personally the same one began a

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153 - *Idem Willelmus de Pikeringes, ejusdem villae, habens puerum unum genu sinistrum ita inflatum quod vix articuli pedis apparerent, mensuratus ad comitem Svmonem, statim tota inflatio evanuit. In signum, sanitatis, detulit alium puerum de cera. Testes ut supra [tota parochia sancti Andreae Cantuariensis, #149].*

[92] I.e., just after #173; Halliwell, 101.

journey on the road to Evesham, himself, with many of his neighbors. And of this thing all of them fully maintain eyewitness testimony.[93]

The stories' common origin in Canterbury provides one possible link between them. They have no figures in common. None of the people mentioned in them seem to have come to Evesham personally. Agnes' candle was "sent," whereas William Pickerings, above, is said to have "brought" his. In the case of Thomas, the scribe is careful to say only that he began a pilgrimage, which is unique to this paragraph in the *Liber miraculorum*. Wax offerings appear in both accounts, the anonymous Canterbury woman sent one in the shape of the afflicted member while Thomas' would have been the length of his entire body. Aside from Canterbury, the only other common element of the stories is wax. If they were in fact reported by a common source, that person was almost certainly the candle bearer. Since there are no references to the persons who encountered the scribes, the two accounts, if they are related, really require only a single person, the candle bearer, to have brought both stories. Though it is impossible to say for sure, the unusual description of a large group at least starting out for Evesham, but none of them actually appearing as witnesses, may mean that a

[93] Halliwell, 101:

174 - *Quaedam mulier Cantuar', Agnes nomine, uxor Henrici medici, quadam gravi gutta percussa in manu dextra, et detenta per annum et dimidium, ita quod eandem manum movere non potuit, se penitus illam amisisse credebat; ita, statim manu ad Comitem mensurata, pristinam recuperavit sanitatem. Et in signum hujus rei, apud Evesham ad dictum comitem Symonein unam manum de cera transmisit. Hujus rei testinionium perhibent omnes vicini sui.*

175 - *Thomas Atteheye, quidam vir Cantuarim, habuit frigidam guttam in omnibus suis membris, ita quod nec ambulare, nec in aliquo membro se movere potuit; et hoc per annum duravit. Iste, ad comitem Symonem mensuratus, statim convaluit, et itinere apud Evesham arrepto personaliter, ibidem, cum multis vicinis suis, accessit. Et hujus rei testimonium de visu omnes plene perhibebant.*

large group began a pilgrimage to Evesham but most of them fell away before they got there.

The previous examples are only speculatively linked by their common place of origin. However, consecutive stories from the same location are not necessarily related, something that is especially true when accounts are displaced in time. Most of the last several miracles are from London, for instance; but this does not suggest connections among them since they occurred over a longer period of time. The last 23 paragraphs are scattered over a period stretching from 1272 to 1278. These two accounts, however, dated between the summer of 1272 and the spring of 1273, can be linked by their common source.

> William de Hales, a citizen of London, afflicted by a severe infirmity for eight weeks, so that he despaired of losing his life; finally measured to Earl Simon, he immediately recovered, and was cured of that infirmity.
>
> The same William de Hales, shortly thereafter struck with paralysis on his right side, so that he could not move his lower right leg, but he believed he had completely lost that [limb], again he measured himself to Earl Simon, and immediately gained complete health. Of this main-

tains testimony all his neighbors.[94]

Paragraphs both before and after this pair, also from London, may be related but there is no clear evidence of this. We cannot be sure if William brought stories from anyone else in London. Instead, his two stories, recorded in two separate paragraphs, record two miracles accruing to the same person over time. This pattern is common to the latter part of the *Liber miraculorum* and may also account for the separate appearance of William Pickering's two boys, above. As the time between Simon's death and the actual reporting grows, beneficiaries have had more time to experience more than one miracle.[95]

The chain of transmission for stories of Simon de Montfort's miracles was varied and tenuous. The relationship between beneficiary, witness, pilgrim, and scribe varied tremendously. The two stories of Henry Chandler's cure and those of Simon Benedict's son relate to an individual beneficiary. These stories appear in the *Liber miraculorum*, apparently, after parallel and non-simultaneous chains of transmission, probably involving different sets of witnesses and perhaps different scribes. The way

[94] Halliwell, 103:

182 - *Willelmus de Hales, civis Londoniarum, gravi infirmitate detentus per octo septimanas, ita quod de vita sua penitus desperavit; demum ad comitem Symonem mensuratus, statim convaluit, et de illa infirmitate curatus est.*

183 - *Idem Willelmus de Hales, in brevi postea percussus paralisi in parte dextera, ita quod tibiam dexteram movere non potuit, se[d] penitus illam amisisse credebat, iterum mensuravit se ad comitem Symonem, et statim pristinam optinuit sanitatem. De hoc perhibent testimonium omnes vicini sui.*

[95] E.g., #163, Halliwell, 99.

the stories appear in the *Liber miraculorum*, however, was intended to inspire maximum confidence in their veracity. Pilgrims were therefore made into witnesses, and they often became more numerous as they were reduced to anonymity. At times, those named as witnesses are not the source for the stories in which they appear. Rather, they are part of the story. The attestation of a "whole village" is as important to glorifying Simon as a saint as was the severity of the illness and the immediacy of the cure. The incorporation of witnesses into the narrative by pilgrims, even before the scribes got their hands on the story, was not limited to entire locales but also extended to witnesses of note or status. John the Chaplain was not necessarily present at the encounter between pilgrim and scribe that resulted in the second version of Henry Chandler's cure. He had, however, been integral to the performance of the other miracles from Britford, and his name and his other story of Simon's miracles entered circulation among those who saw Simon as a saint, appearing again in the *Liber miraculorum*. Hawise de Neville, as I will show in the next chapter, could not have been present at the encounter that produced the second story of Simon Benedict since she was already dead. She had, however, witnessed the first miracle; that fact was important enough for someone to attach her name to another account, making her a part of the story as a witness.

The greater space of time between entries toward the end of the document, and their increasing concentration in one part of the country, explicitly signal the decline of the cult of Simon de Montfort. Less obvious, however, are the signs of the increasing and changing difficulties that confronted those seeking to report their

miracles as well as the miracles of others in their families, villages, and religious communities. The changing circumstances of pilgrims changed the way the cult's scribes received information, and the changing presentation of information required the development of new ways of recording that information. Pilgrims or groups of pilgrims related stories to different scribes at different times. The pattern of reporting is preserved in the way scribes represented those telling the story and those who were said to have seen the miracle. Groups of pilgrims appear or disappear, they are replaced by pilgrims who bring more than one story, and later pilgrims bring more than one story from the same source, as more than one miracle has occurred over time.

Like many other features of the text, however, formulae for representing these people in the text vary. The changing formulae of the *Liber miraculorum*, explored in Chapter Three, show the changing conditions at Evesham and may indicate a change in scribes over time. The increasing size, detail, and Latin vocabulary of the later entries also suggest a change in scribe. This explanation is also consistent with the changing ways that sources are depicted in the *Liber miraculorum*: different scribes produced different narratives.[96] The change is clearest beginning in 1272 and is also

[96] Different scribes brought with them a difference in emphasis in what they recorded and how the recorded it. Mayr-Harting, "Functions of a Twelfth-Century Shrine," 198. For the differences between the two compilers of Thomas Becket's miracles, see J. Robertson, ed., *Materials for the history of Thomas Becket*, Rerum Britannicarum medii aevi scriptores 67, vol. 2: *Passio (et Miracula) Sancti Thomae Cantuariensis, auctore Benedicto Petriburgensi abbate. Miracula Sancti Thomae Cantuariensis, auctore Benedicto, abbate Petriburgensi. Vita Sancti Thomae, Cantuariensis archiepiscopi et martyris, auctoribus Joanne Saresberiensi et Alano abbate Tewkesberiensi. Vita S. Thomae, Cantuariensis archiepiscopi et martyris, auctore Edwardo Grim* (London: Longman, 1875). D. Lett, "Deux hagiographes, un saint et un roi: Conformisme et créativité dans les deux recueils de *Miracula* de Thomas Becket," in *Auctor et Auctoritas: Invention et conformisme dans l'écriture médiévale* (Paris: École des Chartes, 2001), 201 – 16.

signaled by the addition of a prologue in 1274,[97] which may have been part of a new campaign to promote the cult of Simon de Montfort during the opportunity presented by the two years it took Edward to return after the death of Henry III in November 1272.[98] This explanation is consistent with the variations in the text considered in this and the previous chapter. The next two chapters will attempt to confirm and flesh out this speculative structure for the *Liber miraculorum* of Simon de Montfort using information from outside the text to identify and situate figures in the collection.

The relations among the pairs and clusters of paragraphs allow us to see how the text records those stories that were in circulation among Simon's admirers that the scribes also saw fit to record. These stories appear in the text, however, only as the scribes saw fit to record them, or as they were able to record them. The versions, variations, and iterations of these stories were in all likelihood vastly more numerous than the 195 paragraphs of the text. The *Liber miraculorum* might record partial or progressive cures, but it does not record failures. The selectivity of the scribes represents one more obstacle to reconstructing events at Simon de Montfort's shrine and the relationships between pilgrim and scribe. In the next chapter, I will show how this selectivity extended to how well-known figures were depicted in the *Liber miraculorum*. Just as we can reconstruct a picture of Simon de Montfort during the period of reform and rebellion that is more complicated and nuanced than the way he

[97] Compare the continuation of St. Benedict's miracle collection, D. Rollason, "The Miracles of St. Benedict, 74.

[98] For an example of how this might be orchestrated by a cult that could operate in the open, see E. Cownie, "The Cult of St. Edmund in the Eleventh and Twelfth Centuries," in *Neuphilologische Mitteilungen* 99 (1998): 177 – 197.

is depicted in stories of his miracles, we can also at times see how the *Liber miraculorum* simplified the complicated politics and shifting alliances of politically significant figures.

Chapter Five

The Appearance and Decline of Lay Elites in the *Liber miraculorum* of Simon de Montfort

Simon de Montfort's *Liber miraculorum* is remarkable among saints' cults of this period for the relatively large number of high status laymen who appear in its accounts.[1] This chapter will consider their appearance in the text. Thirty entries refer to at least one layman of knightly status or higher. Many of these high status laity came directly to Evesham or met with the scribes at some other place, despite the danger involved in doing so. As the political situation in England changed between August 1265 and 1275, so did the appearance of these elite in the text. I will show how these changes in the text mirror changes in the political situation in England over a period I divide into three periods. First, in the year following de Montfort's death, the siege of Kenilworth kept the ongoing conflict within easy reach of Evesham. The loss of virtually every major Montfortian to death, exile, or capitulation meant that there was no replacement for Simon de Montfort. The character of the *Liber miraculorum* changes at about the time the cult entered its second year, reflecting the fact that the resistance to Henry had acquired a new geographical center, a new champion, and a new controversy. These changes mark the beginning of a second period, in which the focus of lay opposition from Kenilworth in the west to Ely in the East, and from Simon de

[1] R. Finucane, *Miracles and Pilgrims: Popular beliefs in medieval England* (London, 1977), 135. Maddicott agrees with the characterization, J. Maddicott, "Follower, Leader, Pilgrim, Saint: Robert de Vere, Earl of Oxford, at the Shrine of Simon de Montfort, 1273," *EHR* 109, no. 432 (1994): 653.

Montfort to the Earl of Gloucester. The differences between and among royalists and Montfortians were no longer over the issue of absolute disinherison but on an acceptable process for redeeming seized lands. Each faction's moderates met in the middle, while the extremists who advocated continuing conflict found themselves increasingly marginalized. In the third period, beginning in 1272, the cult of Simon de Montfort faced a crisis of growing irrelevance. Edward's limited reforms offered much of what had made de Montfort attractive. Edward's crusade, furthermore, allowed the royalists to monopolize what had been part of Simon's moral high ground. Perhaps for this reason, the unrest between Henry's death in 1272 and Edward's return from Crusade in 1274, though considerable, found no anti-royal focus or leader and did not grow beyond a limited period of lawlessness. This period of unrest was, however, the occasion for a renewed effort to collect de Montfort's miracles.

Edward, as a new king, an erstwhile reformer, and a returning crusader, seemed to have none of his father's liabilities and many of Simon de Montfort's assets. As a result, reform and Christian government were divorced as issues from the decision to oppose or support the king. The *Liber miraculorum*, as I will show, was wedded to a picture of the state of affairs as they were on August 4, 1265. Since the scribes were intent on showing important figures in the black and white of royalist and Montfortian, the shades of grey among the shifting factions in the days leading up to the battle of Evesham are absent from the characterizations of the elite lay figures in the text. Finally, the cult's scribes and pilgrims appear to have been unable to reinvent Simon as a saint in order to accommodate changes in the political landscape in

the years following his death. The renewed effort at Evesham to collect stories of Simon's miracles met with considerably less enthusiasm and fewer pilgrims.

I will consider, therefore, the nature and significance of the appearance of laymen specifically identified in the text as having the status of at least a knight.[2] Six of the first twenty entries can be linked to lay elite, whereas the next thirty paragraphs contain only one such reference, and that only to a foreign knight. For the rest of the first half of the document the elites appear consistently, with only minor gaps in their appearance. Some appear clustered together. Three entries starting at number 47 and four beginning at number 85 are entirely concerned with lay elite subjects. After the cult's one-year mark,[3] however, appearances of the lay elite decline sharply, appearing in only nine paragraphs in the second half of the text, compared with twenty-one in the first half. The role of these lay elites in the miracle stories also changes over the course of the document. Through to paragraph 85, the lay elite in the miracle stories are the miracles' beneficiaries, named witnesses of the miracle, part of a beneficiary's household, or in three cases, the bearer of an offering candle. From number 85 to the end, as they appear with diminishing frequency, most elite laymen appear in accounts that look like hearsay, listing no clear witness or storyteller, with the exception of two candle bearers. The second half of the document, where fewer lay elite

[2] For a related study of status in a *liber miraculorum* see D. Rollason, "The Miracles of St. Benedict: A window on early medieval France," in *Studies in Medieval History Present to R. H. C. Davis* ed. H. Mayr-Harting and R. Moore (London: Hambledon, 1985), 81 – 7. Sharon Farmer uses the *liber miraculorum* of Louis IX to look at otherwise undocumented networks of social support for the poor of Paris, S. Farmer, "Down and Out and Female in Thirteenth-Century Paris," *AHR* 103, no. 2 (April 1998): 345 – 72.

[3] Beginning by #113; Halliwell, 89.

appear, contains Hawise de Neville's duplicate appearances and the quick repeat of William de la Rye's miracle within a very short space, both mentioned in the previous chapter. The role of the storyteller in the miracle accounts also varies throughout the document. Lay elite at the beginning of the *liber miraculorum* were likely to make more than one visit to Simon's shrine or locate the text's scribes: once apparently in search of a miracle and a second time to report it after it had happened. By the text's end, however, enough time has passed that individual storytellers have multiple miracles to report. Cured of one complaint at one time, they are later cured of another and wind up reporting both at once at a later time. A few lay elites appear to bear witness to their own miracles, but overall there is less clear evidence of a direct connection between lay elites and the monks directly concerned with Simon's cult.

The busiest period of lay elite involvement in Simon's cult was in the year beginning with Simon's death at the battle of Evesham on August 4, 1265. During this year, several prominent Montfortians made their peace with Henry and the rebels suffered severe reverses. Travel to Simon's shrine was physically dangerous, and Evesham was, for most of the period, without an abbot. This period ended the following August, when the rebels continuing the fight with Henry opened a second front at Ely, the Dictum of Kenilworth[4] gave at least some Montfortians a mechanism for reconciliation and reclaiming their lands, and the new abbot of Evesham was apparently won over to the cult's support, despite the intentions of those who had installed him.[5]

[4] *DBMR*, 316 – 37.
[5] #129; Halliwell, 92 – 3.

Overall, the pattern of the lay elite's progressive estrangement from the cult is clear: twenty members crowd into the first year of the cult, but there are only nine unambiguously high status laymen in the record in the following twelve years between late 1266 and 1278. The relationship between the cult's scribes and its lay elite members changed over time as the situation of the cult, and the situation in England, changed. Although interest in the cult is evident from the renewed writing activity beginning in 1272 and again in the 1320's, it appears that this interest was increasingly restricted to churchmen and to laymen of unremarkable status. Simon's cult had lost its exceptionality.

Period One: August 1265 – August 1266

The battle of Evesham represented a decapitation of the Montfortian party.[6] Disinherison, however, first on an unofficial basis and later organized into a policy, ensured that the conflict would continue and actually spread that conflict to parts of the country previously untouched by the Barons' War.[7] Loyalists immediately seized the lands and property of those who had supported de Montfort, those who were thought to have supported de Montfort, and those who were simply powerless to stop widespread theft in the guise of rough justice. Such seizures had been the currency of political violence throughout the period of reform and rebellion, with neither side

[6] C. Knowles, "The Disinherited, 1265 – 80: A political and social study of the supporters of Simon de Montfort and the resettlement after the Barons' War" (Ph.D. thesis, University of Wales Aberystwyth, 1959), 18.

[7] C. Knowles, "The Resettlement of England After the Barons' War, 1264-67," *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society*, 5th Ser., 32 (1982): 25-41.

clearly initiating or monopolizing the process. Those in possession of seized lands, as we shall see, often justified those seizures as compensation for lands they had previously lost to their enemies. This cycle of violence and appropriation would now come to an end, as de Montfort's death and the dispersal of the remaining rebellious elements meant that the royalists would now have the last word.[8]

Simon de Montfort the younger, who had escaped the ambush of his garrison at Kenilworth, released his prisoner, Richard of Cornwall, Henry's brother, to secure a guarantee of safe-conduct to the Winchester parliament of September 11, 1265. Any hope of a moderate settlement at the parliament, however, was dashed by royalists' insistence that since they had suffered under de Montfort, which clearly they had, their seizures represented just compensation. Disinherison was an established punishment for taking up arms against the king, but reconciliation and the redemption of lost lands was also an established process. Parliament produced, on September 21, an order for a nationwide survey of rebels' lands. Over the opposition of Richard of Cornwall, Roger Bigod, and Philip Basset, all royalists, the Winchester parliament then formally disinherited all the rebels on October 13. From this point on, however, instead of forging a new consensus and reconciling members of the two former parties, the royalists merely rationalized and systematized the punitive confiscations already underway. In a way, the Barons' War was continuing. Reconciliation and redemption would eventually occur but only after this process of disinherison had prolonged the civil war another two years. Simon de Montfort the younger returned to

[8] C. Knowles, "The Disinherited," 19-20.

Kenilworth, but Henry violated the safe-conduct guarantee to the mayor of London, whom he imprisoned.[9] The Papal legate, Ottobono, arrived at the end of October with explicit instructions from Clement IV to use crusade preaching to draw the rebels away from their cause.[10] In London, Montfortians lost their houses, and the city had to buy its traditional right to govern itself back from the king for 20,000 marks. A revolt there the following May was also put down.[11]

Through May 1266, the remaining Montfortians were steadily worn down and rounded up. Edward captured Simon de Montfort the younger and a small number of his followers near Northampton on December 13, 1265. They agreed to appear before Henry for judgment the following Easter.[12] Fearing assassination, however, Simon fled the country in early February. In the Cinque Ports, Dover fell after royalist prisoners overpowered the garrison there. Simon de Montfort's widow and her two younger sons fled the country. Edward captured Sandwich and Hastings, perhaps because he was offering more lenient terms than either Henry or Ottobono, and he defeated the rebels' fleet in March, after which he attacked Winchelsea.[13] The Montfortians continued to lose leaders as some of the more prominent figures who could still submit to the king did so. Thomas Cantilupe was reconciled February 10 but remained in exile as long as Henry was alive. Hugh de Neville surrendered at the

[9] Ibid., 20. G. Williams, *Medieval London* (Athlone: London), 232 – 3.
[10] B. Beebe, "The English Baronage and the Crusade of 1270," *Bulletin of the Institute of Historical Research* 48, no. 118 (November 1978): 128.
[11] C. Knowles, "The Disinherited," 24. Williams, *Medieval London*, 232ff.
[12] C. Knowles, "The Disinherited," 21-2.
[13] Ibid., 23.

end of June, and Ralph Basset and John fitz John followed suit in early July.[14] The remaining centers of resistance were Kenilworth, Derby, and Essex, and the rebels also briefly recaptured Lincoln. The Montfortians whom Edward had released at Northampton failed to appear that Easter, perhaps the only significant failure of Edward's lenient approach in the aftermath of Evesham. Regardless, the Earl of Cornwall surprised the rebels at Chesterfield on May 15 and managed to capture their host, the Earl of Derby. Five days later, rebels in East Anglia were less fortunate: a frustrated Edward abandoned his earlier leniency and hanged them from the trees near Alton Pass, despite their status as knights.[15]

A picture of the rebels and their relation to Simon's cult in the year after his death emerges from the first 112 paragraphs of the *Liber miraculorum*. One of the first accounts from this period is also the most frustrating since it offers the tantalizing but unverifiable possibility of a sort of post-mortem rapprochement between two Montfortian factions that had been at odds in the days leading up to the battle of Evesham.

> The Lady Countess of Gloucester had an asthmatic palfrey for two years. While returning from Evesham toward Thewkesbury, as the horse drank from the earl's spring, and having both head and face were washed, in the presence of the aforementioned countess, it recovered.

[14] Ibid., 27.
[15] Ibid., 25.

> And, a penny bent, in testimony of the health and miracle, she sent her armed retainer back to Evesham. Of this thing the witnesses are the aforementioned countess, with all her household.[16]

While *comitissa* may have been increasingly ambiguous in late thirteenth-century England, the *Liber miraculorum* itself is very careful with the word's appearance.[17] Many women of status appear simply as *domina,* and all of them will be considered in this chapter. But only one other person is identified as "*Domina comitissa*," or "the lady Countess _____," and that is the Countess Aubomarle, Isabella de Forz, also known as the Lady of the Isle, who appears in the text in the company of arch-Montfortian and violent opponent of the Jews John fitz John in paragraph 158. For this reason I would suggest that the appearance of *comitissa* in the *Liber miraculorum* is not arbitrary and that the woman in question was a member of the de Clare family, most likely Maud de Lacy, mother of Gilbert de Clare.[18] That the woman in question was a de Clare seems even more likely when we consider the other details of the story and the state of the cult as it appears in this part of the text. The fact that an armed

[16] Halliwell, 68-9:
#3 - *Domina comitissa Gloverniae habuit palefridum asmaticum gall' porsif' per duos annos. In redeundo ab Evesham versus Theukesbury, cabello hausto de fonte Comitis, et caput et facies lota, in presencia dictae comitisse, convaluit. Et, denario plicato, in testimonio sanitatis et miraculi, iterum misit armigerum suum Evesham. Hujus rei testes praedicta comitissa, cum tota familia sua.*

[17] I cannot agree with Heffernan that the word "*comitessa*" is here being used in some generic sense. T. Heffernan, "'God hate schewed ffor him many grete miracules': Political Canonization and the *Miracula* of Simon de Montfort," in *Art and Context in Late Medieval English Narrative: Essays in honor of Robert Worth Frank, Jr.*, ed. R. Edwards (Cambridge: Brewer, 1994), 188.

[18] Maud de Lacy, 1222-88. The only other candidate, Alice de Lusignan (1240-91), wife of Gilbert de Clare, would not be likely to visit Simon's shrine, considering the longstanding enmity between the Lusignans and Simon de Montfort.

retainer, "*armigerum*," was sent back with news of the miracle, and presumably the bent penny, is perhaps the most important clue. Paragraph six, for instance, mentions armed guards on the road to Simon's spring, who were trying to keep people from using its water.[19] Although entries throughout the *Liber miraculorum* mention "the entire household" as witnesses, the lady's retainer is clearly the story's source and his return trip and status were apparently important enough to warrant mention, whereas so many others who spoke for whole families, towns, and religious communities do not appear in the text. For the *comitissa*, sending any other servant, or returning in person, might have been either too dangerous or too conspicuous. If the lady mentioned actually was part of Gilbert de Clare's family, this may explain why her party was able to get to Simon's spring at all, since Gilbert de Clare had defected to the royalist side in the summer of 1265, before the battle of Evesham.

Even though we cannot be absolutely certain of the identity of the "countess," there are other details that make the account useful and interesting. At the very least, we can say that one large, high-status retinue made a pilgrimage to Evesham and that its members were aware of the dangers involved. Also, since this account is the first of many miracles involving animals, why would anyone travel roughly 25 miles with or on a horse known to have been sick for two years? Furthermore, why did the traveling party make sure that the horse did more than drink, by washing its head and face with the miracle-working water? It seems possible that a cure for the horse was the purpose of the trip. Although it is possible that the miracle occurred on the return leg

[19] #6; Halliwell, 69.

of a trip meant to solicit a completely different miracle, it seems likely that the lady had taken her animal to Evesham for the express purpose of seeking a cure for it.

Evidence that a prominent Montfortian was actually present in Evesham and that a miraculous cure was the likely purpose for going there is significant because not every reference to Montfortians in the *Liber miraculorum* establishes that they were there. Ambiguous evidence complicates the interpretation of the next example of lay elite in the text, paragraph 8, in which the lay elite are the witnesses of the miracle:

> William of Snitenford, son of Henry de Mitton, having four fingers of his left hand paralyzed for twelve years, coming to Evesham, by the merits of our martyr he received the aforementioned fingers extended; to such an extent that he was able to move and extend them at will. Of this thing the witnesses are lady Margery Cantilupe, lady Joan Cantilupe, and the whole village.[20]

There is nothing in this account that proves any of the figures were ever in Evesham. William may have come to Evesham, though the text is unclear.[21] If the miracle occurred along the way, the rest of a potentially dangerous pilgrimage might not have

[20] Halliwell, 69-70:
#8 - *Willelmus de Sniteneford, filius Henrici de Mitton, habens quatuor digitos in sinistra manu per xij. annos contractos, apud Eveshe veniens, meritis martiris nostri digitos praedictos recepit extensos; ita quod eos ad libitum suum movere potuit et extendere. Hujus rei testes sunt Domina Margeria de Cantulupo, et Domina Johanna de Cantulupo, et tota villata.*

[21] "*…apud Eveshe veniens*, …." Halliwell, 69; *Lm* MS, fol. 164r.

been appealing. But if William did come to Evesham, why is he not named as a witness? The only witnesses who are mentioned by name and who are therefore the likely conduits for the notion that William's "whole village" witnessed his cure are two female relatives of Simon de Montfort's chancellor, close associate, future bishop of Hereford, and future saint, Thomas Cantilupe.[22] Joan Cantilupe was Thomas' niece and was married to Henry of Hastings, who appears in the list of those captured at Evesham at the beginning of the *Liber miraculorum*.[23] Margery remains obscure. Thomas either had already gone or was going to go into exile in Paris, where he would remain until Henry's death in 1272, even though he would reconcile with Henry in February of 1266. Other members of his household also appear in the text ten paragraphs later.[24]

Skipping over one other appearance of lay elite in the text, which I will consider below, there are two more appearances of the Cantilupe household nearby in the *Liber miraculorum*. Paragraph 18 reads "Thomas of Cantilupe's hawk vomited up all the food he was given for two days, which is a sign of death among birds, measured to the earl, it recovered." This entry is followed by paragraph 19: "The seneschal of the aforementioned master Thomas, named Nicholas, had for a long time suffered from some kind of gout; to come [sic] to the earl, he recovered."[25] Was the Evesham

[22] Thomas Cantilupe (1218-82), Bp. Hereford, d. 1275, canonized by John XXII in 1320.

[23] Joan does not appear to have been related to Nicholas Cantilupe, a sometime supporter of Simon de Montfort, since she was the widow of Ralph fitz Hugh, whose daughter Eustace married Nicholas, *Peerage*, 111; Farrer, I:162. There is, furthermore, no mention of Nicholas among the children of William Cantilupe, d. 1254. For Henry de Hastings at Evesham, see Halliwell, 67. *Lm* MS, fol. 163r.

[24] *Calendar of Patent Rolls*, 1258 - 1266, 549. See also Chapter Four, 186 – 7, 203.

[25] #18 and #19; Halliwell, 71. These two entries may or may not be related to the miracle immediately

scribes' encounter with the Cantilupe household something that happened on Thomas' way out of the country or something that happened later? It might be argued, contrary to my dating of this portion of the *Liber miraculorum*, that these entries reflect events after Thomas' return to England in 1272 and are part of the renewed scribal activity represented by the introduction, dated 1274.[26] Thomas did return to teaching at Oxford that year, which would have put him close enough to Evesham for an easy trip. However, Joan Cantilupe, who appears ten paragraphs before Thomas' hawk and seneschal and only eight after the 1274 introduction, died in 1271.[27] Furthermore, the hawk and seneschal paragraphs do not resemble the Latin and greater depth of detail characteristic of the mid-1270s material. Instead, these latter appearances of Thomas' associates are part of a steep decline in detail and quality in the text. Instead, I think it is far more likely that these three appearances by members of Thomas Cantilupe's family and household in the *Liber miraculorum* record their interactions with those establishing Simon's shrine at Evesham in its earliest days and that by paragraph 17, the part of the text in which they appear reflects the increasingly difficult circumstances of the cult at that time. Furthermore, these contacts are somewhat likely to have taken place before Thomas' February 10, 1266, capitulation, since public contacts between members of his family or household and Simon's sup-

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previous, which appears in the same, very brief manner: "*Robertus, filius Hugonis Boteler, de Mortone sub Malvernia, sentiens molestiam lapidis per viij. annos, mensuratus convaluit*." #17; Halliwell, 71.

[26] This conclusion would fit the argument of Claire Valente. i.e., that the *Liber miraculorum* was written beginning in 1274, although she has not made this specific observation concerning Thomas Cantilupe. C. Valente, "Simon de Montfort, Earl of Leicester, and the Utility of Sanctity in thirteenth-century England," *Journal of Medieval History* 21 (1995): 45-6 and n. 90.

[27] *Calendar of Inquisitions Miscellaneous*, 1219-1307, 20.

pressed cult might have posed problems for Thomas Cantilupe. The only further reference to the Cantilupe family is to an obscure cousin of "lord Walter Cantilupe," likely meaning the bishop of Worcester, in paragraph 97.[28]

Two examples that appear between the Cantilupe stories show how intermediaries brought to Evesham stories associated with the lay elite. An unknown married woman, perhaps from Gredeford, was cured of paralysis in her right arm by spending the night "near the tomb of the martyr," but her account does not appear directly in the text. Instead, even though she claimed to have visited Simon's tomb, her story passed first to "Lord Robert of Coleworth," who met her on his way to parliament, and who then sent an armed retainer, *armiger* in this case, to find the cult's scribes.[29] This account is immediately followed by a similar one:

> John of Broun, a knight from Tredington, paralyzed in one half his whole body for a year, was measured to the earl, made his measuring candle, and to Evesham came the said infirm man, cured of the infirmity that had gripped him. Of this maintains testimony the rector of the church of Tredington, coming personally to Evesham.[30]

[28] #97; Halliwell, 87.

[29] "*De convalencia hujus mulieris perhibet testimonium armiger domini Roberti de Colleworthe, et, parliamento veniens, colloquium habuit cum dicta muliere, affirmante ipsam sanam effectam per merita martyris*." #12; Halliwell, 70. "Gredeford" is Halliwell's guess, Halliwell 70n. The *Lm* MS has "Oogredeford," *Lm* MS, fol. 164v. Greenford, Middlesex, is a possibility. *Armiger* and similar words appear in the *Liber miraculorum* three times, none after #48; Halliwell, 76.

[30] Halliwell, 70:

#13 - *Johannes de Broun, miles de Traduncton, paraliticus in una medietate totius corporis per annum, ad Comitem mensuratus, candelam suam de mensura composuit, et apud Evesham veniret dic-*

When miracle recipients witness their own miracles in the *Liber miraculorum*, the text clearly says so, listing other witnesses in addition to the recipient-as-witness. This pattern holds true both in the case of named persons, who had likely accompanied the recipient, and also when whole communities are said to have witnessed the miracle, in which case we can consider the recipient to be the storyteller and the source of the notion that his whole village or religious house saw it happen, too.[31] In the cases above, however, the scribe clearly distinguishes between two men, both from Tredington, and both of whom have come specifically to Evesham. In both cases, pilgrims had made it to Evesham, either for a cure or as proof of one, but were not the ones who brought the story to the cult's scribes. There is no pattern of contact, scribes in this segment of the text indicate meeting with an armed retainer, a churchman, or the neighbors and parishioners of miracle recipients. Finding the cult's scribes, apparently, even when one has made it to Simon's tomb, has clearly become difficult.

Along with the decline of obvious direct contact within the first twenty miracles is a rapid decline in the stories' detail. The last of the Cantilupe miracles are among the first of these short entries, with little information and no attribution. In these furtive notes, it is not difficult to imagine royal officials descending on the site

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tus infirmus, de infirmitate qua tenebatur convaluit. De hoc perhibet testimonium rector ecclesiae de Cadunton, Evesham personaliter accedens.

As with the previous entry, Halliwell has corrected the place name, in this case to Treddington, Gloucestershire. The MS has "Traduncton," *Lm* MS, fol. 164v.

[31] On witnessing conventions, see Chapter Three, above, 158 - 64.

of the cult as Thomas Cantilupe flees the country.[32] Mentions of vigils at Simon's tomb also decline, and the references to his healing spring disappear almost completely. Reliance on intermediaries to bring offering candles and their makers' stories increases as references to Evesham decrease. Ronald Finucane has already observed that Simon's cult looks inside out on a map, compared to other English cults in this period; the *Liber miraculorum* records more pilgrims from further away than from nearby.[33] Finucane did not explain this phenomenon, but the most obvious answer is that official repression was most effective in the area closest to Evesham since that was the area directly policed. The danger was not limited to direct apprehension but could also lead to being included in the haphazard campaign of land seizures being waged against anyone thought to be affiliated with de Montfort. The solution for Simon's pilgrims was to participate in vicarious pilgrimages by sending intermediaries to Simon with their offering candles. Often these virtual pilgrimages also began with a visit or sign from Simon.[34]

No story from any member of the lay elite appears for twelve entries after Thomas Cantilupe's seneschal. This gap is the largest so far. The next example, the foreign knight Richard Seypo could easily circumvent these strategies of intimidation since he had no English lands to seize. His family had traveled to the tomb of St. Ulsinus for a cure.[35] After another eighteen entries with no high status laymen, the story

[32] Such officials first appear in #6; Halliwell, 69.
[33] Finucane, *Miracles and Pilgrims*, 169.
[34] E.g., #27; Halliwell, 73. #115; Halliwell, 90.
[35] For the Seypo family's miracles, see above, Chapter Four, 203 - 5.

of Lord William of Troyes[36] appears courtesy of his squire, who may have brought the stories of two noble children,[37] before and after his own account, since they lack any attribution. Thus after Thomas' seneschal, there is no English male of high status for forty entries until the story of Alexander de Ros.

> Alexander de Ros, son of William de Ros, suddenly lay infirm and dead, and, completely drained of color, was considered a dead man for a day. He was measured to the earl, after a certain little sigh escaped, he recovered, and told those present who are here of his resuscitation accomplished by the merits of the earl. The names, moreover, of those who are here present are these, namely those who also saw his resuscitation: Alexander Nitterel, and Robert, his squire. These things happened, as written above, in the castle of Helmelling, where there is a chapel of Peter and Paul, to which the infirm was carried, and lay dead; and thereafter raised from the dead. Blessed be God in all things! who, through the merits of the Earl, works such great things.[38]

[36] #48; Halliwell, 76.
[37] #47, #49; Halliwell, 75-6.
[38] Halliwell, 78:
#59 - *Alexander de Ros, filius Willelmi de Ros, subito infirmatus et mortuus jacens, et, totaliter decolaratus, estimaretur ut mortuus per diem. Iste ad Comitem mensuratus, post quandam respirationem parvam emissam, convaluit, et de resuscitatione sua meritis Comitis facta narravit hiis qui praesentes aderant. Nomina autem eorum qui praesentes aderant sunt haec, silicet et qui resuscitacionem viderant: Alexander Nitterel, et Robertus, sucarius ejusdem. Facta autem sunt praescripta in castello de Helmelling, ubi est capella Petri et Pauli, ad quam infirmus deportatus est, et jacuit mortuus; et postea suscitatus a mortuis. Per omnia benedictus Deus! qui, per merita Comitis, talia operatur.*

Alexander de Ros was the younger brother of Robert de Ros, who had been appointed by the Provisions government to investigate royal abuses in Hereford; it was from his custody that Edward escaped in 1265, beginning the endgame for Simon de Montfort.[39] William married Nicholas Cantilupe's widow during this period and held Hamlake castle in Yorkshire, the most likely candidate for "Helmelling" here.[40] Hugh de Neville, another known Montfortian, also held half of a knight's fee of William in Lincoln.[41] Their grandfather, Robert de Ros, a Templar, had also been among the Magna Carta barons earlier in the century.[42] At the end of the century, however, Edward I would ennoble the de Ros family.[43] The royal favor the family enjoyed after the period of this study makes it unlikely that the *Liber miraculorum* is a fourteenth-century composition, as the text reflects the de Ros' late thirteenth-century political status. Although we can establish the Montfortian *bona fides* of Alexander's family, we know little about him beyond this paragraph in the *Liber miraculorum*. His only known investment in Simon de Montfort is that he could be cured, or resuscitated, by being measured to St. Simon. As for Simon's cult, this miracle and those surrounding it seem to have been recorded by someone unfamiliar with the rest of the *Liber miraculorum*. The repetition of Henry Chanteler's story is six paragraphs earlier, attributions are becoming scarce. When they appear at all they do so, as in Alexander's miracle, in a totally haphazard fashion.

[39] Alexander's younger brother, William, also had a son named Alexander, but he was born too late to have been our subject here. Farrer, II:187, 204.
[40] Farrer, I:162.
[41] *Liber Feodorum*, 1016 bis.
[42] Peerage, XI:90 – 123.
[43] Ibid., XI:94 and n. i.

Another example occurs four entries later with the miracle brought by Henry Pomery. This story is unusual for more than one reason: it names its source at the outset, it does not involve a cure, and the source says that he was not supposed to tell anyone about it:

> Of a certain wondrous miracle that Henry of Pomery the knight recounted to us – He says that he was indeed in Simon's chapel, where he intended to hear his Vespers; but because of many of his own affairs was called away, and was not able to come and recite the hours as he should. Finally, however, arriving late, he saw twelve candles that the Earl had ordered prepared, miraculously alight. When he described these, the Earl forbade the aforementioned knight, and others who were there, to reveal the aforementioned miracle to anyone.[44]

Henry held lands in Huntingdon as well as scattered possessions in Devonshire, Cornwall, and Somerset. The Pomereys had been waiting for the king to divide Harberton between their family and the Corbets since the middle of the thirteenth century. Henry's son, also named Henry, born in 1265, finally took possession of a portion of those lands in 1305. He appears in his own right towards the end of the *Liber*

[44] Halliwell, 79:
#63 - *De quodam miraculo mirabili quod nobis recitavit Henricus de Pomery miles. - Dicebat se enim fuisse in capella comitis Simonis ubi proposuit audire vesperas suas; sed recordatus propter diversa negosia coram ipso, recitata hora debita venire non potuit. Tandem autem sero veniens, vidit xij. cereos quos Comes praeparari jusserat divinitus illuminatos. Quos dum ipse respexerat, prohibuit Comes dicto militi, et aliis qui interfuerant, id dictum miraculum alicui revelarent.*

miraculorum.[45] At the beginning of the period of reform and rebellion, the elder Henry had gone into debt to the Jews, something that correlates strongly with support for Simon de Montfort, who often cancelled his followers' Jewish debts.[46] Pilgrimages were dangerous but obviously not impossible; most but not all were carried out by proxy. Locating the cult's scribes, however, was something separate and more difficult. Just as pilgrims, physically present or virtual, were more likely to come from far away than nearby, the same dangers that account for that phenomenon probably explain the difficulties experienced in locating the scribes, which the scribes record in the *Liber miraculorum*. Finally, according to the story's source, he was not supposed to tell anyone about it. The reason for this may be made clearer by the next example, six entries later.

> It is to be remembered, that when Earl Simon de Montfort appeared to the vicar of Wardone in a dream, and ordered him to warn Galfrid de Stalares one of the knights of his faction, that the schemes and plans that he had made against Earl Simon and his companions at Luddelow, he should emend, and the same vicar, twice forewarned, did not heed the orders, of the earl. The said Earl appearing to him with a third

[45] For Henry's lands, Farrer, II:303, *Liber Feodorum*, 83, 394, 432, 756, 761, 764, 759, 769, 791-2, 1314, 1426, 1443. The younger Henry, ibid., 1307 - 19; and the de Vautort lands, ibid. 1297, and *Calendar of Fine Rolls*, 1272 - 1307 (London: His Majesty's Stationary Office), 191, 513.

[46] PRO E 210/252: "Bond by Henry de la Pomereye, of the county of Devon, to Belzsez, daughter of Aaron, the Jewess, for 40s. to be paid within three weeks after Michaelmas next: Devon. 17 June, 42 H. III."

E 210/261: "Bond by Henry de la Pomereye, of the county of Devon, to Belasez daughter of Aaron, the Jewess, for 4 l. to be paid at the feast of All Saints next: Devon 17 July 43 H. III."

> warning, ordered him, that he should tell the aforesaid knight, that unless he caused to be emended the very blameworthy plans, he would by death quickly and in an unexpected way leave this life. But since the knight did not comply with the warnings and stopping on the road to London, in a certain house where he was a guest, he perished in a fire along with household and equipment and his whole family. So that not the least sign of all the aforementioned appeared after the aforementioned fire.[47]

The vicar is the likely source of this story since he is the only named figure to have survived. Most of the detail is from his perspective. There are clearly two maneuvering factions at work here, including at least one former Montfortian who had turned against the Earl, presumably in life. In this account and the one before it, the dangers of continuing violence surrounding Simon's cult are no longer implicit in the text, to be inferred by armed retainers, proxies, and the apparent low profile of the cult's machinery in Evesham. Violent schemes are still being hatched, apparently on both sides. The accounts' storytellers and scribes in this segment of the *Liber miraculo-*

[47] Halliwell, 80:

#69 - *Memorandum, quod cum comes Symon de Monteforti in somnis appareret vicario de Wardone, et eidem praecipit ut Galfridum de Stalares militem ex parte sua moneret, quod seditiones et machinamenta quae contra comitem Symonem et suos complices apud Luddelow fecerat, emendaret, et idem vicarius, bis praemunitus, praeceptis Comitis non obtemperaret. Dictus Comes apparens ei tercio cum comminatione, praecepit eidem, ut diceret praedicto militi, quod nisi cum festinatione praetaxata machinamenta faceret emendari, subito vel inopinata morte ab hac vita transiret. Verum cum miles auditis monitis non adquiesceret, in provictu itineris versus Londoniam, in quadam domo ubi fuerat hospitatus, incendio periit cum domo et hernesio et tota familia sua. Ita quod nec minimum signum de omnibus praedictis appareret post praedictam combustionem.*

rum are writing these dangers into the accounts themselves and portray them as being expressed by St. Simon himself.[48] The saint, moreover, appears as a figure who will help his followers by means of dreams and lays out the consequences for ignoring those dreams. But in this case the warning is intended for one of Simon's enemies, someone who had also betrayed the Earl. The miracle story is therefore the most violent of the revenge miracles, but this feature is softened by de Montfort's warning to his former ally. These stories of warnings stand out in a segment of the text that has few lay elite and perhaps explains their lesser frequency. Between paragraphs 49 and 77 there are only three miracles concerning high status laymen. By contrast, there are thirteen entries concerning clergy in the same stretch.

Three further examples in this portion of the text illustrate the changing nature of this conflict between royalists and Montfortians. Two of these entries involve lay elite and a third comes from miracle stories associated with the clergy to be considered as a category in the next chapter. The first, paragraph 77, is especially interesting for an exchange it records between a Montfortian preacher and a worried parent who was not well disposed towards Simon.

> William surnamed Child, the constable of Kynggis, having a boy who was near death, the said William conceived such sadness in his mind, that he was able to have no joy or happiness. By the intervention of

[48] Danger, as a narrative element and opportunity for background detail, is common in *miracula* from the crusades, M. Bull, "Views of Muslims and of Jerusalem in miracle stories, c. 1000 – c. 1200: Reflections on the study of first crusaders' motivations," in *The Experience of Crusading,* vol. 1: *Western Approaches*, ed. M. Bull and N. Housley (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003), 34 – 5.

> fate a preacher came, a longtime associate, he saw the great anxiety and sadness, he wished to diminish [them]; finally the said preacher asked, if he had ever opposed Earl Simon. He said, "Yes, because he deprived me of many goods." To whom he said, "Seek forgiveness from the martyr, and you'll get your son back." In the meantime, the child died. And behold sadness upon sadness! and he lay himself in bed, and slept a little. And he saw in sleep Christ descending from the sky, and He touched him, saying, "Whatever you seek in honor of my earl, will be given to you;" and rising with haste, he measured the boy, and bent a penny over him, suddenly he opened his eyes. And thus, by the merits of the earl, healthy and safe he was to his father. Of this maintain testimony the constable of Flopesbury, Clement of the Londoners, together with the father of the aforesaid dead one.[49]

Toward the end of Simon de Montfort's career and life, he had begun to seize property arbitrarily. He furthermore reserved many of these stolen goods, along with the

[49] Halliwell, 82 – 3:

#77 - *Willelmus cognoment Child, constabularious de Kynggis, habens puerum fere mortuum, dictus Willelmus tantem dolorem concepit in mente, quod nullum gaudium vel laetitiam potuit habere. Casu superveniente venit quidam priedicator, socius ab antiquo, vidit nimiam anxietatem et dolorem, voluit ab declinare; ultimo dictus praedicator quaesivit, si contrarius fuit aliquando comiti Symoni. A[i]t ille, "Sic, quia privavit me multis bonis." Cui ille, "Pete veniam a martire, et recuperabis filium tuum!" Interim infans expiravit. Et ecce dolor super dolorem! et jacuit se super lectum, et parum obdormuit. Et vidit in sompnis Christum descendere de coelis, et tetigit eum, dicens, "Quicquid petieritis in honore Comitis mei, dabitur tibi;" et surgens cum festinatione, mensuravit puerum, et denario plicato super cum, statim aperuit oculos. Et sic, per merita Comitis, sanus et in columis redditur patri suo. De hoc perhibet testimonium constabularius de Flopesbury, Clemens Londoniarum, una cum patre praedicti mortui.*

benefits of government and spoils of war, for himself and his closest associates, often his own family. The gulf between these actions and Simon's enduring reputation as a reformer and public protector can to a degree be explained by the constant efforts of preachers, noted in frustration by Simon's enemies.[50] The preachers' activities may explain how de Montfort was able to arrest the erosion of his support, even as he became more like the king he had displaced, and may also account for the emergence of his saint's cult *post mortem*. The loss of William's child outweighs the loss of his unspecified goods but the two are only being weighed against each other because this preacher has inserted St. Simon into the equation. Instead of being de Montfort's victim, the preacher has told William that "the martyr" is his victim since, as William himself admits, he has done something (unspecified) against "earl Simon." William is now responsible for his son's suffering and eventual death. The preacher's rewriting of William's crisis leads to his vision, in which Christ endorses Simon by calling him "my earl" and offers to give William something. Finally, it should be noted that this account, featuring the activities of one of Simon's preachers, has been relayed by a layman and a Londoner.

There are two other stories nearby in the text in which Simon de Montfort's former enemies in life are convinced to recognize Simon as a saint by some kind of crisis, precipitated by St. Simon himself. In William's case, entry paragraph 77, this is only implied. William's son is dying, which somehow leads to the question of

[50] John Mansel notes Simon de Montfort's use of preachers, Maddicott, 221; Robert de Nevill, and others, observe political conversions at the hands of de Montfort's preachers, ibid., 228-9. See above, Chapter One, 92 and n. 146.

what he may have done against de Montfort. The other two conversion stories are far more explicit and dramatic. At paragraph 72 is a story of an unnamed monk known for defaming Simon de Montfort and arguing with his brothers. At night he dreams he is menaced by a knight who gives him the choice of being killed by the sword in the knight's right hand or eating the roasted piglet in his left hand. The brothers wake up, terrified by the sight of blood; but these disappear when the first monk does penance to seek "mercy from the martyr."[51] A sort of layman's analogue to this story follows in paragraph 88:

> A certain noble of Derbyshire held a large party with his neighbors. There were present among them two detractors, who also said every evil thing about the earl. The lord of the party said that he was good. He said, "Lord Jesus Christ! Just as I believe Earl Simon was martyred for the justice of the land and for truth, show your magnificence through me!" And he plunged his hand into the fire. Thereafter he returned to the table. O wondrous power of God! After the meal there appeared on his hand appeared [sic] nothing except a scar around the thumb. The detractors seeing these things immediately became the praisers of God.[52]

[51] #72; Halliwell, 81-2. See below, Chapter Six, 312 – 14.

[52] Halliwell, 85:

#88 - *Quidam nobilis de Derebeschire fecit magnum convivium convicaneis suis. Affuerunt inter eos duo detractores, qui et dixerunt universa mala de Comite. A[i]t dominus convivii quod bonus fuit. A[i]t ille, "Domine Jhesu Christe! Sicut credo comitem Symonem pro justitia terrae et veritate*

In this last case, the danger is undertaken by the believer rather than the non-believer being threatened or otherwise pressed to change his opinion about de Montfort. The nature of the threat to Simon's cult as presented in the *Liber miraculorum* is qualitatively different in this portion of the text from its appearance in the first several entries. Earlier the text showed, sometimes only implicitly, royal suppression of the cult. Between paragraphs 69 and 88, however, the confrontation is between Montfortians and royalists of equal stature, and the confrontation has become central to the stories. Simon's supporters, perhaps with Simon's aid, are confronting Simon's detractors, at least in the *Liber miraculorum*.

Beginning in the middle of these accounts is a brief stretch, paragraphs 81 to 97, where lay elite begin to appear more regularly. As they do, their stories resemble those of the surrounding, undifferentiated laymen. The content and format have become regular, with few exceptions, regardless of their subjects' status. All but one involve relatively straightforward healings, and all but one of these concern children. Each is related to the scribes by proxy at best or else appears as hearsay. Galfrid de Say, a knight from Essex, could walk again after he was measured. John de Hyke took his candle for him to Evesham, specifically named.[53] About Galfrid himself we know very little, aside from his Jewish debts.[54] Maddicott connects him, albeit distantly, to Robert de Vere, Earl of Oxford, through both family and landholding con-

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martirizatum, ostende magnificatum tuam in me!" Et involvit manum in birro. Interim rediit mensam. 0 mira Dei virtus! post prandium aparuit manum nichil aparuit [sic] nisi cicatrix circa policem. Haec videntes detractores, statim fiebant Dei laudatores.

[53] #81; Halliwell, 83.

[54] PRO E 210/369; his widow appears E 210/7868.

nections.[55] Galfrid was also the younger brother of an occasional Montfortian, William de Say, who was with de Montfort in Gascony from the end of 1252 until some time in 1254. But at the battle of Lewes he sided with Henry and fled after their defeat to warn the royalist garrison at London. The de Says even lost some of their property to the Montfortians before the battle of Evesham. However, William de Say was also among the scattered Montfortians pursued in Kent by Roger de Leyburn, entrusted with restoring Henry's grip on the country. William was not reconciled with the king until 1266.[56]

The next four entries are in sequence, though only two of them have a clear attribution. They may have been reported in some combination, or there may be no connection at all. A Master John Sychio brought a story he had heard from the Franciscans, in which a noblewoman gives birth to a stillborn boy. After she is cured of dropsy by measuring, her husband decides to bend a penny over the dead boy, who comes to life. The unnamed nobleman, we are told, dealt with the twin crises of mother and child and helped arrange for their cure by Simon, even though he was late in answering a feudal summons, and faced a fine.[57] Next is the only slightly less obscure Hugh Peverel, whose daughter was near death until a penny was bent over her to Simon.[58] Two of Hugh's charters were witnessed by John fitz John, but beyond

[55] Maddicott, "Robert de Vere," 651. Robert and Galfrid's trips to Evesham, however, would have been about seven years apart.
[56] *Peerage*, IX:470. *Calendar of Charter Rolls*, I:196.
[57] #85; Halliwell, 84.
[58] #86; Halliwell, 84-5.

this important Montfortian connection we know nothing of Hugh's affinities.[59] Lady Margaret of Heydon's illness resisted treatment by doctors for a year, but measuring her to the Earl cured her immediately. Although "the whole village of Heydon" is said to have witnessed this, the only named witness is "Hawise, who brought her candle to Evesham."[60] This person may or may not be Hawise de Neville, considered in the section on the next period, below, where she too appears as a "lady." The name "Hawise" does not appear elsewhere in the text, outside paragraphs 87, 115, and 177, and there is no other example of a woman's first name standing by itself. All other women in the *Liber miraculorum* are given titles, husbands, or referred to as a wife from some specific place. Also witnesses are either named completely or not at all, and even witnesses of low standing are identified by both a name and their métier. The close proximity of paragraphs 82 and 83, from Holy Cross Abbey in Waltham, Essex, with which the Nevilles had been and would be closely associated as benefactors for generations makes this identification even more likely.

Aside from the issue of Hawise's identity, these four miracles represent the last strong showing for lay elite in the *Liber miraculorum*. The last two such entries in the text, unfortunately, tell us little about the cult or its participants.

> William de Maule, a noble boy from Essex, having an infirmity since infancy, as if demented and deprived of human sense; measured to

[59] PRO E 40/2377 and E 40/2638. It is possible that the John fitz John who appears in the former is John fitz John's father, also John fitz John.

[60] #87; Halliwell, 85.

> Earl Simon, he recovered. Whence, as a sign of health, he carried a wax head to Evesham, and a candle of his height and width. Of this maintains testimony all of his noble family.[61]

This is followed by the story, already mentioned, of Bishop Walter Cantilupe's cousin, who claimed to have seen Simon twice in his dream; but no further details appear. After this there is a gap of eighteen entries without any laymen of identifiable status and only scattered references beyond that.

Period Two: August 1266 – November 1272

Between the first anniversary of the battle of Evesham and the death of king Henry III six years later, the rift opened by the Barons' War closed only gradually. The mechanism established at Kenilworth at the beginning of this period failed to reconcile the more prominent of the remaining Montfortians. Negotiations for the surrender of the remaining rebels at Kenilworth were at a standstill, and parliament was to meet beginning August 15, in the middle of the siege. The papal legate, Ottobono, could not assist in the negotiations because he refused to acknowledge the authority of the Provisions, which meant that he could not address the rebels' arguments on anything. The rebels, for their part, were unintimidated by the legate's public sen-

[61] Halliwell, 86:
#93 - *Willelmus de Maule, nobilis puer de Essex, habens infirmitatem ab infancia, quasi demencia et privatus sensu hominis; mensuratus ad comitem Symonem, convaluit. Unde, in signum sanitatis, detulit capud cerae apud Evesham, et candelam suae longitudinis et latitudinis. De hoc perhibet testimonium tota parentela, sua nobilissima.*

tence of excommunication, pronounced in late February, 1266. They responded by dressing one of their own members as a clergyman, and he pronounced a mock sentence of excommunication on Ottobono from the walls of Kenilworth castle. Then John d'Eyvil, who had escaped at Chesterfield in May, changed the whole geography of the struggle by establishing a new rebel stronghold in the Isle of Ely, a four by seven mile mesa surrounded by swampland north of Cambridge, on August 9, 1266.[62] Now that there were two fronts in what clearly was a continuing civil war, Henry was forced to listen to the more moderate faction of his royalist party, and the Kenilworth parliament organized a committee to propose a new settlement. The composition of the committees formed to draft this settlement shows that the extremists among the royal party were declining in power. The original committee included Roger Somery, whose son-in-law Ralph Basset had died with Simon de Montfort at Evesham, and the second round of elections produced an even more moderate group, including Gilbert de Clare, who had supported de Montfort until May 1265, and Philip Basset, who had more Montfortians in his family than even Roger Somery. They recommended that there should be no permanent disinherison but instead that all lands be at least technically redeemable. The degree of a Montfortian's participation in the revolt acted as a multiplier which, when applied to the value of the rebel's lands, produced the amount of the fine required for their redemption and the end of disinherison.[63]

[62] C. Knowles, "The Disinherited," 30. For John Deyville, see O. DeVille, "John Deyville: A neglected rebel," *Northern History,* ed. Forster and Green, 34 (1998), 17-40.
[63] *DBMR*, 316-37.

The redemption process established at Kenilworth, however, failed to reconcile the vast majority of those still in arms against the king. By the end of March, 1267, the country was again at an impasse, and the concentration of redistributed lands in the hands of a few favorites alienated some of Henry's supporters.[64] On April 8, Gilbert de Clare defected from the king's party and occupied London in coordination with a rebel force from the Isle of Ely. Ottobono, who was in London to put down yet another uprising by preaching a crusade, mistakenly let Gloucester into the city.[65] Brief, steep escalation ensued, during which Gloucester laid siege to the Tower where Ottobono had taken refuge, London was placed under an interdict, new rebellions sprang up on the Marches, and Henry brought French mercenaries as far as Dover to attack Gloucester and the rebels. Then both sides pulled back from the brink and renewed negotiations for a national settlement. Talks began in early June, and by the end of July royal pardons led to rebel surrenders all over the country. The disinherited could now repossess their lands and then pay their redemption from the lands' income. Ottobono convinced the national clergy to contribute heavily to the payment of redemption fines. Though Roger Godberd held out until the end of this period, the national crisis was over. Unrest continued, however, albeit in a non-polarized and largely non-political way. The habits of lawlessness were too common, or the opportunities for thievery were still too familiar. As Henry's long rule drew to an inevitable conclusion, and as Edward prepared to leave England on crusade, the

[64] Knowles, "Resettlement," 26.
[65] Beebe, "English Baronage," 129-30. Williams, erroneously claims the legate was Gloucester's accomplice, *Medieval London*, 238.

nation was as unsettled and dangerous as it had been throughout the period of reform and rebellion, only now the violence had no leader or movement to organize it into a threat to the traditional and restored political order. Henry considered the situation so unstable even in 1270 that he cancelled plans to join his son Edward on crusade.[66] A special eyre court, organized after the peace in 1267, continued to operate until 1272, traveling to every part of the country to inquire into even minor participation by locals in the Barons' War.[67] Henry had offered a new peace, but the rebels still had to accept it.

The first reference in the *Liber miraculorum* to any events after August 4, 1266, the anniversary of Simon's martyrdom, is in paragraph 113. Lay elite participation was already in sharp decline.[68] In the thirty paragraphs before this entry, there is only one mention of a layman of any status. The same is true for the thirty entries after this point. This gap is the largest stretch in the text with no clear reference to the lay elite. There are only seven laymen of identifiable status in the period from late 1266 to late 1272, and among those seven entries are two pairs of repeating stories, considered in the previous chapter. In place of the increasingly absent lay elite, churchmen pour into the record in a way unique to this portion of the text, being thickest in the years 1266 through 1269. At Evesham abbey, however, the situation

[66] F. Powicke, *Henry III and the Lord Edward*, 582.

[67] Ibid., 32-4. The most recent study of the records produced by the eyre is in J. King, "The Friar Tuck Syndrome: Clerical violence and the Barons' War," in *The Final Argument: The Imprint of violence on society in medieval and early moder Europe*, ed. D. Kagay and L. Villalon (Woodbridge: Boydell, 1998), 27 – 52.

[68] Halliwell, 89.

was bleak. Ottobono, the papal legate sent to suppress the cult and support Henry III, had personally chosen a new abbot.[69]

As will become clear, it is very appropriate that the first and last miracles from this period are the two versions of Hawise de Neville's second story. She, along with her family, draws together stories from both Montfortians and royalists, as well as lay and clerical miracles, and her dedication to the cult even seems to have outlived her. Both versions of the second miracle she witnessed for Simon's *Liber miraculorum*, along with Joan de la Mare, appear in this period.[70] Hawise de Neville is the only figure in the paragraph about whom it is possible to know much. The likeliest candidates for "Johanna de la Mare" are the wife of John de la Mare of Sussex, also the elder daughter of Nicholas de Auney of Bergholt,[71] and the wife of John de la Mare of Garsington.[72] Though Edward I would ennoble John at the end of the century, his wife's appearance here reflects their status as royal opponents. If the *Liber miraculorum* were a fourteenth-century composition, for instance, the de la Mares would not be likely to appear as witnesses (but might be the subjects of a revenge miracle).[73]

Hawise de Neville does not seem a likely rebel sympathizer at first, nor is she

[69] D. Cox, *The Battle of Evesham: A new account* (Evesham: Vale of Evesham Historical Society, 1988), 21.

[70] See above, Chapter Four, 189 - 92.

[71] Nicholas de Auney of Bergholt, d. 1274, *Calendar of Inquisitions Miscellaneous*, 123 "In 1286 he defended his right of warren in Bergholt which he enjoyed jointly with John son of Pain de la Mare of the inheritance of Roger de Akeny and with Thomas de Maydenhatch and Isabel his wife." Farrer, III:369.

[72] John de la Mare of Garsington appears, *Peerage* VIII:464, as a witness in two Ancient Deeds.

[73] John was also rewarded for his good service in Gascony in 1294 and was summoned for military service and to give consel in 1297. *Peerage,* VIII:463-4.

mentioned as one.[74] In fact, Hawise's first husband, John de Neville, was the sort of grasping royal official who would drive so many into the camp of Simon de Montfort in the late 1250s. John de Neville was already the king's valet in 1234 when he succeeded his father, Hugh de Neville, as forester.[75] John also accompanied Richard of Cornwall on crusade in 1240. According to Matthew Paris, John was very young for the office of forester.[76] Very likely, Hugh's death was premature and unexpected. Once John did homage for his father's lands as well as for those of his mother, Joan de Curcy, he was immediately saddled with his father's debt, the redemption fines for his father's lands, and the fee and rent for his father's office, 300 marks and of £20 respectively, as well as any debts he had incurred on crusade.[77] Naturally, John de Neville turned to his new office for income to pay for that office and his other inheritance.[78] Whether or not John's use of his position rose to the level of abuse according to the standards of the time is unclear. In fact, Matthew Paris claims that the subsequent inquest into John de Neville's administration of the forests in 1246 was merely a ruse by Robert Passelewe, king's clerk, to raise money.[79] As a result, John was fined 2,000 marks and so his plan to escape debt had backfired. He retired to his

[74] Dugdale only says, "She continued loyal throughout the civil war," *Peerage* IX:481. Ferrer mentions the Earl de Warrene's apparently inappropriate seizure of land she held jointly with Nigel de Broc in Bevendean in 1265, saying that they "were never rebels." Ferrer III:324.

[75] *Calendar of the Close Rolls*, 1234 – 1237, 468

[76] "*Ipse namque in aetate juvenali pubescencs, totius Angliae prothoforestarius….*" *Chronica Majora*, IV:563. Paris describes the new forester's significance and influence as "not the greatest among the nobles of England." On his status, ibid., IV:401, 563.

[77] Farrer I:141-2

[78] *Peerage* IX:481.

[79] Paris was in a position to know something about the nature of the inquiry, since it had been entrusted to Lawrence, a cleric of St. Albans, among others. C. Given-Wilson, *Chronicles: The writing of history in medieval England* (London: Hambledon, 2004), 75 – 7. *Chronica Majora*, IV:400.

manor at Wethersfield, Essex, and died two years later.[80] As for Hawise de Neville, her eldest son Hugh was taken to live with other children in the king's custody at Windsor, and she herself was left with a house at Wethersfield, a fraction of her husband's lands, and £7, 13s., 4d. compensation for the rest.[81]

The loyalties of Hawise's second husband, John de Gatesden (d.1262), during the Barons' War are not clear. Before 1258 he appears only in a lawsuit concerning advowson at Fletching, Sussex.[82] Hawise, in this period, begins to appear in her own right in records of pious bequests. Towards the end of 1257 she paid 40 marks for land sufficient to support a canon at Maldon Abbey, Essex.[83] The following year the abbot at Maldon confirmed her right to participate in his order's prayers there and to hear mass, presumably from her own priest, in their church.[84] Hawise's son Hugh maintained his father's relationship with Holy Cross Abbey in Waltham, Essex, whose prior contributed two stories to the *Liber miraculorum*, including the story of his own cure.[85] Hawise was particularly concerned with the fate of her eldest son, Hugh de Neville. Ten years after being removed to the king's custody, he was of age

[80]*Chronica Majora*, IV:563; Farrer, I:142. Passelewe's service to the king eventually earned him the bishopric of Chichester, though Robert Grosseteste later removed him as unfit. Paris, *Chronica Majora*, IV:401-2.

[81] Minor in custody: *Calendar of Inquisitions Miscellaneous*, I. no.918; *Calendar of Inqusitions Post Mortem*, I, nos. 706, 881; *Peerage* XI:482; Farrer I:142

[82] This case, which had been appealed all the way to Rome, the bishop of Chichester appears to have decided in favor of the rector of Hoathley. Concerning the suit's inception, c.f., PRO DL 25/166; the appeal to Rome, DL 25/1294; involvement of the bishop of Chester in, DL 25/1297 and DL 25/167; its conclusion, DL 25/169.

[83] PRO DL 27/70.

[84] PRO DL 25/168.

[85] John de Neville's grant to Holy Cross, Farrer, I:218. Hugh de Neville's continuing relationship with the abbey, PRO DL 25/172, 25/173, 25/182. Miracles related by the prior of Holy Cross, #82 and #83, Halliwell, 83-4.

but was allowed to defer actually taking up knighthood, and the expenses associated with it, for three years. The following year he changed his mind, receiving and answering a summons to the campaign against Llewelyn, and the year after that was again on campaign in Scotland. Over the winter of 1258, when the Barons were beginning to assert their authority, he made a pilgrimage to Santiago de Compostella. The first sign of any firm alliance is his receipt of a charter from the baronial government for a market as a reward for Hugh's service in three campaigns since 1259. This award came in 1264, when Henry III was under Simon's control. Any lingering doubts concerning de Neville's sympathies are removed by Hugh's presence among the rebels taken prisoner by Edward at Kenilworth. Imprisoned at Norwich, he escaped to Isle of Axholme with Simon de Montfort Jr., whom he supported until some time around Christmas, 1265. During this time his lands were seized and given to Robert de Walerand. Hugh was among those who were willing and able to redeem their lands under the Dictum of Kenilworth, doing so on 24 June 1266. He did not, however, recover all of his ancestral lands.[86]

Shortly after this, Hugh made another pilgrimage, this time to the Holy Land. His younger brother John de Neville and his mother Hawise continued the legal battle at home for the remaining de Neville lands. We have from this period an urgent and emotional letter from Hawise to John, which repeatedly suggests that he seek support from pope Clement IV. She and her son had apparently been unable to make any

[86] Hugh received back only the manors of Wakering and Wethersfeild. Walerand kept Hugh's manors of Stogursey, Radwey, and Harnham. Peerage, IX:482. C. H. Knowles, "The Resettlement," 26-7, 36-7.

headway on Hugh's behalf.[87] After having been in the Holy Land roughly two years, Hugh received an absolution from his crusading vow and started back to England. Some time in early April of 1269, however, there was a rumor that he had died en route, and an order was issued to re-take his lands. Hawise died about this time.[88] Hugh, returning very much alive, received his lands the following month, but by August he too was dead.[89]

The de Nevilles' affinity for Simon's cult is neither obscure nor complicated. Hawise and her son had been victims of Henry III's capriciousness before. Their near-total disinherison was simply the latest in a list of grievances stretching back more than twenty years. Their lands and her son's crusade were uppermost on Hawise's mind at the time she is likely to have gone to Evesham, though we do not know what miracle she may have sought for herself. On that trip, accompanied by Joanna de la Mare, she brought the story of Simon, son of John Benedict from Sussex. Considering the dates included in miracle stories close to the first version of Hawise's story, that trip likely took place some time in August of 1266.[90] However, if we accept this method of dating entries in the *Liber miraculorum*, then the second appearance of Hawise's story poses a problem. The latter version appears four paragraphs after one dated to June 12, 1272, by which time Hawise had been dead for

[87] PRO DL 34/1/2.
[88] Peerage, IX:476.
[89] Ibid., IX:482.
[90] The first version of Hawise's repeating story appears in #115; Halliwell, 90. #113 is dated "*Secundo anno post bellum Evesham*", and #120 "*die Mercurii proximo ante festum Decollationis sancti Johannis Baptistae, anno gratiae Millesimo cc lxvi*."

more than three years.[91] Hawise's support for Simon's cult seems likely and is consistent with her family's interests and her own personal piety. We must also consider the possibility, however, that Joanna, or some other person, is the actual source of the story, either the second time around or even both times the story was reported to the cult's scribes. Although Hawise may have been present in person to tell the first version of the story, as its source, in the second she has almost certainly joined the ranks of the *Liber miraculorum*'s witnesses, those more numerous and often anonymous persons said to have been present to witness the miracle but who are not, in fact, speaking to the writer at the time of the story's recording.

Politics alone, however, does not necessarily explain the appearance of a person in the text. Both the subject and the source of paragraph 129 are unlikely supporters of or participants in the cult of Simon de Montfort, and yet we have their cooperation to thank for the appearance of the following story:

> Osbert Giffard, fatigued by a fever for some time, dreamed that Earl Simon appeared to him, saying to him that he should take the scabbard "that you had received from me in war, and put it over you, and you will be well." Waking, he told his servants that they should look in the chests that lay at the foot of his bed; searching these they found the scabbard, and they put it over him and thus he was made well. Of this

[91] #173; Halliwell,101, includes the date, "*die sanctae Trinitatis anno gratiae M cc septuagesimo secundo*."

> maintains testimony the abbot of Evesham, who heard the above-written things from the mouth of him who was cured.[92]

Osbert Giffard would have been notorious among Montfortians as the man first entrusted with the siege of Kenilworth at the beginning of 1266.[93] This story is clearly in the mold of the revenge miracles of the *liber miraculorum*, in which a former enemy is struck down and made to acknowledge Simon in some way.[94] We can see Simon's scabbard in this story functioning as the cause of Osbert's affliction, though it is not named, or as a healing saint's relic, or as some combination of the two. We do not need to be told that Osbert is Simon's enemy since the pattern of the revenge story is already established in the *liber miraculorum*. Furthermore, the possession of a souvenir or trophy clearly indicates that Osbert was on the winning side and therefore an opponent of Simon. Osbert's story may even remind the reader of more grisly trophies taken after Evesham. Since Osbert has been contacted by the saint, healed

[92] Halliwell, 92 – 3:

#129 - *Osbertus Giffard, febribus diu fatigatus, sompniavit quod comes Symon apparuit sibi, dicens ei quod aciperet legambilem "quod habuistis de me in bello, et ponatis super vos, et sanabitis." Evigilans, dixit ministris suis ut investigarent de armaturis quae jacebant ad pedes lecti sui; qui investigantes invenerunt legambilem, posueruntque super eum, et sic sanus factus est. De hoc perhibet testimonium abbas de Evesham, qui praescripta audivit de ore ejus qui curatus fuit.*

[93] A. Lewis, "Roger Leyburn and the Pacification of England, 1265 – 67," *EHR* 214 (1939): 200.

[94] These have been called "Old Testament" miracles. The coinage appears to be Aird's, W. Aird, "The Making of a Medieval Miracle Collection: The *Liber de translationibus et miraculis Sancti Cuthberti,*" in *Northern History: A review of the history of the north of England and the borders*, ed. G. Forster, vol. 28 (1992), 7. For a late twelfth-century example, see A. Bijsterveld, "Conflict and Compromise: The Premonstratensians of Ninove (Flanders) and the laity in the twelfth century," in *Negotiating Secular and Ecclesiastical Power: Western Europe in the central Middle Ages*, ed. A. Bijsterveld, H. Teunis, and A. Wareham, *International Medieval Research* 6 (1999), 167 – 83. For an example from Gregory of Tours, see G. Whatley, "*Opus Dei, Opus Mundi*: Patterns of conflict in a twelfth-century miracle collection," in *De Cella in Seculum: Religious and secular life and devotion in late medieval England*, ed. Michael Sargent (Southampton: Camelot Press, 1989), 88.

by the saint, and has passed on the saint's story, he has been rehabilitated or at least suitably humbled. If this story had come from a source other than Evesham's new abbot, there would be little reason to consider it to be anything other than promotion and propaganda for Simon's cult and the barons' cause. However, the new abbot, selected by legate and king as a reliable candidate to suppress the cult in Evesham, and forced on that community, would have needed to maintain a unobjectionable social and political circle in the period immediately before and after the battle at Evesham. Contact with other royalists can be assumed. The story offers tantalizing clues, on one hand possibly the story of a knight's crisis of conscience, or on the other an abbot's defection. Unfortunately, this paragraph cannot be dated any more precisely than between August 25, 1266, and March 19, 1269.[95]

Osbert's appearance in the *Liber miraculorum* as an enemy of Simon de Montfort fits what we know about him. His story, however, and that of his family are more complex. After the battle, Osbert Giffard was entrusted with the custody of John de Dive, a minor Montfortian. When his captive died the following year, Osbert received most of John's possessions, with a small portion going to his widow. Osbert still held John's lands and the wardship of his heirs in 1268 and again in 1272.[96] However, just as the figure in the miracle story appears conflicted, both in the sense that he has a vision of St. Simon and that he then passes this story on, the politics of the Giffards both before and after Evesham were anything but clear.

[95] I.e., between the dates given in #120 and #144. The date given in #127 is clearly a story told in retrospective, and the date in #137 does not include a year at all.

[96] Farrer, III:63. For provisions for the widows of the deceased disinherited, see Knowles, "Resettlement," 27-8.

Slightly more is known about the politics of his cousin, John Giffard of Brimpsfield, in whose wake Osbert seems to have traveled. John had been with the baronial party that attacked Peter Aigueblanche, the bishop of Hereford, in 1263. He supported the Baronial party into 1264, but later defected to the king along with Gilbert de Clare and was pardoned for his support of de Montfort in October, 1265.[97] The Earl of Gloucester had changed sides at that time because de Montfort's cause was seen as no better than Henry's.[98] For those abandoning de Montfort, there was no contradiction between their support of reform and swearing allegiance to Edward. The failures of de Montfort's government had produced a hybrid form of royalist reformers, those who had supported reform and turned in 1265 to the Lord Edward as its new leader. The relationships between royalists and reformers, however, were close and personal, and members of each faction frequently changed sides.

Whereas Hawise de Neville appears as a witness to Simon's miracles and Osbert Giffard is one of Simon's former enemies, at first struck down and then healed by the saint, in reality the affinity between the Nevilles and the Giffards was as close as it is confusing. John de Neville had fought on the side of the Barons, along with his older brother Hugh, but was pardoned in 1266. Along with his mother, John had been one of Hugh's two attorneys in England, fighting to recover their family lands. After Hugh's death, however, John recovered the patrimony, doing homage in mid-October, 1269. The brothers' differing treatment is more likely an example of the

[97] *Peerage*, V:113, 639-53.
[98] See above, Chapter One, 100.

new settlement made late that July, rather than evidence of their different politics or connections. We have inconclusive evidence of further connections between the families. When John de Neville was made Constable of the Tower in 1272, Walter Giffard, the previous keeper of the Tower and Archbishop of York, referred to him as his "nephew." Walter's brother Godfrey Giffard, the bishop of Worcester, also referred to John de Neville's widow Margaret as his "niece" when she married John Giffard of Brimpsfield, mentioned above. Had this all been literally true, however, Margaret's marriage to John would have been illegal. But since an inquest found that their consanguinity was in the sixth degree, it seems more likely that John de Neville was Walter Giffard's nephew through his marriage to Margaret. She in turn was Godfrey Giffard's "niece" only figuratively: a distant cousin, one generation younger.[99] In short, Hawise de Neville's son was married to a woman who had the same grandfather as Osbert Giffard and perhaps the same father as well. The position of each family, both before and after Evesham, does not resemble the *Liber miraculorum*'s clear distinction between friend and foe of Simon. The crucial difference seems to be that at the time that Simon was martyred, the Nevilles were on the saint's side and the Giffards were not.

The next appearance of the lay elite in this period is the odd repetition of William de la Rye's story. At paragraph 145 we read, "William de la Rye, a knight in Northamptonshire, having an acute fever, was measured to the earl, and the following night completely recovered." This account is soon followed by paragraph 151: "Wil-

[99] *Peerage*, V:643; IX:483.

liam de la Rye near Northampton, having acute [sic], measured to Earl Simon, recovered. To which all his neighbors bear testimony."[100] The two versions of the story are so close together that they appear on the same side of the same folio in the fourteenth-century copy. Though we cannot be sure what documents that copyist had in front of him, it seems unlikely that he would not have noticed the redundancy. The differing content of the two versions may help explain how the accounts came to be recorded in this way in the thirteenth century. The absence of witnesses in the first version and the omission of the actual affliction in the second version, however, may mean that the original recorder was well aware of the repetition and was merely completing the entry. As was clearly the case with the accounts of miracles accruing to Richard Seypo's family, it is possible that here again not all of the information from one source made it onto the page before it was interrupted by another account, brought by another storyteller.[101] In the first version, all of the information usually included in the first part of an entry appears: name, origin, status, affliction, mode of miracle, healing. In the second version, the scribe passes over some of the redundant information, the fever, and concludes with the information usually included at the end of an entry: the witnesses.

The last two lay elite miracles in this period are both multiple miracles. The storytellers are passing on more than one miracle account, since time has passed and more than one miracle has occurred before they could find a scribe. Both entries

[100] Halliwell, 96-7.
[101] #27 and #29; Halliwell, 73.

would have had to have been recorded after March 19, 1269, and before June 12, 1272.[102] The first paragraph, in which it is the witnesses who are noble, clearly indicates that the first of its two miracles happened not long after the battle of Evesham.

> Henry Bounde, having an unknown infirmity in his right arm for three and a half years and more, and this suddenly after the death of the Earl, measured his own arm to the said Earl Simon, and in the space of three hours he completely recovered. The same man, having another arm, useless with other infirmities for half a year and more, which was diagnosed by skilled doctors as paralyzed, by some as having dropsy, by others as leprous because of the scab and tumor of the skin that he had, he was again measured, by the merits of the Earl he recovered. Of this maintain testimony the Lord John son of John, along with the countess, the lady countess of Aubomarle, and her whole household.[103]

John fitz John also appears in the prologue, in the account of the battle of Evesham. His connection with Hugh Peverel has already been noted.[104] Isabella des Forz, the

[102] I.e., between the dates of #144 and #173.

[103] Halliwell, 98:

#158 - *Henricus Bounde, habens in dextro brachio infirmitatem ignotam per tres annos et dimidium annum et amplius, et hoc cito post mortem Comitis, ipsum brachium ad dictum comitem Symonem mensuravit, et infra tempus trium horarum diei plene convaluit. Idem habens aliud brachium inutile cum caeteris infirmitatibus per dimidium annum et amplius, unde cum a peritis medicis judicaretur pro paralitico, a quibusdam pro ydropico, a quibusdam pro leproso tum propter scabiem et tumorem cutis quam habebat, hic iterum mensuratus, per merita Comitis convaluit. De hoc perhibet testimonium dominus Johannes filius Johannis, cum domina comitissa de Aubomarle, cum tota familia sua.*

[104] See above, 278.

Countess of Aubomarle and Lady of the Isle of Wight, has several more tantalizing connections throughout the *Liber miraculorum*. The Butlers, who appear in paragraphs 17 and 191, were her tenants. She had possessions in Thanet, Buckland, and Chatterley, where anonymous or unidentifiable miracles were reported, and was the neighbor of the Neville's in Chatterly of the prioress of Studley.[105] She was also the sister of Sir William de Say, which would make her Galfrid's cousin.[106] John seems to have been loyal after his submission in July, 1266. Isabella's connections with the rebels are as murky as her role here in the miracle stories. If either of them had had any dealings with the rebels or any other unrest, they had done a good job of avoiding notice save for Isabella's appearance as a patroness of St. Edmund's and St. Richard's cults.[107] But now they emerge at this point, between the spring of 1269 and the summer of 1272, when the aging king's grip on the nation was slipping and there was no clear threat to distract Edward from his planned crusade. The new king may have considered her family a threat, however. When Isabella died, Edward I devised a legal loophole to disinherit Hugh de Courtney, and the earldom of Devon ceased to exist.[108]

The same seems to be the case with Henry Pomerey, who reappears like any other adherent of Simon's cult. His first story, considered above, was conveyed in strictest confidence and appears among other stories from that time similarly marked

[105] #80; Halliwell, 83. #111; Halliwell, 89.
[106] Farrer I:226; Peerage XI:470.
[107] See above, Chapter Two, 104, 108, 120.
[108] Isabella died November 10, 1293, Peerage I:355. M. Prestwich, *English Politics in the Thirteenth Century* (New York: St. Martin's: 1990), 32.

by dread and secrecy. His second story, appearing 100 paragraphs later, however, is of a type common to the *Liber miraculorum*.

> Henry, son of Henry de la Pomere, a knight of Devenshire, inhibited by a grave infirmity, considered by his neighbors to be near death; measured to Earl Simon, he immediately recovered. Again, the same Henry thereafter suffered from an infirmity of flux, measured however to Earl Simon, without delay he recovered. Of this thing his entire household maintains testimony.[109]

The stories discussed above that either explicitly or implicitly mention the dangers associated with the cult have disappeared from the text. Over time, Henry's family has experience two more miracles which are recorded here after the fact. The status of the subject does not seem to affect the content of the story at all. From these changes, generally and specific to this person and paragraph, it seems that participating in the cult of St. Simon de Montfort is not as dangerous as it had been. If the danger attaching to St. Simon's cult had largely disappeared so had much of the interest of lay elites. Although there are fewer of them, we know who they are, and the

[109] Halliwell, 99:
#163 - *Henricus, filius Henrici de la Pomere, militis de Devenshire, gravi infirmitate detentus, usque ad mortem a vicinis judicatus; mensuratus ad comitem Symonem, statim convaluit. Iterum, idem Henricus postea infirmitatem fluxus paciebatur, mensuratus autem ad comitem Symonem, sine mora convaluit. Hujus rei tota familia sua perhibet testimonium.*

accounts themselves do not contain any of the evidence and examples of conflict, intimidation, and violence characteristic of the earlier period.

Period Three: 1272 to 1280

The traditional picture of a peaceful England, which could survive the absence of a king for the two years between Henry's death and Edward's return from crusade, has undergone substantial revision in the last twenty years.[110] Instead, the government found no solution for the unrest and lawlessness that had kept Henry from going on crusade in 1270. Poor planning and inadequate provision for the transfer of power should Henry die while Edward was away left these growing problems to the otherwise obscure Robert Burnell, Edward's former chancellor. Burnell's failure to accomplish much of anything, aside from capturing a common outlaw in Roger Godberd, who happened to be a former Montfortian, meant that Edward returned home to find a mess. England's attempt to regulate the wool trade was an open joke on the continent, the personal conflicts between Mortimer and Llewelyn spiraled out of control, and Edmund Lancaster was in open rebellion. Once Edward was king he was broke, at war with the Welsh, losing a trade war with the Flemish, and facing the possibility of nationwide famine. His crusade, while useful in cementing his relationships with many barons who were already on his side, in retrospect seems irresponsi-

[110] J. Maddicott, "Edward I and the Lessons of Baronial Reform," *Thirteenth-Century England* I (1985), 1 - 30. R. Huscroft, "Robert Burnell and the Government of England," *Thirteenth-Century England* VIII (1999), 59 – 70.

ble, considering the instability in England.[111] Early in his reign he would promote a number of prominent Montfortian survivors, most of whom did not accompany him on crusade, in order to draw them into his circle as well.[112]

At Evesham, the first attempt at collecting the written accounts of St. Simon's miracles had begun by at least 1274.[113] It is possible that the work began earlier, since miracles dateable to between June 12, 1272, and May 26, 1273 show the changes in content and quality that distinguish this part of the text from the previous three quarters of the list.[114] Not all visits to Simon's shrine were recorded in the *Liber miraculorum*. The records kept in the household accounts Robert de Vere, an occasional and marginal Montfortian, make it clear that he bought wax for a candle and that he visited Simon's spring in 1273.[115] The Earl made no attempt to conceal his journey. It is possible that this lukewarm rebel, who had suffered out of all proportion to his actual support for de Montfort, never received the cure he was looking for and that Evesham never received a candle in thanks. The one miracle associated with the lay elite dateable to this last period is an ordinary if thoroughly detailed account of a knight's cure.

[111] See B. Beebe, "The English Baronage," 9 – 148. Edward's adherents could also use crusading as an excuse to hold on to seized lands, and collect their revenues, a little longer, ibid., 137 – 9.

[112] Knowles, "The Resettlement," 38-41.

[113] The introduction, describing the miraculous discovery of St. Simon's spring, concludes with the date of 1274, Halliwell, 67-8. .

[114] I.e., between #173 and #185.

[115] Maddicott, "Robert de Vere," 647.

> Simon de Pateshulle, knight, lord of Bletsoe, in the county of Bedford, suddenly oppressed by an infirmity grave and sudden around his heart, on the day of the Lord's Ascension, the year of grace 1273, in the morning, fearing death coming upon him, quickly arranged for every rite of the Church be given to him, ordered to be given to himself quickly every rite of the Church and it happened he was suddenly deprived of the use of speech [and] reputed to be dead by all the people standing nearby, until midday. Thereafter he was measured to Earl Simon, immediately he revived, and of every ill was healthily cured; and he fully recovered the power of speech, and, he personally came to Evesham afterwards, he brought his own offering himself. Of this thing the witnesses are all of his friends along with his whole province.[116]

Absent the mention of Simon de Pateshulle's knighthood and lordship, there is nothing about his story that has anything to do with his status. Pateshulle's Montfortian bona fides are perhaps the most impressive of any figure in the *Liber miraculorum*.

[116] Halliwell, 106:
#187 - *Symon de Pateshulle, miles, dominus de Blechesho, in comitatu de Bedforde, oppressus gravissima infirmitate et subitanea circa cor, die Assencionis Domini, anno gratiae M. cc. septuagesimo tercio, mane, mortem metuens supervenientem, omnia jura ecclesiastica festinanter sibi dari praecepit, et factum est quod statim usu loquendi privatus ab omni populo circumstanti mortuus reputebatur, usque ad horam meridianam. Postea mensuratus ad comitem Symonem, statim revixit, et de omni morbo salubriter est curatus; et modum loquendi plenarie recuperavit, et, apud Evesham postmodum personaliter accedens, oblationem suam ibidem reportavit. Hujus rei testes sunt omnes familiares sui cum tota provincia.*

The Provisions government twice made him sheriff of Bedfordshire and Buckinghamshire, where he was to investigate the corruption of royal officials, and he was later made sheriff of Northampton.[117] He fought alongside Simon de Montfort the younger during the skirmishes of 1264 and joined the rebel garrison at Kenilworth in 1266.[118] When his lands were seized as punishment for his part in the rebellion, they were held by Gilbert de Clare, though when Simon eventually redeemed his lands, the fine was actually paid to John Giffard.[119] Why then would Simon Pateshull risk being associated with Simon de Montfort again? The account records that he came to Evesham, and there are no features of this or the surrounding paragraphs to suggest otherwise. I can only speculate that Simon took this potentially risky action because of his extremely poor health: he died about a year after this account.[120]

If the last few miracles in the *Liber miraculorum* of St. Simon de Montfort provide no examples of royal suppression, they also reflect a rapidly disappearing lay elite interest. Over time, the nature, location, and leadership of the continuing Barons' War drew attention away from it. The rebels' move to Ely late in the summer of 1266, and then to London in the spring of 1267, moved the rebellion's focus sharply to the east and away from Kenilworth and Evesham. In Gilbert de Clare the rebels had a new leader and counterbalance to Henry. After July of 1267 there was no mass disin-

[117] CPR 1247-58, 648.
[118] Cal. Inq. Misc., I., 670, 673, 888. Ferrer, I:229, 241.
[119] Cal. Inq. Misc., I., 192, 632; CPR 1266 – 72, 145, 205. The fine was paid in March of either 1267 or 1268, Cal. Close Rolls, 1264-8, p. 520
[120] Ferrer, I:93.

herison to keep the reformers in rebellion. Between 1270 and 1274, Edward's new crusade provided his adherents an opportunity to demonstrate the sort of military piety Simon de Montfort had embodied. Finally, the promise of a new king meant that rebellion was not the only way out from under Henry's misrule. Therefore, as rebellion in England first changed focus and then after mid-1267 was necessary to fewer people, participation in Simon's cult changed accordingly. The participation of lay elites in this lay-saint's cult, participation which had resisted the cult's suppression and its continued political persecution, dropped sharply. Early in this long period, before there was a generally satisfactory political resolution, and during the continued reign of Henry III, Simon's cult was assured continuing popularity.

St. Simon's popularity among the lay elite, however, would eventually suffer more from competition than suppression. The appeal of St. Simon and his persona were products of the circumstances of the period of reform and rebellion. Events were moving too quickly for the members of a suppressed cult in the western end of the country to keep the phenomenon of St. Simon relevant to his likely supporters. I cannot account for the failure of Simon de Montfort's cult to adapt to changing times and for his venerators to fail in promoting his cult, aside from the continuing suppression of the cult, which seems to have made everything more difficult.[121] The appearance of a prologue to the *Liber miraculorum* and the changed nature of the miracles recorded during the absence of the new king Edward may in fact reflect an attempt by

[121] Saints' cults could and did adapt to changing times and use different promotional strategies to ensure continuing relevance, see E. Cownie, "The Cult of St. Edmund in the Eleventh and Twelfth Centuries," in *Neuphilologische Mitteilungen* 99 (1998): 177 – 197.

the monks at Evesham to renew Simon's cult so that it could survive the changing circumstances in England. The decline of support for the Earl as a saint, as manifest in the disappearance of the lay elite from his *Liber miraculorum*, was the result of a combination of continuing suppression on one hand and the changing circumstances of those who had supported Simon, alive and dead, on the other. Pinned down by official sanction, it was more difficult for Evesham abbey to adapt to changing conditions in the country. The shifting appearance of clergy in the *Liber miraculorum*, including secular and regular clergy from Evesham, which I consider in the next chapter, may reflect their reaction to and anguish over the decline of Simon de Montfort's cult.

Chapter Six

The Appearance of Clergy in the *Liber miraculorum* of Simon de Montfort

Evesham in 1265 needed a new saint's cult. None of the saints that had been associated with the abbey was sufficiently recent, well established, or well known, or they were simply not unique to Evesham. Although the battle of Evesham had damaged the abbey, and although maintaining Simon's cult entailed certain risks, 1265 provided the kind of opportunity that could not be overlooked. Despite royal intimidation of pilgrims and the papal installation of a new abbot, someone at the abbey began recording miracle stories soon after August 4, 1265, and continued working for years. Eventually, even the new abbot supported the cult.

Evesham abbey had been established on the site where Eoves, a shepherd, had a vision of the Blessed Virgin Mary in the early eighth century.[1] An abbey on the western fringe of a country on the western fringe of Christendom, however, was not going to be able to monopolize the cult of Mary. Evesham did have saints buried on its grounds before St. Simon de Montfort. Three saints were deceased religious from Evesham, including two former abbots. These saints did not have much appeal outside the community. The Anglo-Saxon king Wystan, or parts of him, were buried there; but unlike the inhabitants of the impressive necropolis at St. Denis near Paris

[1] W. Dugdale, ed. *Monasticon Anglicanum* (London: Longman, 1817 – 30), II:6 – 10.

this Anglo-Saxon king was not an ancestor of the current English dynasty.[2] When the Barons' War arrived at Evesham in August 1265 and the battle continued even into the church, Evesham was no longer obscure.

The appearance of clergy in the *Liber miraculorum* rewards some expectations and disappoints others. Despite Simon de Montfort's association with prominent Franciscans in the persons of Robert Grosseteste and Adam Marsh, and despite the Franciscans' attachment to de Montfort, for instance the anonymous Franciscan authors of the *Song of Lewes* and the Chronicle of Lanercost, no one group of religious dominates the clergy who appear in Simon's catalog of miracles. Dominicans outnumber Franciscans in the *Liber miraculorum,* and secular clergy outnumber all monastic orders combined. Unlike the lay elite considered in Chapter Five, the clergy who appear in the *Liber miraculorum* of Simon de Montfort tend to cluster together in consecutive paragraphs, producing series of clerical miracle stories that often have no other characteristic in common. Stories from or about monastic communities, moreover, tend to appear in pairs while secular clergy appear in series of several miracles at a time. Some of these series may be the result of clergy traveling together, but this is difficult to establish. In other cases, consecutive miracle stories involving clergy are the result of multiple stories being reported at one time, a phenomenon already considered in Chapter Four.

[2] From Hugh Capet on, all the kings of France but three (Philip I, Louis VII and Louis XI) were buried in St. Denis.

But when we compare these clusters of clerical miracles with the appearance of the lay elite in the text, the two patterns together form a striking pattern of their own. The largest clusters of clerical miracles occur where lay elite are absent from the text for a dozen or more paragraphs. Clerics crowd into these vacancies more densely than they do anywhere else in the text. Miracles from the two orders are not simply alternating. Lay elite miracles either appear every five or six entries or they disappear entirely for over a dozen paragraphs at a time, and in these spaces appear clerical miracles, often in succession. The miracles involving clergy are therefore not simply more common in comparison with the appearance of the lay elite. Instead, the frequency of clergy in the text, usually in successive paragraphs, is greatest when the lay elite are absent.

There are four such series of clerical miracles. The first series fits into a gap in the lay elite miracles in the first historical period described in Chapter Five, corresponding to the first year of the cult of Simon de Montfort. Half of the fourteen miracle stories between paragraphs 63 and 77 contain accounts from clergy. The next two series of clerical miracles occupy many of the paragraphs in the long stretch between the first and second periods discussed in Chapter Five, in which high status laymen do not appear. These two series, moreover, are divided by a single lay elite miracle. Seven of the eighteen miracles between paragraph 97 and the first appearance of Hawise de Neville's duplicated miracle in paragraph 115 are clerical stories. Between this story and the cure of Osbert Giffard's fever in paragraph 129 there are no lay elite miracles; but nine of the fourteen paragraphs in between contain clerical sto-

ries. The fourth and final series of clerical miracles occupies the gap in appearances of the lay elite within the second historical period mentioned in of Chapter Five, which stretches from the anniversary of de Montfort's death and the death of Henry III. Six of the sixteen miracles between Osbert Giffard's dream of Simon de Montfort and the first of William de la Rye's duplicate appearances concern clergy.[3] Like the lay elites' miracles, however, clerical miracles decline sharply thereafter. Because of this phenomenon of clustered miracles, I have divided the miracles of this chapter into groups of miracles that center on these four distinct series. This organization does not mean that I am structuring my consideration of the clerics' miracles according to the structure of the lay elites' miracles. Instead, the miracles of the two groups appear in the text in related patterns.

First Series

The first several clergymen who appear in the *Liber miraculorum* are obscure. John the chaplain of Britford, has already been discussed. He played an essential role in the first miracle in the text; and while he is mentioned at a later date, I have argued that the second appearance of the story he had originally attested is sufficiently different that he is unlikely to have been present at that time.[4] The *Liber miraculorum* tersely records the cure of Ralph, a clerk of Sepham Burland, who had been deaf for

[3] I.e., between #129 and #145.
[4] #1; Halliwell, 68. #53; Halliwell, 77. Above, Chapter Four, 209 - 13,

nine weeks.[5] The unnamed rector of Treddington vouched for John Brown's miraculous recovery from paralysis even though the latter also came to Evesham personally.[6] Finally, with the appearance of a member of the monastery of Winchcombe at paragraph 20, is there sufficient information outside the *Liber miraculorum* to identify some of the figures in the account and to speculate as to why they might appear in the text.

> William of Sarle, a monk of Wynchecumbe, endured a cough with morbid dropsy. He was taken to Oxford and there he spent much money in vain on doctors, measured to the Earl, there stood before him one night an old man in a vision, saying, "It's time to lance it," but he said, "I am not able in any way to endure a lancing," the old man seized him, and struck him on the soles of his feet. And he woke up with a great shout, and found his bed everywhere soaked in a fetid liquor, both arms, and feet, and even his whole body, thin and soft; and thus by the merits of the most noble martyr he was cured. Of this the witness is the Abbot of Wynchecumbe, with the holy monastery.[7]

[5] #5; Halliwell, 69.
[6] #13; Halliwell, 70. Halliwell corrects the text's "Caduncton" to Treddington.
[7] Halliwell, 72:
#20 - *Willelmus de Sarle, monachus Wynchecumbe, patiebatur tussim cum morbo idropico. Iste adductus Oxoniae et ibi multa in medicis inane expendebat, mensuratus ad Comitem, astitit ei quadam nocte quidam senex in visione, dicens, "Oportet te scarificari," at ille "Scarificationem ullo modo sustinere non possum; " senex apprehendens mi ataxam(?), et percussit eum sub plantis pedum. At ille evigilans cum clamore magno, invenerat lectum suum undique liquore foetidissimo plenum, et brachia, et pedes, et etiam totum corpus, gracile et delicatum; et sic per merita martiris nobilissime curatus est. De hoc testificatus est Abbas Wynchecumbe, cum sacro conventu.*

It is unclear whether the abbot of Winchcombe appears here because he is the source of the story or because he is a high-status witness. If the latter is the case, then the beneficiary, Willam of Sarle, may have told his own story. The abbot of Winchcombe does appear to have been treated like a Montfortian by the reestablished royal government. On August 15, 1265, less than two weeks after the battle of Evesham, the abbot and 19 other clergymen were given safe-conduct, which was to last until the following Easter. This treatment is characteristic of Montfortians invited to come and submit themselves to the king.[8] The anti-royal sympathies of Winchcombe, moreover, do not seem to be limited to the period of the Barons' War. Investigations after the Thomas Lancaster's uprising in 1322 found that the cellarer of Winchcombe had spied on royalist forces and that the abbot had supplied the rebelling barons.[9]

After measuring ended the fever of Roger, who was both the chaplain and the vicar of Hide in Kent, another monastic miracle appears, similar in attribution to the story from Winchcombe, above.[10] A canon from Malton abbey, in York, attests to the story of a miracle along with his "entire" monastic community.

[8] And, as in the case of the mayor of London, Henry III did not always honor his own guarantees of safe-conduct. See above, Chapter Five, 257.

[9] Maddicott refers to the Justice Itinerant rolls, the records of the justices in eyre used after both de Montfort and Lancaster's rebellions to identify and punish baronial supporters, PRO JI I/1388, membranes 8 and 9, respectively. J. Maddicott, *Thomas of Lancaster, 1307 – 1322: A study in the reign of Edward II* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1970), 304, 313. For this kind of retribution after the Barons' War, see J. King, "The Friar Tuck Syndrome: Clerical violence and the Barons' War," in *The Final Argument: The imprint of violence on society in medieval and early modern Europe*, ed. D. Kagay and L. Villalon (Woodbridge: Boydell, 1998), 27 – 52.

[10] Roger of Hide, #21; Halliwell, 72.

> Robert of Malton, a canon, fell on his left arm, whence he lost the use of the arm, on the Friday before the feast of St. John the Baptist. Measured to the Earl, and at Stratford-on-Avon and in going to Evesham for the sake of a prayer, in order to pray he entered a certain church, he held in memory the sanctity of the martyr in mind, he was healed. Of this maintains testimony the prior of Malton along with the entire monastery.[11]

The beneficiary of the miracle in the above account seems to have been on his way to Evesham to be cured and received his miracle en route. Whether Robert or his prior traveled all the way to Evesham is unclear, but the prior of Malton seems to have been moderately wealthy.[12] For the sympathies of Malton, we know only that they were required to provide 75 marks to support Henry's Sicilian enterprise.[13]

After Malton abbey, in paragraph 22, clergymen appear in seven different accounts over the next 47 paragraphs, but we know nothing outside their appearance in the *Liber miraculorum*.[14] The rector of Kenelson's cure of kidney stones is the story that interrupted the accounts of the Irish family's miracles, considered above.[15] Mas-

[11] Halliwell, 72:
22 - *Robertus de Malton, canonicus, cecidit super brachium sinistrum, unde amisit utilitatem brachii, die Veneris ante festum Sancti Johannis Baptistae. Mensuratus ad Comitem, et in eundo versus Evesham apud Stretforde super Avenam causa orationis intravit quandam ecclesiam, habuit in memoriam sanctitatem martiris, convaluit. De hoc perhibent prior de Malton et totus conventus.*

[12] *Liber Feodorum*, 357, 1199, 1200, 1201.

[13] *Calendar of Patent Rolls*, 1247 – 1258, dated May 14, 1256, p. 515.

[14] #28, #35, #46, #54, #61, #62, and #65.

[15] #28; Halliwell, 73. For Richard Seypo and his family, see #27 and #29, Halliwell, 73, and above, Chapter Four, 203 - 5.

ter John Crowletone's cure was at first imperfect. An affliction on the left side of his head and face disappeared after he prayed to be cured by the merits of Earl Simon. But his complaint soon returned on his right side, only to be cured again.[16] A priest in Derby was thought to be dead but recovered after he was measured.[17] The death of Galfrid de Stalares, a Montfortian knight who ignored the earl's miraculous warnings and died in a fire, has already been discussed.[18] The vicar of Wardon is the only figure in the story who could have been the scribe's source for the account since it includes information concerning events after Galfrid's death. Although he is not named in his story in the *Liber miraculorum*, we can be reasonably certain of his identity. As late as April 8, 1265, the vicar of Wardon was William of Southwell; and beyond the fact that he received a special protection from the baronial government on that date, to last until Michaelmas that year, we know nothing about him.[19] Since the account provides enough information for me to identify him in the present day, I think it unlikely that the omission of his name from the account was intended to protect his identity.

William, the rector of Warrington, brought two miracles to Evesham, along with his sister's measuring candle; these accounts appear immediately after William of Southwell's story. Their miracles have already been considered above as an ex-

[16] #61; Halliwell, 78. "…*orationem fudit ad Dominum ut ipsum liberaret ab infirmitate quam paciebatur per merita comitis Simonis, post orationem factam, liberatus fuit*."
[17] #65; Halliwell, 79.
[18] #69; Halliwell, 80. See above, Chapter Five, 270 - 2.
[19] *CPR* 1258 - 1266, 417.

ample of multiple stories reported serially by a single source.[20] Since other miracle stories from Warrington appear in the *Liber miraculorum*, it seems reasonable to wonder if William had been active in promoting Simon's cult there.[21] Considering the content of the accounts, however, I think this is unlikely. In the story of his sister's cure, which William told first, she was near death when, following the advice of "some people who were helping her," she was healed by being measured to the Earl.[22] In other words, William did not initiate an appeal to Simon's intervention, or he did not claim to have done so even when talking to the scribe recording de Montfort's miracle stories. In the second story, William does take credit for providing the earth from the spot where de Montfort died, which cures an unnamed person. Here again, however, William makes it clear that he did not initiate the cure but that the sick man learned about the earth from a dream. For these reasons, even though I would be inclined to credit a clergyman who hails from a location that has produced other miracle stories with the promotion of Simon de Montfort's cult, the accounts supplied by that person do not show him actively promoting that saint. It seems unlikely that William would have had any reason to downplay his role in spreading word of Simon's cures in Warrington when he is doing just that in or near Evesham.

While the previous two clergymen who brought stories of Simon's miracles to Evesham had no reason to protect their identities or to minimize their role in promot-

[20] #80 and #81; Halliwell, 70 – 1. See above, Chapter Four, 169 – 71.
[21] #39, #40, #41, #42, #43, #45, #117, #137 and #156 are also from Warrington.
[22] "… *de consilio quorumdam eidem assistencium ad comitem Symonem mensurata, convaluit*." Halliwell, 80 – 1.

ing this saint's cult, the source of the next story, which immediately follows the last two, clearly has worked to keep his name a secret.

> A certain monk of the Burg of St. Peter's recounted something marvelous, that one man from the convent of brothers was accustomed to deriding Earl Simon with a certain cleric his brother, he could neither hear nor say anything good. It happened one night that there was an argument between the brothers over the said Earl; "some of them said that he was good, others said no, that he seduced the mobs." Then, the dispute suspended, they went to bed. In the middle of the night there appeared to the said religious a certain armed knight, having a sword in his right hand and a piglet in his left, and he said, "Eat: either you will eat or you will die; it is better to eat raw meat [so that] you live"; and he ate, as it seemed, until about half done. And the knight said, "Enough: but go, and take the other half to your brother," and named that one, and then disappeared. He waking, terrified, got up so that he might wash his hands of the encounter and the vision, found his mouth inside and out stained with blood. Seeing these things the brothers marveled, and they believed him struck by someone. The said religious, realizing the truth, and seeking the mercy from the martyr, led by

penitence, every stain disappeared from his face. Of this maintains testimony the entire monastery of that place.[23]

This story describes another revenge miracle: an enemy of the saint has been punished.[24] The monk who is identified as the source for this story wants it to be known that there was support for Simon at his abbey, that Simon worked a miracle there, that at least one of the detractors has been humiliated (his brother seems to be implicated as well), and that no one there doubts Simon anymore. The monk does not, however, want anyone to know who he is. The tension between the detractor's public humiliation and the source's caution, I think, is a product of the continuing confrontations between those still in rebellion after the battle of Evesham and the victorious royalists who were nevertheless incapable of consolidating their control of the country.[25] Even

[23] Halliwell, 81 – 2:

#72 - *Quidam monachus de Burgo Sancti - Petri quoddam mirabile narravit, quod unus de conventu fratrum consuevit detrahere comiti Symone una cum quodam clerico fratre suo, nec bonum audire vel dicere potuit. Contigit quadam nocte quod contentio erat inter fratres pro dicto Comite; "quidam eorum dixerunt quod bonus fuit; alii non, sed seducebat turbas." Tandem, lite sopita, petierunt strata. Media nocte apparuit dicto religioso quidam miles armatus, habens gladium in dextra manu et porcinunculam suillam in leva, et ait, "Comede: aut gustabis aut interibis; melius est comedere carnes crudas quas [sic] vivas;" et comedit, ut videbatur, usque ad medietatem. Et dixit miles, "Sufficit: sed vade, et defer aliam dimidietatem fratri tuo," et nominavit illum, et sic disparuit. Iste evigilans perteritus, ut ablueret manus de contentione et visione surrexit, invenit os suum intus et extra sanguine maculatum. Haec videntes fratres mirabantur, et crediderunt eum ab aliquo percusse. Dictus religiosus, recognoscens veritatem, et petens veniam a martire, penitencia ductus, omnis macula faciei evanuit. De hoc perhibet testimonium totus conventus loci illius.*

Halliwell notes that the second sentence is likely a refernce to John VII:xii. Halliwell, 81 n.

[24] Also known as "Old Testament" miracles, as opposed to "New Testament" healing miracles. See W. Aird, "The Making of a Medieval Miracle Collection: The *Liber de translationibus et miraculis Sancti Cuthberti,*" in *Northern History: A review of the history of the north of England and the borders*. G. Forster, ed. Vol. 28 (1992): 7.

[25] Compare with #77 and #88, above, Chapter Five, 272 - 6.

within the context of the *Liber miraculorum*, the death of Galfrid Stalares, above, indicates that the danger to the Montfortians was still very real.

The remaining paragraphs from this series do not establish any pattern or share reporting characteristics. Thomas de Crest supplies the account in the next paragraph, apparently, because the actual beneficiary of the miracle, the rector of "Pytyltone," did not encounter a scribe when he went to Evesham.[26] Thomas saw the rector during services in his church and reports to Evesham that the whole parish bears witness to the rector's cure. The rector remains anonymous. Cuttying of Northumberland, the abbot of Penmoster, did locate a scribe to tell him how an infected cut from a knife had been cured by measuring to Earl Simon during the feast of St. Bartholomew. The scribe says that he saw the scars with his own eyes and that the knife remained at Evesham as a token.[27] Edmund Kokerelle sent his measuring candle to Evesham with John of Phileby, along with the story of his cure.[28]

After a gap of four entries in which no clergymen appear, paragraph 80 records the cure of a nun of Studley. By itself this is not remarkable, but the political sympathies of community she represented are unclear.

> Lady Mable, a nun of Studley near Oxford, weighed down with a great infirmity around her heart for 9 years, which suffering the doctors call a *caudiacam*. She was measured, and over her a penny bent to the

[26] #73; Halliwell, 82.
[27] "*Unde vidimus propriis oculis cicatrices vulneris*…" #73; Halliwell, 82.
[28] #76; Halliwell, 82.

> Earl, immediately she recovered, in the year of grace 1208 [sic], around the Assumption of the Blessed Virgin. Of this maintains testimony the convent of Studley.[29]

After the defeat of the Montfortians at Evesham, the entire convent at Studley received a safe conduct to come to trial. However, when the sheriff of Warwick was too busy with the king's enemies in that county to survey Peter de Montfort's lands,[30] presumably for their redistribution to royalists as part of the general program of disinherison, the abbot of Bridelye and the prioress of Studley were delegated to do it for him.[31] The prioress of Studley held land alongside Osbert Giffard in Stanlake. Giffard is the royalist who is said by the abbot of Evesham to have been punished with a fever by Simon for having taken the dead earl's scabbard as a trophy.[32] But the prioress also held those lands from the Countess of Aubomarle, who witnesses paragraph 158 along with John fitz John.[33] It is apparently as unclear now as it was to the royalists after the battle of Evesham where Lady Mable's loyalties lay.

Two paragraphs later there are two accounts from Holy Cross abbey in Waltham, a religious community whose Montfortian leanings are unambiguous.

[29] Halliwell, 83:

80 - *Domina Mabilia, sanctimonialis de Stodeley juxta Oxoniam, gravata ex magna infirmitate circa cor per ix. annos, quam medici caudiacam passionem vocant. Haec mensurata, et super eam de nario plicato ad Comitem, statim convaluit, anno gratite M. cc. viij. [sic] circa assumptionein beatae Virginis. De hoc perbibet testimonium Conventus de Stodeley.*

[30] Peter de Montfort, while a Montfortian, was not related to Simon de Montfort.

[31] Cf. *CPR 1258 – 1266*, 598, 658.

[32] Farrer, III:241. #129. See above, Chapter Five, 288 - 91.

[33] Farrer, III:184 – 5.

> The Prior of Holy Cross at Waltham, gravely afflicted by an infirmity, just as he told our prior, almost dead; the brothers standing around him cried and said, "It would be good for you to be measured to Earl Simon," but he disagreed saying, "far be it from any religious to make an offering without the instructions of the prelate." In the middle of the night it seemed to him in his sleep that he saw Earl Simon with a multitude of the poor who ran to him and sweetly embraced him. Waking he had a certain nausea, and vomited, and thus recovered.[34]
>
> A lay-brother of the same monastery struck by a paralysis on his right side, was measured, he recovered in a similar fashion. The insane cook from the same place, by the merits of the martyr, is gloriously healthy. The witnesses [are] the prior of the same place.[35]

The source of the story is not a pilgrim to Evesham but instead the prior of Evesham himself. The prior of Holy Cross in Waltham has told Evesham's prior first about a dream which convinced the former that Simon was a saint, and second about his ac-

[34] Halliwell, 83 – 4:

#82 - *Prior sancte Crucis de Waltham, gravi infirmitate detentus, sicut ipse narravit priori nostro, usque ad mortem; fratres circumstantes fleverunt, et dixerunt, "Bonum est ut sis mensuratus ad comitem Symonem;" at ille negavit, dicens, "Absit aliquo religioso facere votum, sine praecepto proelati. 11 Nocte media videbatur ei in sompnis quod vidit comitem Symonem inter multitudinem pauperum sibi occurrentem, et dulciter amplectentem. Evigilans habuit quandam eructationeni, et fecit vomitum, et sic convaluit.*

[35] Halliwell, 84:

83 - *Frater laycus de eodem coenobio paralisi in dextra parte percussus, mensuratus, simili modo, convaluit. Cocus ejusdem loci freneticus, per merita martiris, gloriose sanatus est. Testes [sic] dictus prior ejusdem loci.*

tual cure. The account that follows contains other news of Simon's cures at the same abbey. When taken into consideration with the urging of the brothers in the first story that the prior be measured, the two miracles in the second paragraph suggest that Simon was already broadly popular at Holy Cross and that only the prior was cautious. This situation differs from the story of the raw piglet, above, where the abbey was more divided and Simon was an open controversy.

After Robert Passelewe had been rejected as bishop of Chichester 1245, thanks to the intervention of Robert Grosseteste, Henry continued to try to install his own candidate for another two years.[36] Failing to install his candidate at Chichester, he turned to the abbey of Holy Cross and tried to force Passelewe on that community in 1248, placing him in charge of Holy Cross as soon as the former abbot was dead. Eventually, the election of the abbey's candidate, Simon of Saham, was confirmed; and Henry later relinquished any claim to the abbey, for himself or his heirs.[37] Holy Cross paid 200 marks as part of a tenth granted in 1256 for Henry's Sicilian ambitions, and later the king posted the abbey as a surety for a loan of 2,500 marks from French bankers.[38] William de Valence, one of Henry's Lusignan half-brothers and Simon de Montfort's personal enemy, kept large sums of money on deposit at the abbey. After the barons moved in 1258 to seize control of the government and remove foreigners from positions of influence, William tried to withdraw his money to go overseas and later tried to have the money brought to him once he had fled the coun-

[36] See above, Chapter Two, 119 - 20.
[37] *CPR* 1247 – 1258, 11, 12, 16.
[38] Ibid., 515, 625.

try. By August of that year, however, these efforts seem to have been blocked by the baronial government.[39] The abbey, it appears, could not have avoided the political upheavals of the time. After de Montfort's defeat, Henry's treatment of Holy Cross shows that he did not regard them as an enemy but that they were widely considered to be or to have been in the Montfortians' camp. Henry granted that he would take nothing from the abbey, acknowledging the damage already done to the abbey during the civil war and he instructed the constable of the Tower and all his bailiffs to leave Holy Cross alone and to protect the abbey.[40] The damage mentioned was likely looting and vandalism, which was the preferred mode of harassment between the two parties and was common when either had the upper hand. Since the constable and others needed to be told to leave Holy Cross alone, there can be little doubt that the abbey had been the target of marauding royalists.

Holy Cross had also had the support of a prominent Montfortian family, the de Neville's. John de Neville had endowed the abbey earlier in the thirteenth century.[41] The de Nevilles continued to hold other lands in Waltham, and the younger John de Neville was still in possession of them in 1282.[42] The de Nevilles also kept their family's charters and other records at the abbey.[43] Beginning in 1257, Hawise de Neville began to endow the church in her own name, starting with a purchase of land for 40

[39] Ibid., 641, 643; *CPR* 1258 – 1266, 206, 223.
[40] Henry appears to have been sympathetic to the community because it had originaly been endowed by his ancestors. Ibid., 635.
[41] Farrer, I:281. See above, Chapter Five, 278.
[42] Farrer, III:48 – 9.
[43] PRO DL 25/172; DL 25/173; DL 25/182.

marks to provide a living for a canon there.[44] The following year the abbot granted her participation in the prayers of the order, and allowed her to have her own priest celebrate mass in the church.[45] For this reason I think it may be more than a mere coincidence that Hawise first appears in the *Liber miraculorum* only four paragraphs after the second of the two Holy Cross miracles.

Second and Third Series

After the above two miracles there is a substantial gap in our knowledge about the clergymen who appear in the *Liber miraculorum*.[46] John, a vicar from Kent, reported how measuring had ended the seizures suffered by Thomas, a cleric from Canterbury.[47] Gaprinus Bosson, a Franciscan, reported a dream in which Simon presented his own severed head as an offering to Christ.[48] Gregory of Grandon, whose series of stories we have already considered, appears beginning at paragraph 100.[49] The content of some of the stories in the following section, however, is intriguing in and of itself, even if the figures in the stories are elusive. The story told by abbot Hugh de la Dale is especially tantalizing. Unfortunately, the date and other details are not clear.

[44] PRO DL 27/70. For Hawise de Neville's politics and associations, see above, Chapter Five, 284 - 8.
[45] PRO DL 28/168.
[46] I.e., #84 - #121.
[47] #89; Halliwell, 85.
[48] #91; Halliwell, 85 – 6.
[49] See above, Chapter Four, 231 - 2.

> Abbot Hugh de la Dale, of the Premonstratensian order, was struck with paralysis on the Sunday after the feast of St. Mark the Evangelist, at the court of justiciars of the lord king which then sat at Dereby, and thus detained by infirmity for four days; by the council of the prudent he was measured to the Earl, he recovered without delay, in the presence of his entire congregation. As a sign of his health, the said abbot sent his candle to Evesham with John de Babapekewelle his canon, in the year of grace one thousand two hundred eighty.[50]

We would like to know whether Hugh was at the court of the justiciar as part of the eyre inquiries, mentioned above, that were intended to identify and punish former Montfortians. Unfortunately, this figure remains obscure.

William de la Horst of Bulne relates another revenge miracle seven paragraphs later, which begins the third series of clerical miracles. In this case, a reveler at a party is paralyzed for insulting Simon.[51] Three paragraphs later there is another miracle of this type.

[50] Halliwell, 88:
106 - *Abbas Hugo de la Dale, ordinis Praemonstratensis, percussus paralisi die Saboti post festum sancti Marci Evangelistae, coram justiciariis domini Regis turic sedentibus in villa de Dereby, et sic detentus infirmitate per quatuor dies; concilio prudencium mensuratus ad Comitem, convaluit sine mora, in praesencia tocius congregationis. In signum sanitatis, dictus abbas misit candelam suam apud Evesham per Johannem canonicum suum de Babapekewelle, anno grative M. cc. sexagesimo xx.*
[51] #113; Halliwell, 89.

> Stephen of Holle, and Nicholas of Hulle, John Godde, Walter Sygard, citizens of Hereford, told of a certain miracle of Philip, chaplain of Brenteles, who had insulted the Earl. Among insulting words he said, "If Earl Simon is a saint, as is said, I wish that the devil would break my neck, or some other miracle before I reach home." And, just as he wished, so it happened. For in returning toward home by chance he encountered a hound[52] in the road, and in jumping past him he fell from his horse. His servant, for sharing his sins, was seized by the devil, yelled "Ob! Ob!" in the manner of the Welsh. The man raved, was caught and bound, and thus remained in chains, from the feast of St. John the Baptist until the translation of St. Benedict. Of this maintains testimony the entire town of Hereford.[53]

This paragraph is a good example of the different representation of sources and witnesses. In this case, despite the vague attestation at the end of the entry, we know from the information presented at the beginning of the entry who the sources are. Be-

[52] *Revised Medieval Latin Word List*, ed. R. Latham (London: Oxford University Press, 1965), 273. Alternately, a hare.

[53] Halliwell, 90:

116 - *Sthephanus de Holle, et Nicolaus de Hulle, Johannes Godde, Walter Sygard, cives Herefordite, narraverunt quoddam mirabile de Philippo, cappellano de Brenteles, qui vituperavit Comitem. Inter verba conviciosa ait, "Si Symon comes est sanctus, ut dicitur, volo ut diabolus frangat collum meum, vel aliquid miraculum antequam domum veniam." Et, sicut petiit, ita contingit. Nam in redeundo versus domum casu obviam habens leporem, et in saltum post eum de caballo cecidit. Serviens illius pro conviciis areptis a daemonio, more Walencium, clamavit, "Ob ! Ob! Insanuit iste apprehensus et ligatus, et sic permansit in vinculis, a festo sancti Johannis Baptistae usque ad translationem sancti Benedicti. De hoc perhibet testimonium tota civitas Herefordiae.*

cause of this, we can recognize the story as one told by laymen about a cleric, which distinguishes it from the other clerical miracle stories considered so far.

The next miracle is also unusual in the way the language of the text reveals the nature of its source.

> Lord Heliseus, the deacon of Warrington, deprived of sight for three years, measured to the Earl, recovered. Of this maintains testimony everyone met between the Ribble and Merse, that is between those two rivers.[54]

The phrase *omnes conversantes* suggests not that the scribe had noticed that everyone from that region told this story but that the scribe had been in that region and found this story to be common knowledge. Since the region in question includes Warrington, which produced seven other miracles stories, this interpretation does not strain the evidence. Elsewhere, travels by senior members of Evesham abbey may also have spread stories of Simon's posthumous miracles. Evesham's prior, who appears as the source for the Holy Cross miracles,[55] was granted permission and safe conduct to travel to Scotland in July of 1266. The miracle of Simon's severed hand, which "saluted" the consecrated host when the bearer of that grisly trophy entered a church

[54] Halliwell, 90:
117 - *Dominus Heliseus, decanus de Weryntone, privatus visu per tres annos, mensuratus ad Comitem, convaluit. De hoc perhibet testimonium omnes conversantes inter Bibbel (lege Ribble) et Merse, hoc est inter iflas duas aquas.* The correction is Halliwell's.

[55] #82 and #83.

during mass,[56] is the only miracle in the *Liber miraculorum* to appear outside the text. The story is repeated, with considerable elaboration, in the chronicle of the Cistercian abbey of Melrose in Scotland.[57]

In a short series of accounts that begins three entries after the one above, two of the communities involved seem to have been either punished or threatened by the king after the battle of Evesham. Three witnesses, including the prior of St. Frideswide's abbey in Oxford, jointly attest the cure of Reginald Ritgon's partial blindness.[58] Robert of Aldewik, who had been the prior of St. Peter's in Gloucester, brought the story of an unnamed boy whose paralysis had been cured by measuring to the earl.[59] A nun of Acornbury was so distraught after hearing about the mistreatment of Simon's body that she fell into a depression and began to curse God, recovering only after a vision in which she saw the earl's severed head in her lap.[60] Aside from an old "superstition" surrounding Oxford in general and St. Frideswide's in particular,[61] there was no particular reason for enmity between the king and that community. We do know, however, that Henry III treated the latter two communities as enemies after August of 1265. In a form of punishment commonly used against Montfortians, St. Peter's in Gloucester lost property to Roger Clifford, a staunch royalist, in De-

[56] #11; Halliwell, 70.
[57] *Chronicle of Melrose*, ed. and trans. J. Stephenson (London, 1856), 226 – 7.
[58] #120; Halliwell, 91.
[59] #121; Halliwell, 91.
[60] #122; Halliwell, 91.
[61] Powicke calls "superstitions" the apparently common beliefs that it was unlucky for a king of England to enter Oxford or visit the shrine of St. Frideswide's and points out that Henry III was encouraged by the Dominicans of Oxford to violate both of them, which he did. F. Powicke, *King Henry III and the Lord Edward: The community of the realm in the thirteenth century* (Oxford: The Clarendon Press, 1947), 462n1.

cember of 1265.[62] In July of 1267, Henry threatened the prior of Acornbury not to take on any new members, which is not a remarkable fact, but the language is especially strong. If the community ignores the king's right to license or mandate any changes in the community, he will seize all their property, and furthermore "betake himself to them so that they shall fell perpetually aggrieved."[63] The evidence is far from definitive, however, and there is nothing else in the accounts to link any of them together. Why three monastic miracles appear together is unclear. Another pair of clerical miracles follow shortly after, again with no clear connection.[64]

The connection between the next two miracles is clear, however, and the connection is of particular significance to the community at Evesham, which figures in the second of the two. The text of the first account does not appear at first to be important.

> A certain person at Hawekesbury, mute and paralyzed for seven years, measured to the Earl, immediately recovered in all things which he suffered. Of this maintains testimony the abbot of Pershore, and many others.[65]

[62] *CPR* 1258 – 1266, 520. The community seems to have enjoyed the favor of the baronial government, ibid., 308, 428,.

[63] *CPR* 1266 – 1272, 109.

[64] #125 and #126; Hallwell, 92.

[65] Halliwell, 92:

128 - *Quidam apud Hawekesbury, mutus et contractus per septem annos, mensuratus ad Comitem, statim convaluit in omnibus quae paciebatur. De hoc testimonium perhibet abbas de Persore, et plures alii.*

It is almost certainly no coincidence that the next miracle concerns Evesham since the two communities were so closely connected. This next miracle is also witnessed by the "abbot of Evesham," William Whitechurch.[66] The abbot claimed to have heard personally from Osbert Giffard that the latter had suffered from a fever for some time and finally saw Simon de Montfort in a dream. Osbert was told to take the earl's scabbard, which Osbert had apparently collected from the battlefield as a trophy, and to use it instead as a saint's relic. According to the abbot's story, Osbert was cured.

Anyone at Evesham would have known the significance of Pershore abbey, a daughter abbey of their own community and one that had produced the abbot, William Whitechurch, forced on Evesham by the papal legate Ottobono. William first appears in 1251 as the cellarer of Pershore in a request to elect a new abbot. Two years later he was installed by Walter Cantilupe, bishop of Worcester, as the abbot of Alncester.[67] When the old abbot of Evesham, Henry of Winchester, died in 1263, William would have been a likely a candidate. Instead, the community at Evesham chose to promote one of their own, William of Marlborough; and he remained the abbot until Ottobono sent word in the summer of 1266 that his election had been retroactively invalidated.[68] Finally, in mid-September, the legate arrived at Evesham and installed William Whitechurch. William of Marlborough was expunged from Eve-

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It is of probably no significance that this is the entry, mentioned above in Chapter Three, that begins with the wrong capital letter for the first word, i.e., a large, red capital "A" has been attached to the beginning of the word *quidam*. *Lm* MS, fol. 175r. Halliwell corrects this without mention.

[66] This is the miracle of Osbert Giffard's punishment, see above, Chapter Five, 288 - 91.

[67] *CPR* 1247 – 1258, 89, 362. Pershore also appears as a surety for Queen Eleanor's debt of 500 marks to bankers in Florence. Ibid., 558.

[68] *CPR* 1258 – 1266, 304.

sham's chronicle, and anyone consulting the usual sources today would think the abbacy had been vacant for three years before Ottobono arrived and restored order.[69] In reality, Ottobono simply got rid of the man who had overseen the first year of Simon de Montfort's cult.

William Whitechurch, we would expect, would have had to have had impeccable royalist credentials for the legate to have placed him in such a position. The new abbot's apparently personal contact with Osbert Giffard, which he claims in the *Liber miraculorum*, places him squarely in Henry's camp. But while the association with Osbert may constitute William's royalist *bona fides*, the actual content of his story marks the return of two men to the Montfortian fold. The story tells of Osbert's conversion to Simon's cause, if only after the latter's death: Osbert obeys the saint's commands, says abbot William, uses de Montfort's scabbard like any other healing saint's relic, and receives his miraculous cure. Both have an investment in Simon as a saint: one as a beneficiary and the other as a source for Simon's catalog of miracles. This means that the legate's new abbot is aware that someone is collecting Simon's stories; and instead of stopping them he is contributing to the saint's *Liber miraculorum*. Giffard, perhaps only ever a lukewarm supporter of Henry, and William Whitechurch, a longtime member of Evesham's extended community, have succumbed perhaps predictably to the influences of their communities. The ambivalence of the

[69] The chronicle of Evesham maintains this apparently politically sanctioned fiction, "*Defuncto vero isto laudabili abbate Henrico vacavit ecclesia ista fere per tres annos*," and mentions only the old Henry of Winchester and the new William Whitechurch, *Chronicon Abbatiae de Evesham, ad annum 1418*, ed. W. Macray (London: Longman, 1863), 282. This is still the picture one gets from *Monasticon*, II:6 – 10. David Cox appears to have been the first to catch this deliberate error, see D. Cox, *The Battle of Evesham: A new account* (Evesham: Vale of Evesham Historical Society, 1988), 21.

Giffards has already been examined. In William's case, once Ottobono left Evesham, William had little choice but to go along with the community in which he now found himself. We have seen, above, how *Liber miraculorum* records the contempt with which Simon's opponents, even clergy, were held. The *Liber miraculorum* records the stories of things St. Simon was thought to do to his enemies.

Fourth Series

Ten paragraphs after the story of Osbert's dream, "the lord Abbot of Evesham" appears again as a witness to another miracle whose contents give some idea of how widespread support for Simon was among the Evesham clerical community.

> Robert, chaplain and vicar of Evesham, had a spasm in his upper and lower legs for a long time, measured to Earl Simon, he immediately recovered. With those here, the lord Abbot of Evesham, brother William de Hekelinges, the monastery's librarian, at the time that Robert's confessor, and the whole monastery.[70]

The named figures include a figure of the local clergy, Robert, who is both chaplain and vicar "of Evesham," that is, of either St. Mary or St. Egwin's churches in Eve-

[70] Halliwell, 94 – 5:
138 - *Robertus, capellanus et vicarius de Evesham, habens spasmum in gambis et tibiis longo tempore, mensuratus ad comitem Symonem, statim convaluit. Hiis praesentibus, domino abbate de Evesham, fratre Willielmo de Hekelinges, librario monasterii, tunc confessore illius Roberti, et toto conventu.*

sham.[71] William Whitechurch makes another appearance, and he is joined by another member of the abbey, its librarian. So when the paragraph concludes its list of witnesses with "the whole monastery" of Evesham, for once I am not inclined to dismiss this as a generalization. This paragraph is followed by another which, as with other pairs and groups of miracles, appears to have been related by the same source as the one above.

> Also, the same Robert tells of a certain monk of Bruer, paralyzed for seven years. This monk saw in his sleep John his abbot long dead, along with a knight walking around the hospital, and, when they had come to the bed of the infirm one, the knight said to the abbot, "Who is that?" The abbot said, "he was a noble singer of psalms." The knight came to him, and, touching him, said, "Rise in the name of Jesus, and perform your office!" and immediately he arose healthy, praising God and Earl Simon. Of this maintains testimony the entire monastery of Bruer, along with its abbot.[72]

[71] Cf. #170; Halliwell, 100.

[72] Halliwell, 95:

#139 - *Item, idem Robertus recitavit de quodam monacho Bruerie, paralitico per septem annos. Iste monachus vidit in sompnis Johannem abbatem suum jam defunctum, una cum milite quodam circuente infirmariam, et, cum ad lectum venissent infirmi, dixit abbati miles, "Quis est iste?" A[i]t abbas, "Nobilis psalmicinos fuit." Miles accessit ad eum, et, tetigens, dicens, "Surge in nomine Jhesu, et fac officium tuum!" et statim surrexit sanus, laudans Dominum et comitem Symonem. De hoc perhibet testimonium totus conventus Bruerie cum abbate.*

The first few words indicate that both stories have been related by the same person: the beneficiary of the first miracle, Robert the chaplain and vicar of Evesham. William Whitechurch's appearance in the first of these two paragraphs related to Evesham is likely another instance of celebrity testimony.[73] If so, then the abbot of Evesham's conversion was not simply a private conversation between Osbert, the abbot, and a scribe.

In between the two pairs of miracles involving figures from Pershore and Evesham there is an isolated account, another story from Warrington, which may help shed light on the whole text.

> Roger, deacon of Warrington, was detained by such a great infirmity in his right knee, on the Sunday before the Nativity of our Lord in the present year, that he could not move from the place where he sat, nor could he be healed by anything that his servant might put upon him, neither by unguent, nor by plaster. Finally he remembered the passion of Earl Simon, and immediately he recovered; so that, on the day of the Lord's birth, he could celebrate the divine office without hindrance; nor up until today has he perceived a sign of infirmity. Of this

[73] P. –A. Sigal, "Histoire et hagiographie: les miracula aux XIe et XIIe siècles," *Annales de Bretagne et des pays de l'Ouest* 87 (1980): 243 – 4. The phenomenon of celebrity testimony can account for why witnesses do not appear when they should (above, John the Chaplain in Chapter Four, 212) and do appear when they should not (Hawise de Neville, Chapter Five, 288).

maintains testimony Richard, called "the Hermit," who brought his candle to Evesham.[74]

Roger, who is now the deacon of Warrington,[75] did not come to Evesham. His candle bearer, Richard the Hermit, is the clear source and also appears as the witness. This figure may be the same person as the "Richard the beghard" who appears in the *Liber miraculorum*'s prologue.[76] In that story, Richard warns a small group of royalists that a band of Montfortians is coming down the road from Kenilworth. Taking refuge on the battlefield where Simon de Montfort had been killed, his former enemies challenge God to prove Simon's sainthood by creating a spring in the middle of a dry, rocky place. The only persons named in the prologue story are Richard, the royalists, and a band of Montfortians who never see the other figures or the miracle of the spring. Richard "the beghard," therefore, is the most likely source for the miracle in the prologue. If this person is the same as Richard "the hermit" here in the *Liber miraculorum*, reporting Roger the deacon of Warrington's cure and delivering his candle may have been what brought Richard to Evesham originally.

[74] Halliwell, 94:
137 - *Rogerus, decanus de Werintone, tanta infirmitate in genu dextro detentus, die dominica proximo ante nativitatem Domini anni praesentis, quod a loco ubi sedebat movere non potuit, nec sustinere quod aliquis manum adjutricem apponeret, nec unguentum, nec emplaustrum. Tandem ad memoriam passionem reduxit comitis Symonis, statimque convaluit; ita quod, die natali Domini, divina sine impedimento officia explevit; nec hujusque in aliqua parte infirmitatis signum sentivit. De hoc perhibet testimonium Ricardus, dictus Heremita, qui candelam suam detulit apud Evesham.*

[75] Previously the *Liber miraculorum* had identified a "Lord Heliseus" as the deacon of Warrington. #117

[76] "Quidam Ricardus, nomine Bagard," Halliwell, 67 – 8.

After the two stories brought by Robert, the chaplain and vicar of Evesham, there are only two other sets of paired clerical miracles.[77] Brother Nicholas de Gulak appears to have brought the stories of brother Lawrence of Cornwall's cure, as well as his own, from the Franciscan community at Oxford.[78] The punishment of an unnamed Welsh priest for being an enemy of the Earl appears by itself at paragraph 148.[79] Richard the vicar of Wingeham brought the story of Emma de Dene's partial cure of paralysis.[80] The cures of Michael, vicar of Winchendon, and the attestation of congregation of the abbey of Evesham to the cure of William Ayse appear together, perhaps by accident.[81] As with the appearance of the lay elite in Chapter Five, the frequency of clergy appearing in the stories declines. When considered alongside the decreasing number of apparent miracles per year, all seem to be a function of a decline in support for the cult of Simon de Montfort.

After paragraph William Ayse's story, the *Liber miraculorum* shows only one clerical miracle in the remaining 25 entries.

> William, son of William of Weston near Northampton, was detained by such a grave infirmity, that from Thursday morning until the Sabbath day following, he was thought by everyone around him and seeing him, to be near death. He, measured to Earl Simon after three

[77] #143 and #144; #169 and #170.
[78] #143 and #144; Halliwell, 95 – 6.
[79] The priest was made blind and mute until measured to Simon, Halliwell, 96.
[80] #154; Halliwell, 97.
[81] #169 and #170; Halliwell, 100.

> days, immediately by divine grace brought him to pristine health. The testimony of this thing, Thomas, his brother, Alexander Novery, prior of the order of Preachers in Leicester, and Robert Novery his brother, and the same William's whole family.[82]

This story is especially curious for reasons that are not immediately apparent. One of the witnesses is the Dominican prior of Leicester, Alexander Novery. This datum by itself makes this account especially historically significant for the Dominican friary of Leicester. The story of William's cure appears between two entries that are dated to June 12, 1272,[83] and May 26, 1273.[84] If the dating is correct, then this passage in the *Liber miraculorum* is the earliest reference to the Dominicans at Leicester, and Alexander Novery is the earliest known prior by well over one hundred years.[85] For the sake of my study of the *Liber miraculorum* of Simon de Montfort, however, the presence of the Dominican prior of Leicester is a surprising find. The Dominicans were established in Leicester by the Earl of Leicester in the late thirteenth century, but not by Simon de Montfort. Instead, they were first endowed by the new earl, who assumed that title shortly after Simon's death. The new Earl of Leicester was Henry

[82] Halliwell, 102:
178 - *Willelmus, filius Willelmi de Westone juxta Northhamptone, tam gravi infirmitate detentus, quod a die Jovis mane usque ad diem Sabboti proximum sequentem, omnibus circumstantibus et eum videntibus, tanquam mortuus reputabatur. Iste, ad comitem Symonem post triduum mensuratus, statim divina opitulante gratia pristinae sanitati. Hujus rei testimonium, Thomas frater, Allexander Noverei, prior de ordine Praedicatorum Leycestrice, et Robertus Novery frater suus, et tota familia sua ejusdem Willelmi.*
[83] #173; Halliwell, 101.
[84] #185; Halliwell, 105.
[85] W. Hoskins, ed., *A History of the County of Leicestershire*, vol. 2 (Boydell, 1954), 33-5.

III's younger son, Edmund, whom Henry had hoped to install in Sicily, part of the foreign policy blunder that had in the mid-1250's precipitated England's slide into civil war.[86] Since the prior does not appear first among the witnesses, I do not think that this is another case of celebrity testimony. This attribution is not another case in which the attestation by a prominent figure is itself part of the story as delivered to the scribe at Evesham. Instead, the prior of an order endowed by the king's younger son is passing on testimony about a miracle attributed to the anti-royal saint Simon de Montfort.

As this last paragraph demonstrates, investment in Simon as a saint does not seem to correlate with the politics of the clergy who appear in the *Liber miraculorum*. Similarly, once William Whitechurch was installed at Evesham, he does not appear to have remained loyal to the people to whom he owed his office. Instead, the communities in which they lived seem to have been the greatest influence. The single most common characteristic of the clergy who appear in the text is the fact that they have been alienated by royal mistreatment. It seems to be easier to alienate clergy than to cultivate them as allies. Although there may have been reasons for the English Church to oppose Henry and therefore support de Montfort, almost all the clergy in the *Liber miraculorum* seem to have belonged to communities with their own specific grievances against the king or his supporters.

[86] F. Powicke, *The Thirteenth Century, 1216-1307,* 2nd ed. (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1962), 519 n.

The greatest single difference between miracle stories involving the lay elite and those involving the clergy is that the latter includes a significantly larger number of revenge miracles. Arnoud-Jan Bijsterveld concluded from his study of a Premonstratensian miracle collection from Ninove that the only way clergy could match the violence of layman enemies was "to invoke revenge from the world beyond."[87] In the case of the clerical supporters of Simon de Montfort, however, we know from the records of the post-Evesham eyre inquests, which investigated and punished de Montfort's supporters beginning in late 1267, that Montfortian clergy had participated in physical violence during the period of reform and rebellion and that many of their royalist victims were other clergymen.[88] Unlike the Ninove collection, the conflict is not between laymen and clergy but among the order.

Alternately, a high number of revenge miracles may reflect a crisis of confidence within a cult. In comparing different *libri miraculorum*, Benedicta Ward concluded that cults with a greater need to assert themselves exhibit a greater number of revenge miracles, and that over time successful cults showed fewer and fewer of these.[89] In the case of the *Liber miraculorum* of Simon de Montfort, however, these kinds of miracles do not decline but instead are more commonly derived from clerical sources, or in one example a revenge miracle has a lay origin but it still concerns a

[87] A. Bijsterveld, "Conflict and Compromise: The Premonstratensians of Ninove (Flanders) and the laity in the twelfth century," in *Negotiating Secular and Ecclesiastical Power: Western Europe in the central Middle Ages*, ed. A. Bijsterveld, H. Teunis, and A. Wareham, International Medieval Research 6 (1999), 177 – 82.

[88] J. King, "The Friar Tuck Syndrome," 46 – 7.

[89] B. Ward, *Miracles and the Medieval Mind* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1982), 62.

priest. Rather than a change over time in the type of miracle, the *Liber miraculorum* of Simon de Montfort exhibits a strong correlation between one kind of miracle and one kind of figure. If this correlation is a reflection of uncertainty among English churchmen as to whether or not Simon de Montfort was a saint, that uncertainty does appear in a number of the miracle stories themselves, where religious communities are divided over the issue or where beneficiaries of miracles claim that they were initially unsure about seeking Simon's help. Finally, since clergy figure into the miracle stories most prominently where the lay elite are absent, perhaps these are periods of greater unease among the clergy in the rebels' camp, responding to a slackening of lay support or to its gradual attraction away from Simon de Montfort, first towards Gilbert de Clare and then to the new king Edward himself. Despite apparent renewed efforts to promote Simon de Montfort's cult at Evesham beginning in the early 1270s, and despite the improved quality and consistency of the accounts added to the collection in that period, the actual contents of the stories and the patterns of decline of high status participants seem to show a marked uncertainty and a wavering commitment inside the cult.

Conclusion

Simon's relationship with many of his admirers did not change when the man died and the saint was born. Most of those who considered him a saint had never met him and now never would, except through miracles and in dreams and visions. John Maddicott refers to Simon de Montfort's death as "the termination at Evesham of whatever hopes had rested on Montfort."[1] But this characterization ignores the hopes invested in St. Simon as recorded in the *Liber miraculorum*, not to mention the continuing armed struggle of Simon's adherents. As a saint, Simon had the value assigned to him by his venerators. His miracles are their stories, not his. What emerges from the *Liber miraculorum* as an artifact of a political and religious movement, however, is not a simple relationship between individuals' interests and Simon's potential symbolic utility. First, Simon, imagined as a saint, did not have a limited, fixed, and unambiguous significance. Second, participants in his veneration also had links to one another independent of their involvement with Simon's cult and were living in a nation in crisis, due to Henry's disinherison of the rebels after the battle of Evesham. The *Liber miraculorum* shows a network of related interests, partially in this world, partially in the next, composed of many different kinds of people who had in common that they could imagine in Simon a sponsorship for and validation of their various causes and concerns. This kind of support is what would be expected of a patron saint.

[1] Maddicott, 365.

The *Liber miraculorum* represents the joint effort of scribes, on one hand, and pilgrims of various backgrounds, on the other. Long-distance forms of veneration, like measuring, reveal networks among cult members that ensured that the miracles they believed God had worked through St. Simon would make it into a record.[2] This arrangement determined what would be included in the text. There is no one figure who can be called the author. The scribes who recorded de Montfort's miracles do not seem to have been able to maintain control over the format or the content of the text. The text records stories only when the priorities of its scribes and its sources overlapped. As a result, the text does not record failures or attempts.[3] We do not know what miracle Hawise de Neville sought when she came, either once or twice, to Evesham. We do not know what brought Robert de Vere to Evesham and would not even know that he went there were it not for his own household accounts. We are told only of Simon Benedict's complaints as they are cured. At first he is deaf and mute. He is cured and this is a miracle. Later, he is cured of being lame, and this is a miracle. But information concerning his infirmities is presented only when there is a

[2] These kinds of long-distance miracles, however, were not unusual. See P.-A. Sigal, "Le travail des hagiographes aux XIe et XIIe siècles: sources d'information et methodes de refaction," *Francia* 15 (1987): 149-82, 168 – 70.

[3] For similar instances of the selection and depiction of events in *libri miraculorum*, see P.-A. Sigal, "Histoire et hagiographie: les miracula aux XIe et XIIe siècles," *Annales de Bretagne et des pays de l'Ouest* 87 (1980): 249; M. Bull, *The Miracles of Our Lady of Rocamadour: Analysis and translation* (Woodbridge: Boydell, 1999), 13-14; D. Rollason, "The Miracles of St. Benedict: A window on early medieval France," in *Studies in Medieval History Presented to R. H. C. Davis,* ed. H. Mayr-Harting and R. Moore (London: Hambledon, 1985), 79; H. Mayr-Harding, "Functions of a Twelth-Century Shrine: The miracles of St. Frideswide," in *Studies in Medieval History*, 198, 202; K. Reyerson, "Ritual in Medieval Business," in *Medieval and Early Modern Ritual: Formalized behavior in Europe, China, and Japan*, J. Rollo-Koster, ed. (Leiden: Brill, 2002), 85.

happy ending, both for the beneficiary of the miracle and for St. Simon.[4] Who else came away from Evesham disappointed? Of those who appear and are cured, were there some who had other ailments not mentioned because they were not cured? The text was written by a committee. Unless their various conditions were met, a story would not be taken down.

The practical limits on the cult's ability to promote Simon as a saint, therefore, was the shared willingness of pilgrims and scribes to explain events as the result of St. Simon's intercession. When this partnership faltered, so did their joint venture; and the text comes to an end. Whatever future projects the monks of Evesham had had in mind for the *Liber miraculorum*, perhaps to provide material for a *vita* for St. Simon, the text was a place for stories about and reflecting beliefs in Simon de Montfort to accumulate. Contrary to the assumptions of the authors considered at the beginning of this study, the priorities reflected in the *Liber miraculorum* are not those of political propaganda aimed at a national controversy. The nearest thing to propaganda in the *Liber miraculorum* is its trumpeting the efficacy of Simon's cures and showing the dire consequences of wasting precious time on doctors, and neither feature is unique to Simon's miracles. This record of miracles could not have been a work of propaganda because it was not likely to be propagated. Unlike the political songs of the period, the *Liber miraculorum* would never find a popular audience and only a very limited clerical one.

[4] Bull, *Miracles of our Lady*, 13.

Instead, this difficult text is a dead letter office for the stories that appear there. The kinds of stories pilgrims could tell and the kinds of stories that the scribes deemed fit to record were those that showed the merit of the saint: to help his friends and hurt his enemies.[5] For this reason, this dead-end text is useful now because it registers such widespread anguish over a very narrow range of events. The scale of the networks necessary to collect and deliver the contents of the miracle stories means that the *Liber miraculorum* registers a socially and geographically broad reaction to a single issue. The text catches some of the stories that were in circulation among Simon's supporters, and this is very fortunate for the historian. What a community is holding up as meriting veneration is reflected not necessarily in the sort of miracles that that saint is said to have performed but rather in the sort of person they have chosen to call a saint. A community's veneration of someone as a saint, through whom God works miracles, is a reaction to how they believed that person had lived and often also to the way they had died. Crediting Henry III's nemesis with a miraculous event is a response to political controversies since Simon de Montfort owed his prominence to his role as a leader of the opposition. But that response does not itself have the potential to effect political change or give a political advantage. The opposite is true. There were few advantages and many risks associated with venerating Simon as a saint. It is difficult to imagine how those bringing stories to Evesham

[5] With regards to depictions of violence as representing saints' power, see Bull, *The Miracles of our Lady*, 75, and Rollason, "St. Benedict," 82-5, 89, 90. For saints' violence against enemies, K. Winstead, *Virgin Martrs: Legends of sainthood in late medieval England* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1997), 66.

could have thought that they were somehow affecting the outcome of the ongoing rebellion, through August 1267, or otherwise influencing the affairs of the nation.

The *Liber miraculorum*, therefore, registers reactions; it is an end result. In its own day it does not seem to have achieved anything. The text, furthermore, lacks the conviction of a polemic despite the fact that its creators spent considerable time telling nasty stories about their enemies. England's clergy, whom we might imagine as being the most responsible for the promotion of de Montfort's cult, do not appear consistently as the earl's partisans, even in their own stories. The miracles they report depict a persistent doubt within the communities of religious as to Simon's status, even though the *Liber miraculorum* records the resolution of their debates in de Montfort's favor. They must be prodded or perhaps authorized by dreams and visions, sometimes other people's dreams and visions, before they will turn to St. Simon for help. The baronial opposition, for their part, does not seem to have been able to deploy a St. Simon de Montfort as a political weapon even though they participated in the creation of his miracle collection. They told their stories as an aside to rather than a part of their continuing struggle with Henry III.

In fact, the successes of the baronial faction actually served to undermine the earl's cult. When Gilbert de Clare surprised the king at London and precipitated the final reconciliation of Montfortians and royalists, he became the most prominent anti-royalist. There was apparently no way for Simon de Montfort to intervene in affairs from Evesham or to endorse or influence his former political ally who had been Simon's political enemy at the time of his death but who had now become his politi-

cal heir. But an even more devastating blow came when the support for reform finally appeared not just from another source but from a licit, royal one. Like de Clare, young prince Edward had also been a Montfortian at times during the Barons' War. Once he was king, he delivered much of what de Montfort had offered and Henry had resisted: parliaments and crusades. Edward would emulate de Montfort, not own his father. Thomas Cantilupe, de Montfort's chancellor, became Edward I's advisor.[6] When there was no Henry to oppose, there was no reason to run the risks of rebellion; a Montfortian agenda could be pursued in the daylight, so there was no reason to skulk around in a clandestine cult. Formal suppression of the cult, therefore, may have made it more difficult to adapt and promote de Montfort's cult in these changing circumstances; but it was change itself that quickly extinguished it. Eventually, the changing nature and location of political reform in England left Evesham's martyr behind. Political reform, as a popular cause, had created de Montfort's cult of personality; but that was a two-edged sword. Once it was available from another source, St. Simon lost his appeal.

These were the political realities of that time during which the latter miracles of the *Liber miraculorum* were recorded, yet the text presents a picture frozen at August 4, 1265. Those who contributed the *Liber miraculorum*'s contents and shaped their appearance were unable to change that depiction of events to one that would fit 1274 or 1280. Nor, however, did they produce a picture of England that would fit

[6] F. Powicke, *King Henry III and the Lord Edward: The community of the realm in the thirteenth century* (Oxford: The Clarendon Press, 1947), II:718.

1323 or any later date. If the pilgrims and scribes at Simon's shrine were composed of a hard core of anti-royalists like those rebels still holding out at Ely in 1267, they do not seem to have found a way to use events to gain more members. The members of the cooperative venture that was the collective authoring of the *Liber miraculorum* do not appear to have been willing to forgive old enemies or cultivate new allies, and so the changing political landscape is not reflected in their work. What is reflected in the text is the cult's gradual decline, as lay elites disappear from its pages, and as the length of time elapsed between miracles grows longer and longer. When, in 1274, the monks of Evesham renewed their efforts to promote the cult of Simon de Montfort, an effort recorded in the prologue and continuation of the *Liber miraculorum*, they may have felt emboldened by the difficulties of the royal government but they must have been disappointed when few pilgrims appeared to share their stories. The scribes offered their services as recorders of miracle stories only to find that fewer people were attributing events to the intercession of St. Simon de Montfort. Aside from a few stories from the more or less permanently aggrieved Londoners, the response to the efforts at Simon's shrine was mostly silence.

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