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Every student of the literature of the Middle Ages is aware that Richard I was a highly popular figure in medieval England, and that about the historical facts of his career there grew up with rapidity and luxuriance a considerable growth of romantic legend. As his fame challenged the pre-eminence of Arthur among British heroes, so his exploits, like Arthur's, multiplied and grew more marvelous in the imagination of the people, though for obvious reasons the process never went so far. To Richard's prestige among his own people we have abundant testimony in the seven manuscripts of the Middle English romance of Richard Cœur de Lion extant and in the three printed editions of the sixteenth century. As Ellis pointed out, as early as 1805, in introducing his synopsis of the romance, it is a curious texture of narrative mainly historical concerning the Third Crusade, interwoven liberally with bits of this legendary material. It will be profitable, before dealing with illustrations of certain episodes occurring in the romance, to devote some attention to its development and structure. In a review of Dr. Karl Brunner's critical edition of Richard Cœur de Lion, to be published elsewhere, I hope to deal fully with the subject, and merely summarize here the results of my investigations. I owe much to Dr. Brunner's discussion, but more to that of Gaston Paris, whose conclusions in general I adopt.\(^2\)

\(^1\) Romania, 1897, p. 387, n. 5. \(^2\) Ibid., pp. 353 ff.
As I have already said, certain well marked parts of the romance adhere roughly to the historical facts of Richard's career, whereas other parts as clearly are utterly fabulous. Since in three places the Middle English text makes acknowledgment to a French authority,3 it is clear that the closely historical portions represent an Anglo-Norman poem. Despite Gaston Paris's uncertainty as to the verse form of this poem,4 I am convinced by the comparatively large number of rhymes in French words in these historical parts of the Middle English text that they reproduce the rhymes of the original French octosyllabic couplets. The parts of the Middle English text as given in Brunner's edition which are in my judgment translations from the Anglo-Norman are the following:

1269-1341, b1057/126-130, 1430-1436, b1437/1-4, 1667-2039, b2040/1-13, 2042-2649, b2650/1-12, 2683-3040, 3125-3128, b3129/1-10, 3151-3176, b3177/1-6, 3229-3346, b3346/1-36, 3699-3758, 4817-5188, 5931-5950, b5950/1-28, 5951-end.

What can we learn of the translator? Koelbing had shown the presence of many Kentish forms in the rhymes of the Middle English text,5 and with some exceptions these occur in the parts translated from the Anglo-Norman. He also pointed out a large number of parallel passages in the Kentish romance of Arthour and Merlin.6 We are justified then in believing that the author was a Kentishman and that he is probably identical with the author of Arthour and Merlin.

With the exception of the introductory thirty-four lines, which are certainly the Kentish poet's, all the rest of the

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3 Ll. 21, 5100, 7028.  
4 Romania, 1897, p. 362, n. 2.  
5 Koelbing, Arthour and Merlin, pp. xcvii ff.  
6 Ibid., pp. lxxiii ff.
poem is to be attributed to one or more interpolators. The bulk of it is, I believe, to be attributed to one man, who seems to have a particular interest in extolling the deeds of two knights unknown to the chroniclers of the Third Crusade, Thomas de Multon and Fulke Doilly. H. L. D. Ward pointed out that these two knights are to be identified with two lords of the district of Holland in South Lincolnshire, who flourished from about 1190 to 1240.\(^7\) It seems likely that our interpolator, a minstrel, having enjoyed the patronage of their descendants, determined as a stroke of policy to associate these obscure heroes in the renown of the Lion Heart. He therefore composed narratives of tournament, battle, and siege, wherein his patrons distinguished themselves by their prowess, and fitted these into the framework of the Kentish romance. This hypothesis is confirmed by the general Midland character of his rhyme words.

Gaston Paris dates the various stages in the composition of the romance as follows: Anglo-Norman poem, ca. 1230, Kentish translation, end of the thirteenth century, interpolations, fourteenth century.\(^8\) I see no reason to disagree with these conclusions, except, perhaps, the first.

Besides the fictitious exploits of Doilly and De Multon, the South Lincolnshire minstrel is probably responsible for the fabulous interpolations concerning Richard himself: his demon birth, his imprisonment by the King of Almayne and his revenge, his cure from fever, the banquet for the Saracen ambassadors, his overthrow of Saladin before Babylon. Much of this material is clearly based upon tradition, oral and written. It is among these interpolations that we find related two of the episodes which

\(^1\) *Catalogue of the Romances in the British Museum*, 1, p. 946.  
\(^2\) *Romania*, 1897, pp. 362, 385 ff.
enjoyed a great vogue, as we shall see, among medieval artists. It will be our task in examining their illustrations to see what they indicate as to the literary and traditional sources of these episodes.

II

Of the fabulous adventures attributed to Richard that which seems most to have fascinated the imagination of medieval England was his personal encounter with Saladin. Let me outline the account of the combat as given in lines 5481-5797 of the romance. Saladin sends a challenge to Richard to meet him in single combat on the plain, and offers him the gift of a horse: Richard accepts both the challenge and the offer. Saladin then causes a necromancer to conjure two fiends of the air into the shape of a mare and her colt. The latter, which will instinctively run at its mother's neigh and kneel beside her for suck, he dispatches to Richard, and keeps the dam as his mount. But an angel warns Richard by night of the intended treachery, instructs him to procure a tree forty feet long and truss it overthwart the colt's mane, and gives him a spear head of steel to fasten on the end of it. With these directions Richard complies, and in addition stops the colt's ears with wax and conjures it in the name of God to obey him. When the time of the combat arrives, Richard, besides other equipments, carries a shield of steel, "With trea lupardes wrought full well" (l. 5710). Saladin, expecting Richard's steed to betray him, carries as his only weapon a falchion. But though the mare begins to neigh, the colt cannot hear her, and Richard comes hurtling into the Sowdan. Bridle and poitrel, girth and stirrups give way. The mare falls to the ground, and the Sowdan shoots
Bakward ouyr hys meres croupe,
His feet toward þe ðyrmanda.
Behynde hym þe spere out wente. (ll. 5778-80)

That this account of the overthrow of Saladin as it stands is the work of the South Lincolnshire minstrel is clear owing to the part which the two South Lincolnshire knights play in lines 5812f. But there are several reasons for seeing behind it a source which has been appropriated with only slight modifications. Frequent reference is made to an authority: twice it is called a "booke," twice a "geste." Furthermore, it is significant that in this passage of 450 lines Saladin is never mentioned by name, but is called simply the Sowdan, "the Cheff Sawdon of Hethenysse," or "the Sawdan, that cheef was told of Damas," as if the minstrel were simply copying, almost word for word, some manuscript he had before him. Finally, Gaston Paris has detached the element of the treacherous gift of the horse from the account of the actual combat, and skilfully traced its separate origin and development.9 I believe it has not yet been pointed out that the other element, the combat itself between Richard and Saladin, exists separately in accounts of the battle of Arsour given by two early fourteenth century chroniclers, Peter de Langtoft and Walter de Hemingburgh.10 The latter's version runs as follows: "Obviantem ei Saladinum, militem quidem strenuissimum, et congressu militari cum lancea exceptum, equum etiam cum assessore in terram prostravit." This account represents probably a much earlier tradition. Finally, there is the early mention of the single combat of King Rich-

ard as the subject of mural decoration to demonstrate that the story was an old one.

This notice is to be found among the Liberate Rolls of the reign of Henry III. This royal patron of the arts showed a peculiar fastidiousness in the decoration of his residences, and in his commissions for mural paintings he nearly always specified the subject, be it sacred or profane, which was to cover a given wall space. In an order of the year 1250 to the Sheriff of Wiltshire he directed that the history of Antioch and the single combat of King Richard be painted in the royal chamber at Clarendon Palace. The paintings, which have long since perished, consisted, then, of a long series of illustrations of the romantic history of the First Crusade and one single illustration of an episode from the romantic history of the Third Crusade. The literary authority for the first was probably the well-known Chanson d’Antioche, that of the latter was either the “geste” mentioned by the South Lincolnshire minstrel or its source.

A second illustration of this episode is furnished by a pair of the so-called Chertsey Tiles. These tiles were found in a very fragmentary state on the site of Chertsey Abbey and form the subject of an unsatisfactory monograph by Dr. Manwaring Shurlock, to whom their discovery and preservation are due. The original tiles were circular and about nine and a half inches in diameter. They are of a dark terra-cotta color, the design being inlaid with white clay. Their date as based on the evi-

dence of the armor depicted on them lies between 1270 and 1280. They are generally considered by experts to be the finest examples of tile design and manufacture which have come down to us from the Middle Ages.\textsuperscript{12} Prof. Lethaby has made the plausible suggestion that they were commissioned by Henry III. and presented by him to Chertsey Abbey.\textsuperscript{13}

On examining the reproduction of the pair of tiles (Fig. 1), we note certain features of the Middle English romance, namely, the shield blazoned with three leopards (l. 5710), the broad falchion (l. 5759), the broken girth and stirrups (l. 5775), the spear athwart the colt’s mane (l. 5561), the Sowdan’s body thrown backward (l. 5778), and the falling mare (l. 5780), more or less faithfully reproduced in the design. Before, however, we come to any rash conclusion, we must realize that three of these features, the falchion, the body thrown backward, the falling steed, were part of an artistic tradition for representing the overthrow of pagan warriors by Christian champions. There was before the French Revolution in the Abbey of St. Denis a stained glass window containing medallions of subjects from the First Crusade, and though the window was destroyed, engravings of it survive in Bernard de Montfaucon’s \textit{Monumens de la Monarchie Françoise}, vol. I, and the particular medallion which concerns us occurs on Plate \textit{LIII},\textsuperscript{14} and represents the Saracen Corbaran overthrown by Robert Count of Normandy, as

\textsuperscript{12} I have in preparation a study of these tiles, which will appear in the Series of Philological Studies published by the University of Illinois. I hope to improve on the out-of-date material of Dr. Shurlock’s text and to furnish illustrations that more accurately reproduce the original designs.

\textsuperscript{13} \textit{Walpole Society} (London), \textit{Annual Volume II}, 1913, pp. 78 f.

\textsuperscript{14} Figured also in S. Lane-Pool, \textit{Saladin}, p. 30.
described in the *Chanson d’Antioche*, ll. 985 ff. Both poem and stained glass window date from the first half of the twelfth century. This design shows the Saracen, armed with the falchion, struck backward in his saddle, while his horse collapses beneath him as in the tile design.

Accordingly, the only features of the tile design which are not adequately accounted for by this artistic tradition and the legendary tradition incorporated in Walter de Hemingburgh are the broken girth and stirrups, and the spear resting between the colt’s ears. This latter feature is, however, of so marked and unusual a character, even though it does not correspond in full detail to the description of the beam trussed athwart the colt’s mane, that it is inconceivable that the artist supplied it without knowing some more elaborate tradition than that related by Walter de Hemingburgh. Very likely he used the “geste,” if we may take that to be an Anglo-Norman poem.

Passing to the third illustration of the combat (Fig. 2), we find that the artist has diverged from the version of the Middle English romance in providing Saladin with a spear instead of a scimitar, and in other details is not a whit closer than the Chertsey Tiles save for the introduction of the bells fringing the mare’s trappings. This illustration is to be found on folio 82 of the *Louterell Psalter*, on loan at the British Museum. It was done for Geoffrey Louterell of Irnham in South Lincolnshire about the year 1340, when the East Anglian School of illumination was beginning to lose its decorative feeling and harmony of color.

To the second half of the same century belongs a fourth illustration. In Burgate church, Suffolk, there is a chest which, while originally intended for secular use, has for a long period served the purpose of a parish chest. The front, besides some painted designs of a purely ornamental
Fig. 2.

A pud me oracio deo ut mec: di
cam deo susceptor meus es.

Fig. 3.
character, shows on the sinister side the much obliterated but clearly decipherable figure of a mounted knight, who was evidently opposed to a knight now vanished on the dexter side (Fig. 3). The still discernible participant in this tilting scene wears a jupon decorated with red designs, a hawberk appearing at the thighs, a camail, and vambraces,—all combining to place the date of the painting in the second half of the fourteenth century. A straight black line representing a spear strikes the knight in the midriff, and blood is flowing from the wound. The shock causes the knight to lean back, while his horse stoops its head and seems to stagger. The knight’s right arm is raised over his head and grasps a sword with curving blade. The left arm droops at his side, holding an egg-shaped shield charged with a red wyvern. The scimeter is enough to distinguish the warrior as a Saracen, and the wyvern on the shield is almost the counterpart of one on the shield of Saladin carved on a handsome chest in the Musée de Cluny, of which I shall have more to say later. This wyvern also corresponds to ll. 5769 f. of the romance, which read:

In hys blasoun, verrayment,
Was jpaynted a serpent.

In two manuscripts we find illuminations which cannot be described as illustrations of this episode but which can be set down with some confidence as reminiscences of paintings or illuminations directly illustrating it. One manuscript is that masterpiece of medieval English craftsmanship known as Queen Mary’s Psalter, dating from the early fourteenth century. On folio 184 there is depicted a combat between two knights, one of whom exhibits the familiar features of the upraised right arm, the scimeter, the body thrown back into an almost horizontal position,
and the collapsing steed. In the so-called Douai Psalter (No. 171 in the Public Library at Douai) the same features occur in an illumination on folio 48 verso. This manuscript was originally given as a present by Thomas, vicar of Gorleston in Suffolk, to a certain Abbot John, and its date lies between 1322 and 1325. These two illuminations, then, while lacking any conclusive details which would show that the artists had in mind the story of the encounter of the Lion Heart and Saladin, do show that they were familiar with the pictorial representations of it and testify to the popularity of the motif.

The evidence of these illustrations, then, tends to show: first, that as early as 1250 an account of Richard's combat with Saladin, probably in Anglo-Norman, so stood out from the rest of the traditions concerning Richard's prowess as to have been alone selected for the decoration of Clarendon palace; secondly, that about 1275 a version existed embodying certain features, the scimitar, and the spear resting between the horse's ears, which reappear in the version contributed to the Middle English romance by the South Lincolnshire minstrel and which tend to prove that in that version the treacherous gift motif was already combined with the motif of the unhorsing of Saladin; finally, that by the opening of the fourteenth century illustrations of the encounter had become so common that artists unconsciously in depicting encounters between Christian and Saracen warriors reproduced the familiar features of Richard's triumph over Saladin. It was this same popularity which induced the South Lincolnshire minstrel early in the fourteenth century to incorporate a version which he calls the "booke" or "geste" into his redaction of the Richard romance.

15 Figured in Queen Mary's Psalter, ed. G. Warner, Pl. 207.
16 Figured in New Palaeographical Society, Part 1, Pl. 16.
Next to his overthrow of Saladin, Richard's most renowned exploit was that of tearing the heart out of a lion. Apparently it had occurred to some professional raconteur to invent a story in explanation of Richard's familiar sobriquet. If we accept the evidence of the two thirteenth century illustrations which I shall presently examine, that story had already won a vogue before it was interpolated in the Middle English romance. It is retained in the printed editions of the sixteenth century, is the subject of references in the play printed in 1591 called The Troublesome Reign of King John, which is the basis of Shakespeare's play. These references are repeated in King John, Act I, Scene 1, l. 265:

Against whose fury and unmatched force
The aweless lion could not wage the fight,
Nor keep his princely heart from Richard's hand.

Also in Act II, Scene 1, l. 3:

Richard that robbed the lion of his heart.

Briefly, the story, as related in ll. 738-1118, is this: Richard, returning from Palestine as a palmer, was imprisoned by King Modard of Almayn. He managed to crack the skull of the king's son and to violate the king's daughter. Naturally Modard was in high dudgeon, but had scruples about shedding royal blood by process of law. One of his wisest councillors suggested that the difficulty might be avoided by letting a starved lion into Richard's cell, and thereby shifting the responsibility upon the beast. The king, much relieved, gave commands that so it should be done. His daughter, however, warned Richard

17 G. H. Needler, Richard Coeur de Lion in Literature, p. 57.
and brought him forty silk handkerchiefs. These he wound about his arm and when the lion rushed at him, thrust it down his gaping throat, and rent out the heart. Walking in triumph to the hall where the king and his court were seated, he calmly salted the bleeding lump of flesh and devoured it before the gasping assemblage.

The feat of tearing out the heart of a lion presents a similarity to the well-known exploits of Samson and David, which are portrayed countless times in medieval art. The first illustration (Fig. 4) of it which I wish to bring forward would naturally be identified as Samson and the lion if it occurred alone. It belongs, however, among the Chertsey Tiles, none of which illustrate Biblical or religious scenes, which do, however, afford at least one other illustration of the romance of Richard, namely, the unhorsing of Saladin with which I have already dealt. I believe, therefore, we are justified in taking this to be Richard, despite the fact that it represents no distinctive details of the story and is much like the conventional portrayals of Samson bestriding the recalcitrant beast.

We can be more certain of our identification in the case of an illumination in the so-called Peterborough Psalter, Nos. 9961, 9962 at the Royal Library at Brussels. This manuscript was the product of the monastery at Peterborough and belongs to the end of the thirteenth century. On folio 33 (Fig. 5) there stands in the middle of the text the picture of a crowned, bearded man, with one hand grasping the mane of a lion and thrusting it back on its haunches, and with the other reaching down its throat. Father Van den Gheyn, who edited a very complete series of reproductions from this manuscript in a volume of the Musée des Enluminures, in one place explains this as "Samson et le lion," and in another as "David terassant le lion." The first suggestion we may discard at once,
since Samson was never a crowned king. The case for David derives plausibility from the fact that this illumination occurs in the midst of the Psalms. But David's adventure with the lion took place when he was a boy, before he could boast a beard and long before he wore a crown. In fact, we have on folio 64 of this very ms. a representation of David rescuing the sheep from the lion's mouth, so faithful to the Biblical account as to show that the illuminator could not have been guilty of the blunders which the identification of the picture with David would impute to him. King Richard, then, remains the only likely subject, and I think the arm thrust down the lion's throat a feature I do not remember seeing in any representation of Samson's struggle, conclusive.

A third illustration occurs among the bosses in the cloister of Norwich Cathedral (Fig. 6). These exceedingly interesting bosses have been the subject of a monograph by Mr. M. R. James, the Provost of King's College, Cambridge. The cathedral records show that the north walk in which our boss occurs was built between 1420 and 1428, and give us the names of several workmen employed on it. Mr. James numbers the boss in question VI, 1, and on page 24 suggests that the subject is King Richard. Two peculiar features are here present: the background is composed of trees, and Richard in his upraised hand grasps a dagger. The latter is explained by the fact that according to three mss. of the romance Richard received not only forty handkerchiefs from the King of Almayn's daughter but also an Irish knife, and while he strangled the lion with the swathed left arm, cut open its breast and took out the heart with his right. The reproduction of

18 M. R. James's monograph on bosses of Norwich Cathedral cloister, p. vii.
19 Version b, ll. 1035-1057/44.
these features, in conjunction with the maturity of the man and the crown, justify our overlooking the incongruous background and accepting the figure as Richard.

One striking fact emerges from the consideration of these illustrations of the Lion Heart's triumph over the Saracen and the beast, namely, that save the Clarendon painting, the Chertsey Tiles, and Queen Mary's Psalter, which were probably the work of artists under royal patronage, all the rest are known to have been made in East Anglia, with the exception of the Burgate chest which, since it is now to be found there, has also a claim to having been made in the district. Thus the names, Burgate and Gorleston, in Suffolk, Irnham in South Lincolnshire, Peterborough and Norwich, indicate a special local cult of Richard. Whether to any extent the minstrel who enjoyed the patronage of the two knightly families of South Lincolnshire encouraged and confirmed the cult, whether, as he sang about in ale houses and monastic halls, he infected his fellows of a sister craft with a devotion to the fame of Richard, remains mere matter of conjecture. It is not likely that he met in the flesh any of the particular artists whose illustrations of Richard's feats we know.

IV

Besides these illustrations scattered over the domain of English decorative art, there is also one accompanying the earliest text of the romance (Fig. 7). This is to be found on folio 326 of the famous Auchinleck Manuscript in the Advocates' Library, Edinburgh. A galley, bristling with oars and spears, flying banners, approaches a walled city, whose battlements are crowded with armed men. In the

Sir George Warner, Queen Mary's Psalter, pp. vi f., suggests that the Psalter was destined for Edward I or II.
bow of the galley stands a bearded knight, on whose red surcoat white leopards are distinguishable, grasping a large ax in his hands. Above the illumination is the rubric *King Richard*: There can be no doubt that this illustrates the following lines from the Auchinleck text as given in *Englische Studien*, viii, p. 118:

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& king richard þat was so gode
Wiþ his ax afor schippe stode
& whan he com over þe cheyne
He smot astrok wiþ miȝt and mayn
þe cheyne he smot on peces þre
& boþ endes fel down in þe se. (ll. 45-50)
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So far I have dealt with Richard in English literature and English art, and with the evidence there afforded that as a sort of embodiment of bravado and knock-down strength and rough humor he was very dear to the Anglo-Saxon heart. Across the Channel, however, Richard's standing was, to say the least, dubious. When a small boy calls out to another small boy across the back fence "You're a sneak, you're a sissy," the easiest retort is, "No, I'm not. You're a sneak, you're a sissy." So when the English had turned out a romance which through many folio pages called the French and their king traitors and cowards, the French replied in almost identical terms. While Richard is the hero of English accounts of the Third Crusade, Philip is the hero of the French literature of the same Crusade. In *Jean d'Avesnes* it is Philip who is given the credit of overthrowing Saladin at a tournament at Cambrai, while Richard is exposed as a blustering, quarrelsome adventurer.²¹ In other French

poems, however, especially in those originating in the neighborhood of Flanders, Richard is treated more leniently. In the *Pas Saladin* he is by no means the principal figure, but together with eleven other knights of great prowess he holds a defile into the Holy Land against an invading Saracen host. Readers of the poem will remember that twelve champions of the Christian army undertake, with the permission of their leader, Philip, to hold a pass against the paynim foe. Saladin coming up with his army, is held at bay, and many of his chieftains are slain by the redoubtable twelve. Wondering who can be the cause of the delay, he despatches a spy, Tornevent, who is familiar with the blazonry of the Christian knights, to an eminence overlooking the defile where the fight is raging. Tornevent scrutinizes closely the shields of the twelve champions, and returns to Saladin to report their names. The Saracens at last abandon the attempt to force a passage and retreat, while the victorious heroes return to their camp and celebrate in feasting their marvelous exploit.

The short poem of the *Pas Saladin*, belonging to the late thirteenth century, does not represent the first form of the story. Evidently it had been a current tradition for some time, for the poem itself bears witness that the paintings of the subject were found in many a hall.22

22 Gaston Paris in the *Journal des Savants*, 1893, pp. 491-96, elaborates a theory that the literary versions of the *Pas Saladin* were each inspired by pictorial representations, that artists were responsible for the spread of the story, and that writers merely developed independently suggestions afforded by the paintings. He furthermore (p. 492), says that it is probable that those paintings had a very ancient point of departure and had originally represented, perhaps at the instance of Richard himself, his marvelous relief of Jaffa and discomfiture of the Saracen host with the aid of only a few companions. Now, that the several literary versions of the *Pas
Gaston Paris has pointed out that in the will of the Black Prince made in 1376 he bequeathes to his son Richard "une sale darras du pas Saladin." We learn from the records concerning the castle of Valenciennes that in the same year payment was to be made to "Loys, le pointre, pour plusieurs ouvrages de pointure qu'il a fait a le Sale, c'est assavoir le Pas Salehadin, etc." It has furthermore been frequently pointed out that Froissart has an elaborate account of a pageant given to celebrate the entry of Isabel of Bavaria into Paris in 1389, in which the story of the Pas Saladin was acted out. Upon a scaffold "estoit ordonne le pas du roy Salehadin, et touz faiz de personnages, les chretiens d'une part, et les Sarrazins de l'autre, et la estoient par personnages tous les seigneurs de nom qui jadis au pas Salhadin furent, et armoiez de leurs armes ainsi que pour le temps de adonc ilz s'armoient." So that we may see that not only the episode

Saladin owe their origin to the exploits of Richard and his ten knights at Jaffa, Paris has amply demonstrated. But his general theory that the motif was diffused by paintings alone rests on the slight basis of the references to paintings in the Pas Saladin; and his suggestion that Richard had himself given the order for a painting of the original battle at Jaffa rests upon the incorrect assumption (p. 492, n. 3) that Henry III's commission for the painting at Clarendon of the duellum Regis Ricardi referred to the same battle. The word duellum itself precludes such an identification. Accordingly, while I may not deny that paintings and tapestries played some part in the diffusion and modification of the story of the Pas Saladin, yet I regard Paris's theory as stretching far beyond the bounds of ascertained fact, and it is unfortunate that it should have been repeated with such assurance by Dr. Lodeman in editing the Pas Saladin. See Mod. Lang. Notes, xii, p. 93.

* Froissart, Bk. iv, ch. i.
and the participants were familiar to the artists of the fourteenth century, but also that a recognized tradition assigned to each warrior a distinctive heraldic device. This is confirmed by the fact that in the libraries of Lille, Valenciennes, and Besançon, manuscripts of the sixteenth and seventeenth century are found giving the arms of the heroes of the Pas Saladin.26

Furthermore, as an additional proof of their fame, there is preserved in the Hôtel de Cluny a magnificent carved chest, made in Northeastern France about the year 1300. On one end of the chest we see depicted Saladin with his chivalry (Fig. 8), and we may note the wyvern on his shield to which I have already alluded in connection with the Burgate chest. On the left of the design, Tornevent is perched on a hillock, spear in hand, reporting the names of the Christian knights. On the front of the chest the twelve knights themselves appear standing under an arcade (Fig. 9). Unhappily I am not as familiar as Tornevent with medieval heraldry nor have I had access to the manuscripts aforementioned, so that I cannot read all their shields with certainty. I am doubtful in particular as to the identity of the first, sixth, and twelfth figures, but an identification of the twelve by their family arms may prove useful until the manuscripts can be consulted. I give first the numbers of the knights as they stand on the front of the chest from left to right, then my suggested identification, then the basis of it in a heraldic blazoning quoted from an armorial.

I. Hues de Florine. Florins—D’azur à la croix recerclée d’or au sautoir de gueules brochée sur le tout. Rietstap, Armorial Général, i, p. 682.

II. Bernars de Horstemale. Horstmar—D’or à VII

fascles d'azur au lion de gueules couronné d'or brochant sur le tout. Rietstap, i, p. 991.

III. Tierris de Cleves. Cleves—De gueules à l'écusson d'argent en cœur, au rays d'escarboucle fleurdelisé et pommeté d'or brochant sur le tout. Gelre's Wappenboek, ed. V. Bouton, iv, Pl. 124.

IV. Guillaume Longe Espée. F. E. Lodeman in his notes on the Pas Saladin, Mod. Lang. Notes, xii, p. 33, is at a loss to know who this William Longsword is. There can be no question that it is the fourth Earl of Salisbury, who distinguished himself in the Seventh Crusade, and in honor of whom an Anglo-Norman romance was written. See Histoire Littéraire, xxiii, p. 429. Chronology was obviously nothing to the author of the Pas Saladin. The arms of William Longaspata, as recorded by Matthew Paris, Chronica Majora, Rolls Series, vi, p. 470, were, azure six lioncels or. Here the carver for lack of space has substituted three lioncels for six.

V. Simon de Monfort. Montfort l'Amaury—Gueules à un lion d'argent rampant à la queue fourchée. M. Douet D'arcq, Armorial de France, p. 8, no. 16.

VI. If all the other identifications be right, this should by the process of elimination be Gofroy de Lasegnon or Lusignan.

VII. Renars de Boulogne. Daumartin—Fessié d'argent et d'asur de VI pièces à une bordeure de gueules. Douet D'arcq, p. 8, no. 19.


IX. Guillaume de Barre. Barres (Auvergne)—Lozengez d'or et de gueules. Douet D'arcq, p. 49, no. 661.

X. Phelippons de Flandres. Flandres—D'or à un lion noir rampant. Douet D'arcq, p. 79, no. 1163.
XI. Roi Richars d'Engleterre.

XII. Gautier de Chastillon. Chatillon—Paalé de vair et de gueules à un chief d'or à une molette d'or ou chief. Douet D'arco, p. 48, no. 643.

Of Flemish or North French origin, doubtless, are the various tapestries of King Richard mentioned in medieval inventories. An inventory of the tapestries of Richard II made in the year of his death, 1399, mentions "two pec (pieces) de Regi Ricardo." 27 Among the tapestries of Arras work in the possession of John Duke of Berry in 1416 were two "tappis du Roy Richart." 28

Roger Sherman Loomis.

27 W. G. Thomson, History of Tapestry, p. 100.

28 J. Guiffrey, Inventaires de Jean Duc de Berry, II, pp. 209 f.