

Third Series Vol. II part 2.

No. 212

Autumn 2006

ISSN 0010-003X

Price £12.00

THE COAT OF ARMS

an heraldic journal published twice yearly by The Heraldry Society



THE COAT OF ARMS

The journal of the Heraldry Society



Third series

Volume II

2006

Part 2

Number 212 in the original series started in 1952

The Coat of Arms is published twice a year by The Heraldry Society, whose registered office is 53 High Street, Burnham, Slough SL1 7JX. The Society was registered in England in 1956 as registered charity no. 241456.

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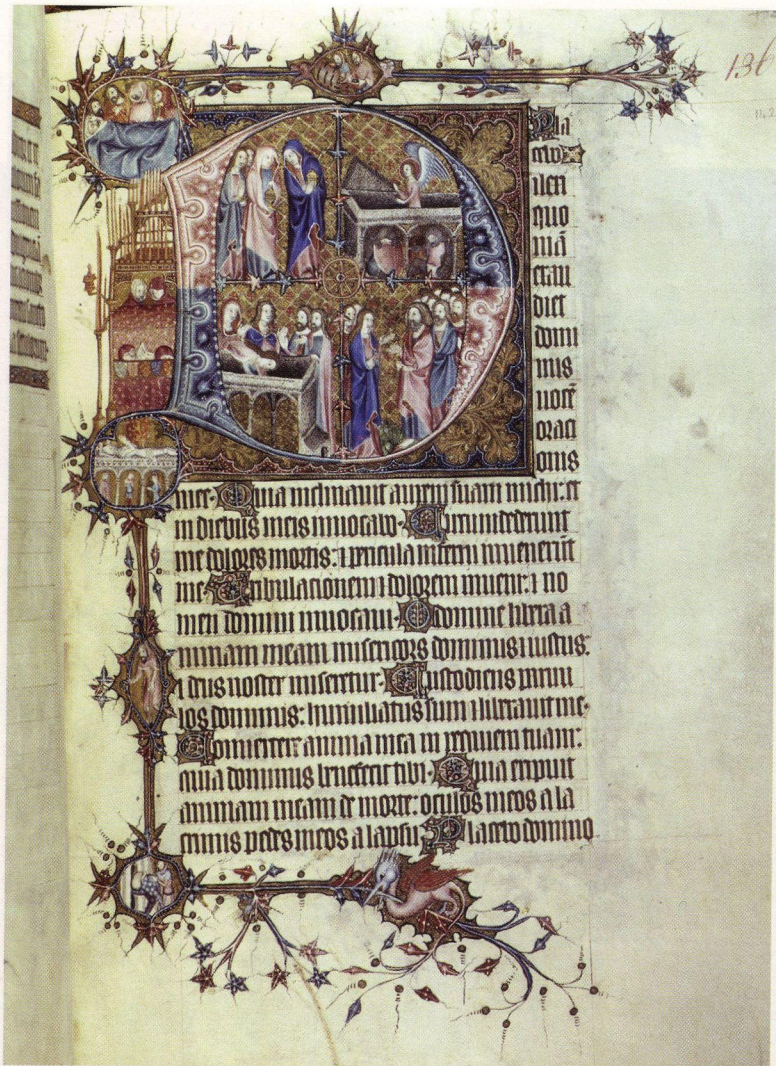
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PLATE 1



BL Ms Egerton 3277, fo 142. *See page 89.*

The marginalia depict the wake and funeral of Edmund Fitzalan, Earl of Arundel (d. 1326). The scene is associated with the biblical story of the resurrection of Jesus: here represented by the visit to the tomb by Mary Magdalene, Mary, and Salome, to embalm Christ's body. Having found the tomb empty they leave, and then return with Peter and John who witness the body's disappearance. An angel announces to Mary the news of the Resurrection, and instructs them to tell the disciples that Christ will meet them in Galilee.

THE MARTYRDOM OF EDMUND FITZALAN, EARL OF ARUNDEL (1285-1326)

Michael Burtscher

On 17 November 1326, Edmund Fitzalan, Earl of Arundel was executed at Hereford. It took the executioner twenty-two strokes to sever the Earl's head.¹ The execution was carried out on the orders of Queen Isabella and Roger Mortimer, who only a few months earlier had invaded England to place young Prince Edward on his father's throne. Arundel had been among the last staunch supporters of Edward II, as one of the clique of courtiers who were responsible for the oppressive regime of 1322-26.² The queen and Mortimer certainly showed little compassion for Arundel and his fellow courtiers. Roger Mortimer, in particular, undoubtedly resented Arundel's role in the downfall of his uncle, Roger Mortimer of Chirk, after the baronial rebellion of 1322.³

Earl Edmund's rise to power under Edward II had been fast and remarkable, especially since his father, Richard I Fitzalan (d. 1302), first Earl of Arundel of his line, had never been able to secure any significant role during the previous reign.⁴ After 1310, Earl Edmund was involved in the reform of the royal household as one of the Lords Ordainers, which, ultimately, resulted in the execution of the king's favourite, Piers Gaveston, in 1312. This episode does not, however, appear to have jeopardized his favour with the king who, in 1313, cancelled all debts Arundel owed the Crown. That same year, the younger Hugh Despenser, the king's new favourite, who was to replace Gaveston for the remainder of the reign, also saw a complete cancellation of his debts. Arundel's increased political and financial fortunes also brought about a direct alliance with the younger Hugh Despenser. In 1314-15, this alliance was cemented by the betrothal of Arundel's son, Richard, to Isabella, the younger Hugh's daughter. The union was confirmed, on 9 February 1321, with a wedding at the chapel of the royal manor of Havering-atte-Bower, when the king was

¹ BL Cotton Ms Nero A. iv, f. 57v.

² N. Saul, 'The Despensers and the downfall of Edward II', *English Historical Review* 190 (1984), pp. 1-33.

³ For this well rehearsed narrative of Edward II's reign see in particular: J. R. Maddicott, *Thomas of Lancaster, 1307-1322. A Study in the Reign of Edward II* (Oxford 1970); J. R. S. Phillips, *Aymer de Valence, Earl of Pembroke 1307-1324. Baronial Politics in the Reign of Edward II* (Oxford 1972); L. B. Smith, 'The Arundel charters to the lordship of Chirk in the fourteenth century', *Bulletin of the Board of Celtic Studies* 23 (1969), pp. 153-66; R. R. Davies, *Lordship and Society in the March of Wales, 1282-1400* (Oxford 1978), p. 133.

⁴ M. Prestwich, *War, Politics and Finance under Edward I* (London 1972), p. 73; Id., *Edward I* (London 1988), pp. 432-5; Davies, op. cit. p. 261, n. 55.

among the guests.⁵ This partnership was of particular interest to the House of Arundel for 1314 also marked a dramatic change in the Despensers' territorial fortunes.⁶ The death, that year, of Gilbert de Clare, Earl of Gloucester, at the battle of Bannockburn, enabled the younger Despenser to acquire, through his wife, a large share of the valuable Clare inheritance thus becoming territorially and financially powerful both in Wales and in England, which considerably advanced the Despensers' standing for the remaining decade of the reign, apart for their brief exile in 1321.

The period following the political turmoil of 1321-22 saw the formation of a new group of powerful courtiers composed of the Despensers, the chancellor Robert Baldock, the treasurer Walter Stapeldon, Bishop of Exeter, and Arundel.⁷ Arundel's position was further enhanced by grants such as the justiciarship of north Wales formerly belonging to Roger Mortimer, and lands and properties belonging to former Lancastrian partisans, who later became known as the Contrarians, bringing the income from his estates up to about £2,000 per annum thus elevating him amongst the premier earls of the realm in terms of income.⁸ Ultimately, however, the comfortable position in which Arundel and the other members of the royal clique had put themselves became the reason of their downfall. The relentless plundering of the Contrarians' assets, as well as of those of supporters and neutral members of the gentry, created a basis for much of the resentment that erupted in 1326 and formed a large group of supporters on which Queen Isabella could rely for her attack against Edward II.⁹ Arundel was captured near Shrewsbury by John Charlton, lord of Powys, a former ally of Roger Mortimer of Chirk, who delivered the Earl to the queen residing at the Bishop's Palace at Hereford. There, on 17 November, Arundel was executed without trial.¹⁰ A similar fate had also befallen the elder Hugh Despenser, Earl

⁵ *Calendar of Entries in the Papal Registers relating to Great Britain and Ireland: Petitions to the Pope*, vol. 1: 1342-1419 (London 1897), p. 81; BL Add Ms 9951. The following day Arundel enfeoffed three manors with remainder to his son Richard and Isabella: *CPR 1317-1321*, p. 562.

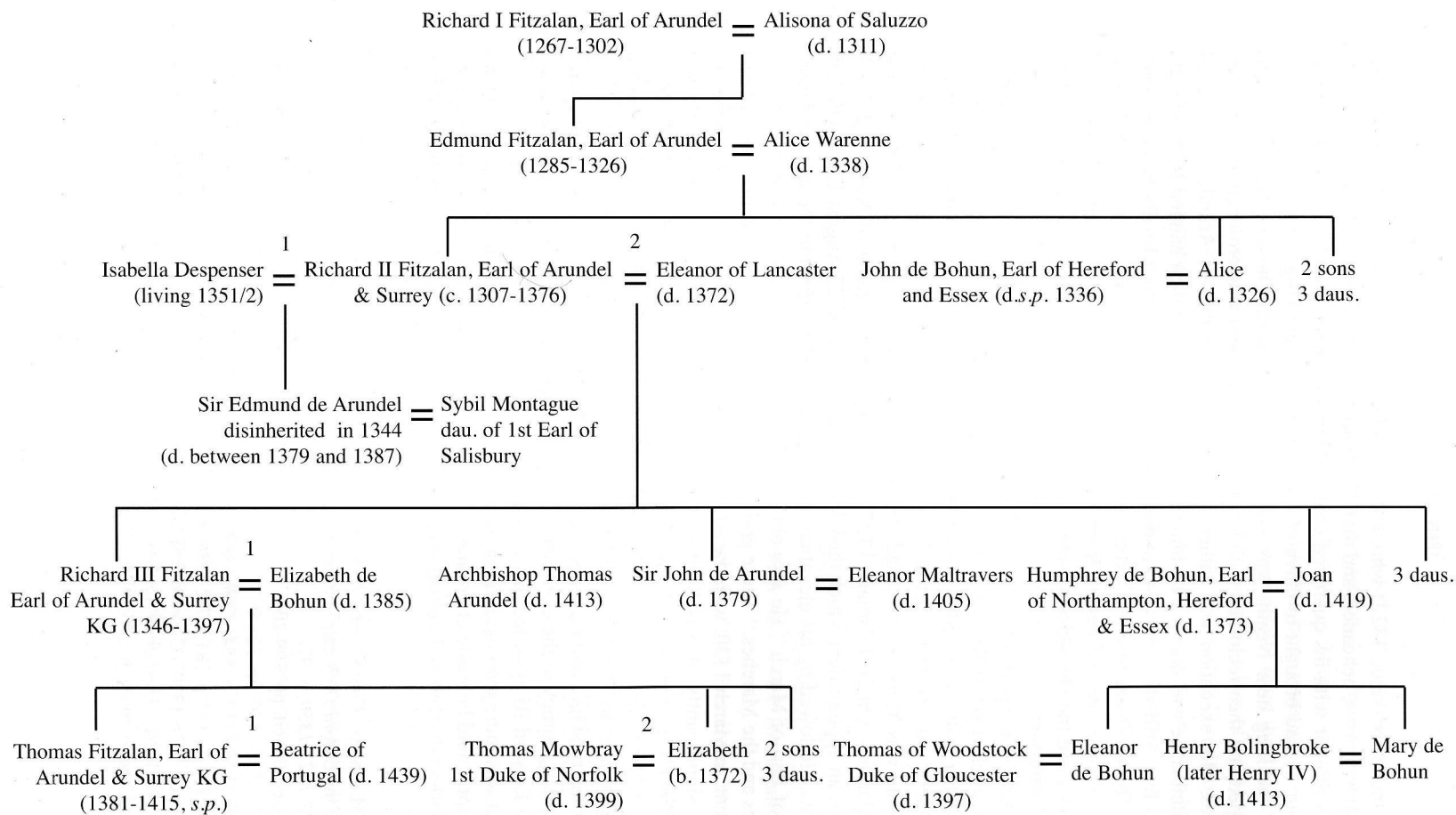
⁶ J. C. Ward, *English Noblewomen in the Later Middle Ages* (London 1992), pp. 19-20, 42; F. A. Underhill, *For Her Good Estate. The Life of Elizabeth de Burgh* (London 1999), pp. 5-8, 12, 25, 34.

⁷ Saul, *op. cit.*

⁸ *CCR 1318-1323*, p. 437; *CCR 1318-1323*, pp. 3, 19, 127; *CPR 1321-1324*, pp. 98, 215, 274. For further grants of land: *CPR 1321-1324*, pp. 145-6, 177, 196; NA (PRO): E 163/2/22. See also C. Given-Wilson, 'Wealth and credit, public and private: the Earls of Arundel 1306-1397', *English Historical Review* 418 (1991), p. 2; cf. Smith, *op. cit.*, and ead., 'Seignorial income in the fourteenth century: the Arundels in Chirk', *Bulletin of the Board of Celtic Studies*, 28. 3 (1979), pp. 443-57. By the time of his death, in 1326, Arundel's wealth was probably about £10,000 in movable assets: Given-Wilson, *op. cit.* p. 4.

⁹ N. Fryde, *The Tyranny and Fall of Edward II 1321-1326* (Cambridge 1979), pp. 75-8; see also G. A. Holmes, 'A Protest against the Despensers, 1326', *Speculum* 30 (1955), pp. 207-12.

¹⁰ According to R. Morgan, Charlton captured Arundel as early as 13 April, but this does not seem to be possible as Arundel stayed with the king until they weighed anchor off the Glamorgan coast in October. Apparently Arundel was trying to capture Shrewsbury with the aid of his Welsh tenants of Oswestry: R. Morgan, 'The Barony of Powys, 1275-1360', *Welsh History Review* 10 (1980), p. 28 n. 180.



Fitzalan, Earl of Arundel
Showing connections with the Bohun family

of Winchester (since 1322) who, taken prisoner the previous month at Bristol, was drawn by horses, beheaded, and then his mutilated body suspended from the gallows in his armour with his quartered coat and arms reversed and destroyed for the dishonour he had brought to chivalry.¹¹ While the younger Hugh Despenser, captured with the king near Neath, was also taken to Hereford. Outside the city he was stripped and then re clothed with his arms reversed, and was crowned with stinging nettles. His execution was rather more violent than that of Arundel, and on 24 November he was drawn on a hurdle to the gallows, and then hanged from a height of 50 feet. Still alive, he was cut down and eviscerated before finally being beheaded.¹² The swift and ruthless execution of Arundel and Despenser reflected the dramatic change that had begun, from 1322, with regards to the sentencing of traitors. Arundel and the Despensers were dealt with as ruthlessly as had been the case with the Contrarians.

Again the spoils of war were distributed: Edward II's half-brother, Edmund of Woodstock, Earl of Kent was granted all goods, chattels, and arrears of farms and rents that had belonged to Arundel and the Despensers.¹³ Kent also received Arundel's Sussex and Norfolk estates. Another to profit greatly from Arundel's downfall was Mortimer who had already turned his gloating eye towards Wales and the Marches. On 20 February 1327 he was appointed justiciar of North and South Wales, an appointment which then was granted for life on 27 August 1328, which in turn was followed by his elevation at the Salisbury Parliament to the unprecedented title of Earl of March.¹⁴ He also obtained Arundel's castles and lands in Shropshire, Wales and the Marches.¹⁵ These grants were increased after the execution of the Earl of Kent, in March 1330, with the Arundel properties that had been granted to the latter.¹⁶ Significantly, it was Kent's execution that triggered the end of Isabella and Mortimer's regime. As early as June 1330, Earl Edmund's son, Richard, the disinherited heir to the earldom of Arundel, conspired to end Mortimer's rule through a rising of men in Shropshire and Staffordshire. He was, however, found out and an order to arrest him and his associates was issued on 4 June, but he was able to escape arrest and journey to the Continent, from where he was to return in December 1330, when Edward III assumed the reins of government.¹⁷

It was more than natural that under the circumstances of such a violent death an attempt would be made at promoting Earl Edmund as a martyr to Edward II's cause. In fourteenth-century England there was, indeed, a long tradition of political saints

¹¹ R. M. Haines, *King Edward II* (Montreal and London 2003), pp. 181-2.

¹² See the *Oxford DNB* entry on the first Lord Despenser by J. S. Hamilton.

¹³ *CPR 1327-1330*, p. 97.

¹⁴ Haines, *op. cit.* pp. 199-200.

¹⁵ *CPR 1327-1330*, pp. 328-9.

¹⁶ *CPR 1327-1330*, p. 554; *CPR 1330-1334*, pp. 2, 7.

¹⁷ *CFR 1327-1337*, p. 181; *CPR 1330-1334*, p. 20; D. A. Harding, 'The Regime of Isabella and Mortimer, 1326-1330' (University of Durham M.Phil. thesis, 1985), p. 302; I. Mortimer, *The Greatest Traitor: The Life of Sir Roger Mortimer, 1st Earl of March, Ruler of England 1327-1330* (London 2003), p. 235.

among the ranks of the nobility.¹⁸ A. Vauchez has noted that '[a]ll nobles were not seen as saints, but almost all saints came from the nobility [...] by the supernatural prestige which the nobility retained in the popular mind'.¹⁹ There is no evidence to suggest that a cult of Earl Edmund existed or had, indeed, been promoted as early as Edward III's reign. The earliest and only extant evidence dates from the 1380s in the form of two illuminations. The pictorial evidence of the martyrdom of Earl Edmund of Arundel survives on folios 142 and 145v in BL Ms Egerton 3277, one of the so-called Bohun manuscripts.²⁰ This manuscript belonged to King Henry IV who may have come into its possession through his wife Mary de Bohun. Her mother Joan de Bohun (*née* Fitzalan), Countess of Hereford, Essex and Northampton was the granddaughter of Earl Edmund and had commissioned the imagery of the Egerton manuscript in the 1380s.²¹ The Bohun Mss are the products of spasmodic campaigns of work undertaken in the late 1350s for Humphrey de Bohun, Earl of Hereford whose

¹⁸ J. Catto, 'Religion and the English nobility in the later fourteenth century', in *History and Imagination. Essays in Honour of H. R. Trevor-Roper*, edd. H. Lloyd-Jones, V. Pearl and B. Worden (London 1981), pp. 43-55; S. Walker, 'Political saints in later medieval England', in *The McFarlane Legacy. Studies in Late Medieval Politics and Society*, edd. R. H. Britnell and A. J. Pollard (Stroud 1995), pp. 77-106; M.-A. Stouck, 'Saints and rebels: hagiography and opposition to the king in late fourteenth-century England', *Medievalia et Humanistica* 24 (1997), pp. 75-94; W. M. Ormrod, 'Monarchy, martyrdom and masculinity: England in the later Middle Ages', in *Holiness and Masculinity in the Middle Ages*, edd. P. H. Cullum and K. J. Lewis (Cardiff 2004), pp. 158-91.

¹⁹ A. Vauchez, *Sainthood in the Later Middle Ages* (Cambridge, 1997; French edn. 1988), pp. 176-7.

²⁰ M. R. James, *The Bohun Manuscripts* (Roxburgh Club 200: London 1936); E. Salter, *English and International Studies in the Literature, Art and Patronage of Medieval England* (Cambridge 1988), pp. 101-5; L. E. Dennison, 'The stylistic sources, dating and development of the Bohun Workshop, ca. 1340-1400' (University of London Ph.D. thesis, 1988); some of her conclusions are published as 'British Library, Egerton MS 3277: a fourteenth-century psalter-hours and the question of Bohun family ownership', in *Family and Dynasty in Late Medieval England*, edd. R. Eales and S. Tyas (Harlaxton Medieval Studies 9: Stamford 2003), pp. 122-55, where she incorrectly identifies the images as pertaining to the life and career of Earl Edmund's son, Earl Richard II Fitzalan (d. 1376), see especially pp. 136-9. C. de Hamel, 'A new Bohun', in *The English Medieval Book. Studies in Memory of Jeremy Griffiths*, edd. A. S. G. Edwards, V. Gillespie and R. Hanna (London 2000), pp. 19-25. See also the Copenhagen Royal Library website which offers a full online transcript of their Bohun Mss, Thott 547 and 517: www.chd.dk/gui/thott547_HV_gui.html#HV; www.chd.dk/gui/thott517_guideI.html; Ms Thott 517 also has a complete online facsimile reproduction at the link here provided.

²¹ *Catalogue of the Psalter of Henry IV, King of England*, Sotheby's Catalogue for the Sale of the Earl of Lonsdale's Property, 6 December 1937. For further details on Countess Joan's patronage see: A. Goodman, 'The Countess and the rebels: Essex and a crisis in English society', *Transactions of the Essex Archaeological Society* 3rd series, 2. 3 (1970), pp. 267-79; K. K. Jambeck, 'Patterns of women's literary patronage: England, 1200-c.1475', in *The Cultural Patronage of Medieval Women*, ed. J. H. McCash (London 1996), pp. 228-65; J. C. Ward, 'Joan de Bohun, Countess of Hereford, Essex and Northampton, c.1370-1419: family, land

[Note 21 continues over.]

arms, *Azure a bend argent between two cotises and six lions rampant or* adorn the manuscripts.²² The Bohun arms also appear on folio 145v where the viewer is drawn to associate them with the arms of England, *Gules three lions passant guardant in pale or*. This association is there to remind of the Bohun's royal descent through Humphrey de Bohun, Earl of Hereford and Essex (d. 1322) who had married Elizabeth (d. 1316), daughter of Edward I and of Eleanor of Castille. By the mid-1360s, the psalters and books of hours, partly because of their size, had become unfashionable and their decoration was interrupted until the 1380s, when Countess Joan commissioned the completion of the manuscripts.²³

The margins in the psalter also allowed Countess Joan to record the story of her grandfather's martyrdom, thus using the psalter as a record of his violent death, as well as a place of self-aggrandizement and self-devotion.²⁴ Self-aggrandizement by associating the Bohun family with that of the royal house of England, as well as that of France (fos. 23v, 29v, 68v); and self-devotion by the depiction of praying figures on two sarcophagi (fos. 142 and 145v) where, in particular, the figure of a lady holding an open book could be representing Countess Joan. Large-format books, such as the Bohun Psalter, were visible within the context of the chapel and the liturgy to groups of singers, and perhaps also to the attending group of courtiers. The images became essential as the expression of a status-conscious aristocratic family and, as M. Camille has argued, 'the margins are perhaps the site of self-referentiality'; hence

Note 21 continues]

and social networks', *Essex Archaeology and History* 32 (2001), pp. 146-53. In 1325 Earl Edmund had secured a betrothal between his daughter Alice and John de Bohun, the son and heir of Humphrey de Bohun, Earl of Hereford. The Bohun alliance was, however, short-lived: John entered into his inheritance as Earl of Hereford and Essex in November 1326, but Alice died in childbirth that same year. At John's death, without issue, in 1336, his inheritance passed to his brother, Humphrey. The Bohun alliance was of great importance to the Fitzalans and was, hence, renewed in 1359 with the marriage of Richard III Fitzalan and Joan Fitzalan to the children of William de Bohun, Earl of Northampton (d. 1361), thereby re-creating the alliance between two of the most powerful Marcher families: *CCR 1323-1327*, p. 163; *CPR 1324-1327*, p. 281; W. Dugdale, *Baronage of England* (London 1675), vol. 1 p. 316a; Maddicott, *Thomas of Lancaster* (note 1 above), p. 319; J. Weever, *Antient Funeral Monuments of Great Britain, Ireland, and the Islands Adjacent* (London 1767), p. 310; G. A. Holmes, *The Estates of the Higher Nobility in Fourteenth-Century England* (Cambridge 1957), pp. 20-4; R. R. Davies, *The Age of Conquest. Wales 1063-1415* (Oxford 1991), map 11, p. 396.

²² On the proprietary function and symbolism of coats of arms in manuscripts see: C. de Méridol, 'Emblématique et codicologie. Le témoignage des manuscrits de la seconde Maison d'Anjou', in *Iconographie médiévale. Image, texte, contexte*, ed. G. Duchet-Suchaux (Paris 1990), p. 11.

²³ The Ms measures 342-343 x 232-233 mm: Dennison, 'Egerton MS 3277', pp. 124-9, 133-4, 140.

²⁴ N. Morgan, 'Patrons and devotional images in English art of the international gothic, c.1350-1450', in *Reading Texts and Images. Essays on Medieval and Renaissance Art and Patronage in Honour of Margaret M. Manion*, ed. B. J. Muir (Exeter 2002), pp. 93-121.

they were the place of unequivocal political statements.²⁵ Countess Joan was widowed in 1373. Patronage early in a woman's widowhood usually came about quite naturally, even predictably, in the efforts to honour her deceased husband or aggrandize her family by preserving a record of their past deeds, thereby enhancing the reputations of her minor children, who, without a father to see to their rights, could otherwise be politically disadvantaged. A further reason for the cultural patronage of widows was the need for solace or spiritual comfort and for the salvation of their husband's soul, assurance of which frequently took the form of endowments and embellishments to religious institutions or support for the composition of religious texts, as may have been the case for the Bohun Psalters.²⁶

Folio 142 of the Egerton Ms begins the Office of the Dead, with the opening word *Placebo*.²⁷ The imagery to the left of the text (**Figure 1** and **Plate 1**) contains a death-bed scene with mourners; a burial service; and the tomb of a reclining knight with figures of mourners surmounted by a shield of *Gules a lion rampant* or which were the arms of the Fitzalans Earls of Arundel until 1361. That year Earl Richard II Fitzalan quartered his arms with those of Warenne,

²⁵ M. Camille, *Image on the Edge. The Margins of Medieval Art* (London 1992), pp. 41-2, 100. In particular when associated with heraldic devices, images acquired a particularly powerful meaning that could be used for political propaganda: A. Ailes, 'Heraldry in medieval England: symbols of politics and propaganda', in *Heraldry, Pageantry and Social Display in Medieval England*, edd. P. Coss and M. Keen (Woodbridge 2002), pp. 83, 102.

²⁶ J. H. McCash, 'The cultural patronage of medieval women: an overview', in *The Cultural Patronage of Medieval Women* (note 21 above), pp. 9-10; cf. also the more recent contribution by L. L. Gee, *Women, Art and Patronage From Henry III to Edward III* (Woodbridge 2002). See also Catto, 'Religion and the English Nobility', p. 51.

²⁷ The *Placebo*'s first verse is *Placebo Domino in Regione vivorum* (I will please the Lord in the land of the living): Psalm 116. 9; in the Septuagint it is Psalm 114. 9. In the New Vulgate the word '*Placebo*' has been replaced by '*Ambulabo*', hence, 'I will walk before the Lord in the land of the living'.

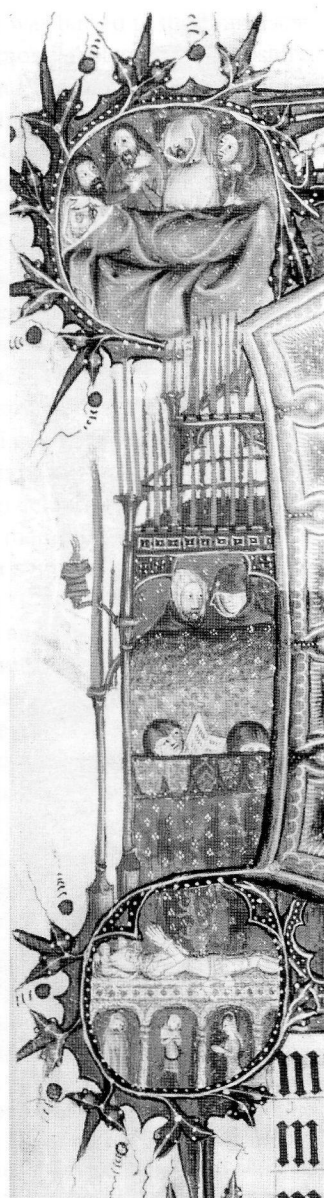


Figure 1: Detail from BL Egerton Ms 3277, fo 142. For the entire page, see Plate 1.

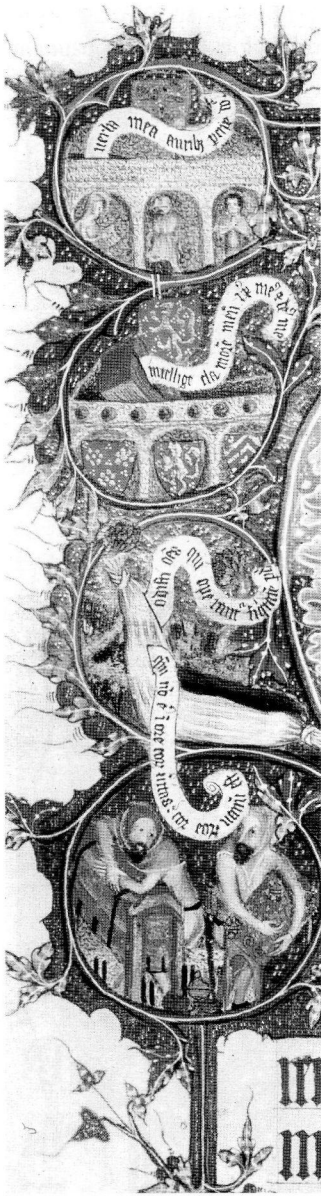


Figure 2: Detail of BL Egerton Ms 3277, fo. 145v. For the entire page see Plate 2.

Chequy azure and or, as heir to the earldom of Surrey. Although the estates had already been granted to Earl Richard II in 1347 at the death of Earl John de Warenne, he did not quarter his arms, as a mark of respect, until the death of Joan of Bar, Warenne's widow. The sarcophagus from which Earl Edmund's coffin re-emerges on fo 145v (**Figure 2** and **Plate 2**) is also adorned with shields which represent the families of Bardolf (*Gules three sexfoils or*), Neville of Essex (*Azure a lion rampant or*), and Montfichet of Essex or St Owen (*Gules three chevrons or*). The same arms appear on folio 142 where they adorn what appear to be stalls in a chapel: St Edmund of East Anglia, Bardolf, Montfichet or St Owen, Neville, and Fitzalan. It is impossible to say if this image represents a real or imaginary space.

The arms of these families, nonetheless, represent space and place where the Bohuns held their powerbase and where their power as lords was most marked, that is Essex. In the upper margin of folio 142 there is also an image of two men placing gold coins into a wooden chest, while in the left border there is the image of a cripple begging and an animal carrying bags is conducted through a gate. These scenes may be a reference to Earl Edmund's large wealth which, ultimately, was forfeited in 1326. It is, at the same time, also a warning to the beholder against the sin of avarice, for Death would not allow carrying any earthly riches to the grave. Hence, the image of the begging cripple offers the viewer a possibility of redemption by the act of charity to the poor and the infirm, one of the seven corporal works of mercy.²⁸ The image of the two men placing riches into a chest is then reaffirmed on folio 145v where they seems to be taking the inventory of those items, now laid out onto a wooden table.

The heraldic evidence of the folios strongly suggests that the tomb of the reclining knight on folio 142 could be that of Edmund Fitzalan, Earl of Arundel. It is possible that the tomb represented in the folio was based on the earl's tomb at Haughmond Abbey which, unfortunately, did not survive the

²⁸ The seven works of mercy are feeding the hungry, giving drink to the thirsty, welcoming the stranger, clothing the naked, visiting the sick, visiting the prisoner, and burying the dead.

Dissolution. Indeed, after Arundel's execution his body was buried in the Franciscan church of Hereford but was later moved to Haughmond Abbey, in Shropshire. Haughmond had been founded around 1135 by William Fitzalan and was, therefore, considered the traditional Fitzalan burial place.²⁹ The initiative of this reburial was with Abbot Nicholas of Longnor who had opposed the burial in Hereford. After several appeals to Queen Isabella he had been able to secure a reburial in the abbey, where, allegedly, Earl Edmund had wished to be interred.³⁰ Later, in 1343, provision was made for a chantry in the abbey for the resting of his soul and the souls of his ancestors.³¹ Incidentally, but not completely unexpectedly, this had come the year after the commonalty of Shrewsbury, not far from Haughmond, alienated four marks yearly of land to a chaplain to celebrate mass in the hospital of St John the Baptist to pray for Earl Edmund's soul, as well as the souls of his ancestors and heirs.³² This expiatory gesture for their role played in the earl's capture in 1326 was accompanied, that same year, by a donation from John Charlton, lord of Powis, who had captured Earl Edmund in 1326, and who alienated the advowson of the church of Lydham to Haughmond Abbey to fund three chaplains who were to celebrate mass for the earl's soul.³³ Significantly, the restoration of Earl Edmund's memory in the Marches was the symbol of the family's regained might as well as a symbol for the future of the region as a Fitzalan powerbase.

The restoration of Arundel's reputation also served another purpose. His son, the second Earl Richard, had tried since 1331 to have the death sentence against his father declared illegal. When, in 1331, Earl Richard was granted his estates he was only allowed to do so by the king's good will rather than by his hereditary right.³⁴ Not surprisingly, therefore, in 1347-48 and 1350-51, Arundel petitioned for a re-examination of the 1331 charter, but every time the charter was confirmed as it stood.³⁵ But despite these setbacks the matter was not settled, and the grounds for this soon became apparent. In 1354, the younger Roger Mortimer, Earl of March challenged Arundel's title to the castle and lordship of Chirk which, eventually, remained with

²⁹ R. W. Eyton, 'The monasteries of Shropshire: their origin and founders. Haughmond Abbey', *Archaeological Journal* 13 (1856), pp. 145-53; *VCH Salop* vol. 2, p. 64; M. E. C. Walcott, *The Austin Canons' Abbey of St John the Evangelist, Haughmond* (Shrewsbury 1900), p. 6; I. Ferris, *Haughmond Abbey, Lilleshall Abbey, Moreton Corbet Castle* (London, 2000), pp. 10-11.

³⁰ As early as 1 March 1325/6 it was arranged with the abbey that six candles should burn around Earl Edmund's body, if he were to die: U. Rees (ed.), *Cartulary of Haughmond Abbey* (Cardiff 1985), p. 227. This was also the last time that Haughmond Abbey would serve as burial ground for the Fitzalans earls of Arundel. In 1375, Earl Richard II made a clear break with tradition, firstly, by not appointing the abbot of Haughmond as an executor but by choosing instead the abbot of Battle and the prior of Lewes, and, secondly, by choosing to be buried in the Benedictine priory of Lewes, the traditional burial place of the Warenne Earls of Surrey, thus asserting the Fitzalans' lordship over the eastern part of Sussex which was largely dominated by a number of mighty gentry families: Lambeth Palace Library, Ms Archbishop Sudbury's Register, fos. 92v-96.

³¹ *VCH Salop* vol. 2, p. 64.

³² *CPR 1340-1343*, p. 389.

³³ *CPR 1343-1345*, p. 56.

³⁴ BL Harleian Charter 83 C 13; *RP* 2, 56a.

³⁵ *RP* 2, 224, 226-7b.

Arundel after all. Earl Edmund's execution still raised the possibility that Arundel's estates were not his by virtue of hereditary right. That same year Earl Richard II petitioned parliament to re-examine, once more, his father's death sentence. This time parliament was able to confirm that Earl Edmund had been put to death unlawfully, thus removing the stigma of execution and allowing Earl Richard to hold his estates by hereditary right rather than by the king's favour.³⁶

Folio 145v of the Egerton Ms is also part of the Office of the Dead beginning the *Dirige* and continuing the narrative of folio 142. Again in the margin is an image of a tomb surmounted by figures and a scroll emerging from it; a coffin in a tomb with a scroll; a shrouded figure in a clearing with two scrolls;³⁷ there is also the figure of a man leaning and protecting a chest while an other is inventoring money and precious objects displayed on a table, which could be the same two figures on folio 142 who were putting the money in the chests. The representation, in the Bohun Psalter, of the burial and resurrection of Earl Edmund is closely associated with the imagery in the historiated capital letters of the main text. The resurrection scene of folio 145v represents Christ resurrected talking to the apostles before ascending to Heaven. As Jesus spoke to the apostles Earl Edmund, the Resurrected, also brings a message from beyond the grave to the audience. The prayer is a quote from Psalm 5: 'intellige clamorem meum rex meus et deus meus'.³⁸ The other two tombs in the margin of folio 145v also convey messages from beyond the grave. The scrolling messages thus entwine their prayer with that of the main body of the text, linking the reader to the world beyond life.³⁹ The image of the shrouded figure resurrecting is

³⁶ BL Harleian Charter 83 C 13; *RP* 2, 56a, 224, 226-7b; *CPR 1350-1354*, p. 499; *CCR 1349-1354*, p. 562; Holmes, *Estates*, pp. 14-5; M. McKisack, *The Fourteenth Century, 1307-1399* (Oxford 1959), p. 257. It is possible that under the rule of the new Statute of Treason of 1352 Arundel hoped to obtain an annulment of the death sentence against his father. An interesting parallel, on which Arundel may also have hoped to capitalize, was Henry of Lancaster's petition of 1327 for annulment of judgement against Thomas of Lancaster: R. Somerville, *History of the Duchy of Lancaster, 1265-1603* (London 1953), vol. 1 p. 32. See also: Smith, 'Arundel Charters', pp. 153-166.

³⁷ This shrouded figure bears great resemblance to a similar image in another Bohun Psalter representing the miracle of Lazarus' resurrection. The miniature (fo. 243v) is associated, as in the British Library Psalter, with the Office of the Dead (fo. 244): Bod Ms Auct. D.4.4, fos. 243v-4. A plate of this miniature was published by James, *Bohun Manuscripts*, plate XXVII.

³⁸ 'Give ear to my words, O Lord, consider my meditation': Ps. 5. 2.

³⁹ The first tomb's scroll reads *verba mea auribus percipe domine* (Ps. 5. 1) which is still part of the *Dirige* (*Dirige me in veritatem tuam et doce me quoniam tu es Deus salvatorem*: Ps. 5. 8). The scrolls from the shrouded figure reads *odisti omnes qui operantes iniquitatem perdes* (Ps 5. 5) and *quoniam non est in ore eorum veritas cor eorum vanum est* (Ps. 5. 9). In particular the second scroll from the shrouded figure is interesting as it naturally curls downwards into the miniature representing two men, seemingly protecting a chest of gold and a table laid out with various precious objects. These men are associated with Psalm 5. 9: 'For there is no faithfulness in their mouth; their inward part is very wickedness; their throat is an open sepulchre; they flatter with their tongue.' The visual reference to the verse is underlined by the open grave next to which the shrouded figure lies which refers to the open grave of the men's throat. See below, appendix, for the full text of Psalm 5.

identical to that of Lazarus resurrected in another Bohun Psalter thus conveying the hope of life after death: and, hence, creating a juxtaposition between the resurrection of Christ, that of Lazarus, and that of Earl Edmund.⁴⁰ The text within the scrolls is, however, so minute that it can only be made out with difficulty and, rather than being there to be read, it was chosen, purposefully, by the scribe or the illuminator as part of the iconography and textuality of the folio.⁴¹ This meaning is further confirmed by the identification of the armorial of the first tomb, *Azure three crowns or*, which were the arms of St Edmund the King Martyr of East Anglia and by extension those of the Benedictine Abbey of Bury St Edmund's where the shrine, allegedly containing his relics, was preserved.⁴² The juxtaposition of the tomb of St Edmund and that of Earl Edmund of Arundel, can leave no doubt as to the intention of the psalter's owner. Significantly, in 1392, Earl Richard III bequeathed £40 to 'Seint Edmundesbury', as well as £16 for the new altar at Ely Cathedral, a seat previously held by his brother Thomas Arundel, where in the north transept a shrine to St Edmund exists to this day.⁴³

What were the reasons for associating the death of Earl Edmund of Arundel with the story of the martyrdom of St Edmund? The promotion of this cult may have been used by Countess Joan to underscore some particular point of her political agenda, as had been the case with King Edward II who had, albeit unsuccessfully, tried to promote the cult of Piers Gaveston, after the latter's execution in 1312.⁴⁴ J. H. McCash noted that '[o]n the surface it seemed harmless enough, yet hidden behind the innocuous façade of a promotion of the arts were often serious and determined political goals'.⁴⁵ A cult of Earl Edmund is extremely significant, within the context of the House of Arundel, for it may explain the cult that emerged around his grandson, Earl Richard III Fitzalan, after 1397. Thus, this later cult may help us in understanding the cult of Earl Edmund.

The popularization of Earl Richard III's cult may have found no negligible promoter in his sister, Countess Joan. The cult was further fuelled by the fact that Arundel's brother, Archbishop Thomas Arundel of Canterbury, was himself regarded as a martyr after his return from exile, in 1399.⁴⁶ According to the legend, when on his way to the scaffold Earl Richard III was untied so that he could distribute gold to the poor among the crowd. He faced death with dignity and poise and, having sworn his innocence and his allegiance to the king, he was executed; then the miracle occurred: his dead body rose to say the Lord's prayer before falling to earth again.

⁴⁰ Bod Ms Auct. D.4.4, fos. 243v-4; James, *Bohun Manuscripts*, plate XXVII.

⁴¹ Indeed, it has been argued that such scrolls were only represented to authenticate the image, for Latin was the language of authority and truth, rather than to convey real interpretative meaning: M. Camille, 'The Language of Images in Medieval England, 1200-1400', in *Age of Chivalry. Art in Plantagenet England 1200-1400*, edd. J. Alexandre and P. Binski (London 1987), p. 34.

⁴² Papworth, p. 593.

⁴³ J. Nichols, *A Collection of all the Wills, now known to be extant, of the Kings and Queens of England* (London 1780), p. 135.

⁴⁴ Walker, 'Political saints', p. 80.

⁴⁵ McCash, 'Cultural patronage', p. 14.

⁴⁶ M. Aston, *Thomas Arundel. A Study of Church Life in the Reign of Richard II* (Oxford 1967).

Earl Edmund had also been beheaded and in the Bohun Psalter the shrouded figure also is represented saying the Lords' prayer. Originally, Earl Richard III should, in accordance with his testamentary wishes, have been interred in Lewes Priory, however, after his execution he was buried in the Austin Friars Church in Broad Street, London.⁴⁷ This church had been founded, in 1252, by Humphrey de Bohun, Earl of Hereford, and rebuilt a century later by his successor and namesake.⁴⁸ The steeple, rebuilt in 1362, was considered among the tallest and finest in London. The church was remarkable in its size, exceeding even cathedrals such as Exeter, Ely or Winchester. Hence it became a favourite burial place for many aristocrats.⁴⁹

The Commons immediately made Earl Richard III a martyr organising pilgrimages to his tomb. King Richard II, to whom Arundel's ghost had appeared in nightmares, for fear of popular revolt ordered the grave to be covered by a pavement and all markings to be erased. He also ordered several of the Augustinian friars of the priory to be exiled.⁵⁰ Brother Thomas Asshebourne, the prior there and confessor to Arundel, may have been among that group.⁵¹ Despite these drastic actions Arundel's cult survived for some more years, and last references to his miracles date from around 1404.⁵² As M.-A. Stouck concluded in her study of the cult: '[t]he attempts to enlist the cult of the saints on behalf of the fallen Lords Appellant Arundel and Warwick, aimed at transforming them into rallying points for opposition to [King] Richard'. Earl Richard III's burial in the Austin Friars Church in London, under Bohun patronage, certainly helped the promotion of his martyrdom; it was, indeed, amongst the largest and most visible of the city's churches, and its famous spire thus became the beacon around which his cult could be celebrated. Not surprisingly, the king ordered that the body of Thomas of Woodstock, husband to Eleanor de Bohun, Countess Joan's daughter, should be interred at Bermondsey Priory in Surrey, in the obscurity of the suburbs, rather than in Broad Street with Arundel.⁵³

The interpretation of a cult of Earl Edmund as martyr acquires particular meaning and significance when compared to the life and death of St Edmund of Bury

⁴⁷ Nichols, *op. cit.* p. 120; J. Stow, *A Survey of London* (London 1603, repr. Oxford, 1971) vol. 1, p. 178; Weever, *Antient Funeral Monuments*, p. 203; W. Jenkinson, *London Churches before the Great Fire* (London 1917), p. 132.

⁴⁸ Nichols, *op. cit.* p. 44.

⁴⁹ T. F. Bumpus, *London Churches Ancient & Modern. Mediaeval & Early Renaissance* (First series: London 1881), pp. 126-30; Jenkinson, *London Churches*, pp. 131-2.

⁵⁰ The Augustinian order was particularly close to the Fitzalans. In 1355, Earl Richard II obtained a papal order to have the feast of St Augustine celebrated as a double in all churches of the realm, and servile work to be ceased 'whereas honour is due to St Augustine the apostle of England, who converted the English race to the Christian religion, and gave it the catholic faith, and first erected the English Church': *Cal Papal Petitions 1342-1419* (note 5 above), p. 281.

⁵¹ In 1376, Thomas Asshebourne had also been among Earl Richard II's executors: Lambeth Palace Library, Ms Archbishop Sudbury's Register, fo. 94v.

⁵² Stouck, 'Saints and rebels', p. 79; Walker, 'Political saints', p. 81.

⁵³ A. Goodman, *The Loyal Conspiracy: The Lords Appellant under Richard II* (London, 1971), p. 69.

(840-870). Edmund, King of East Anglia, according to the legend, in his eagerness for prayer, had learned the whole psalter by heart; hence the obvious reference to him in the Bohun Psalter. In 870, King Edmund was captured, near Framlingham, by two Danish chiefs who had invaded his kingdom; because he refused the demands of the Danes to renounce his religion he was beaten with cudgels, tied to a tree and flagellated, pierced with arrows, and eventually beheaded at Hoxne in Suffolk, on 20 November. Earl Edmund Fitzalan also fought, in 1326, against what can be seen as two invaders of England: Queen Isabella and Roger Mortimer. Earl Edmund was among the last supporters of King Edward II and indeed in a last desperate attempt at raising troops was captured. Arguably, the idea of the cult of Earl Edmund may have originated at the time of his death, as he died on 17 November, just three days before the king martyr's festival. The creation of such cults was facilitated by the fact that the traditional narrative surrounding St Edmund is, as A. Gransden has argued, 'little more than a hotchpotch of hagiographical commonplaces' closely resembling, for instance, the martyrdom of St Sebastian.⁵⁴ That this particular saint was particularly versatile and adaptable is shown by the attempts made later at transforming him into a king-saint model for Henry VI.⁵⁵

The appearance in the Bohun Psalter of the cult of Earl Edmund may not be completely coincidental. It was contemporary to the period of the Lords Appellant which were led by Earl Richard III and Archbishop Thomas Arundel.⁵⁶ The Lords Appellant also saw themselves as the defenders of those courtiers who were sidelined by the king's preference for a small clique of advisors. Here again, one may find an interesting link with St Edmund who was a model ruler anxious to treat all with equal justice closing his ears to flatterers and untrustworthy informers; quite the opposite of King Richard II. A political interpretation of Earl Edmund's cult associated with Psalm 5 is, therefore, likely.⁵⁷ T. F. Tout was not far from the truth when he argued that Earl Edmund had been 'the martyr to Edward II's cause'.⁵⁸

⁵⁴ A. Gransden, 'The legends and traditions concerning the origins of the Abbey of Bury St Edmunds', *English Historical Review* 100 (1985), p. 6.

⁵⁵ K. J. Lewis, 'Edmund of East Anglia, Henry VI and ideals of kingly masculinity', in *Holiness and Masculinity* (note 18 above), pp. 192-205.

⁵⁶ Dennison, 'Egerton MS 3277', pp. 144-7.

⁵⁷ See the appendix below for the full text of Psalm 5.

⁵⁸ T. F. Tout, *Chapters in the Administrative History of Medieval England* (Manchester 1967, repr. of 1920-33 edn.) vol. 3, pp. 39-40.

THE COAT OF ARMS

Appendix: PSALM 5

- 1 Give ear to my words, O Lord, consider my meditation.
- 2 Harken unto the voice of my cry, my King, and my God: for unto thee will I pray.
- 3 My voice shalt thou hear in the morning, O Lord; in the morning will I direct my prayer unto thee, and will look up.
- 4 For thou art not a God that hath pleasure in wickedness: neither shall evil dwell with thee.
- 5 The foolish shall not stand in thy sight: thou hatest all workers of iniquity.
- 6 Thou shalt destroy them that speak leasing: the Lord will abhor the bloody and deceitful man.
- 7 But as for me, I will come into thy house in the multitude of thy mercy: and in thy fear will I worship toward thy holy temple.
- 8 Lead me, O Lord, in thy righteousness because of mine enemies; make thy way straight before my face.
- 9 For there is no faithfulness in their mouth; their inward part is very wickedness; their throat is an open sepulchre; they flatter with their tongue.
- 10 Destroy thou them, O God; let them fall by their own counsels; cast them out in the multitude of their transgressions; for they have rebelled against thee.
- 11 But let all those that put their trust in thee rejoice: let them ever shout for joy, because thou defendest them: let them also that love thy name be joyful in thee.
- 12 But thou, Lord, wilt bless the righteous; with favour wilt thou compass him as with a shield.



BL Ms Egerton 3277, fo 145v. See page 90.

The resurrection of Edmund Fitzalan, Earl of Arundel; above the Earl's tomb, that of St Edmund of East Anglia. The scene is associated with the biblical story of the Resurrection, continued from fo 142: one of the women finds Jesus risen; later a number of disciples meet Him, including Thomas who touches His wound; Christ addresses the five hundred brethren; then, immediately before His Ascension, He appears again to the eleven.