This contribution focuses on miracle collections as a source for medieval magic for three reasons. The first is the very closeness of magic and miracles, for both seek to procure results which transcend nature, and to do this through the medium of a human practitioner. It is true that some persons still regard the very term 'magic' as inherently condemnatory, and so incapable of being subsumed within that right exercise of supernatural power they attribute to the Christian miracle-worker. It is true also, and interestingly, that this contrast was alive and well in the very period with which we are here concerned. In the *Liber Memorandorum* of the monks of Pontigny for example, a collection made in memory of archbishop Edmund Rich of Canterbury (1234-1240) after his canonisation in 1246, we are provided both with evidence of the similarities, yet differences, to be found between magic and miracles, and a spirited defence against critics of the place of miracles in the complex. Magicians and demons are not the sole sources of supernatural activity on earth, say the compilers of the *Liber*. On the contrary, miracles were performed by St. Edmund in distinctness from the art of magic, for the strengthening of faith in the power of God and His saints, the support of Christian worship, the defiance of infidelity and the demonstration of the abiding energy of a well-lived life. These superficial similarities yet far deeper differences between miracles and magic could, at certain periods and in certain places, be deliberately emphasised therefore by the

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1 *Et non sine causa divina providentia sic providit, ut in sanctis suis post mortem signorum gratia plus abundet, ut demonstretur expresse quod eorum nomenclaria in benedictione est, per quos Dominus talia operatur, et perfidis detrahendo materia subtrahatur, qui videntes signa jieri per homines in corpore constitutos, dicebant hoc de artibus magicois provenire, vel eis ad hoc faciendum daemones subservere (…) Et tamen qui hoc dicebat signum ab eo petebant, non ut crederent, sed ut detrahendo culparent. Habemus autem in nostro sancto pontifice signa sive miracula, per quaejides roboretur, et infidelitas expugneretur. Habemus in eo, quod pluris est, purgatissimas animi virtutes, nobis quidem exemplares, ei autem aeternales, per quas caritas aedificetur, et cultus christiani nominis ampliatur. Nisi enim virtutum merita praeecessissent, non jissent utique tam gloriosa miracula subsequalia. See Martène and Durand, *Thesaurus*, vol. 3, p. 1872.*
advocates of miracles as an effective counter to forbidden magic—as I hope we shall see.

A second reason for choosing miracle collections as a source lies in the need felt by their compilers, and especially by the compilers of those put together for canonisation processes, to convey a sense of authenticity and reliability. One is struck, for instance, by the pains taken in certain canonisation dossiers to describe the customs of the country from which they come; this the better to inform the papal consistory of the singular and beneficial nature of the interventions of the would-be saint. This need to provide information of compelling accuracy makes such collections historical records of the first importance in other respects too, and too little exploited; yet it renders them particularly helpful in matters of magic. Amongst the interventions into English customs we can find, there are, I think, echoes of the distinctly unbenevolent offices of certain contemporary magicians. A third, and final, reason for turning to such sources lies in the evidence they give of the activities of the Christian counter-magus.

When I wrote my book The Rise of Magic in Early Medieval Europe I argued, in its final section, that Christian counter-magi figures were consciously produced within the Christian church in early medieval Europe because there were enormous numbers of people there who depended upon non-Christian magicians. They had had them for a long time, they still needed them, and they were prepared to look up to and support them if the Christian church were to have any lasting impact upon such persons, therefore—and especially if it were to have any hope of winning them over to Christianity—then it must stop just condemning them and their magicians wholesale, and attend instead to the needs these magicians fulfilled; this with a view to offering a viable alternative. The church must also attend, incidentally, to buildings with a sense of magic in them as a place of recourse and theatre. Thus, some of the less fiery and more practical of the early European Christian evangelists tried to provide such alternatives. And amongst the ones they pressed forward was the bishop, in his palace and his cathedral, with its shrines; and they turned above all (though this figure was perhaps a little less common than it should have been) to the bishop-saint. One may ask oneself whether such solutions were proposed in the later Middle Ages too, perhaps in the face of a similar threat. To attempt to find the beginnings of an answer, and because thirteenth-century England was so prolific in the production of bishop-saints, I have thus extended my enquiry into that century and that country, and have directed it especially upon the dossiers produced then for the canonisation of bishops. The chief collections chosen for this paper are (in order of the amount of relevant information each contains) first and foremost, the great dossier put together for the canonisation of Thomas Cantilupe of Hereford (bishop 1275–1282), canon-
ised 1320, which has survived in toto, then that compiled for Richard Wych of Chichester (bishop 1245-1253), canonised 1262, and thirdly the small collection put together for the altar tabula of archbishop William Fitzherbert of York (1143-1147, 1154), canonised 1284 – a forced saint if ever there was one, and one therefore all the more needful of convincing and attractive miracles. The collection of miracles prepared for the canonisation of archbishop Edmund Rich has unfortunately been lost, but there are elements in the Liber Memorandorum mentioned above, and also in his surviving Vitae which may perhaps be allowed to supplement the evidence we may draw from the more complete accounts. I shall call, then, upon these too. The canonisation collections, it should be made clear, are unlikely to provide us with evidence of learned magic, for the learned were not the audience they sought chiefly to address. They are filled, however, with a sense of the need for, and the contents of, the simpler 'magical' expedients.

When Thomas Cantilupe died at Orvieto in 1282, it seemed that plans were already in place for his canonisation. His bones were promptly brought back and laid in the Lady Chapel of Hereford Cathedral, and a relentless campaign was waged from that moment until its success. The dossier of Vita and Miracula we have was drawn up in 1307 for the campaign. It is a truly splendid deposit, filled with supernatural activity in the form of miracles (taking up some hundred pages in the presently fallibly printed version in the Acta Sanctorum⁴), and I shall draw upon it heavily. It was put together, moreover, as a result of exhaustive enquiries into lay anxieties and desires. And there is even more to the point than this. Though relatively poor and undistinguished in itself, the see of Hereford was placed within range of some discernible competing magi, both within England and among the turbulent (and emotionally and religiously highly susceptible) inhabitants of Wales; all this at a time when king Edward I was particularly intent upon annexing the latter people as subjects of the English crown. This state of affairs gave Hereford a peculiar prominence, both in the Welsh wars (for the ability of a magus to predict or to procure victory was an ancient proof of the magus's power) and, when the English had won, in the negotiations for the firm establishment of sovereignty and control. The Welsh valued their mediators of the supernatural (of whom Merlin was perhaps only the most prominent) and the help they gave to their native kings to a very high

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² For a full discussion of such sources see Lawrence, St. Edmund, pp. 1-4, 7-105.
³ On this campaign see Daly, 'The Process of Canonisation', and for a wider perspective Finucane, Miracles, pp. 173-188.
⁴ Acta Sanctorum Octobris I, pp. 541-705. A copy of the original dossier still survives in Ms. Vatican City, Cod. lat. 4015.
This dimension to the process for the canonisation of the bishop of Hereford, and the revelations of his supernatural powers, might have been in fact one of the most important of them all.

Bishop Richard Wych of Chichester was canonised in part in that spirit of criticism which surrounded the government of king Henry III of England. His dossier, like that of Cantilupe, has been published by the Bollandists. William Fitzherbert was canonised on account of the desperately felt need for a saint by the archiepiscopal see of York. The tabula containing his miracles probably stood by his shrine, behind the high altar in the cathedral, and may therefore be allowed to introduce us also to one of the theatres wherein the Christian counter-magus and his supporters sought to oppose the magician. As a preface to the examination of such materials, however, we must first look a little more closely at the evidence we have for the existence of those thirteenth-century English non-Christian magi against whom the bishop-saints were battling.

Certainly, such figures were plying their trade in thirteenth-century England. In the early part of the century, for instance, Ralph of Coggeshall tells of the enchantment of a youth by an elderly female sorceress, and many English synodal statutes of the period contain formulae for the excommunication of soothsayers. For all this, a mandate issued to his archdeacon in 1311 by the bishop of London, Ralph Baldock, assumed that magicians were still to be found everywhere in his diocese. Such magicians were being asked, he says, to find lost objects, to interpret past and indeed future events, to conjure, chant, divine and indulge in every species of magical art. They held secret meetings and called up demons by means of tallow cakes, and little spinning pegs, and nail-parings, and mirrors, and stones, and rings. The problem was urgent, and something had to be done

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5 On the hopes the Welsh vested in their own magi and prophets during this period see Davies, *Conquest*, especially pp. 79, 106, 379.
6 *Acta Sanctorum Aprilis I*, pp. 276-316.
7 The contents of the tabula are printed by Raine, *The Historians*, vol. 2, pp. 531-543.
10 *Intelleximus siquidem quod tum pro rerum recuperatione desperitarum, tum pro futuris ac etiam preteritis occultis plenius investigandis, quidam per artis magie et incantationum notitie conjictionem, quidam per nimis credulitatis simplicitatem et inanem voluptatem coniurationibus et divinationibus inserviunt, occultas faciunt conventiculas, circulos quasi pro demonum invocatione preparant et eos invocant per panes et cultellos volubiles, et alias diversimode coniurant, aliis spiritus se invocare confingant in unguibus, speculis, lapidibus, et anulis, vel similibus materiis, quos vana dare responsa et signa facere pretendunt*. See Powicke and Cheney, *Councils and Synods*, vol. 2, part 2, p. 1349.
immediately; in the first instance by getting hold of the names of the malefactors and reporting them to him.

Even closer to the time of the enthusiasm for the cause of Cantilupe we have evidence from the West country itself. In the Summulae of the synod held at Exeter in 1287 by bishop Peter Quinell of Exeter, we read that this bishop finds it necessary (under the rubric of the First Commandment) to condemn:

Wonder-working or conjuring, of the kind we see done in matters of theft, by means of swords, or reflections in basins, or names written down and buried in the ground, or put into Holy Water or such things, or by recourse to auguries, that is, divination, or soothsaying as soothsayers do, or actually consulting soothsayers on such matters, or by making offerings to demons, as wretched men do to procure women with whom they are infatuated."

This is the standard stuff of conjuring by reflections, or deciding by lottery or augury, or making offerings, particularly in matters close to the heart. Magicians may have performed their rituals with the help of codices containing works on magic of a kind we can now trace to late thirteenth- and early fourteenth-century England (codices analogous perhaps to Mss. Oxford, Bodleian Library Selden Supra 76 of the late thirteenth century, and Corpus Christi College 221 and Digby 228 of the fourteenth), or such works as the Liber Sacer and its congenors.

In the annals both of London and of St. Paul's there is especially clear record, moreover, of the conviction, and punishment, of a soothsayer in the diocese of London; an event which took place three years after Bishop Ralph Baldock had issued his mandate. In a rare case of summoning before a Court Christian, one Juliana of Lambeth was called in to be tried upon the charge of being a soothsayer. She was examined and convicted, then sentenced to walk in procession to St. Paul's, wearing a black philosopher's robe, with long sleeves, and holding up a wax image, for it was in such clothes and by such means that she had performed her magic. The wearing of clothes of this kind, and the manipulation of waxen images as a form of image magic, were clearly thought major indicators of unacceptable mag-

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11 Scilicet faciendo prestigia, id est recurrendo ad coniurationes sicut solet fieri pro furto, in gladio, in pelvi, in nominibus scriptis et inclusis in luto et impostis in aqua benedicta et similia, vel recurrendo ad auguria, id est divinationes, vel si sortilegium feceret sicut faciunt sortiarii, vel sortiarias pro talibus consulerit, vel demonibus sacrificaverit, sicut faciunt quidam miseri pro mulieribus quas amant fatue. See Powicke and Cheney, Councils and Synods, vol. 2, part 2, p. 1062.
12 See also Braakman, 'Fortune telling'.
13 Discussed by Klaassen, 'English Manuscripts', pp. 5-8, 11-14, 19-22.
ical exercise, for both are found elsewhere as signs of ignominy, especially if they are worn, or manipulated by, the clergy, (the black robe with long sleeves has long been, of course, the pantomime image of the magician’s uniform, and it is rather exciting to find that it has basis in fact).\(^{14}\) After the procession into the cathedral, Juliana had to climb up onto a specially prepared scaffold within the church, and her books were burnt, together with some of her hair – perhaps to neutralise the believed-in potency of a bodily relic, even of a witch.\(^{15}\)

Finally, there is the figure of the magician-Jew. One may suspect that he is one of the most crucial, though least-known, of all.\(^{16}\) The legend of little St. Hugh, who was held to have been murdered in 1255 by the Jews of Lincoln in part as a mockery of the crucifixion, and (in one version of the story) specifically so that his blood and entrails might be used in magic, attests to a belief in the figure of the magician-Jew and in its prevalence and power.\(^{17}\) The competition, then, was there for the Christian bishop-magus to counter; but even in this, somewhat alarmist, evidence we can see that something has happened to it. Firstly, with the significant exception of the Jewish magi, the more powerful and threatening aspects of the magicians’ practices have been displaced. We hear nothing about necromancy, blood sacrifice or, here, of blood in general in association with them. The activities proscribed, though surely irritating, seem to be relatively harmless ones, harnessed perhaps for quite trivial enterprises. Secondly, though men are perforce included under the general category of soothsayer, this role seems now to be occupied primarily by women. In addition to Ralph of Coggeshall, cited above, the Statutes of Coventry and Lichfield (1224-1237) say quite plainly that it is women who mainly engage in such activities,\(^{18}\) and the sorceress Juliana is a woman. Now why has this happened – and how has it happened?

\(^{14}\) Gerald of Wales condemns the manipulation of waxen images as *ars magica* in his *Gemma Ecclesiastica*, ch. xlix, and suggests that certain of the Welsh clergy were inclined to use them to curse their enemies at Mass. See Giraldus Cambrensis, *Gemma*, in: *id.*, *Opera*, vol. 2, ed. Brewer, p. 137. In the 1225-1230 English *Constitutions for a Certain Bishop* clergy are expressly forbidden to wear long-sleeved robes. Cf. Powicke and Cheney, *Councils and Synods*, vol. 2, part 1, p. 188.


\(^{16}\) The 1240 Statutes of Worcester suggest that the sorcerers themselves are inclined to go to Jews for advice. See Powicke and Cheney, *Councils and Synods*, vol. 2, part 1, p. 303.


\(^{18}\) *Et circa nullam personam omissatur quin precipue queratur de falso testimonio, circa mulieres maxime de veneficiis et sortilegiis*. See Powicke and Cheney, *Councils and Synods*, vol. 2, part 1, p. 222.
At the very beginning of this contribution attention was drawn to the similarities between the effects sought by miracles to those sought by magic. Obviously, there will be further likenesses to be found between the two for the very fact that the clientele of both magicians and miracle-workers consulted their chosen practitioners with the same needs in mind; the relief of anxiety or illness, advice on life-affecting matters such as love-affairs and law suits, the discovery of thieves and stolen property and for the winning of athletic contests or wars. These resemblances, well known as they are, are not now in themselves, perhaps, particularly interesting; but the reverse is true of technique and theatre. How close were Christian episcopal miracle-workers allowed to draw to the gestures or tools or scenes of action of their opponents? How many echoes of this are to be found in the accounts of their activities? And were there, on the other hand, any hopes and expectations they could not, as Christian practitioners, entertain, or was there forbidden ground upon which they could not venture, such as raising from the dead or blood-magic, or the ill-wishing of an opponent? We may turn to these questions now before trying to see quite how it was that the more trivial of our recorded forbidden magical enterprises fell to the lot of women.

I cannot pretend to have counted every single miracle in Cantilupe's dossier (though this could certainly be done by relentless diligence), but I have, however, distilled its distinctive emphases. The dossier attempts to demonstrate that Cantilupe's supernatural powers were particularly strong in three main areas (set out in the order of their priority): in the resurrection of dead bodies (especially the resurrection of persons killed by accident or miscarriage of justice), in the overthrowing of unjust elements within the secular law, and in the supernatural power of blood (especially in the identification and defeat of judicial injustice once again). St. Thomas Cantilupe, then, was allowed to intervene in great matters. It is not quite clear how odd the last emphasis is. Indeed, the examination of canonisation dossiers for such information, especially for comparative information, is still in its infancy in general as well as with me. But in all of these manifestations, and especially in the accounts of the marvellous behaviour and in materials related to them, Cantilupe's dossier seems to give us an entry into a far older magical world, and it is supported by the other two. They too, then, may give us an idea about what was happening to Christian offices over time, in the course of the Christian establishment's efforts to absorb the old magicians.

We may take these categories of supernatural intervention in order. Some of the accounts in Cantilupe's dossier of resurrections from the dead are charming to read, as well as instructive about medieval rural life. One case is worth recounting here, namely that of the resurrection of the five
year old child Joan, whose brother pushed her into a pool in the garden of an ale-house.\(^\text{19}\) Joan's parents, together with a whole crowd of others, had repaired to the said ale-house after Nones – that is, late of a summer afternoon. Joan fell into the water and disappeared, whereupon the little boy, rather understandably, ran away. She did not resurface, and her body was later discovered at the bottom of the pool by a group of young singers, who had been sent out there to perform for the drinkers in return for their own drinks ('as is the custom', says the dossier). The singers did nothing immediately (for reasons we shall come to) deciding to cope later. After a little while, however, the women came out looking for the children, found the little girl and pulled the body from the water. Every effort was made to resuscitate Joan; her girdle was cut, her mouth forced and held open, but with no success.

At last, her mother carried her back to the house and laid her in a bed by the fire. Joan lay dead there for two days, during which time all, both men and women, prayed to Thomas Cantilupe (the men taking off their stockings so as to make contact with the earth, as the women were doing; an interesting embellishment to the story). The length of Joan's body was then measured in thread, as they all prayed, and the thread was made ready to be put into a candle to bum at Thomas Cantilupe's tomb. Measuring of this kind is, incidentally, a constant feature of the miracles of resurrection and of healing in the dossier (I have counted thirty-three examples in this dossier alone). So also is the bending of a penny over the corpse or sick person, and the making of a sign of the cross over it – hence, perhaps, the many bent pennies found by archaeologists now. We may easily imagine the solemnities which must have accompanied such actions and gestures; theatrical ones of precisely the kind invoked in popular accounts of magic and seeming, perhaps, to ape them. It is of particular interest that the measurings in thread seem always to have been performed or encouraged by women (at least, I have found no exceptions so far). Suddenly, after the prayers and the measurings, Joan sat up and spoke; and (a singularly convincing part of the story) her first action was to tell upon her brother.

When she grew stronger, Joan's father put her on his horse and took her to Thomas's tomb at Hereford, at which he presented a waxen image of his daughter and, when that became old, presented another. This so that there would be a constant witness there to the virtus (...) et potentia Dei and, through God, that of bishop Cantilupe. Waxen images of thanks are frequently to be found in the dossier. On one occasion a gallows made of wax, complete with rope and noose, is offered to St. Thomas's tomb in thanksgiving for the resurrection of a man unjustly hanged. Image magic seems,

\(^{19}\) *Acta Sanctorum Octobris I*, pp. 61 1-613.
Indeed, to have stood upon the permeable border of that which was thought respectable in Christian magic, and the images placed at lighted shrines, with their rays, were perhaps important supports to its defenders. The resuscitated man had also carried a penny bent to Thomas to the gallows with him. Wax images, measurings and bent pennies feature among the miracles of St. Richard too, the *measurings* again the work of women. In one instance a dead boy's father promises to present a wax image at the tomb of St. Richard and bends a penny over his son, who returns to life. In two others, a young noblewoman measures a dying boy and calls upon St. Richard and the Virgin and Child to save him, and a woman encourages the mother of a second boy to measure him. Both revive, and in the first case the cure is completed, and the measuring complemented, by the administration of the Host.

Miracles of this kind can seem a random and repetitive collection at first sight and they are, of course, full of *topoi*. When one looks a little more closely at them, however, it is possible to discern some additionally informatively common features within the general preoccupations I have specified. A remarkable number of the stories involve children and especially children who have drowned. Drowning may have been a particularly common cause of accidents to children, and it was also perhaps a little easier to make a mistake in such cases about whether the person was actually dead. On the other hand, the concern of this Christian bishop-magus for the protection of children who die as a result of accidents is extremely striking, and within this category, female children, like Joan, are very well represented indeed. One may wonder, then, whether such accounts might, like the laying of Cantilupe's bones first of all in the Lady Chapel of Hereford Cathedral, have been directed especially to appeal to women. Women were often held accountable for such accidents, and sometimes, or so it seems, quite unjustly so. Might such accounts have been constructed in part, then, to counter a prevailing attitude about the accountability of women, and the expendibility of children, and of female children in particular? The suggestion that it was women who undertook the measuring with threads recalls the fact, too, that 'women at their weaving' were early suspected of witchcraft.

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20 Klaassen, 'English Manuscripts', pp. 5-6.
21 *Acta Sanctorum Octobris I*, p. 634.
22 *Acta Sanctorum Aprilis I*, p. 308.
24 Penitentials can be illuminating here. See, for instance, a curious passage in Burchard's *Corrector*, in which the woman is held responsible for the injury to any child laid on a hearth and subsequently burnt by spilt boiling water placed by a fire, no matter that someone else knocked it over. (Burchard of Worms, *Corrector*, cxlix, *Patrologia Latina* 140, 1012).
Was this a means of rescuing them and at least some of their techniques? Cantilupe’s dossier is in fact rather a feminist document as a whole – unexpectedly so for the standard feminist, perhaps, who may not immediately associate feminism with the canonisation of bishops at Rome. The living Thomas Cantilupe is depicted, for instance, as as exceptionally severe on sexual suggestion by men at the expense of women as he is energetic on women’s behalf as mothers when he is dead.25 Richard of Chichester may count as something of a feminist too. He intervenes to save two young women from unwelcome mamages decreed by their father, and punishes a noble clerk rather than a nun for the seduction of the latter; this despite the intervention of powerful connected persons.26 The tabula version of the miracles of William Fitzherbert of York is overwhelmingly concerned with women (in this case, with their cures).

These apparent byways are vital to our understanding of the precise role the bishop-magus was expected to play at a given time, with our enquiry into the bishop-magus’s chief competitors for this role in late thirteenth-century England and with my suspicion that this bishop was now well on the way to replacing the non-Christian magus. Women seem to have been his most widespread competitors for the control of supernatural power in this century. The women sorcerers, and those who had recourse to them, needed to be outdone or appeased in some way. For the bishop-saint to attend to their particular needs, and even to their favourite tools, would seem to be an excellent way of doing so.

The second striking feature of the miracles is, as I have already indicated, their especial interest in the deficiencies of secular justice and, where necessary, in its confounding. There are many notable occasions in Cantilupe’s dossier in which the laws to which the saint can appeal are seen to oust the machinery of the contemporary secular law, and, in so doing, to protect the victim far better than does the state. Power over lawsuits is, like power over the spirits of the dead, a power anciently vested in, and sought from, magicians,27 and the dead Cantilupe seems to be no exception. There is a good example of this in the case of the drowned Joan, cited above. We have seen that the young singers who first discovered her body did nothing about it immediately, preferring to cope later. This, explains the dossier, was because of the demands of the secular law. By rights, they should have published the discovery instantly, whereupon they would all have been held, pending a proper enquiry and the arrival of the king’s...

25 See his blistering rebuke to Baron Grigonet, Acta Sanctorum Octobris I, p. 553.
justices. No one wanted this to happen, especially as the justices could take up to three months to come. Thus, they left the body in the water, intending to dispose of it after nightfall in a nearby river and so shed all responsibility for it; but the whole death was undone in the end by bishop Thomas, so all was well. There are seven other stories of this type in Cantilupe's dossier. All of them convey the strong impression that supernatural intervention is necessary both to correct the shortcomings of the secular law, and to ensure that true justice (incorporating the accidental, as it must) is served; and that the bishop-magus makes an excellent conduit for such corrections. William Fitzherbert similarly intervenes to prevent the death of an innocent decreed by the ordeal of hot iron. William heals the apparently festering wound and, interestingly, the keeper of William's shrine intervenes physically to prevent the enraged knights who had decreed the penalty from carrying out their judgement nonetheless.

Perhaps most important of all in the uncovering of contemporary magic and in its replacement, is the interest shown in Cantilupe's dossier in the power of blood. This too involves the bishop-magus in the correction of the shortcomings of the law, if by a somewhat arcane route. The Vita section of Cantilupe's dossier refers to an incident which is well attested independent of the process of canonisation. The story is this. Bishop Thomas, when alive, quarrelled mightily with earl Gilbert of Gloucester over hunting rights. Eventually the bishop won, but only after tremendous law suits and threats on the part of the earl, and the victory was still precarious and the earl still resentful when Thomas died. Then, says the dossier, when the cor-ttge bringing Thomas's heart and bones back from Ferento reached England, it encountered earl Gilbert on the road. Immediately the bones poured out so much blood that the coffin was stained red. Now, this is a reference to the law of the bier, or bahre recht, a form of ordeal whereby the guilt of a suspect (usually a murder suspect) is made evident by the pouring of blood from the victim's remains. It was still in use in seventeenth-century Scotland. Through this event the blood of the dead bishop confirms the decrees of the royal law courts, it is true; but in the face of continued judicial conflict and, once more, by quasi-magical means above all other. Cantilupe's

32 Acta Sanctorum Octobris I, p. 582.
33 The law of the bier was widely recognised in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries. For one of the best summaries of its judicial use, see Pitcairn, Criminal Trials, vol. 3, pp. 182-199. For other useful references to its Germanic and Jewish origins, see Trachtenberg, Jewish Magic, pp. 227-228.
bones, the dossier tells us, also bled on the hostile ground of Canterbury as they passed through the archdiocese, thus proving Cantilupe right (or so Hereford would have us believe) against another judicial enemy; Archbishop Pecham of Canterbury. Again the legal wrong is demonstrated, and to many vindicated, by the supernatural flow of blood.

The law of the bier to which I have referred, and in which Cantilupe's blood was said to have played so strikingly important a part, recalls also the medieval Jewish belief in blood as the bearer of the vital principle, one that remains in the body after death, and cries to heaven for vengeance, seething as long as a murderer lives. That most noxious of the thirteenth-century English legends about Jews and their magical powers, the legend of little St. Hugh, concerns both blood and vulnerable children. An abiding belief in Jewish abilities in matters supernatural, and especially in their need for, and powers over, blood may lie behind these emphases in Cantilupe's dossier too. The Franciscan and Dominican friars were in the forefront of the defence of those Jews of Lincoln who were accused of the murder in 1255, and they played a major role also in the compilation of the dossier and the elaboration of this saint's particular powers. Cantilupe was known, moreover, for his antipathy to Jews and particularly to their engagement with the law. Thus, the dossier perhaps ranges the power of the blood of the canonised bishop-magus against these supposed competitors quite deliberately. Amongst the miracles of St. Richard is a rather different blood-miracle, one in which a cloth, bloodied by the separation of the saint's bones and viscera for burial, heals a prioress of toothache. Miracles of this latter kind also counter that malefic use of blood to be found in forbidden magic.

The power of blood, power over the law, power over death and power exercised on behalf of women; all are notably evident in all of the miracle collections we have examined so far. The workers of these miracles do not conjure with hair or nails or images mirrored in swords or water, it is true; but they conjure still, though with threads, bent pennies, the offering of wax

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37 One story in the dossier shows both that there were important Jews in Hereford, and that Cantilupe deeply objected to their having power over Christians. He withdrew, indeed, from a royal council when it was suggested that a Jew be given a position of authority in it. Acta Sanctorum Octobris I, p. 547.
38 Acta Sanctorum Aprilis I, p. 309.
39 Such as that recorded in the Liber de Angelis, for instance, wherein menstrual blood, or the blood of one who died by hanging or the sword, is held to sow destruction and enmity. Cf. Lidaka, 'The Book of Angels', pp. 66-67.
images at tombs, and on one occasion with a form of cake as well.\textsuperscript{40} St. Edmund can, in addition, order storms and clouds about, control fire,\textsuperscript{41} and even inflict harm (though of course in the best of causes).\textsuperscript{42} On occasion Cantilupe is allowed to chant 'magically', and to affect the behaviour of buds, no less. In one of the miracles attributed by the dossier to the living Cantilupe, his singing of the \textit{Veni creator spiritus} attracts an extraordinarily ill-assorted mass of buds to the chapel window; when he stops, they fly away.\textsuperscript{43} The ill-intentioned may associate this behaviour with the curiosities of his singing, but the dossier suggests a more sublime cause; that of a relationship with buds similar to that of the old \textit{haruspices} or diviners. Much more important, however, are the powers over death, blood and the law, the powers of the ancient necromancer and magician. These seem now actually to have been adopted by the new bishop, rendering the old magi obsolete thereby.\textsuperscript{44}

We may now see more clearly what has happened to the latter. They have been replaced. The great non-Christian magus is now the Christian one; and he is male, above all, leaving the more trivial of magical activities to women.\textsuperscript{45} In the matter of women magi, though, there is still something to be done, especially, perhaps, in the matter of those women who wished to join their ranks or those who still wished to consult them. This may account, as I have hinted, for the great emphasis upon the concerns of women in the collections, and the interest they show in the special efficacy of Christian women's prayers. Women sorcerers were clearly no longer all-powerful as magicians; but they were there, and they were an offence to the Christian establishment. They or their followers might be won over, then, by the establishment's demonstration of its concern and respect for women. In their sympathy for women's troubles especially, these miracle collections may be aimed at the last remnants of competition for supernatural authority, and at the willing incorporation of these remnants within the Christian

\begin{itemize}
\item\textsuperscript{40} The lime from St.William's tomb, when baked into a cake, performed cures. See Raine, \textit{The Historians}, vol. 2, pp. 539-540.
\item\textsuperscript{41} Martîne and Durand, \textit{Thesaurus}, vol. 3, pp. 1800-1802.
\item\textsuperscript{42} See his fierce treatment of two women who tried to prevent young men from going on crusade. He blinded one and withered the hand of the other until they repented, according to the Pontigny \textit{Vita}. See Martîne and Durand, \textit{Thesaurus}, vol. 3, pp. 1799-1800.
\item\textsuperscript{43} \textit{Acta Sanctorum} \textit{Octobris I}, p. 705.
\item\textsuperscript{44} There were still objections to the idea that a saint could raise the dead. These were brusquely set aside, however, by the proponents of this power. See the \textit{Liber Memoran- randorum} of Edmund Rich in: Martîne and Durand, \textit{Thesaurus}, vol. 3, p. 1848.
\item\textsuperscript{45} Though he can stoop too to the healing of horses and falcons; \textit{Acta Sanctorum} \textit{Octobris I}, p. 675.
\end{itemize}
dispensation, complete with their adherents and some, at least, of the tools of their trade.

I have argued here that the figure of the bishop-saint in late thirteenth-century England, in so far as we can reconstruct him from these canonisation processes, can tell us a great deal about how the Christian church sought to deal with contemporary magic. It sought greatly to outdo it by absorption, even to the extent of radically revising the bishop's role to this end. There are many possible reasons for the success of the sainted episcopal counter-magus; but the fact that he incorporated the supernatural powers of the non-Christian magus within his own, and with them many of the hopes and expectations vested in this figure, must surely rank highly among them. The bishop-magus has adopted a great many of the ideas and activities of the old magi. He does not now outlaw so much as exercise their capacities, including that power most reviled of all, the power of the ancient necromancer. The thirteenth-century English bishop-magus had still a little competition in the form of women occult operators and of Jewish competitors. He held his place here in part by assimilating their central methods but also, where possible, by making it conceivable for women, in particular, to co-operate with him.

In the matter of that which he cannot be allowed to do, there is in fact very little. He has now taken the position of the old magician for himself far more completely than, in the early Middle Ages, a Christian ever dared. He has also quite stolen the theatre. The great shrines, built and embellished for all those bishop-saints whose canonisation collections succeeded, were scenes of great light and splendour and, of course, replete with images. This was both a speaking and perhaps deliberate contrast to the dark and chill places in which wielders of the old magic were wont to operate, and a reaching towards the neutral ground of image magic. The bishop-saint was allowed, moreover, to look, in his chosen theatre, sometimes very like a magus.46 Many of the effects of such assimilation were positive. We should not see such a figure simply as a weak colluder with forces too strong to be repelled. The need for a magician was met within a firmly Christian dimension, complete with crucial adaptations of the kind the Liber Memorandorum advocated, and it strengthened this dimension in its turn. Thomas Cantilupe's relations with king and government, for example, were beneficent.

46 Cantilupe, for instance, achieved a victory in the midst of the Welsh war and his means of achieving this victory is carefully described. As night fell, he stood upon the ramparts of a ruined castle, fully vested in his robes. He placed lighted candles on the battlements and acted out the solemn excommunication of the enemy, with chanting, bells and candles. The enemy fled. The image of the fearsome conjuring magus presented here is almost cinematographic. Acta Sanctorum Octobris I, p. 565.
The precise place of penance and of episcopally directed pilgrimage to supernaturally-charged saints' shrines such as Cantilupe's, in the keeping of the peace and in the improvement of the operations of the secular law, needs more investigation than I have been able to give it here; but I have no doubt that both were of extreme importance to good government in this period. Cantilupe served a king and royal relatives who were alive to the ways in which the supernatural could act upon their subjects, and he served him well.

Christian bishops-magi of this type persisted in England well into the later Middle Ages and beyond. Their power was removed in the final event only by force, by the absolute destruction of shrines dedicated to them (the destruction of Becket's shrine at Canterbury is perhaps the most spectacular example of all) and by the imposition of a totally different role upon the post-reformation bishop. These removals, destructions and changes left a sudden vacuum and spawned many different substitutes, some of them deeply vulnerable, such as witches. The emergence of the early modern magus-figures, and the scale of the persecution launched against them can, in my view, only properly be understood against the background of the too-rapid death of the far more carefully attuned medieval Christian bishop-magus, and the desperation of the people, and especially the women, he once served. But that is another, and much larger, story.