

THE PAINTED CHAMBER AT WESTMINSTER, EDWARD I, AND THE CRUSADE



by Matthew M. Reeve

INTRODUCTION

The Painted Chamber in the royal palace at Westminster in London ranked among the most significant painted rooms of state in medieval Europe. The “renowned chamber” in “the celebrated palace of the kings of England” was considered among the marvels of the world by two Irish friars on a pilgrimage to the Holy Land in the 1320s, only decades after its completion. The two friars, Symon Semeonis and Hugo the Illuminator, praised the workmanship of the paintings, which contained “all the war-like stories of the whole Bible,” and did not fail to note their ability to “arrest the beholder with the greatest royal magnificence,” surely a feature desired by all royal patrons of monumental secular decoration.¹ Unlike some painted rooms to which it may be compared, however, the murals of the Painted Chamber are no longer extant: they were destroyed along with much of the fabric of Westminster palace in a devastating fire of October 1834. Fortunately, parts of the painted cycle were rediscovered beneath layers of whitewash before their destruction in 1818 and copied in 1819 by Charles Stothard, Edward Crocker and John Buckler, before the room was transformed into a modern room of state in 1820, when the murals were again hidden beneath modern decorations.

Located within a quadrangular precinct of buildings off of the great hall at Westminster, the Painted Chamber was a spacious room of state, measuring 24.5 by 7.9m with walls of 9.7m in height (fig. 1).² Although little is known of the exact functions

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¹ M. Esposito, ed., *Itinerarium Symonis Semeonis Ab Hybernia Ad Terram Sanctam*, *Scriptores Latini Hiberniae* 4 (Dublin 1960) 26. The relevant section of the Latin text reads: “Et in eadem civitate extra muros ad aliud caput civitatis est monasterium Nigrorum Monachorum nomine Westmonasterium, in quo communiter omnes reges Anglie sepeliuntur, inter quos jacet corpus bone memorie domini Edwardi Machabeissimi Anglorum regis, qui cum Sancto Ludowici, Francorum rege Christianissimo, cum manu bellica ad terram Saracenorum transfretavit, ubi sunt due campane, que inter omnes mundi campanas primatum optinet in magnitudine et in sono admirabili. Et eidem monasterio quasi immediate conjungitur illud famosissimum palatium regum Anglorum, in quo est illa vulgate camera, in cujus parietibus sunt omnes historie bellice totius Bible ineffabiliter depicte, atque in Gallico completissime et perfectissime communiter conscripte, in non modica intuituum admiratione et maxima regali magnificentia.”

² The major sources for the Painted Chamber are as follows: Charles Stothard’s twenty-two watercolor copies (dated 1819) now held at the Society of Antiquaries of London; Edward Crocker’s eighteen watercolor copies are now held in the Ashmolean Museum, Oxford; Twelve further watercolors by Crocker of

of the Painted Chamber in the thirteenth century, it was one undoubtedly one of the principal rooms in the royal palace, serving as the setting for myriad tasks from alms-giving to major events of state interest.³ At the east end of the chamber against the north wall was the royal bed chamber, with what must have been the architectural focus of the room, the four-poster royal bed. Behind the head of the bed on the north wall was a monumental painting of the Coronation of St. Edward the Confessor, complete with a knightly guard who stood watch over the sleeping king, and on either side of the bed were images of the royal saints Edward and John the Pilgrim. Within the window splays on the north and south walls was a series of eight Triumphant Virtues in the act of trampling Vices.

The visiting friars are clear that the most spectacular paintings in the Painted Chamber were the Old Testament narratives that covered much of the north, east and south elevations (fig. 2). Beginning at the tops of the walls, and running in five horizontal bands along the elevations to a low wainscot, the Old Testament narratives covered the majority of the wall surface of the Painted Chamber. French paraphrases of the Vulgate text were located within narrow bands beneath the narratives, and identifying texts floated within the pictorial fields identifying names or places ("Iudas," "Ierusalem," etc). It is to be regretted that the Old Testament narratives did not exist in a more complete state when they were copied in 1819: substantial areas from the south wall were copied, while only one scene and three inscriptions survive from the north wall. It is clear, however, that the first two bands at the top of the room were devoted to a remarkably full cycle derived from 1 Maccabees. Although nothing is known of the north wall beneath the second register, it is likely that most of the third and fourth registers in the Painted Chamber contained imagery from 2 Kings and imagery from the Book of Judges. On the fifth register down, the content of the paintings returned to represent narratives from 2 Maccabees, while the sixth register down included at least a partial account of the imagery from 2 Samuel.

The murals in the Painted Chamber have been the subjects of considerable scholarly inquiry since their rediscovery.⁴ The nineteenth-century copies of the paintings

1819 are London, Victoria and Albert Museum, Department of Prints and Drawings 93.E.3, 32–39; Sketches of the fabric and murals by John Buckler are London, British Library Add. MS 36370, fol. 205–209. For the fullest discussion of the evidence, see P. Binski, *The Painted Chamber at Westminster*, Society of Antiquaries Occasional Paper 9 (London 1986) 24–31.

³ Ibid. 34–36. On the physical context, see the recent studies by C. Wilson, "Rulers, Artificers and Shoppers: Richard II's Remodeling of Westminster Hall, 1393–99," *The Regal Image of Richard II and the Wilton Diptych*, ed. D. Gordon, L. Monnas, and C. Elam (London 1997) 33–60; J. Cherry, *Westminster Kings and the Medieval Palace at Westminster* (London 1995).

⁴ No attempt is made here to provide a comprehensive historiography for the Painted Chamber. The major scholarly accounts are J. Gage Rokewood, "A Memoir on the Painted Chamber in the Palace at Westminster," *Vetusta Monumenta* 6 (1885); W. R. Lethaby, "English Primitives—the Painted Chamber and the early masters of the Westminster School," *Burlington Magazine* 7 (1905) 257–269; W. R. Lethaby, "Medieval Paintings at Westminster," *Proceedings of the British Academy* 13 (1927) 123–151; F. Wormald, "Paintings in Westminster Abbey and Contemporary Paintings," *Proceedings of the British Academy* XXXV (1949) 161–176; E. W. Tristram, *English Medieval Wall Painting: The Thirteenth Century* (Oxford 1950); P. Tudor Craig, "The Painted Chamber at Westminster," *Archaeological Journal* 114 (1957) 91–105. For a full account including a complete bibliography up to 1986, see Binski (n. 2 above). The significant subsequent literature includes P. Hyams, "What Did Henry III of England Think in Bed about Kingship and Anger?" *Anger's Past: The Social Uses of Emotion in the Middle Ages*, ed. B. Rosenwein (Ithaca and London 1998) 92–124; M. Liversidge and P. Binski, "Two ceiling fragments from the Painted Chamber at

have stood as important evidence for a major cycle of wall paintings in England, and as emblems of the tastes, aspirations and political outlooks of its royal patrons. Until fairly recently, readings of the copies and the documentary evidence have pointed to the patronage of Henry III (1216–1272) for the entire Painted Chamber, begun after the devastating fire at Westminster Palace in 1262. In a highly influential study published in 1986, Paul Binski brought to light a flood of new evidence which allowed for a rereading of the sequence, patronage and dating of the Painted Chamber. Binski argued that the murals were executed in two phases: the first phase involved the painting of the royal bed chamber with the Coronation of St. Edward, flanked with images of St. Edward and St. John, and the imagery and the Triumphant Virtues in the window splays under the direction of Henry III in the years after 1263, and the second and major phase involved the painting of the majority of the elevations with the Old Testament narratives under Edward I (1272–1307) in 1292–1297 when painting is recorded in the royal accounts. This scheme for the Painted Chamber of two major phases commissioned by two different royal patrons has been rightly accepted in most of the subsequent literature.⁵ Following this reading of the copies, the Painted Chamber was far more than simply a room of state. Its imagery represented a perceptive gauge of the devotional and political aspirations of its patrons: one pious and international and the other bellicose, militaristic, and conscious of ancient precedent.

Despite much recent attention, a series of interrelated questions remain surrounding the 1292 repainting of the Painted Chamber by Edward I. Why did Edward I resort in an unprecedented fashion to imagery derived from the Old Testament? Was the imagery simply an unselective compendium of “all the war-like books of the Bible,” as its fourteenth-century commentators observed? Why did the murals place such specific emphasis on the otherwise obscure figure of Judas Maccabeus? These questions can be at least partially answered when the imagery is understood within the context of the court’s political and spiritual aspirations to return on crusade in the 1290s immediately after the fall of Acre in 1291. The possibility that Edward’s plan to return on crusade may have influenced the imagery of the Painted Chamber is not new. In his 1986 study, Binski noted “the allusive potential of the Old Testament program ... to

Westminster Palace,” *Burlington Magazine* 137 (1995) 491–501; C. M. Kauffmann, *Biblical Imagery in Medieval England 700–1550* (London 2003) 198–206.

⁵ While the date of the Old Testament imagery is not in serious doubt, it is possible that the Virtues and Vices in the window splays and the narrative scenes that originally existed below them at basement level (for which no conclusive evidence now exists) also belong to the 1292 repainting, as suggested by Allison Stones in a review of Binski (n. 2 above) in *Burlington Magazine* 130 (1988) 142–143. Problematically, however, the 19th-c. copyists indicated that the Painted Chamber bore evidence of two or three repaintings, thus raising the question of whether the Virtues and Vices were a repainting and updating of former Henrician murals or whether they were new introductions contemporary with the Old Testament narratives. See Rokewood (n. 4 above) 14. Lethaby, “Medieval Paintings” (n. 4 above) 138, indicated that the borders and crowns may have been repainted during the 1292 campaign, but does not specifically note that different designs for the borders were employed in the figure of *Verite*. In support of a later date for the Virtues and Vices, it is interesting to note that the precise collection of heraldry in the window splays (England, St. George, St. Edmund, and St. Edward) was used on weaponry and armor during Edward’s campaigns against the Scots in the 1290s; *Liber Quotidianus Contrarotulatoris Garderobae: Anno Regis Edwardi Primi Vice-simo Octavo* (London 1787) 65. The armed Virtues and Vices had an important precedent in the window splays of the lower church of St. Clement, Schwarzrheindorf, which Anne Derbes has persuasively linked to the second crusade: “The Frescoes of Schwarzrheindorf, Arnold of Weid and the Second Crusade,” *The Second Crusade and the Cistercians*, ed. M. Gervers (New York 1992) 141–154.

create the impression that it was formed within rather specific circumstances, and that whatever pictorial or literary conventions shaped its imagery were masked by more immediate story-telling concerns,” and offered Edward’s future crusade as one of a number of possible contexts that may have informed the painting of the murals, including Edward’s expulsion of the Jews in 1290 and the wars against Scotland and France.⁶ Returning to the subject in 1995, the same author offered a broader interpretation, noting that the Old Testament imagery “presented a fundamentally Augustinian vision of good and bad kingship” by admonishing Edward I and other royal viewers “through biblical example to attend to good counsel and the virtues of chivalry and to eschew the anger and malevolence of the Old Testament tyrants.”⁷ Read thus, the Old Testament imagery in the Painted Chamber provided a moralizing essay on kingship within the tradition of the *speculum principis*, which, in an English context, was given its fullest literary manifestations in Walter Map’s *De Regimine Principum* and John of Salisbury’s *Policraticus*. It will be clear from what follows that I am largely in agreement with this moralizing and reflective view of the imagery in the Painted Chamber. However, reading the Painted Chamber as a *speculum principis*, itself a familiar genre in thirteenth-century court art, does not and cannot fully explain the unusual nature of its Old Testament imagery, since the *speculum principis* genre was also manifest in a variety of other secular and biblical contexts, including romance,⁸ nor does it necessarily inform the rationale behind its execution in the first place.

It is the purpose of this paper to further the “crusade hypothesis” for the repainting of the Painted Chamber under Edward I. In doing so, I should state at the outset that I hold no “smoking gun”: no new archaeological or antiquarian evidence for the murals will be brought to light here. In contrast to the overwhelmingly archaeological and antiquarian nature of previous scholarship, my interest is to pursue the ideological structures that informed the Painted Chamber and its imagery.⁹ Unlike earlier

⁶ Binski (n. 2 above) 97, 102. The possibility that the expulsion of the Jews informed the imagery has been supported in Hyams (n. 4 above) 124 n. 121; and Kauffmann (n. 4 above) 198–206. On Edward’s expulsion of the Jews and its intellectual contexts, see Sophia Menache, “Faith, Myth, and Politics: The Stereotype of the Jews and Their Expulsion from England and France,” *The Jewish Quarterly Review* 75.4 (1985) 352–374. The notion that the Painted Chamber was intended primarily to reflect the anti-Semitic attitudes expressed by the Edwardian court seems incorrect to me, not only because of the celebration of Judas Maccabeus and the Jewish religion in the narratives, and the emphasis on the expulsion of the enemies of the Jews, but also for the simple reason that the Old Testament was not conceived as a specifically ‘Jewish’ history during the 13th c.; it was understood within the contexts of a Christian worldview that perceived the Old Testament as a spiritual history that prefigured and was validated by the revelation of the New Testament. Still of much value on these issues is B. Smalley, “William of Auvergne, John of La Rochelle, and St. Thomas Aquinas on the Old Law,” *Studies in Medieval Thought and Learning: from Abelard to Wyclif* (London 1981) 121–182. The possibility that the Henry III’s patronage in the Painted Chamber—and particularly the former *mappa mundi* which perished in the 1262 fire—may have been informed by the crusade has been advanced in a highly speculative study by D. Birkholz, *The King’s Two Maps: Cartography and Culture in Thirteenth-Century England* (New York and London 2004) 9–15. Because nothing is known of the form of this map, and because its specific location in the chamber is unclear, it is not considered here.

⁷ P. Binski, *Westminster Abbey and the Plantagenets: Kingship and the Representation of Power 1200–1400* (New Haven and London 1995) 87, 89.

⁸ For a contemporary example pertinent to Edward I, see D. Staines, “Havelok the Dane: A Thirteenth-Century Handbook for Princes,” *Speculum* 51 (1976) 602–123.

⁹ In locating “ideology” at the center of this work, I am much indebted to J. Alexander, “Iconography and Ideology: Uncovering Social Meanings in Western Medieval Christian Art,” *Studies in Iconography* 15 (1993) 1–44; idem, “Ideological Representations of Battle in Anglo-Norman Art,” *Proceedings of the Battle*

commentators, I am able to draw on a wealth of literature on the effects of the crusade on the visual culture of the high and late middle ages, an area of enquiry that has produced a number of important studies in the past two decades. In lending weight to the original hypothesis, I hope not only to offer a fuller view of the context of the Painted Chamber murals and their iconography, but also to make a contribution to a growing literature on the place of the crusade and crusader ideology within the formation of visual culture in the medieval West.¹⁰

EDWARD I: KING AND CRUSADER

To begin, something must first be said of Edward I's own place within the history of the thirteenth-century crusade, if only because historians of art have yet to fully consider the possible influence of these ideals on the visual culture of the late-thirteenth-century court. Edward I was raised within, and subsequently ruled over, a court culture that was deeply imbued with the ideals of the crusade to recover the Holy Land.¹¹ Edward embarked on crusade in 1270 with his uncle Louis IX, King of France, for what would be the French king's second crusade. Edward's immediate enthusiasm for the crusade may have been Urban IV's declaration of a new crusade to the Holy Land in 1265, although his ultimate source of inspiration was undoubtedly the former crusading exploits of Louis IX, who provided him with a familial role model of Christian/military kingship that remained with him throughout his life. Not atypical of crusading enterprises, the crusade of 1270 fell short of its intended aims. Louis IX arrived ahead of Edward in Tunis and died there in August, while Edward wintered in Sicily, and then set forth for Acre in the following year. Despite a unified siege on neighboring lands at Acre, Edward's crusading amounted to little, such that in a denigrating aside the sultan of Baibars could state that if Edward could not capture a house, he was unlikely to capture Jerusalem.¹² As efforts turned from combat to diplomacy, Edward became enraged at the notion of a truce with the Infidel, and remained steadfastly en-

Conference 1992, ed. M. Chibnall, *Anglo Norman Studies* 15 (1993) 1–24; M. Camille, *The Gothic Idol: Ideology and Image-Making in Medieval Art* (Cambridge 1990); E. Sears and T. K. Thomas, eds., *Reading Medieval Images: The Art Historian and the Object* (Michigan 2002).

¹⁰ The literature is now extensive. In addition to the studies cited below, see esp. L. Seidel, "Images of the Crusades in Western Art: Models as Metaphors," *The Meeting of Two Worlds: Cultural Exchange between East and West During the Period of the Crusades*, ed. V. P. Coss and C. V. Bornstein (Kalamazoo 1986) 377–391; E. A. R. Brown and M. W. Cothren, "The Twelfth-Century Crusading Window of the Abbey of Saint Denis," *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes* 49 (1986) 1–40; A. Dunlop, "Masculinity, Crusading, and Devotion: Francesco Casali's Fresco in the Trecento Perugian *Contado*," *Speculum* 76 (2001) 315–336; J. Bugslag, "St Eustace and St. George: Crusading Saints in the Sculpture and Stained Glass of Chartres Cathedral," *Zeitschrift für Kunstgeschichte* 66 (2003) 441–464.

¹¹ For the purposes of the present study, the most important studies of Edward's crusading interests are S. D. Lloyd, *English Society and the Crusade 1216–1307* (Oxford 1988); idem, "The Lord Edward's Crusade, 1270–2: Its Setting and Significance," *War and Government in the Middle Ages: Essays in Honour of J.O. Prestwich*, ed. J. Gillingham and J. C. Holt (Stamford 1984) 120–133; C. Tyerman, *England and the Crusades 1095–1588* (Chicago and London 1988); idem, "Some English Evidence of Attitudes to Crusading," *Thirteenth Century England I: Proceedings of the Newcastle upon Tyne Conference*, ed. P. R. Coss and S. D. Lloyd (Stamford 1986) 168–174; B. Beebe, *The Crusade of Edward I* (Ph.D. diss., University of St. Andrews 1970); B. Hamilton, "Eleanor of Castile and the Crusading Movement," *Mediterranean Historical Review* 10 (1995) 92–103; M. Prestwich, *Edward I* (New Haven and London 1997). While much work has been done on the chronology of the crusade during Edward's reign and its propaganda, much remains to be done on the manifestations of "crusading culture" at the Edwardian court.

¹² Prestwich (n. 11 above) 77.

gaged with the notion of a military conquest of the Holy Land.

Though the crusade of 1270–1272 resulted in death for Louis IX and military failure for Edward I, it nevertheless served to develop powerful mythologies around both men as crusader kings. Louis IX's record as a crusader featured prominently in efforts toward his canonization, and posthumously in his hagiography, which served to emphasize the significance of crusading within the matrix of ideas that comprised the ideal of good Christian kingship. Upon Louis' death in 1271 Christendom's hopes for a successful future crusade were transferred to Edward I, and remained upon him until his death in 1307. That this hope was projected upon him is borne out by the extensive series of embassies, appeals, news reports and gifts sent from the East during his reign, the weight of which was equaled only by a series of Papal appeals to encourage Edward to conduct a second crusade.¹³ Thus, for a moment in the late thirteenth and early fourteenth centuries, the Plantagenets eclipsed the established role of the Capetians as the expected saviors of the Holy Land.

The weight of domestic politics in the 1290s, particularly the Scottish succession of 1291–1292 and the war with France in 1294, meant that Edward's crusading ambitions were never fulfilled. Nevertheless, there can be no doubt that his desire to end the Muslim occupation of the Holy Land was both sincere and profound, a point aptly attested to by the chronicler and royal sympathist Pierre de Langtoft.¹⁴ Nicholas Trivet records that Edward's will specified the donation of his heart to the Holy Land and a sizable amount of money to mercenaries to "serve there the cross of Christ."¹⁵ Upon Edward's death in 1307, the sense of the loss of a crusader king was tangible in the various extant funerary laments, one of which stated, "Jerusalem, you have lost the flower of chivalry." These laments heartily celebrate Edward's first crusade and his subsequent attempt to return on crusade, and blame the king of France, Philippe le Bel, for thwarting Edward's plans.¹⁶ Edward I's reputation as a crusader appears to have carried particular resonance at Westminster, where, for example, the monks of Westminster kept the dagger with which Edward was nearly slain in Acre as a sacred relic

¹³ Lloyd (n. 11 above) 232–243 and app. 1–3; L. Lockhart, "The Relations between Edward I and Edward II of England and the Mongol Il-Khāns of Persia," *Iran: Journal of the British Institute of Persian Studies* 6 (1968) 23–31; and Prestwich (n. 11 above) 326–335.

¹⁴ *Chronicle of Pierre de Langtoft*, ed. T. Wright (Rolls Series 1866–1868) 2.267.

¹⁵ Nicholas Trivet, *Annales sex regum Angliae*, ed. T. Hog (London 1845) 413–414.

¹⁶ The place of the crusade at court did not die with Edward. In the same sources, the young Edward II is seen as a hopeful for a new royal-led crusade. Edward's crusading exploits feature prominently in the many panegyrics written after his death. Several funerary laments are published in P. Coss, ed., *Thomas Wright's Political Songs of England* (London 1996) 241–250; and I. S. T. Aspin, *Anglo-Norman Political Songs* (Oxford 1953) 79–91. Also pertinent to the commemoration of Edward's crusading efforts is the *Commemoratio Lamentabilis* in *Chronicles of the Reign of Edward I and Edward II*, ed. W. Stubbs, Rolls Series vol. 76, 3–21. It is likely that his crusades were represented in the quasi-hagiographical lives of Edward I painted after his death at the bishop's palace, Lichfield in 1311–1312, and in the lesser hall at Westminster, which joined the Painted Chamber to St. Stephen's Chapel in 1324. A late 16th-c. description of the paintings at Lichfield records that the cycle included representations of the "coronation, wars, marriage and funeral of Edward I," thus raising the possibility that Edward's crusading may have featured in the martial imagery of these cycles. M. M. Reeve, "The Former Cycle of the Life of Edward I at the Bishop's Palace, Lichfield," *Nottingham Medieval Studies* 46 (2002) 70–83.

of his crusade.¹⁷

OLD TESTAMENT HISTORY, TYPOLOGY, AND THE CRUSADE

Edward I's contribution to the Painted Chamber in the form of a monumental cycle of images derived from the Old Testament was without parallel in English art. Among the many painted programs derived from romance, biblical or English history which were commissioned by Edward's father Henry III, only a single commission featured Old Testament imagery, and the documentary evidence indicates that it also included imagery from the New Testament.¹⁸ If a context in the English royal works for the Old Testament scenes in the Painted Chamber is lacking, it has long been agreed that aspects of the style, composition and content of the Old Testament imagery in the Painted Chamber should be located within the milieu of an unusual family of extensive Old Testament cycles from France dated to the first half of the thirteenth century, all of which have been associated with the patronage of Louis IX or the Capetian court circle: the Bibles Moralisées (Oxford, Bodleian Library MS Bodley 270b; Vienna Österreichische Nationalbibliothek Cod. 2554),¹⁹ the Morgan Picture Bible (New York, Pierpoint Morgan Library MS M638),²⁰ and the stained glass in the Sainte Chapelle.²¹ Although more exotic sources have been noted, the relationships between the Old Testament imagery at Westminster and its French sources (particularly the Morgan Picture Bible) have indicated to most commentators that the Westminster murals were based upon these prestigious French royal cycles, or perhaps an exemplar in manuscript or wall painting now lost.²² The secure attribution of the Old Testament imagery to Edward I in the 1290s demands a reassessment of the king's desire for, and interpretation of, what was an outmoded fashion for grand, narrative expositions of Old Testament history from the second and third quarters of the thirteenth century.

¹⁷ London, Public Record Office E101/333/15: "un cultell dount le roi Edward estoit naufray en le terre seinte en Acres." See also Prestwich (n. 11 above) 78–79; and C. E. Nowell, "The Old Man of the Mountain," *Speculum* 22 (1947) 497–519 at 514–515.

¹⁸ In the king's chamber at Winchester, Henry III ordered "circles to be painted in the wainscot in which shall be painted stories of the Old and New Testament." *Calendar of Liberated Rolls*, Henry III, I 1916, 305; and II 1930, 26. For a survey of Henry's patronage of wall painting, see T. Borenus, "The Cycle of Images in the Palaces and Castles of Henry III," *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes* 6 (1943) 40–50.

¹⁹ For recent discussion on the date and style of both manuscripts, see J. Lowden, *The Making of the Bibles Moralisées*, 2 vols. (Pennsylvania 2000) esp. 1.11–54, 95–138. On crusader iconography in the Vienna Bible Moralisée, see C. Maier, "The bible moralisée and the crusades," *The Experience of Crusading, Volume I: Western Approaches*, ed. M. Bull and N. Housley (Cambridge 2002) 209–221; and D. Higgs Strickland, *Saracens, Demons and Jews: Making Monsters in Medieval Art* (Princeton 2004) 171–173.

²⁰ See W. Noel and D. Weiss, *The Book of Kings: Art, War and the Morgan Library's Medieval Picture Bible* (London 2002); D. Weiss, ed., *Die Keuzritterbibel: Pierpoint Morgan Library, New York MS. M638, Bibliothèque nationale de France, Paris, nouv. acq. lat. 2294*, J. Paul Getty Museum, Los Angeles, 83.MA.55 (Lucerne 1998); H. Stahl, "The Iconographic Sources of the Old Testament Miniatures, Pierpoint Morgan Library M. 638" (Ph.D. diss., New York University 1974); idem, "Old Testament Illustration During the Reign of St. Louis: The Morgan Picture Book and the New Biblical Cycles," *Il Medio Oriente e L'Occidente Nell'Arte del XIII Secolo*, ed. H. Belting (Bologna 1979) 79 n. 93.

²¹ A. Jordan, *Visualizing Kingship in the Windows of the Sainte-Chapelle* (Turnhout 2002), with discussion of crusading context at 59–63.

²² For a full discussion of the pictorial sources, see Binski (n. 2 above) 86–96; Tudor Craig (n. 4 above) 104–105, who attributed the Old Testament images to Henry III, posited a common source for the Morgan Picture Bible and the Old Testament narratives in the monumental decorations of Louis IX's palace in Paris, which Henry III may have seen in 1254, but for which no evidence survives. Cf. Binski (n. 2 above) 157 n. 67.

Recent discussions of these French cycles have located their iconography within the crusading culture of the court of Louis IX. Beginning with Harvey Stahl's fundamental paper on French Old Testament illustration, it has been argued that these narratives, which represent the Israelites battling their foreign oppressors, were also intended to represent analogues of the French crusading enterprise.²³ Several scholars including Debra Higgs Strickland, Alyce Jordan, Christophe Maier, and Daniel Weiss, have recently discussed the appearance of iconography specific to the crusade in these Old Testament cycles. One example chosen from many will suffice: in the Vienna Bible *Moralisée* the illustration from 1 Samuel 17.4–11 likens the story of King Saul and Goliath to the modern battle between Christianity and Islam: the explanatory text reads, "Here Saul comes with his army on one side and Goliath on the other, who is great and strong, with all his Saracens, and he threatens the sons of Israel and says that he will destroy them all" (fig. 3). In substituting the Philistines with "ses sarrazin," the texts and images make an explicit typological comparison between the narratives of the Old Testament and the contemporary crusade.²⁴

These observations are rooted within a broad intellectual context in which the contemporary crusade was conceived as a typological successor to the wars of the ancient Israelites to defend the Holy Land. Originating with the first crusade, this paradigm privileged crusaders, (whether individuals, courts, or nations), with the hallowed typological allusion to be the "chosen people" or *populus dei* of the Old Testament as the New Israelites.²⁵ By viewing the crusade as the fulfillment of Old Testament prophecy, the political use of Old Testament history served to add legitimacy to the contemporary efforts of the New Israelites to wage God's war to free the Holy Land. The exemplary nature of the Old Testament meant that it offered a catalogue of warriors whose quasi-religious prescriptive status meant that they were cited as models of crusading, and who encouraged emulation and imitation of their struggles against the infidel. As though to summarize these points, in the late 1260s the crusade preacher of Louis IX, Humbert of Romans, stated that crusade preachers should have specialized knowledge of Old Testament battles connected with the Holy Land: these could be cited to demonstrate the sanctified character of the wars against the Infidel and the

²³ Stahl (n. 20 above) esp. 87–88; Weiss (n. 20 above) 44–52; Noel and Weiss (n. 20 above) esp. D. Weiss, "Portraying the Past, Illuminating the Present: The Art of the Morgan Library Picture Bible," 10–37; D. Weiss, "The Old Testament Image and the rise of Crusader Culture in France," in D. Weiss and L. Mahoney, eds., *France and the Holy Land: Frankish Culture at the End of the Crusades* (Baltimore and London 2004) 3–21; Maier, "The bible moralisée" (n. 20 above).

²⁴ For a fuller discussion of crusading iconography in the Vienna MS, see Strickland (n. 19 above) 171–173. As Alyce Jordan has recently emphasized, the kings in the Old Testament battle scenes in the Royal Window of the Sainte Chapelle served to mirror Louis IX's role as defender of church and realm against pagan aggressors (n. 21 above, 60).

²⁵ Much attention has been paid to the propagandistic and typological use of the Old Testament in crusader cultures. The classic account of these issues is D. H. Green, *The Millstatter Exodus: A Crusading Epic*, (Cambridge 1966) esp. 188–295. See also Y. Katzir, "The Conquest of Jerusalem, 1099 and 1187: Historical Memory and Religious Typology," in V.P. Goss and C. V. Bornstein, eds., *The Meeting of Two Worlds: Cultural Exchange Between the East and West During the Period of the Crusades* (Kalamazoo 1986) 103–113. Katzir provides a compelling argument suggesting that the reintroduction of Old Testament typology in 11th- and 12th-c. Europe was a direct result of the first crusade. See also S. Menaché, "Religious symbols and royal propaganda in the late Middle Ages: The Crusades," *Idéologie et Propagande en France*, ed. M. Yardeni (Haifa 1987) 55–61. Still of much value as a general study of medieval typology is E. Auerbach, "Typological Symbolism in Medieval Literature," *Yale French Studies* 9 (1952) 3–10.

moral obligation of every Christian to answer God's call to arms.²⁶

It is well known that this grand, biblical vision of Europe's claims to the Holy Land was given particular expression in the reign of Louis IX. Louis' image as "The Most Christian King" was built upon a prestigious legacy in which the emerging French nation state conceived itself as the inheritors of the legacy of the ancient Israelites, and their kings as successors of the kings of Judah.²⁷ The proliferation of Old Testament image cycles in Louis IX's reign has been understood as a reflection of a religious and political culture that located its own crusading achievements within the sacred patterns of biblical history. It is less well known that an identification with the ancient Israelites was also fostered in the English court. Although England's claims to this privileged status could not match the tenor of those of France, Sophia Menache has nevertheless shown that "the nobles of England were awarded a generous helping of Hebrew nobility," and that allusions to England as the New Israel were not uncommon, more of which will be said below.²⁸ Fundamental to the design and interpretation of these French cycles was the notion that aristocratic viewers could interpret them not only as accounts of biblical history but also as highly subjective mirrors of contemporary experience. As Gerald Guest has recently reminded us, the pictorialization of Old Testament history in the reign of Louis IX constituted a kind of mirror or "interpretative optic" that served to bring the range of ideas of Old Testament history into the immediate present.²⁹ We might go further by arguing that typology was fundamental to the royal viewer's interpretation of texts. As a viewer and a subject-type himself, the king could gaze upon images of historical or biblical kings and queens and implicate himself within the broader religious/ historical narratives of the image. As Gabriel Spiegel concluded in her study of royal propaganda: "typological thinking sets up a complex field of influences which ties past and present, present and future into one essentially prophetic mode of analyzing history."³⁰

The close iconographic and stylistic links between the Painted Chamber and its French exemplars, coupled with the intimate familial links between Louis IX and Edward I as the preeminent crusader kings of thirteenth century Europe, provide good

²⁶ P. Cole, *The Preaching of the Crusades to the Holy Land, 1095-1270* (Cambridge 1991) 211-221. On the "principle of emulation" of Old Testament exemplars in the crusading sermons of Humbert of Romans, see J. A. Brundage, "Humbert of Romans and the Legitimacy of Crusader Conquests," *The Horns of Hattin*, ed. B. Z. Kedar (London 1992) 302-313. See also E. T. Brett, *Humbert of Romans: His Life and Views of Thirteenth-Century Society* (Toronto 1984) esp. 167-175; and P. Cole, "Humbert of Romans and the Crusade," *The Experience of Crusading* (n. 19 above) 157-174.

²⁷ This feature of Capetian kingship was articulated by Gregory IX, who in 1239 agreed that, as successors to the kings of Judah, the kings of France enjoyed a special place in the eyes of God. The classic account of these ideas remains J. R. Strayer, "France: The Holy Land, the Chosen People, and the Most Christian King," *Eadem, Medieval Statecraft and the Perspectives of History* (Princeton 1971) 300-314.

²⁸ Menache (n. 6 above) esp. 360-363, at 362.

²⁹ For a discussion of typology in 13th-c. court art, see G. Guest, "The People Demand a King: Visualizing Monarchy in the *Psalter of Saint Louis*," *Studies in Iconography* 23 (2002) 1-27. There is ample evidence that medieval viewers looked at images in this fashion. For a famous example of King John's (1199-1216) identification with the kings on a sculpted portal at Fontevault, see Adam of Eynsham, *The Life of St. Hugh of Lincoln* (London 1985) 2.140-144. This passage is discussed in L. Grant, "The Naming of Parts: Describing Architecture in the High Middle Ages," *Architecture and Language: Constructing Identity in European Architecture c. 1100-1650* (Cambridge 2000) 46-57.

³⁰ G. Spiegel, "Political Utility in Medieval Historiography: A Sketch," *History and Theory* 14 (1975) 314-325.

grounds for extending this critique of Old Testament imagery into our discussion of the Painted Chamber. In so arguing, I suggest that the relationship between these cycles cannot be explained by the ideologically neutral label of a “court style,” nor by the whims of individual kings.³¹ The range of imagery open to thirteenth-century kings spanned the genres of romance, secular history and biblical history and the employment of an expansive cycle of Old Testament images in the Painted Chamber was by no means an inevitable choice for Edward I in the 1290s. On the contrary, from what we know of the monumental arts in the period, it was palpably unusual. Rather, Edward’s choice of Old Testament narratives in his royal chamber was indicative of his participation in a shared visual language of crusader culture in thirteenth-century Europe.³²

HOLY WARFARE AND THE HOLY LAND

Although our knowledge of the contents of the Old Testament imagery in the Painted Chamber is incomplete, it seems clear that it was not conceived as an unselective summary of “all the warlike books of the Bible,” as its fourteenth-century observer suggested. It has been pointed out elsewhere that its martial iconography was not related to commonplace traditions of biblical exegesis, and that the diverse assortment of Old Testament imagery must have been composed to suit the requirements of its patron, Edward I.³³ Diverse though the imagery may be, it was not lacking in logic or thematic cohesiveness. Unlike more extensive pictorial cycles from the Old Testament, there appears to have been no imagery from Genesis or any of the Prophetic material in Psalms. Indeed, the biblical narratives from 1 and 2 Maccabees, 2 Kings, Judges, and Samuel appear to have been selected to illustrate specific episodes in the martial history of the Old Testament Israelites and their defense of the Holy Land. More specifically, while neither the biblical cycle nor the imagery in the Painted Chamber focused exclusively on battle, the thematic focus of each narrative was the struggle for supremacy over Jerusalem between the Israelites and their foreign oppressors. The dominant theme in the Painted Chamber was holy warfare.

³¹ Much research has challenged such ideologically neutral style labels such as “court styles.” See, for example, Binski (n. 7 above); C. Bruzelius, *The Thirteenth-Century Church at St. Denis* (New Haven and London 1986); H. M. Colvin, “The Court Style in medieval English architecture: A Review,” *English Court Culture in the Middle Ages*, V. A. Scattergoode and J. W. Sherborne, eds. (London 1983).

³² Although they cannot be considered here in detail, Edward’s emulation of the artistic projects of Louis IX is manifest in his other building projects of the early 1290s. Edward’s building of the new palace chapel of St. Stephen at Westminster was clearly built in emulation of Louis IX’s Sainte Chapelle. On this, see *The Age of Chivalry: Art in Plantagenet England 1200–1400*, ed. J. Alexander and P. Binski (London 1987) 337–339. Edward’s commission of the series of funerary crosses dedicated to his queen Eleanor of Castile (the so-called Eleanor Crosses) were built in emulation of the crosses constructed to mark Louis’ own funerary cortege. The fullest study of the latter remains R. Branner, “The Montjoies of Saint Louis,” *Essays in the History of Architecture Presented to Rudolph Wittkower*, ed. D. Fraser, H. Hibbard, and M. J. Lewine (London 1967) 13–16. It has not been noted that the name awarded to Louis’ crosses, “Mountjoie” (Mount Joy), is derived from the famous promontory in the Holy Land from which pilgrims could first gaze upon Jerusalem. See, for example, *The Travels of Sir John Mandeville*, trans. C. W. R. D. Moseley (New York 1983) 86: “It is called Mount Joy because from it pilgrims can get their first view of Jerusalem, and after their great journey they can have great joy and comfort in that sight.” It has not been noticed that the conceit of calling the crosses “Mountjoies” appears to reference Louis’ own transformation of Paris into the new Holy Land after the acquisition of the Passion relics.

³³ Binski (n. 2 above) 96.

The most powerful statements of holy war must have been represented in the narratives derived from 1 Maccabees in the first and second registers. Although no imagery survives on the highest register, a fragment of the biblical text indicates that the narratives began on the top register on the west side of the north wall with the rise of the Selucid king Antiochus, and continued to run around the east and south walls.³⁴ The imagery in this register recounted scenes from Antiochus's war with Egypt and his despoliation of the Temple of Jerusalem, his suppression of Jewish law, and his enforcing pagan observances including the worship of idols. It probably also featured the ascendancy of Mattathias, father of the Maccabees against Antiochus, his slaughtering of the idolatrous Jew who consented to worshipped at the pagan altar, and the ensuing battle between Antiochus and Mattathias. The narrative turned upon the rise of Judas Maccabeus, the strongest and most valiant son of Mattathias, who defeated the Gentiles in a spectacular battle, cleansed the Temple, and reestablished Jewish law. The narratives on the second register continued on the north wall at the west side, as indicated now by the copied inscriptions. Based upon the content of 1 Maccabees 5–9, the second register represented the wars of Judas Maccabeus against the enemies of Israel. The three scenes copied here attest to the fashion for brilliant scenes of battle in which the deeds of the Israelites are juxtaposed with those of the infidel. In the scenes of Judas attacking Alema and Dathema and Judas's battle with Nicanor, the imagery highlights the dramatic moments of battle in which Judas routs his enemy (figs. 4–5). The imagery on the second register almost certainly concluded with Judas's death and burial.³⁵

The theme of holy war continued in the imagery from 2 Kings on the third and fourth registers. Unfortunately nothing was copied on the north wall and only a single, now unidentifiable scene on the east wall, meaning that the content of these areas cannot be known for certain.³⁶ 2 Kings is a story of wicked rulers being punished by God for their destruction of the kingdoms of Israel and Judah, the final sacking of Jerusalem, the destruction of the Temple, and the beginning of the Babylonian captivity. The evidence for the imagery on the third register begins on the south wall illustrating 2 Kings 1 (fig. 6). The context for this imagery is the warfare between Moab and the kings of Judah, Israel, and Edom. In the midst of the warfare between Ochozias, king of Judah, and Moab, Ochozias becomes wounded and sends his soldiers to the pagan idol Beelzebub to ask if he will recover. For his infidelity, Ochozias gets warned of his imminent death by the prophet Elias. The imagery in figure 6 represents the next moment in the narrative in which Ochozias retaliated against Elias and sends three groups of soldiers who perish by God's will for their disrespect of the prophet. The bodies of the faithless soldiers are piled in a heap, while the pious soldiers kneeling in the centre are shown to gain God's favor. The next two scenes are on the western half of the south wall and they represent the Miracles of Elisha (2 Kings 4.38–5.27) and the Famine in Samaria (2 Kings 6.19–7.20) (figs. 7–8). In themselves these last two are

³⁴ Binski (n. 2 above) 115–116, fig. 2 no. 10.

³⁵ On the traditions of Judas's burial, see J. R. Smeets, "Le Tombeau de Judas Macchabee dans *La Chevalerie* de Gauthier de Belleperche: Science-Fiction au XIIe/XIIIe siècle," *Perspectives Médiévales* 17 (1991) 73–93.

³⁶ Binski (n. 2 above) 123, cat. no. 27.

not overtly martial, and they appear to run counter to the Friar's description of "all the war-like stories" of the Bible.³⁷ However, it is significant to place these images in their appropriate narrative context: in the preceding six meters of blank space on this register it is all but certain that the imagery represented the intervening narratives from 2 Kings, including the death of Elias and the battle between the kings of Judah, Israel, and Edom against Moab.

On the fourth register down the spiraling narratives that wrapped around the north, east and south walls appear to have halted in favor of shorter narrative sequences. Continuing the series of images from 2 Kings on the south wall, on the west side of the window the imagery recounts the effects of holy warfare with its account of the tribulations of the Israelites under the tyrannical rulers Sennacherib and Nebuchadnezzar (2 Kings 18–25) in which the pagan oppressors of Israel are shown to be defeated by the Israelites. In the first extant scene from this sequence, Hezekiah has destroyed the pagan idols and reestablished Jewish law (fig. 9a). Next, Rabshakeh and the soldiers of Sennacherib, king of the Assyrians, come to Jerusalem to convince the Israelites to deny Jewish law and pledge allegiance to him. Within the battlemented setting to the right, the words of Rabshakeh are being recounted to Hezekiah, and below, the kneeling figure just visible in the basement section represents Hezekiah in prayer in the temple; to the right, Hezekiah's servants report the Assyrian threat to Isaiah (2 Kings 19.2). Although the scene is damaged, it clearly represents Hezekiah, shown again in prayer in illustration of 2 Kings 19.14–19. Next, the Lord intervenes and speaks to Isaiah through a floating wisp of cloud, and in response to Hezekiah's prayer, Sennacherib's camp is destroyed by a graceful sword-wielding angel that hovers above a series of tents having slain the 185,000 Assyrians (2 Kings 19.35), and Sennacherib is murdered in the temple, a fitting end for an enemy of Israel (fig. 9b).

Imagery from 2 Kings continued immediately below on the fourth register of the south wall. Here, the imagery begins with King Nebuchadnezzar's conquest of Jerusalem under the reign of Joachin, king of Judah, from 2 Kings 24.10–17 (fig. 10). Featuring the narratives of 2 Kings 17, the imagery illustrates the Israelites bound by Babylonian soldiers, the spoliation and theft of the sacred vessels from the Temple, Joachin in supplication to Nebuchadnezzar, and the expulsion of the king and his wife from Jerusalem. Jumping ahead to 2 Kings 25, the next imagery recounts Nebuchadnezzar's siege of Jerusalem in the ninth year of his reign (fig. 11). This imagery is essentially a continuation of its predecessor, featuring Nebuchadnezzar's second assault on the Temple of Jerusalem, his theft of the sacred vessels from the Temple, and his expulsion of the Jews who are shown with their hands bound. Notably, this imagery cannot be paralleled in any of the possible French exemplars: the imagery in the Bibles Moralises contracts at this point, and the narratives in the stained glass in the Sainte Chapelle similarly present a highly abbreviated account of these scenes. As I shall suggest below, the reason for providing an expanded cycle of this imagery appears to have been their focus on the themes of idol worship and the loss of the Holy Land.

East of the images from 2 Kings on the third register of the south wall was a single

³⁷ As noted by Kauffmann (n. 4 above) 204; and Binski (n. 2 above) 86.

scene from the Book of Judges, illustrating the deeds of the wicked king Abimelech (fig. 12). At the left of the scene, the king slaughters his seventy brothers (Judges 9.5); Joatham gestured toward the trees (Judges 9.7–15), and the collection of heads, a single mail-clad foot, and an elegant polygonal castle which is being set to light must have represented Abimelech setting fire to the Shechem (Judges 9.49). Finally, Abimech's skull is crushed by a millstone thrown from a tower by a Theban woman, and Abimelech is then killed by a soldier. Because imagery from 2 Kings began on the other side of this window, it is clear that whatever other imagery from Judges may have existed terminated at this point. In the absence of evidence for the north and east walls, it is not clear whether the imagery derived from 2 Kings 8–17 appeared on the north wall, or whether it was deliberately omitted.

For reasons that are no longer clear, the narratives on the fifth register down return to the story of the Maccabees. Like the biblical text from which it derives, the imagery from 2 Maccabees was not a continuation of the previous narratives, but rather an expansion of them. The evidence begins in the middle of the south wall with imagery from 2 Maccabees 6. That the evidence comes from a point in the middle of the narrative means it is possible, and perhaps even likely, that the fifth register down originally featured imagery from 2 Maccabees along the north and east walls, and thus would have had an extensive cycle detailing the suffering of the Jews under the wicked king Antiochus. The evidence for the imagery begins in 2 Maccabees 6.18 and continues into the torture of the Maccabean Martyrs in 2 Maccabees 7.1–40 (fig. 13): Eleazar kneels with bound hands having refused to eat pork against Jewish law, the Jews are being boiled in a cauldron while Antiochus's men stir the pot, and Antiochus orders the torture of the seven sons who, rather than eat pork, submit to torture and death. The final copied scene represents the fall of Antiochus (2 Maccabees 9) (fig. 14). Because this scene appeared immediately after the former scene, it suggests that the rise of Judas Maccabeus against Antiochus in 2 Maccabees 8 was omitted altogether in order to give further emphasis to the suffering of the Jews. In following a pattern established elsewhere in the imagery in the Painted Chamber, the wicked king Antiochus is punished in death for his tyrannical rule over the chosen people.

Despite substantial losses, it seems clear that the imagery in the Painted Chamber was selected to provide an extensive pictorial exegesis on the theme of holy warfare between the Israelites and their pagan oppressors. Scholars have been frustrated in their attempt to locate the imagery in the Painted Chamber within either scriptural or visual traditions. The range of imagery, however, can be succinctly located within the visual and textual propaganda of the crusade in which holy warfare served as the central premise.³⁸ Indeed, the range of Old Testament narratives conform precisely to the most commonly evoked Old Testament narratives in sermons, literature, and other forms of propaganda used to create typological parallels with the contemporary experience of crusaders: the fight of the Maccabees against the enemies of Israel and the stories of the conquest of the Holy Land.³⁹ Throughout the period of the crusades,

³⁸ See in general, H. E. J. Cowdry, "The Genesis of the Crusades: The Springs of Western Ideas of Holy War," *The Holy War*, ed. T. P. Murphy (Columbus, OH 1976) 9–32.

³⁹ C. Maier, *Crusade Propaganda and Ideology: Model Sermons for the Preaching of the Cross* (Cambridge 2000) esp. 55.

writers, sermonists, preachers and propagandists rifled the Old Testament for images of holy warfare, drawing particularly on the books of Maccabees, Kings, and Judges.

A specific connection between the holy wars of the Old Testament and contemporary crusade is provided in the textual notation. In the imagery from 2 Kings 25, for example, the Israelites are referred to in an abbreviated text as *le gens de ierl'm* as they are led out of the Temple; this text can be juxtaposed with the imagery of 2 Kings 18 in which Sennacherib's commander addresses his troops, who are identified as Arabians rather than the textually faithful title of Assyrians. In various texts relevant to the crusade, Arabians, pagans, and sarrazins were derogatory labels employed to vilify the contemporary Muslim inhabitants of the Holy Land. For example, in a famous letter by Peter the Venerable, he begins by making a typological connection between the modern crusade and the wars of the Old Testament, and continues to state that the Christian king will attack the nefarious *Arabes*.⁴⁰ This is the only extant example of such notation in the murals, although it is certainly possible that this occurred in sections now lost. As we have seen, this strategy of using notation in Old Testament cycles to create allusions to the crusade had a number of precedents in the cycles of Louis IX, thus strengthening the connection between the imagery and ideology of two crusader courts.

IDOLATERS AND DESTROYERS OF SACRED SITES

If holy warfare was the central theme of the imagery as it is known, we can identify two recurring sub-themes within the visualization of the battles of the Israelites against their pagan oppressors that further link the murals with contemporary ideologies of the crusade. As Anne Derbes has demonstrated, intrinsic to the Western construction of Muslims in crusader propaganda—both textual and visual—were two interrelated *topoi*: first, the accusation that Muslims were idolaters who had replaced Christian practices with idol worship, and second, that they were responsible for the destruction and spoliation of the sacred Jewish sites in the Holy Land.⁴¹ The slanted nature of the Old Testament imagery in the Painted Chamber leaves little doubt that it was employed to serve a specific ideological agenda. As though evoking the Song of Roland's dictum, "The pagans are wrong, the Christians are right," the images warp Old Testament history into a commentary on the contemporary desecration of Christianity in the contemporary Holy Land.

Throughout the books of the Old Testament represented in the Painted Chamber, the construction and destruction of idols serve as specific signs/visual indicators of religious regime change: the creation of idols signify the establishment of paganism, and their demise, the reassertion of Jewish law. Although it seems clear that idolatry appeared in several places now lost (as in the top register derived from 1 Maccabees), it will do to focus on the extant examples. In the imagery from 2 Maccabees (fig. 13), once Antiochus suppressed the Israelites, he halted Jewish observances and con-

⁴⁰ *The Letters of Peter the Venerable*, ed. G. Constable, 2 vols. (Cambridge 1967) 1.327–330. "Arabia" was used as a general label for all of the non-Christian land east of the river Jordan; J. Shirley, *Crusader Syria in the Thirteenth Century: The Rothelin Continuation of the History of William of Tyre* (Aldershot 1999) 30.

⁴¹ A. Derbes, "Crusading Ideology and the Frescoes of S. Maria in Cosmedin," *Art Bulletin* 77 (1995) 461–478; and "A Crusading Fresco at the Cathedral of Le Puy," *Art Bulletin* 73 (1991) 561–576.

structed the idol of Jupiter Olympius, which he is shown to be worshipping on the right. As one scholar aptly commented, “the idol [Jupiter Olympus] has large, staring eyes and is dressed in a shaggy loincloth like a devil.”⁴² The evils of idolatry are also expressed through the story of Elijah and Aziah in 2 Kings (fig. 6). In the midst of the battle between Moab and the Israelites, Ochozias sends his soldiers to the idol Beelzebub to seek advice (shown in silhouette at the left). In retribution for their faithlessness for appealing to a pagan idol, God punishes the soldiers: having consulted the idol, the wicked soldiers are shown lying dead in a heap, while the pious soldiers kneel in supplication to Elijah and are saved. Elsewhere in the imagery from 2 Kings (fig. 9a), the destruction of idols by the Israelites is shown, in which Hezekiah reestablishes Jewish law and casts down the pagan idols in the Temple, which are shown falling in fragments to the ground. In all of these images, the enemies of Israel serve free-standing idols. As Michael Camille has shown, the freestanding sculpture was widely condemned in medieval Christian art, since it referencing the vices of idolatry and paganism.⁴³ Idol worship also featured in many of the French cycles to which the Painted Chamber is closely related. In the Isaiah window in the Sainte-Chapelle, for example, two Muslim figures are represented in the act of worshipping an idol labeled *ma-homata*, thus making a clear allusion to the contemporary infidel.⁴⁴ A second example is provided by an image in the Vienna Bible Moralisée (Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, Vienna, MS 2554, fol. 36) (fig. 15) featuring the battle between the Israelites and the Philistines in which the latter have stolen the Ark of the Covenant. The moralizing text reads: “Here the Saracens (*Sarrazin*) come and take the ark that they had conquered, and put it in their mosque (*mohammerie*) beside one of their idols named Dagon.” The moralization follows: “That the Saracens placed the Holy Ark beside one their idols signifies the devils who stole the holy church, and placed it beside one of their masters named Beelzebub.”⁴⁵ Here as elsewhere in gothic art, idol worship serves as an index to separate the sanctified character of Christian worship from that of all pagan outsiders.

Closely related to the accusation that the enemies of the faith were idolaters, was the view that contemporary Muslims were responsible for the destruction of the Holy Sites of Jerusalem, a claim that was made with frequency since the first crusade.⁴⁶ Chroniclers emphasized the assault on Christianity’s most venerated sites by the Muslim occupants of the Holy Land, particularly the Temple of Jerusalem and the Holy Sepulcher, and considered these assaults to be particular affronts to the spiritual and historical geography of Christendom. The Temple of Jerusalem appears three times in the copies made from the Painted Chamber, but our understanding of the lost imagery indicates that it is likely featured in a number of other places, such as the lost Maccabees narratives on the top register. The imagery from 2 Kings provides two dramatic

⁴² The appearance of imagery featuring “anti-idolatry” in the Painted Chamber and in the related French Cycles was also noted by Camille (n. 9 above) 172, 376 n. 11.

⁴³ Ibid.

⁴⁴ Weiss (n. 20 above) 48; Jordan (n. 21 above) 24.

⁴⁵ Strickland (n. 19 above) 171.

⁴⁶ P. J. Cole, “‘O God, the heathen have come into your inheritance’ (Ps. 78.1) The Theme of Religious Pollution in Crusade Documents, 1095–1188,” *Crusaders and Muslims in Twelfth-Century Syria*, ed. M. Schatzmiller (Leiden 1993) 84–111.

representations of the assault on the Temple: first, Nebuchadnezzar's soldiers are represented in the act of stealing the sacred vessels from the Temple, and Jehoiachin and his wife—who wear crowns and contemporary dress—are expelled from Jerusalem at sword point (fig. 10). The Temple is again sacked in 2 Kings 25: referred to as *le temple de ierl'm*, the Temple is robbed of its sacred vessels by armed soldiers who carry them in chests and sacks, and the Israelites (*le gens de ierl'm*) with downcast eyes and bound hands are driven from Jerusalem by a soldier while another torments them with a flail (fig. 11). The Temple had obvious relevance to the crusade, and its recapture was perceived to be a central goal to the contemporary crusading effort. For these reasons it is not surprising that the Temple was a central motif of the visual culture of crusading cultures.⁴⁷ In the Painted Chamber, the domical, micro-architectural structure was clearly meant to represent the Dome of the Rock in Jerusalem. Although built by Muslims in the seventh century, it was believed throughout the period of the crusades to have served as the setting of Christ's Presentation, and more distantly, to have been built by David and Solomon. In the Painted Chamber the Temple was represented as a curious hybrid of contemporary French Rayonnant and Islamic architecture, the latter indicated particularly by the employment of an exotic, conical dome, otherwise unprecedented in northern European medieval buildings.⁴⁸ This exotic use of Eastern architectural features in this scene is underlined by the addition of a herd of camels, a feature all but unknown in English art, with the notable exception of Matthew Paris's ca. 1250 map of Jerusalem in the *Chronica Majora*, in which a camel serves to signify "Easternness."⁴⁹

Propagandists frequently drew parallels between the assault on holy places in the Old Testament and the contemporary occupation of these sites by Muslims in order to justify the need for military action in the Holy Land. For example, Henry of Albano referenced Old Testament precedent in citing the Maccabean revolt against Antiochus to emphasize the remarkable grief suffered by the Maccabees when the Temple was profaned. He underlines how poignantly the Israelites experienced grief and asks how much more ought Christians to grieve since they "walk in the New Spirit" of the Israelites. Elsewhere Nebuchadnezzar's destruction of the Temple was used more generally to inspire crusaders to anger as an example of the desecration of the holy sites.⁵⁰

⁴⁷ For discussion of the representations of the Temple of Jerusalem in medieval and Renaissance art (where the Painted Chamber is not mentioned), see R. H. Krinsky, "Representations of the Temple of Jerusalem before 1500," *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes* 33 (1970) 1–19. For the significance of the Temple and the Holy Sepulcher in crusader art, see D. Weiss, "*HIC EST DOMUS DOMINI FIRMITER EDIFICATA*: the image of the Temple in Crusader Art" and J. Alexander, "'Jerusalem the Golden': Image and Myth in the Middle Ages and Western Europe," both in *The Real and Ideal Jerusalem in Jewish, Christian, and Islamic Art: Studies in Honor of Bezalel Narkiss*, ed. B. Kühnel (Jerusalem 1998) 210–217; A. Heyman, "The Representation of the Holy Sepulcher in Auvergnat Romanesque Sculpture: A Reflection of Crusader Patrons?" *Autour de la Première Croisade: Actes du Colloque de la Society for the Study of the Crusades in the Latin East*, ed. M. Balard (Paris 1996) 633–642; and Camille (n. 9 above) 135–141.

⁴⁸ It is unlikely that this image was informed by direct association, but rather by a literary description such as that of Niccolo of Poggibonsi who opined, "The Templum Domini is very beautiful exteriorly, and appears a marvel, with a round dome like a hat." Niccolo of Poggibonsi, *A Voyage Beyond the Sea (1346–1350)*, trans. T. Bellorini (Jerusalem 1993) 46–47.

⁴⁹ Alexander (n. 47 above) fig. 2, 256, "Matthew Paris' staffage, the inclusion of a camel for example, is there to emphasize that this is alien territory."

⁵⁰ Cole (n. 26 above) 69.

As in texts, so in images: during the Third Crusade, Conrad of Montferrat (ca. 1146–1192) distributed a painted placard showing a Muslim knight on horseback who was trampling and urinating upon revered sites in Jerusalem; this picture was carried by priests throughout the markets to reinforce the injury done by Muslim occupation of the Holy Land.⁵¹ This context allows us to understand the particular ideological coloring of the images in the Painted Chamber: the focus on idol worship and the destruction of holy sites must have been interpreted as assaults on the holy sites of Christianity both in the Old Testament and in the present day.

In viewing the imagery typologically, we cannot divorce content from style. Throughout the Painted Chamber, there was no attempt to backdate the style of the biblical narratives in accord with a perceived Old Testament past.⁵² On the contrary, like our modern versions of Shakespearian tragedies in cinema, the narratives were translated into a decisively contemporary pictorial language.⁵³ This is evident in the fashions of the figures which sport the armor of contemporary thirteenth-century knights. In the battle scenes from I Maccabees (figs. 4–5), for example, the use of lances and shields reflects contemporary practice in the tilt yard. The armor of the knights and their use of heraldry also reflects contemporary practice: in the representation of 2 Kings 1.1–15, a group of Israelites, who kneel piously before the rebuking figure of Elijah, are dressed in contemporary armor with blazons featuring an abbreviated charge of England, while in the representations of the death of Judas, the most prominent of a series of charging knights is dressed in an elegant surcot emblazoned with the fleur de lys—referring perhaps to a contemporary French crusader. Similarly, as Jean Bony first noticed, the micro-architectural settings that punctuate the narratives clearly reflect recent building within the King's Works and particularly the work of the architect Michael of Canterbury (figs. 10–12).⁵⁴ As an account of Old Testament history, the Painted Chamber spoke in fashionable courtly French, not ancient Hebrew. This aspect of the Painted Chamber recalls what Roland Barthes labeled “the reality effect,”⁵⁵ by which apparently incongruous elements are added into a composition with the intention to heighten its verisimilitude, thus linking aspects of the narratives to the present. Such references serve to fracture the historicity of the narratives, thus bringing the historical sense forward through time and space to stand as an allegory of contemporary events.

⁵¹ C. Morris, “Picturing the Crusades: The Uses of Visual Propaganda,” *The Crusades and their Sources: Essays Presented to Bernard Hamilton*, ed. J. France and W.G. Zajac (Aldershot 1998) 197.

⁵² For deliberate attempts at archaism and forgery in the period, see G. Constable, “Forgery and Plagiarism in the Middle Ages,” *Culture and Spirituality in Medieval Europe* (Aldershot 1996) 1–41; and M. Caviness, “‘De convenientia et cohaerentia antike et novi operis’: Medieval Conservation, Restoration and Forgery,” in her *Art in the Medieval West and its Audience* (Aldershot 2001) 205–221.

⁵³ Similar claims have been made for the French Old Testament cycles to which the Painted Chamber is related. See for example Weiss (n. 23 above).

⁵⁴ Binski (n. 2 above), 74.

⁵⁵ R. Barthes, “The Reality Effect,” *The Rustle of Language*, trans. R. Howard (California 1986) 41–48.

JUDAS MACCABEUS AS EXEMPLAR

Understanding the crusading context of the Painted Chamber helps to explain one of the central problems confronted but not resolved in the historiography: why a major amount of wall space was devoted to the life and deeds of Judas Maccabeus, a figure who featured only occasionally in biblical iconography. When complete, the murals contained 140–160 out of a total 244 linear meters of wall surface depicting imagery from Maccabees 1 and 2,⁵⁶ and, because the height of the registers contracted as they descended downward, the top registers were also the tallest and had the greatest visual impact. Also, our present knowledge suggests that these registers were the only ones in the Painted Chamber that employed a continuous narrative that spiraled around the room on one level and continued again onto the next register down, thus allowing for the fullest development of any of the narratives. While Maccabean imagery did enjoy a history in early medieval and Romanesque art, there is no precedent for the comprehensive cycle in a secular setting represented at Westminster.⁵⁷ In contextualizing the Maccabees cycle, Binski and Prestwich pointed to Judas's role as a hero of romance, whose apotheosis was completed with his entry into Jean of Languyon's *Voeux du Paon* of 1311 as one of the Nine Worthies, thus post-dating the completion of the murals.⁵⁸ A romantic character Judas may have been, but this does not explain why such a full cycle of his life and deeds graced one of England's greatest rooms of state in the 1290's.

The solution to this problem, I believe, lies within the expansive textual context in literature and crusader propaganda in which Judas Maccabeus and the Maccabees are represented as archetypal crusaders. Recent studies have confirmed that the Maccabees were the most frequently evoked Old Testament foil to the contemporary crusading enterprise from the time of the first crusade onward.⁵⁹ The Maccabees had long

⁵⁶ This measurement accounts for imagery on the first two registers (114m), and the imagery on the fifth register, which was likely filled with Maccabean imagery on its north and east walls. If, as is suggested above, the fifth register on the north wall featured imagery from 2 Maccabees, the overall surface area would have exceeded 160m.

⁵⁷ For a survey of the history of Maccabean imagery in early medieval art, see R. L. McGrath, *The Romance of the Maccabees in Medieval Art and Literature* (Ph.D. diss., Princeton 1963) 89–148; and Binski (n. 2 above) 93–95. Imagery from the Maccabees gained some popularity in art produced for the court of Louis IX, such as the frontispiece for the Arsenal Old Testament, and in the Moralized Bibles, but neither source anticipates the complete treatment in the Painted Chamber. The closest possible precedent to my knowledge is a lost series of paintings, probably from Worcester cathedral priory, now known only from a 12th- or 13th-c. transcript of the former *tituli* in Cambridge, Clare College Kk.5.6, published by M. R. James, "On Two Series of Painting Formerly at Worcester Priory," *Proceedings of the Cambridge Antiquarian Society* 10 (1900–1901) 110–115. The original date and context of this cycle is unknown, but, contrary to James (p. 115), I see no reason why these paintings could not have appeared in the context of the Romanesque monastery rather than a secular setting.

⁵⁸ Binski (n. 2 above) 94–95; and Prestwich (n. 11 above) 119. The standard work on the Nine Worthies is H. Schroeder, *Der Topos der Nine Worthies in Literature und Bildender Kunst* (Göttingen 1971).

⁵⁹ This point has been made repeatedly in recent studies of crusader propaganda; see Cole (n. 26 above) 23–24, 28–33; Maier (n. 39 above) 55ff; Green, *Millstatter Exodus* (n. 25 above) 219–223. Maccabean imagery also featured in contemporary French crusading propaganda; see L. Le Clerq, "Un sermon prononcé pendant la guerre de Flandre sous Philippe le Bel," *Revue du Moyen Age Latin* 1 (1945) 165–172. On the tradition of Maccabean imagery in the high Middle Ages, where crusading influence is also stressed, see McGrath (n. 57 above) 19–32, 179–238. For an excellent account of the use of the Maccabees in medieval crusading cultures, see N. Morton, *The Use of Maccabees Imagery in Crusading Literature* (M.A. thesis, University of London 2004). I am grateful to Nicholas Morton for fruitful conversations on this subject.

served as exemplars of general Christian military conduct in the tenth and eleventh centuries,⁶⁰ but the twelfth and thirteenth centuries saw the transformation of the deeds of Judas and his brethren into exemplary crusaders. As soldiers who drew their strength from God against a spiritual and ideological enemy, and were distinguished by a tradition of religious devotion and asceticism, the conduct of the Maccabees was remarkably akin to the crusader cultures of the thirteenth century, in which the physical warfare of the crusade and the reform of the church were a unified struggle of the church militant against the infidel.⁶¹ In the crusading propaganda of Pope Innocent III (1198–1216), for example, he compared crusaders to “the new Maccabites, who for their father’s laws and for the Holy City wage holy warfare, and although they may think themselves conquered, they ascend as victors to win an unspeakable glory which the King of Glory has prepared for his soldiers.”⁶² When in the thirteenth century Jacques de Vitry sought exemplars for the first crusaders, he turned to the Maccabees: “With what power and grandeur ... the soldiers bore themselves like a second race of Maccabees!”⁶³ Around 1260, the crusader propagandist to Louis IX, Eudes of Chateauroux, based a sermon on Maccabees 2.15, advising crusaders to “take the holy sword from God ... to defeat the opponents of Israel.”⁶⁴ As Judas Maccabeus was employed as an exemplar for the contemporary crusader, so were his foes used as anti-exemplars: Nicanor, for example, was used as a predecessor to the enemies of all modern Christians.⁶⁵ As significant to the culture of Edward I’s court, Judas’s transformation from martial exemplar into paragon crusader was advanced with his entry into the canon of romance heroes in the crusade romance *Roman de Judas Machabee*, written by Gautier de Belleperche in the third quarter of the thirteenth century.⁶⁶ Belleperche employed the Old Testament narrative as an allegory for the crusade, in which Judas frees the Holy Land from “Li Sarrazin.” The author is clear

⁶⁰ On the use of the Maccabees before the first crusade, see especially J. Dunbabin, “The Maccabees as Exemplars in the Tenth and Eleventh Centuries,” *The Bible in the Medieval World: Essays in Memory of Beryl Smalley*, ed. K. Walsh and D. Wood, Studies in Church History Subsidia 4 (Oxford 1985) 31–41; and H. Keller, “Machabaeorum Pugnae: Zum Stellenwert eines biblischen Vorbilds in Widukinds Dentung der ottonischen Königsherrschaft,” in H. Keller and N. Staubach, eds., *Iconologia Sacra* (Berlin 1994) 417–437.

⁶¹ For a general discussion, see M. Keen, *Chivalry* (New Haven and London 1984) esp. 44–63.

⁶² J. Gilchrist, “The Lord’s War as the Proving Ground of Faith: Pope Innocent III and the Propagation of Violence (1198–1216),” *Crusaders and Muslims in Twelfth-Century Syria*, ed. M. Shatzmiller (Leiden 1993) 74–75 n. 47. Subsequent popes intent on advancing the crusade also compared would-be crusaders to the Maccabees: Honorius III designated the knights of the Temple “novi sub tempore gratiae Machabei”; K. Helm and W. Zeisemer, *Die Literatur des Deutschen Ritterordens* (Giessen 1951) 97. On Innocent IV, see U. Schwerin, *Die Aufrufe de Päpste zue Befreiung Landes von den Anfängen bis zum Ausganf Innocenz IV* (Berlin 1937) 60.

⁶³ Jacques de Vitry, “The History of Jerusalem,” trans. A. Stewart, *Palestine Pilgrim Text Society*, 13 vols. (London 1890–1897) 11.7.

⁶⁴ Elsewhere, in emphasizing the injury felt by all Christians due to the Saracen occupation of the Holy Land, Eudes again evokes the Maccabees, this time citing Mattathias’s speech in Maccabees 1.25, in which he regrets being born to witness the ruin of Jerusalem; Maier (n. 39 above) 144, 140.

⁶⁵ *Ibid.* 41, 145.

⁶⁶ Maccabean imagery had already pervaded romance: in *Pervesvaus* Gawain bore the fabled shield of Judas Maccabeus; W. Nitze, ed., *le Haut Livre de Graal: Prevesvaus*, 2 vols. (Chicago 1932–1937). See also G. J. Brault, *Early Blazon: Heraldic Terminology in the Twelfth and Thirteenth Centuries with Special Reference to Arthurian Literature* (Oxford 1972) 42. For a survey of the appearance of Judas Maccabeus in early romance literature prior to his appearance as one of the Nine Worthies, see D. A. Trotter, “Judas Maccabeus, Charlemagne and the Oriflamme,” *Medium Aevum* 54 (1985) 127–131.

that his intention in writing the *Roman* was to spur his readers to reconquer the Holy Land “in imitatione Machabaeorum.”⁶⁷ The sheer weight of evidence suggests that for thirteenth-century viewers, the deeds of Judas Maccabeus in the Old Testament were inseparable from his role as an exemplary crusader.

There is strong evidence to suggest that the heroic depiction of Judas Maccabeus-as-crusader in the Painted Chamber was intended to serve as an analogue for Edward I. This derives from the account left by the Irish Friars who stopped at Westminster en route to the Holy Land. After noting his burial place in the Abbey, the narrator then recounts that Edward had accompanied Louis IX “ad terram Saracenorum”: in describing the kings, Symon calls Louis *Francorum Rex Christianissimus* in evocation of his title as the “most Christian king,” and Edward the *Machabeissimus Anglorum Rex*, the most Maccabean king of the English. We cannot be certain exactly what led Symon to compare Edward to Judas. Symon was, presumably, privy to the full range of imagery in the Painted Chamber, and may have been commenting upon scenes or texts now lost that directly compared Edward to Judas Maccabeus, or, more speculatively, that referred to aspects of the joint crusade of Louis and Edward.⁶⁸ Or, as his comment follows the mention of Edward’s tomb at Westminster, it is possible that Edward’s tomb bore a painted inscription or epitaph relating him to Judas Maccabeus, as the tomb of Edward III (also a potential crusader) was to do later in the fourteenth century.⁶⁹ If this is the case, it is possible that the Maccabean references at Westminster were continuing an older tradition of comparing crusaders to the Maccabees in funerary epitaphs: so much is suggested by the inscription on the tomb of the twelfth-century crusading King Baldwin of Flanders, whose tomb in Jerusalem bore the inscription *HIC EST BALDUWINUS ALTER MACHABEUS*.⁷⁰

Whatever the specific source, it seems clear that Symon’s typological identification was informed by a feature of Edward’s projected self-image, in which Edward’s crusading exploits were compared to those of Judas Maccabeus. In *Li Rossignol*, a poem written for Edward’s mother, Eleanor of Provence, between 1272–1291, the poet John of Howden compared Edward to Judas in the context of a long string of crusading he-

⁶⁷ McGrath (n. 57 above) 19.

“La cites qui les autres passé
Tout autresi com li topase
Sormonte les pieres menus.
N’a il crestien sous les nees
Qui ne le deuist bien requerre
Et aider son nom a conquerre.”

⁶⁸ See n. 1 above. For a contemporary comparison, see D. A. Trotter, *Medieval French Literature and the Crusades (1100–1300)* (Geneva 1988) 215, and chap. 1, n. 49.

⁶⁹ As noted by P. Binski and J. Blair, “The Tomb of Edward I and early London Brass Production,” *Transactions of the Monumental Brass Society* 14.3 (1988) 234–240, esp. 235. The 16th-c. painted inscription on Edward’s tomb (which very possibly follows a 14th-c. original) reads *Edwardus primus Scottorum malleus hic est 1308 pactum serva*. Referred to here as the “hammer of the Scots,” this was probably intended to allude to Judas’s reputation as the “hammer of the Saracens.” This connection is underscored by the etymology: the Hebrew *Maccabe* translates to *hammer*, an observation that may be understood within the broader contexts of the Hebrew inscriptions on the walls of the Painted Chamber; Binski (n. 7 above) 197–198.

⁷⁰ *Peregrinationes Tres*, ed. R. B. C. Huygens, CCCM 139 (Turnhout 1994) lines 365–370. For literary references to the tomb of Judas Maccabeus, see Smeets (n. 35 above).

roes including Charlemagne, Robert Curthose, and Louis IX.⁷¹ The deeds of Judas Maccabeus were specifically evoked in Pierre Dubois' *The Recovery of the Holy Land*, a compilation of two letters written to Edward I and Philip the Fair between 1305–1307, urging them to continue their crusading activities and to free Palestine from Muslim hands. In the letter to Edward “the events of the wars of that excellent soldier Judas Maccabeus, and his brothers” are twice cited as models of exemplary crusading.⁷² As in life, so in death: Michael Prestwich has drawn attention to the use of Maccabean imagery in Edward's funeral orations.⁷³ Whether Symon drew his comparison between Edward and Judas from the murals themselves or from a feature of Edward's own propaganda, it seems clear that in his mind at least, the exploits of Judas Maccabeus were intimately reflective of Edward's own character as king of England and crusader. In employing Judas Maccabeus as a crusading exemplar, Edward was in fact following an established precedent among crusading kings including Richard I, Baldwin I and Raymond of Antioch who also evoked Judas as an exemplary predecessor.⁷⁴

In understanding Edward's manipulation of Old Testament, and particularly Maccabean precedent, it is significant to underline the fact that his political imagery was multiple: throughout his reign he employed a variety of conceits, whether Arthurian, biblical, or historical, each being relevant to particular claims made about his rule or royal prerogatives. In his conquest of Scotland, for example, Edward was compared favorably to an ancient royal ancestor, King Arthur, for his ability to create one realm out of two.⁷⁵ Elsewhere, Solomon was evoked as an Old Testament model of wise judgment and judicious rulership.⁷⁶ Edward's allusions to Judas Maccabeus were equally specific, being evoked only within the contexts of his prowess as a crusader.

THE HISTORICAL MOMENT

Edward's repainting of the Painted Chamber in April 1292 must be understood within

⁷¹ The text of *Li Rossignol* is now Corpus Christi College, Cambridge MS 471. The fullest study is A. Lawson King, *A Critical Edition of Li Rossignos by John of Howden* (M.Phil. Thesis, University of Cambridge 1984). See also L. W. Stone, “Jean de Howden: Poete Anglo-Normande du XIIIe Siècle,” *Romania* 69 (1946–1947) 496–519; and N. Wilkins, *Catalogue des Manuscrits Français de la Bibliothèque Parker* (Cambridge 1993) 146–148.

⁷² Pierre Dubois, *The Recovery of the Holy Land*, trans. W. I. Brandt (New York 1956) 88–89, 160–161.

⁷³ Prestwich (n. 11 above) 558; but see D. D'Avray, *Death and the Prince: Memorial Preaching before 1350* (Oxford 1994) 195–196 n. 39.

⁷⁴ The author of the *Itinerarium Peregrinorum*, for example, compared Richard I to Judas Maccabaeus in highly chivalric terms, describing his “sword flashing like lightning he charged into the Turks throwing them to the ground to the right and left in no time at all just as the Philistines once fled before Maccabaeus.” *Itinerarium Peregrinorum et Gesta Regis Ricardi*, in *Chronicle of the Third Crusade*, trans. Helen J. Nicolson, *Crusade Texts in Translation* 3 (Aldershot 1997) 238. Royal use of Maccabean imagery in a crusading context has been discussed in greater depth in Morton (n. 59 above).

⁷⁵ The classic (if overstated) paper on Edward's Arthurian interests is R. S. Loomis, “Edward I, Arthurian Enthusiast,” *Speculum* 28 (1953) 114–127; but note the judicious remarks of Prestwich (n. 11 above) xvi. For Edward's conquest of Scotland and its Arthurian associations, see *ibid.* 356; and Binski (n. 7 above) 135–139.

⁷⁶ A. Bennett, “The Windmill Psalter: the historiated letter E of Psalm one,” *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes* 43 (1980) 52–67.

the context of active planning for a second crusade in the late 1280s and 1290s.⁷⁷ Edward took the cross for a second time in 1287, and he made a series of gifts to his courtiers who had likewise committed to the future crusade.⁷⁸ The death of Pope Honorius IV slowed preparations for crusade by at least two years, but by 1289 Edward had sent an embassy headed by the crusader Otto de Grandison to Pope Nicholas IV to conduct the necessary negotiations for a new crusade. Nicholas set the date for departure at June 1292, but Edward pushed the date ahead to June 1293 in order to receive adequate revenue from papal taxation for the crusade. Preparations were set and Edward accordingly received a series of bulls indicating Nicholas's pleasure in Edward's commitment to resume the crusade.

In deciding to return to the Holy Land in June 1293, neither Nicholas IV nor Edward I could have anticipated the fall of Acre in 1291. The news of the loss of the last outpost of Western rule in the East reached England later that year, and sent shockwaves throughout the Christian world. In retaliation, the months and years following saw the production of a flood of crusading literature including requests for support and advice for recovering the Holy Land.⁷⁹ Upon receiving news of the loss of Acre in August 1291, Nicholas forwarded reissues of the bulls and instructed the prelates of England to summon a council to consider how best to aid the Holy Land. The loss of Acre seems to have quickened Edward's desire to move East. In June 1292, two months after resuming work on the Painted Chamber, he declared his intentions to the kings of Hungary and Norway, and sent an ambassador to the Il-Khan of Persia to make an alliance for a future crusade. The loss of Acre added new fuel to the fire of the anti-Muslim propaganda war that raged across Europe, and can only have heightened Edward's own hatred for the Infidel. In 1292 a letter was circulated to English diocesans supposedly written by the conqueror of Acre, Sultan Khalil announcing his victory at Acre, recounting with relish the killing of Christians and the burning of the corpses, the ample spoils in gold secured by the Sultan, and the transformation of the crusader outpost "into ploughed land and desert." Written for royal eyes (very possibly those of Edward I), the letter then advances with the following threat: "O King, if you will chastise yourself by the issue of this matter, which through us has fallen suddenly and mightily upon the city of Acre, you will be safe. But if you refuse, the same will be said of you as was said of them: you and your land will perish by our sword." As Christopher Tyerman opined, this letter and others like it had "clear propagandistic

⁷⁷ For what follows I am indebted to Prestwich (n. 11 above) 326–335; C. L. Kingsford, "Sir Otho de Grandison 1238–1328," *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society*, 3rd series (1907) 125–195, esp. 134–150; Tyerman, *England and the Crusades* (n. 11 above) chap. 9.

⁷⁸ While in Gascony in 1287 Edward received ambassadors from the Mongolian king Arghon, who hoped to enlist his support for a new crusade to Palestine. This account provides substantial evidence of Edward's zeal for the crusade during these years: "... when they began to speak on the matter of Jerusalem [Edward's] pleasure was increased; and he said, 'We, the kings of these cities, wear a cross upon our bodies, and we have no thought apart from this matter; and my purpose is renewed, since I have heard that what I planned king Arghon also has devised.'" For the full account in translation, see N. McLean, "An Eastern Embassy to Europe in the Years 1287–8," *English Historical Review* 14 (1899) 299–318.

⁷⁹ The impact of the loss of Acre has frequently been discussed. For the most recent study, see S. Schein, "Babylon and Jerusalem: The Fall of Acre 1291–1996," *From Clermont to Jerusalem: The Crusades and Crusader Societies 1095–1500* (Turnhout and New York 1998) 141–150. For the crusader propaganda during and after 1291, see the recent overview by A. Leopold, *How to Recover the Holy Land: The Crusade Proposals of the Late Thirteenth and Early Fourteenth Centuries* (Aldershot 2000).

intent” in their employment of a language of anti-Muslim scaremongering.⁸⁰

This, then, is the context behind which we must understand the imagery in the Painted Chamber. Edward’s redecoration of the Painted Chamber in 1292 with Old Testament imagery was, I suggest, a direct response to the planning of the crusade immediately after the fall of Acre, and it provided the clearest sign of Edward’s own resolve to continue the crusade. In his capacity of “the most Maccabean king of the English,” Edward I can be seen as the future conqueror of the Holy Land—an image he fostered in other forms of crusade-oriented propaganda. The images in the Painted Chamber can thus be understood like aspects of the French Old Testament illustration as allegories for contemporary experience. As such, they reflect a fundamental posture toward the past in which the deeds of crusaders are integrated into, and justified by, the deeds of sacred biblical history. Although the tenor of the imagery already fits neatly into our understanding of crusader propaganda, it is certainly possible that the wave of propaganda following the fall of Acre—particularly the Sultan’s letter—helped to inspire the view of terrible suffering reflected in the Painted Chamber.

If my observations on the Painted Chamber prove convincing, then it is significant to note that the redecoration of important rooms of state frequently followed a lord’s declaration to go on crusade. After taking the cross in 1250, Edward’s father Henry III ordered that a series of royal residences be decorated with historical imagery from the crusade. At the Tower of London, Everswell, and at Westminster, Henry ordered imagery from the “History of Antioch,” while at Clarendon, Henry ordered “the story of Antioch and the dual of King Richard.” As Simon Lloyd has shown, the first three scenes must celebrate the deeds of Henry’s royal ancestor Robert Curthose, duke of Normandy during the First Crusade (already a legendary crusader), while the imagery at Clarendon appears to have celebrated the deeds of Curthose and Richard I’s famous battle with Saladin.⁸¹ At least one of these rooms appears to have been based on a French manuscript model of *The Deeds of Antioch* owned by the Templars.⁸² In this context, Curthose and Richard I provided exemplary ancestral images and models for a potential crusading king to follow. In understanding why these murals may have been painted, we must not underestimate the unique rhetorical power of images to manipulate and persuade. Humbert of Romans made this very point: in a chapter entitled “on examples of ancestors, which inspire war against the Saracens,” Humbert advises that examples of the illustrious deeds of previous crusaders be “painted on the walls of the palaces of the nobles, where many are accustomed to gather, in order to stir them to similar deeds.”⁸³ This, I suggest, was the intention of the Painted Chamber murals.

⁸⁰ Tyerman, *England and the Crusades* (n. 11 above) 236, 422 n. 33. The full Latin text is printed in *Registrum Johannis de Pontissora, Episcopi Wyntoniensis*, 9 vols., ed. C. Deeds (London 1913–1924) 481–482; and in Bartholomew Cotton’s *Historia Anglicana*, ed. H. R. Luard, Rolls Series 16 (London 1859) 215–217. Further letters of a similar nature are *ibid.* 217–219, 199–203.

⁸¹ Lloyd (n. 11 above) 199–200.

⁸² Borenius (n. 18 above) 45.

⁸³ Humbert of Romans, *De Predicatione Crucis* (Nuremberg 1495). Penny Cole’s edition of the text is much anticipated. For a convenient reference to the Latin text of this passage, see Derbes, “Crusading Ideology” (n. 41 above) 460 n. 3. See also P. Deschamps, “Combats de cavalerie et épisodes des Croisades dans les peintures murales du XIIe et du XIIIe siècle,” *Orientalia Christiana Periodica* 13 (1947) 454–474; and Morris (n. 51 above) 195–209.

CONCLUSION

All studies of the Painted Chamber end with an apology. The incomplete nature of the evidence means that a full understanding of the imagery is no longer possible. This, however, does not and should not prevent informed speculation on the meanings and contexts of one of Europe's greatest rooms of state. As I have tried to show, the relatively abundant evidence that does exist indicates that Edward's own desires to continue the crusade in the 1290's were the central inspiration for the repainting of the Painted Chamber from 1292. One stumbling block in reaching this conclusion has been the fact that little attention has been paid to the influence of the crusade on English court art, with the lion's share of scholarship being devoted to the Capetians. This in itself is surprising: although the Plantagenets played a minor role in the crusade effort in comparison with the French dynasty (at least before the last quarter of the thirteenth century), their anxieties and aspirations were demonstrably mapped out in their artistic patronage. We have seen already that Henry III's patronage was oriented in part toward the crusade. In this context we must recall the celebrated Chertsey tiles and the historiated tiles from Clarendon Palace, which both represent Richard I's duel with Saladin.⁸⁴ These monuments serve to illustrate a tradition of prestigious crusade-oriented art in royal circles—certainly a tradition well known to Edward I. Before Edward's departure for crusade, he founded Vale Royal Abbey, a Cistercian house in Shropshire, as a sign of making good his crusading vow of 1263–1264, and to establish some spiritual capital as he set out on crusade.⁸⁵ As Suzanne Lewis has argued, crusading imagery featured in the Trinity Apocalypse, which was possibly commissioned by Queen Eleanor before she accompanied the Lord Edward on crusade.⁸⁶ Less speculatively, and directly contemporary with the Painted Chamber (and almost certainly by the same painters) was the painting of the tomb base of Queen Eleanor (d. 1290) with an image of an armed crusader—probably Otto de Grandison—praying for the Queen's soul at Holy sites in the East.⁸⁷ There is thus an expansive crusading context for thirteenth-century court art in which the Painted Chamber at Westminster can be understood. And yet, in making such a public statement of his crusading zeal, Edward, like his father, and like a host of other would-be crusaders never returned on crusade—a reminder, perhaps, of the disconnect between the emotional pull of the Holy Land and the practical pull of politics in the thirteenth-century.

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⁸⁴ Age of Chivalry cat. no. 16; Borenius (n. 18 above) 12–13, 195–209.

⁸⁵ Lloyd (n. 11 above) 159.

⁸⁶ S. Lewis, *Reading Images: Narrative Discourse and Reception in the Thirteenth-Century Illuminated Apocalypse* (Cambridge 1995) 221–224. Lewis's full account of the crusading iconography in the Trinity Apocalypse remains to be published.

⁸⁷ For early drawings of the now deteriorated painting, see London, British Library, MS Cotton Plutarch 182.1, fol. 79; and London, Victoria and Albert Museum MS 93.E.5, fol. 34. For the iconography of the tomb painting, see Kingsford (n. 77 above) 125; and W. R. Lethaby, "Master Walter of Durham, King's Painter c. 1230–1305," *Burlington Magazine* 33 (1918) 3, 7. For the discussion of the tomb paintings in relation to the Painted Chamber, see Binski (n. 2 above) 78–79, 97.

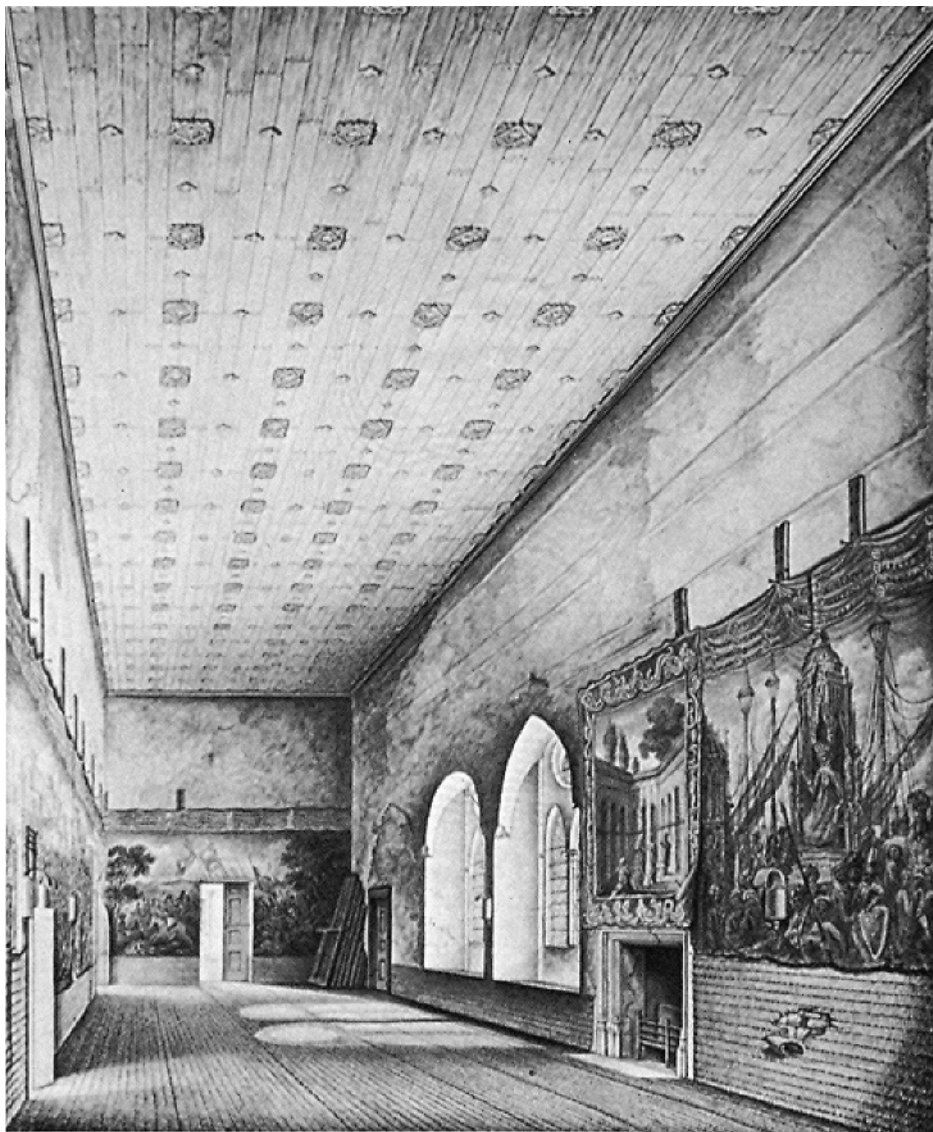


FIG. 1. Interior of the Painted Chamber, from the east, before discovery of the murals.
By William Capon 1799.

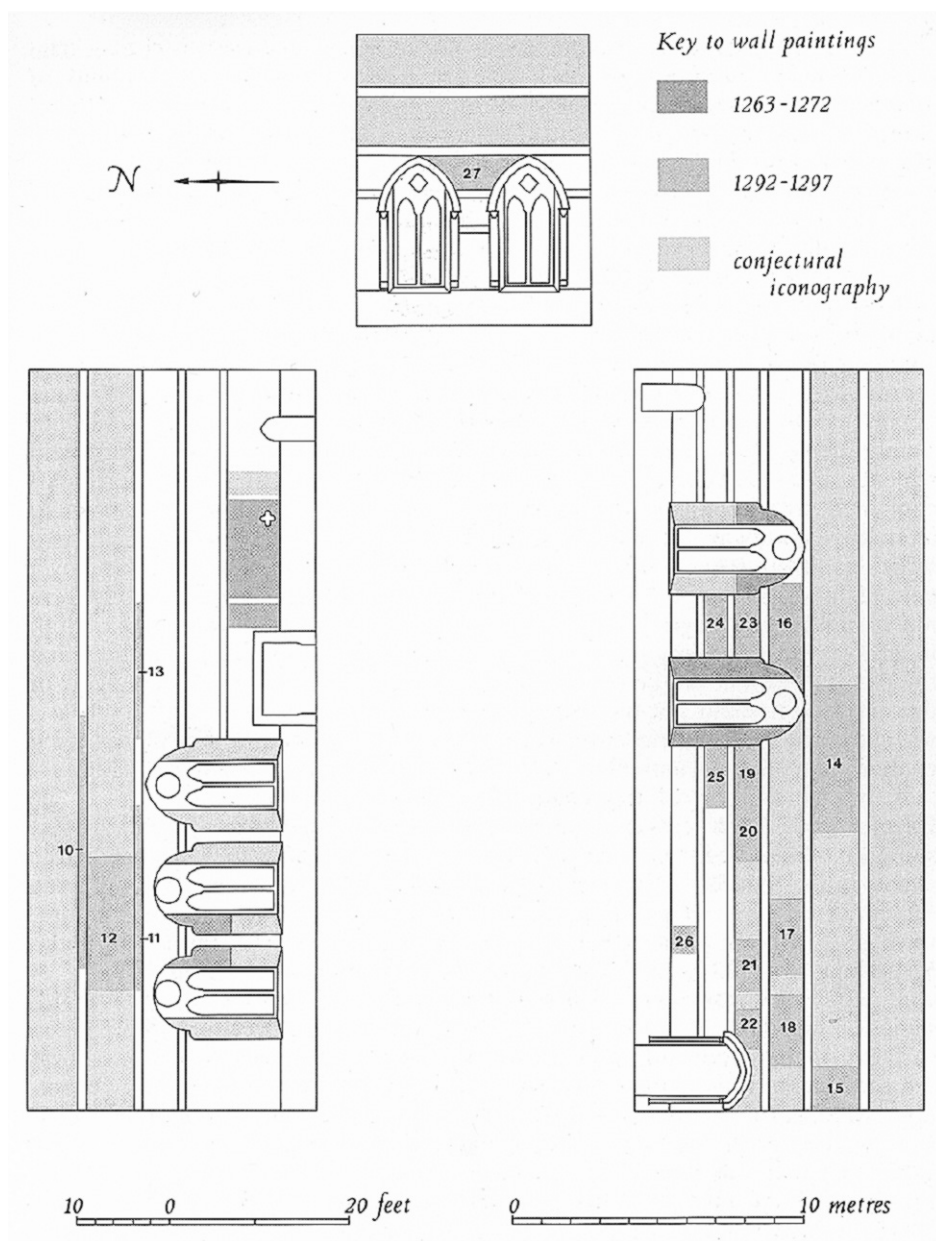


FIG. 2. The Painted Chamber: key to wall paintings as extended by Edward I (after Binski [n. 2 above]). © Society of Antiquaries of London.

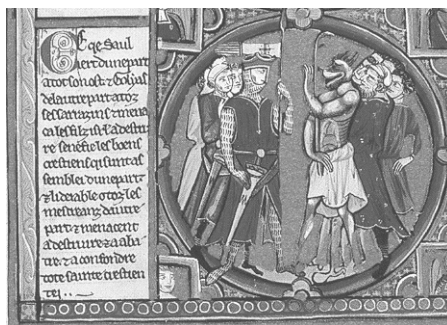


FIG. 3. Vienna Österreichische Nationalbibliothek Cod. 2554, fol. 38r. © Austrian National Library Vienna, Picture Archive.

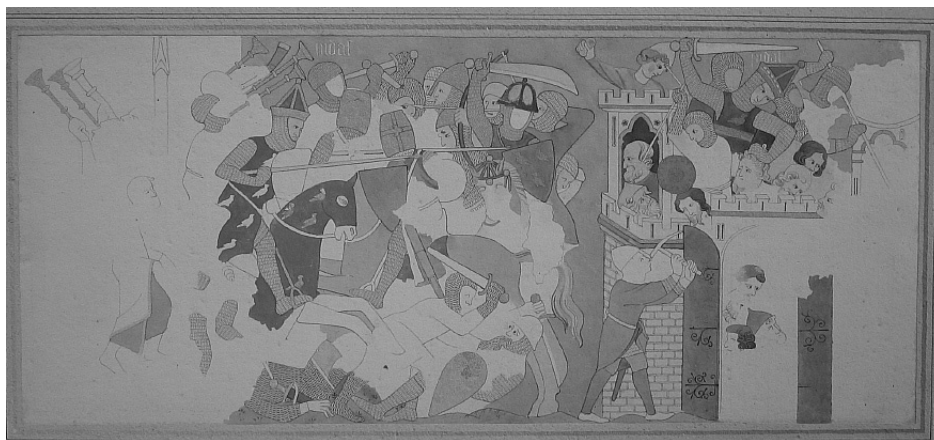


FIG. 4. Judas Maccabeus attacks Dathema and Alema (fig. 2 no. 12). © Society of Antiquaries of London.



FIG. 5. The Warfare of Judas Maccabeus and Nicanor (fig. 2 no. 14). © Society of Antiquaries of London.



FIG. 6. Elijah and Ahaziah (fig. 2 no. 16). © Society of Antiquaries of London.



FIG. 7. Miracles of Elisha (fig. 2 no. 17). © Society of Antiquaries of London.



FIG. 8. Famine in Samaria (fig. 2 no. 18). © Society of Antiquaries of London.



FIG. 9A. The Destruction of Sennacherib (fig. 2 no. 19). © Society of Antiquaries of London.



FIG. 9B. The Destruction of Sennacherib (fig. 2 no. 20). © Society of Antiquaries of London.



FIG. 10. Nebuchadnezzar and Jehoiachin (fig. 2 no. 21). © Society of Antiquaries of London.



FIG. 11. Zedekiah and the Fall of Jerusalem (fig. 2 no. 22). © Society of Antiquaries of London.



FIG. 12. The story of King Abimelech (fig. 2 no. 23). © Society of Antiquaries of London.



FIG. 13. Antiochus and the Maccabean Martyrs (fig. 2 no. 24). © Society of Antiquaries of London.

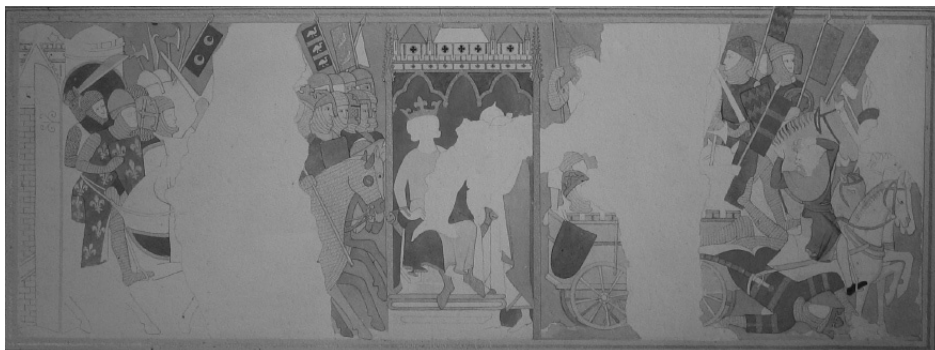


FIG. 14. The Fall of Antioch (fig. 2 no. 25). © Society of Antiquaries of London.

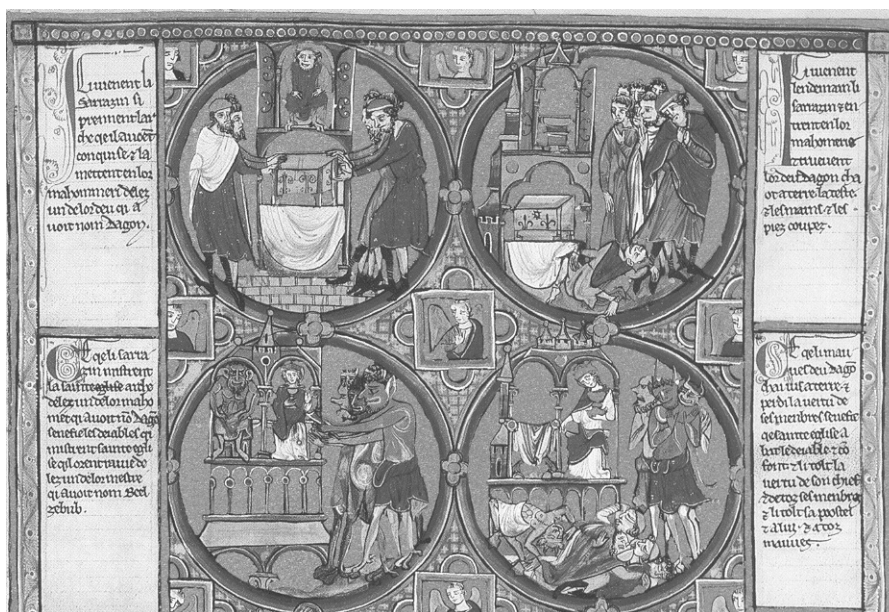


FIG. 15. Vienna Bible Moralisée. Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, Vienna, MS 2554, fol. 36. © Austrian National Library Vienna, Picture Archive.