



INAUGURATION AND LITURGICAL KINGSHIP IN THE LONG TWELFTH CENTURY

Male and Female Accession Rituals in England,
France and the Empire

JOHANNA DALE

Inauguration and Liturgical Kingship
in the Long Twelfth Century

YORK MEDIEVAL PRESS

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Johanna Dale



THE UNIVERSITY *of York*

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Man. That they had lived through the momentous events of the twentieth century, which I learned about at school, fascinated me. While my chronological focus has shifted, my commitment to considering English and German history together is a testament to their enduring influence. My parents, Billie and Gerard, have fostered my curiosity and been ever ready to show an interest in my work (particularly before breakfast). My siblings, with whom I first enjoyed Monty Python, have also been a source of support for over three decades. In the final stages of research and writing, Sebastian and Rex have accompanied me on much needed head-clearing walks along the River Crouch. My greatest debt in the writing of this book, however, is owed to my husband Julian, skipper of Blue Owl. Without his support and encouragement, I would never have returned to academia, nor stuck it out long enough for this book to see the light of day, nor, more importantly, would I have had so much fun over the last fifteen years. For, as Ratty rightly declares in *The Wind in the Willows*, 'there is nothing – absolutely nothing – half so much worth doing as simply messing about in boats.'

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Abbreviations

CdS	Corpus des sceaux français du Moyen Age
HBS	Henry Bradshaw Society
MGH <i>Const.</i>	<i>Monumenta Germaniae Historica Constitutiones et acta publica imperatorum et regum</i>
MGH <i>DD</i>	<i>Monumenta Germaniae Historica Diplomata</i>
MGH <i>Fontes Iuris</i>	<i>Monumenta Germaniae Historica Fontes Iuris Germanici antiqui in usum scholarum separatim editi</i>
MGH <i>Ldl</i>	<i>Monumenta Germaniae Historica Libelli de lite imperatorum et pontificum</i>
MGH <i>LL</i>	<i>Monumenta Germaniae Historica Leges (in Folio)</i>
MGH <i>SS</i>	<i>Monumenta Germaniae Historica Scriptorum (in Folio)</i>
MGH <i>SS rer. Germ.</i>	<i>Monumenta Germaniae Historica Scriptorum rerum Germanicarum in usum scholarum separatim editi</i>
MGH <i>rer. Germ. N.S.</i>	<i>Monumenta Germaniae Historica Scriptorum rerum Germanicarum, Nova series</i>
MIÖG	<i>Mitteilungen des Instituts für Österreichische Geschichtsforschung</i>
OMT	Oxford Medieval Texts
RHF	<i>Recueil des historiens des Gaules et de la France</i>
RS	Rolls Series
SHM	Sources d'histoire médiévale

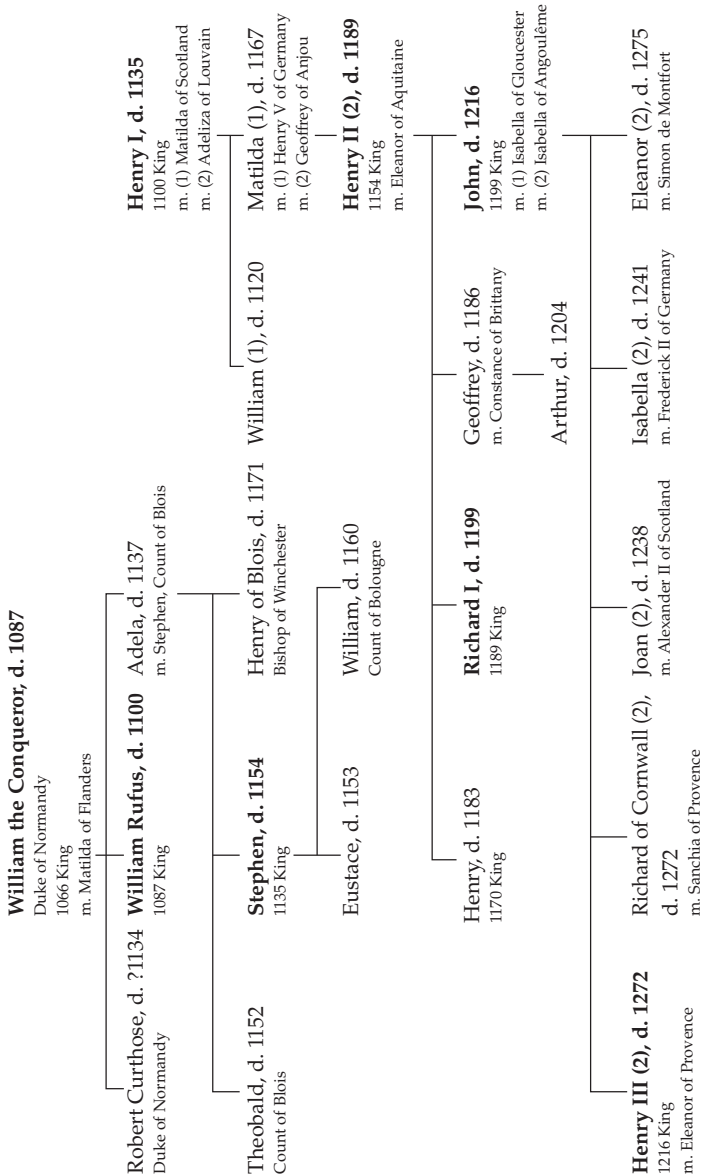
Timeline

Reigning Kings and Popes

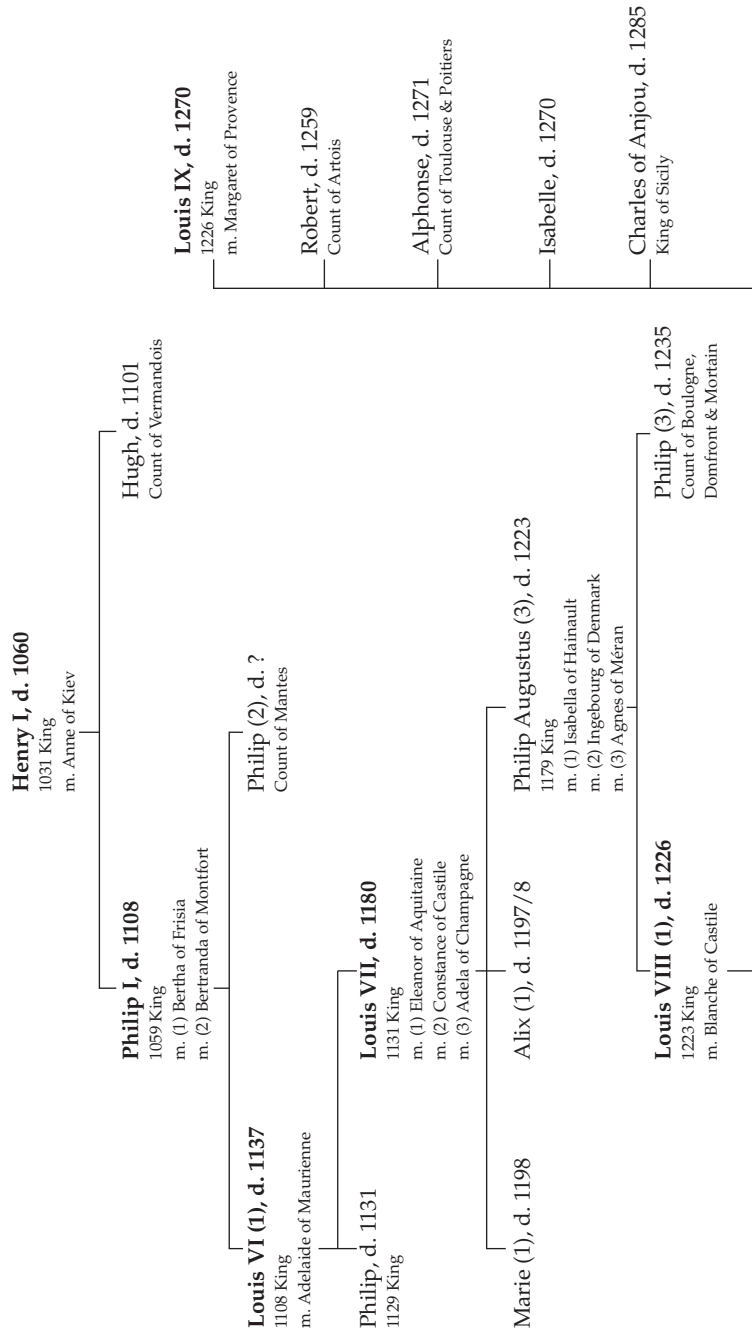
Date	England	France	Germany	Popes & *Antipopes
1050	Edward (1042–66)	Philip I (1059–1108)	Henry IV (1056–1105)	Leo IX (1049–54)
				Victor II (1055–7)
	William I (1066–87)			Stephen IX (1057–8)
				*Benedict X (1058–9)
				Nicholas II (1058–61)
				Alexander II (1061–73)
				*Honorius II (1061–4)
				Gregory VII (1073–85)
				*Clement III (1080–1100)
	William II (1087–1100)			Victor III (1086–7)
				Urban II (1088–99)
				Paschal II (1099–1118)
1100	Henry I (1100–35)	Louis VI (1108–37)	Henry V (1105–25)	*Theodoric (1100–01)
				*Albert (1101)
				*Silvester IV (1105–11)
				Gelasius II (1118–19)
			Lothar III (1125–37)	*Gregory VIII (1118–21)
				Calixtus II (1119–24)
				Honorius II (1124–30)
	Stephen (1135–54)	Louis VII (1137–80)	Conrad III (1138–52)	*Celestine II (1124)
				Innocent II (1130–43)
				*Anacletus II (1130–8)
				*Victor IV (1138)
				Celestine II (1143–4)
				Lucius II (1144–5)
1150			Frederick I (1152–90)	Eugenius III (1145–53)
	Henry II (1154–89)			Anastasius IV (1153–4)
				Hadrian IV (1154–9)
				Alexander III (1159–81)
				*Victor IV (1159–64)
				*Paschal III (1164–8)
				*Calixtus III (1168–78)
		Philip II (1180–1223)		*Innocent III (1179–80)
				Lucius III (1181–5)
	Richard I (1189–99)		Henry VI (1190–97)	Urban III (1185–7)
				Gregory VIII (1187–91)
				Clement III (1187–91)
1200	John (1199–1216)		Philip of Swabia (1198–1208)	Celestine III (1191–8)
			Otto IV (1198–1215)	Innocent III (1198–1216)
	Henry III (1216–72)	Louis VIII (1223–26) Louis IX (1226–70)	Frederick II (1215–50)	Honorius III (1216–27)
				Gregory IX (1227–41)
				Celestine IV (1241)
				Innocent IV (1243–54)
				Alexander IV (1254–61)
				Urban IV (1261–4)

Genealogies

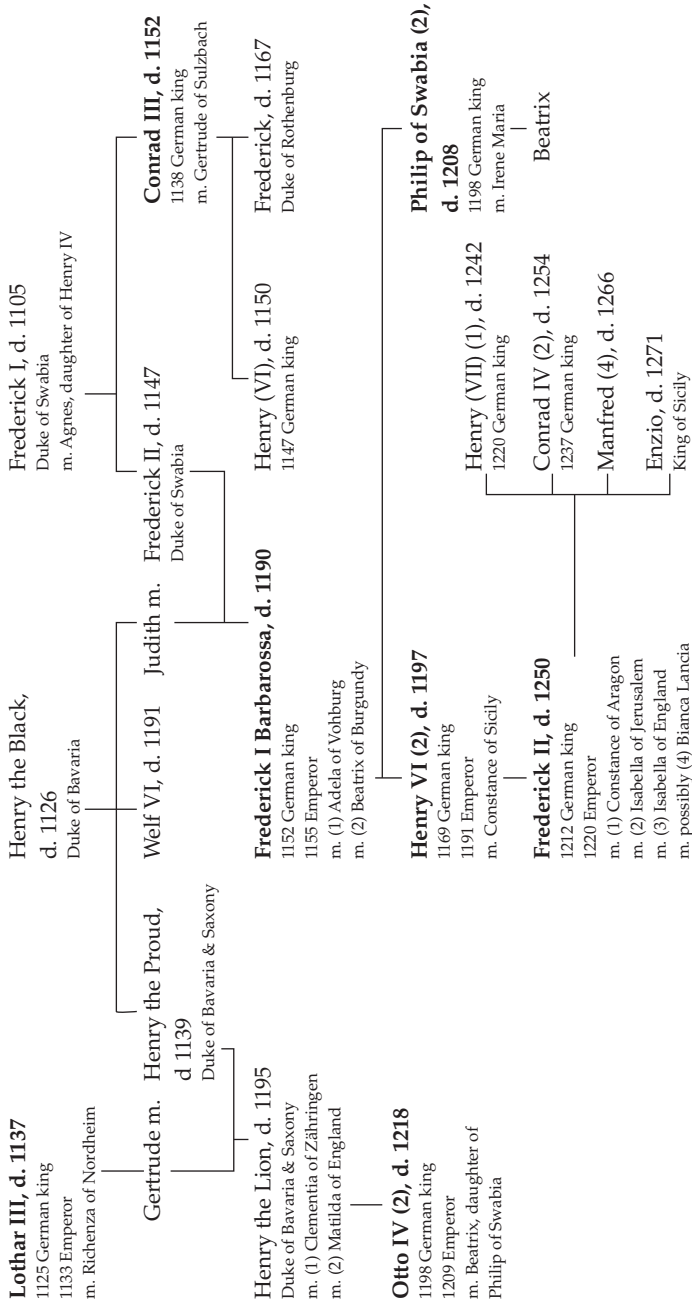
Genealogy 1 *Simplified Genealogy of the Norman and Plantagenet Kings, 1066–1272*



Genealogy 2 Simplified Genealogy of the Capetian Kings, 1060–1270



Genealogy 4 *Simplified Genealogy of the Staufen and Welf Kings and Emperors, 1125–1250*



Introduction

In 1975, in typically surreal fashion, the British comedy group Monty Python parodied that staple of medieval entertainment: Arthurian legend. In one scene, our hero approaches two peasants. One, inexplicably named Dennis and unaware of Arthur's identity, objects to the fact that Arthur automatically treats him as an inferior. Arthur justifies his haughty behaviour by replying that he *is* king. This does little to ameliorate Dennis's disgruntlement. At this point Dennis's female companion exclaims that she did not vote for Arthur to be king. 'You don't vote for kings', Arthur retorts incredulously. The peasant woman then asks how Arthur became king and he explains that the Lady of the Lake presented him with the sword Excalibur, signifying by divine providence that he should be king. This is too much for Dennis, who interjects with the memorable line that 'strange women lying in ponds distributing swords is no basis for a system of government. Supreme executive power derives from a mandate from the masses, not from some farcical aquatic ceremony.' In the inauguration ceremonies investigated in this book, swords played a prominent role, though they were bestowed on the monarch by men of the cloth rather than lake-dwelling fairies. The assent of the clergy and people was also a feature of medieval inaugurations, though twelfth-century kings could hardly have been described as having a mandate from the masses. Rather, the relevance of this scene from *Monty Python and the Holy Grail* to the subject matter of this book lies in the similarity between the impertinent peasants' approach to King Arthur and the manner in which modern scholars have approached high medieval kingship.

While focusing on the rituals of royal and imperial inauguration, this book aims to contribute to a much wider debate about the nature of kingship in what has come to be seen as a transitional period. Like Dennis and his female companion, modern scholars have often assumed the inevitability of the modern secular state so that the liturgical trappings of high medieval kingship, particularly in England, have been treated simply as the 'froth on top of serious government'.¹ Inherent to the paradigm of modern state formation is the assumption that the sacrality of monarchy, and the spell of its divine providence, at some point wanes. Although the moment of desacralization has been identified differently in the three countries considered in this book, all three historiographical traditions have bought in to this paradigm. The fact that the three national traditions have each moulded the paradigm

¹ T. Reuter, 'The Making of England and Germany, 850–1050: Points of Comparison and Difference', in *Medieval Politics and Modern Mentalities*, ed. J. L. Nelson (Cambridge, 2006), pp. 284–99 (p. 294).

to fit their own histories is instructive and indicates the necessity of taking a comparative approach to this topic. As Ludger Körntgen has argued, the juxtaposition between German monarchy supposedly being stripped of its sacrality by the popes in the late eleventh and early twelfth centuries and the alleged strengthening of the sacrality of the French monarchy in the thirteenth century requires explanation.² Bringing England in to this comparison adds another dimension to the study. For the Anglo-Norman and Angevin rulers of England are not considered to have been stripped of sacrality by the popes, but instead to have had no more need for such religious frivolity, thanks to their precocious administrative abilities and the development of the English common law.

In 1995, in an influential essay, Geoffrey Koziol wrote that, 'between the sacred liturgies of pontifical kings and the political theatre of statist monarchs lies the twelfth century, whose political rituals we understand scarcely at all'.³ This book is an attempt to better understand the image of monarchy as projected in the political rituals of the twelfth century and it aims to do so by loosening the chains that have bound the subject matter to interpretations that focus on secularization and modernization. This is not to deny that the exercise of kingship changed markedly in this period, in which professionalization and institutionalization went hand in hand. Nor is it to deny that there were very real differences in the way in which kings in England, France and the Empire ruled their domains. It is to argue, however, that we should be more comfortable with the discrepancy between the image and reality of high medieval kingship. For Koziol, the fact that the twelfth-century monarchs of England and France continued to avow the political morality of the Carolingians whilst developing sophisticated administrative machinery appears problematic, and the continuity of twelfth-century political liturgies appears 'unexpected' against the backdrop of ecclesiastical reform. Koziol concludes that the continuity of these liturgies demonstrates that the Investiture Controversy had a minimal impact on political liturgy in England and France.⁴ Putting the impact of ecclesiastical reform to one side for a moment, there remains an apparent tension between the continuity of liturgy and the development of administrative apparatuses and growing legal sophistication.

However, as Janet L. Nelson has convincingly argued, it is modern historians rather than medieval kings and their subjects who find the idea of the

² L. Körntgen, "'Sakrales Königtum" und "Entsakralisierung" in der Polemik um Heinrich IV.', in *Heinrich IV.*, ed. G. Althoff, *Vorträge und Forschungen* 69 (Ostfildern, 2009), pp. 127–60 (p. 129).

³ G. Koziol, 'England, France and the Problem of Sacrality in Twelfth-Century Ritual', in *Cultures of Power: Lordship, Status and Power in Twelfth-Century Europe*, ed. T. N. Bisson (Philadelphia, 1995), pp. 124–48 (p. 124).

⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 126.

synchronicity of liturgy and law problematic. As she points out, throughout the Middle Ages, 'liturgy as a form of political communication ... coexisted with law rather than competing with it'.⁵ Likewise, it is modern historians who have seen administration as anathema to liturgy. Timothy Reuter once memorably commented that 'nobody wants bureaucracies and the other tedious apparatus of modern government; they have them forced on them when the old extensive methods fail'.⁶ Bureaucracy is often necessary, but it seldom sets the pulse racing and even more infrequently provided the ideological wellspring from which the image of high medieval monarchy was drawn. Thus, the continuity of liturgical rituals that this study uncovers should be seen as neither 'unexpected' nor anachronistic. That they have previously been so interpreted owes much to modern periodization. As John Watts has emphasized in his comparative history of European polities in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, the subdivision of the Middle Ages into 'early', 'high' and 'late' has profoundly influenced approaches to its study.⁷ For Watts the consequences of this relevant to his period are that the later Middle Ages have tended to be seen as a time of decline and transition, in which the institutions and cultural forms that flourished in the high Middle Ages gradually disintegrated, a characterization he questions. In doing so he highlights how the period known as the 'high' Middle Ages is in many ways considered the high point of the medieval period. It is the age of national and papal monarchies, chivalry, the Crusades, and witnessed prodigious growth in royal, civil, ecclesiastical and educational institutions. It is thus also set apart from the 'early' period, with few scholars working on topics spanning widely across the millennial division.⁸

Given the assumption of difference, it is thus unsurprising that sacral kingship, seen as characteristic of the Carolingians and the Ottonians, should be considered to have no place in the brave new world of the twelfth century. The questions early medievalists ask of their sources no longer seem relevant in an age of administration and institutional and legal development. Many of the approaches taken in this book will be familiar to those working on earlier centuries. What novelty there is in my analysis lies in applying these approaches to evidence from the eleventh to the thirteenth centuries. In

⁵ J. L. Nelson, 'Liturgy or Law: Misconceived Alternatives?', in *Early Medieval Studies in Memory of Patrick Wormald*, ed. S. Baxter et al. (Aldershot, 2009), pp. 433–50 (p. 441).

⁶ T. Reuter, 'The Medieval German *Sonderweg*? The Empire and Its Rulers in the High Middle Ages', in *Medieval Polities and Modern Mentalities*, ed. J. L. Nelson (Cambridge, 2006), pp. 388–412 (p. 403).

⁷ J. Watts, *The Making of Polities: Europe, 1300–1500* (Cambridge, 2009), p. 10.

⁸ Particularly in England, where serious study of the period pre-1066 requires additional language capabilities. By contrast, the *Habilitation* system, in which scholars are encouraged to pursue a second research project from a different period to their doctorate, means this is less true of German medievalists.

doing so it becomes clear that, while Carolingian political morality did not continue unchanged into the later period, it was adapted and reinterpreted and this dynamic process ensured the enduring relevance of liturgy to the political culture of the high medieval period. Indeed, it will be shown that medieval images of kingship continued to be shaped by liturgy, even as Richard fitz Nigel was writing his *Dialogus de Scaccario*, in which he described the workings of the Exchequer, that institution of administrative kingship *par excellence*.⁹

Kingship in Comparison

Comparison is, as Michael Borgolte has stressed, a fact of life. As soon as man recognizes that he is not alone in the world, he begins comparing himself to others.¹⁰ This is true on an individual and group level, and in both it is often in comparison with others that ideals, identities and self-perceptions are formed. For Borgolte, founder of the Institut für vergleichende Geschichte Europas im Mittelalter at the Humboldt-Universität in Berlin, a comparative approach to the Middle Ages is the only effective method for writing European medieval history.¹¹ He emphasizes the plurality of European history, arguing that a canonistic and definitive history of Europe cannot be written without imposing an artificial unity on the history of a richly varied continent, a danger that can be averted with a comparative methodology.¹² British historians, working in a country where the modern European project has recently been rejected, might well view with scepticism Borgolte's rallying cry to make Europe a prominent research theme, when, as Borgolte himself admits, Europe was not an idea with much currency in the medieval period.¹³ Replacing multiple national teleologies with a single European teleology is certainly not an attractive proposition. However, comparing in a European context does offer the opportunity to dismantle national schools

⁹ *Dialogus de Scaccario, and Constitutio Domus Regis*, ed. E. Amt and S. Church (Oxford, 2007).

¹⁰ M. Borgolte, 'Mediävistik als vergleichende Geschichte Europas', in *Mediävistik im 21. Jahrhundert: Stand und Perspektiven der internationalen und interdisziplinären Mittelalterforschung*, ed. H.-W. Goetz and J. Jarnut (Munich, 2003), pp. 313–23 (p. 313).

¹¹ *Ibid.*, p. 321.

¹² *Ibid.*, p. 322; Borgolte's textbook gives an indication of his approach to the writing of medieval European history: M. Borgolte, *Europa entdeckt seine Vielfalt 1050–1250* (Stuttgart, 2002).

¹³ M. Borgolte, 'Perspektiven europäischer Mittelalterhistorie an der Schwelle zum 21. Jahrhundert', in *Das europäische Mittelalter im Spannungsbogen des Vergleichs: Zwanzig internationale Beiträge zu Praxis, Problemen und Perspektiven der historischen Komparatistik*, ed. M. Borgolte (Berlin, 2001), pp. 13–27 (p. 14). See also K. Oschema, *Bilder von Europa im Mittelalter* (Ostfildern, 2013).

of historiography, and does not automatically demand the construction of a monolithic European school in their stead. This is certainly not Borgolte's aim and taking a European perspective is not the British historian's equivalent of Westminster politicians surrendering power to Brussels-based technocrats.

This study of royal inauguration in England, France and Germany must be placed in a European context but not mistaken as representing a European norm. It is a comparison in a very traditional form in that it seeks parallels and distinctions between different geographic regions in the same time period.¹⁴ In addition to this synchronic method, one could compare the same phenomena in different time periods, a diachronic comparison, or, rather than comparing elements of a shared culture as in this book, compare elements in a transcultural context.¹⁵ However, a synchronic comparison has been preferred in this study for several reasons. Escaping from national teleologies and cultural solipsism, a major aim of this study, is one of the key advantages of a synchronic comparison. As Chris Wickham has argued, without geographical comparison we end up with 'a Europe – a world – of islands, with no relation to each other ... Worse, these insularities in nearly every case match up with national teleologies, the study in each country of the historical reasons why We are special, better than – or at least different from – the Others'.¹⁶ Synchronic comparison thus provides the opportunity to study shared cultural phenomena and to question orthodoxies implicit in national historiographies. This study is, for the most part, limited to the three kingdoms of England, France and Germany. The reasons for this are partly pragmatic. There is more than enough medieval evidence and modern literature for the timeframe which the pressures of modern academia allowed to be dedicated to this project. But more than this: in current scholarship, far too many hasty and casual contrasts are drawn between monarchs in England and France and their counterparts in the Empire, so that a trilateral study is urgently needed.¹⁷

¹⁴ As d'Avray has commented, 'for most people, comparative history means this sort of comparative history'. D. L. d'Avray, 'Comparative History of the Medieval Church's Marriage System', in *Das europäische Mittelalter im Spannungsbogen des Vergleichs: Zwanzig internationale Beiträge zu Praxis, Problemen und Perspektiven der historischen Komparatistik*, ed. M. Borgolte (Berlin, 2001), pp. 209–22 (p. 220).

¹⁵ In typically ambitious fashion, David d'Avray illustrated the potential of all three methods within the scope of a single essay: d'Avray, 'Comparative History of the Medieval Church's Marriage System'.

¹⁶ C. Wickham, 'Problems in Doing Comparative History', in *Challenging the Boundaries of Medieval History: The Legacy of Timothy Reuter*, ed. P. Skinner, Studies in the Early Middle Ages 22 (Turnhout, 2009), pp. 5–28 (p. 6).

¹⁷ As Levi Roach has pointed out, casual comparisons often rely heavily on secondary literature with insufficient attention paid to historiographical traditions so that we 'run the risk of comparing proverbial apples and oranges'. L. Roach, 'Penance, Submission and *deditio*: Religious Influences on Dispute Settlement in Later Anglo-Saxon England (871–1066)', *Anglo-Saxon England* 41 (2012), 343–71 (p. 345).

It would certainly be desirable, as a further step, to extend the comparison to include other kingdoms.¹⁸ Where it has been possible to look outside of these three kingdoms, which in many ways can be understood as the cultural heirs to the Carolingian empire, the results are illuminating.¹⁹ However, there is much to be said for first establishing what similarities and differences might exist within these 'core' kingdoms, before extending the comparison to those on the cultural 'periphery' or even kingdoms from different cultural spheres.²⁰ Inauguration has often, as the result of the influence of anthropology on historical methodologies, been the subject of transcultural comparison. While the influence of anthropological and sociological methodologies has undoubtedly opened up new avenues for comprehending medieval sources, such approaches should not be stretched too far.²¹ For transcultural comparison to be meaningful the parameters must be carefully considered. Beyond conceptual frameworks, there is little of value to a historian to be found in comparing medieval kingdoms with pre-modern village societies. Historical comparison requires context. It cannot skip blithely between cultures and centuries without diminishing its power to explain complex phenomena that are rooted in time and place.²² Intra-cultural comparisons are perhaps less eye-catching, but they are a necessary antidote to the assumption of homogeneity which is implicit in so many transcultural studies. To take an example relevant to this research, we must first uncover if the anointing of

¹⁸ Borgolte argues that it is better not just to concentrate on neighbouring lands, but to cast the comparative net wider. Borgolte, 'Perspektiven europäischer Mittelalterhistorie', p. 23.

¹⁹ The three kingdoms are treated as such in J. L. Nelson, 'Kingship and Empire', in *The Cambridge History of Medieval Political Thought c.350–c.1450*, ed. J. H. Burns (Cambridge, 1988), pp. 211–51.

²⁰ For a consideration of the core-periphery model and its application to medieval contexts see R. Bartlett, 'Heartland and Border: The Mental and Physical Geography of Medieval Europe', in *Power and Identity in the Middle Ages: Essays in Honour of Rees Davies*, ed. H. Pryce and J. Watts (Oxford, 2007), pp. 23–36; As Jörg Peltzer has pointed out, it is not always easy to differentiate between intra- and transcultural comparisons. J. Peltzer, 'Introduction', in *Princely Rank in Late Medieval Europe: Trodden Paths and Promising Avenues*, ed. T. Huthwelker, J. Peltzer and M. Wemhöner (Ostfildern, 2001), pp. 11–25 (p. 13).

²¹ For the tension between historical methodologies and the social sciences inherent in comparative history see P. Baldwin, 'Comparing and Generalizing: Why All History is Comparative, Yet No History is Sociology', in *Comparison and History: Europe in Cross-National Perspective*, ed. D. Cohen and M. O' Connor (New York, 2004) pp. 1–22.

²² Although such comparisons are undoubtedly thought provoking, it is not the job of the historian, but the anthropologist, to compare sixteenth-century English Protestantism, fourteenth-century Javanese Hinduism and nineteenth-century Moroccan Islam as in C. Geertz, 'Centers, Kings and Charisma: Reflections on the Symbolics of Power', in *Culture and its Creators: Essays in Honor of Edward Shils*, ed. J. Ben-David and T. N. Clark (Chicago, 1977), pp. 150–71.

kings as part of the inauguration ceremonies in the 'core' of England, France and Germany was understood in the same way, before we can nonchalantly compare anointed kings with those on the cultural 'periphery' who were not anointed, or who sought the right of anointing in the course of the thirteenth century. A comparison between anointed and non-anointed kings within Latin Christendom assumes homogeneity. We must first establish whether such homogeneity existed.²³

The comparison of medieval kings within Latin Christendom has a long history. As Bernd Schneidmüller has pointed out, German historians of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries were far from the first to compare Germany to neighbouring France and draw the conclusion that Germany was not flattered by the comparison.²⁴ As early as the 1140s, Suger of Saint-Denis constructed a negative image of the Salian king Henry V, in comparison to whom the Capetian Louis VI could be presented as the most Christian king (*rex christianissimus*). Even the manner in which the kings were made could be compared by contemporaries. Schneidmüller highlights Matthew Paris's report of an embassy sent from Louis IX of France to Frederick II of Germany. Louis's men were not what one might describe as diplomatic, asserting that their king, from a long line of royal blood, was surely superior to an emperor, who had merely earned his position through election.²⁵ Modern historians have tended to agree with Louis's envoys (and Monty Python's King Arthur), but as Schneidmüller explains, medieval commentators did not always concur.²⁶ The elective element of German kingship could engender

²³ Which is not to say that if such a comparison is carefully structured it cannot bear fruit. Janet Nelson's essay comparing inaugurations in the Western and Eastern Empires is an example of a successful comparison of this kind: J. L. Nelson, 'Symbols in Context: Rulers' Inauguration Rituals in Byzantium and the West in the Early Middle Ages', in *The Orthodox Churches and the West*, ed. D. Baker, Studies in Church History 13 (Oxford, 1976), pp. 97–119.

²⁴ B. Schneidmüller, 'Außenblick für das eigene Herz. Vergleichende Wahrnehmung politischer Ordnung im hochmittelalterlichen Deutschland und Frankreich', in *Das europäische Mittelalter im Spannungsbogen des Vergleichs: Zwanzig internationale Beiträge zu Praxis, Problemen und Perspektiven der historischen Komparatistik*, ed. M. Borgolte (Berlin, 2001), pp. 315–38 (pp. 315–16).

²⁵ '*Credimus enim dominum nostrum regem Galliae, quem linea regii sanguinis provexit ad sceptrum Francorum regenda, excellentiorem esse aliquo imperatore, quem sola provehit electio voluntaria*'. Matthew Paris, *Chronica Majora*, ed. H. R. Luard, 7 vols., RS 57 (London, 1872–80), III, 626.

²⁶ German electoral kingship has been the subject of a huge quantity of scholarship. For an introduction to the topic see J. Rogge, *Die deutschen Könige im Mittelalter: Wahl und Krönung* (Darmstadt, 2006). The best treatment in English, which rejects the idea that electoral kingship was necessarily harmful to the development of Germany, remains J. Gillingham, 'Elective Kingship and the Unity of Medieval Germany', *German History* 9 (1991), 124–35; Björn Weiler has rightly questioned how rigid the electoral process was in this period: B. K. Weiler, 'Suitability and Right: Imperial Succession and the Norms of Politics in Early Staufan Germany', in *Making and*

pride, as is clear in Otto of Freising's description of the election of Frederick Barbarossa, in which Otto portrayed election as indicative of the special rank of the Empire.²⁷

Modern scholars have, like their medieval predecessors, at times looked outside of their respective countries to compare elements of kingship and government in England, France and Germany. However, while early medievalists tend to travel unencumbered through the breadth of the Carolingian Empire, high medievalists often end their journeys at the imagined borders of incipient nation states, despite the fact that, as Robert Bartlett has shown, Europe after 1000 was marked by greater internal integration and homogeneity based on increased mobility and cross-regional contacts.²⁸ British historical scholarship thus becomes more insular at the precise moment at which the history of the continent becomes increasingly interconnected. This insularity has ensured that high medieval comparisons have tended to be bilateral. Due both to patterns of foreign language learning in Britain and the possession by English kings of lands in modern-day France, Anglo-French comparisons have vastly outnumbered those dealing with England and the Empire in Anglophone scholarship. Recent work on aspects of kingship in England and the Empire by Alheydis Plassmann, Björn Weiler and David Warner stands out against a backdrop of scholarship that is Anglo-French in outlook.²⁹ Marc Bloch laid modern foundations for comparisons between English and French kingship with his highly influential book on the royal touch, written in 1924 and translated into English

Breaking the Rules: Succession in Medieval Europe, c.1000–c.1600, ed. F. Lachaud and M. Penman (Turnhout, 2008), pp. 71–86.

²⁷ Schneidmüller, 'Außenblick für das eigene Herz', p. 331. It should be recognised, however, that Otto stressed the elective element as a way of justifying the passing over of Conrad III's young son Frederick of Rothenburg. See K. Görich, *Friedrich Barbarossa: Eine Biographie* (Munich, 2011), pp. 93–107; J. P. Niederkorn, 'Zu glatt und daher verdächtig? Zur Glaubwürdigkeit der Schilderung der Wahl Friedrich Barbarossas (1152) durch Otto von Freising', *MIÖG* 115 (2007), 1–9; G. Althoff, 'Friedrich von Rothenburg: Überlegungen zu einem übergangenen Königssohn', in *Festschrift für Eduard Hlawitschka zum 65. Geburtstag* (Kallmünz, 1993), pp. 307–16.

²⁸ R. Bartlett, *The Making of Europe: Conquest, Colonization and Cultural Change, 950–1350* (Princeton, 1993).

²⁹ A. Plassmann, 'The King and His Sons: Henry II's and Frederick Barbarossa's Succession Strategies Compared', *Anglo-Norman Studies XXXVI* (2014), 149–66; B. K. Weiler, 'The King as Judge: Henry II and Frederick Barbarossa as Seen by Their Contemporaries', in *Challenging the Boundaries of Medieval History: The Legacy of Timothy Reuter*, ed. P. Skinner (Turnhout, 2009), pp. 115–40; B. K. Weiler, *Kingship, Rebellion and Political Culture: England and Germany, c.1215–c.1250* (Basingstoke, 2007); B. K. Weiler, *Henry III of England and the Staufan Empire, 1216–1272* (Woodbridge, 2006); D. A. Warner, 'Comparative Approaches to Anglo-Saxon and Ottonian Coronations', in *England and the Continent in the Tenth Century: Studies in Honour of Wilhelm Levison (1876–1947)*, ed. D. Rollason, C. Leyser and H. Williams, *Studies in the Early Middle Ages* 37 (Turnhout, 2010), pp. 275–92.

in 1973.³⁰ Aspects of comparative Anglo-French kingship have been elucidated by Hollister and Baldwin, Hallam, and Vincent, amongst others.³¹ It is the existence of this backdrop that makes this trilateral comparison possible.

While a trilateral comparison between England, France and Germany is possible, it is also, as with most attempts at comparison, not unproblematic. There are three main hurdles to overcome, the historiographical, the empirical, and the need to identify things that are meaningful to compare.³² It is due to the need to compare like with like that this study has crystallized around the practice of royal and imperial inauguration.³³ In doing so it engages with a tradition which has focused on the development of the inauguration ritual through time and particularly on the elaboration of liturgical texts.³⁴ However, although informed by this important body of scholarship, my aim is not to reconstruct the ritual or trace its changes, but rather to uncover how it was understood in the three realms and whether it can be interpreted as evidence for the continuation of liturgical kingship in this period. Inevitably the three hurdles are connected, and another reason for the focus on inauguration is the availability of comparable sources in the three realms. Timothy

³⁰ M. Bloch, *Les rois thaumaturges: études sur le caractère surnaturel attribué à la puissance royale particulièrement en France et en Angleterre* (Strasbourg, 1924); M. Bloch, *The Royal Touch: Sacred Monarchy and Scrofula in England and France*, trans. J. E. Anderson (London, 1973).

³¹ C. W. Hollister and J. W. Baldwin, 'The Rise of Administrative Kingship: Henry I and Philip Augustus', *The American Historical Review* 83 (1978), 867–905; E. M. Hallam, 'Royal Burial and the Cult of Kingship in France and England, 1060–1330', *Journal of Medieval History* 8 (1982), 359–80; N. Vincent, 'King Henry III and the Blessed Virgin Mary', in *The Church and Mary*, ed. R. N. Swanson, *Studies in Church History* 39 (Woodbridge, 2004), pp. 126–46; N. Vincent, 'Twelfth and Thirteenth-Century Kingship: An Essay in Anglo-French Misunderstanding', in *Les idées passent-elles La Manche? Savoirs, représentation, pratiques (France-Angleterre, Xe–XXe siècles)*, ed. J.-P. Genêt and F.-J. Ruggiu (Paris, 2007), pp. 21–36.

³² Wickham, 'Problems in Doing Comparative History'.

³³ Choosing the appropriate units for comparison (i.e. nations, regions, institutions) and what/whom to compare are two of the chief difficulties in structuring a comparison. See H.-G. Haupt and J. Kocka, 'Comparative History: Methods, Aims, Problems', in *Comparison and History: Europe in Cross-National Perspective*, ed. D. Cohen and M. O'Connor (New York, 2004), pp. 23–40 (pp. 26–7); There has been some debate about whether using the nation as a unit of comparison unnecessarily privileges the nation-state thereby always confirming the nation's significance. As a major aim of this study is to question national historiographical narratives nations, or better kingdoms, are the appropriate unit. For a flavour of this debate see G. Sluga, 'The Nation and the Comparative Imagination', in *Comparison and History: Europe in Cross-National Perspective*, ed. D. Cohen and M. O'Connor (New York, 2004), pp. 103–14 and P. Ther, 'Beyond the Nation: The Relational Basis of a Comparative History of Germany and Europe', *Central European History* 36 (2003), 45–73.

³⁴ This body of scholarship will be considered at length in the first chapter.

Reuter, in an essay on the development of England and Germany in the early medieval period, highlighted the fact that a world seen through the rich narrative sources found in Germany 'is bound to look different from one which is seen through law-codes and sparse narrative sources'.³⁵ For the period under consideration here, it can hardly be surprising that kings viewed through the lens of administrative documents appear different from those viewed through narrative sources. In this book source types that are common to all three realms are considered, predominantly liturgical texts, charters and narrative accounts. This is not to deny that there were real differences between how kings in England, France and Germany exercised their power, but to investigate how the nature of the power they wielded was understood.

The final hurdle, that of historiography, is again closely linked to the issue of source material. The relative wealth of surviving medieval administrative material from both England and later France has, with few exceptions, ensured the triumph of the 'Manchester' over the 'Münster' school of history, so that state and constitution take precedence over 'ritual' or 'pneuma'. As a result, kingship in these countries has often been characterized as 'administrative' or 'law-centred', in opposition to the 'liturgical' kingship of an earlier period. By contrast, historians of the Empire, lacking the detailed administrative records of their English and French counterparts, exploit the anthropological approaches successfully used by early medievalists to compose an image of kingship concerned more with human behaviour than with institutions. A historiographical tradition, in which Germany is presented as exceptional in the light of prevailing Anglo-French norms, has thus been accentuated by the availability of different types of source material. Chris Wickham has suggested how to deal with these issues, emphasizing that, if we wish to take a comparative approach, we need to master the primary sources 'to see whether they can give us the comparative elements that the historiography denies us' and to gain an understanding of the institutional and historiographical contexts in which historians in different countries carry out their research.³⁶ These contexts mould the approaches of historians, who are encouraged to engage with issues considered crucial in the tradition in which they work. These issues vary between countries, regions and even individual universities. Before turning to the sources themselves, in the spirit of intense disbelief advocated by Wickham, we must first take time to understand the historiographical traditions in which these differing ideas of medieval kingship have been nurtured.

³⁵ Reuter, 'The Making of England and Germany, 850–1050', p. 295.

³⁶ Wickham, 'Problems in Doing Comparative History', p. 9.

Monarchy, State Formation and Sacral Kingship

The study of medieval monarchy has, in all three countries studied in this book, been embedded within wider narratives of modern state formation. The high medieval period has been seen as a particularly important moment on the path to modern statehood in England and France, given that it witnessed the birth of a number of institutions that are part of the apparatus of the modern state. A famous expression of this linear development is found in Joseph Strayer's *On the Medieval Origins of the Modern State*, which concentrates on the English and French realms.³⁷ That Germany remained peripheral to Strayer's argument is indicative of historical and historiographical difference and of the German nation's special path, or *Sonderweg*, to modern statehood. Yet, perhaps precisely because of high medieval Germany's lack of state-like characteristics, historians of medieval Germany have been no less in thrall to the idea of the state. Indeed, Bernd Schneidmüller has commented that the medieval Empire's lack of state-like characteristics can still feel like an affliction to German medieval historians in the twenty-first century.³⁸

Putting to one side debates about the appropriateness of the terminology of statehood for describing medieval polities, there remains a problem with the broad paradigm of modern state formation for our study.³⁹ It has ensured that, in addition to the exercise of monarchical power in its economic, military and judicial manifestations, conceptions of kingship have also tended to be examined through a teleological lens, with the assumption of an inevitable trend towards secular rulership. In Germany and France, the epoch defining moments of 1077 and 1789 respectively ensured the 'desacralization' of monarchy. In England, there was no humiliation by the pope or guillotine blade required to cut sacral monarchy down to size – instead the spell gradually waned during the long twelfth century as administrative and legal structures grew increasingly sophisticated. To a certain extent, all three historiographical traditions are variations on the same theme. However, in their treatment of the high Middle Ages they differ markedly and these differences must be understood before we can undertake a comparative analysis. The scarcely credible juxtaposition between the alleged continuation of sacral monarchy in France well into the eighteenth century and its disappearance in Germany and England six centuries earlier requires explanation, as does the

³⁷ J. R. Strayer, *On the Medieval Origins of the Modern State* (Princeton, 1970).

³⁸ Schneidmüller, 'Außenblick für das eigene Herz', p. 316.

³⁹ For a flavour of this debate see: S. Reynolds, 'The Historiography of the Medieval State', in *Companion to Historiography*, ed. M. Bentley (London, 1997), pp. 117–38; R. R. Davies, 'The Medieval State: The Tyranny of a Concept?', *Journal of Historical Sociology* 16 (2003), 280–300; S. Reynolds, 'There were States in Medieval Europe: A Response to Rees Davies', *Journal of Historical Sociology* 16 (2003), 550–5.

fact that different explanations for its loss are proffered for those two realms: popes for one and pipe rolls for the other.

For the purposes of this study the French tradition, in which sacral kingship is considered to have carried on unchanged throughout the period, is the least problematic. As Nicholas Vincent has elucidated, French historians have been concerned with the growth of a post-Carolingian strong monarchy and with trying to explain why this centralized monarchy came to grief in the French Revolution.⁴⁰ In the exact period in which English and German historians see sacral monarchy as disappearing, it is considered to have strengthened under the Capetians, particularly during the reign of Louis IX.⁴¹ Vincent has compared Jacques Le Goff's biography *Saint Louis* with Maurice Powicke's book *King Henry III and the Lord Edward*. He contrasts Powicke's study, which he characterizes as conveying a vivid sense of the court and political elite, but little in the way of a personal portrait of the king, with Le Goff's focus on the personal, psychological and intellectual life of his subject.⁴² For Vincent this pronounced difference of portrayal is illustrative of two things; the dissimilarity in the materials at the disposal of the two authors and the disparity in the questions English and French historians are attempting to answer. As Vincent pithily concludes, 'English historians, tempted to ask when and if King Alfred actually burned the cakes, like French historians inclined to ask what the theoretical cakes may have symbolized, are frequently bewildered by one another's absurdities.'⁴³

French approaches to kingship have been flavoured by social theory, with theoretical and philosophical approaches provoking more interest than institutional development. Indeed, it is Americans, particularly Joseph Strayer and John Baldwin, who have been, in the past century, most interested in the development of the French medieval state.⁴⁴ Baldwin has focused on the administrative elaborations of a French king in his work on Philip Augustus, combining with C. Warren Hollister to draw links between France and England.⁴⁵ That the English king Henry I (1100–35), considered in their

⁴⁰ Vincent, 'Twelfth and Thirteenth-Century Kingship', p. 28.

⁴¹ See for example, J. Le Goff, *Saint Louis* (Paris, 1996); M. C. Gaposchkin, *The Making of Saint Louis: Kingship, Sanctity and Crusade in the Later Middle Ages* (Ithaca, 2008); M. Cohen, *The Sainte-Chapelle and the Construction of Sacral Monarchy: Royal Architecture in Thirteenth-Century Paris* (Cambridge, 2015).

⁴² Vincent, 'Twelfth and Thirteenth-Century Kingship', p. 25.

⁴³ N. Vincent, 'The Pilgrimages of the Angevin Kings of England 1154–1272', in *Pilgrimage: The English Experience from Becket to Bunyan*, ed. C. Morris and P. Roberts (Cambridge, 2002), pp. 12–45 (p. 32).

⁴⁴ Strayer's interest in the development of the state was surely connected to his interest in the contemporary American state. For his CIA career see N. Cantor, *Inventing the Middle Ages: The Lives, Works and Ideas of the Great Medievalists of the Twentieth Century* (New York, 1991), pp. 261–2.

⁴⁵ J. W. Baldwin, *The Government of Philip Augustus: Foundations of French Royal Power in the Middle Ages* (Berkeley, 1986); Hollister and Baldwin, 'The Rise of Administrative Kingship'.

jointly-authored article on the rise of administrative kingship, died almost nine decades before Philip Augustus (1179–1223) is demonstrative of a real difference in source material in the two countries. The first English pipe roll survives from the reign of Henry I, an outlying indication of a later richness of administrative material that is unmatched in France or Germany. Rather than royal finances, it is royal image that has interested recent historians of French kingship. From explications of seal iconography and royal charters to those of chronicles and liturgical texts, manifestations of royal power rather than its financial underpinning have shone through.⁴⁶ Moreover, there is another school that has had perhaps as much influence on French approaches to kingship: that found at Saint-Denis, where Abbot Suger laid the foundations for a tradition of historical writing that emphasized the sacrality of the Capetian kings.⁴⁷

Neither England nor Germany possesses an equivalent to the ambitious Abbot of Saint-Denis, who built Capetian kingship into the very masonry of his abbey church. Certainly monarch-centred narratives survive from all three realms, but those from England and Germany are haphazard survivals and part of no grand scheme, in stark contrast to the French *Grandes Chroniques*.⁴⁸ While German historians exploit narrative sources, English historians remain less enamoured with this type of historical record, preferring the clarity and precision of administrative documents to the opaque inexactitude of chronicle accounts. Discussing James Campbell's 'maximalist' interpretation of the Anglo-Saxon state, Reuter characterizes his dismissal of the importance of hunting, praying and court ceremony for royal government as being 'a variant of one of the standard tropes of English medievalists: narrative sources unreliable, back to the archives'.⁴⁹ As the archives are those of central government, the insights which they yield relate to central government. Thus, central government continues to take centre stage in historical explanations. As Reuter has elucidated, 'English political medievalists are peculiarly state-fixated: the importance of the state in our history becomes self-reinforcing, so that the real substance is seen to lie in administrative practice and innovation rather than in the relations between the members of the political community.'⁵⁰ Modern Anglophone writing on kingship thus continues to revolve around

⁴⁶ See particularly Bedos-Rezak's work on seals, Gasparri, Guyotjeannin and Parisse on charters, Le Goff and Bonne on liturgy. The work of these historians will be discussed in more detail in later chapters; details are in the bibliography.

⁴⁷ See the various essays in P. L. Gerson, ed., *Abbot Suger and Saint-Denis* (New York, 1986) and L. Grant, *Abbot Suger of Saint-Denis: Church and State in Early Medieval France* (London, 1998).

⁴⁸ On the lack of historical accounts of the Plantagenet kings see Nicholas Vincent, 'The Strange Case of the Missing Biographies: The Lives of the Plantagenet Kings of England 1154–1272', in *Writing Medieval Biography: Essays in Honour of Professor Frank Barlow*, ed. D. Bates, J. Crick and S. Hamilton (Woodbridge, 2006), pp. 237–57.

⁴⁹ Reuter, 'The Making of England and Germany, 850–1050', p. 294.

⁵⁰ *Ibid.*

the traditional and overlapping themes of legal and administrative elaboration. This central point is cemented by the continuity of English institutions, which allows Paul Brand, while dispensing with the anachronisms apparent in the work of an earlier generation of legal historians, quite happily to discuss the role of Henry II in the creation of the English Common Law as if Henry were a member of one of the modern Inns of Court.⁵¹ Central government and its records continue to attract sustained attention, an entirely understandable phenomena given that a single year's pipe roll contains enough content for an entire PhD thesis.⁵² The seam of governmental records in England runs deep and continues to be mined by a number of scholars, including David Carpenter and Nicholas Vincent. Carpenter has, in effect, established his own school on the Strand, with a number of his former students making important contributions to the study of English government in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries.⁵³

David Carpenter and Nicholas Vincent are both, however, well aware that there was more to medieval kingship than administrative procedures and, indeed, that bureaucratic documents can in fact shed light on diverse aspects of kingship.⁵⁴ Vincent, in particular, has pioneered an alternative approach to the Plantagenet kings, arguing that they should not be seen as a profane and violent equivalent to the holy and pacific Capetians.⁵⁵ However, serious engagement with liturgical and narrative sources still remains outside the remit of most historians of English kingship, who pay little more than lip-service to factors that cannot be firmly grounded in the archives. As Geoffrey Koziol has pointed out,

⁵¹ P. Brand, 'Henry II and the Creation of the English Common Law', in *Henry II: New Interpretations*, ed. C. Harper-Bill and N. Vincent (Woodbridge, 2007), pp. 215–41. By contrast John Gillingham is unconvinced that Henry II was personally involved in the judicial developments of his reign: J. Gillingham, 'Conquering Kings: Some Twelfth-Century Reflections on Henry II and Richard I', in *Warriors and Churchmen in the High Middle Ages: Essays Presented to Karl Leyser*, ed. T. Reuter (London, 1992), pp. 163–78 (pp. 164–71).

⁵² See for example that of R. Cassidy, 'The 1259 Pipe Roll' (unpublished PhD thesis, King's College London, 2012).

⁵³ For example, A. Jobson, ed., *English Government in the Thirteenth Century* (Woodbridge, 2004); B. L. Wild, 'Royal Finance Under King Henry III, 1216–72: The Wardrobe Evidence', *Economic History Review* 65 (2012), 1380–402; N. Barratt, 'The Revenue of King John', *English Historical Review* 111 (1996), 835–55; N. Barratt, 'Finance and the Economy in the Reign of Henry II', in *Henry II: New Interpretations*, ed. C. Harper-Bill and N. Vincent (Woodbridge, 2007), pp. 242–56.

⁵⁴ For example, Carpenter examines a list surviving from the Wardrobe of Henry III to illuminate aspects of royal ideology in D. A. Carpenter, 'The Burial of King Henry III, the Regalia and Royal Ideology', in his *The Reign of Henry III* (London, 1996), pp. 427–62.

⁵⁵ E.g. Vincent, 'King Henry III and the Blessed Virgin Mary'; Vincent, 'The Pilgrimages'.