

THE CULT OF ST. RICHARD OF CHICHESTER IN THE MIDDLE AGES

by D. J. Jones

Richard of Wych, bishop of Chichester from 1244 until his death in 1253, was born in c. 1197 at Droitwich (Worcs.). He enjoyed a prestigious and successful career in the Schools, gaining a doctorate in Canon Law and serving as Chancellor of the University of Oxford in the mid 1230s. He was subsequently chancellor to St. Edmund of Abingdon when he was Archbishop of Canterbury. After the death of St. Edmund in 1240, Richard considered entering the Dominican Order and studied with the friars at Orleans. But he was back in England by 1244, when he was nominated Bishop of Chichester. His appointment to Chichester was followed by a long dispute with the king, who had hoped to secure the diocese for a prominent royal servant, Robert Passelewe. Richard did not receive the temporalities of the see until July 1246, but thereafter was able to devote himself to the administration and pastoral care of his diocese: he promulgated the earliest series of diocesan statutes extant for Chichester, and his surviving charters show his constant interest in pastoral matters of all kinds. When he died in 1253 the odour of sanctity was already all about him. He was canonised in 1262, and his cult, although it never achieved the popularity of the shrine of Becket at Canterbury for example, remained popular with Sussex people until the Reformation. It is the purpose of this paper to describe and investigate this cult.¹

It was a characteristic of medieval religion that God was thought directly to intervene in human affairs, and that this was felt chiefly through the lives and miracles of wonder-working saints. At least at the popular level, pious men were frequently hailed as unofficial saints very soon after their deaths. Richard died at Dover on 3 April 1253 and, once the entrails were removed from the corpse and buried in the chapel of St. Edmund that he had recently dedicated, the body was taken to Chichester for burial. According to Bocking, who wrote the longest and most reliable Life of the saint c. 1270 and who was a friend and *confidant* of the saint during his lifetime, the corpse was immediately found to be invested with thaumaturgical powers, and whatever touched it was popularly regarded as a relic in its own right.² A devotion to Richard grew up immediately at the popular level, and at a higher one pressure for his canonization soon got underway.

The Chichester Chapter sent two of its canons to Rome to press forward Richard's claims to sanctity, and the pope appointed commissioners to investigate the matter in June 1256. Richard was already a celebrated miracle-worker, and a flood of letters of postulation were despatched to Rome by influential persons. None of these is known to survive, but Bocking, who used the canonization archive in compiling his Life, states that the king and barons wrote in support of the case as well as prelates and many clergy. Richard was actually canonized in 1262, but by then his cult had already enjoyed several years of popularity at Chichester. He had been buried 'in a humble place' in the north aisle, near the chapel of St. Edmund,³ and his grave was early regarded as a shrine, and in October 1254, a chaplain was appointed to look after it. He was rewarded with the vicarage of Mendlesham in the diocese of Norwich which Richard's close friend, Walter of Suffield, bishop of

Norwich, appropriated to the chaplain's use. Walter's act to this effect tells something of the endowment of the chaplaincy and of the chaplain's duties: two candles were to burn there constantly, and the clerk was to receive five marks on Richard's *obit* day, of which at least two were to be given to the poor.⁴

In Richard's case, canonization brought official recognition and approval to a cult that was already in existence, but it also brought the shrine new prestige. Urban IV granted all those who had been present at the mass of Canonization, an indulgence of three years and three Lents,⁵ and he encouraged pilgrimages and offerings to Richard's shrine by allowing those that visited it on Richard's feast day remission of one year and one Lent's penance. One Lent's remission was accorded those who arrived there within a fortnight of the feast.⁶ Urban also granted forty days' remission for the feast of Richard's Translation;⁷ those who actually attended the Translation received remission of one year. These papal indulgences were the official foundation of the cult. Curiously enough, no further indulgences, either papal or episcopal, are known to have been granted to the shrine.

The shrine now grew rapidly in wealth and prestige. One gets the impression from the extant material that this was largely the work of Bishop Stephen Berstead (1262–87), who eagerly encouraged the cult. Perhaps it is significant that the Dunstable annalist describes him as having been St. Richard's chaplain,⁸ and a personal connection with the saint may explain the devotion that he showed to his memory. In an act of 5 April 1279 he laid down the Dean and Chapter's duties towards the shrine:

They shall maintain ten square tapers at the shrine of St. Richard to burn on the feasts of the first dignity. Also nine round tapers and one at his grave. And nine round tapers of two pounds in weight to burn night and day about the shrine on feasts of the first, second and third dignity⁹ . . .

After Richard's canonization, Urban gave permission for the saint's bones to be moved to a more fitting tomb in a more honourable position in the cathedral. And when Translation came in 1276, after the long delays of the Barons' Wars and Bishop Berstead's subsequent exile in Rome, the bishop spent more than one thousand pounds¹⁰ in providing an impressive and elaborately adorned shrine immediately behind the High Altar, the position always occupied by the most prestigious shrines.

Chichester probably possessed no other relics of great value,¹¹ but by this time there were three main objectives of veneration in the cult of St. Richard there. First, of course, in importance was the magnificent bejewelled and gilded shrine to which Richard's relics were translated amid great splendour on 16 June 1276. The chronicle known as 'Rishanger' describes it as a casket (*capsa*) of gilded silver,¹² and it was studded with jewels: in 1280, when the jewels were stolen and subsequently recovered, seemingly miraculously, Edward I ordered them immediately to be replaced.¹³ Even after 1276, however, devotion still continued at the site of Richard's original tomb on the north side of the cathedral, where a small chapel was built and enclosed by a screen.¹⁴ Thirdly, there was the separate veneration of Richard's head (a common practice in this period) that was placed in a silver reliquary in the chapel of St. Mary Magdalen.¹⁵ The redecoration of this chapel was provided for in the will of Bishop William de Lenne (d. 1373, after translation to Worcester in 1368). The walls on one side were to be painted with frescoes of the life of St. Mary Magdalen, but the will continues: 'I want . . . the aforesaid chapel to be painted anew (*de novo*) on the left side, that is where the head of St. Richard is placed, with good and lasting pictures of the life of St. Richard'.¹⁶ There was also a statue of St. Richard in this chapel, mentioned in the visitation of Bishop Story in 1478, to which offerings were made.¹⁷ Reverence was also paid to the saint's mitre

and chalice, but it is not known where in the cathedral they rested.¹⁸

The shrine gradually accumulated an impressive collection of jewellery, ornaments and offerings in precious metals. Several of the bishops in their wills were generous benefactors of the shrine of the saint. Bishop de Lenne has already been mentioned, and in addition to the paintings that he ordered to be done, he left money for an image or ornament for the shrine. Bishop Patrington (d. 1417) left to the shrine two silver gilt bowls and two silver candle-sticks. But by far the most generous episcopal benefactor was Bishop Robert Rede who in 1415 left to the shrine a whole catalogue of riches that is worth quoting in full:

One precious tablet of gold with precious stones with images of the Passion of Christ, the Blessed Virgin, John the Baptist and St. Katherine and the Holy Trinity to be placed in the feretory of St. Richard there, and twelve pearls are set in the same tablet. For the shrine of St. Richard, one gold ring set with a white stone of Jerusalem adorned with the face of a man and two other gold rings set with stones. To the shrine, two brooches of gold: one round, in the middle of which is a white swan and under its wing is a small sapphire with five white pearls in a circle; and the other, in the old style (*de antiqua forma*), with seventeen small red, white and green stones. Item, for use of the priest celebrating mass at the High Altar in the said church on the great feasts, out of reverence for St. Richard, one great ewer of gilded silver.¹⁹

Valuable bequests made by other members of the cathedral clergy include the gold tablet set with precious stones left by John Bisopston, the cathedral chancellor, in 1384 and a gold ring bequeathed by Vicar-Choral John Willoughby in 1498/9.²⁰

Another important and generous patron of the shrine was King Edward I. He had been present at the Translation in 1276, and as king he was prompt in repaying £583 0s. 4d. 'lent' by the saint to Henry III; in fact, the money had been outstanding since the vacancy of 1244–6, before Richard had been admitted to the temporalities of the diocese.²¹ The Wardrobe accounts of the reign are full of generous royal benefactions to the shrine, and it is clear that King Edward held the saint in high regard. In the accounts for 1285–6, for example, the royal family are found sending eight gold brooches (*firmaculi*) worth a total of £22 2s. 0d.²² On at least two occasions, in 1284–5 and 1289–90, the king sent oblations to each of five different places of devotion: the shrine itself, an altar near the shrine, the chapel where the saint's head rested, the original grave and an altar near to it.²³ On other occasions the king sent a cloth of gold or arranged to be 'measured' in wax for the saint — that is to say, he promised to provide candles whose total length would equal his own height.²⁴

Offerings of this kind are impressive, but one must not forget the smaller offerings made by more ordinary folk. The indices of Sussex wills prepared by R. Garraway Rice attest to this unequivocally. Throughout the later Middle Ages small sums were bequeathed to the shrine in large numbers. The steady stream of offerings of this kind bears witness to the consistent popularity of the saint right down to the Reformation, and shows that the cult was quick to revive in the brief Catholic *revanche* of Mary's reign.²⁵

Unfortunately, no medieval inventory of the shrine's jewels and other treasures has survived, but when Henry VIII had the shrine destroyed and its treasures confiscated, the detailed account produced by his commissioners leaves one in no doubt that this was a thriving cult and one to which a large amount of treasure had accrued:

In a ship coffer, 55 images of silver and gilt.

In a long coffin wherein Bishop Richard's bones were, 57 pieces of silver and gilt.

Three other coffers full of broken silver.

A coffer with three locks that was delivered by the dean and archdeacon, with relics and other

jewels parcel of the said shrine.

In a little box, 31 rings with stones and three other jewels.

In a casket, 51 jewels set with stones and pearls.²⁶

A great many pilgrims to the shrine must have been motivated by the hope of a miracle-cure. But for the dissemination of Richard's cult as a miracle-worker one has for material only the posthumous miracles that Bocking took from the canonization process and the brief collection of miracles associated with the saint's Translation in Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale MS. 15033. Obviously miracles recorded as having taken place during the saint's lifetime (at Orpington, Tarring (2), Cakeham (2), Selbourne, Lewes, Bramber and one at sea)²⁷ are associated only with the scenes of Richard's life. The posthumous miracles or accounts that mention pilgrimage are more useful here, for they attest to a geographical area in which Richard's cult was followed. Bocking's miracles generally include details of the places from which the *miraculés* hailed, and they attest to pilgrimages to Chichester by people from Bignor and one unnamed place within the diocese, and from Southwick (Hants) outside it.²⁸ Bocking's miracles also attest to Richard's reputation as a miracle-worker at Robertsbridge, Lewes, Southwick and Chichester in the diocese, as well as at a number of places outside: Pontefract (Yorks), Elmley (Worcs.), Winterbourne Earls (Wilts.), Romsey (Hants.), Oxford and London. The Paris collection records pilgrimages to Chichester by people from Winchester, the unidentified 'Ralretton' and Kent. Peter of Peckham, who translated a version of the Bocking Life into Anglo-Norman verse sometime before 1293, adds miracles at Guildford and Dorking (Surrey).³⁰

The accounts also give a valuable insight into the ways in which Richard's cult was practised. In two cases, at Elmley and at Robertsbridge, a penny was vowed to the saint.³¹ At Lewes Castle and at Romsey the sick person was 'measured' to the saint.³² At Elmley an appeal to St. Richard came to mind because the daughter of the house had seen a wax image commemorating Richard's resurrection of a man that had drowned.³³ This, too, was a common practice. But the most interesting stories are those that illustrate the use of relics for healing purposes. In the case of the London miracle, the relic was a handkerchief that had been dipped in Richard's blood when his corpse had been disembowelled.³⁴ At Bayham was a miracle-working bed that Richard had slept in,³⁵ and elsewhere his hat (*capa*)³⁶ and his boots³⁷ were found to be invested with thaumaturgical powers. Finally, there was an arm-bone that appears in a miracle-story set in Guildford; it is not clear whether it belonged to the Dominican convent there or to Queen Eleanor who also figures in the story.³⁸

Although relatively few in number, Bocking's miracles do attest to a widespread devotion to St. Richard in the years immediately after his death. The pilgrimage cult was vigorous. The indulgences granted by Urban IV encouraged pilgrimages, and the Whitsun pilgrimage that Richard had himself enjoined on his diocese with the lure of indulgences was soon associated with the saint:³⁹ the pilgrims were going to St. Richard's church, where his relics were now the main attraction. These occasions attracted large crowds and, one imagines, commensurately large offerings; and in 1478 Bishop Storey found it necessary to lay down in detail regulations to prevent unseemly behaviour and breaches of the peace.⁴⁰

Outside Chichester the cult never reached very impressive dimensions, but one way of examining its extent is to look at the liturgical evidence. St. Richard's Deposition (3 April) was celebrated with a feast of twelve lessons at the Benedictine houses of St. Albans, St. Augustines at Canterbury, Chertsey, Chester, Ely, Hyde and Westminster. The Benedictine nuns of Barking made the day a *commemoratio*, and the feast was observed in a manner left unspecified in the extant texts at Abbotsbury, Durham, Lesnes, Sherbourne and Tewkesbury, and by the Orders of Gilbertines,

Carmelites and English Franciscans. His feast was added to the Cistercian use in the British Isles at the petition of King Edward I in 1277. The secular cathedrals of Exeter, Hereford and Salisbury gave Richard nine lessons in their influential uses, as did the monastic cathedral of Norwich and the Brigetine house of Syon.

The observance of the Translation (16 June) is not so impressive. It was accorded twelve lessons at both Christchurch and St. Augustines, Canterbury, and at Gloucester; it had nine lessons at Norwich, Salisbury and at Syon, where it shared the day with SS. Ciricus and Julitta. Three lessons marked the feast at Chertsey.⁴¹ The important point about the liturgical evidence is this: whereas St. Richard's feasts were apparently observed with some keenness in Benedictine houses, the secular uses that included Richard are those whose significance was centred on central or southern England, and the great northern use of York omitted the saint altogether.

Another sort of evidence is that of church dedications. Here Richard's fame was even less widespread. The cathedral at Chichester was for long known as St. Richard's church, but the title was unofficial. The register of Robert Rede, for example, often refers to Richard as 'our patron' but it is clear that the cathedral was also associated with the Trinity, the Virgin and All Saints. When, for example, the foundation stones were laid of a new common manse for the vicars-choral, it was done first in honour of the Trinity, then of the Virgin and only lastly of Richard.⁴² A similar case is found at Pontefract, where a house of Dominicans was dedicated to Richard along with SS. Mary and Dominic. This foundation was made by Edmund de Lacy, who had been one of the saint's intimates, and it cannot be held to attest to the fame of the Chichester saint in the north of England.⁴³ These apart, there are only two known medieval dedications to this saint; one was at Heathfield in Sussex,⁴⁴ and the other was a chapel in the crypt of St. Augustine's Abbey, Canterbury.⁴⁵

Evidence of the diffusion of the cult that can be drawn from the inventories of relic collections is much more impressive, for a large number of relics is recorded. This is not surprising: Richard was, after all, an officially canonized saint, and all relics were grist to the mill of the religious houses that collected them. In addition to the relics at Chichester, Christchurch Canterbury possessed an arm that Archbishop Kilwardby had obtained at the Translation in 1276. Another arm or arm-bone figures in a miracle-story recounted by Peter of Peckham and set in the Dominican house at Guildford; it is, not clear, however, whether it belonged to the convent or to its patron Queen Eleanor of Provence, who also appears in the story. Glastonbury had a piece of his tunic, St. Albans a finger, and Worcester claimed part of Richard's head preserved in a cross. Both Worcester and Meaux (Yorks.) maintained that they possessed all or part of his hair-shirt. In London, St. Paul's had at least two of the saint's ribs in a highly decorated case given by Bishop Chishull (1273-80), and possibly a third mentioned in a list that survives only in a copy made by Dugdale; and St. Stephen's, Walbrook, had obtained part of his cross. The royal chapel at Windsor claimed an arm-bone, and various institutions in the south of England claimed different parts of Richard's clothing: in 1290 the Hospital of St. Julian, Southampton, owned his hat; in 1297 several items of the saint's liturgical gear were at West Twyford in Middlesex; and Selbourne Priory (Hants.) possessed a comb, as well as one of his joints (*junctorium*). Salisbury Cathedral had an unspecified 'relic', and in 1381 Edmund, Earl of March, left to Wigmore Abbey one of the saint's bones. Mention has already been made of the handkerchief dipped in Richard's blood that was in London, his bed at Bayham, his hat and his boots, which are known from Bocking to have been prized as relics.⁴⁶

For all the large numbers of relics that this cult can boast, one truth is clear. Apart from the outlying relic at Meaux, all known relics were located in the southern half of England, and of these all, save the hair-shirt and the fragment of Richard's head at Worcester and the bone at Wigmore,

were located in what may be very generally described as the Thames Valley (the most northerly is St. Albans) or still further south.

Finally, however, there were two cult-centres well outside the Chichester vicinity, both of them at places closely associated with Richard: one was at Droitwich where he was born, and the other was at Dover where he died. The early history of the Droitwich cult is obscure, but it is known that the canons of Chichester felt that it was worthwhile to collect for the erection of the saint's shrine in his home diocese of Worcestershire; they are not known to have collected in any other diocese.⁴⁷ Documents about a cult at Droitwich survive only from the Tudor period, but it is clear that devotion to the saint then centred on the parish church of St. Andrew, where a chantry was dedicated to St. Richard. The first mention of this is found in the reign of Edward VI when the endowment of the chantry was disputed, but it is generally accepted that it dates from before the church's other chantry which was founded by Thomas Walker c. 1491. The documents do, however, make it clear how the chantry was endowed: the priest was granted what was termed the 'service' of St. Richard, specified as including 'four boileries of salt water, otherwise lying and being in our salt well at Upperwich'. These boileries were known as the 'vawtes of St. Richard' and at the time of Henry VIII the priest enjoyed all the profits of the specified portion of the salt wells, plus an extra four marks per year.⁴⁸

Droitwich was renowned for its salt, and the sixteenth-century antiquaries who deal with the town all comment on its qualities. For Leland, it was the best salt in the country. St. Richard was probably the town's most famous son, and it was natural that the two should become connected in the popular mind. In the sixteenth century, Leland, Camden and Habington each visited the place and attested to this. Leland and Habington both heard a story that the salt wells had failed during Richard's lifetime, and that his prayers had restored them; and Camden, although very scornful of what he regarded as 'old wives tales' that Richard had actually procured the wells by his prayers, also attests that the townspeople in former times 'not only firmly believed and recorded this, but paid him a sort of divine worship on this very account'. The 'sort of divine worship' to which Camden refers appears from Leland and Habington to have included marking St. Richard's feast day by hanging the salt wells with tapestry and holding 'drinkings, games and revels'.⁴⁹

This semi-religious observance of the feast and the growth of legends about Richard and the salt that have no basis in the *vitae* or any other extant source for the saint's life were paralleled, at least in the later Middle Ages, by a more strictly religious cult. This is seen partly in the dedication and endowment of the chantry, but also in the presence there in the late fifteenth century of a statue of the saint and also of the saintly King Henry VI. The evidence is a grant of Henry VII dated 20 June 1490, which notes the good offices of Thomas and Isabelle Walker towards the parish church of Droitwich, and the fact that they had 'newly made and repaired two images there, one of St. Richard and another of King Henry, by which there is the more resort of pilgrims and offerings to the said saints'.⁵⁰

The other subsidiary cult-centre was at Dover, and it was based on the chapel of St. Edmund that Richard dedicated shortly before he died. When Richard died, his body was disembowelled and his entrails were buried in the chapel. Archaeologists led by Mr. Brian Philp investigated the chapel in the early 1960s when it was restored, and found a small cist measuring 34 inches by 22 inches just to the south side of the altar. In his account of the restoration of the chapel, Tanner argued that it was here that the saint's entrails were buried. This is convincing. Bocking stated explicitly that the entrails were buried in the chapel, and the standard of workmanship that went into the making of the cist, which was dug into the earth without any stone dressing and roughly plastered over with puddled chalk, would reasonably indicate a rushed job such as the burial of entrails would make

necessary. There was also found a small round passage that connected the cist to the surface and this, Tanner suggests, held a stake that not only marked the cist's exact position but also allowed pilgrims to 'touch' the saint, by proxy as it were. Entrails were, after all, as valuable relics as any other part of the saint's person and Tanner is apposite enough in comparing the entrail relics of St. Edmund at Provins. But it is when he discusses the devotion to St. Richard at Dover that he is on less sure ground. Bocking does say that many miracles were granted here, but Tanner's imputation from this that the chapel at Dover remained a place of pilgrimage for the rest of the Middle Ages, is without explicit foundation in the sources.⁵¹

This article has passed in brief review all the evidence known to be extant for the cult of St. Richard. The lack of any surviving records of the canonizing process or of any fabric rolls for Chichester make it impossible to more than speculate on the social aspects of the cult or on its financial impact on the cathedral. Nevertheless, the miracles that survive, the recorded offerings and bequests to the shrine and other sources discussed above do attest to a cult that persisted at Chichester until the Reformation and even revived in favourable atmosphere of Mary's reign. The cult was never of the international stature or financial importance of the Becket cult at Canterbury, and feasts of the saint were never universally observed even in England. It was a small cult, mainly a local affair, but it remains an important aspect of the religious life of medieval Sussex.

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Notes

¹D. J. Jones, 'The Lives and *Acta* of St. Richard of Chichester' (unpublished London Ph.D. thesis, 1982), discusses in full. This article is based on pages 169–82.

²Jones, 519–21; *Acta Sanctorum* Aprilis 1 (Brussels, 1675), 308.

³Jones, 521; *Acta Sanctorum*, 308.

⁴W. D. Peckham, ed., *The Chartulary of the High Church of Chichester*, Sussex Record Society 46 (1946), nos. 250, 251. No. 294 shows the Dean and Chapter acting on these principles in 1294.

⁵P. Chaplais, ed., *Diplomatic Documents 1100–1272* (1964), no. 351.

⁶Jones, 575; *Acta Sanctorum*, 317.

⁷*Calendar of Papal Letters 1198–1304* (1898), 377.

⁸H. R. Luard, ed., *Annales Monastici*, Rolls Series, (1864–9) III. 339.

⁹Peckham, no. 713; M. E. C. Walcott, 'The Earliest Statutes of the Cathedral Church of the Holy Trinity, Chichester, with observations on its constitution and history', *Archaeologia*, 45 part i (1877), 173.

¹⁰Walcott, 173.

¹¹So I. G. Thomas, 'The Cult of Saints Relics in Mediaeval England' (unpublished London Ph.D. thesis, 1975), 72.

¹²H. T. Riley, ed., William of Rishanger, *Chronica et Annales*, Rolls Series (1865), 189.

¹³Peckham no. 38; *Calendar of Patent Rolls 1272–81* (1901), 363.

¹⁴Walcott, 168.

¹⁵Walcott, 169.

¹⁶Walcott, 169; Worcester Diocesan Record Office, Bishop Whittlesey's Register ff. 128–9.

¹⁷Walcott, 169 note; West Sussex Record Office, EpI/1/3, f.7v.

¹⁸Walcott, 174.

¹⁹M. E. C. Walcott, 'The Bishops of Chichester from Stigand to Sherbourne', *Sussex Archaeological Collections* 28 (1878), 47; 29 (1879), 3, 55–6.

²⁰W. H. Godfrey, ed., R. Garraway Rice, *Transcripts of Sussex Wills* 1, Sussex Record Society, 41 (1935), 269.

²¹W. W. Stubbs, ed., *Gervasi Cantuariensis Opera*, 2 Rolls Series, (1880), 285; *Calendar of Patent Rolls 1272–81* (1901), 63, 148.

²²B. F. & C. R. Byerly, ed., *Records of the Wardrobe and Household 1285–6* (1977), nos. 1992, 1995, 1997.

²³Public Record Office, C47/4/2 m. 28 and C47/4/4 m. 41d.

²⁴E. B. Fryde, ed., *The Book of Prests 1294–5* (Oxford, 1962), 100; *Liber Quotidianus Contrarotulatoris Garderobae Anno regni Regis Edwardi Primi Vicesimo Octavo* (1787), 97. Also see PRO C47/4/1 m. 18d.

²⁵Godfrey I. 269–71, 370.

²⁶*Letters and Papers of Henry VIII*, 13, part ii (1893), no. 1103.

²⁷Jones, 478–97; *Acta Sanctorum*, 302–5.

²⁸Jones, 536, 532, 540; *Acta Sanctorum*, 310, 311. Another miracle at Southwick may refer to the place of that name in Hampshire or that in Sussex (Jones, 539; *Acta Sanctorum*, 311).

²⁹Jones, 526–54; *Acta Sanctorum*, 308–14.

³⁰Society of Bollandists, *Catalogus Codicum Hagiographicorum Latinorum in Bibliotheca Nationali Parisiensi*, 3 (Brussels, 1893), 294ff.; British Library, Loans 29/61 (formerly Welbeck Abbey MS. I.C.1), ff. 242v–244v.

³¹Jones, 529, 543; *Acta Sanctorum*, 309, 311.

³²Jones 527, 553; *Acta Sanctorum*, 309, 313.

³³Jones, 542; *Acta Sanctorum*, 311. A similar votive statuette was promised at Robertsbridge (Jones, 531; *Acta Sanctorum*, 309).

- ³⁴Jones, 534; *Acta Sanctorum*, 310.
- ³⁵Jones, 500; *Acta Sanctorum*, 305.
- ³⁶Jones, 498; *Acta Sanctorum*, 305.
- ³⁷Jones, 499; *Acta Sanctorum*, 305.
- ³⁸British Library, Loans 29/61 f. 243.
- ³⁹Jones 219–28; Peckham nos.76–87.
- ⁴⁰Walcott, 175.
- ⁴¹Jones 178–9, where full references are given.
- ⁴²C. Deedes, ed., *Episcopal Register of Robert Rede II*, Sussex Record Society, 11 (1910), 436.
- ⁴³Jones, 493–5; *Acta Sanctorum*, 304.
- ⁴⁴F. Bond, *Dedications and Patron Saints of English Churches* (1914), 328.
- ⁴⁵R. Twysden, ed., *Historiae Anglicanae Scriptorum Decem* (1652), 1794.
- ⁴⁶Jones, 180–2, where full references are given.
- ⁴⁷J. W. Willis Bund, ed., *The Register of Bishop Giffard 1268–1302*, Worcester Historical Society 1902, 23.
- ⁴⁸Public Record Office, STAC 3/1/91; *Letters and Papers of Henry VIII*, 17 (1900) nos. 1015, 283 (33).
- ⁴⁹L. Toulmin Smith, ed., J. Leland, *Itinerary*, 2 (1908), 93; J. Amphlett, ed., T. Habington, *Survey of Worcestershire*, Worcester Historical Society 1895–9, 1. 468, 2. 301; W. Camden, *Britannia*, 2nd edition, 2 (1806), 470—first published 1586.
- ⁵⁰T. R. Nash, *Collections for the History of Worcestershire*, 1 (1781), 323.
- ⁵¹Jones, 519; *Acta Sanctorum*, 308. Also T. E. Tanner, *St. Edmund's Chapel, Dover, and its Restoration* (Dover, no date), 8 ff. St. Richard was long remembered in Dover, where a close was named after him: C. Hanes, *Dover Priory* (Cambridge, 1930), 125–6.