The sacring of the English kings : a paper read before the Royal Archaeological Institute : at Westminster Abbey on Wednesday, July 12th, 1893.

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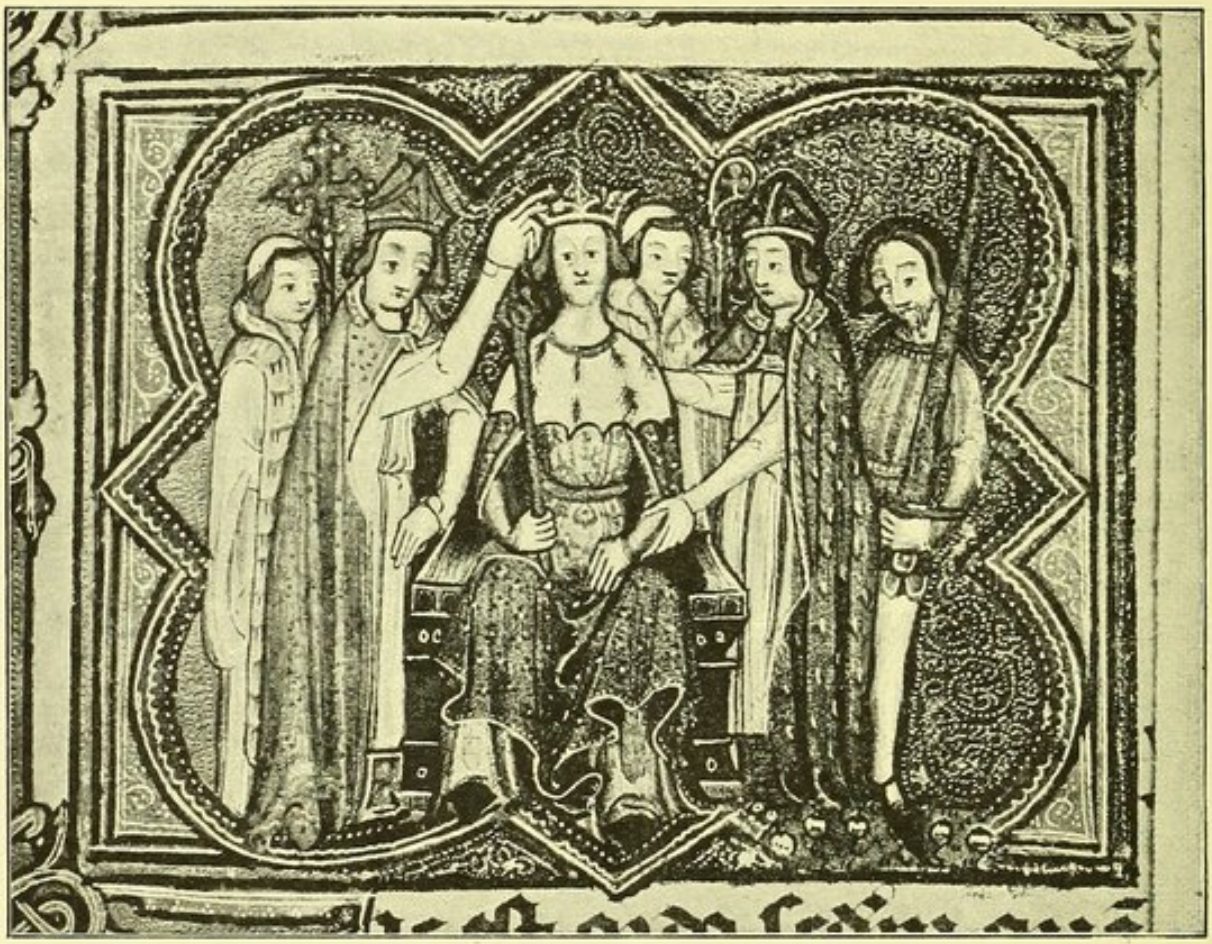

THE CORONATION OF THE ENGLISH KING.

(From the Missal of Nicholas Litlington, Abbot of Westminster from 1362 to 1386, in the Chapter Library at Westminster.)

THE

SACRING OF THE ENGLISH KINGS:

A PAPER READ BEFORE

the Royal Archæological Institute,

AT

WESTMINSTER ABBEY

ON WEDNESDAY, JULY 12th, 1893.

BY

J. WICKHAM LEGG, F.S.A.

Fellow of the Royal College of Physicians of London,
Honorary Secretary to the Henry Bradshaw Liturgical Text Society.

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THE SACRING OF THE ENGLISH KINGS

READ IN THE JERUSALEM CHAMBER WITHIN WESTMINSTER ABBEY

By J. WICKHAM LEGG, F.S.A.

Fellow of the Royal College of Physicians of London, Honorary Secretary to the Henry Bradshaw Liturgical Text Society.

The king duly anointed, says Lyndewode, the English canonist, is no mere lay man; but a *persona mixta*, one in whom the characters of clerk and lay are combined.[1] And it has been held part of the common law of England, that the king when anointed with holy oil becomes invested with spiritual jurisdiction;[2] this claim to spiritual jurisdiction is made at the time of the coronation of the kings of England by the bearing before the king of three swords, which we shall see to-morrow at the Tower; one, blunted, is the sword of mercy; another, borne on the right hand of the king, shows his claim to spiritual jurisdiction; a third, borne on the left, shows his claim to temporal authority. This ceremony can be traced back to the time of Richard I.[3] In like manner, the king of France, before the late unhappy troubles in that kingdom, was the first ecclesiastical person in his realm.[4] And the chief of all princes, the lord of the world, the Roman emperor, was reckoned among the pontiffs. He was certainly to be in

[1] Gulielmi Lyndewode, *Provinciale*, lib. iii. tit. 2. Ut Clericalis, note Beneficiati. Oxford, 1679, p. 126. "Quod Rex unctus non sit mere persona laica, sed mixta." The King's Chancellor, on the other hand, though often said nowadays to retain something spiritual in his character, is according to Lyndewode "mere laicus," "qui de necessitate non erit clericus," though often at that time the chancellor happened to be a clerk.

[2] Sir Anthony Fitzherbert, *La Graunde Abridgement*, London, Richard Tottell, 1577, fo. 35. "Regis (*sic*) sancto oleo uncti sunt spiritualiter (*sic*) Jurisdictionis Capaces." This statement is not contained in every edition; and for the reference I am indebted to the late Mr. H. S. Milman, Dir. S. A.

[3] *Chronica Magistri Rogeri de Houedene*, ed. William Stubbs, Rolls series, 1870, vol. iii. p. 9.

[4] [Alletz] *Cérémonial du Sacre des Rois de France*, Paris, 1775, p. 54, note. "Le Roi de France est la premiere personne Ecclésiastique de son Royaume." See also *De Sacris Unctionibus*, libri tres, authore H. Moro, Paris, 1593, p. 159.

holy orders, at the least a subdeacon.[1] When he went to receive the golden crown of the world at St. Peter's in Rome, he was received by the canons of that church as one of their number; he was vested in a surplice and grey amess, and afterwards he put on sandals, tunicle, and imperial mantle. At the offertory, in the place of the subdeacon he ministered bread and wine to the pope, mixing the water with the wine.[2] It would appear also to be part of his rights to sing the gospel at this mass, the king of France or the king of Sicily singing the epistle.[3]

Now the mixed character of the king of England, as clerk and lay, is no where better seen than at his coronation. The ceremonies of the coronation show very plainly that the king is an ecclesiastical as well as a civil governor. This afternoon I would treat of the ceremonies which show the spiritual side of the kingly office, leaving for to-morrow, when we visit the Tower, the ornaments which belong to the civil authority. Standing as we do here, within a few paces of the altar before which since the Norman Conquest the kings of England have been accustomed to receive the royal unction, and to be invested with the royal ornaments, it is only fitting for us to consider the ceremonies of the coronation; and on this occasion we are specially fortunate in having the permission of The Queen, the gracious Patron of our Institute, to examine the vestments with which Her Majesty was arrayed in this abbey church, at the time of her coronation, now more than fifty-five years ago.

In the first place, what is this anointing which gives

[1] Durandus, *Rationale*, lib. ii. capp. 8 and 11. "Unde et Romani Imperatores Pontifices dicebantur." On the clerical character of the emperor, and his relations to the pope and the rest of the Christian world, we may read with pleasure Mr. Bryce's admirable essay on the Holy Roman Empire, written before he had left the *paradisus* of historical studies for the penal servitude of politics.

[2] *Pontificale secundum ritum SS. Romane Ecclesie*, Venetiis, L. A. de Giunta, 1520, ff. 55 and 57.

[3] Edm. Martene, *de antiquis ecclesiæ ritibus*, lib. ii. cap. ix. ordo viii. Bassani, 1788, t. ii. p. 212. "Aprè doit passer les monts de Toscane, et doit venir à Romme et là il doit mander les senat . . . . l'evesque de S. Jehan de Latran, qui est le pape. Le Pape doit chanter la messe, et l'empereur doit dire l'evangile, et le roy de Cecile (*sic*) l'epistre. Mais si le roy de France s'y trouve: il la doit dire devant lui."

This right of singing the gospel at his coronation must not be confounded with that of reading the fifth lesson at the mattins of Christmas Day. (I. Mabillon & M. Germain, *Museum Italicum*, Lut. Paris. 1724, t. ii. p. 325.) The emperor, or even a king, read the lesson clothed in a white cope. Formerly, I think, the emperor read the seventh lesson at mattins, which begins: Exiit edictum a Cæsare Augusto, and he brandished his sword manfully as he began.

so special a character to our kings? There were but few Christian kings who had this privilege. Besides the king of England, it was confined to the king of France, and the kings of Jerusalem and Sicily, though afterwards, late in the middle ages, it was given to the king of Scotland and some others, by special papal permission. The christian kings who were neither crowned nor anointed were no less than twenty-two in number.[1] Further, of the four kings who alone had the right to be crowned and anointed, the kings of England and France had a special right to be anointed with the holy oil called the cream, a word derived from χρῖσμα, a scented unguent. Most of us know that in the Western Church three different oils were blessed by the bishop on Maundy Thursday, to be ready for the baptisms that were to follow on the night of Easter Even: the oil of the sick and the oil of catechumens were of simple olive oil; but the cream, the most important and holy of the three oils, was compounded of olive oil and balm. It was employed in the more sacred functions of the church; in administering confirmation, in ordaining priests,[2] and consecrating

[1] I take this number from a rare little pamphlet of four leaves, 4to, with this title: Modus eligendi | Creandi incoronandi Imperatorem cum | forma iuramenti necnon tituli omnium | Regum Patriarcharum & Cardinalium. Basileæ apud Pamphilum Gengenbach. Anno M.D.XIX. It has this note on the recto of A iij.

¶Sequitur de regibus Christianis quorum quidem sunt coronandi & quidem non, qui autem, coronandi sunt, debent invngi & hoc ev (*so for* ex) priuilegio antiquis temporibus ipsis regibus concesso, quia nullus debet inungi nisi ex antiqua & approbata consuetudine vel ex priuilegio apostolico speciali, sicut sunt reges Scotiæ qui ab ecclesia Romana de nouo habuit per priuilegium, a papa Ioanne. xxij. quod possit inungi, necnon rex Franciæ, rex Angliæ, rex Hierusalem & Cicilie, qui inunguntur & coronantur." I have taken Cicilia to mean Sicily, here and above, tho' the appearance of Trinacria in the list below may raise a question.

These kings are neither crowned nor anointed: Aragonum, Sardinie, Castellæ vtriusque, Legionis, Portugaliæ, Maioricarum, Vngariæ, Datiæ, Noruetiæ, Cipri, Nauariæ, Boemiæ, Polloniæ, Swetiæ, Trinacriæ, Armeniæ, Betice aut Granatæ, Valentirius. Then follows this note:

¶Sequentes Reges sunt in insula Hiberniæ.

Rex Catholicus. Rex Coleñ.

Rex Miraniæ. Rex Monethatolinæ."

Cf. Huberti Mori *De sacris unctionibus*, lib. II. cap. 6. Parisiis, 1593, p. 134. John Selden, *Titles of Honor*, chap. viii. 2nd edition. Lond. 1631, pp. 143, *et seqq.*

[2] There can be no doubt that cream was used in the ordination of priests in the Church of England before the changes of the sixteenth century. In the *Pontifical of Egbert Archbishop of York* (Surtees Society, 1853, p. 24) at the *consecratio presbiteri* appears this rubric: *Faciens crucem sanctam de chrismate in manibus eius* (vel *eorum*) *et dicis:* Consecrentur manus, etc. Later on the cream was mixed with holy oil (see W. Maskell, *Monumenta Ritualia Ecclesiæ Anglicanæ*, London, 1847, vol. iii. p. 213) and the same practice continued into the second decade at least of the sixteenth century. (*Liber Pontificalis Chr. Bainbridge*, Surtees Society, 1875, p. 40.) With the practice enjoined by the Roman pontifical we are not at present concerned.

bishops, and it was thus considered a special vehicle for the communication of the Holy Ghost; in fact, there are traces of a popular opinion, not however allowed by authority, that as the second person of the Holy Trinity is present in the eucharist, so the third person of the Holy Trinity resided in the cream.[1] The use therefore of the cream, the compound oil, in coronation gave a specially sacred character to the person anointed. And to this belief Shakspere gives expression in the speech of King Richard II., lines which have been often quoted and which are doubtless well known to all here present:

> Not all the water in the rough rude sea,
> Can wash the balm off from an anointed king.[2]

The successor of King Richard II., who needed whatever support he could gain from authority for his parliamentary title, is credited with the invention of the myth that the Blessed Virgin gave to St. Thomas of Canterbury, when he was in exile, a cream for the anointing of the kings of England; which cream was preserved in a golden eagle, both remaining unknown until discovered by divine revelation towards the end of the reign of Richard II., who then desired to be anointed with this cream afresh. Now from this it might be thought that it was Henry IV. who introduced the use of the cream into English coronations; but it is not so. In the order for the coronation of King Edward II., nearly a hundred years before Henry IV., directions are given for the making of a cross on the king's head with cream.[3] The other places which were anointed were anointed with holy oil, or oil of catechumens, and in the fourteenth century the unction took place in this order: first, the king's hands were anointed, then the breast, and between the shoulders, then the shoulders, and the boughs of the elbows, all with holy oil, then a cross was made on the king's head with holy oil, and finally, a second cross was made, also on the head, with the holy cream. The king of France was anointed in much the same places, but in

[1] In some churches abroad a relic of this belief may be found in the custom of burning a lamp before the place where the cream is kept. And everywhere the great care taken to prevent any irreverent handling of the cream suggests the same doctrine.

[2] *King Richard II.*, Act III. Sc. ii. line 54.

[3] Th. Rymer, *Fœdera*, Lond. 1818, vol. ii. par. i. p. 34.

the reverse order: first on the head, and last on the hands. The anointing was with the holy cream, to which was added a small particle from the ampulla, believed to have been brought down from heaven in a miraculous manner at the baptism of Clovis.[1] The emperor was only anointed on the right arm and between his shoulders with the oil of catechumens.[2] (*oleum exorcizatum.*)

Queen Elizabeth was the last of the English sovereigns to be crowned and anointed with the Latin service, and it has been said that since that time the kings of England have been anointed, not with cream, but with pure olive oil. But quite lately, Mr. Christopher Wordsworth has shown that this is a misapprehension, and that the Stewart kings were anointed with a true cream, which in the multiplicity of its ingredients recalls the composition of the cream of the Eastern Christians.[3] It must have been (at least on one occasion) extremely costly, for a fee of £200 was paid by King James II. to his apothecary for its preparation.[4] This cream was to be blessed by the Archbishop of Canterbury, or some bishop who was a member of the chapter of Westminster, early in the morning of the coronation. Archbishop Laud, when only bishop of St. David's and vice-dean of Westminster, hallowed the cream for the anointing of King Charles I. at the altar in St. Edward's chapel on the morning of the coronation. It is thus interesting to find unbroken in our more modern times the mediæval tradition, that the oil with which the king of England is to be anointed is a compound oil: and this is the more noteworthy, if we remember the special importance which was attached to the cream as a vehicle for the infusion of the Holy Ghost, and the conferring of a sacred character on the person anointed.

[1] Edm. Martene, *De antiquis ecclesiæ ritibus*, lib. ii. cap. x. ordo viii. Bassani, t. ii. p. 225. In the outburst of barbarism which we call the French revolution the *ampulla*, venerable merely as a relic of antiquity, was taken to some public place at Rhemes and there deliberately broken in pieces. (M. C. Leber, *Des cérémonies du Sacre*, Paris et Reims, 1825, p. 348, note.)

[2] *Pontificale secundum ritum SS. Romane Ecclesie*, Venetiis, L. A. de Giunta, 1520, fo. 55. The emperor is not anointed by the pope, but by the senior cardinal bishop, usually before the altar of St. Maurice.

[3] Christopher Wordsworth, *The manner of the coronation of King Charles the First*, 1892. Henry Bradshaw Society, p. 4, and Introduction, p. xix.

[4] Francis Sandford, *The History of the Coronation of . . . James II.* In the Savoy, 1687, p. 91, marginal note.

The practice of blessing the oil on the morning of the coronation, immediately before the Dean and Chapter go with the regalia to Westminster Hall, continued as late as the coronation of King George II.[1] if not after. The rubric also which appears at the head of the modern coronation orders would suggest that the hallowing of the oil early on the morning of the coronation continued into the nineteenth century.[2] Otherwise the appearance of the direction in so prominent a place is not easily explained.

I have arranged in parallel columns the English mediæval service for the sacring of a king and the consecration of a bishop. It will be seen how like in structure the two orders are.[3]

Consecration of a Bishop.[4]	*Consecration of the King.*[5]
Oath of obedience to the metropolitical see, and examination by the metropolitan.	Oath to observe the laws of St. Edward, and instruction by the metropolitan.
Litany, laying on of hands, and *Veni Creator.*	*Veni Creator* and Litany.
One collect.	Four collects.
Preface (like that of the Eucharist.)	Preface (like that of the Eucharist.)
Anointing.	Anointing.
	Vesting with alb and tunicle and perhaps with stole.
Delivery of the crosier, ring, and mitre with the book of the gospels.	Girding with the sword, delivery of bracelets, (or stole) *pallium regale*, crown, ring, sceptre, and rod.
Eucharist.	Eucharist.

[1] *Vollständige Beschreibung . . . Krönungs-Fest . . . Georgii des II.* Hanover, 1728, p. 15. "Wenn nun der Decanus und die Præbendarii von Westminster, des Morgens frühe, das heilige Oel, zu Sr Maj. Salbung, consecriret haben" u. s. w.

[2] "In the Morning upon the Day of the Coronation early, Care is to be taken that the *Ampulla* be filled with Oil, and, together with the *Spoon*, be laid ready upon the Altar in the Abbey-Church."

[3] Notwithstanding the clerical character of the king of England in the middle ages, yet no priest-like functions seem to have been given to him; no "ministering either of God's word or of the Sacraments." The nearest approach to such functions seems to have been the touching for the king's evil, and the blessing of cramp-rings on Good Friday. (See W. Maskell, *Monumenta Ritualia Ecclesiæ Anglicanæ*, London, 1847, vol. iii. pp. 330-340.)

[4] In this W. Maskell, *Monumenta Ritualia Ecclesiæ Anglicanæ*, London, 1847, vol. iii. p. 238, has been followed.

[5] See my edition of *Liber Regalis* in the second fasciculus (col. 673) of the Westminster Missal, printed by the Henry Bradshaw Society in 1893.

The day of the consecration of a bishop was anciently always a Sunday; later on, one of the greater festivals, as an Apostle's day, has been allowed. Precisely the same rule has been observed in the coronation of a king. Sunday was the day on which this solemn service used formerly to be performed. King Edward VI., Queen Mary, and Queen Elizabeth were all crowned on Sunday. The emperor ought to be crowned only on Midlent Sunday.

Then the vestments worn by the sovereign are those worn by a bishop at mass, if we except the amice and the fanon which do not appear among the royal vestments, and which are very much less ancient than the others. Of the golden *ornamenta*, the sceptre and the crown have their analogues in the crosier and the mitre, while the ring is common both to bishop and king, like the buskins and sandals, and the gloves, which are usually of silk.

Let us now go over the linen and silken ornaments which are put upon the king immediately after his anointing and which, it has been said, are common to him and the bishop.

The first ornament put upon the king after his anointing is called in the Latin rubrics *amictus*, but in the English service it is called a shallow coif, or a linen coif. Now does *amictus* here mean any covering for the head? or is it to be understood in its technical ecclesiastical sense, of an amice; *i.e.* a linen vestment, square like a handkerchief, which was the first of the vestments put on by the priest when he was to say mass, and which in England probably,[1] and France certainly,[2] he wore upon his head until he had approached the altar or even made some progress in the service?[3] There is a gloss in a very important manuscript, the mass book of Abbot Lytlington, which you see here now; opposite *amictus*

[1] It would seem from Sir Thomas More that the English priest in his day wore the amice over his head while at the altar. (Sir Thomas More, *Workes*, London, 1557, fo. 641, col. ij. F. "the peple pull the priest from the aulter and ye amis from his head.")

[2] Until the destruction of the French diocesan liturgies under Pope Pius IX. the amice was worn in the place of the biretta in many dioceses. The Dominicans wear it even now, completely covering the head with the exception of the face, until they approach the altar; while the rival friars, the Franciscans, wear the amice only over the back of the head.

[3] At Soissons the priest wore the amice over his head until after the offertory and before *Orate fratres*. (*Missale Suesson*. 1745, p. 23.) At Paris the amice was thrown back a little later, just before the *Secreta*. (*Missale Paris*. 1739, p. 19.

in the margin are the words *vitta linea.*[1] It would thus seem that in the middle ages a mere linen band was put over the king's head after he had been anointed, to protect the holy cream from any irreverence. Such was the object also of the linen gloves which were at this moment put upon the king's hands, not to be confounded with the gloves offered later on in the service by the lord of the manor of Worksop, embroidered scarlet gloves. Neither the linen glove nor the coif appears to have been used at the last coronation. They were used in all likelihood as early in history as the coronation of the son of Henry II. who was buried with the linen vestments that had been hallowed by the touching of the cream in his coronation,[2] and "a fine Linnen Coif Laced and a pair of fine Linnen Gloves, presented him by the Lord Great Chamberlain" were put upon King George III. after his anointing; though of the rest of the usual coronation robes only the armil and the imperial mantle seem to have been worn at this coronation.[3] Linen coifs and linen gloves "ad praeservationem chrismatis," were put upon the English bishop in his consecration for the same purpose, that of protecting from irreverence the holy cream.[4]

At the last coronation, then, the first vestment that was put upon the sovereign after the anointing, was the *colobium sindonis.* This is really the alb, a vestment allied to the rochet of bishops and the surplice of clerks. Up to the coronation of King James II. it would appear to have had sleeves, for it is said to be like a dalmatic, of which sleeves are an essential part. The *colobium sindonis* of King Charles II. is represented with long tight sleeves.[5] That of King James II. had none,[6] and

[1] See my edition of the *Liber Regalis*, just quoted, col. 697.

[2] Matthæi Paris, *Historia Maior*, Lond., 1684, p. 117, A.D. 1183.

[3] College of Arms MSS., S. M. L. 30, fo. 210 (*sic*). For an introduction to the Library of the College of Arms I am indebted to the kindness of Mr. Everard Green, F.S.A., Rouge Dragon.

[4] W. Maskell, *op. cit.* t. iii. pp. 241 and 270 note. It may be that in this note there is some confusion between the linen gloves for preserving the cream and the silken gloves of the bishop which are worn for dignity.

[5] Sir Edward Walker, *A circumstantial account . . . Coronation of His Majesty King Charles II.* London, 1820, among the plates. To the original drawing in the College of Arms (MS. WY fo. 271.) "without sleeves" has been added in the margin. Some of the coronation ornaments are drawn on leaf 458 (385) of Harl. 6832 (British Museum.) They appear to have been made in the seventeenth century.

[6] Francis Sandford, *op. cit.* plate 1, D.

it is the same with this *colobium sindonis* from the last coronation which has also undergone further changes. In order to avoid passing it over the head of the sovereign it has been divided at the side, and is merely fastened at the shoulder. Another change may be noticed in the addition of lace to the vestment. This, of course, does not come down from the middle ages; and lace is now put upon church ornaments only by those who are quite out of sympathy with antiquity. (See plate ii.)

After the alb there was put on the king a tunicle, described by the mediæval rubric as long, reaching down to the ground, and woven with golden figures before and behind. This vestment is the same as the dalmatic, for in the middle ages tunicle and dalmatic were only two words for the same thing. Some of the later orders direct that now a girdle of cloth of gold shall be put on.[1] At the same time the buskins and sandals, with the spurs, were put on the feet of the sovereign. (See plate iii.)

The tunicle or dalmatic is not unlike the alb in shape, but it is made of silk, not linen: it was worn by the deacon or sub-deacon when serving at the altar; it is also one of the ornaments of a bishop. In the modern ornament it may be seen that it has been divided in front, as the *colobium sindonis* and the nineteenth century surplice have been divided, for the convenience of putting on. With the tunicle the buskins, and sandals were put upon the feet, together with the spurs. Buskins and sandals are part of the ceremonial dress of bishops; like gloves, they are mere symbols of dignity. The spurs do not seem to be ecclesiastical, but to be allied to the sword with which the king at this time is now girded. This sword is shortly after offered at the altar and redeemed for a sum of money, usually a hundred shillings; it is then borne naked before the king during the rest of the ceremony, and we shall see it to-morrow at the Tower, with the three other swords of which I spoke at the beginning of the paper.

Buskins and sandals do not seem to have been worn at

[1] For example, that of King George I. (MS. College of Arms.)

the last coronation, and the spurs were delivered to the Queen, but forthwith sent back to the altar.

The next ornament at the last coronation was the armilla; it is a stole, worn after the fashion of a deacon. It is arranged in this way in the picture of "The Queen receiving the Holy Sacrament," which is now in the gallery at Windsor, and familiar to many of us through the engraving which may be seen in so many English houses. (See plate i.)

The stole in most Western dioceses is now put on immediately after the alb, and before the tunicle or dalmatic. In the coronation service it may be noticed that it is put on after the tunicle or dalmatic, even in the earlier books. The deacon still wears the stole outside the dalmatic in the Ambrosian liturgy at Milan, and the Greek and Russian deacon wears his also outside the tunic. This appears to have been the ancient custom; for at a council held at Braga in 561 deacons were ordered not to wear their stoles under the tunic, so that they seem to differ nothing from sub-deacons[1]; but according to Hefele, the custom of wearing the stole under the tunic only came in with the twelfth century.[2] Thus our kings in their coronation ceremonies have preserved an ancient custom which the churchmen have lost.

With the armilla there can be no doubt that already in the middle ages some confusion had arisen. *Armilla* means a bracelet, and bracelets were put upon the arms of Richard II. at this place in the coronation service, with the prayer beginning "Accipe armillas."[3] Bracelets are found in the catalogue of the regalia of Sporley, made about 1450,[4] and they are spoken of among Henry VIII.'s jewels,[5] and in Edward VI.'s[6] and Queen Mary Tudor's[7] coronation. Garters were put upon Queen Elizabeth's hands immediately before the crown was put upon the Queen's

[1] [Labbe] *Acta Conciliorum*, Parisiis, 1714, t. iii. col. 351.

[2] C. J. Hefele, *Beiträge zur Kirchengeschichte*, u.s.w. Tübingen, 1864. Bd. ii. p. 191.

[3] Thomæ Walsingham *Historia Anglicana*, Rolls series, 1863, ed. H. T. Riley, vol. i. p. 335.

[4] British Museum MS. Claudius A. viii.

[5] MS. Soc. Antiq. Lond. 129, fo. 7, verso.

[6] MS. Soc. Antiq. Lond. 123, in third collection, folio marked 344 in cotemporary hand; 41 in pencil.

[7] J. R. Planché, *Regal Records*, Lond., 1838, p. 20, from MSS. College of Arms, 1, 7, and W. Y.

head;[1] and bracelets still exist amongst the golden ornaments of the coronation, as we shall see to-morrow at the Tower.[2]

But the *Liber regalis* which is cotemporaneous with the coronation of Richard II. gives the following rubric to explain the words *Accipe armillas.* "These armils hang in the manner of a stole about the neck and from each shoulder to the joints of the arms, where they are tied by silken bands, as may be more clearly seen by their structure." This rubric could be explained very well if we supposed the armil to be a stole put about the neck, like that of a priest about to say mass, and crossed over the breast, being tied about the level of the elbows with a band or girdle, just as we see in the chromolithograph of the Emperor Charles V. in his coronation robes.[3] We know that the stole crossed over the breast was a part of the English royal ornaments, for when the tomb of King Edward I. in this abbey church was opened in 1774, they found on the king's body a stole of thick white tissue, about three inches in breadth, crossed over the breast, and extending on each side downwards, nearly as low as the wrist, where both ends were brought to cross each other."[4] And in the very coronation order of Richard II., cotemporaneous with which there is the *Liber regalis*, which explains the armilla as a stole, early in the service, as soon as the tunicle or dalmatic was put on, appears the statement that a stole was thrown about the king's neck.[5] It is not easy at first sight to reconcile the two accounts; how the armil can be a stole, and yet at the same time a pair of bracelets.

When and how the coronation stole came to be worn after the fashion of a deacon's stole, I cannot say. From expressions used in the service of King Charles II. one is

[1] *Ibid.* p. 44.

[2] Bracelets were among the regalia broken and defaced by the rebels in 1649. (*Archæologia*, 1806, vol. xv. p. 285.)

[3] F. Bock, *Die Kleinodien des heiligen römischen Reichs*, Wien, 1864, frontispiece.

[4] Sir Joseph Ayloffe, *Archæologia*, 1775, vol. iii. p. 376.

[5] Thomæ Walsingham, *op. cit.* p. 334. In the confused account which has come down to us of the coronation of Henry VI. the king is said to have lain prostrate after the setting of the crown on his head and before the beginning of mass: that "then they took him up and dispoiled him of all his geare again. Then arraied him as a Bishop that should sing a Masse with a Dalmatick like a Tunicle with a Stole about his neck not Crossed and Gloves like a Bishop." (Library of the College of Arms, MS., S. M. L. 29, fo. 101.) The stole, not crossed, would be as a Bishop wears this ornament.

inclined to think that so late as 1661 the stole may have been worn like that of a priest. We may note in Charles II.'s stole the innovation of two crosses at the ends. The English mediæval stole had no embroidered crosses; and in the stole of King James II. the crosses have disappeared, though we see them again in the stole worn at the last coronation. The crosses are the cross of St. George, the patron of England, red upon a white ground. It may also be noticed that in the chromolithograph of the Emperor Charles V. we see no crosses on the stole of his coronation robes.

The last of the silken ornaments to be put on is called the pall or the imperial mantle. The mediæval rubric describes this as "four square (quadrum) and woven throughout with golden eagles." Both of these characters may be noted, if obscurely, in the mantle worn at the last coronation, and in that of King Charles II. In King Charles II.'s mantle the point behind is the only one of the four corners which is at all preserved; and yet in the prayer which accompanies the putting on of the pall, the four corners are spoken of as if essential. They represent the four parts of the world subject to the divine power. Originally the imperial mantle must have been worn as if it were a lozenge, or diamond-shaped, with the points before and behind; and then, for convenience of putting on, it must have been slit up in front, thus destroying in great measure the square shape and the appearance of a lozenge or diamond, and giving it more resemblance to a cope than to any other ecclesiastical vestment; but when it had the shape of a lozenge with a round opening, by which it was put over the head, it must have been in appearance singularly like a chasuble; and one is reminded of the views of some antiquaries who hold that the chasuble was in shape a lozenge with an opening in the centre. Whether indeed there be much, or any, difference between the cope and the chasuble is a question which must have presented itself to anyone who pays attention to mediæval antiquities;[1] and it has been suggested again quite

[1] Sir Thomas More must have known as well as any man the difference between a chasuble and a cope; yet in controversy with Tindall he says, "They care not as Tyndall sayth after, whyther the prieste saye Masse in his gowne or in hys cope." (*Workes*, Lond. 1557, fo. 365, col. ij. H.) It has been pointed

recently by a distinguished Roman Catholic clergyman, Mr. Lockhart, who has written excellently well upon the history of the chasuble, and who is inclined to think that in the twelfth century the shape of the chasuble must have been very much like that of the cope.[1] I am inclined to fancy, therefore, that the imperial mantle may be a chasuble, which, like the other coronation vestments, has undergone certain changes to render it more easy of putting on and off. (See plates iv. and v.)

The other feature in the imperial mantle is the enrichment with the eagles, which are to be seen in Charles II.'s and that of our Queen's, though somewhat overlaid in both cases by more local emblems; in one case of fleurs de lys and roses, and the other by roses, thistles, and shamrocks. The eagle is an emblem of imperial domination; and the claim of the king of England before the conquest to be emperor or *basileus* of Britain has been in our times set forth afresh by Mr. E. A. Freeman,[2] though long ago Mr. Arthur Taylor in his *Glory of Regality* had forestalled Mr. Freeman in this particular teaching.[3] Probably the golden eagles on the imperial mantle are a survival of the claim of the King of England to be Emperor of Britain, lord paramount over all the islands of the west, a dominion looked upon in those early ages as stretching over a second world, even as the dominion of the Roman emperor extended over the world known to the ancients. We may all remember the salutation given by Pope Urban II. to St. Anselm, the Archbishop of Canterbury: *Papa alterius orbis.*[4] If the Archbishop of Canterbury were a second pope, the king might well be a second emperor.

out that Machyn speaks of a priest saying mass in a cope, but his evidence is less valuable because he was less educated. (*The Diary of Henry Machyn*, Sept. viii. 1562, Camden Soc. 1848, p. 291.)

[1] William Lockhart, *The Chasuble: its genuine form and size*, London, 1891. The royal mantle of the Kings of France, which is the analogue of the imperial mantle of our kings, is considered by some French authors to be a chasuble. (M. C. Leber, *Des cérémonies du Sacre*, Paris & Reims, 1825, p. 312.) It might seem from the explanation given by Claude Villette (*Les raisons de l'office*, etc. Paris, 1611, p. 228) that at one time the French mantle, like the English, had been four-cornered, tho' at the last French coronation it was round.

[2] E. A. Freeman, *History of the Norman Conquest of England*, Oxford, 1877, third ed. vol. i. pp. 143, *et seqq.*

[3] Arthur Taylor, *The Glory of Regality*, Lond. 1820, pp. 4 and 9.

[4] See R. W. Church, *Saint Anselm*, London, 1881, chap. xi. p. 230. "The Pope spoke of him as his equal, 'the Patriarch, the *Apostolicus*, or Pope of a second world.'"

There remain two other coronation ornaments of which I would speak, because we do not see them here, nor shall we see them to-morrow at the Tower: the ring, and the gloves. The ring is of gold, with a table ruby marked with the cross of St. George, the patron of England, and is put upon the king's wedding finger[1] as "a sign of kingly dignity, and of defence of the Catholic faith." Such a ruby ring was given by King Richard II. (the letters patent still exist in the muniment room here[2]) for the use of his successors in their coronations. At the last coronation we are told that instead of being made for the wedding finger the ring was made for the little finger; and the Archbishop of Canterbury (knowing better than the heralds who had ordered the ring) put the ring on the wedding finger; and being once on, it could not easily be got off again.

The scarlet gloves are put on just before the sovereign receives the sceptres, and are provided by the lord of the manor of Worksop. At the last coronation, these scarlet gloves were not worn. Like the ring, the buskins and sandals, they are symbols of dignity, and we may notice that they also are parts of the episcopal ornaments.

Further, there is one point in which the more modern coronation orders have a resemblance to the early episcopal consecration service, and which the mediæval coronations have not. In the mediæval consecration of bishops the last thing given to the bishop was a copy of the gospels. In the coronations for two hundred years past a bible has been given to the sovereign after all the royal ornaments have been put on; a curious instance of an unconscious return of the ceremonies in the sacring of a king in more modern times to those once enjoined in the consecration of a bishop.

[1] In most coronation orders the ring is directed to be put upon the fourth finger of the king's right hand. The fourth finger, if we count the thumb as the first, is surely what we call the ring, or wedding finger. In the pre-Reformation Sarum *Manuale* the wedding finger is on the right hand, and it was only in 1549 that it was changed to the left. Soon after, the Roman books made the same change.

[2] I have printed these letters patents as one of the appendices to the Inventory of the Vestry in Westminster Abbey taken in 1388. (*Archæologia*, 1890, vol. lii. p. 282.)

In conclusion, I would venture (so far as a subject in duty may) to offer my respectful thanks to the Sovereign Lady who has so graciously allowed me to show to the Institute the robes worn on the day of the coronation, and who has further condescended to encourage the pursuit of these archæological studies by the interest which Her Majesty has shown in the present work.

To Mr. Arnold Royle, C.B., Keeper of the Robes, I am indebted for many acts of kindness. He has afforded me several opportunities of examining the robes, and helped in every way my investigations into their history. The Institute is, I am sure, under great obligations to Mr. Royle for his assistance, and I am glad of this opportunity of expressing my heart-felt gratitude to him.

I owe to Mr. W. H. St. John Hope the following careful descriptions and measurements of the coronation robes. The collotypes have been prepared by Messrs. W. Griggs and Co.

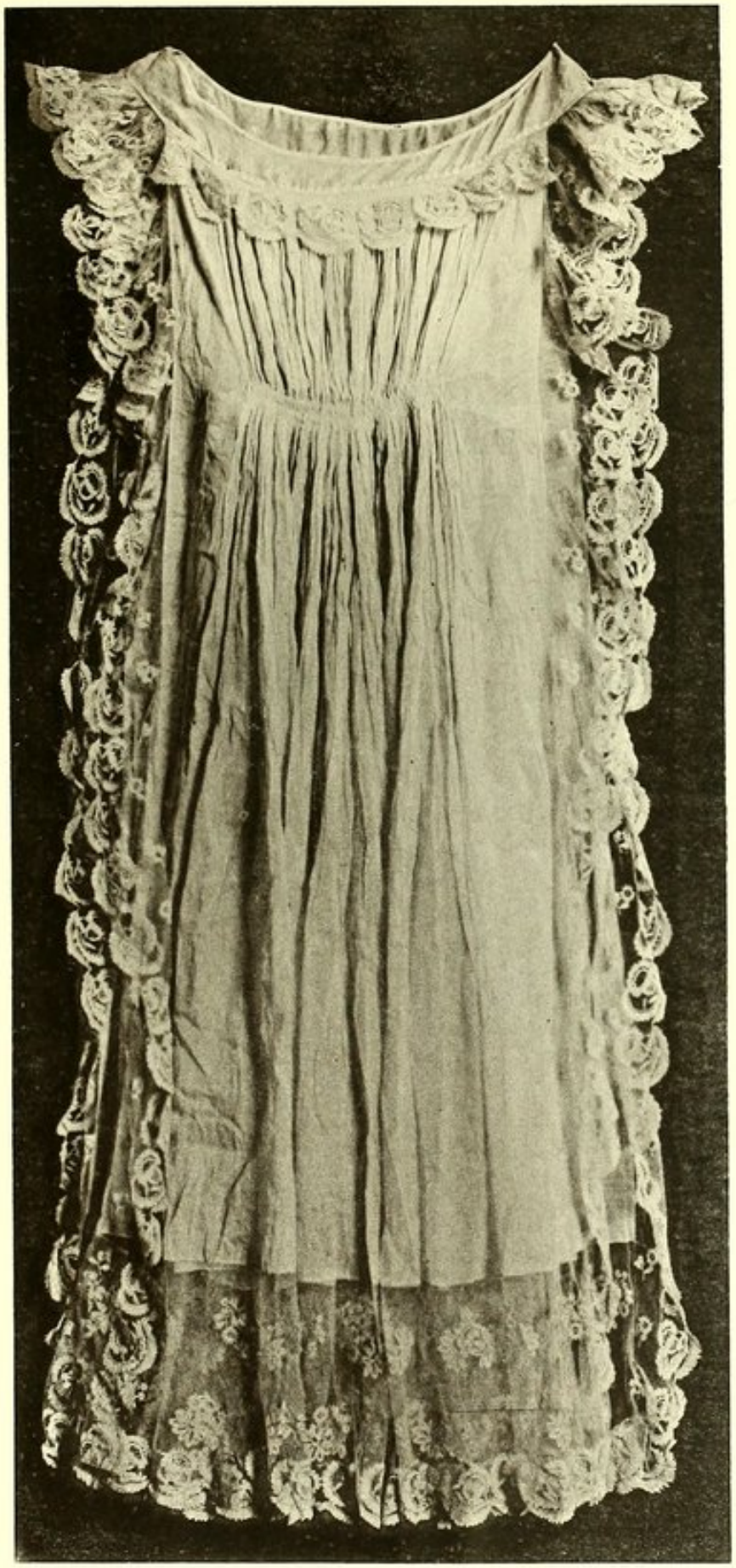
THE QUEEN, IN CORONATION ROBES, RECEIVING THE HOLY COMMUNION.
FROM THE PICTURE AT WINDSOR BY SIR GEORGE HAYTER.

(Reproduced from the engraving by permission of Messrs. Graves, Pall Mall).

Explanation of Plate II.

THE *COLOBIUM SINDONIS.*

The vestment known as the *colobium sindonis,* which was worn at the last Coronation, is a sleeveless rochet of fine linen open up the sides, where it is edged with lace, and with a lace flounce nine inches deep round the bottom. At the neck it is cut low and edged across with lace. It is not made to put on over the head, but opens on the left shoulder, where there are three small buttons to fasten it. There are three like buttons, but shams, on the right shoulder.—W. H. St. J. H.



COLOBIUM SINDONIS.
(Albe).

THE TUNICLE OR DALMATIC.

The tunicle or dalmatic only slightly resembles the vestment of that name; it has been opened up the front and otherwise altered in the fashion of a woman's upper garment.

It is in the shape of a long jacket with pointed sleeves, of yellow cloth of gold, woven with green palm branches from which issue pink roses, green shamrocks, and lilac-coloured thistles. It is edged throughout with gold lace half-an-inch deep, and lined with rose-coloured silk. There are no fastenings of any kind, and the vestment seems to have been worn in the manner of a jacket.

The dimensions of the vestment are these: from the neck to the waist, 9 inches; from the waist to the hem, 40 inches. The length of the front opening is 44½ inches, and of the sleeve from the waist to the point, 27 inches.

THE *ARMILLA* OR STOLE

The *armilla* is a band of yellow cloth of gold, 3 inches wide and 5 feet 2 inches long, with gold bullion fringe at the ends. It is shaped to fit the figure and is embroidered with Tudor roses, shamrocks, thistles, and silver eagles, with royal coronets between. The central device is a rose. At each end is a square panel with a blue and white torse above and below, and worked with a pink cross of St. George on a silver ground.—W. H. ST. J. H.

TUNICA AND ARMILLA.
(*Tunicle and Stole*).

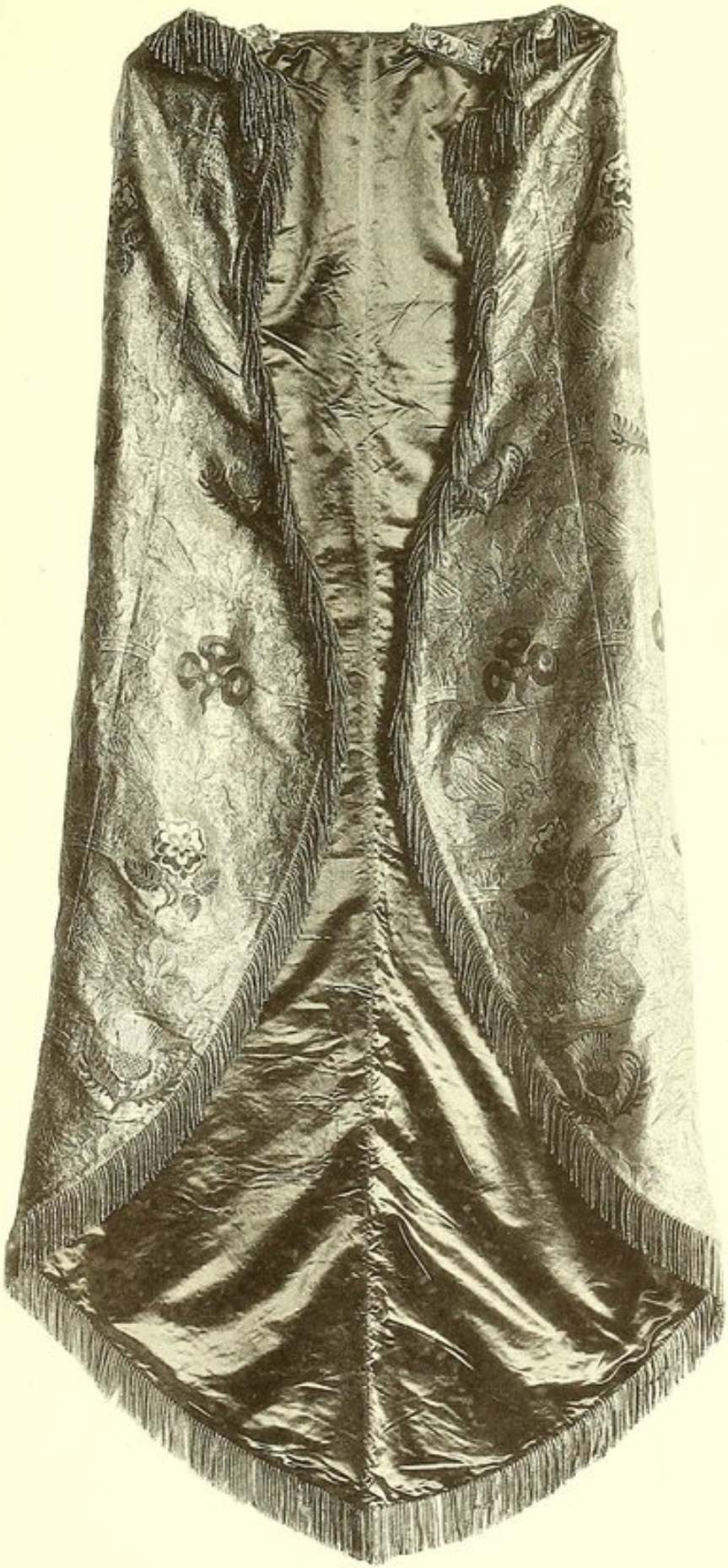
THE IMPERIAL MANTLE.

The Imperial Mantle resembles in shape the back of a cut-down chasuble. It is 6 feet 5½ inches long, and measures in width across the top, 28 inches; 7½ inches lower, 43 inches; and at 3 feet 2½ inches, 5 feet 4 inches.

It is made out of four breadths (each 20 inches wide) of yellow cloth of gold, woven with a golden branched pattern which forms a series of pointed-oval loops. These severally contain a slipped rose (*per fess argent and gules*) a slipped thistle, or a shamrock leaf. The loops are connected at the top by silver fleurs-de-lis, and at the sides by royal coronets. The interspaces are filled with silver eagles facing to the sinister.

The mantle is edged throughout with gold fringe, 2½ inches deep, and is lined with rose-coloured silk.

To the upper edge is attached on one side an oblong gilt morse, with an eagle between two palm branches in the centre, and the rose, shamrock, and thistle at the sides.—W. H. ST. J. H.



PALLIUM REGALE CUM AQUILIS.
(*Cope or Chasuble*).

To
Sir Dyce Duckworth
with the author's kind regards

The Sacring of the English Kings.