

# THE NINE WORTHIES:

their Influence on Culture  
from the  
Fourteenth to the Seventeenth  
Centuries



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ABSTRACT

The Nine Worthies, a three fold triad of heroes of Pagan, Biblical and Christian origins, were first mentioned by Jacques de Longuyon in an Alexander text of the fourteenth century, "Les Voeux du Paon".

An inquiry into the possible sources of this mythographic work has revealed that:

1. The thirteenth century English theme of the Ubi Sunt which involved the recitation of famous names in exclamation of the transitory nature of life evoked the Nine Worthies. Fulgentius the mythographer made direct reference to the Ubi Sunt in an exposition of Alexander.
2. Dante's concern with cosmology in the Divine Comedy inspired the symbolic imagery of the Nine Heavens; in the fifth heaven Dante recalls the greatness of the Nine Worthies. Here the heroes are examined in the context of Christian eschatological belief and we are introduced to the theme of virtue. The association of the Nine Heroes with virtue can be traced back to the De Viris Illustribus.

The influence of the Nine Worthies on medieval culture has been explored through written sources. The triads of the three Jews, Joshua, David and Judas Maccabeus; the three pagans, Hector, Julius Caesar, Alexander; the three Christians, Arthur, Charlemagne and Godfrey of Bouillon, correspond exactly with two major sources of influence on Western culture, the Judaic and the Classic. Jacques de Longuyon's idea of using iconological types

for/ ...

for various expressive modes of virtue has drawn upon the conventional use of typological sequences. It is interesting to note that Alexander may have prefigured Godfrey of Bouillon; for although Alexander was a pagan in romance literature he echoed the intolerance of the infidels found in the Crusaders.

The emergence of the Nine Worthies as heroic prototypes was dependent upon the features of chivalrous society. The troubadours and romance literature encouraged the recognition of the heroes. The claim to descend from the great heroes of the past encouraged genealogies in which the Nine Worthies featured, to the extent that their own coats of arms were established. The heroes' coats of arms were to be found in the earliest representations and in secular art both public and private commissions of the heroes flourished for three centuries.

The cult of the Nine Worthies brought about a line of thought which was carried from the twelfth century to the Burgundian Age when Jean Molinet in "Le Trosne d'Honneur", repeated Dante's theme, deeply steeped in the tradition of medieval number symbolism.

The Nine Worthies were represented in pageants and even masques such as Shakespeare's Love's Labour's Lost. These dramatic presentations proclaimed the heroes as classical references through their association with Hercules and established the tradition of the Heroes eponymous.

The Nine Worthies can be considered as an expression of a "translatio", which originated in Plutarch's Lives

and continued/...

and continued in De Viris Illustribus, down to the theme of the Nine Worthies through a gradual process of ideal exemplification.

EDWINA ANNE HANCOCK  
REQUESTS FOR REPRINTS  
ARE TO BE ADDRESSED  
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## INTRODUCTION

Previous studies of the Nine Worthies, that is a triple series of triads representing heroes of the Old Testament, Christian and Pagan sources, have tended to observe these heroes in cultural isolation. In many instances the Nine Worthies have been treated as a subsidiary theme (1). The challenge therefore arose to present a synthesis of information on the Nine Worthies exploring the origins and development of the theme between the fourteenth and seventeenth centuries.

The search for the origins of the Nine Worthies mentioned by Jacques de Longuyon in that mythographic work, "Les Voeux du Paon", (2) c.1310 provided insight into very similar trends to be found in French, English and Italian culture of the fourteenth century.

Earlier in the Middle Ages the literary origins of the Nine Worthies and their association with the encyclopaedic nature of Medieval culture finds complete expression in Dante's Divine Comedy. In this work the Nine Worthies are represented within the context of Christian eschatological belief. Dante's erudite conception of Medieval number symbolism gives the Nine Worthies greater significance. A line of thought runs from the Duecento down to Burgundian mythological concepts. For Jean Molinet in his "Le Trosne d'Honneur", (3) of 1467 repeats Dante's theme of the Nine Worthies and the journey in search of chivalric virtue.

In France/ ...

- (1) R.S. Loomis, Arthurian Legends in Medieval Art, Oxford U.P., 1938, 7.
- (2) "The Vows of the Peacock".
- (3) "The Triumph of Honour".

In France, the emergence of the minstrels and the troubadours within the context of aristocratic courts encouraged the rise in fame of the Nine Heroes; Joshua, David, Judas Maccabeus, Hector, Julius Caesar, Alexander, Arthur, Charlemagne and Godfrey of Bouillon. The life of the last hero amongst the Nine Worthies, Godfrey of Bouillon coincides with the establishment of the cult of chivalry. The importance of genealogical literature, of courtly love and the symbols of heroism promoted the image of the Nine Worthies as ideal types.

In secular art the Nine Worthies were represented in an idealistic and paradigmatical manner. The historical subject with which they were associated was considered of prime importance. The demand for symmetry "as Huizinga calls it" (4) brought about various groupings of the Nine Worthy women, in literature they had been presented by Eustache Deschamps as a series of Amazon Queens. It was Sébastien Mamerot who in 1463 opposed the Nine Worthies with the Nine Heroines dividing them into the corresponding triads of Old Testament, Pagan and Christian history. Representations of the Nine Worthies in secular art emphasize the demands of wealthy patrons such as the Dukes of Burgundy and Henry VIII. Contrasted to the requirements of these individual patrons is the representation of the Nine Worthies in Germany where the theme of the heroes was linked to the civic virtue of justice.

During the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries the interest of the Nine Worthies made its way into popular tradition reinforcing the tradition of virtue amongst the lower classes. Towards the end of the Renaissance the Nine Worthies were promoted to the status of classical references in pageantry and even masques.

(4) J. Huizinga, The Waning of the Middle Ages, Penguin, Harmondsworth, 72.

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CHAPTER I

THE ORIGINS OF THE NINE WORTHIES

1.1 "LES NEUF PREUX" : A MEDIEVAL CULTURAL PHENOMENON

The culture of the Middle Ages finds a complete expression in the phenomenon of "The Nine Worthies".

(1). The threefold triad of famous men, three pagans, three Jews and three Christians, appeared for the first time in an Alexander text of the beginning of the fourteenth century, "Les Voeux du Paon", by Jacques de Longuyon, c.1310. (2). They are Hector, Julius Caesar, Alexander, Joshua, David, Judas Maccabeus, Arthur, Charlemagne and Godfrey of Bouillon. This was the first mention of "The Nine Worthies" who, for some three centuries, (3), were familiar in works of literature and still more in the visual arts, both minor and monumental. (4).

The cult/ .....

- (1) "The Nine Worthies"; "Les Neuf Preux"; "Die Neun Helden"; "Nouem Probi".
- (2) Text, J. Barbour, "The Buik of Alexander", ed. R.L.G. Ritchie, (Edinburgh, L. 1925), vol. i-iv. Several of the texts published in I. Gollancz, "The Parlement of the Thre Ages", London, 1915. Raymond Van Marle, "L'iconographie de la décoration Profane des demeures princières en France et en Italie aux xive et xve siècles", Gazette des Beaux Artes, Series 5, 1926, vol. 14, 32 quotes P. D'Ancona, "Gli Affreschi del Castello di Manta", L'Arte, 1905, vol. 8, 156, as mentioning that the Nine Worthies appeared in literature of the twelfth century, but this claim is unfounded, see also D.J.A. Ross, "Alexander Historiatus": A Guide to Medieval Illustrated Alexander Literature, London Warburg Institute, 1963, Appendix I.
- (3) R.S. Loomis, "Arthurian Legends in Medieval Art", Oxford U.P., 1938, 37, quotes P. Meyer, "Bulletin de la Société des Anciens Textes", France, 1883, 47.
- (4) The most useful and complete study of the Nine Worthies in art and literature is R.L. Wyss, "Die Neun Helden, eine ikonographische studie", Zeitschrift Für Schweizerische Archäologie und Kunstgeschichte Vol. 17 1957, 73-106, and pls. 17-32. R.S. Loomis, "Verses on the Nine Worthies", Modern Philology, xv, 1917, 19-27, and K.J. Höltgen, "Die 'Nine Worthies'", Anglia, Lxxvii, 1959, 279-309, on the history of the theme.

The cult of the Nine Worthies survived until the eighteenth century (5), but the emergence of these figures in the Middle Ages, and their popularity, found a significant link with Medieval culture in particular. The three pagans, three Jews and three Christian heroes represented a heritage which was indispensable to the Middle Ages; each of the Nine Worthies representing a "topos" or literary theme and combined they represent a typology of Medieval culture. This use of typology was a characteristic of Medieval thought and it can be applied to both the arts and literature. Since the Middle Ages, it became customary to draw up typological sequences, at first each event of the New Testament was paralleled with one from the Old Testament. Later on the number of types of each event in the New Testament increased. St. Thomas Aquinas had defined types "as persons, matters or actions taken from the Old Testament, which by God's purpose and will are so directed that they indicate something in the future". (6). This made it possible that a biblical event was no longer connected with Christ, but became the prefiguration of an event, in secular history (7). Medieval typology involved the juxtaposition of scenes from the Old Testament, classical antiquity and Christian history. Parallels were drawn between Danaë and Mary, Herakles and Christ, the Kings of Antiquity and Christian monarchs. (8). Thus the Nine Worthies represented a typological  
sequence/ ...

- (5) John G. Nichols, The Arms of the Nine Worthies, Herald and Genealogist, Vol. 1, 176.
- (6) H. Van de Waal, Drie Eeuwen Vaderlandsche Geschied-Uitbeelding, 1500-1800, Een iconologische studie, The Hague, Nijhoff, 1952, Vol. 1, 17.
- (7) See Supra, 2.1,
- (8) Danaë see Erwin Panofsky, Oud-Holland, (1933), 206-207.

sequence consisting of three sets based on the Bible, Classical antiquity and Christianity.

Jacques de Longuyon's grouping of the three religions in three triads was probably influenced by number symbolism, which played a specific role since it was known to have received considerable attention in the Middle Ages. (9). Three is the sacred number of perfection and the triple subdivision goes back to St. Augustine of Hippo (354-430 A.D.), who divided the history of Grace and well-being into three divisions; (before the Law; during the Law; under Grace). Typological series represent more specifically the confrontation of events in the life of Christ and its pre-figurations in the Old Testament and in early Christian art. (10). The use of typology in the sculptural programmes of the great cathedrals built between 1300 and 1500, provide significant examples of the Medieval use of typology, (i.e. early Gothic at St. Denis and pure Gothic at Chartres Cathedral). In literature such typological comparisons were important as the ideal representation of the chivalrous Knight was presented through nine particularly selected characters from Jewish biblical and pagan antique backgrounds as well as the Christian context in which the Knight was living. An analogy to this is the later Medieval adoration, the Three Magi, who came to symbolise not only the Three Magi of the East, but also represented the three periods of life and the three continents (11); they also represented the symbolic prophecy of Christianity and its fulfillment.

In the/ ...

(9) Wyss, op. cit., 74.

(10) E. Mâle; "The Gothic Image", Religious Art in France in the Thirteenth Century, transl. D. Nussey, Icon edition, Harper and Row, London, 1972.

(11) Wyss, op. cit., 74.

In the MS. Lansdowne 762 of c.1500 there is the following reference to the Nine Worthies. (12).

Saraceni	Judaei
Ector, Alex, Julius	David, Josue, Machabeus

Cristiani

Artur cum Carolo, Galfridum linquere volo :  
Isti sunt ter tres trini fidei meliores.

The grouping of the Nine Worthies offers an example of reduced universal history symbolized by their names, and reflects the character of medieval historiography and history; not as objective historical facts, but as deeds and features of important personalities. World chronicles which begin at Adam, and then mention a progression of names such as the Nine Worthies (13), amongst others, show this structural principle. The relation of the triads in the Nine Worthies seems to suggest that they originate in the three religions but the grouping of the Nine Worthies refers not only to a predilection for number symbolism but also refers to the habit of the world chroniclers to stage world history according to the divisions of historical periods (14). The three best figures of the three religions "tres trini fidei meliores", refer to this tradition and the continuity of thought that considers the pagan and Judaic periods as prefigurations of the Christian era.

The nine/...

(12) MS. Harl. 200 See Gollancz op. cit., Appendix XVIII.

(13) See Supra, Medieval Secular Art, 3.1.

(14) K.J. Höltingen, op. cit., 280.

The nine fold representation of the Nine Worthies based on the triads of the three religions established a canonic idea of the Nine Worthies. This concept of the Nine Worthies as a threefold triad could be related to the Welsh triads (15) in which triads of Kings with similar virtues were mentioned but were overrated during that period. Even if there was no possibility of countering this opinion, the late origin of the Welsh triads from the thirteenth to the eighteenth century (16) indicates that the origin of Jacques de Longuyon's grouping of the Nine Worthies in "Les Voeux du Paon", is not solely Welsh. The case is very different for Jacques de Longuyon's "Les Voeux du Paon", which survives in forty manuscripts from Copenhagen to the Bodleian Library, Oxford.

Having considered the possibility of the Welsh triads, it becomes necessary to investigate the problem of sources for the English tradition and search for the preliminary steps which led J. de Longuyon to present the Nine Worthies in a manner which embraced the medieval tradition. Annotations of famous men and women from antiquity are often related to religious didactic poetry conceived in the formula of the "Ubi Sunt ...?", which deals with the theme of the perishable nature of man's existence and man's mortality as exemplified amongst the dead and the forgotten. A Latin hymn of the eleventh century provides/ ...

- (15) Ibid, 281 Höltgen quote, The Nine Worthies "may very likely have originated in the Welsh triads", see Dunlops History of Prose Fiction, ed. Wilson, London, 1888, vol. 1., 270. See also P. Branscheid, "Über die Quellen des alliterierenden Morte Arthure." Anglia 8 (1885), 179. See also "Welsh Historical Triads", in Vol. II Myvyrian Archaeology of Wales, ed. O. Jones, E. Williams, W.O. Pughe, Denbigh, 1870.
- (16) Höltgen, op. cit., 281 quotes R. Bromwich, The Triads, Bull. Bibliogr. de la Soc. Intern. Arthurienne, Paris 1957.

provides an example of the Ubi Sunt theme, "Audi, bellus, audi, magni maris limbus ...". The English version is entitled "Death takes all." (17).

Ubi Plato, ubi Porphyrius?  
Ubi Tullius aut Virgilius?  
Aut egregius Aristoteles?  
Alexander ubi, rex maximus?  
Ubi Hector, Troiae fortissimus?  
Ubi David, rex doctissimus?  
Ubi Salomon, prudentissimus?  
Ubi Helena Parisque roseus?  
Ceciderunt in profundum ut lapides ...

(l. 15-24)

The English version of this poem ends with the following lines :

"They have fallen to the bottom, as a stone rolls  
But thou, O God, of faithful men and the Lord,  
To us Thy favour evermore afford  
When on the wicked judgement shall be poured!"

The theme of the Ubi Sunt reveals the heroes of the past who are now resting beneath stones; while the answer to the question of the Ubi Sunt betrays the sudden fall of great people, the names that were recorded give a lesson in morality beneficial to the soul. This verse reflecting the theme of the Ubi Sunt, emphasises the worthlessness of the temporalia such as intelligence, power, physical strength, riches and beauty, which pass as "ice neath sunshine melts into a shower". (18). The theme of the Ubi Sunt emphasises the way that these earthly blessings give people false confidence/...

(17) Wine, Women and Song, ed. J.A. Symonds, King's Classics, London 1907, 181.

(18) Ibid, 181. 1,14.

confidence and lead to vanity such as that in the twelfth century poem De Mundi Vanitate (19). In the English version of this poem, "This World is False and Vain", the theme of the Ubi Sunt is repeated:

"Where is Solomon, or Samson . . . ,  
Absolom or Jonathan . . . ,  
Caesar or Dives . . . ,  
Tully or Aristotle . . . ," (l. 12-20)

The grouping of the Nine Worthies defies the transitory status of man, they attain a certain universality through the unification of the three ages of man (literally, and in the representation of the three laws) and an everlasting status through the representation of the heroes eponymous.

In De Mundi Vanitate the poet recalls, the Ubi Sunt

"Where is Solomon, who was so noble and wise in  
his day?"  
"He is food for worms! He has returned to dust!"

The poem of De Mundi Vanitate, could have been written by Walter Map or Bernard of Clairvaux.

A very early English poem which represents the Ubi Sunt theme is the Luve Run (1240) by the learned Franciscan monk, Thomas of Hales of Gloucester (20).  
To exemplify/...

- (19) Latin poems attr. Walter Mapes, ed. Th. Wright, Camden Soc. 6., London, 1841, 147. An English version This World is False and Vain in Hymns to the Virgin and Christ ed. F.J. Furnivall, E.E.T.S., O.S., 24 (1867 repr. 1895) 86 (Lambeth, MS. 853,32).
- (20) An Old Engl. Miscellany, ed. R. Morris, E.E.T.S., O.S. 49, (1872) 95. Also English Lyrics of the thirteenth century ed. C. Brown, Oxford U.P., 1932, no. 43.

To exemplify the transitoriness of mankind emphasised in the Ubi Sunt ..., only pagan and Old Testament figures were used before the event of Jacques de Longuyon's grouping of the Nine Worthies in "Les Voeux du Paon". The repose of the soul of the pagan and Old Testament figures is a matter of theological contention; the Ubi Sunt theme emphasised despair through the use of non-Christian heroes. It is interesting to consider that the despair and gloom of the Ubi Sunt would have contradicted the deeply-rooted Christian faith of the medieval people and it therefore provides a rich contrast to religious fervour as a means of coping with death and despair. Thomas of Hales' poem, The Luve Run describes the sad and dishonest state of worldly love in graphic imagery.

"World's weal makes the heart to smart and ache  
At last death will deprive him of all  
Where now are Paris and Helen,  
Amadas and Tristram,  
Hector and Caesar?  
They have passed away as a shaft from a bowstring...  
It is as if they had never lived."

(l. 58-76)

Amongst Thomas of Hales' series of famous lovers two stem from the French romance tradition; the romances represent a new possible source for Jacques de Longuyon's grouping of the Nine Worthies in "Les Voeux du Paon". The heroes of Antiquity may appear vaguely Christian in previous poems illustrative of the Ubi Sunt; but the heroes of the Christian romances in contrast to the pagan heroes are totally absent in the poems of the Ubi Sunt. The three Christians amongst the Nine Worthies, Arthur, Charlemagne and Godfrey of Bouillon were immortalised for their devotion to Christianity in the romances.

Another/ ...

Another definite distinction arises about a hundred years later from the didactic work, the Cursor Mundi (21). The Cursor Mundi presents the bearers of biblical salutary history in an ordered programme representative of the seven ages of the world. The fourteenth century Northumbrian poet of the Cursor Mundi presents the biblical events of the Old and the New Testaments; vital information to the people of medieval Europe. The author of the Cursor Mundi notes that the gestes, rhymes and romances of the medieval epic heroes presented information which the medieval citizens of Europe yearned to hear, "iernen to here". Alexander, Caesar, the Greeks and the Trojans, Arthur and the Round Table, Charlemagne and Roland whose stories of rioting, fun, love and vanity presented profane experiences marked by the desire to shield out worldly vices, and often attracted a foolish audience.

"The wise man wol wisdom here, the fool him draweth  
to foly nere." (l. 27-28).

From these romantic and chivalrous tales those familiar with medieval romance could distinguish between good and evil:

"For bi that thing mon draweth tille  
Men may him knowe for good or ille."  
(l. 44-45)

The Northumbrian curer of souls does not altogether condemn the lovers and conquerors of the romances, he praises Charlemagne and Roland for their victory over the Saracens, however, he utters a word of warning on the rivalry of religions. In the context of the influential romances of love and heroism,

"the variations/...

(21) Ed. R. Morris, E.E.T.S., O.S., 57, 59, 101, (1874, 1893).

"the variations are not only between jest and  
earnest;  
for the love religion can become more serious  
without becoming reconciled to the real religion".  
(22).

A long list of examples pertaining to Italian folklore are to be found in the thirteenth century book the Libro de Santo Justo Paladino de Franza. (23). This legend of conversion which follows a long Christian-Boethian tradition from Fortuna the allegorical figure who speaks of the fall of the powerful, the paladin Justice, touches on the spiritual revaluation of worldly goods and virtues and the author contrasts humility with possessiveness, beauty with chastity, charity with judgement. With these and similar examples the model of Psychomachia and the internal war between virtue and vice are clearly distinguishable. The Nine Worthies were frequently associated with these moral questions as in Dante's Divine Comedy. (24)

The fame of the Nine Worthies immediately brought their good repute to be questioned during the Middle Ages. In Peter Abelard's History one of the exemplary lessons is that fame sought for vain glorious ends is easily destroyed by some weakness arising from vainglory itself. (25). The passages from Abelard's History

clearly/ ...

- (22) ..., "An extension of religion, an escape from religion, a rival religion, Frauendienst may be any of these."  
C.S. Lewis, The Allegory of Love, O.U.P., 1936, 21.
- (23) K.J. Höltgen, op. cit., 284.
- (24) See Supra, Dante's Divine Comedy and the Nine Worthies.
- (25) D.W. Robertson, Essays in Medieval Culture, Princeton U.P., 1980, 185.

clearly involve two kinds of "worldly fame", one that a man cherishes for himself, out of vanity, and man has another sense of fame that he cherishes for others, out of charity. Fame of the first kind leads to vain-glory and frequently to a loss of reputation, while fame of the second kind is often necessary to the performance of good works. There is no reason, however, to restrict the second kind of fame to clerks; anyone should be expected to maintain it, and it is obvious that the higher a man's station in society and the greater his responsibilities, the more he was obliged, in the hierarchical society of the Middle Ages, to cultivate this second kind of fame. This is exactly the kind of fame that is exemplified by Roland; Roland is an exemplification of certain ideals of "vasselage" among them that kind of fame that is maintained not for ourselves, but for others.

The two kinds of fame that emerge are "heavenly" and "worldly". The second may be either vainglorious and selfish or unselfish and self-sacrificing. Perhaps the second kind of "worldly" fame may be thought of as an aspect of "heavenly" fame, because it is pleasing to God. This idea of fame related to the medieval concept of "vanity" as applied in Lydgate's *Vanity* thoughts. From somewhat earlier towards the end of the fourteenth century, the poem "This World is Verra Vanite", (26) approaches the whole problem of vanity, strength, beauty and wisdom in relation to "pape, patriarkis, prelatis and priest, Kingis and Knychtis"; unmistakably used for preaching structural elements which are known from Lydgate's vanity poetry.

Stephen Hawes allegory of Life The Pastime of Pleasure (27)  
published/ .....

(26) Gollancz, op. cit., Appendix IX;

(27) Ed. W.E. Mead, E.E.T.S., O.S., 173 (1928)

published in 1517 follows the pilgrimage of the knightly heroes involving great love, surpassing death and links triumph with the panegerical and pedagogical sense of the Nine Worthies in the dialectic order of Death, Fame, Time and Eternity. It is in the Cantos of Dante's Divine Comedy that the Nine Heroic Warriors achieve the eternal goals of life which Stephen Hawes has illustrated in the Pastime of Pleasure. So fame conquers the shadows of death, "with brennyng tongues;" (l. 5497) as fame proclaims the great deeds of the Nine Worthies, (l. 5523-85). Stephen Hawes returns to the central question of the Ubi Sunt theme when he proclaims, "His name shall dure and be eternall," (l. 5590) and asks whether fame can really endure the ravages of time.

"Coude the IX worthyys se vyctorious  
Do all theyr actes without tyme or space ...?"  
( l. 5670-71).

Another interesting preliminary step towards the development of the Nine Worthies as a literary theme is to be found in Philippe Mousket's Chronique rimée (28) c.1243. Here the three most famous men of their religion and faith consist of Ogier, Hector and Judas Maccabeus. (l. 7672-7689)

Of the three best laws I can tell you  
The three best without any doubt  
are Ogier, so say the ancients,  
was the best of the Christians.  
And the best of the Pagans was Hector. (29)  
( l.7672-89)

(28) Höltgen, op. cit., 285. quotes Chronique Rimée. ed. Baron de Reiffenberg, 3 Vols., Brussels, 1836-1845.

(29) Des III lois vous sai je bien dire  
Les III mellors, tot sans desdire.  
Ogiers, au dit des anciens,  
Si fu li mieudres crestiens.  
Li mieudres paiens fu Etor. (l.7672-76).

The chronicler has made his choice of the three best representatives of the three religions according to the heroes good name and their fame. One could attribute to Mousket's national feeling the choice of Charlemagne as the best Christian hero, as Charlemagne is referred to extensively in the History of the Kings of the Franks (30). Jacques de Longuyon in "Les Voeux du Paon", chose nine heroes whose status as the best representatives of the three religions meant that if he was to canonise the nine best heroes, he could not choose relatively unknown men such as Ogier the Dane from the Chanson de Roland. Philippe Mousket's work preceded "Les Voeux du Paon" of Jacques de Longuyon by a century; during this time the fame of Arthur, Charlemagne and other Christian heroes would have been firmly established in the medieval tradition.

Just after Jacques de Longuyon, it was Guillaume de Machaut who thought it fit to mention the Nine Worthies, with a short reference to their qualities, in his poem, "La prise d'Alexandrie", (31). Eustache Deschamps (b. 1346 - d. 1407) followed his master Guillaume de Machaut and chose the Nine Worthies as a topic in some of his ballads, and he has been attributed with the idea of satisfying the need for symmetry, so characteristic of the Middle Ages, by opposing the "Neuf Preues" to the Neuf Preux (32). The Nine Worthy Women consist of a strange grouping of heroines who are mostly legendary figures from antiquity, and Greek  
mythology, / ...

(30) Historia Regum Francorum

(31) J. Huizinga, The Waning of the Middle Ages, Penguin Harmondsworth, 1955, 72.

(32) Ibid, 72.

mythology, whilst others belong to the legendary Amazons. Some amongst them are of royal blood but as parallels one would have expected representatives of Jewish, pagan and Christian origins (33). The grouping of the Nine Worthy Women as chosen by Eustache Deschamps does not indicate the clearly developed rationale of the male figures. The Nine Worthy Women give an indication of the warfaring nature attributed to women in pre-Christian times, a concept which appealed to the martial code of medieval society. The Amazon Queens were distinguished for their strength in battle; Penthesilea, who

"beyond all others wore the crown of wisdom,  
esteem and valour," (34);

came to the aid of the Trojans to prove her great love of Hector, she was killed by Pyrrhus, son of Achilles after a brave battle. Semiramis, Queen of Babylon owed her enormous strength on land and sea to the fact that she was sister of the great god, Jupiter and daughter of the ancient god, Saturn. In 1586, John Ferne, who wrote the Blazon of Gentry (35) mentions a unique grouping of the Nine Worthy Women including Semiramis, who

"is one of the Nine Worthies of that sexe".

Thamaris, was Queen of Massagetae. Lampheto was crowned Queen of Scythia with Marpasia, together they conquered Asia and founded the city of Ephesus.

Marpasia/ ...

- (33) See Supra 1.3.2. for the Nine Worthy Women who form parallels to the Nine Worthies.
- (34) Christine de Pisan, The Book of the City of Ladies, transl. by E.J. Richards, Pan, 1983, 36-52.
- (35) John Ferne, Blazon of Gentry, 1586, 157 J.R. Planché. The Nine Worthies of the World, Journal of the British Archeological Association, Vol. XX, 318.

Marpasia died in battle and in her place the Amazons crowned her fair and noble virgin daughter Synoppe. Dephille was mother of Diomedes who supported the Greeks in the Trojan War. The Amazon maidens Melanyppe and Yppolitte were taken captive by Theseus and Hercules, Yppolitte was later to marry Theseus. Theuca, the last of the nine heroines may have been the warlike Teuta, wife of Agron, King of Ullyria who after the decease of her husband, assumed the sovereign power, BC. 231.

Eustache Deschamps however, not only completed the series with female counterparts, but also added a tenth "preux" his contemporary and compatriot Bertrand du Guesclin. Bertrand du Guesclin was the first of a great many members of the Knightly class, aristocracy and rulers who were to receive the honour of being named the tenth "worthy". Du Guesclin was the brave and prudent warrior to whom France owed her recovery from the English at Crécy and Poitiers during the Hundred Years War; Du Guesclin

"linked the cult of ancient heroes to the budding sentiment of national military glory." (36)

The Cult of the Nine Worthies promoted the concept of the eponymous hero. As the prototypes of the ideal knight those eligible for inclusion amongst the Noble Nine were praised and admired for their heroic qualities. Louis of Orleans had a statue of Du Guesclin placed in the hall of his great castle at Courcy, where the contemporary hero was placed in the niche of honour. Eustache Deschamps cites Samson, Alexander, Arthur, Charlemagne and Godfrey with the question,

"Alas!/ ....

(36) BL MS Roy 14E 11 fo.9vo. Huizinga, op. cit., 72.

"Alas! Where is the man today who has conquered others, who can show a kingdom he has won; I do not know; save for Du Guesclin I have known none who did." (37)

The Old Testament heroes, Joshua, David and Judas Maccabeus, attained immortal fame in the Bible and they served as a constant example to Christian warriors as prototypes of the ideal knight. The stories of the conquest of the Holy Land and of its defense by David and Judas Maccabeus were a clear foreshadowing to the knightly mind of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries of the contemporary crusade and helped to define crusading as the highest expression of chivalrous activity. From eleven hundred until sixteen hundred the image of the heroic knight as the champion of a deserving cause came to be associated with biblical, ancient and Christian chivalry.

In Medieval times there was concern for relating contemporary society to the past; the same society which could find roots for its martial tradition in the crusades was introduced to the classical past (38). The immediate popularity of the Romances of Troy and of Alexander bears witness to the much revived interest in antiquity in the twelfth century schools. The lands over which Alexander and the ancient Trojans and Romans had campaigned were the same lands where the crusaders had fought. The legend of the Trojan origin of the Franks, (39) which had enjoyed popularity since  
Merovingian/...

- (37) R.L. Kilgour, "The Decline of Chivalry as shown in French Literature in the Late Middle Ages, Cambridge, Mass., 1937, 69-70, E. Deschamps, "Bachelier d'armes", vi, 105.
- (38) See Supra Dante, 1.4.
- (39) See Supra, 2.2, Gregory of Tours, (c.538-594) The History of the Franks, iv, 30. Virgil, Aenied, I, 100-101, See Bruno Krusch Scriptores Rerum Merovingicarum, II in Monumenta Germaniae Historica, Hanover, 1888, 45; 18.46; 4-9.93; 1-12.199; 25.

Merovingian times, helped them to relate to ancient history. In the Medieval romances of Alexander and Troy the lives of the heroes are rendered in contemporary Medieval setting. In the "Roman d'Alexandre", there is a kind of analogy with the Crusades; Alexander's enemies are "Turks" and "felon Bedouin", and the Lord of Babylon an emir whom we hear swearing by his great god "Mahound". Despite his pagan beliefs, Alexander is represented in the romances as the prototype of the Christian Knight, who despises the Pagan beliefs of his enemies as did Godfrey of Bouillon and the first crusaders. Alexander's history is told as a story "pre-figuring" the Crusade. In this context Alexander "pre-figures" the achievement of Godfrey of Bouillon. This prefiguration of the Crusade symbolises an important link between pagan chivalry and the crusades, uniting the pagan and Christian triads amongst the Nine Worthies.

The three Christian Worthies, Arthur, Charlemagne and Godfrey of Bouillon represented the ideal Christian King and conqueror. The reign of the three Kings covered the early middle ages in England, France and Germany. Each of the heroes had become a legendary figure by the twelfth century, as by this time the stories of their famous achievements and conquests had been transformed into fiction. The three Christian heroes emerge in the epic tradition; the fictional legends of Arthur which established a literary tradition consisting of a realm of fantastic tales. The fascination with the legendary Arthur led to the search for evidence of his historical existence; Philippe de Mézières advising the young Charles VI of France about his reading in the late fourteenth century told him to read of the deeds of the great Christian emperors, and, especially, those of his great predecessor, "the blessed Charlemagne", but to be careful of paying too much attention to those of Arthur,

"great /...

"great as his worldly valour" (40).

because they were too full of empty fables. The lack of historicity in Arthur's case encouraged writers to fabricate his wonderful adventures. However, Arthur can be examined in relation to those who attempted to research his life as did Geoffrey of Monmouth (41). The stories of Charlemagne and his peers made a powerful impact upon the Knighthood of the twelfth century and the Middle Ages because the preoccupations of Charlemagne were those of his successors; the theme of the vendetta which motivated the Crusaders is in evidence in the "Chanson de Roland". The portrait of Ganelon, the traitor, provides insight into the damned Knight, just as the "sage and valiant" Charlemagne shows the good qualities in the Royal Lord. The Nine Worthies provided an illustrative summary of myth, history and literature; as individuals, each of the heroes presented an ideal prototype which, when placed in the colourful gallery of chivalry, gained additional prestige. Jacques de Longuyon, by uniting the Nine Heroes, provided Medieval society with a concrete model of the lessons of the past.

The Nine Worthies or the Nouem Probi, represented prototypes of the ideal knight, and it was characteristic of the Medieval use of typology to present the anti-type. Just as the seven Virtues contrasted the seven Vices, the Nouem Probi were contrasted by the Nouem Improbi (42).  
The three/...

- (40) P. de Mézières, "Le Songe du vieil pèlerin", ed. G.W. Coopland (Cambridge, 1969), II, 222.
- (41) Geoffrey of Monmouth, History of the Kings of Britain, Penguin, Harmondsworth, 1973.
- (42) Bruce Dickens, The Nine Unworthies, in D.A. Pearsall, ED. Medieval Literature and Civilisation, Studies in memory of G.N. Garmonsway, London, 1969, 228-232. MS. Trinity Hall Cambridge 10, 15th century.

The three pagans consist of Chaym, a Medieval form of Cain, Nero, and Pylatus; the three Jews, Jeroboam (Jeroboam I), Achab, (Ahab) and Joram the Vulgate form of Jehoram, was borne by ninth century Kings of Israel and Judah both of whom did evil in the sight of the Lord. The first amongst the Christians is Judas Scharioth (Judas Iscariot), followed by Julian the Apostate who was Caesar from 355 and Emperor from 361 to 363 and who tried to re-establish the cult of the ancient gods of Rome. The only character from medieval history was the last amongst the Christian Worthies, Barnabo Visconti, (1323-85), Lord of Milan, who achieved a bad eminence amongst Italian tyrants of the fourteenth century. The Nouem Improbi were first mentioned approximately two centuries after Jacques de Longuyon wrote "Les Voeux du Paon". Unlike the Nine Worthy Women, the Un-Worthies never accompanied the Worthies in art or literature and were not as widely known. A second grouping of the Nine Worthies (43) places Christendom's most hated enemy, Mohamed amongst the Christian heroes (sic). In the grouping of the Nine Un-Worthies the exaggerated differences between the three creeds are most evident. The Nine Un-Worthies are not united by the guise of chivalry, but rather by their villainous nature and are condemned by Medieval Christianity.

(43) Van de Waal, op. cit., Vol. 1.9.

1.2 LES VOEUX DU PAON : THE SOURCE OF THE NINE WORTHIES

1.2.1 "LES VOEUX DU PAON : AN INTERPOLATION OF THE "ROMAN D'ALEXANDRE"

The Nine Worthies appear for the first time as a literary theme or supplement to an already popular Medieval romance, that of the life of Alexander the Great. Alexander was no exception amongst the Nine Worthies, each of whom belonged to a popular literary tradition, or "topos". "Les Voeux du Paon" (1) was an interpolation of the "Roman d'Alexandre" a romanticised version of the events of Alexander's life. With every successive interpolation of Alexander's life through the centuries, the story was adapted and expanded, allowing for more interpolation. From late antiquity to the Renaissance, knowledge of Alexander the Great was derived from one ultimate source,

"that strange mixture of reported fact and fantastic fiction known to scholarship as Pseudo Callisthenes. This romanticised biography of Alexander has received its name from the peripatetic philosopher, Callisthenes, (2) to whom it is erroneously attributed in one of the manuscripts." (3).

The date of the original Pseudo Callisthenes remains uncertain but it is believed to be in the third century

A.D./ ...

- (1) J. Barbour, "Buik of Alexander", op. cit., Vol. I. clxi.
- (2) Callisthenes was a nephew of Aristotle who accompanied Alexander on his expedition and wrote an account of it which is lost.
- (3) D.J.A. Ross, "Alexander Historiatus", op. cit., 11. The manuscript in question is Paris, B. Nat. Gr. 1865.

A.D. The book is a combination of various sources, (4) which, during the third century, fell into the hands of an Alexandrian who combined them with local Egyptian legends of the origin and birth of the hero, the foundation of the city that bears his name and his adventures with Candace, Queen of Ethiopia, upsetting chronological order in the process. The most important derivative of Pseudo Callisthenes is the Latin version made in the early fourth century by Julius Valerius Polimius and called, "Res Gestae Alexandri Macedonis." (5). The popular abbreviated version of Julius Valerius was made probably in the ninth century, apparently with a view to combination with the common version of the Epistola Alexandri ad Aristotelem which it so frequently accompanies in the manuscripts (6). The epitome of the Julius Valerius version in the ninth century was widely read and, being used by Vincent of Beauvais in his Speculum Historiale, 1264, became the chief source of the early Medieval conceptions of Alexander.

In about 1185, four Alexander poems were combined by a redactor called Alexandre de Bernai, or more usually, Alexandre de Paris, this became the standard vulgate text of the "Roman"; the "Roman d'Alexandre" : of Alexandre de Paris.

The sources are:

Branch I: Roman d'Alexandre; Alberic written in dodecasyllabic verse but re-written in Alexandrines and expanded/ ...

- (4) Ibid, 5.
- (5) Ibid, 9.
- (6) Of sixty-seven surviving manuscripts of the Epitome, forty-nine also contain the Epistola.

expanded from various sources.

Branch II: Roman d'Alexandre; The Fuerres de Gadres of Eustache.

This was a chivalrous epic called the "Foraging of Gaza", Le Fuerre de Gadres. It tells, in the form of a chanson de geste, of a warlike episode supposed to have taken place during Alexander's siege of Tyre. Its author, a certain Eustache, built his story on the opposition of "sagesse" and "prouesse" which is the source of moral conflict in the Chanson de Roland. The Fuerre de Gadres survives only in the heavily interpolated form given it by Alexandre de Paris, but it is possible to disengage most of the original poem from his version with the aid of a version in Latin prose made from the original text of Eustache. (7).

Branch III: Roman d'Alexandre, Lambert le Tort of Châteaudun

This was a long work telling the story of Alexander's expedition to India, his encounters with all the marvels of the East. It exists only in the form given it by Alexandre de Paris.

Branch IV: Roman d'Alexandre: La mort Alexandre

This is a short work telling of Alexander's death by poison and his burial after long lamentations by his followers.

The "Roman d'Alexandre" of Alexandre de Paris was still subject to supplements and continuations. A common interpolation in the Roman is known as "Le Duc Melcis", "La Prise de Defur", or "Dauris et Floridas" (8). This work/ ...

(7) D.J.A. Ross, op. cit., 10.

(8) Ibid., 14.

work serves to introduce the longest of the interpolations and the most popular of French Alexander poems, "Les Voeux du Paon". A Latin version of "Les Voeux du Paon" was made, probably in Italy in the mid-fifteenth century (9). The great popularity of "Les Voeux du Paon" gave rise, before 1340, to two continuations; the first of these, "Le Restor du Paon", of Jean Brisebarre of Douai, was written before 1338. The second continuation, "Le Parfait du Paon", was made in 1340 by Jean de Le Mote for the goldsmith, Simon de Lille and had little success.

The "Roman d'Alexandre" was very popular and exercised widespread influence. Two prose versions of it were made in the later Middle Ages. One written in the fifteenth century survives in one manuscript, Besancon 836, and includes "The Voeux". The other prose version of the "Roman" was more successful, this is the "Histoire du bon roy Alixandre" of Jean Wauquelin of Mons, written before 1448 for Jean de Bourgogne; it is amongst the literature produced in the first three quarters of the fifteenth century for the Count of Burgundy. Jean Wauquelin used a copy of the "Roman" which included the "Prise de Defur", the "Voyage au Paradis Terrestre" and the "Voeux du Paon" for the first part of his work.

The popularity of the "Roman" and, especially of the "Voeux du Paon", extended beyond the French-speaking areas of Europe. Versions of the "Voeux" were made in Spanish, now lost, in Dutch and Middle English (10). The Scottish "Buik of Alexander", by the author of the "Bruce", contains versions of Branch II of the "Roman"

and the/ ...

(9) (Vatican, Archivio di San Pietro H. 36).

(10) Barbour, op. cit., vol. I, xliii.

and the "Voeux du Paon" (11). In all of these various versions of "Les Voeux du Paon", the Nine Worthies are mentioned following the pattern set by the original work of Jacques de Longuyon, c.1310.

(11) J. Barbour, "Buik of Alexander", ed. R.L.G. Ritchie, Edinburgh, 1925.

1.2.2 "LES VOEUX DU PAON" OF JACQUES DE LONGUYON

1.2.3 THE MINSTREL/"LES CHANSONS DE GESTE"

"Les Voeux du Paon" of Jacques de Longuyon is an entirely fictional romantic 'chanson de geste'; it is connected with the Alexander poems only by its persons. A long poem of over 8 000 verses in Alexandrines, it was written and dedicated to Thiébaud de Bar, bishop of Liège, in c.1310. It became the most popular of French Alexander poems.

In "Les Voeux du Paon", Jacques de Longuyon introduces a number of novelties into the French Alexander romance which may, in part, be responsible for the popularity of his work. The inspiration for the addition of these "topoi", or themes lay in the age of chivalry; Longuyon was influenced by the theme of courtly love developed in the 'chansons de geste', the concept of the chivalrous vow and, thirdly, the search for the prototype of the ideal knight, which led him to introduce the Nine Worthies as a literary phenomenon.

Jacques de Longuyon was influenced by the concept of courtly love which was a feature of the 'chansons de geste'. The social milieu envisaged by de Longuyon is that of the aristocracy who resided in the stately castles and cultivated courtly love; for this social élite the fulfilment of their social duty lay in the joust and the tournament.

"For those who exhorted the French and Burgundian nobility to exercise their proper calling in the fifteenth century, the tournament also remained 'the school of prowess'." (12).

Thus, / ...

(12) Malcolm Vale, "War and Chivalry", Warfare and Aristocratic culture in England, France and Burgundy at the end of the Middle Ages, Duckworth, 1981, 66.

Thus, Jacques de Longuyon describes a world where the eligible knight is the hero; like the peacock, he will display all his finery in the joust and the tournament; this is his courting ritual. Jacques de Longuyon may have gained his knowledge of the "Roman d'Alexandre" as a minstrel; the scenes he describes in his account of the wars and travels of Alexander resemble well the pleasant interludes of feudal combat of the nobility of Lorraine. De Longuyon introduces the ladies' presence on the battlements where they witness the martial skill of those knights who joust to win their admiration. To these three winsome ladies of the past, de Longuyon has attributed each one with an individuality rare amongst the heroines of the epic tradition. Alexander is represented as a chivalrous knight, his concern is the practice of his social duty,

"he may console the virtuous maidens with a discourse on love and peace, for after war he truly says, come peace and sometimes a husband." (13).

The influence of courtly love on "Les Voeux du Paon", indicates the Medieval fascination with what Huizinga has termed, "the erotic motif". (14). The Medieval concept of courtly love revolved around two central pre-occupations, the romantic devotion of the knight to his lady and the knight's concern over his knightly skills and self-image expressed in the tournament and the joust;

"in/ ...

(13) Barbour, "Buik of Alexander" op. cit., Vol. I, xxxvii. This is the only version of the text of "Les Voeux du Paon" available, and here I have concentrated on the use of Medieval typology and, to a lesser extent than Barbour, on the origins, development and language of the Scottish work. Barbour notes, the ladies for whom Jacques sang could well be portraits of those familiar to him, names somewhat similar occur in the family of Godefroi Bouillon (Bouillon being near Liège and Godefroi, a Lorrainer by his mother). Généalogie des Comtes de Boulogne on Fo.216 of 1.

(14) Huizinga, "The Waning of the Middle Ages", op. cit., 108-120.

"in courtly love, female approbation offered a new secular and psychologically very powerful sanction to the secular conventions of the code of courtly virtue and martial honour." (15).

Courtly love presented an ideal of service in which a great lord could engage without thereby demeaning himself. Troubadour poetry, as eloquently as any northern 'chanson' or romance, reflects the pressures which, in the twelfth century, were drawing the higher nobility and the precarious professional knighthood together, and is courtly in that the courts and the castles of the great were the meeting ground for the two elements.

The aristocracy of Medieval Europe based their elevated position in society on their lineage, wealth and nobility. The great virtue of the patronage of poor knights by such as Arthur and Alexander was that it made

"the poor richer and brought them closer to the glamorous, fur-robed and castle-dwelling world of the high nobles." (16)

Godfrey of Bouillon was the example of the perfect knight, whose wealth, status and good lineage were romanticized in the "Chanson du Chevalier au Cygne". (17). The idea of chivalry and nobility in the Middle Ages/ .....

(15) Keen, "Chivalry", Yale University Press, 1984, 30.

(16) Ibid, 154.

(17) Stephen Runciman, A History of the Crusades, Vol. I, Cambridge University Press, 1954, 344 quotes "Chanson du Chevalier au Cygne", ed. C. Hippeau, 2 Vol., Paris, 1874-7.

Middle Ages became attached to the lifestyle of the aristocracy who were required to live nobly.

When the Chatelain de Courcy came to dine at the castle of Favel,

"they drank their good wines freely  
and all the talk was of arms and of  
love, of hounds and hawks and of  
tournaments." (18).

The great seigneurial courts of twelfth century France provided a meeting ground for men drawn from different levels of aristocratic society, and the centres of a secular literary culture. It was by means of the following and spreading of this secular literary cult, that the Nine Worthies' fame spread across Europe. In the great courts of Europe, the audiences gathered to whom the 'chansons de geste' and the early Arthurian romances were addressed. The "chansons" represented a literature of some sophistication; it was the troubadours who were the original authors of the early chansons, their knowledge was imparted to the minstrels who were commissioned to perform by the courts and patrons. (19). The troubadours were responsible for the establishment of the learned culture of courtly love, which the minstrel would present for its entertainment value. The authors of the early romances also contributed to the learned culture of the courts, they knew a good deal of classical literature, and, especially Virgil. Jacques de Longuyon's "Les Voeux du Paon" represented the work of a minstrel whose talents went beyond the entertainment of the aristocracy in the courts, to the authorship of a unique and popular work.

1.2.4/ .....

(18) Keen, Chivalry, op. cit., 154.

(19) Henri Davenson, Troubadours, Utrecht, 1967, 1.

1.2.4 THE VOW/"LES VOEUX DU PAON"

"Les Voeux du Paon", an interpolation of "De Duc Melcis", "Le Prise de Defur", or "Dauris et Floridas", and which continues this episode, is a starting point from which de Longuyon derives some of his chief background. Taking up the point where Alexander, having slain Melcis and captured Dedefur, was on his way to Tarsus, Jacques supposes him to meet an old knight, Cassamus, who, though his brother, had been slain by Alexander's Lieutenant, Emenidus, in the great foray, now implored help against wicked Clarus. Alexander turned aside in his march to save Cassamus' niece and two nephews, who lay beleagured in Epheson. The relief of this city protected by a mighty river which could be crossed by a ford known only to Cassamus, provides the stage for the enactment of a tale enriched with the attributes of chivalrous society. Thus, the great battle at Epheson is made in fulfilment of vows made to the Peacock. Bishop Thiébaud of Bar suggested the story to Jacques de Longuyon; the Bishop was interested in "vows" as he also inspired the similar "Voeux de l'Épervier". (20).

Bishop Thiébaud of Bar suggested to Jacques de Longuyon the topic of "Les Voeux du Paon", as he was already familiar with the vows taken by Edward I in 1306. After Bishop Thiébaud had observed such an event, he may have been aware of the value of this theme in literature, thus suggesting the topic to Jacques de Longuyon. When Edward I was moved to wrath by the murder of Comyn and the Coronation of the Bruce, he held a great assembly at Westminster, May 22, 1306 and, as the doors of the hall opened, a seneschal entered, marshalling two attendants who bore  
upon/ ...

(20) Barbour, op. cit., Vol. I., xxxviii.

upon a large tray two swans covered in a network of gold. Edward I, then in the last years of his life vowed to God and to the swans that he would march into Scotland and chastise the Bruce while Edward, Prince of Wales, who had been knighted by his father that day with nearly three hundred others, took a similar vow, (21) and vowed afterwards to go on a Crusade (22). Edward I held his relative, the Bishop, in high esteem, and it was no doubt Thiébaud who suggested the strange ceremony to Edward, as a local custom of Bar. It was certainly he who suggested it as a literary device to Jacques de Longuyon. (23).

The vowing to a bird of mystic significance became a knightly custom in the early fourteenth century. "Le Voeux de Heron" (The Vow of the Heron), a poem of the fourteenth century, described the feasts given at the Court of Edward III at the moment when Robert d'Artois urges the King to declare war on France. It was written in c.1340 by a retainer of Count Robert of Artois. The story is that in September 1338, Robert of Artois, during his stay at the Court of Edward III, went hawking on the Thames and brought back a heron, which he caused to be borne before the King, saying that the heron, the most fainthearted of birds, should

be/ ...

- (21) Barbour, op. cit., Vol. I, xxxix. quotes Patrick F. Tyler, "Lives of Scottish Worthies", Murray 1831, Vol. i, 416, ii, 322.
- (22) Höltingen, op. cit., 287.
- (23) Barbour, op. cit., Vol. I, XL. It appears in "V.P." as "the custom of the land"; "il m'est vis", "C'on ... doit faire au paon l'usage du pays" (iii 3910). Naturally the "Vows to the Swan" would appeal to the guests from Lorraine assembled for the marriage of the Comte de Bar's daughter, (Langoft, R.S. p. 368) and to various other personages of lower degree, such as "Mahu qui ove la dammoiselle de Baar", who figures with the minstrels paid for their services at the Knighting of the Prince of Wales that day.

be bestowed on Edward who had lost France, being requested to vow to the heron that he would ravage France. (24).

The literature of the vows flourished and in 1389, the popularity of "Les Voeux du Paon" was held by Philippe de Mézières to be distracting the young from serious reading. (25). The "Nouveau Recueil de Contes Dits et Fabliaux des III<sup>E</sup>, XIVE et XVE siècles", contains reflections on unfulfilled vows, like those made at the celebrated "Banquet du Faisan", given by Philippe Le Bon, Duke of Burgundy, to the Burgundian nobility on the 17th February, 1454 (26). The feast was preceded by a joust, in which Adolf of Cleves, arrayed as the Swan Knight, had challenged all comers. Vows to the Peacock play a great part in the "Roman de Cleriadus et de Méliadice, fille au roy d'Angleterre". (27). Vows of the Peacock are the pièce de resistance in the farrago of historical and literary reminiscences of the fourteenth and early fifteenth centuries, entitled, "Histoire des trois noble fils de Roi", (alias, "Histoire Royale" and "Chronique de Naples"), which David Aubert, librarian to Philip the Good, Duke of Burgundy, transcribed in 1463. (28.)

The vows made to the Peacock formed part of a literary tradition which was to precede the formation of the Orders of Chivalry. It is of significance that Edward III was amongst those who initiated the ceremony of making vows to a sacred bird, (The Vow of the Heron, 1338), and ten years later he was responsible for the foundation of the first order of chivalrous knights, the  
Order/ ...

(24) Ibid, Vol. I, xlvi.

(25) Barbour, op. cit., Vol. 1, xliv.

(26) Ibid., Vol.I, xliv.

(27) BM, MS Roy. 20C. ii. Art.1. Barbour, op. cit., Vol. I, vliv.

(28) Ibid, Vol. I, xliii.

Order of the Garter, 1348. The making of these vows was almost certainly associated with the ritual of "chivalric mystique", the vows represented the introduction of an almost spiritual element into the war-faring nature of the chivalrous knight. There are two possible sources for the inspiration of the taking of vows; the religious vows of asceticism, to fast, to recite specified prayers, to go on pilgrimage and devote one's earthly life to the service of God. Secondly, the popularity of romance and the epic 'chansons' presented the great heroes of northern saga who were inspired, not by the desire for grace, but by the drink and excitement of the feast hall (29). The men who took these vows were closely associated with the mystique of chivalry, its code of honour, of prowess and idealism, and it was the rulers and the aristocracy, like Edward III, who had sufficient leisure to introduce ritual elements, into an arena already shrouded by the mysteries of the heroic past. The cult of the Nine Worthies certainly contributed to this intrigue with the mystical elements of chivalry; Bertrand du Guesclin, who was a contemporary hero and named as a "Tenth Worthy" for his heroic deeds, was fond of taking vows which imposed deprivation upon himself. (30). This was a common feature of the vows made as a spur to the accomplishment of the actions they were pledged to perform.

(29) Keen, "Chivalry" op. cit., 215.

(30) Huizinga, op. cit., 91.

1.2.5 THE NINE WORTHIES/LES NEUF PREUX

A third novelty introduced by Jacques de Longuyon in his "Les Voeux du Paon" c.1310, was the first literary mention of the Nine Worthies. The great success of "Les Voeux du Paon" was attributable to the opportunism of Jacques de Longuyon who provided a work specifically suited to the taste and wishes of the courtly public of medieval Europe. Jacques de Longuyon and other minstrels had embroidered on the courtly assimilation of variations of the medieval romances.

Jacques notes that there are three champions of chivalry of the Old Law, Joshua, David and Judas Maccabeus; three champions of the Pagan Law, Hector, Alexander and Julius Caesar; and three champions of the Christian Law, Arthur, Charlemagne and Godfrey of Bouillon. The Nine Worthies are mentioned in a passage near the end of the great battle before the walls of the city of Epheson of Alexander, and the sons of Gadifer du Larris against the forces of Clarvus, King of India. In this episode, Porus, the younger son of Clarvus, is left fighting, almost alone, on the Indian side. The author enumerates the Worthies, each in turn; the Jews, Pagans and Christians, with a brief account of their famous deeds, and concludes with the observation that great as they were, they did not exceed Porus, Alexander's enemy, in valour on that memorable occasion. (31). This is the first appearance in chivalrous literature of the Nine Worthies (or Neuf Preux) alongside whom in due course, were to be ranged next to Nine Heroines (but the symmetry is not perfect; however, they do not represent  
as the/ ....

(31) Barbour, op. cit., Vol. iv, l. 7484-7579.

as the male champions do, the three different laws and cannot be represented in the same panegyric context.)

Jacques de Longuyon dedicates to each of his heroes a verse of 7 to 11 lines and mentions one of the most important deeds of the heroes. In this way, Jacques de Longuyon hails Hector of Troy as victor over nineteen kings, and 100 counts and marshalls. With Alexander, the victory over Nicholas and the Persian King, Darius, plays an important rôle as does the taking of Babylon. Caesar is named the Conqueror of England, Alexandria, Africa, Arabia, Syria and Egypt, as well as victor over Casibilianus and Pompejus. With the biblical heroes, de Longuyon admires Joshua's lucky passage over the Jordan river and his victory over twelve kings, the most important factor with David being his victory over Goliath. De Longuyon hails Judas Maccabeus for his bravery and lauds him for the fact that he killed Apollonius, Antiochus and Nicanor. Under the Christian kings, Arthur is praised as the ruler of Britain who subdued the giant, Ruston, who was wearing a cloak woven from the beards of the kings he had killed. Charlemagne has been listed because of his victorious battles in France, Spain and the Kingdom of Pavia, and especially, for the fact that he had reinstated the sacraments in Jerusalem. Godfrey of Bouillon the third Christian hero, is praised because of his victory over the Sultan, Suleiman, and other Oriental rulers. In the last verses of "Les Voeux du Paon", a particular place was reserved for the coronation of Godfrey as King of Jerusalem.

A set of stanzas which accompany mural paintings of the Nine Worthies in the castle of La Manta in Piedmont c.1411-1430 clearly resemble the verses in "Les Voeux du Paon". The dates given for each hero at

Castle/ ....

Castle La Manta are even by medieval standards extraordinary. (32). Here the death of each of the Nine Worthies is related to the Birth of Christ.

HECTOR

I was born at Troy, the son of King Priam  
I lived when Menelaus of the Greek people  
to beseige Troy with a great army,  
There I killed thirty kings and fully three  
hundred others  
Then Achilles killed me in a villainous fashion,  
1133 years before God was born.

DAVID

I was good at playing the harp and sauterion  
And I have killed Goliath, a great villain  
And in many battles I had the upper hand  
And after King Saul I reigned the state  
And I was the real prophet of the incarnation  
I died 300 years before Christ became man.

According to these dates given for all the heroes,  
Hector should have lived 1133 years before God was  
born, Alexander 800, Caesar 703, Joshua 500, David 300,  
Judas Maccabeus, 100 years before Christ. These are  
in no way the correct dates, yet they serve to represent  
the heroes in a gradual progression to the birth of  
Christ. These dates represent the possibility of  
staging the relationship of the Nine Worthies to Christ.  
The dates represent the greater spiritual closeness  
of the Jews by a temporal closing in on Christ's date,  
the author of the verses does not seem to have noticed  
that Caesar should not be older than Joshua.

The unification/...

The unification of these Nine Heroes presents the broad framework of Christian providential world history at the time of the early Middle Ages. The three Jewish heroes present the story of God's chosen nation, and whose service to the one true God was made ready for the coming of Christ. Christ came as the Prince of Peace at the point in time when the Romans had conquered the world and established their peace in it. It was the Roman peace built on the achievement of Pagan chivalry, Trojan, Greek and Roman, that made possible the message of the Apostles, their evangelisation of the Gentiles and the establishment of the Christian Church. It was Vespasian and his Roman knights who had vengeance for Christ's death, and with the conversion of Constantine, the Roman Empire and Christendom became co-terminous. Christian chivalry is the fruit of the marriage of the two older traditions, the Pagan Knighthood that God ordained to rule the world and to uphold peace in it, and the Biblical Knighthood that He ordained to guard the Holy Places and defend the religion of His chosen people. The three Christian heroes represent the armed force of his new chosen people, the Christian nation whose mission derives from the earlier traditions, it being to uphold His peace, to spread His Law and guard His Holy Places. Jacques de Longuyon mentions the Nine Worthies as defenders of the Law, as obedient and yet brave and heroic conquerors who could serve as examples to the Medieval Knight.

1.3 "THE NINE WORTHIES" IN LITERATURE

1.3.1 "LE CHEVALIER ERRANT" (TOMMASO SALUZZO, 1394)

The Nine Worthies continued to develop as a literary theme; in 1394 Tommaso III, Marquis of Saluzzo, who had a great estate at La Manta, in Saluzzo, South of Turin, wrote "Le Chevalier Errant" (1). The original MS fr. 12559, is kept in the Bibliothèque Nationale Paris. The Marquis of Saluzzo wrote this work whilst whiling away the idle hours of his captivity at the hands of his family's ancestral enemy, the Count of Savoy. In this work, the author describes his various imaginary and allegorical adventures with the God of Love, "dieu d' amour", or his visits to "Dame Fortune" and "Dame Cognaissance", and also in the Palace of the Chosen, which was inhabited by the Nine Heroes "que cil lieu estoit appeles le palaiz aux esleuz cilz furent de trois loys de la loy des Juifs de la loy payenne, de la loy des chrestiens". (2). In the same palace live the Nine Women who are comparable to the Nine Heroes through their outstanding reputation, "en ce palais mesmes estoient les sieges des IX dames, qui furent de si hault Renom come tout le monde scet car par leurs grans oeuvres et merveilleuzes furent elles esleus au monde et comparées aux IX preux que die vous ay ainsi comme les croniquez le devisent." (Translation follows): In the same palace were the thrones of the nine ladies who were reknown to the world because, through their great and marvellous  
deeds/ ....

(1) Unpublished, D.J.A. Ross op. cit., 108 quotes N. Jorga, "Thomas III, Marquis de Saluces, Étude historique et litteraire ... Diss., Leipzig, St. Denis, 1893, and E. Gorra, "Il Cavaliere errante di Tommaso III di Saluzzo, Studi di critica letteraria" Bologna, 1892. See BN, MS, Fr. 12559.

(2) Wyss, op. cit., 74.

deeds, they were elected and compared to the Nine Worthies. These nine elected women are Penthesilea, Semiramis, Lampheto, Thamaris, Theuca, Dephille, Synoppe, Yppolitte and Melanyppe.

Tommaso, like E. Deschamps, opposed the heroes with the heroines, as in the earlier poetry the most important deeds are mentioned with the Nine Heroes in prose and the Nine Women in Verse. In this work, the Marquis of Saluzzo attributes the hero, Galeas of Mantua, with all the virtues of the chivalrous Knight. Bertrand du Guesclin, whom Eustache Deschamps mentioned as a tenth worthy, is one of two captains with Sir John Hawkwood (d. 1394, Hawkwood is remembered as a ferocious and successful mercenary) who occupy special seats of honour in Fortune's palace.

The popularity of the grouping of the Nine Worthy Women in Italy during the fourteenth century when the Marquis of Saluzzo wrote "Le Chevalier Errant", may be indebted to a series of sonnets noted by Francesco Novati. In Italy a curious and interesting series of heroic lovers or heroines of love has been depicted in the fourteenth century probably in Tuscany of which testimony survives only in a number of sonnets found in a Florentine Manuscript (3). The manuscript contained fifteen portraits of famous ladies, amongst whom only two qualify for their military ardour, Penthesilea and Semiramis, they belonged to the sphere of Mars (Warriors) and in the terrain of Cupid (Love). The other ladies are protagonists of sweet and sad

love/ ...

- (3) Francesco Novati, Un Cassone Nuziale Senese e le Raffigurazioni delle Donne illustri nell' arte Italiana dei secoli XIV et XV, Rassegna d'Arte, 1911, Vol. II, 61-67 quotes Bartolia, 1 MSS italiani della bibl. Naz. di Firenze. Firenze, 1881, V. 17. 15 - 16.

love stories, Arianna, Daphne, Dido, Drusiana, Diana, Helen, Europe, Phaedra, Isotta, Lucretia, Medea, Polyxena and Thisbe. The grouping of women from pagan, classical and mythological origins would have contributed to the establishment of the Nine famous women as heroines worthy of being female counterparts of the Nine Worthies. The evidence of Italian sonnets dealing with the subject of fifteen famous women from antiquity bears witness to the importance of classical origins in the cult of courtly love.

The association of figures from antiquity with chivalry and secular life was an established feature of medieval life and thought. The growing taste for classical history and allusion was no doubt the reason why Louis of Anjou, King of Naples, in the Statutes of the Order of the Knot ordered that those champions who had distinguished themselves should be crowned with a laurel after the manners of the heroes of Roman antiquity and he reminded them of the legendary headquarters at Castell Del ' Ovo. (4). Here there was a decoration of the Sala degli uomini famosi, executed c.1332 by Giotto for King Robert of Naples, of nine famous men and women, Alexander, Solomon, Hector, Aeneas, Achilles, Paris, Hercules, Simeon, Caesar, who were opposed by the nine honourable women, Roxane, Adromeda, Dido, Polyxena, Helena, Deianeira, Delila and Cleopatra. A further series of Italian sonnets published in the fourteenth century by Giuseppe de Blasiis (5) contains verses describing Giotto's rendition of the heroic figures. When Tommaso Saluzzo mentioned/ ...

- (4) Preamble to the statutes BN MS, Fr. 4274 fo 3.
- (5) D'Ancona has only listed eight women. Paulo D'Ancona, op. cit., 102. quotes Giuseppe de Blasiis, *Immagini di uomini famosi in una sala di Castel nuovo*, attrib. a Giotto, in *Napoli Nobilissima*, Vol. IX, fasc. V.

mentioned the Nine Worthy women in "Le Chevalier Errant", his work continued an established tradition in Italian medieval art and literature.

The figures represented in the decoration of the Sala degli uomini famosi by Giotto c.1332 at Castell Del 'Ovo, and the series of heroic lovers noted by Novati in the Italian sonnet of the fourteenth century, resemble a similar series to be found in a version of Chaucer's (d. 1400) prologue to the "Legende of Good Women", "The Prologe of IX goode Wymmen" (6). Here the following heroic figures are mentioned in a short ballad, (l. 249 - 270) Absalon and Jonathan, Esther, Penelope and Marcia, Isolde and Helen, Lucretia, Polyxena, Cleopatra, Thisbe, Dido, "Phyllis", "Canace", "Ysiphile" who is betrayed with Jason and Adriana. This grouping differs from that in the sonnet noted by Francesco Novati in that pagan and mythological figures were contrasted with three figures from the Old Testament, Absalom, Jonathan and Esther, who was to become one of the three Jewish women introduced by Sébastien Mamerot. Chaucer's Legend of Good Women resembles Christine de Pisan's, The Book of the City of Ladies in that both groups of heroic women were intended to serve a didactic purpose.

- (6) Chaucer Society, Odd Texts, Vol. I, 1868 - 1880, ed. F.J. Furnivall, "The prologe of IX goode Wymmen", (Fairfax MS. 16 leaf 83), 25, 40.

1.3.2 "L'HISTOIRE DES NEUF PREUX ET DES NEUF PREUES"  
(SÉBASTIEN MAMEROT, 1463)

The worship of the Heroes increased during the fifteenth century with the result that their deeds were not only hailed in songs, but were also told in a very elaborate way in novels (romances). In 1463, Sébastien Mamerot, chaplain of Louis de Naval, Lord of Châtillon en Vendelois, had completed for his master, the first formal full length bibliographical account of the Nine Worthies, which has survived. A copy made in 1472 by Robert Briart, of the diocese of Bayeux in Troyes, is kept in the Nationalbibliothek in Vienna, 2577-2578. (7). Mamerot describes the life of each hero in detail and all the battles, campaigns and successful events were depicted in very realistic detail. Mamerot used, therefore, not the historical sources but various Medieval compilations from older sources. For the history of Alexander, he used the well known "Roman d'Alexandre", and for the history of Caesar, the popular fifteenth century work, "Faits des Romains". The history of the three Pagans and the three Jews runs in Vol. I, from folio 2v to 26v. In Vol. 2, folio 1-220v are dedicated to the three Christians, then follows, from folios 221-271, the biographies of the Nine Heroines who, however, were abbreviated essentially by Mamerot. (8). It is significant that the Nine Women in "Le Chevalier" are still referred to as "ix dame esleuz"; now eighty years later, they are called by Mamerot as parallels of the "Neuf Preux", and are called the Nine Worthy Women./ ...

(7) D.J.A. Ross, op. cit., 109 quotes M. Lecourt, "Notice sur l'histoire des Neuf Preux et des Neuf Preues". Romania, 1908, 529.

(8) Wyss, op. cit., 75.

Women. Sébastien Mamerot has replaced the Nine Worthy Women of Eustache Deschamps with Nine whose achievements parallel those of the three Jewish, Pagan and Christian heroes.

The Jewish women are Esther, from the Old Testament book of this name, who proved the wish of God to save His people through a woman. Judith was the wife of Esau as well as the slayer of Holofernes, this heroic deed endeared her to the Jewish people. Jael, the Kenite treacherously slew Sisera while he was her guest. The three pagan women are Lucretia wife of Collatinus whose rape by Tarquin and her subsequent suicide were the immediate cause of the expulsion of the Tarquins from Rome. The noble lady Veturia had pacified her son, Coriolanus when he wished to destroy Rome. Virginia the noble maid of Rome, preferred to die rather than be raped by the judge Claudius.

Amongst the three Christian heroines their associations with the origins of the cult of chivalry are evident. St. Helen (255 - 330 A.D.) mother of Constantine, devoted herself to Christianity after 312. In her old age she made a pilgrimage to the Holy Land. St. Helen has always been associated with the finding of the true cross close to the site of Calvary. St. Brigid, (1303-1373) "of Sweden" founded the order of the Holy Saviour (Bridgettines). She appears as an intense personality and throughout her life she claimed to have visions. St. Elizabeth of Hungary (1207 - 1231) had married at a young age. When her husband Ludwig IV joined the crusaders in 1227 and was killed at Otranto she entered a religious order and devoted herself to the care of the poor and the sick at Marburg in Hesse. Sébastien Mamerot's grouping of the Nine Worthy Women were to remain popular until the seventeenth century.

1.3.3 "LE TRIOMPHE DES NEUF PREUX" (ANONYMOUS c.1483-1487)

An anonymous writer produced, between 1483 and 1487, an historical account of the Nine Worthies in French prose, called "Le Triomphe des Neuf Preux". This work, printed by Pierre Gerard of Abbeville and published on the 30th May, 1487, contains "Le Triomphe des Neuf Preux". This is a biographical work with Bertrand du Guesclin added as a tenth Worthy. (10). The author begins the prologue with a dedication to Charles VIII of France, giving his reasons for writing the book. He was inspired to write the book by a visionary dream, where nine men appeared to him, three Jews, three Pagans and three Christians, whom he notes down in their sequence, paying special attention to their appearance, and, for the first time, the details and design of the Nine Worthies' armoury is noted. These men were introduced to the author by a lady who called herself "Triumph" and who was carrying a wreath or laurel. When the author asked "Dame Prudence", what the reason for this extraordinary pageant was, he was told that he should note down shortly, but accurately, all the worthy deeds of the Nine Men, without leaving out any of the details of their lives, in order to discover who was the greatest of them all and the "Crown of Triumph" would be placed on his head. The author ends the prologue by addressing himself to the highest authority in the land, the King of France, and asks him to come to a decision as to who is the most worthy. Then follows a biography of each of the Nine Heroes, which resembles the work of Sébastien Mamerot.

On the 3rd December, 1507, "Le Triomphe des Neuf Preux"  
appears/ ...

(10) Wyss, op. cit., 76.

appears in Paris, in the possession of Michel Le Noir, without any textual changes. Approximately a quarter of a century later, Antonio Rodriguez translated it into Spanish. (11).

(11) D.J.A. Ross, op. cit., 110, "El triumpho de los nueve mas preciados de la fama", 1530, German Gallarde, Lisbon.

1.3.4 L'HISTOIRE DES NEUF PREUX"  
(FIFTEENTH CENTURY MANUSCRIPT)

MS. B. Nat. Fr. 12598, in Paris, contains a series of biographies of the Nine Worthies, independent of Sébastien Mamerot's work. This work of the fifteenth century was copied in the eighteenth century and illustrated with portraits of Knights. (12).

(12) Wyss, op. cit., 76.

1.3.5 "LE TROSNE D'HONNEUR" (JEAN MOLINET, c.1467)

By far the greatest honour was given to the Nine Worthies at the Burgundian Court, of the Dukes of Burgundy, where Jean Molinet wrote the "Trosne d'Honneur". (13). This poetic work, written alternately in prose and in verse, contains both descriptions of the characters and various references to spoken texts by allegorical figures and actors. This text must have originated after the death of Philip the Good, in June 1467, for it is strictly an apotheosis of the dead prince. Allegorical figures, like "Dame Noblesse" and "Dame Virtue", lead Duke Philip to the throne of honour in heaven which he can only mount, however, after going through nine different heavens. (14). In each heaven, he is met by an allegorical lady embodying Knightly virtues, accompanied by one of the Heroes, in each heaven there is a committee of reception with a lady and a Knight. Above each of the entrances to the heavens there is a golden letter; these letters read in sequence the name of "Philippus". In the first heaven, for instance, reigned Prudence, and Emperor Julius Caesar seated as Triumphator on the throne, welcoming the Duke who was guided by virtue. Towards the ninth and last step, the Prince was met by "Dame Singularite du Grace" and Joshua. Molinet uses Joshua as a symbol of Philip's consummate moral power, for the Duke's ascent into this final sphere completes his moral growth and qualifies him for admission to the Throne  
of Honour./ ....

(13) Gordon Kipling, The Triumph of Honour, Burgundian origins of the Elizabethan Renaissance, Leiden University Press, 1977, 78.

(14) See Supra, Dante and see also Pageantry.

of Honour. After the Duke has bowed to all the Nine Heroes and equalled them in their virtues, through his journey he could proceed to his goal; the apotheosis of Philip the Good culminates in his position as Triumphator which is read to him in laudable terms by "Dame Honour", who hands him the sceptre and indicates to him his eternal seat on the throne of honour. At the end of the journey Honour, himself, awaits, enthroned in glory, his face shining like the sun. Two golden chairs stand on either side of his throne, one reserved for Philip, the other for his son. Turning now to Charles, Honour reveals that the left-hand chair bears the new Duke's name and arms, awaiting such time as he shall follow his father's virtuous and chivalric path through life, upward through the spheres of Heaven. The aim here is to place the Dukes of Burgundy, Charles and Philip amongst the Nine Worthies, in order that they may attain respect, honour and praise; this gallery of heroism provides the Duke with the ability to equal the great deeds of the classics, a subject which held great fascination for the Dukes of Burgundy.

1.3.6 THE PARLEMENT OF THE THRE AGES (ANONYMOUS ca.1350)

The date of the original of this work is given as (ca.1350). (15). There are extant only two manuscripts of 'The Parlement of the Thre Ages'; the complete version is contained in one of the English miscellanies compiled in the middle of the fifteenth century by the Yorkshire man, Robert Thronton. (16). The incomplete version was discovered by Sir I. Gollancz, who identified some pages at the end of a miscellany assembled by Sir James Ware (1594-1666) as part of 'The Parlement of the Thre Ages'. (17).

The Parlement had probably no immediate literary source; it is a poetic homily, inspired by the poet's religious beliefs and his interest in Medieval literature and embroidered with his own experiences in hunting, hawking and courtly life. In making the framework of his poem a dream, the author is using a popular convention inherited from the "Roman de la Rose", and other allegorical love visions. The author uses debate to introduce his theme; this is another well-worn literary convention. His "parlement" is not a debate, however, in the sense of an argument, although the discussion between Youth and Middle Age is lively; Old Age over-rides the other two speakers. The type of melancholy contrast between age and youth is universal and it appealed particularly to Medieval writers, with their strong awareness/ ...

(15) J.H. Roberts, "The Nine Worthies", Modern Philology, Vol. 19, 1921-22, 303.

(16) B.M. Additional MS. 31042.

(17) Sir I. Gollancz, "The Parlement of the Thre Ages", London, 1915. Ware, B.M. Additional MS. 33994, "The Parlement of the Thre Ages", ed. M.Y. Offord, E.E.T.S. No. 246, O.U.P., 1959.

awareness of the hereafter. The contrast between the joys of youth and the miseries of old age is poignantly described in some of the Middle English lyrics. (18). The dominant rôle played by Death in this poem as a warning to Middle Age and Youth, may have some affinities with the dialogue of the three dead men and the three living men; a theme which was widely known, particularly in French literature, in the second half of the thirteenth century. The usual form of the legend is that three young noblemen encounter three corpses (or sometimes skeletons). The three men express in turn their horrified reactions at this sight, then the corpses speak in turn, saying they were once young and rich but

"vous serez ce que nous sommes". (19).

This legend is a warning to all mankind of Death's inevitability but addressed above all to those who value earthly treasures, and the author of the "Parlement" may well have been influenced by it when he made Old Age deliver the sermon to Middle Age and Youth.

In recalling the Nine Worthies and their deeds, Old Age is fortifying his argument that the worldly joys praised by Youth and Middle Age, are but vanity since death overtakes all men, however powerful in their day. The Nine Worthies however, for their valiant qualities, have attained immortal fame.

It is/ ...

(18) M.Y. Offord, op. cit., xxxix. Carleton Brown, English Lyrics of the XIIIth Century, Oxford, Clarendon Press 1932, No. 6 and No. 43, Friar Thomas de Hales Luve Ron, Jesus Coll. Oxf. MS 29.

(19) You shall become as we are ... (dead, corpses, skeletons).

It is possible that the Author of "The Parlement" knew the "Voeux du Paon", or some English version, but if so, he has not followed it closely. Some of his information about Alexander's adventures in the East may have come from the "Voeux", but in the accounts of Hector, Caesar, Arthur and Charlemagne, the poet has obviously not followed any one source; they suggest rather that he has crammed into them all that he could remember, from reading or hearsay. The sketches of Joshua and David are briefer, but contain some information which is not found in the "Voeux" (20). The only sketches which correspond fairly closely to the "Voeux" are those of Judas Maccabeus and Godfrey of Bouillon, but even here, there are no striking verbal parallels. The author of the "Parlement" was clearly interested enough in the subject of the Nine Worthies to provide an illuminating account of their status as immortal representatives of the chivalrous knight. Sir I. Gollancz, who has dated the "Parlement of the Thre Ages" from 1350 - c.1400, is not aware of the clear relation of this poem to Piers Plowman, Sir Gawain, Winnere, and the alliterative Morte Arthure (21). "The Parlement of the Thre Ages", which could be based directly on "Les Voeux du Paon", of Jacques de Longuyon, illustrates an interesting change of attitude noticeable in the alliterative revival which links heroic knightly thoughts with didactic religious ones. Initiated by Jacques de Longuyon the panegyric typos of the Nine Worthies was used for religious purposes, (the Old Law, the Pagan Law, the New Law), which contributed to their long standing fame.

(20) The poet has apparently confused the story of Joshua and the crossing of the Jordan with that of Moses leading the Israelites over the Red Sea. The reference to Joshua in the "Voeux" does not mention the Pharaoh in the Red Sea.

(21) K. Höltinger, op. cit., 296.

1.3.7 THE BUIK OF ALEXANDER (JOHN BARBOUR, c.1366-1368)

The Buik of Alexander is derived from Branch II of the Roman d'Alexandre and it comprises of Les Voeux du Paon, and the Fuerres of Gadres, these are Scottish translations of the French originals (22). John Barbour was responsible for the Scottish translation of the Buik of Alexander during c.1366-1368 and the work resembles that of Barbour's Bruce, dated 1375. The Nine Worthies are mentioned in Barbour's Buik of Alexander in a manner which closely follows the work of Jacques de Longuyon. After the translation of Les Voeux du Paon into Scottish, in the Buik of Alexander, the most famous and striking passage in the poem dealing with the Nine Worthies is reduced into ballad form, introducing only such changes as are inevitable when 113 lines (Buik of Alexander, iv, 9897 - 10,000) are condensed into nine six line stanzas. The Ballet of the Nine Nobles (23) can be compared to extracts from Barbour's Bruce and the Buik of Alexander. In the ballad of "De Nouem Nobilibus", each hero is described in a six line verse, the three pagan heroes are first, "Hectour of troy," "Alex als nobil a kyng", "Iulius Cesar wan hailily"; followed by the three Jews, "Ye gentill Jew sch Josue", "David slew mythy golias", "Michty Judas Machabeus", the last group is the three Christians, "Arthur", "Charlez of france", and lastly "Godefrey bolzone".

In the "Ballet of the Nine Nobles", Barbour followed closely his own literal translation of the French, but  
forsook/ ...

- (22) J. Barbour, Buik of Alexander, Vol. I, cci - ccxiii. The Buik of Alexander by John Barbour, ed. with the French originals (Li Fuerres de Gadres and Les Voeux du Paon, R.L.G. Ritchie, Text of "Les Voeux du Paon", in Vols. II - IV, with the Nine Worthies mentioned in Vol. IV, l. 7484 - 7579).
- (23) Preserved in two manuscripts MSS. of Fordun, both in the University Library, Edinburgh. See Buik of Alexander, op. cit., vol. I, cxxxiii - clxvii.

forsook it in the stanza on Arthur, whose exploits had been restricted in "Les Voeux du Paon" to combat with giants. Barbour introduced new matter, describing the conquests of Arthur and how he slew Lucius and Frolo. Of this new matter, the ultimate source is Geoffrey of Monmouth, who, in his "Historia regum Britanniae" (before 1139) had created the figure of Arthur, to which the Historia owed its universal popularity. Geoffrey's tale of the giant, Ritho, who made a garment from the beards of kings he had slain, was well known in France, where Arthur was always much more the beau ideal of chivalry than the conqueror of many lands and it had descended from the "Historia" to "Les Voeux du Paon".

Barbour had added to the "Ballet of the Nine Nobles", a final stanza of his own; Robert the Bruce who had vanquished Edward II was, in his opinion, eligible for inclusion amongst the Noble Nine (24). The "Ballet" was written as an eulogy for Robert the Bruce, as the stanza reveals not for literary purposes, but for some loyal, patriotic or political end. The rising wave of Scottish patriotism carried Barbour from romance to history, from the translation of French to original composition. The transition is clearly shown by the "Ballet" adapted from the Buik when Barbour's mind was full of Robert's greatness perhaps during the composition of the Bruce, i.e. before 1375, and possibly for the purpose of a pageant of the Nine Worthies to celebrate the King's entry into Aberdeen (25). A manuscript of 1380 prepared and used in  
Sweetheart/ ...

- (24) Barbour reveals the Scottish attitude towards the Bruce, who had enraged Edward I when he vowed to the Swans that he would march into Scotland.
- (25) Dunbar, "Blyth Aberdein" 33, speaks of Robert the Bruce appearing in a pageant on the occasion of a royal visit by Margaret, Queen of James IV.

Sweetheart Abbey, Kirkcudbright, Scotland, has been noted by R.S. Loomis (26) as part of the Scottish tradition which added Robert the Bruce as the tenth Worthy, the verse is as follows :

"Ector, Alexander, Julius, Josue, David, Machabeus,  
Arthurus, Carolus, et postremus Godofrydus -  
Robertus Rex Scotorum denus est in numero meliorum".

1.4 DANTE'S DIVINE COMEDY AND THE NINE WORTHIES

The Divine Comedy by Dante Alighieri (1265-1321) represents a literary "summa" of early fourteenth century European culture. Dante's Divine Comedy represents a "summa" which is not restricted to religious thought only, but includes pagan and mythological elements. In the Divine Comedy Dante reveals the tendency of medieval typology to see history as revealed in the events of great heroes who have a didactic purpose. A degree of "historical dependency and continuity exists between the events which typology reveals" (1). In the context of Christian history, typology unfolds the present rather than the future, or the past and confronts man with an existential choice; and man must decide to imitate the pre-figured episodes to gain spiritual fulfilment from them. Dante extended the use of typology beyond the confines of biblical scenes to the events and persons beyond life figuring the entire range of holy and secular human history in this world. (2). Dante sees Virgil as the sum of all learning, guided by Christian virtue, symbolised by Beatrice who represents Christian theology. Dante in the Divine Comedy uses the juxtaposition of pagan and Christian types to convey the spiritual ideal for which he yearns, where classical wisdom must be tempered by Christian virtue. Aeneas and Paul (II Cor. 12.2) are the only two mortals whose journeys into the beyond Dante considers authentic. Both are figures of world history;/...

- (1) A.C. Charity, Events and their afterlife: The dialectics of Christian typology in the Bible and Dante, Cambridge, England, 1966, 199.
- (2) Erich Auerbach, Typological Symbolism in Medieval Literature, in American critical essays on the Divine Comedy, ed. Robert J. Clements, New York, 1967, 107-108.

history; the Father of Rome and the Apostle to the Gentiles. The juxtaposition of images from Christian and pagan history, through the use of select historical figures seems to prefigure Jacques de Longuyon's use of the same device. Dante and Jacques de Longuyon were contemporaries: Dante began work on the Divine Comedy in 1307 and he completed Hell and Purgatory in 1316, devoting the last period of his life until 1321 completing Paradise; Les Voeux du Paon was completed c.1310. The emergence of the literary cult of the Nine Worthies was to coincide with the use of typological modes in Dante's learned work, the Divine Comedy.

The Divine Comedy belongs to the high point of the learned culture of the Middle Ages. The "hero" of the Divine Comedy is a student. His teachers are Virgil and Beatrice, Reason and Grace, knowledge and love, Imperial Rome and Christian Rome. The highest experiences of the mind are for Dante connected with learning, with reading through books a pre-existent truth. Dante embraces the writers of the classical past recommending Virgil, Ovid in his Metamorphoses, Statius and Lucan, Titus Livy, Pliny and Frontinus. The learned culture of the twelfth century schools found in Dante's Divine Comedy a work which offered confirmation of the importance of the classical past. Dante learned the rhetorical art from Virgil, the auctore of the medieval schools who was closest to him. For Dante as for Macrobius (Saturnalia I, 16, 12), Virgil knows all sciences for he represents the encyclopaedic sum of all knowledge (Inferno, IV, 73, VII, 3, VIII, 7). The conception of the Divine Comedy is based on a spiritual meeting with Virgil. The awakening of Virgil by Dante represents the rediscovery of the glory of classical antiquity. Dante shares with Jacques de Longuyon in "Les Voeux du Paon", the Pro-Trojan

attitude/ ...

attitude characteristic of medieval Europe. Dante refers to the Roman descent of the Franks; (Inferno, XXXVI, 60).

The learned culture of Dante's Divine Comedy indicates the importance of symbolism in medieval culture and the development of a rational system to determine its meaning. The pursuit of the Truth in Dante's Divine Comedy involved the development of a specific code of meaning, resulting in the literal interpretation and the three symbolic interpretations called allegorical, tropological and anagogical, all being of the nature of insight of symbolism (3). The symbolical interpretation called allegorical included truths in relation to humanity as a whole. Dante has described the allegorical truth as a truth hidden under a beautiful fiction. The interpretation called tropological applied specifically to the moral lesson which might be learned from any event. The trope was of great comfort to ethical traditions such as the Judaic. The final truth was that of the anagogue - the ultimate truth, belonging neither to time nor space, such knowledge as had been clear to the Greeks since the formulation of Plato's absolute ideas. These four meanings were sought particularly in the two sources of external revelation, nature and scripture - the spatial and the historical, a temporal world.

Dante deals with the ninefold reality of the universe by a fourfold method. (4).

The structural framework of the Paradise is formed by an ascent through the Nine Celestial Spheres (5) which  
the tenth/...

(3) John G. Demaray, The Invention of Dante's Commedia, Yale, 1974 "Three Typological Modes ...," 102.

(4) Ibid. 102.

(5) The Nine Worthies appear in such a figuration. See Supra 1.3.5.

the tenth the infinite Empyrean encloses. This journey through the spheres is not found in Virgil, but in Pre-Christian times it had passed from the East to the late antique religious concept of the universe (6). Dante's journey through the spheres was foreshadowed in Cicero's work; in the background of the "Dream of Scipio". Such a journey had become the common property of the Middle Ages, through Martianus Cappella and the twelfth century epic which took its rise from him (via Bernard Silvestris). (7). The outermost sphere is the celestial, it contains all the others and is itself the God who embraces all other spheres within himself. It is in the context of the striving for Christ-like perfection in Dante's Paradise that the Nine Heroic Warriors of the Cross (8) are mentioned in the Fifth Heaven. Dante in the Paradise has recourse to the typology of the great pilgrimage involving the typologies of biblical imitation, internal recurrence and worldly imitation. (9).

In Molinet's the "Le Trosne d'Honneur", each of the Nine Heavens is inhabited by one of the Nine Worthies accompanied by a virtue. This allegorical work written in honour of Philip Duke of Burgundy is obviously indebted to the first association of the Nine Worthies with virtue in Dante's Paradise, canto XVIII. The third group amongst the blessed in Paradise comprises the shining spirits of the Heaven of Mars

(Paradise,/ ....

- (6) Ernst R. Curtius, European Literature and the Latin Middle Ages, Transl. W.R. Trask, New York, 1953, 359.
- (7) Martianus Cappella, The marriage of Mercury and Philology See also Bernard Silvestris, Cosmographia, B. Stock, Myth and Science in the 12th Century, Princeton U.P., 1972.
- (8) This group based on the Nine Worthies.
- (9) John G. Demaray, op. cit., 93-116.

(Paradise, XIV, 97 ff). The first to stand out from this group is Dante's ancestor, Cacciaguida who was revered for his participation in the Crusades (Paradise XV, 20) who then dominates the scene for some time (to Paradise XVIII, 49). As nomenclator he introduces (Paradise XVIII, 37 ff) the other warriors of God; Joshua, Judas Maccabeus, Charlemagne, Roland, William of Orange, Reynald, Godfrey of Bouillon and Robert Guiscard. With Cacciaguida they make up an enead. The conjecture has been made that Dante was connecting Mars the war-god, or Mars the red star, with the quality of lions. However, as a medieval symbolist it is more likely that Dante would have used the comparison to convey a deeper meaning. It is more likely that the connection is between Christ as the Lion of the Tribe of Judah, and Mars as the sphere in which Dante sees the Cross; Mars moved by the Virtues, the second order of the middle hierarchy of intelligences, who according to Dante contemplate the Son as he is in himself, (10) this gives additional significance to the status of the Nine Heroic Warriors of the Cross.

Paradise/ ...

- (10) H. Flanders Dunbar, Symbolism in Medieval thought and its consummation in the Divine Comedy, Russell-Russell, New York, 1961, 66-74, Convivio, 2,6. Dante holds that the Nine moving heavens are moved each by one of the nine orders of angels, divided into three hierarchies of three orders each; of which the first hierarchy contemplates the Father, the second the Son, and the third the Holy Ghost. The three orders within each hierarchy contemplate different aspects of the one Person. Thus, in the second hierarchy, the Principalities, moving Jupiter, contemplate the Son as he is in himself; and the Dominations, moving the Sun, contemplate the Son in relation to the Holy Spirit.

Paradise (xviii, 1.28 - 1.52) (11).

"In this, the fifth whorl of the tree," he said, 28  
"That's nourished from its summit, and bears fruit  
All seasons, and whose leaves are never shed,  
  
Are blessèd souls, of whom the mighty bruit 31  
Sent forth on earth, or e'er to Heav'n they came,  
Is rich in themes for every poet's lute;  
  
Watch, then the cross's horns, and as I name 34  
Each spirit there, lo! he shall move thereon  
As in a cloud moves swift the levin flame".  
  
He spoke: I saw a flashing lustre run, 37  
At Joshua's name, athwart the cross and stop;  
Nor was it sooner said than it was done;  
  
Great Maccabee was named; I saw him drop, 40  
Spinning as he went, along his fiery lane,  
And gladness was the whip unto the top;  
  
Then Roland on the track of Charlemayne 43  
Sped, and my keen eye following - as it does  
The flight of one's own falcon - watched the twain;  
  
After, my sight was drawn along the cross 46  
By William, Reynald, and Duke Godfrey - three  
Fires, and a fourth, which Robert Guiscard was;  
  
Whereon the soul that had discoursed with me, 49  
Moving and mingling with those myriads bright,  
Showed me his art of heavenly minstrelsy.

(11) Dorothy Sayers, The Comedy of Dante  
Alighieri, The Florentine, C III, Paradise,  
Penguin, Harmondsworth, 1955, 215.

Dante's reference to the poet's lute (Paradise XVIII 1.28-1.52) and the art of the minstrel indicates that knowledge of heroic prototypes and in particular of figures amongst the Nine Worthies was gained through the art of the minstrel; the profession Jacques de Longuyon abandoned in order to write "Les Voeux du Paon". In "Les Voeux du Paon" de Longuyon mentions the Nine Worthies as exponents of the Old Law, the Pagan Law and the New Law of Christianity, this use of typological sequences is found in Dante's verse. The theme of the canto is justice which is revealed in the shape of an eagle. This beautiful and impressive image signifies the ancient supremacy of Rome, ordained by God for the peace and unity of the world. That the Roman emblem should emerge from the meaning spelled out by the Souls of the Just, is an indication of Dante's own gradual comprehension of the meaning of history and the divine pattern of justice. In the systems of law of the Italian commonwealths, Dante recognised the Roman principles. The grouping of the Nine Warriors of the Cross excludes the Pagan heroes, Julius Caesar, Hector and Alexander and yet it clearly represents the emphasis on the three laws with which Jacques de Longuyon associated the Nine Worthies.

Dante introduces the Nine Heroic Warriors of the Cross (Paradise Canto XVIII) with the lines, "In this fifth whorl of the tree that is nourished from its summit". (l. 28-29) The tree is the ten heavens, the fifth whorl is the Heaven of Mars. Unlike the trees on earth which are nourished from the roots, this ten fold tree takes its nurture from God. The Nine Heroic Warriors of the Cross are in the Fifth Heaven and blessed with the virtue of Fortitude. Fortitude is the Fourth Beatitude forming the Fourth Gift of the Holy Spirit. Christ provided in the Beatitudes the New Law in the New Dispensation which stood opposed to  
the Old Law/ ...

the Old Law and formed that contrast which is the most powerful of all medieval Christian symbolic images favoured both by Jacques de Longuyon and his contemporary Dante. The fourth beatitude, in parallel with the Fourth Gift speaks of a hunger and thirst after righteousness which goes further than what ethics commands, the struggle for attainable moral virtues, the struggle to be Christ-like. The thirst to be like Christ may be associated with the allegorical image of water found in the tree of life. The branches of the tree of life were Christ's own virtues taught to disciples in the Beatitudes; a good heart sits in their shadow and beholds them with joy. Christ taught the seven perfections by which the seven grafts in each man's garden receive the water of Grace. This water is the only other necessity for their fruitful growth apart from sunlight. There are real reasons behind the long learned tradition which provided the image of germinating, watering, trees with branches, displacing of a vicious plant by its opposite virtue. (12).

It is in relationship to this struggle between Virtue and Vice, good and evil, a struggle which must equip the allegorical traveller for a journey through the Nine Heavens to attain Christ-like perfection in the tenth Heaven of Paradise that the importance of the chivalric ideal of the heroic prototype is revealed. Human heroes never have the virtues but only locate them; their quest ends in knowledge, not possession, though these unearthly perfections ledge in them as tenants showing their nature. The Fourth gift of

Fortitude/ ....

- (12) Rosamund Tuve, Allegorical Imagery, Princeton University Press, 1966, 109. Bonaventure's popular tracts consistently use this elaborated Biblical imagery which has iconographically a great past and greater future in the paradise garden which was theologically more interesting.

Fortitude was of allegorical significance in the medieval conception of the chivalrous knight. Most important for vernacular literature was the pronounced stress on sufferings or the tribulations of Fortitude. Cicero mentions both active strength and passive endurance. When Fortitude becomes the acquired virtue and mingles with Fortitude the Holy Spirit's gift which is supremely shown in Christ's passion, we may anticipate a chivalric virtue in God's knights wherein suffering evil is the truest mode of courageous fight against evil. (13).

The struggle between the Virtues and Vices is revealed as the Gift Fortitude (Strength, Force) sets in the place of the vice Sloth (acedia, paresse) the Virtue Prowess. (14). The medieval hero in his struggle to be like Christ is faced with what Christianity has added to Fortitude: the hunger and thirst after righteousness of the Fourth Beatitude. The heroic quest for virtue represents a Christian goal which Dante has confirmed throughout the Divine Comedy namely, the attainment of the state of perfection. For the end of Fortitude, the end of righteousness (Justice), is that man comes to participate in the condition of his divinity (the perfected virtues), is one with it and receives the crown and is victorious in the seventh and last battle against the devil himself. It is this battle of which it is said,

"To hym that venquiseth I wole geve hym  
to ete of the tree of life ...  
that is Ihesu Crist",

The tree of life unites man's life with that of God, as he reaches the end of the quest for virtue. (15).

The/...

(13) Ibid., 96.

(14) See Force, Paresse, Goliath and Labour, B.M; Ms. Add. 28162 f.8 v.

(15) Tuve, op. cit. 99.

The association of the Seven Virtues and Vices with Chivalry was established in the Somme le Roi (16) of Frère Lorens. The Somme le Roi typifies the largest single category of medieval works through which conceptions of what was "included" in the subject of the virtues and the demands they made in terms of human action filtered down to the completely unlearned. Lorens treats Magnificence as part of Fortitude. His conception of Magnificence was one of Christian perseverance perfected by the virtue which carries it through to the end.

The Somme le Roi's extremely wide dispersal contributed to its popularity, but its lively imagery and combination of Christian symbolism with the image of the Christian Knight contributed further to its popularity. The association of the Christian Knight with the aspirations of the Seven Virtues and Vices depended on the conception of a man's service to God as a higher chivalry, serving as a vassal of Christ, the Knight free of human failings. The chivalry of Knights such as the Nine Worthies would always reveal the weaknesses of the human will.

The Knights' quest for perfection and the necessary struggle with evil take place against a background of Christian allegorical imagery: once man has attained and perfected the virtues, he receives the crown and is victorious in the Seventh and last battle against the devil himself. The seven battles are as boughs on the Tree of Fortitude (17) : the first being the  
battle/...

(16) The Somme Le Roi was compiled by a Dominican confessor of the King of France in 1279 for Philip III, "le hardi". It filled an acute need for these particular decades. After the order requiring annual confession in 1215, there came the important orders of the thirteenth century. See W.N. Francis, The Book of Virtue and Vices, Early English Texts Society, Vol. 217.

(17) R. Tuve, op. cit., 99-105, fig. 24, Knight's fight with Beast Bodl. 283, f. 137, V.

battle concerning the matter of deadly sin and the last is the one which wins for the hero a place in the garden where is the tree of life. Thus the struggle with evil becomes for every knight a search for moral perfection which involves the medieval code of courtly love and chivalry. Amongst the Nine Worthies the struggle with evil is often illustrated by an image which accompanies each hero, who has been victorious against the forces of wickedness: David conquers Goliath; Arthur (18) is victorious in the killing of Mordred and the dragon of St. Michael's Mount; for Charlemagne and Godfrey of Bouillon the subjugation of the Heathens constituted the victory of Christian Virtue against Heathen Vice. Dante's own quest for perfection through purgatory and hell leads him eventually to Paradise where, after travelling through the Heaven of each of the Virtues and reaching the Tenth Heaven, he meets God in the fulfillment of Christian eschatological belief.

Dante's grouping of the Nine Warriors of the Cross in the Fifth Heaven of Paradise represents the striving towards the attainment of perfection by the mortal hero whose only hope of redemption lies in God's intervention. In the Divine Comedy, Dante through the juxtaposition of typological imagery contrasts the vision of Heaven with that of Hell: the realm of the Virtues with that of the Vices. With thoroughness Dante contrasts the image of the Nine Heroic Warriors of the Cross with an exposition of their faults and weaknesses. In Hell's second circle (Inferno, C.V.) Dante lists those who have sinned less by deliberate choice of evil than by failure to make a resolute choice for the good. Here are the sins of self indulgence, weaknesses of will and easy yielding to appetite.

Dante/ ...

(18) See Edmund Spenser's Fairie Queene, Arthur and the virtue of Magnificence.

Dante chooses seven figures as the exponents of lust which he regards as the least serious of the seven deadly sins: Semiramis, who is listed first amongst them, is later to become one of the Nine Worthy Women (Dante has followed Orosius who reported her lustfulness); Dido the Virgilian heroine is followed by Cleopatra who represents the temptation of Julius Caesar, by the first of the Vices. She is followed by Paris, Achilles and Helen. Tristan is the seventh lustful sinner, whilst the addition of Paolo and Francesca bring to Nine the number of lustful sinners. The third Pagan hero amongst Jacques de Longuyon's grouping of the Nine Worthies is to be found in Hell (Canto XII, 106 ff,) amongst the violent oppressors where Alexander is listed as a tyrant. Thus Dante's admiration for the learned culture of antiquity as revealed by Aeneas does not prevent him from condemning to Hell those antique heroes whose sins violate the Seven Virtues. For Dante, Alexander is a tyrant and Penthesilea is condemned for her lust (a quality which may have been a requirement for Eustache Deschamp's grouping of the Nine Worthy Women). Julius Caesar is the fallen victim of Vice in the first battle of the tree of Fortitude. Hector's deeds are indirectly praised as Helen, Achilles and Paris are condemned but the reader is reminded of Hector's death in Paradise (Canto VI, 68) where he is mentioned as a hero who performed noble and virtuous deeds in his first life but at the same time was tainted with the sins of worldly desire for good repute. (19). The allegorical battle of the archetypal hero between Virtue and Vice, between good and evil as revealed in the Christian medieval context by Dante would have anticipated the contrast of type and anti-type found in the grouping of the Nine Un-Worthies.

In Dante's/...

(19) D. Sayers, Paradise, op. cit., 97.

In Dante's Divine Comedy there is the recurrent juxtaposition of good and evil in relation to the grouping of the Nine Heroic Warriors of the Cross. In the Fifth Heaven of Paradise the group which prefigured the Nine Worthies is associated with the Virtue of Fortitude. However, Dante mentions the Jewish heroes amongst the Nine Worthies in Purgatory and Hell indicating that the idealisation of the Nine Worthies as prototypes often ignored their moral failings in the Christian allegorical context. Dante was not ignorant of the faults of the heroes and judged them according to their grasp of the Seven Virtues and Vices. In Purgatory, (XX, 109 - 111) Joshua is mentioned for his deeds in the capture of Jericho and for his condemnation of Achan: Joshua ordered all the captured treasure to be consecrated to the Lord; but Achan seized part of it for himself, and he and his family were stoned to death by order of Joshua. (Josh. vi and vii). Joshua condemns Achan's covetousness for wealth and possessions. Dante's admiration for David is evident in the Inferno (Canto IV, 1.58 - 63) where David is mentioned amongst the virtuous pagans:

"King David, Abraham the Patriarch,  
Israel with his father and generation  
Rachel for whom he did such deed of mark

With many other of His chosen nation,  
These did He bless; and know, that ere that day  
No human soul had ever seen salvation."

Thus Dante portrays David as the King of the Israelites, who was a humble and virtuous man and whose only fault was the lack of an opportunity to exercise Christian faith. David is again mentioned as a great King whose downfall was his lack of foresight, (Purgatory, X, 1.64 - 66).

In Paradise (XX, 1. 37-42) David, who is not grouped  
with/ ...

with the Nine Heroic Warriors of the Cross is mentioned as creator of the Psalms. David is for Dante one of the greatest representatives of Justice on earth. He is seated first in the Sixth Heaven of Justice, representing divine and Human justice, grace and salvation. David is the first true King of the chosen people. Dante values David's role in the Judeo-Christian tradition referring to him as the Psalmist who fetched the Ark (the sign of the Divine presence) from Gaba to Jerusalem.

Thus Dante has by associating each of the heroes with a virtue and with the Heavens of Paradise, also exposed the downfall of each hero and his weaknesses which occurred as the influence of fate. Dante has not simply juxtaposed the heroic prototypes with an anti-type but has rather explored the relation of each hero's downfall in relation to the Christian allegorical system of the Virtues and Vices. Jacques de Longuyon's grouping of the Nine Worthies in "Les Voeux du Paon", suggests the idealisation of the heroes as chivalric prototypes, their virtue was contrasted in later centuries by the Vice of the Unworthies. Dante's vision of the hereafter as a pilgrimage or journey through Hell, Purgatory and Paradise, where Dante finally meets Christ, illustrates the didactic purpose of the Virtues and Vices, as each hero who has been defeated by a vice lingers in Hell or Purgatory, those who possess Justice and Strength are rewarded in Heaven.

The great number and variety of persons in the Divine Comedy is explained by the most impressive and fertile innovation which Dante's genius incorporated into the antique and medieval heritage. In his drawing upon contemporary history, Dante summons popes and emperors, kings and prelates, statesmen, tyrants, generals, men  
and women/...

and women from the nobility and the bourgeoisie from guild and school. In the Divine Comedy Dante makes use of women to illustrate the nature of Sin and Grace in Paradise (XXXII, l. 10-18). St. Bernard names the thrones descending downward from Mary, the seven being Mary, Eve, Rachel, Sarah, Rebekah, Judith and Ruth. All the women named with the exception of Judith are wives of the House of David. Between Sarah and David are the first fourteen generations mentioned by St. Matthew (i. 1-17). The line of Old Testament women form the link between the Old and the New Covenant, bringing about the fulfillment of the New Law. Here Dante has presented a grouping of the women as symbolic of the achievement of Christianity, of continuity and perfection. This grouping is significant as the women preponderate and not the prophets of the Old Testament. As the use of medieval typology developed, the use of female types became common as in the case of the Nine Worthy Women. Dante's juxtaposition of women in groupings of symbolic numbers would have influenced future typological programmes such as that of the Nine Worthy Women.

The grouping of Seven Jewish Women occurs towards the end of Dante's Paradise which is to culminate in Dante's union with Beatrice. Beatrice is instrumental in the process of salvation not only for Dante but for all believers. It is the mystical bond between Beatrice and Christianity that offers an explanation for the number symbolism of the number nine in the Divine Comedy which in turn relates to the grouping of the Nine Worthies and the Nine Heroic Warriors of the Cross. In the Vita Nuova Dante relates

"The number/...

"The number three is the root of the number nine, because it gives nine of itself without any other number, as we manifestly see that three times three makes nine." (20).

Consequently, if the three is by itself the maker of the nine, and likewise the maker of miracles is by Himself three, namely Father, Son and Holy Ghost, which are three in one, so was this lady accompanied by the number nine, to make it understood that she was a nine, that is a miracle, whose root is solely the wondrous Trinity. Dante had written a poem on the sixty most beautiful women in Florence, (21), "and it befell in wondrous wise that my lady's name would not suffer itself to stand in any place but ninth." According to Ptolemy and according to Christian Truth, the heavens which move are nine, and astrologically the number was allied to Beatrice. The number nine is a "soteriological numerical riddle". Here Dante is within a widespread antique and medieval tradition. (22). Dante's use of number symbolism in a pilgrimage of love, order and salvation established yet another learned code to be mastered by the literary mind of the thirteenth century and provided a literary "summa" which could only serve to inspire the work of Jacques de Longuyon and the subsequent fame of the Nine Worthies. The number symbolism of the three gates of Hell, three  
of brass/ ...

(20) Ernst R. Curtius, op. cit., 374. Beatrice and Nine, their first meeting took place in the ninth year of his life, Vita Nuova, 2, and her death occurred on the ninth day of the ninth month of the year of the century wherein the perfect number was completed nine times, Vita Nuova, 30. The number nine is related to the nine fold pattern of the universe, nine fold good and its negation in nine fold evil. In the Greek letter-number system Alpha and Omega make 801 which "reduced" is 9. 9 is also the number of the Holy Ghost.

(21) Ibid, 375.

(22) Curtius, op. cit., 375.

of brass, three of iron and three of adamant confirms Dante's symbolic use of the number nine in association with Heaven and with the grouping of the Nine Worthies.

Dante anticipates the popular tradition of the addition of a tenth worthy to the illustrious group of conquerors. Eustache Deschamps (1346-1407) had initiated this tradition when he suggested the brave French hero of the Hundred Years War, Bertrand du Guesclin, as a tenth worthy. In the Heaven of Mars (Paradise, XVIII, l. 46-49), Dante suggests that William, Reynald and Robert Guiscard be amongst the group of the Nine Heroic Warriors of the Cross. (23). Although these heroes are not added onto the original group of nine, they convey the importance of the contemporary hero, and the cult of military glory evolving during the fourteenth century in medieval Europe. Robert Guiscard, Duke of Apulia and Calabria, was one of the twelve sons of Tancred de Hauteville. He succeeded to the command of the Norman troops in Italy and earned glory in his victories over the Saracens and Greeks in Sicily and the South of Italy. The addition of contemporary heroes such as Robert Guiscard contributed to the image of the Nine Worthies as the eponymous heroes. Dante indicates his own knowledge of popular legend and myth by including William, Count of Orange, who is the central figure of a group of Old French chansons de geste in the Geste de Garin de Monglane which celebrate his defence of Christendom against the Saracens. Reynald by birth a Saracen was companion and brother in law to Guillaume, who had married his sister Orable. Dante's grouping of the Nine Heroic Warriors of the Cross in the Fifth Heaven of Paradise served to introduce the concept of the heroic prototype in relation to the learned culture of the Middle Ages. Dante associated with the Nine  
Heroes/ ....

- (23) Dante has not divided the Nine Heroes into three groupings of three religions but rather into Christian and Jewish, the number symbolism being two Jews, and Seven Christians.

Heroes a wealth of symbolic meaning. Subsequent literary and artistic renditions of the Nine Worthies represent only fragments of the sophisticated code of meaning in Dante's Divine Comedy. If the Nine Worthies found their origins in Dante's learned encyclopaedia of symbolism by the sixteenth century they had become the heroes eponymous, worshipped in the pageantry of the ordinary citizens of medieval Europe.

CHAPTER II

MEDIEVAL SCHEMATISM : THE NINE WORTHIES

AS THEY ARE REPRESENTED IN WRITTEN SOURCES

## 2.1 THE MEDIEVAL GLOSSAE OF THE OLD TESTAMENT

Jacques de Longuyon's choice of the three Old Testament heroes, Joshua, David and Judas Maccabeus for inclusion amongst his gallery of chivalric prototypes placed the Old Law of Judaism in a contemporary medieval setting. The representation of three Biblical heroes amongst the Nine Worthies was an innovative choice. In the early fourteenth century when Jacques de Longuyon wrote "Les Voeux du Paon", the subjects of the Old Testament were promoted chiefly by the church as a part of their formal doctrinal teaching. Jacques de Longuyon, however, chose to remove the Old Testament heroes from the restraints of the church and its mentors by presenting them as heroic prototypes excelling in deeds which were of a chivalrous nature. Thus Jacques de Longuyon represented the biblical heroes as part of a secular promotion casting the Old Testament figures as warriors whose warfaring nature found identification with the medieval cult of chivalry.

Jacques de Longuyon's presentation of the three Biblical heroes amongst the Nine Worthies was representative of the developments which had taken place in interpretation of the Old Testament during the Middle Ages. Amongst the scholars of the church, both thinking and teaching centred on texts which had been handed down from an earlier period whether they were an inspired text, the Bible, corpus iuris or a classical author. (1). Hence it was essential for teaching purposes that the text should have some standard exposition, accompanying it as a gloss. The essential use of the glossae in the Middle Ages resulted in the most important "Glossa Ordinaria", the book which bewitched the Middle Ages

by/ ....

(1) Beryl Smalley, The Study of the Bible in the Middle Ages, Oxford, 1952, 52.

by its quality of precision and which remained famous until the Renaissance. It was the most frequently used and widely known commentary on the Bible in the monastic and cathedral schools. The fifteenth century editors of the "Glossa Ordinaria", who regarded it as a work of composite and uncertain authorship, noted that original work on the Law - the historical books of the Old Testament, the prophets, the Gospels and the Acts was lacking. (2).

The preparation of a Gloss on the Old Testament was problematic for medieval scholars and a desire to study the Old Testament had led them to compare the Latin text with the Hebrew: Latin scholars asked the Jews for information on rabbinics as well as for guidance with the Hebrew tongue. The rabbis would provide the Christians of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries with specimens of traditional interpretation and with an acquaintance of living contemporary scholarship. The medieval Old Testament scholar found the Jewish people, who spoke the language of Moses and observed the Law and had a vast store of traditions about Bible history, a valuable source of information on the Old Testament. The Disputatio Judaei cum Christiano by Gilbert Crispin abbot of Westminster written before 1098 and the Dialogus between a Christian and a Jew by Peter Abelard show a tolerance and appreciation of the Jewish point of view.

Growing interest in the Old Testament and controversy over its importance contributed to further study of its significance. St. Stephen Harding, abbot of Cîteaux, corrected the text of the Old Testament with the help of Jews whom he consulted in French. His

second/ ...

(2) Ibid, 7.

second volume was finished in 1109. Hugh of St. Victor systematically introduced the study of the Old Testament beginning with the literal sense and progressing to the allegorical. Andrew of St. Victor of the Victorine school was interested in the chronology and geography of the Old Testament. Andrew brings a critical faculty to bear on the Jewish sources as he does on the Christian; he took special pains to present the lesser known Jewish texts. The earliest English manuscript is an anonymous copy of Andrew on Kings in a hand of the late twelfth century from the Cistercian abbey of Buildwas in Shropshire now MS, Trinity College, Cambridge, B.I. 29 (27). Peter the Chanter and Stephen Langton were responsible for a vast series of glossae covering the Old and New Testaments.

Specialised knowledge of the Old Testament was confined to the learned and studious members of the religious community, but medieval lay society gained knowledge of events in the Old Testament through the use of iconographic devices in the church buildings. In this way, the stained glass and sculpture as well as the scriptures conveyed to the laity a sense of events in the Old Testament. The church fathers had formulated a specific doctrine for the interpretation of Old Testament events resulting in a typology of the relationship between persons and events of the Old and New Testaments. The use of iconography had resulted in a juxtaposition of images: the events of the two Testaments were brought together and the Old Testament was presented only in its prophecy announcing the new. (3). The use of iconographic devices in the  
representation/...

- (3) André Grabar, Christian Iconography, A study of its origins. Vol. X., in A.W. Mellon lectures, National Gallery of Art, Washington, London, 1969, III.

representation of Old Testament events by the church served to introduce medieval lay society to the basic concepts of Judaism, of the importance of the Law and of the struggle for survival by the tribes of Israel. This fundamental knowledge of Old Testament events by the laity served as a basis for authors such as Jacques de Longuyon who wished to introduce biblical events and heroes into tales of chivalric adventure.

The Old Testament story of the warfare of Israel and Judah made a powerful appeal in the age of the crusades, and historical books were frequently translated and widely copied. By 1280, shortly before Jacques de Longuyon had composed "Les Voeux du Paon", (1310), the Bible was translated into French, providing lay society with access to the literal text of scripture. In the thirteenth century the Bible was translated into French and Guyart de Moulins translated Peter Comestor's Historia Scholastica known as the Bible Historiale. (4). It is not quite clear what sort of reader these biblical translations initially had in mind. Lay folk who had associated themselves with the Mendicant orders and had taken vows as tertiaries have been suggested. (5).

Jacques de Longuyon had drawn upon the Book of Maccabees both directly and indirectly in the composition of "Les Voeux du Paon" (1310) (6), and John Barbour in his Scottish translation of this work, the Buik of Alexander (1366-68), had followed de Longuyon's work  
in the/ ...

- (4) S.C.A. Robinson, Vernacular Scriptures in France in The Cambridge History of the Bible, ed. G.W.H. Lampe, Cambridge, 1969, II, 436-52, 528-32.
- (5) Keen, Chivalry, op. cit., 120.
- (6) John Barbour, The Buik of Alexander, op. cit., Vol. I. CCXXXVI.

in the use of extracts from the Book of Maccabees, of which Barbour made further use in his Bruce, (c.1375). In the Bruce, the speech at Methuen (II 321-41) and the two speeches at Bannockburn (VIII 235-70 and XII 210-327) are compounded of extracts from the Buik of Alexander, and the Bible (Book of Maccabees). (7). Robert the Bruce had been added by Barbour to the group of the Nine Worthies as a tenth Worthy in his composition of the Ballad of the Nine Nobles. (8). In the speech at Bannockburn it is not King Robert, but Judas Maccabeus who speaks sometimes as reported in the Bible, or as interpreted by the combined efforts of a French and a Scottish poet. At the battle of Bannockburn the preoccupations of the Bruce were like those of Judas Maccabeus as he prepared for battle: his triumph was later ascribed to his trust in God, rather than his host. (9). The Bruce himself was compared to Judas Maccabeus in the noble letter addressed to Pope John XXII on 6th April, 1320, by the Barons of Scotland. (10). Barbour was much concerned with King Robert the Bruce and, giving an example of prowess in battle, he cites the Maccabees who delivered their country from a foreign oppressor as did the Bruce and Douglas; thus Barbour compares the patriotism of the Old Testament hero, with that of contemporary Scotland.

The three biblical heroes of Joshua, David and Judas Maccabeus reduced the events of Jewish history from a  
vast/ ...

- (7) The verses concerned are: Macc.I, iii, 17-21 and iv, 17-18.
- (8) The ballad of the Nine Nobles, The Parlement of the Thre Ages, ed. I. Gollancz London, 1915, 134.
- (9) Fordun in his brief account of Bannockburn remarks (p. 397) "Rex Robertus cum paucis occurrens non in multitudine populi sed in Domino Deo spem poren".
- (10) National MSS of Scotland, Part II, XXIV,

vast expanse of prophets, judges and patriarchs to three figures whose lives spanned from the fourteenth century to one hundred and sixty BC. The achievement of Joshua (which means Yahweh is salvation) (11), lay in his strength as a military leader and his conquest of Canaan. The possession of the Holy Land was in fulfillment of God's Law that it should remain in the possession of his people. Joshua as leader of the Israelites, had a special relationship to Moses, and the crossing of the Jordan is often an expression of the theme that Joshua is another Moses. At the time of Joshua the tribes of Israel were of a primitive warfaring nature. The grouping of the three biblical heroes amongst the Nine Worthies invites comparison between pagan legends and Christian chivalric mythology. Thus the heroic prowess of the Old Testament heroes served to present the unique character of Judaism:

"For well this subject might increase the famous Iosuah one of the Nine Worthies". (12).

The three biblical heroes amongst the Nine Worthies brought to the medieval mind, in vivid dramatic scenes, tales with a simplicity which could appeal to the least educated member of society. Amongst the Nine Worthies, David is presented at the court of Saul where his skill as a musician contributes to his success at court. David has all the necessary qualifications to serve Saul and, in the Old Testament, this is attributed to the fact that David is "divinely appointed" to succeed. Jacques de Longuyon has portrayed David as a figure with whom the chivalrous sectors of medieval society can identify: David  
plays/...

(11) The Jerome Biblical Commentary, Edited by R.E. Brown, G. Chapman, J.A. Fitzmeyer, R.E. Murphy, London, 1968, 124.

(12) Warner, Alb. Engl. IV. XXIX, 28.

plays at court, his intention is to please his patron, King Saul. This scene of courtly life bears witness to the importance of both King and patron in medieval society and links the Old Testament kings with the cult of chivalry where for the nobility the court was the focal point of daily life. The less privileged members of medieval society could easily identify with David as the harp player and the shepherd boy who won the battle with Goliath, they could identify with the peasant status of his youth. When he slays Goliath, David becomes a popular military hero who arouses Saul's envy. This achievement makes David a wholly acceptable hero according to the cult of medieval chivalry as the stories of St. George and the dragon and King Arthur had a mythological fascination. (13). David's successful rise to power from shepherd boy to king would also have appealed to the medieval audience, where favour at court could not ensure the fame of the divinely elected David. David's rise in status from shepherd boy to king was noted by heraldic writers of the fifteenth century as proof that nobility was not a matter of descent but rather of individual virtue and prowess. (14).

In the Old Testament David is presented as the ideal king in Hebrew terms. He is neither a moral or religious nor even an ideal of success. He was the ideal king because he did better than anyone else, in the Hebrew tradition what a king was expected to do. He created a united Israel, his military successes removed external danger and enriched his people. The achievement of David is specifically that of an Old Testament king and his kingship is regarded as superior to that of the other Old Testament kings./...

(13) R. Morris, The Character of King Arthur in Medieval Literature, Arthurian Studies, IV, Rowman and Littlefield, 1982, 76.

(14) BR, MS 1107, fo 12 VO; BN, MS Fr. 1280, fos 3-4 VO.

kings. Thus the throne of Judah remains in Hebrew literature "the throne of David". The ideal Kingship of David is fundamental in the messianic belief of the Old Testament. During the Carolingian era, the concept of the divinely appointed kings of the Old Testament such as David and Saul provided a model for the rebirth of the ruler as an ideal king just as the Old Testament depicted the rebirth of an anointed king. This Old Testament rebirth of the ruler was perfectly understood in patristic literature, for example Joshua, whose name was changed to Jesus. (15).

The concept of Old Testament Kingship is related to the meaning of unction in the Carolingian era as in the case of the pope who anointed and crowned Louis I, in October 816 at Rheims when he slightly altered the Old Testament text and uttered these benedictory words, "Blessed be our Lord who has granted us to see the second David", (16), but Charlemagne himself had been called David. (17). In the early Middle Ages the anointing of the Old Testament Kings was considered a sacrament in the strict sense in which the concept was taken in the early Middle Ages. Gregory the Great found it self-evident that the unction administered to the Old Testament king was a sacrament because it itself contained divine grace. (18). Amongst the Nine Worthies, both the verses and illustrations of David refer to qualities of his youth, prowess and kingship as in "Le Chevalier Errant", by

Tommaso/....

(15) W. Ullmann, The Carolingian Renaissance and the Idea of Kingship, Methuen, London, 1969, 72.

(16) Ibid, 73. "Benedictus sit Dominus Deus noster, qui tribuit oculis nostris videre secundum David." Cf. III Kings 1.48.

(17) See Supra Charlemagne 2.6, 125.

(18) Ullmann, op. cit., 73.

Tommaso Saluzzo (19) where David appears holding a shield with a harp on it, his sword and wearing a golden crown. These were the iconographic symbols of David's reign but as in the case of all medieval iconography of the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries the simplicity of the symbols disguised the whole history of the medieval interpretation of the Old Testament.

Judas Maccabeus, leader of the Jewish people from 166 - 160 BC, represents the champion defender of the law of Judaism. In the Book of Maccabees, Judas and his brothers, the sons of Mattathias, are responsible for the providential freedom of Judaism from Pagan oppression. The theme of the book is the opposition between Israel, the people of God, and the Gentiles. Unless Israel resists Hellenism by every means, political and military as well as religious, it will succumb to and lose its distinct identity and beliefs. Judas and his brethren have acted as saviour, 1. MC (9:21; 14; 29) and judge, 1. MC (9:72) delivering Israel and restoring its ancient heritage 1. MC (15:33-34). The author of this book wants his readers to know that Judas and his brothers are really engaged in a conquest similar to that of David 2 SM (5-8) in order to establish their rights to an ancient heritage. The inclusion of the Biblical heroes amongst the Nine Worthies contributed to the importance of morality in the conception of the chivalric ideal. The exposition of standards of morality was a central feature of medieval Christian thought; it was a theme which had found its way into popular culture through Dante's Divine Comedy and contributed to the image of the Nine Worthies as heroic prototypes.

(19) MS fr. 12559, Bibl. Nat. Paris.

## 2.2 THE LEGENDS OF TROY

"Whenever the Middle Ages achieved a heroic literature, it was treading in Homer's footsteps." (1).

The Greek epic tradition had laid the foundation for medieval epic. However, knowledge of the Trojan War was not derived directly from Homer in the Latin Middle Ages. It was Dictys and Dares who introduced the novelty which resulted in the epic becoming a prose romance. These two self-appointed "eye witnesses" made untruthful claims of having been present at the siege. They retold the story in two mythographical texts: Dares Phrygius wrote the "De Excidio Troiae", written not before the early sixth century, and Dictys Cretensis, who called himself a follower of a certain Idomeneus and the official historian of the War on the side of the Greeks, wrote the "Ephemeris de bello Troiana", written in the fourth century (2). Though much of what they wrote is ultimately derived from Homer, Dictys and Dares wrote with the professional intention to correct and supersede him. Dictys and Dares had a success out of all proportion to their literary merit, and it was not until the eighteenth century that they were exposed as forgeries. The works of Dictys and Dares survive in Latin works of the fourth and fifth centuries based on slightly earlier Greek originals. Dares gives a brief compendium of events in poor and extremely simple Latin verging on illiteracy. The translator added an introduction, which he derived from Latin sources relating the  
story/...

- (1) Ernst R. Curtius, op. cit., 168.
- (2) The Trojan war, "The Chronicles of Dictys of Crete and Dares the Phrygian", transl. by R.M. Frazer, Bloomington, 1966.

story of the Argonauts and of the first destruction of Troy, that is an account of the events which led up to the Trojan War. (3). The popularity of Dares rested on his claim to the "authentic" story in which he glorified the Trojans at the expense of the Greeks. The Latin translation of Dictys was used only as an appendix to Dares.

This glorification of the Trojans which had already started in classical Roman times, reflects the legend of Trojan ancestry which was one of the mainstays of Roman political theory. (4). Thus, Virgil made the Trojan, Aeneas, the hero of his epic. Aeneas, survivor of the Sack of Troy, and through his marriage to Lavinia, had been chosen by the Gods to be the founder of Roman stock and ancestor of Augustus. (5) :

"His destiny decreed from above, and his display of those moral virtues which were to become known as essentially Roman, counted far more than the sheer physical prowess and the beauty of the Achaeans." (6).

Antenor, another survivor of the siege, was made the founder of Patavia (Padua); thus, the Romans were proclaimed the first to colonise Northern Italy as well. Virgil's antihomeric stance is implied rather than stated, but the popularity of De Excidio Troiae revived this point of view. The epic of the Greeks became/ ....

- (3) Hugo Buchtal, "Historia Troiana"; Studies in the history of Medieval Secular Illustration, Warburg Institute, London, 1957, 2.
- (4) Ibid, 2.
- (5) Gilbert Highet, "The Classical Tradition", Greek and Roman influences on Western Culture, Oxford, Clarendon Press, 1949, 54.
- (6) Buchtal, op. cit., 2.

became that of the Trojans. The Greeks were portrayed as the brutal aggressors and the Trojans, the innocent victims.

The distribution of the manuscripts seems to suggest that Dictys and Dares were even more popular north of the Alps, especially in France and England. The reason for this is the myth of the Trojan origin of the Franks, which was first formulated by Gregory of Tours (c.538-594), (7), as an analogy to the legend of the descent of the Romans from Aeneas, and of the Venetii from Antenor as put forward by Livy. In due course, fictitious Trojan family trees, supported by an impressive accumulation of pseudo-etymological evidence, were provided for the Kings of France and Britain (8). Similarly, the Normans claimed Trojan descent. The ancestry story was incorporated into the "Historia Normannorum" by William of Jumièges (before 1087), and, finally, into the vernacular, "Chronique des ducs de Normandie", written about 1175 for King Henry II by Benoît de Ste. Maure. This was, in all probability, the same person as the Benedictine monk, Benoît de Ste. Maure, who, about 1160-1170, produced the poem in Old French which was to become the standard Medieval work on the Trojan War; the "Roman de Troie", (c.1160). The popularity of this work depended not only on the concept of Medieval Troy romance, but also on the belief in the Trojan descent of the French, which was

"taken/ ...

(7) Gregory of Tours, History of the Franks, Vol. iv, 30.

(8) Buchtal, op. cit., 3.

"taken seriously as genealogy, and became a veritable form of ethnic consciousness." (9).

In this sense the "Roman de Troie" of Benoît de Ste. Maure contained

"a sort of mythical substratum where the Medieval listener, or reader, could more or less consciously detect something of his moral genealogy." (10).

The legend of the Trojan descent of the Franks was exploited by Jean Lemaire de Belges in his "Illustrations de Gaule et Singularités de Troie", which attained immense popularity. (11). Thus, the heroes of Troy became patriots of a nation, the distant forefathers of Medieval society.

Benoît's "Roman de Troie", relied on Dictys and Dares as primary sources and, whenever possible, on Dares, who is the far weaker of the two but pro-Trojan. Dictys and Dares were well-suited to the taste of the Medieval public: they contain an enormous number of single incidents, thus creating the impression of accurate reporting and they introduced romance by telling of the secret love of Achilles and Polyxena. Benoît added a parallel episode of his own, introducing courtly romance with the love of Briseis (Briseida) and Troilus, which was elaborated by his successors into the famous love story of Troilus and Cressida. Although there were two early Troy romances, the "Roman de Thebes" and the "Roman d'Aeneas", Benoît's "Roman de Troie" elevated the Trojans to the status of national heroes, thus making Hector eligible as one of the/ ...

(9) Jean Seznec, "The Survival of the Pagan Gods", transl. Barbara F. Soissons, Bollingen Series, xxxviii, Princeton U.P., 1972, 19.

(10) Ibid, 20.

(11) Seznec, op. cit., 24.

of the Nine Worthies. The first literary mention of Hector amongst this group, (12) occurs some time after the development of the Medieval Pro-Trojan attitude. It is in the context of Benoît's "Roman de Troie", (c.1160), that Hector emerges as the protagonist of the poem. Late antique theory influenced the further development and interpolation of the ideal hero. According to the allegorical interpretation of Fulgentius, the opening words of the 'Aeneid' conceal a deeper meaning (13); "Arma" signifies virtue, "virum", wisdom; "for all perfection consists in bodily strength and wisdom." The entire development which leads from Homer to Dares and Fulgentius reaches its conclusion in what Isidore of Seville (d.636) had to say about the epic:

"It is called heroic song because it tells the deeds of brave men. For hero is the name given to men who, by their wisdom and courage, are worthy of heaven."

(Etymologies, 1,39,9.)

The reception of the hero into heaven was an idea already known to the Greeks. But Isidore's formulation provides room for the Christian ideal hero of the eleventh century. (14). Thus, the Knights who, like the three Christian Worthies, fell in battle against the infidels, were also "worthy of heaven." In the Medieval Troy romance, Hector represents/...

(12) c.1310, Jacques de Longuyon, "Les Voeux du Paon". See J. Barbour, "Buik of Alexander". Vol. IV.

(13) This is not the literary translation of the opening lines of Virgil's Aeneid: "arma virumque cano, Troiae qui primus ab oris Italiam fato profugus Laviniaque venit Litora." G.B. Shaw has used "Arma" and "Virum" in the correct sense in his play, "Arms and the Man". Fulgentius the mythographer, transl. by Leslie G. Whitbread, Ohio University Press, 1971, 112.

(14) Curtius, op. cit., 175.

represents the evolution of the classical hero into an ideal Christian type and the rôle of such a hero in a dramatic context.

In the Middle Ages, the Trojans were so emphatically the heroes of the tale that it was unthinkable for a Trojan prince to offend the chivalric laws of hospitality by stealing his host's wife from the home where he had been welcomed. Dictys began the story with Helen's abduction from Sparta, but most romances followed the account of Dares who had Paris steal Helen from the island of Cythera, where she was attending a feast of Venus. Indeed, most of them said that she had gone there, not to worship but to see the handsome Trojan of whom she had heard. The Medieval cult of courtly love, which has been described as "a feudalisation of love", (15) gave rise to a pre-occupation with amorous adventures in the romances, and in particular the Troy romances. The cult of courtly love was a secular imitation of the ritual associated with the cult of the Virgin, a feature of Medieval Christianity.

Although Helen of Troy appears to be a perfect candidate for idolisation in the Medieval cult of courtly love, certain aspects of her behaviour were unacceptable to Medieval society: Helen is a heroine and at the same time a traitor. Hence, she is neither included amongst the Worthy women nor the group of Un-Worthies. During the Middle Ages, love as an ideal or dream with romantic aspirations was not associated with marriage; the same woman who was the lady and "the dearest dread" of her vassals, was no more than a piece of property to her husband, (16) and secondly/....

(15) C.S. Lewis, "The Allegory of Love", op. cit., 2.

(16) Ibid, 13.

and secondly, according to the Medieval view, passionate love was itself wicked and did not cease to be wicked if the object of it was your wife. (17). Despite Helen's great beauty and God-like status, her most serious fault, in the eyes of the romancers, was her infidelity to the Trojans. Penthesilea, the Amazon Queen who aided the Trojans in their battle and who was killed by Achilles, was acceptable amongst the group of Worthy women. The rôle of Helen contrasted that of Hector, who was the Trojan hero, faithful to Troy, honoured by his inclusion amongst the Nine Worthies. Hector's marriage to Andromache was characterised by stability and love.

Although the cult of courtly love gave rise to jousts, tournaments and minor battles, the martial activities involving prowess by which a Knight praised and won his lady, were removed from war. In war the quest for martial experience was not the domain of women. War was characterised by patriotism, which Helen lacked. (18). In the "Chanson de Roland", the Knight is epitomised by his heroic qualities. Roland does not think of Alde on the battle field; he thinks of his praise in France. (19). The figure of the betrothed is shadowy compared with that of the friend, Oliver. The deepest of worldly emotions in this period

"is the love of man for man, the mutual love of warriors who die fighting together against odds, and the affection between vassal and lords." (20).

Helen/ ...

(17) Ibid, 14.

(18) Scherer, "The Legends of Troy in Art and Literature", Phaidon Press, 1968, 117.

(19) "Chanson de Roland", 3705.

(20) C.S. Lewis, op. cit., 9.

Helen was an unacceptable heroine to the Troy romancers and French Medieval society, who claimed to be descended from the Trojans. She had caused a war in which many valiant warriors had died; she had betrayed both the Trojans and the Greeks and her motives remained unclear. Helen was fated by her relation to the Gods and, according to the code of courtly love, her elopement with Paris was a breach of Medieval ethics. In an English work, "The Destruction of Troy" (21), translated from Guido de Columnis', Historia Destructionis Troiae, the poet makes a special diversion from the story of Helen's arrival at Cythera to pass a moral judgement on her actions. Before proceeding to describe in detail Helen's great beauty, the poet tells of the shamelessness of women of which treason, war and ruin are the fruits (l. 2920-2980). The poet says that Helen, first of all ladies, possessed an evil spirit.

A woman's place was in the home where she should strive to preserve honour, whereas Helen, under pretence of worshipping at Cythera, sought to see Paris and brought disaster to the rich city of Troy. After the marriage of Paris and Helen at the temple of Apollo, it is Cassandra's lamentations and foreboding which forecast the doom which awaits the Trojans. The beauty of Helen and her special relation to Aphrodite prevent the condemnation of Helen as a heroine of the Medieval epic tradition. Helen was often included amongst Medieval compilations of great female lovers, but she did not embody the characteristics of worthy women, most of whom were Amazons and possessed great strength in battle.

The heroes/....

- (21) "The Best Hystoriale of the Destruction of Troy", an alliterative romance translated from Guido de Columnis' "Historia Troiana", E.E.E.T.S. OS. 39,56.

The heroes and heroines of the Medieval epic were judged in terms of contemporary ethical codes of behaviour and the "Roman de Troie" of Benoît de Ste. Maure is a typical product of the age of chivalry in Northern Europe. The Greek and Trojan heroes and heroines are transformed into barons and damsels in an entirely Medieval environment; they act in accordance with feudal customs and the Medieval code of honour; worship like Christians and wear Medieval dress and armour. This was the form in which the legendary heroes of Homer became familiar to the Medieval world, only their proper names indicate the classical origins of their past. (22).

Benoît's "Roman de Troie" was to influence all future works on the subject. There was the prose version of Benoît's poem, the "Roman de Troie en prose", produced about, or soon after, the middle of the thirteenth century. Also the "Histoire Ancienne jusqu'à César", the earliest world chronicle in the vernacular, which was compiled in the early thirteenth century. The account of the siege of Troy given here is based on Dares, who was evidently taken to be a more reliable historian than Benoît. Certain incidents were taken from Benoît, amongst them Achilles' act of treacherously slaying Hector and sneaking up on him from behind. According to Benoît, Hector had slain a Greek and, wishing to take his armour as a prize, seized the helmet with his right hand to drag it off, leaving his right side exposed. Achilles, seeing this, thrust him with his spear. This incident, which makes specific reference to the Greeks, sees them as the violent aggressors.

It was probably as a result of the literary success of Benoît's "Roman de Troie", that the Trojan ancestry legend, became popular in Italy. "Many Italian towns,  
from/...

(22) E. Panofsky and F. Saxl. "Classical Mythology in Medieval Art", Metropolitan Museum Studies, Vol. 4, (2), 1933, 263.

from the Alps to the deep south, produced genealogies largely based on the invented names of Trojan heroes to trace their foundation back to Trojan exiles." (23). The Italian interest in Trojan legend led to the "Historia destructionis Troiae", by Guido de Columnis, a judge at Messina, began about 1270 and completed in 1287. Guido's work is an abridged and paraphrased version of Benoît in Latin prose, although Guido refers to Dictys and Dares as his sources. The Medieval story, which he took from Benoît, is interspersed with quotes from Virgil and Ovid. He made an effort to correct some of Benoît's rather vague ideas of Mediterranean geography and frequently consulted Isidore's "Etymologie". His ambition was to write a book of history rather than of literature, and to demonstrate his knowledge of the classical world. His work is less imaginative and more prosaic than Benoît, but he tried to restore a classical setting to the Medieval tale.

Because it was written in Latin, the international language, which was more readily understood than Benoît's French, Guido's book was more influential than its model; it was translated into practically every European language.

Amongst the many translations was the work of Raoul Lefèvre, a French author who, in 1464, composed his "Recueil des Histoires de Troie". Lefèvre wrote the book at the request of Philip, the Duke of Burgundy. As the Dukes of Burgundy were to pride themselves on their descent from a demi-god, the Trojan legends were in great favour at their court as early as the fourteenth century. (24). William Caxton (1422-1491)  
translated/ ....

(23) Buchtal, op. cit., 5.

(24) Sez nec, op. cit., 25.

translated Lefèvre's "Recueil" into English, at the command of the English princess, Margaret of York, wife of Charles the Bold. Caxton published his translation of Lefèvre as the "Recuyell of the Historyes of Troye" at Bruges, this was the first book printed in English. Guido's work had also influenced John Lydgate's "Troy Book", written between 1412 and 1420, a treatment of English verse; its influence was not, however, widely felt outside England.

"Repeated allusions to Hector, Troilus, and Achilles in English lists of the popular romances of the day, such as those in the "Cursor Mundi", and in David Lindsay's "Epistle to his Dreame", indicates that the tale of Troy enjoyed no less favour than the three great rival tales of Arthur, Charlemagne and Alexander." (25).

Although the romance form and point of view went out of fashion at the close of the Middle Ages, several purely medieval Trojan themes persisted: Boccaccio, Chaucer and Shakespeare all told of the love of Troilus, Priam's son, and the fickle Cressida; a story seemingly unknown before Benoît's time. In the eclectic literature of the Renaissance, motives from Classical and Medieval tradition often mingle as in Ronsard's "Franciade", which was devoted to glorifying the legendary descent of the French, from the Trojan prince, Francus, as Virgil had immortalized that of the Romans from Aeneas in the "Aenead".

Ariosto's/...

- (25) N.E. Griffin, "Un-homeric elements in the Medieval Story of Troy", Journal of English and Germanic Philology VII, 1908, 37.

Ariosto's romantic epic, "Orlando Furioso", continues the work begun by Boiardo's unfinished "Orlando Innamorato" of combining Graeco-Roman mythology with elements from the Romance cycles of Troy, Arthur and Charlemagne. (26).

In the Medieval Troy romance, the heroes of the Trojan War were depicted as Medieval knights of chivalry. As a result, the iconography of the figures bore little resemblance to the classical origins of the subject matter. This separation of classical subject matter from classical form is the rule throughout medieval art. E. Panofsky has called it the "principle of disjunction". (27).

The emergence of Hector as a medieval knight of chivalry was a result of the literary adaptations of Homer's epic from Dares to Benoît de Ste. Maure, and then diffused throughout the literature of medieval Europe. Homer had described Hector as, "brilliant", "bronze helmed", "glorious". Dares had set the pattern for the transformation of Hector into a knight of chivalry when he wrote,

"Hector was fair and curly haired; he lisped, was cross-eyed and bearded, swift-limbed and venerable in appearance, seemly in behaviour, war-like, great spirited, clement to the citizens, fitting and worthy of love." (28).

The medieval interpretation of the Homeric epic  
influenced/...

- (26) M.R. Scherer, The Legends of Troy in Art and Literature, op. cit., XVIII.
- (27) E. Panofsky, "Renaissance and Renascences in Western Art", London, Paladin, 1970, 2, 90.
- (28) Scherer, op. cit., 63.

influenced the subsequent illustration of the texts. The romancers, as interpolators, had added and adapted information as well as altering the sequence of events. Except for Cheiron, the Iliad refers to centaurs only as "beast men", and does not include them among fighters. Neither Dares nor Dictys mentions them as Trojan allies. But in Benoît's romance, a fighting centaur has been to Troy's aid from "beyond the realm of the Amazons." (29). It is uncertain how the Sagittary was introduced to the romancers. The mounted archers of the East, riders who seemed at one with their horses, could have played a part in its origin. The Latin word for archer, Saggiarius, contributed to the idea, for it meant not only an ordinary mounted archer, but also the constellation, Sagittarius, represented by Babylonian, Greek and Roman astronomers as a centaur with a bow. (30). Reconciling the medieval interest in astrology and demons with the teachings of the church, Seznec says,

"the active principle basic to astrology, the fear of demons, had survived. The church had not completely expelled the antique divinities; they had merely been degraded to the rank of evil spirits." (31).

The Sagittary was described as "a mervoyllous beste that behynde the myddes was on hors and to fore a man", who "had his eyen reed as a coole (red as a coal) and shotte right well with a bowe." (32). The battle with  
the Sagittary/...

(29) Ibid, 80.

(30) Ibid, 80.

(31) Seznec, op. cit., 48.

(32) William H. Forsyth, The Trojan War in Medieval Tapestries, Metropolitan Museum of Art, Bulletin, New Series, Vol. 14, 1955-56, 79.

the Sagittary was told in the romances of Caxton and Lefèvre, and after the battle the Greeks asked for a long truce, in order to bury their dead. And during this truce occurred the meeting between Achilles and Hector. This scene provides a prelude to the final battle where Hector is killed.

When Hector dies, the Trojans feel doomed, as do the Greeks; Troy shuts its gates and refuses any longer to fight when its last champion, Penthesilea, has been defeated. (33). After Achilles had treacherously slain Hector, the romancers disregard Homer's account of the burial of Hector, and they devised an elaborate tombal effigy, giving Hector a funeral worthy of a Medieval prince. The scene is depicted in tapestry (34) and described by Raoul Lefèvre. (35).

"And above the tabernacle there was a great image of gold that was made after the semblance of Hector and had the visage turned towards the Greeks. And there was inside the tabernacle, a place empty where the masters put the body of Hector in flesh and bones, clad in his best garments and robes."

Hector was transformed into a knight of chivalry, his burial tomb is a throne of gothic arches and curvings, upon which sits the figure with drawn sword. Below are grouped the royal family's mourners: Paris, Priam, Troilus, Hecuba, Polyxena, Andromache and Helen.

Hector has become the personification of a Medieval  
ideal/ .....

(33) David Benson, "The History of Troy in Middle English Literature," Suffolk, D.S. Brewer, 1982, 21.

(34) The funeral of Hector, Franco-Flemish tapestry (Tournai), 1472-74, Glasgow Art Gallery, Burrell Collection.

(35) Scherer, op. cit., 93.

ideal knight of chivalry in all manifestations, his classical origins forgotten but not irrelevant.

Hector had become immortalised amongst the Nine Worthies, as in MS Harley 2259, fol. 39v., at the British Museum (36)

ixe worthy

Troie

miles paganus,                    he b(ere) asure ij lyons rampant  
ante incarnationem.            combataunt or, enarmyd goules

Ector, that was off alle knyghtes flowre,  
whych ever gate hym with hys hond honour,  
unware, of achylles full of envye  
was slayn; alas, that ever shuld he deye!

(36) R.S. Loomis, Verses on the Nine Worthies, op. cit.,  
216.

### 2.3 THE ROMAN-HELLENISTIC HEROES

The new interest in stories drawn from the classical past, to which the immediate popularity of the romances of Troy and Alexander bears witness, obviously owed much to the revived interest in antiquity in the twelfth century schools. Out of the popularity of the romances an interest in the classical past that was more strictly and recognisably historical began to develop. The evidence of it is in the growing popularity, in the thirteenth century, of works somewhat different to the romances, vernacular histories of antiquity in verse or prose and their multiplication. Knowledge of the Roman-Hellenistic heroes was derived from books written in the antique period itself, thus, during the Middle Ages, Caesar and Alexander received historical attention as their heritage was initially more remote to the Middle Ages than that of the heroes belonging to the Judeo-Christian tradition. When Jacques de Longuyon wrote "Les Voeux du Paon" in c.1310, a considerable literary interest in the Roman-Hellenistic heroes had already been established. The "Faits des Romains", translated from Lucan and from Caesar's commentaries and dealing mainly with Julius Caesar's own career, was probably put together between 1211 and 1215 and became very popular; it was used by Philippe Mousket in his chronicle and by Brunetto Latini in his Livre du trésor, and many others. (1).

When Jacques de Longuyon chose to include Julius Caesar and Alexander amongst his gallery of heroes, he did so in an attempt to present the heroes as chivalric Knights. The Medieval chivalric code of honour was to derive inspiration from the antique age of heroism and, in the group of the Nine Worthies, the Roman-Hellenistic/....

(1) Keen, Chivalry, op. cit., 110.

Hellenistic heroes represent the union of Medieval and antique codes of honour; a Christian code reflecting the glory of antiquity. In the early romances of the life of Alexander the Great, his heroic deeds and conquests are transformed into those of the chivalrous Knight. Independent of the French "Roman d'Alexandre" is a long Anglo-Norman poem in the same metre by Thomas of Kent, "Le Roman de Toute Chevalerie" written in the second half of the twelfth century. (2). The "Roman de Toute Chevalerie" is based on Latin writings long current in England, which are largely identical with sources of the continental romance. This work became the chief source of the Middle English "Kyng Alisaunder". Although written earlier than the work of Jacques de Longuyon, the life of Alexander is rendered in purely Medieval terms. The cult of courtly love and Alexander's heroic quest transform the epic into an entirely Medieval setting.

The atmosphere is largely that of an epic in which Alexander plays the part of a Christian king. There are also hints of the tradition of courtly romance in the episode of his alliance with Candace and it is striking that no moral condemnation falls upon him. Indeed, Alexander's freedom from blame is assured by Candace, herself, when she shows that he is not the first, or the last, man to be deceived by woman's wiles, witness Adam, Samson and even the wise Solomon. This Candace episode strikes a curious note in a work whose chief subject matter is found in battles and adventures and it reveals the influence of courtly love on original legend, in which Alexander had greatly resented the series of stratagems whereby Candace ensnared him. (3). In Thomas' poem (as in its derivatives "Kyng Alisaunder" and part of Gower's "Confessio/...

(2) Brian Foster, "The Anglo-Norman Alexander", Le Roman de Toute Chevalerie, Vols. I and II, London, 1977.

(3) Ibid, Vol. II, 65.

"Confessio Amantis"), Alexander, in the end, takes great delight in his stay with Candace, the more so as his identity is unknown to all at the court but the queen herself,

"courtly love in however attenuated a form is responsible for the treatment of the Candace episode in this work, in spite of the strong anti-feminist tone and even despite the masterful attitude of the queen, which is admittedly in the epic tradition." (4).

The introduction of courtly love into the "Roman de Toute Chevalerie" renders the life of Alexander in contemporary Medieval terms and adds to his appeal as a heroic Knight of chivalry. As in the continental "Roman d'Alexandre", the general theme is the excellence of Alexander as a model of chivalrous behaviour. He is well versed in the arts and a good horseman, a formidable warrior, though generous in victory. An interesting feature is that he is not depicted as devoid of fear for he is quite capable of being dismayed by an unfavourable turn of events, but as a leader he has to affect a show of confidence as when he hears the prophecy that he shall never return to Greece.

The chivalry of Alexander and his twelve peers, (the number is the same as that of Charlemagne's paladins) is expressed in the associations made by Alexander and his companions with the ritual and honour of chivalry.

In the/ ...

(4) Ibid, Vol. II. 65.

In the romances Alexander and his fellow warriors bathe to purify themselves before taking the vows of Knighthood. The inter-dependence of clergy and chivalry which Chrétien de Troyes praised, recognising the value of the heritage of the Roman-Hellenistic age and its heroes, bears witness to the importance of Alexander and Julius Caesar:

Grece ot de chevalerie  
Le premier los et de clergie  
Puis vint chevalerie a Rome  
Et de la clergie la some  
Qui ore est en France venue ... (5).

Chrétien de Troyes' reference to the union of clergie and chevalerie is foreshadowed in the Classical age, in the romance account of Alexander's attention to the guidance of his tutor-philosopher, Aristotle. (6).

The Medieval conception of Alexander as a Knight of chivalry, was in keeping with the integration of Roman military values and the chivalric code of honour. The myth that the code of chivalry originated in the Roman republic encouraged the use of Roman military manuals by fourteenth century commentators. The collection of anecdotes organised by Valerius Maximus, under appropriate headings including ("military discipline") in his "Facta et Dicta Memorabilia", became popular in the late Middle Ages thanks to the commentary of Dionigi da Borgo San Sepolcro. Simon de Hesdin, chaplain of the Order of St. John of Jerusalem and one of Charles V's industrious team of translators, had started a translation and commentary of this work in 1375, and there is at least one other commentary  
which/ .....

(5) Sez nec, op. cit., 19. Greece had once the leadership in chivalry and learning; then chivalry passed to Rome together with the sum of learning, which now has come to France.

(6) Keen, Chivalry, op. cit., 109.

which originated in fourteenth century France. (7). The "Strategemata" of Sextus Julius Frontinus, was also popular. By far the most celebrated of these books, however, was the handbook of military tactics, compiled by Flavius Vegetius Renatus, towards the end of the fourth century A.D. and entitled "De Re Militari". This work was translated into French, first by the indefatigable Jeun de Meun in 1284, and then by Jean de Vignai during the second quarter of the fourteenth century. In 1380, yet another translation appeared, possibly the work of Eustache Deschamps. (8). From these sources Honoré Bouvet wrote his practical manual, "The Tree of Battles" (9); Honoré Bouvet tried to incorporate Roman military discipline into the Medieval code of man-at-arms. Bouvet's ideal of the "chevalier", who is obedient to his lord and is fully occupied with the practice of arms, was based on the works of Vegetius. Honoré Bouvet's "L'Arbre des Batailles" represented a stage in "the development of legal theory relating to war, a product of a legal synthesis which drew upon a multitude of sources, biblical, scholastic, canonical, Roman and customary." (10). Thus, the heritage of the Roman-Hellenistic heroes began to have a significant effect on the development of chivalry, and Christine de Pisan presented, in translation, the comments of such great Medieval lawyers as Bartolus and John of Legnano on those parts of Roman Law which dealt with war and the duties of the soldier. (11).

This/....

- (7) N.A.R. Wright, The Tree of Battles of Honoré Bouvet and the Laws of War, in C.T. Allmand, ed. "War, Literature and Politics in the Late Middle Ages", Liverpool, 1976, 28.
- (8) Ibid, 28.
- (9) Ibid, 28.
- (10) Ibid, 29.
- (11) Keen, "Chivalry", op. cit., 111.

This was an important influence, reminding the world of Knighthood that antiquity's example taught that the soldier must regard his trade in the light of defined obligations, and the business of war was governed by general principles upon which an orderly framework of inter-state relations depended. (12).

During the period of Burgundian chivalry, there is evidence of the desire of the nobles and aristocrats to embody the characteristics of the Romans and to emulate them

"Despite the tendency of historians to see Burgundian chivalry as a period of decline and decay, the movement towards the translation of both Classical and Humanistic works began under Philip the Good." (13), (1419-67).

The vernacular translators of the age of Charles the Bold (1467-77) of Burgundy were, of course, infinitely more polished, more learned and more critical than those of the thirteenth century, but there was nothing new about the eagerness of the later period for a better knowledge of Classical antiquity. The new humanism in evidence at the Courts of Burgundy owed as much to the example of the French past as it did to contemporary Italian humanism. The Dukes of Burgundy had a strong attachment to the heroism of the past and were responsible for the commission of works of art and literature relating to the Classical past, and, in particular, the Nine Worthies. The fashion set for the translation of Classical texts placed historical  
knowledge/...

(12) Ibid, 110.

(13) Malcolm Vale, "War and Chivalry" op. cit., 17.

knowledge of antiquity beyond the reach of those outside the Courts, where an exclusive interest in the cult of Roman honour and virtue was nourished. The heroism of the Roman-Hellenistic heroes embodied the values of honour, virtue, martial discipline and prestige, all of which were the prerogative of the aristocracy in the Burgundian period of chivalry. By identifying with Caesar and Alexander, the Burgundian Dukes wished to emulate them, and the reading of Classical texts provided further insight into the bygone era of antiquity. It was not just Arthurian and Carolingian literature which was favoured at the Courts of Burgundy; the attraction of the Dukes to chivalric mystique and the code of honour led them to admire Godfrey of Bouillon and the heroes of Classical antiquity.

During the reign of Philip the Good, the reproduction of Classical texts and ancient history was immensely popular. Between 1416 and 1422, Jean de Courcy, seigneur de Bourg Archard wrote 'La Bouquechardière', which contained a history of Macedon and the life of Alexander. (14). In his "Enseignements Paternals" (c.1440), Ghillebert de Lannoy, noble by birth, councillor of Philip the Good and member of the Order of the Golden Fleece, summed up the value of literacy to his son, making special reference to Classical texts. Ghillebert de Lannoy's concept of honour and virtue is derived directly from antiquity, his list includes no Medieval writer, either of didactic treatises or romances. (15). The work of Jean Miélot, cannon of St. Pierre at Lille, from 1449 onwards, had brought the letters of Cicero and Italian humanistic/ .....

(14) D.J.A. Ross, Alexander Historiatus, op. cit., 23.

(15) M. Vale, op. cit., 16.

humanistic treatises, based on Classical texts, into the libraries of the dukes and nobles.

The history of ancient Rome was by no means a 'terra incognita' at the court of Philip the Good and the translation of Caesar's "Commentaries" for Charles the Bold, in 1472, simply continued an existing tradition. (16). Burgundian translators of the fifteenth century used as sources the translations produced for Charles V and Charles VI of France in the later fourteenth century.

These Roman sources were being used to cultivate the honour and virtue of the antique past. There is evidence of some antique sources being familiar to Louis de Bruges, a member of the Burgundian or Flemish nobility. Louis de Bruges, Lord of La Gruuthuyse (d. 1492), descendant of the lineage of Bruges, d'Aa and unrelated to the Ducal family, kept his books at his great town house at Bruges, and his collection compares favourably with that of the Dukes themselves. (17). This literary interest in antiquity was found in all members of the Court of Burgundy, the members of the nobility and the ducal lawyers and financiers. Guillaume Hugonet, chancellor of Burgundy, possessed manuscripts of Caesar, Vegetius, Titus Livy, Seneca, Pliny, Valerius Maximus and Cicero. Louis de Bruges had works by all of these with the exception of Pliny. Unlike the légiste Hugonet, however, he possessed Aristotle's "Economics", Ovid's "Metamorphoses", Ptolemy's "Cosmographia", Orosius' "Roman History", Quintus Curtius' "History of/ .....

(16) Ibid, 18.

(17) Ibid, 18.

of Alexander the Great", Leonardo Bruni's "History of the First Punic War" and a volume of histories derived from Lucan, Suetonius and Sallust. These works were French translations, some stemming from the editions produced for the French royal library in the second half of the fourteenth century. As a result of the marriage of Margaret of York and Charles the Bold of Burgundy, in 1468, contacts between the English and Burgundian Courts increased and literature, with a didactic purpose praising virtue and honour, found its way to England in manuscript copies and through translations commissioned by William Caxton for a wider audience.

In Fulgentius', On the Ages of the World and of Man, the death of Alexander has been given a significance which recalls the theme of the Ubi Sunt.

"What God had been satisfied in  
creating was thought puny by  
the endlessly searching Alexander;  
he would have climbed up to heaven  
if either the art of using wings or  
the pathway there had disclosed  
itself to him. And where he thought  
the world all too puny for his  
wanderings he came to his rest  
satisfied with three cubits of grave  
earth." (18).

The anonymous twelfth century continuation of Lamprecht's Alexanderlied in Middle High German verse ends, "Of all that he ever conquered, he retained nothing more than seven feet of earth, like the most wretched man ever to enter the world." (19). The end of  
Alexander/....

(18) Fulgentius, the Mythographer, transl. by Leslie G. Whitbread, Ohio University, 1971, 212.

(19) *Ibid*, 226.

Alexander became a traditional occasion for moralizing and was established in the popular tradition of the sixteenth century through William Shakespeare when Hamlet says in the churchyard, "Alexander died, Alexander was buried, Alexander returneth to dust", and "Imperious Caesar, dead and turned to clay." (20).

(20) William Shakespeare, Hamlet, ed. by B. Lott, Longman, London, 1970, Act V, Scene 1, l.185-192.

## 2.4 THE NINE WORTHIES AND CHIVALRY

Chivalry had an inherently martial connotation in that the Knight was essentially equipped for battle and the term, "chevalier", from which chivalry is derived, meant a mounted warrior. The Latin equivalent for "chevalier", "miles", was used in the early Middle Ages in a more limited sense than it had been in Classical Latin, to denote specifically a mounted warrior. However, by the time of the first Crusade, the "milites" are distinguished clearly from the foot soldiers and other sections of society, such as the common people and the rustici by their martial function. In the eleventh century texts concerned with the Peace and Truce of God, the term, "miles", is used to denote a group of mounted warriors with a separate identity. (1). The term, "miles", is used during the eleventh and twelfth centuries, in the charters (especially in their witness lists), as a word denoting the standing of an individual. The application of the term, "miles", in the charters was, at first, used to clarify the status of those families in possession of a small estate; however, in twelfth century France, the men of greater estate, the counts and castellans who were recognised as nobles, were eager to identify themselves as "milites". (2). Thus, the "milites" emerged as a class consisting of the lesser Knighthood (often earlier described as "vassi" or "vassals") and the greater nobility (the overlords of vassals), consisted of a social strata despite relative differences in wealth. Thus, the concept  
of nobility/....

- (1) Georges Duby, "The Chivalrous Society", E. Arnold, London, 1977. 127 ff.
- (2) J. Bumke, "The Concept of Knighthood in the Middle Ages", transl. W.T.H. and E. Jackson, New York, 1982, 130.

of nobility became inseparable from chivalry and, as Georges Duby has noted, this indicates that after the end of the eleventh century, the word, "miles" designates "une qualité familiale et héréditaire", (3) in the sense of the aristocracy of the Middle Ages.

The early Medieval use of the term, "miles", serves to introduce the most important attributes of chivalry. The chivalrous knights were a distinguished sector of society as a result of their martial function which required them to be able to equip a war horse and carry the arms of a heavy cavalry man. Iconographic evidence of the newly introduced military equipment of the Knight is found in the Bayeux tapestry (c.1080) (4); here, the mounted warriors are using spears, thrusting overarm or preparing to throw. The Bayeux tapestry accurately reflects the martial development of early Medieval society, which was encouraged by advances in castle building and in techniques of siege warfare. The development of martial skills contributed to the image of the chivalrous knight whose heroic qualities were embodied in the Nine Worthies.

The association of the term, "milites", with the nobility, represented the dominant influence of secular values on the course of chivalry. The idea of a nobility of blood whose reputation proceeded and exceeded the honour of Knighthood, was kept alive in France. In France, the obsession with true nobility was to lead the nobility to trace their descent to honourable ancestors, such as Charlemagne, thus identifying with the qualities of the ruler; this was similar to the way the French claimed descent from Hector. (5). The relation between chivalry and nobility/...

(3) (A quality of family and descent). Quoted by Bumke, op. cit., 130.

(4) R.C. Smail, "Crusading Warfare", Cambridge, 1967, 113 ff.

(5) Sez nec, op. cit., 24. See Duby, op. cit., 153, 156. See Supra, Charlemagne.

nobility was proclaimed in twelfth century fiction: Perceval was noble without being aware of it, but his mother wished to bring him up in ignorance of chivalry. However, the power of his noble blood triumphed over his timid education and attracted him to the Knightly virtues,

"gardez que chevalerie soit si bien  
employée en vos que l'amore de vostre  
lignage i soit sauve",

(take care that chivalry is so well exercised that the love of your lineage is preserved by it) is the advice that Galahad gives the King's son whom he has just knighted. (6).

A further influence on chivalry, which the term "milites" serves to introduce, is the distinction of the Knights, not only from the common populus but from the clergy and the Church; this was a new departure from the conventional divisions of Medieval society. In France, the development in ecclesiastical ideology of the notion of the "miles christi", auxiliaries of the Church who won salvation by performing the duties of their estate in the service of Christian morality, must have originated in the Carolingian period and the idea of an "order" of soldiers, composed of men of God charged with a general mission of protection and, hence, worthy of some legal privileges, became current in the tenth century. (7). Chivalry emerged in the early eleventh century at the time when the Churches' chief concern was the promotion of the Crusades, and  
those/ ....

(6) G. Duby, "The Chivalrous Society", op. cit., 107.

(7) Ibid, 106. The tradition was revived by Erasmus in Enchiridion Militis Christiani, 1503.

those responsible for promoting the Crusade did not take into account the religious obligations of the secular soldier (*milites secularis*). Thus the writings of Odilo of Cluny, in (the Vita Geraldi), Bonito of Sutri, in (the Liber de vita christiana), Jacob of Vitry (in the Sermones ad fratres ordines militaris) (8) were of no avail, as the path of chivalry expanded beyond the domains of the Church to the secular world; chivalry entered a new domain, but the influence of Christianity and the Church would remain. Discarding the authority of the most powerful institution in the Middle Ages, chivalry began to steer its own course through the following centuries:

"In the Middle Ages the choice lay between God and the world, between contempt or eager acceptance, at the peril of one's own soul, of all that makes the beauty and the charm of earthly life ... Now, all noble life was in its essential manifestations, full of such beauty tainted by sin. Knightly exercises and courteous fashions with their worship of bodily strength, honours and dignities with their vanity and their pomp, especially love, what were they but pride, envy, avarice and lust, all condemned by religion. To be admitted as elements of a higher culture, all these things had to be enobled and raised to the rank of virtue." (9).

It was in France, coinciding with the event of the  
first/...

(8) Bumke, op. cit., 156.

(9) J. Huizinga, "The Waning of the Middle Ages", op. cit., 40.

first Crusade, that chivalry emerged as a social phenomenon characterised by its relation to the Church and its promotion of the secular ideals of honour and nobility, and these values were to emerge in Germany, Spain, Italy and England, giving chivalry an international character. A story told by the chronicler of the Abbey of Eberheimmunster, in the 1160's, indicates the German concept of honour and the social aspiration associated with chivalry. Its story is that when Julius Caesar won over the Germans to his obedience, he made their princes senators and the lesser Knights, (i.e. the ministeriales), Roman citizens. It goes on to tell how Caesar exhorted the princes to be good lords to their ministerial servants, to employ them in high offices, to protect them and honour them with fiefs. (10). A distinction is made between the higher lineal nobility (frei geboren) and the service nobility (Dienstherren, Ritter) was to endure long after the latter had established their hereditary noble status. It was under French influence that chivalrous ideas in Germany achieved definition, that the German cult of Ritterschaft and Ere was given shape by the French notions of chevalerie and honour.

The search for the ideal hero is a recurrent theme in the age of chivalry. Jacques de Longuyon's mention of the nine heroes in "Les Voeux du Paon", c.1310, was the beginning of a vogue for the heroes as exemplary Knights of chivalry. Medieval chivalry was ignorant of the social realities of feudal society, the cruelty of the conduct of war and feuds, of the suppression of large sections of the population by the feudal economic system. To compensate for these earthly injustices, the Church/...

(10) Keen, "Chivalry" op. cit., 36. quoted by K. Bosl, "Noble Unfreedom; the rise of the ministeriales in Germany", in T. Reuter, "The Medieval Nobility", Oxford, 1978.

the Church duly instructed its faithfuls on the path to salvation, and those who wrote the secular manuals of chivalry attempted to direct the life of the chivalrous Knights often using exemplary heroes with a didactic purpose. The manuals and treaties of chivalry provide insight into the learned culture of chivalry. Ramon Lull, who had entered the royal service early became the companion, later the seneschal, of James, the future King of Majorca. After the renunciation of his early life, Lull had written the "Libre del ordre de cavayleria" (11) as in his youth, Ramon Lull had delighted in chivalrous accomplishments and wrote songs after the troubadours. In Ramon Lull's manual of chivalry, the "Libre del ordre de cavayleria", there are religious overtones and the work bears the mark of his conversion and his stay at Miramar with the Franciscans. Of Chivalry, Ramon Lull notes that its

"ethics and science ought to be written in books and there ought to be schools of instruction in chivalry, just as there are schools in which clerks learn their doctrine." (12).

Lull lists the moral duties and obligations of the prospective Knight, as well as the noble qualities and good lineage that he should possess. For Ramon Lull, initiation into Knighthood should take place during a great feast of the Church, (Pentecost, Christmas or Easter), an event which should be accompanied by  
prayer/....

(11) See E.A. Peers, "A Life of Ramon Lull", London, 1929. Caxton translated the work from a French version as the "Book of the Ordre of Chyvalry", ed. A.T.P. Byles, E.E.T.S., London, 1926.

(12) Lull, Ordre of Chyvalry, op. cit., 24 ff.

prayer and contemplation culminating in the Mass. In the "libre del ordre de cavayleria", the ritual of chivalry is closely associated with that of the Church and the later establishment of the Orders and Vows of chivalry were a further confirmation of this secular imitation of religious ritual. Lull's work concludes with a review of the vices and virtues and their application to the Knight. Despite the alliance with the rituals of the Church, the chivalrous Knight of Ramon Lull's treatise on chivalry lays emphasis on the pleasures of the secular world - wealth, hunting and sporting and other worldly pleasure.

The Knight visualised by Ramon Lull is one whose heroic qualities of courtesy, loyalty, hardiness, largesse and franchise are appropriate to the heroes of the romances and belong to a world free of the impositions of monasticism and theology. Ramon Lull, who had himself practised the life of the chivalrous Knight, also had recourse to the romances where the heroic figures of Arthur and Alexander were presented as prototypes of the ideal knight. A number of passages suggest that in fact the prose romance of Lancelot was one important source that he used when putting it together. (13). His singling out of Alexander's liberality as an example of largesse suggests that he may have known the advice that Aristotle in the "Romance of Alexander" gave to that King, to win loyal service by giving generously. Ramon Lull's "Libre del ordre de cavayleria" was immensely successful. The popularity of Lull's work was certainly attributable to his previous experience writing troubadour poetry, but Ramon Lull accurately reflected the path of chivalry and for that matter he helped to promote the idea of the cult of the Worthies.

A second/ ...

(13) Keen, Chivalry, op. cit., 11.

A second prose manual of chivalry, the "Livre de Chevalerie" (14), by Geoffrey de Charny, is indicative of the nature of chivalry. G. de Charny was John the Good's standard bearer, Knight of the Order of the Star, and died on the field at Poitiers in 1356. This prose work was amongst two other works by Geoffrey de Charny, the "Livre" and the "Questions" (Demandes), both of which were concerned with chivalry. However, the prose work is longer and more polished. In the "Livre de Chevalerie" the winning of salvation by the exercise of arms supplies a dominant theme. For Charny, chivalry was an order, the highest and hardest amongst those that God had instituted and by means of which a man might save his soul. For Charny, chivalry was a divine service, quite as much as that of the priest.

"to the good man-at-arms, himself in his armour as dutifully and devoutly and with such an eye to his conscience as ever any priest who, to sing his Mass, takes to robe himself in the arms of our Saviour." (15).

In the "Livre de Chevalerie", G. de Charny judges the Knights according to a scale of honour: the good, simple and bold are 'preux'; those who by their valour displayed in many places have risen to high rank are 'soulverain preux'. But Geoffrey de Charny places those who wisely attribute all their glory and achievement to the Grace of God and the Virgin as the 'plus/ ...

- (14) The verse "Livre" are printed by A Piaget, "Le Livre Missire Geoffroi de Charny", Romania, xxvi, 1897, 399-410.
- (15) M. Keen, Chivalry, Nobility and the man at Arms, in C.T. Allmand, War, Literature and Politics, op. cit., 37.

'plus souverainement preux'. Geoffrey de Charny is convinced of the importance of the Christian hierarchy of values of chivalry; the stories of Samson, Absalom and Julius Caesar, who put trust in themselves before God, are cited by G. de Charny as revealing God's disfavour. G. de Charny's grouping is certainly an exception in the Medieval code of chivalric honour, where it was honour and martial prowess which made a hero "preux", as in the Nine Worthies, where the Pagan triad were as distinguished as the Old Testament and the Christian heroes. The work of Geoffrey de Charny is inspired by religion and, in pointing out the downfalls of Caesar, Absalom and Samson, he is making it clear that his frame of reference for chivalry is the Bible. Judas Maccabeus was a model of Knighthood and, as he was amongst the Nine Worthies, Judas Maccabeus was already a popular ideal for the Medieval Knight. G. de Charny hoped to reveal the goal of the true warrior as salvation by associating Judas Maccabeus with the cult of chivalry. He wrote,

"to whom God permits in his grace as he did to this mighty chevalier to gain honour in this world and in the end saving of his soul in paradise, such a man can ask nothing more." (16).

Charny believed that it was the Knight's duty to fight in what he believed to be the Lord's war. When G. de Charny spoke of his ideal Judas Maccabeus, he stressed two things that, in God's grace, were given him; honour in this world and salvation in the next. Although salvation was Charny's prime concern, he did not disregard the desire for martial experience, his own prestigious activities indicate that he was well aware/ ...

(16) Ibid., 37.

aware of the value of honour and prestige and the heroic quest for earthly fame.

As the manuals of chivalry of Ramon Lull and Geoffrey de Charny accurately reflect, the chief tenets of chivalry were martial experience, the influence of religion, and the code of honour. The instinct to look back to antique times, to a world peopled with heroes whose adventures were larger and stranger than life, was there from the outset. The Arthurian stories, which were popular in the early Middle Ages, represented a great collection of the marvellous in Medieval secular literature. In the Arthurian romances, secular adventure replaces the previous importance of the struggle against the infidel and provided a fantasy world which was rich and marvellous and encouraged the values of secular Knighthood. In the Arthurian romances,

"riches and lineage are here assumed to be the concomitants of noble and Knightly life" (17).

In this environment the tournament and courtly love come to the fore. Thus, the Arthurian Knights Lancelot, Percival or Gawain, are more often engaged in the tournament or joust, defending the chivalric code of honour of their peers and their lady, than in pursuit of the infidel. In the Arthurian romances, the tournament served to introduce courtly love into chivalrous stories of martial adventure. The tournament was an important influence on chivalry and has been equated with the Crusade as an influence on chivalry, since the twelfth century. (18). By the twelfth century, tournaments were becoming great occasions, gatherings of the aristocracy where heralds and minstrels/...

(17) M.H. Keen, "Huizinga, Kilgour and the Decline of Chivalry" *Medievalia et Humanistica*, 1977, vol. 7, 8.

(18) *Ibid*, 9.

and minstrels celebrated the prowess of Knights past and present and, as in the manuals of chivalry, there was great concern with the rules of good Knighthood. In the twelfth century, tournaments formed the basis for an interplay of events between real life and the fantasy world of the romances; for the Arthurian tournaments served as a model for the tournaments of the twelfth century aristocracy. Tournaments united the most powerful members of lay society and often served to unite the participants in purpose, even for schemes of revolt or political purpose or to plans for a Crusade, as was the case at Ercy in 1199, (19) and at the Round Table tournament held at Hesdin in 1235, after which all the participants pledged themselves to take the cross. The Knights partaking in the tournament were participating in an important chivalrous activity designed to fulfil their social and martial ambitions. Lodewijk von Veltheim's Spiegel Historiae gives an account of the great tournament and feast held in Arthurian guise by Edward I in 1299, a scene of lavish pageantry that already anticipates the staging of the later Burgundian feasts and pas des armes. (20).

Despite the elaborate presentation of chivalrous activities such as the taking of the Vow, it is evident that, particularly during the phase of Burgundian Chivalry, such an act had a political function unique to the rôle of chivalry. The display and ornamentation which came to the fore during the Burgundian phase of chivalry, was certainly more elaborate and concerned with ornamentation than in the earlier days of chivalry  
in the/...

(19) Ibid, 10.

(20) J. Vale, Edward III and Chivalry, Chivalric Society and its Context, 1270-1350, Boydell Press, 18.

in the eleventh and twelfth centuries when the influence of the Church was particularly strong. However, Burgundian chivalry was symbolic of the advancement attained in the chivalric code of honour and prowess and was consistent with the Medieval chivalric tradition in its admiration of the prototype of the ideal chivalrous Knight. Heraldic books, which gained great popularity during this autumnal phase of chivalry, bear witness to the continued interest in the heroic prototype of the ideal Knight. In the Bibliothèque Nationale a manuscript of the Order of the Golden Fleece (21) reveals the association of the Nine Worthies with the Orders of Chivalry. This incompleated book may have originated in 1467 the year of the death of Philip the Good. (22). At the beginning of the manuscript there is an illustration of four clerical dignitaries on horseback followed by a selection of heroes from the series of nine, Judas Maccabeus, Arthur, Godfrey and Charlemagne, who are followed by five mounted women from the group of the nine heroines, Penthesilea, Dephille, Theuca, Penthesilea, (because of a change of her coat of arms it appears as if she has changed her name) and Thamaris. They are followed by thirty-three mounted people of various orders. At the end of the manuscript the painter has included twenty-three coats of arms of members of the Order of the Golden Fleece and mounted pictures of the Dukes Philip and Charles of Burgundy.

The patron of the Order of the Golden Fleece was Jason.

"Just/ ...

(21) MS, Clairambault 1312, S.242, c.1450. Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris.

(22) R.L. Wyss, op. cit., 81.

"Just as the Grail, or the ring of the Nibelungs had been the object of a quest, so Jason and the Argonauts were seen as models of Knight errantry in search of a rich and precious prize." (23).

Here is the inspiration of the ideal type in the Orders of Chivalry, but J. Huizinga has exposed the corruption of this ideal; he quotes Alain Chartier, "La Ballade de Fougères":

"To God and men detestable is lying and treason. For this reason, the image of Jason is not placed in the gallery of Worthies. Who to carry off the fleece of Colchas was willing to commit perjury Larceny cannot remain hidden". (24).

The Nine Worthies are again quoted as the ideal of unobtainable perfection in the Middle Ages; Jason, despite his classical origins, a deviation from this ideal. The order was established under the joint patronage of Jason and Gideon, forming as in the case of the Nine Worthies, a union of classical and Biblical iconography, the Golden Fleece becoming that of Gideon rather than Jason. If Jason was an unacceptable patron of the Order of the Golden Fleece, once united with Gideon, the Order regained repute, thus it was not the foundations of the Order of the Golden Fleece which were in question, but rather the pedigree of its patron.

The Medieval/...

(23) M. Vale, War and Chivalry, op. cit., 39.

(24) J. Huizinga, "The Waning of the Middle Ages," 88.

The Medieval admiration of heroic prototypes influenced the code of honour of the Orders of Chivalry. The "Roman de Troie" and its account of the Judgement of Paris was clearly the background to the choice of their emblem by the companions of the Golden Apple, and of their motto, 'La plus belle me devoit avoir'. (25). The cult of the Nine Worthies inspired the celebration of the virtue of valour. The Statute of the Order of the Star which provided, at its annual feast, a table of honour, which shall be set aside for the three princes, the three bannerets, and the three Knights who, by common assent, had performed in the year the highest feats of arms in war. The cult of the Nine Worthies clearly inspired this celebration of the virtue of valour.

"Nine, crowned, be very exemplair  
Of all honour, longing to chivalry  
And those, certain, be called the Nine Worthies"  
(26).

(25) Keen, Chivalry, op. cit., 192.

(26) "The Flower and the Leaf", ed. W.W. Skeat's version of Chaucer, Oxford, 1897, 7, 377.

## 2.5 CHRISTIAN KINGSHIP

### 2.5.1 King Arthur

The medieval fascination with the mythological King Arthur was well developed in the twelfth century and oral and extant written legends about Arthur were well known at this time; thus Jacques de Longuyon's choice of Arthur as the first Christian King amongst the Nine Worthies presented the already popular hero with a cult following. Arthur's lack of real historicity posed a problem for medieval biographers who strove to use original sources, and present an authentic account of Arthur's origins. Medieval accounts of Arthur's life were rarely in doubt of his historicity but often went to great lengths to establish the authenticity of their sources as had Benoît de Ste. Maure in the Roman de Troie. Geoffrey of Monmouth claimed to have had before him when he wrote his History of the Kings of Britain, a "very ancient" book in the British language. (1). The standard account of the Quest for the Holy Grail was supposed to have been put together by Walter Map on the basis of the record compiled by Arthur's own clerks from Sir Bohort's personal testimony. (2). In 1191 more tangible evidence that Arthur was a real historical figure was provided when his grave and that of Queen Guinevere was "discovered" at Glastonbury, and their bones disinterred and reburied (it seems clear that the whole affair was a pious fraud organised by the monks of Glastonbury in order to encourage/...

(1) Geoffrey of Monmouth, in Faral, (ed.) La Légende Arthurienne, Paris, Champion, Vol. III, 71.

(2) Keen, Chivalry, op. cit., 113.

to encourage a profitable cult, but it passed off successfully as a genuine find.) (3).

The pious correctness of Geoffrey of Monmouth's Arthur with the influence of the Glastonbury legends ensures Arthur's acceptance as a Christian hero.

Thus before Jacques de Longuyon wrote "Les Voeux du Paon", in 1310 Arthur had been accepted as the heroic prototype of Christian knighthood. The inclusion of Arthur amongst the Nine Worthies served to contrast the chief exponent of Christian chivalry with the chivalric achievements of the Old Testament heroes and the three Pagan heroes. The Chanson des Saisnes a late chanson de geste whose theme is the wars of Charlemagne against the Saxons declare that there are three matters above all about which every man should know something - the matter of France, the matter of Britain and the matter of Rome the Great. (4). These three matters, the stories of Charlemagne and his paladins; of Arthur and the Round Table and the classical histories of Troy and Thebes; of Alexander and Caesar echoed the comparative choice of the Nine Worthies made by Jacques de Longuyon. The author of the Chanson des Saisnes who recommended the stories of Charlemagne because they were true and of the Romans because they were instructive commented on the matter of Britain that it was "vain and pleasing", implying that clearly there was a good deal of fiction in it. (5). The absence of historical documentation/....

(3) See A. Grandsen, The growth of the Glastonbury Traditions and Legends, JEH, 27 (1976), 352-358.

(4) Keen, Chivalry, op. cit., 103.

(5) Ibid, 103.

documentation on the matter of Britain encouraged the use of original and innovative material giving the Arthurian tales their imaginative quality and witnessing the development of mythological fiction.

Celtic mythology formed the most important source for fiction introduced into Arthurian literature. Geoffrey of Monmouth whose History of the Kings of Britain (6) supplied the basic outline of Arthur's personal story had used many reputable sources such as Bede, Gildas and Nennius but where these failed him, he drew largely on Welsh legends, some at least which he probably knew from written texts. Breton versions of Celtic myth were a chief source for the French authors of Arthurian literature. Breton legends were certainly the source of two famous lais of Marie de France, which tell of Tristran's love and of the faery mistress of Arthur's Knight, Lanval. (7). Wace remarks of the Round Table (which is one of his few additions to Geoffrey of Monmouth's story) that the Bretons told many tales of it. (8). The influence of forgotten Breton conteurs almost certainly also accounts for early knowledge of the Arthurian legend in those lands in which their Norman neighbours fought. The frieze on the archivolt of Modena Cathedral (1099) depicts a sculpture of a scene from Arthurian romance, depicting Arthur and his knights (Gawain and Kay among them) coming to the rescue of Queen Guinevere. This scene indicates the importance/....

- (6) Lewis Thorpe, Geoffrey of Monmouth, The History of the Kings of Britain, Penguin, Harmondsworth, 1966.
- (7) Keen, Chivalry, op. cit., 114.
- (8) R.S. Loomis, The Oral diffusion of the Arthurian Legend, in R.S. Loomis, ed. Arthurian Literature in the Middle Ages, Oxford, 1957, 52-63.

importance of the oral tradition in preserving the legend of Arthur and precedes the earliest written texts such as Geoffrey of Monmouth's History of the Kings of Britain. Arthur makes another mysterious appearance in Italy, where he is depicted in a mosaic in Otranto Cathedral. (9).

The Bretons had come of Celtic stock and had many points of contact with France and indeed throughout Europe. The complex question of which particular Celtic myths underlie particular Arthurian stories is uncertain, but they serve to establish that the Celtic element in the tales was important for locating them in sixth century Britain. The medieval Arthurian romance writers were able to elaborate their tales of martial adventure and amorous love onto a substratum of Celtic myth and legend derived from the Dark Ages.

The characterisation of Arthur in medieval literature involved the development of courtly values, thus the hero is portrayed in the martial quest for perfection and involved in the psychological quest for fulfillment according to the code of courtly love. Courtly love served as an inspiration for martial endeavour and in Arthurian romance literature, chivalrous adventure and amorous dedication are intertwined serving to elaborate the narrative. Chrétien de Troyes who was well steeped in Ovid, (10), (the most powerful single literary influence on courtly love), developed the narrative potential of the eroticism of troubadour lyric in Arthurian romance. Chrétien explored the psychological aspects of love and revealed the inner feelings of the heroes and heroines giving women a  
greater/ ....

- (9) 1166, Otranto in Southern Italy was ruled by the Normans in the twelfth century.
- (10) R.S. Loomis, Arthurian Tradition and Chrétien de Troyes, New York, Columbia U.P., 1952, 7-8.

greater role to play as they had in classical legend and Celtic mythology. In Arthurian literature Guinevere has been claimed as Arthur's sovereignty goddess. (11). The recurrent abduction story has mythological connotations and although abductions occur in other mythologies and in real life, the absence of indications to the contrary allows the acceptance of a Celtic origin. (12). In the Vulgate Merlin Guinevere's early infatuation for Arthur is emphasised in order to show that Arthur, the universal paragon, can also be a courtly lover. (13). Arthur's amours however, contrast sharply with the delicacy, warmth and devotion with which he treats his knights; the image of Arthur as a heroic warrior being of prime importance.

The image of Arthur as a medieval knight in twelfth century armour was influenced by the heroic grandeur of classical antiquity; thus the first Christian King amongst the Nine Worthies shares a common heritage with the Roman-Hellenistic heroes. Geoffrey of Monmouth's book is full of Virgilean echoes and he took care to link his British matter with Rome by presenting Brutus the first king of Britain, whose legacy became that of Arthur as the great nephew of Aeneas. Arthur's capital Caerleon is to him the City of Legions and he stresses that at their great feasts the Britons of Arthur's time still followed the customs of Troy. (14). Arthur, therefore represents the first achievement of the New Law of Christianity amongst the Nine Worthies. Arthur's achievement is not separated from that of the Pagan heroes; they are united through the course of history as viewed by  
the medieval/ ...

(11) Rosemary Morris, The Character of King Arthur in Medieval Literature, D.S. Brewer, Rowman and Littlefield, 1982, 97.

(12) Ibid, 97.

(13) Ibid, 102.

(14) Geoffrey of Monmouth, in Faral. ed. La Légende Arthurienne, op. cit., III, 245.

the medieval writer. Geoffrey of Monmouth's History of the Kings of Britain offers a link between the three defenders of the Pagan Law and Arthur; Brutus' story begins at the end of Aeneas; Aeneas' at the end of Troy's. Arthur is thus connected via Brutus to the whole world of classical knowledge and the epic hero;

"something of the fame of the antique heroes must surely accrue to the new character Arthur, the seeds of whose glory are sown at the time of Achilles." (15).

They are all part of one story, a fact which is recognised with particular clarity by the compilers of the Welsh manuscripts which preface Dares Phrygius to the Brut. (16). In Arthur's Roman War there is the clash of Arthur's virile "new" nation with Rome's outworn monarchy, (17), a theme of interest for Geoffrey's readers though it also has a literary source in the Alexander Darius clash. (18). The great French prose cycles tend to diminish the importance of the Roman war very radically, perhaps because it tends to elevate Arthur to a status very near that of the French Charlemagne; Geoffrey of Monmouth however, displays Arthur in the Roman Wars as endowed with military virtues, as leader, supreme commander, strategist and tactician. The division of the Nine Worthies into the three religions is contrasted by the coherence of martial themes which presented each of the heroes as a heroic prototype.

The introduction/...

- (15) R. Morris, op. cit., 14 William of Resnes a twelfth century Latin imitator of HRB compares Achilles and Arthur.
- (16) Ibid, 14.
- (17) Hanning R., The Vision of History in Early Britain from Gildas to Geoffrey of Monmouth, New York, 1966, 169.
- (18) Morris, op. cit., 66.

The introduction of historical and religious themes into the Arthurian romances took place in the absence of a defined canon of literature, thus the original Celtic origins of Arthur were modified to the requirements of the age of Christian chivalry. The Grail story made it possible for chivalrous romance to become a vehicle for eucharistic mysticism, it was also the medium through which the chivalrous story of Arthur and his knights was linked to the sacred history of Christianity as recounted by the Bible. (19).

The story of how the "good Knight" Joseph of Arithmea obtained from Pilate the cup from which Christ had drunk at the last supper and caught in it the last drops of His blood as He was brought down from the cross; and of how the risen Saviour visited him in prison and entrusted the cup to his care, links the story of the Round Table and its highest quest directly to the climax of the New Testament. The trinity of tables, that at which the Last Supper was eaten, the Grail table that Joseph set up in the desert and the Round Table symbolise the connections. (20). Thus the chivalry of Arthur and the Knights of the Round Table was united symbolically to the mysticism of the Judeo-Christian tradition, linking the stores of Arthur to the heroism of the Old Testament warriors amongst the Nine Worthies.

In Geoffrey of Monmouth's History of the Kings of Britain one of the possible inspirations for the story of Arthur's birth is the story of David and Bathsheba II Samuel (11-12). The story is similar to that of Hercules and at least one early imitator recognised it; the moralising author of the Variant version./...

(19) Keen, Chivalry, op. cit., 118.

(20) Ibid, 118.

version. (21). Geoffrey of Monmouth did not however pursue the moral condemnation of the Old Testament story where the son dies II Samuel (12:38). The life of Arthur is closely linked to the heroic achievement of the Old Testament heroes amongst the Nine Worthies by his struggle with the giant on St. Michael's mount, this achievement is listed in the verses in which Jacques de Longuyon describes the heroic achievement of each hero. (22). The giant of St. Michael's Mount is probably a local legend which Geoffrey adopted for his hero's glorification, the story of the giant would immediately have appeal for the medieval audience and the image of Arthur as a dragon slayer would have made him a popular hero before Jacques de Longuyon's Les Voeux du Paon, (c.1310). David was famed as a giant killer and Geoffrey of Monmouth had him in mind when he began his account of Arthur. (23). Arthur's exploits reminded at least one alert reader of David's. (24). Arthur and David were both saviours of their people by virtue of this supreme exploit, thus heroic achievement in the guise of medieval chivalry serves to unite the Nine Worthies. The mythological origins of Arthur's kingship were transformed by twelfth century literature into a combination of historical and religious themes introducing the classical and the biblical.

Arthur's world was entirely that of Christian Knighthood; here his achievements forecast those of Charlemagne and Godfrey of Bouillon. The three Christian Worthies appear united in their purpose of promoting/....

- (21) J. Hammer, Geoffrey of Monmouth, Historia Regum Britanniae, a variant version, Cambridge, Mass, 1951, Medieval Academy of America Publication No. 57, 221.
- (22) P.D. Ancona, Gli affreschi del castello di Manta, L'Arte Vol. 8, 1905, 196.
- (23) R. Morris, op. cit., 76.
- (24) William of Newburgh, 16.

promoting Christianity amongst the Saracens and crusading as the highest expression of their Christian beliefs. In the Arthurian texts, Arthur's wars against the Saxons, which are justified by Saxon wickedness, play a prominent role. In Geoffrey of Monmouth's History of the Kings of Britain, Arthur's Saxons take on the colour of Charlemagne's Saracens and Arthur is implied to be an opponent of the most feared and hated enemy of Medieval Europe, Islam. This concept was to win enormous favour amongst Geoffrey's successors. The Vulgate Merlin draws heavily on French crusading epic (25) and in the Livre d'Artus the influence of the third Crusade is evident as Arthur's Saxons are transformed into very palpable saracens. In the Of Arthur and of Merlin (26) (1175-6), and Malory (11.633) (27), there is no distinction at all between "Saisnes" and "Saracens". Here, the medieval authors have adapted a theme of literary and historical interest to the Middle Ages. The Saxon War exhibits the same tragic fascination and urgency as the real life defence of the Latin Kingdom of Jerusalem. Arthur could appear as a crusader in his own land, the presence of the Grail in Arthur's Britain is as potent a religious symbol as the cross itself; thus the defence against the Saxons may be linked to the spiritual themes of the great Arthurian cycles.

Arthur's wars against the Saxons and the preoccupation with mystical religious subjects in Arthurian texts contribute to the image of Arthur as the forerunner of Christian chivalry, foreshadowing the achievement of Charlemagne and Godfrey of Bouillon. Four strangely assorted/ .....

- (25) A. Micha, Les Sources de la Vulgate du Merlin, Romania, 72, (1952) 299-345, (301-4).
- (26) Macrae-Gibson, O.D., Of Arthur and of Merlin, E.E.T.S. 263 (Oxford, U.P. 1973).
- (27) Thomas Malory, Le Morte d'Arthur, ed. J. Cowen, Harmondsworth, Penguin, 1969.

assorted texts involve Arthur with Jerusalem, the Chronicle of Jean d'Outremeuse the Prophecies de Merlin; the thirteenth century Vatican MS of Nennius and Golagros and Gawain, (28), D'Outremeuse's version is most like a true crusade, but it is too phantasmagorical to give Arthur a solid reputation, however, it does indicate that Arthur may be a prefiguration of Charlemagne who later in the chronicle shows great interest in Arthur. The Prophecies present Arthur as being involved in the crusade by his generous financial donations, but the author denies Arthur the opportunity of an active expedition to Outremer which would have given Arthur the prestigious status of his fellow Christian Worthies. In Golagros, Arthur's visit to Jerusalem is only a frame to the main story and is treated more as a pilgrimage. The Vatican story can be dismissed as local legend. (29). As the prototype of the Christian King Arthur is portrayed in medieval literature as possessing the religious ambitions and heroic grandeur which would be fulfilled by his successors.

Arthur has become through his treatment in literature an acceptable Christian King,

"Arthur is loyal and trusting;  
easily led and affectionate;  
not piercingly intelligent, but  
capable of kingly tact and discretion,  
given to violent emotion and subject  
to depression; brave, proud in conquest,  
somewhat lacking in moral fibre;  
pious but lacking an entire spiritual  
dimension." (30).

This lack/ ...

(28) R. Morris, op. cit., 62.

(29) Ibid, 62.

(30) Ibid, 124.

This lack of spiritual dimension is attributable to the lack of divine intervention in Arthur's life, like any other Christian King, Arthur strives for Christ-like perfection and yet is doomed to failure, the victim of fate. Arthur appears amongst the Nine Worthies as a victim of Fortune's wheel in the alliterative Morte Arthure and the date suggests that the author must have used the Voeux du Paon (1310) of J. de Longuyon as a source. (31).

The story opens with a recapitulation of Arthur's conquests derived from the Wace and Alexander cycle. Then in accordance with convention, the King is about to begin a banquet when messengers arrive from Lucius Emperor of Rome, and summon him to pay homage. The British Knights however, promise to Arthur their support and as in the Voeux du Paon, each vows to perform a deed of valour in battle against the Romans. After the capture of Metz, Arthur descends into Italy where before he is forced to abandon his imperial pretensions, he has a dream in which he sees himself as one of the great emperors bearing the symbol of the imperial coronation and seated on one of the Nine chairs of Fortune's wheel amongst the Nine Worthies. The dream is a favourite allegorical device for introducing the Nine Worthies into medieval romance. The Wheel of Fortune is a symbol of earthly vanity and mortality, popular in medieval iconography. Arthur reaches the highest point of the wheel like his predecessors and is dashed down at the next turn of it. (32). Here the author of the alliterative Morte Arthure/ ....

(31) R.S. Loomis, (ed) Arthurian Literature in the Middle Ages, op. cit., 521.

(32) Morte Arthure on the Death of Arthur, ed. E. Brock, Early English Texts Society, O.S. 8, 1865, (l. 3389 - 3442). R. Barber, King Arthur in Legend and History, Boydell, Press, Ipswich, 1973, 54.

Arthure gives no explanation of the dream, however, Arthur's guilt and sorrow over lost powers or mysterious inadequacy is a poignant motif. The wheel of fortune reveals the primitive conception of a loss of sovereignty or unexpected decline of power through causes that cannot be countered in natural ways; by heroic virtue or meritorious valour.

The influence of Fate indicated by the Wheel of Fortune has been suggested as fundamental to the medieval concept of the hero. (33). The influence of fate on the hero's fortune represents the introduction of moral values which played an important role in medieval characterisation. In Arthur's case the moral dimension is particularly important, as the grail theme increases its importance, there is a growing tendency to judge the characters on a spiritual, religious and chivalrous plane. The Quest for the Holy Grail had distinguished between the quest for moral excellence and the actual attempt to unite with excellence itself. Arthur does not present this in the Queste. Only Galahad views perfected virtue and he leaves this world for a place where such sights (the Grail) belong. Arthur is the victim of his Pride. Pride is the defect of Kingly virtue to which all princes are susceptible. In Arthur, it exists only in the chronicle and the middle English texts which present him as a conqueror and even there he is not always condemned. Geoffrey and Layamon's Arthurs are splendid in their pride and it is not blamed for their downfall. (34). Arthur is  
saved/ ....

(33) J. Leclercq, The Game and Play of Hero, in Concepts of the Hero in the Middle Ages and the Renaissance, ed. N.T. Burns, and C.J. Reagan, University of New York, 1975, 69.

(34) R. Morris, op. cit., 121.

saved from the Deadly Sin of Pride by the humility with which he accepts the triumphs of his own knights as his own.

Since the mid-fifteenth century, English writers had occasionally postulated Arthur's ascension to his star Arcturus, (35), as a more Christian alternative to his final voyage to Avalon. In his Fall of Princes (1430-8) for example, Lydgate narrates the traditional Celtic version of Arthur's death. After his final battle, says the Monk of Bury, Arthur was borne in a litter to an isle called Avalon, where he still rides with his knights.

Lydgate immediately re-interprets Arthur's final journey as a stellar translation, therefore allowing him to die corporally, but live on in heaven. Netherlanders of the sixteenth century were well aware of the myth of Arthur's stellar Avalon, for in a pageant at the Hague in 1586, King Arthur appeared to Leicester in the form of a star and saluted the Earl as "a second Arthur" (36). This concept of Arthur in relation to his star Arcturus has important consequences for his role in a pageant of the Nine Worthies. (37). The star, Arcturus, is made of seven stars and is called Charlemagne's wain, thus Charlemagne follows Arthur as the next Christian King amongst the Nine Worthies.

(35) G. Kipling, The Triumph of Honour, op. cit., 74.

(36) Ibid, 85.

(37) See Supra Pageantry, 3.8.

### 2.5.2 Charlemagne

The reign of Charlemagne left a bequest to the Middle Ages, in the form of his achievements and his legendary treatment in literature. Charlemagne was an exemplary Christian ruler; he represents the New Law of which Jacques de Longuyon wrote. His defence of God's Holy places and his attempt to place the City of God on earth, provided a model with which the Middle Ages found strong identification. The defence of God's Law was the prime concern of the Church and had been responsible for the promotion of the first Crusade. The Church's approval of the example set by Charlemagne was plainly evident. Pope Urban II, exhorting to arms at the 1095 Council of Clermont:

"May your souls be moved and excited by the deeds of your ancestors, by the prowess and grandeur of King Charlemagne and of his son, Lewis, and of your other Kings, who have destroyed the Pagan kingdoms and pushed forward the borders of the Holy Church." (1).

After the transformation of the life of Charlemagne into fiction, in the "Chanson de Roland", the Church continued to pay homage to the Carolingian King; churches began to vie with one another to possess relics (2) and the beginnings of a cult following are evident in the history of the iconography of the Carolingian Legend. The story of Roland is preserved  
in stone/ ...

- (1) J. Riley Smith, The Crusades, Edward Arnold 1981, 43. The account of Robert of Rheims, written before 1107.
- (2) Joseph Bediér "Les Legendes Épiques", iv, Paris, 1921, 103 ff, Charlemagne's fame during the ninth to the twelfth centuries.

in stone in the twelfth century sculptures at Verona and the miracle of the lances, that burst into leaf overnight outside the heroes' tent on the eve of Charlemagne's great battles in Spain, is recorded in the stained glass at Chartres, (3), (the burgeoning lances were those who would achieve their martyrdom in the coming engagement.)

The reign of Charlemagne was unique in the Christian past, for God was the supreme power who was responsible for the King and his populus. The people, as the subjects of the King, became the populus Dei. To facilitate their reign the Carolingian Kings in their educational, instructional and disciplinary measures and the subsequent decrees and laws (the Capitularia) addressed the Frankish people as the "people of God". They displayed their faith and that of their ruler as if they were citizens of a new land. They were the populus Christianus. A new Christian society was formed; the people lay in a unique relation to their land, their King, Sovereign and God. The idea of the Franks as the populus Dei or as Christianitus greatly facilitated

"the correlative adoption of the city of God which, for the Carolingians, was nothing else but the concrete manifestation of the Church." (4).

The Church was instrumental in maintaining the unique relationship of the ruler to the people, and the means of conveying this message was through the sermon. Charlemagne's power was bonded to the Church as the source of his divinity. This was evident in the administration/ ...

(3) E. Mâle, op. cit., 346-354.

(4) Walter Ullmann, "The Carolingian Renaissance and the Idea of Kingship," Methuen and Co., 1969, 43.

administration of unction, whereby the King's divinity was confirmed. The act of anointment confirmed the ruler's relationship to God, the effect of this Old Testament anointing

"was clearly constitutive, for without it the ruler was not established legitimate King". (5).

The ninth century vision of God as the all powerful being led to a juxtaposition of Christian imagery in the eyes of the populus; if God was the indestructible, He lived in a fortress, visualised as a prototype of the Carolingian palace at Aachen. This God was King, who was the example for His son, the conqueror. However, it was not to Byzantium that Charlemagne looked for an imperial model, but to the Book of Kings. (6). He preferred to see himself as a new David; his son, Louis, was to see himself as a second Solomon; and to Pippin III, first Carolingian King, Pope Stephen II had written :

"quid enim aliud quam novum te  
dixerim moysen et praefulgidum  
asseram David regem?" (7).

Moses, David, Josiah and Solomon were the great exemplars and their professional standing and virtues were not to be confused. Archbishop Hincmar, the Ezekiel of the ninth century, distinguished nicely between rulers chosen directly by God (like Moses and Josiah);/....

(5) Ibid, 71. See especially the expression in I Kings No. 10.1.

(6) J.M. Wallace Hadrill, "The Via Regia of the Carolingian Age", ed. B. Smalley, Trends in Medieval Political Thought; Blackwell, Oxford, 1965, 26.

(7) Ibid, 26.

Josiah); rulers who owed their power to God, though men played some part in their making (such as Joshua and David) and rulers who owed their powers to men though divine approval had not been withheld. (8). When Charlemagne became King (as well as patrician of the Romans) in 800 A.D., the concept of Kingship found in the Old Testament had found a new throne and a new Empire. The domain of Charlemagne became that of the Old Testament Kings; they were his models. This was symbolised by the Jewish name of David, which he bore, and his throne at Aachen which was modelled on Solomon's throne. (9). Thus, Charlemagne had the elevated status of the ruler, symbolically elevated on the throne above society; his reign modelled on that of the Old Testament Kings. The reign of Charlemagne formed a link between God and the populus, an unprecedented link between the Law of the Jewish people and the ethics of Christianity. Amongst the Nine Worthies, Charlemagne's reign was inspired by the example he took from the three Jews, in particular Joshua and David. Charlemagne was obliged to emulate the Kings, such as David, and be a conqueror responsible for the conversion of people, but avoid excessive bloodshed.

Charlemagne's mentor, Alcuin had the important task of resolving complex moral and philosophical questions, which arose from the ruler's divine grace. Alcuin had developed an etymological study of names and in the case of Charlemagne, the name David involved Alcuin's recognition that in him the regnum davidicum would be restored. (10). Alcuin had much to say about the  
differences/ ...

(8) Ibid, 26.

(9) Ullman, op. cit., 44.

(10) For verses of Alcuin to Charles, "David", see Poetae Latini aevi Carolini, ed. E. Dümmler, I, 252, 254, 257 ff, 296 ff.

differences between the Old and New Testaments. Alcuin had noted that the Law of the Old Testament would not suffice for salvation if the supreme Law of the Old Testament were not also observed, hence outside the Church there is no salvation. Alcuin of York had established the learned culture of the Church fathers at the Court of Charlemagne at Aachen (c. 782-796). Charlemagne was to gain repute through the wise councillor he had summonsed to his court and Alcuin taught him rhetoric, dialectic, mathematics and astrology. During his years at Aachen, Alcuin organised the Palace school. Under Alcuin the School became an important factor in national life; it developed into a well defined and highly favoured institution.

The teaching of patriotic churchmen such as Hincmar and Notker (840-912) had a powerful effect on the image of Charlemagne through the ages, for these writers moralised upon the character of Charles and made him a type of the perfect warrior and statesman. Notker the Stammering Monk of St. Gall who had written the De Carolo Magno (11) for Charles the Fat, c.884 seventy years after Charlemagne's death is full of praise for Charlemagne, referring to the revolt of Pepin the hunchback, Notker inquires

"What part have we in David and what inheritance in the son of Jesse (Genesis 6.4) These men I say despised the children of Charlemagne and each in turn tried to seize for himself the command of the Kingdom and to place the crown on his own head." (12).

Notker/ ...

- (11) Lewis Thorpe, Einhard and Notker the Stammerer, Two Lives of Charlemagne, Penguin, Harmondsworth, 1969.
- (12) Notker the Stammerer, De Carolo Magni, Book II, 72, Thorpe op. cit., 153.

Notker had relied on the earlier work of Einhard (c. 795-840) who was at the royal court of Charlemagne from 791 and was well acquainted with the Emperor. Einhard wrote the Vita Karoli, (c. 829-36) which was divided into five short books and written in such a modest style that the author did not mention his own name, Walafriid Strabo wrote a prologue to the work (c. 840-849) and mentioned Einhard as the author. Einhard's Vita Karoli is written to praise the Emperor and Einhard was following a series of models found in Suetonius' De Vita Caesarum, of which a manuscript is known to have existed in the library of the monastery at Fulda when Einhard studied there. The Vita Karoli follows the life of Augustus in particular and the famed description of the Emperor in Book III is based on Suetonius' description of a number of Roman Emperors.

The Medieval fascination with the past led to an interest in Charlemagne, which was more historical than literary. Inspiration for the iconography of Carolingian legends was found in the poems and in the pseudo-historical Latin chronicles; which were substantially based on the poetic accounts. In this context of historical interest, the lives, the personal qualities and the actions of the epic heroes, such as Charlemagne, were transformed into the spirit of the Medieval world. One of the lives of Charlemagne, in Latin, is that of the so-called "Chronicle of Turpin". These chapters, written before eleven hundred, form a short story of the Emperor's Spanish conquests. The author is interested in the shrine of St. James at Compostella, with which it is his object to connect Charles. Archbishop Turpin makes an appearance in the story, but merely as a missionary who accompanies the Emperor and baptises all those who submit. Obstinate unbelievers are put to death or enslaved. The Pseudo-Turpin Chronicle (13) took up the Compostella legend and added / ...

(13) R.N. Walpole, ed. "The Old French 'Johannes' translation of the Pseudo-Turpin Chronicle", California, 1976, 174.

and added to it the legendary tale of the great war between Charlemagne and Argolander, the King of the Africans. The romance, thus fabricated, was published in the shape of an epistle from Turpin of Rheims to an archdeacon of his accordance. In this twelfth century work, there is further evidence of the beginnings of a cult following of Charlemagne, as the author notes with great detail the places where the heroes at Roncevaux are buried. (14). Einhard's report of the death on August 15, 778 of a certain Roland, prefect of Brittany, at the hands of Basque marauders, in the Pyrenean mountain pass, is the earliest surviving mention of Roland and is included in Einhard's "Vita Karoli" (15) i.e. as a paragraph in Charles' life. The death at Roncevaux has become an episode in the 'geste' of Charlemagne. This careful attention paid to the death of Roland since the times of Charlemagne's biographer, Einhard, until the "Pseudo-Turpin Chronicle", indicates the extent to which the Medieval fascination with the legendary heroes led to a unique blend of history and legend. The death of Roland had been reported to the emperor Charlemagne in the ninth century however, by the time of the Pseudo-Turpin Chronicle Roland is portrayed as deserving of the funeral of a loyal and trustworthy knight. Just as the reign of Charlemagne had been based on the heroes of the Old Testament, so, in the "Pseudo-Turpin Chronicle" Charlemagne laments Roland as the peer of prowess of Judas Maccabeus and gives twelve thousand ounces of gold and as many of silver, for the repose of the souls of those slain at Roncevaux

"and in/ ...

(14) Keen, op. cit., 104.

(15) Lewis Thorpe, op. cit., 18.

"and in remembrance of the Maccabees". (16).

The warriors of the Old Testament were revered in the Middle Ages as examples of the ideal Knight. Amongst Jacques de Longuyon's choice of the Nine Worthies, there is an obvious link between the Old Testament and the reign of Charlemagne. Charlemagne's reign was inspired by Joshua and David, and his protégé in fiction, the heroic and chivalrous Roland, was inspired by Judas Maccabeus.

It was the transformation of Charlemagne's life into legend, which provided a means of maintaining links with Carolingian Kingship and provided lay society with a means of acquiring knowledge of Charlemagne. In the early chansons, there are obvious resemblances to earlier heroic poetry and the works are typified by their age and the area of composition, the manner of fighting, the details of customary legal procedure, the familiar geography of Northern France, of the border between France and the Empire and of the Spanish border where Franks meet Saracens.

However, these values were transformed into a new social context, the social world of the eleventh and twelfth century aristocracy. The concept of chevalier and martial knowledge is associated with social identity, class and legal interests; which have given the achievement of justice a much greater sharpness in their framework of value. A grouping, such as that of the Nine Worthies, and in particular, the three Christians, each of whom belongs to an epic tradition, provided Medieval man with a means of systematising and symbolising the value of chivalry  
in/ ....

(16) Keen, Chivalry, op. cit., 119.

in society. Just as Jacques de Longuyon had noticed the effects of hero worship on Medieval society and introduced the Nine Worthies as a literary theme, so Medieval Society attempted to clarify their belief in the exemplary hero who was a chivalrous Knight. The Chanson de Roland placed the hero in an entirely Medieval setting.

"The stories of Charlemagne and his peers made such a powerful impact upon the Knighthood of the twelfth and succeeding centuries as it was easy for men to relate the pre-occupations of the Carolingian world and the events of Charles' career, as they came to know them, to the pre-occupations and events of their own time". (17).

Not only did the subject matter of the Carolingian epics remain popular, but their way of looking at martial and social relations also continued to seem relevant long after the twelfth century. In the early "chansons de geste", the origins of the union between the religious ideal and the chivalrous ideal are evident. The heroes of the Chanson de Roland became assimilated into the Medieval pantheon of heroes whose common feature was their chivalrous attributes; Charlemagne the ruler and champion of Christendom, Roland the brave, Ogier the heroic and Oliver the wise.

In the Chanson de Roland, the feudal bonds which were familiar to Medieval France are emphasised. Charles is both King (i.e. French feudal lord) and Emperor (above feudal relations). Charles' relationship to the populus is clearly feudal; the situation is one  
which/ ...

(17) Ibid, 107.

which everyone in Medieval France would understand and identify with. There is nothing in Roland with which the eleventh century feudal Knight could not ideally identify himself. There is a complex relationship between Charles and Roland. Roland, the nephew, is conscious of being his under-vassal, i.e. blood relations and a feudal connection. But this feudalism is transported into a new society, where both vassal and lord are united in the accomplishment of their task. Roland, the 'miles Christi', best serves his task by pledging allegiance to Charlemagne, and this would confirm his status as the ideal Knight, embodying prowess.

Both Roland and Oliver are French, their prowess is symbolic of the favoured position given to the "Franceis" (18) in the Imperial army, exalting French heroism and their sense of origin. However, the French soldiers are assimilated into the Imperial army and all military conquest was achieved exclusively on behalf of the faith. The French soldiers served France well by propagating the true faith,

"the poet of the Song of Roland constructs a political edifice designed to be at once universal and Christian, but whose spiritual and military centre clearly remains France".  
(19)

Thus, Charles is both Christian Emperor and the King of France; his political roots remain, so to speak, both Roman-Frankish, as well as Germanic-feudal. This  
concept/ ...

(18) "Chanson de Roland", 1.3084 ff.

(19) K. Uitti, Story, Myth and Celebration in Old French Narrative Poetry, 1050-1200, Princeton University Press, 1973, 69.

concept of Charlemagne as the King of France meant that his reign and achievements had readily been accepted amongst the French people and facilitated his incorporation into French culture amongst the "neuf preux".

In the "Voeux du Paon", Jacques de Longuyon notes that Charlemagne has been listed because of his victorious battles in France, Spain, the Kingdom of Pavia and especially for the fact that he had reinstated baptism and the sacraments in Jerusalem. (20). As the epic literature of Charlemagne's life developed in the "Chansons de geste", there is a marked tendency to elaborate material and the rôle of Charlemagne is made subordinate as new themes are introduced:

"A Medieval literary audience did not, on the whole, look for creative originality in narrative literature, but rather for skill, eloquence and ingenious or decorative elaboration upon a traditional theme." (21)

As Charlemagne was responsible for promoting the War against the infidel, and, as a personification of the values of the ideal Knight, the fate of Charlemagne was linked to the idealism of the First Crusade. Amongst the grouping of the three Christian Worthies, Charlemagne precedes his descendant Godfrey of Bouillon, whose achievements echoed those of his predecessor in the spheres of Christian Kingship and the War against the infidel. It was widely believed that Charlemagne  
had risen/ ...

(20) Wyss, op. cit., 75.

(21) Keen, Chivalry, op. cit., 112.

had risen from the dead to lead the First Crusade, and the minstrels seized upon this idea as a literary theme and they produced a new biography of the first Western Emperor in which he was depicted as the prototype Crusader, and his life as one long War against the infidel. They elaborated the fiction of a voyage to Jerusalem and a subsequent visit to Constantinople. They corrupted the old ballads which told of national struggles against the Frank in Aquitaine, in Brittany, Saxony and Lombardy. The influence of the First Crusade on contemporary history is evident in a derivative of the Pseudo-Turpin chronicle, "Le Pélérinage de Charlemagne" (22), which describes his journey to Jerusalem.

As was characteristic of the "chansons de geste", the "Chanson de Roland" emphasises the plight of the Pagans. In the poem, the only hope for the Pagans lies in their future as potential Christians. The Empire of the Pagans is condemned as a tyranny; the Pagans serve gods who have promised them money, power and sensual pleasure - all things of this world which provide a rich contrast with the magical values of the "Chanson de Roland", which resembles other Medieval epic in that the goals are those of the ideal Christian community of ideal heroes. The ideal Christian community was based on the teachings of the Church, such as St. Thomas Aquinas', 'Summa Theologica'; the ultimate goal of the Christian community being salvation.

"The symmetry/ ...

(22) See R.N. Walpole, "The Pélérinage Charlemagne: poem, legend and problem", Romance Philology, viii, (1954).

"The symmetry of St. Thomas' exposition is already present and structurally relevant in the Song of Roland. Charles' empire is composed of a union of free men who, under God and their Emperor, strive for both human and divine justice. Conversely, the Saracens lived in abject tyranny. Their gods, patterned on the Biblical Mammon, are projections of human greed and lust". (23).

This blatant condemnation of the Pagans in the "Chanson de Roland" and in the later chansons, contrasts the presentation of the three Pagans amongst the Nine Worthies; Caesar, Hector and Alexander. For there is no Homeric sympathy for a Priam or a Hector here, nor evidence of the recognition which the three Pagans gained from their legendary treatment in literature.

The Medieval concern for the heroic past was reflected in their interest in genealogies which introduced the concepts of honour and nobility. The writing of family histories in which the high deeds of the member's lineage of the author's patron provided the theme. The histories of Wace, of Benoît de Ste. Maure, of Lambert of Ardres and of John Marmoutier, different as they are, all broadly belong to this genre. (24). Genealogical literature as a form of court literature became increasingly secularised in comparison to its liturgical and monastic origins. (25). It was in the courts of Europe that the epic tales, the 'chansons de geste' and  
genealogical/ ....

(23) Uitti, op. cit., 97.

(24) Georges Duby, "The Chivalrous Society", transl. C. Postan, E. Arnold, 1977, 149 ff.

(25) Ibid, 155.

genealogical literature found its origins. For it was the courts and castles of Medieval society which housed the aristocracy whose chief concern became their lineage, their ability to claim noble descent and trace their ancestry back to a prototype of the ideal member of such a society. From this concern with lineage evolved the idea of nobility which was to become an exclusive right and linked to the code of honour of the chivalrous Knight. This concern with lineage reflected the increasing association of chivalry with high social status. It foreshadowed the later legal doctrine which would exclude from Knighthood any who could not point to a Knight in their paternal ancestry.

The power and authority of Charlemagne's reign was by no means forgotten and just as Charlemagne did not have to proclaim his powers on a legal basis, the royalty of Medieval France lacked genealogies. But in the North of the Kingdom and in Anjou, the drawing up of genealogies was intended to clarify claims to sovereignty or to prove the right of heirs to contested successions. The Flemish genealogies, exalting the Carolingian ancestry of the courts, composed, around the year 1100, did so in order to clarify legal matters, such as the account of the earldom of Vendôme, justifying the acquisition of the principality by Geoffrey Martel, Count of Anjou. The writing of these genealogies is derived from a royal prototype and there is considerable evidence of the desirability of claiming descent from Charlemagne whose feats were well known to Medieval Society, and, in particular, to the aristocracy through the chansons. In the French kingdom, the earliest lineage based on a royal prototype is that of the genealogy of Arnould Flanders, dating from the middle of the tenth century, which has two parts. First, come funeral prayers, the eulogy of a prince, in which his virtues are extolled; then, to show the natural merits of the hero confirm with the nobility of his origins, the author adds a

real/ ...

real genealogy - that of the Carolingian Kings. (26). Thus, onto the 'sancta prosapia domini Arnulfi' which does not go further back than Count Baldwin I, Arnould's father's father, a genealogia nobilissimum Francorum imperatorum et regum is introduced; the reason being that Baldwin's wife, Judith, was Charles the Bold's daughter. The catalogue of ancestors is borrowed quite uncritically from the 'scriptoria' of Lotharingia.

The ancestors passed on political power and they bequeathed a legacy of "honour" which their heirs had to show themselves worthy of. It was amongst the French Medieval aristocracy that the importance of ancestry and lineage came to the fore in the twelfth century and, as Georges Duby notes:

"the interpolation of legends and the adulteration of genealogies by material written to entertain, with consequent escape into the world of imagination, resulted in the appearance of the mythical ancestor". (27).

This concern with genealogy forged greater bonds between the Carolingian era and Medieval society, for the aristocracy in search of a mythological ancestor reached beyond the realms of chronology to the Carolingian past. The genealogical literature presented an attempt to make the reign of Charlemagne a constant source of reference to the secular world where wealth and nobility opposed the scale of holiness and virtue found in the ecclesiastical worship of saints.

In the/ ...

(26) Ibid, 153.

(27) Ibid, 156.

In the Medieval genealogical literature, Charlemagne is referred to as the ideal King: his sovereignty and power has remained a constant image through the centuries, largely through the vivid portrayal of Charlemagne's authority in the chansons. The chansons and the popularity of the Nine Worthies as a literary and decorative theme enhanced the Medieval fascination with the deeds of Charlemagne which were spread across Europe. Charlemagne's famed war against the infidel was altered by the minstrels and authors to suit the needs of a particular country or province. King Haakon IV (1217-63), the destroyer of Norwegian heathenism, introduced the 'chansons de geste' as a civilising influence amongst his countrymen. In France, the fascination with the heroic past was in evidence in the last century of the Middle Ages in the courts of Burgundy, where authors like David Aubert, and Jean Wauquelin, retold in prose the stories of such heroes as Gilles de Chin, Gerart de Roussilon and Garin. (28). It is therefore evident that Jacques de Longuyon's choice of Charlemagne as the central figure amongst the Christian Kings was symbolic of the Medieval fascination with the Carolingian era. The Crusades, the 'chansons de geste', the chronicles and the rise of genealogical literature in eleven hundred, (two centuries before de Longuyon wrote "Les Voeux du Paon"), indicates a sustained interest in the bequest of the Carolingian King to Medieval Europe.

"Charlemagne ... for his valyauntesse  
is of the nombre of the Nyne Worthyes" (29).

(28) Keen, Chivalry, op. cit., 105.

(29) c.1550, J. Coke, English and French Heraldry II, 1877, 61.

### 2.5.3 Godfrey of Bouillon

In terms of the early fourteenth century when Jacques de Longuyon was writing, Godfrey of Bouillon was by far the most recent recruit into the group of the Nine Worthies. Godfrey completed the cycle of Christian Kingship within the famous group of Nine. The rescue of the Holy City of Jerusalem from the infidels was a continuation of the achievements of the reign of Charlemagne. Godfrey of Bouillon was a descendant of Charlemagne and many of the leaders of the First Crusade could claim descent from him. Godfrey's brother, Baldwin, and Robert of Flanders, were particularly conscious of this and a contemporary historian of the Crusade pointed out that when Baldwin became King of Jerusalem, a descendant of Charlemagne sat on the throne of David. (1). The conquest of Jerusalem by Godfrey of Bouillon represented a development in the approach of the church towards the ethics of war. By 1095, the basic Augustinian texts, supplemented by some from the ninth century, had brought together the eleventh century intellectuals who had formulated a justification for a war sanctioned by the Church. (2). This was a crucial step towards the First Crusade as it meant the Pope could now proceed to preach a Crusade which was directed under God's approval. Godfrey of Bouillon, as a chivalric Knight on a mission approved by God, was united through his purpose to the heroic warriors of the Old Testament, his task to defend the New Law of God, the three Jewish Worthies symbolic of the  
defence/ ...

- (1) J. and L. Riley-Smith, "The Crusades", 1095-1274, E. Arnold, 1981, 1.
- (2) Carl Erdmann, "The Origin of the Idea of the Crusade", Princeton, 1977, 229-268. R. Somerville, "The Council of Clermont and the First Crusade", Studia gratiana, xx, 1976.

defence of the Old Law. This union of the Old Testament heroes and the Crusaders, is evident in the later liturgies for in the blessing of swords and banners, the example of the Lord's warrior, Abraham, is invoked, along with the other Old Testament heroes of the Jewish wars - Gideon, David and the Maccabees. (3).

Godfrey of Bouillon more effectively than any of the other Nine Worthies, symbolized the fact that the story of chivalry's divine mission in the world was still in progress. (4). The Church distinguished carefully between Christian Knighthood and secular Knighthood, which found expression in the courts, the troubadour cult of love, and took from the new models of Knighthood that the secular romances presented. Christian Knighthood was a distinct activity related specifically to the purpose of the Crusade. Baudry of Dol makes the distinction clear when he implores the men to "lay aside the belt of secular Knighthood", (5) in favour of crusading. St. Bernard makes the same point later in "De laude novae militiae templi", where he contrasts the Christian devotion of the Templar, who fights "with pure mind for the supreme and true King", with the pleasure seeking lifestyle of secular Knighthood. (6). The Church consolidated the idea of the Christian military through the use of symbolism; the "soldierly of Christ" (militia Christi) had a corresponding "banner of Christ" (vexillum Christi), namely the cross, the symbol of the Passion and Redemption, the sign of Christ's victory. The cross was a symbol associated with inherently Christian rites and significance, the symbolic sign of the cross connected/ ....

(3) J. Riley-Smith, op. cit., 109.

(4) Keen, Chivalry, op. cit., 123.

(5) Ibid, 49.

(6) Ibid, 49.

connected with the ceremony of baptism. Elsewhere, as well, the expressions of vexillum crucis and signis crucis accompanied the ritual of signing with the cross; the cross also denoted the original cross of Christ's crucifixion. 'Just as the militia Christi was often contrasted with secular warfare so was the banner of Christ contrasted with military insignia.' (7).

Godfrey of Bouillon is always distinguishable amongst the Nine Worthies by the Crusaders' Cross emblazoned on his chest providing an iconographical means of conveying the importance of the sign of the cross as a Christian symbol of conversion. (8). The taking of the cross first appeared at the Council of Clermont as a special novelty for the Jerusalem campaign. It is likely that preaching on the text of St. Luke's Gospel (xiv.2) Pope Urban II urged the Knights

"whosoever does not carry his cross  
and come after me cannot be my disciple."

The idea of the secular Knights as the soldiers of Christ was entirely evident in the cross which was sewn to their garments, a sign which was to promote Christianity and promote the war against the infidel. This inter-weaving of Christian symbolism with feudal military meanings was all to the advantage of Papal power. Crusading was the divine service of Knights, the true duty of the military class in contrast to profane militia. (9). The crusading army as a whole was referred to as exercitus Dei, militia Christi, militia Christiana and other names. These expressions were preferred to terms indicating pilgrimage (peregrini, hierosolymitani). (10).

The first/...

- (7) Erdmann, op. cit., 36.
- (8) See Supra, Heraldry, 3.6.
- (9) Riley-Smith, op. cit., 10.
- (10) Erdmann, op. cit., 341.

The first crusading army left for Jerusalem directly under the supervision of the Church. Pope Urban II proclaimed a general peace of God at Clermont, at the same time, he expressed the special link between the Crusade and peace by specifying that the Crusaders, person and property, remained under the protection of the Church's peace of God until they returned. It was Pope Urban's ambition to have an army of Knights under spiritual leadership and excluding heads of state or territorial princes, like Godfrey of Bouillon. The Pope appointed his legate, Bishop Adh mer of Puy, as leader of the expedition (*itineris ac laboris dux*). Far from being confined to spiritual functions, he was meant to exercise something like supreme political leadership. The original plan had been to entrust the military command to Count Raimond of St. Gilles. The territorial princes who were acquiring the uppermost place in the social scale, could most easily have assumed the functions that the Church had previously allotted to Kingship alone, notably the "authority that bears the sword with reason", according to the Pauline Epistle. (11). Although Godfrey of Bouillon could have assumed the r le of King, the First Crusade placed all Knights on equal footing; they were united in their service to God, and the path to Jerusalem, the means to salvation. The First Crusade was seen as a means to salvation for the laity:

"Kings, dukes, Roman dictators and consuls stirred up multitudes with the intention of fighting anywhere and from these positions of command, they gathered together numerous armies made up of all kinds of races. But they came together driven by the fears of men. What shall I say of those who, without a lord, with only God to move them, have ventured not only beyond the frontiers of their native provinces, but even outside the  
Kingdoms/...

(11) Ibid, 58.

Kingdoms in which they lived; indeed, also further than a host of nations and tongues that lie between, and have led their companies from their castles on the far flung shores of Britain to the centre of the world ?" (12).

Godfrey of Bouillon was not appointed by Pope Urban II as leader of the First Crusade, but by the time the Crusade reached Jerusalem he had emerged as one of the natural leaders and as the prototype of the ideal Knight, (as he is portrayed in legend). However, the events surrounding Godfrey's appointment as Defender of the Holy Sepulchre were not based on the wishes of the Pope, nor the Church's quest for spiritual leadership. In Jerusalem, it was Godfrey's compatriots who elected him as ruler of Jerusalem. The motivation for Godfrey's departure on the First Crusade is not entirely clear. Godfrey served the Emperor, Henry IV, but his administration was not very efficient and there seems to have been some doubt as to whether Henry would continue to employ him. A further influence may have been the strong Clunaic influence in Lorraine where Papal sympathies would have encouraged the recruitment of local Knights to the Crusades. (13). His motivation for going on the First Crusade seems to have been a combination of his despondency about the situation in Lorraine, his religious loyalties to the Pope and an enthusiasm for adventure. Godfrey prepared for the Crusade after  
raising/ ...

(12) Guibert of Nogent considers the First Crusade as an expression of God's will (written before 1108), "Historia", 123-5.

(13) S. Runciman, "A History of the Crusades", vol. I., Cambridge, 1954, 146.

raising money by blackmailing the Jews. He sold his estates of Rosay and Stenay on the Meuse and pledged his castle of Bouillon to the Bishop of Liège, and was thus able to equip an army of considerable size. The number of his troops and his former high office gave Godfrey of Bouillon a prestige that was enhanced by his handsome appearance.

"For he was tall, well-built and fair,  
with a yellow beard and hair, the  
ideal picture of the Northern Knight". (14).

Godfrey of Bouillon and his brothers were joined by many leading Knights:

"The Franks ordered themselves in three armies. One which entered into Hungary, led by Peter the Hermit and Duke Godfrey, Baldwin his brother, and Baldwin, Count of Hainault. These most valiant Knights and many others travelled by the road which Charlemagne, the heroic King of the Franks, had formerly caused to be built in Constantinople." (15).

Godfrey of Bouillon and his party, set off for the Holy Land in 1096. The characters of Godfrey of Bouillon and his brother, Baldwin, form a strong contrast; Godfrey, Duke of Lower Lorraine, was a man of great physical prowess and deep devotion, but seems to have had no outstanding qualities as a statesman. In the

"Gesta/ ...

- (14) Ibid, 146. His appearance is described by William of Tyre (IX, 5, 371) and Baldwin's, Ibid, (X, 2, 461-2.)
- (15) "Gesta Francorum et Aliorum Hierosolimitanorum", ed. R. Hill, T. Nelson and Sons, 1962, 2. (ii) Fecerunt denique Galli tres partes. Vna pars Francorum in Hungariae intravit regionem, scilicet Petrus Heremita, et dux Godefridus, et Balduinus frater eius, et Balduinus comes de Monte. Isti potentissimi milites est alii plures quos ignoro venerent per viam quam iam dudum Karolus Magnus mirificus rex Franciae aptari fecit usque Constantinopolim. Albert of Aix, II, 1.229 gives a list of Godfrey's companions and his journey, Albert of Aix, II, 1-9, 299-305.

"Gesta Francorum", he is referred to as "Duke Godfrey who was reckless and brave". (16). The only complaint made of Godfrey of Bouillon was that he was too fond of Church-going. (17). Baldwin, Godfrey's younger brother, gained position as Count of Edessa in the Crusade, and later that of King of Jerusalem. He was far more intelligent and less scrupulous than his brother. (18).

It was through his association with the city of Jerusalem that Godfrey of Bouillon achieved the status of a gallant Knight and became the prototype of the ideal Knight. Jerusalem acquired, in the eyes of Knighthood, a significance that no other earthly city could possess and its conquest did open new horizons. The Crusade offered a chance to participate in a war that was unique in its relation to the development of chivalry. Taken together with the charters, it appears that Jerusalem was of prime importance to the Crusades and its military liberation relevant to the monastic understanding of the Crusade. The anonymous author of the "Gesta Francorum" who took part in the First Crusade opened his narrative with a moving reference to the subject,

"... there was a great stirring throughout the whole region of Gaul, so that if anyone with a pure heart and mind seriously wanted to follow God and faithfully wished to bear the cross after him, he could make  
no delay/ ...

(16) Ibid, 19. "Godefridus audax et fortis".

(17) William Archbishop of Tyre, "Godeffroy of Boloyne or the siege and conquest of Jerusalem", E.E.T.S. 64, 1926, xxix, 1.28-32, Ch. cxcii; 281.

(18) R. Hill, op. cit., 2.

no delay in speedily taking the road to the Holy Sepulchre". (19).

Jerusalem was a city closely associated with Medieval Christian beliefs; it had played a dominant rôle in Christian literature on the basis of Paul and the Apocalypse, prophecies and legends about this city abounded.

At the time of the First Crusade, the Holy Land was constantly referred to as Christ's haeriditus or patrimonium. To the Crusaders, Christ was King and Lord who had lost his inheritance to the Pagans; the image of the Holy Land as Christ's inheritance is incorporated in Pope Urban II's speech at Clermont (20). This led to the idea of the Crusade as a war of vengeance against those who had stolen Christ's property. Vengeance was a powerful theme in vernacular crusading literature. (21). The European Knights saw in Christ their own fathers; in his patrimony their family estates, and in other Christians their own brothers and it seemed to them that the Crusades were analogues with their own private vendettas. The story of Christ's prophecy on the cross in the "Chanson d'Antioche" reveals God's purpose in the Crusade but colours it with overtones of the secular vendetta:

"Friend, in time a new people will  
come from beyond the sea who will  
exact vengeance for this death;  
so that no Pagan shall remain from  
here to the uttermost East". (22).

In/ ...

(19) J. Riley-Smith, "Crusading as an act of love", History, v.65, 1980, 257, "Gesta Francorum", ed. R. Hill, op. cit., 7.

(20) Ibid, 180.

(21) J. Riley-Smith, The Crusades, op. cit., 8.

(22) Ibid, 25-28, Added to the poem by Graindor of Douai, c.1180.

In contemporary and near-contemporary accounts, the suffering and hardship of the Crusaders is evident, particularly during the traumatic period at Antioch, the crisis point in the Crusade when conditions in the army became almost unbearable. There is evidence of the devotion of the Crusaders to their cause and their profound piety. The Crusade was characterized by a number of visions, (23) the devotion to certain saints and relics, and there was a pre-occupation with ritual which expressed itself in public acts of penitence. In its later stages, the Crusade resembled a

"massive slow moving liturgical solemnity culminating in a great penitential procession round the walls of Jerusalem shortly before it fell". (24).

Shortly after the victory at Dorylaeum, the Crusaders reached the conclusion that their success was due to God's intervention on their behalf and they were his chosen instruments. The Crusade became a miracle, which Robert of Rheims thought to be "as clear a demonstration of God intervening in this world as were the creation and the incarnation and one that was foretold in the scripture." (25).

In the middle of July 1099, the Crusaders conquered Jerusalem. Of the great princes that had set out from Constantinople, only four were now left with the Crusade - Raymond of Toulouse, Godfrey of Lorraine, Robert of Flanders and Robert of Normandy. After due  
deliberation/ ...

(23) Stephen's first vision, 10 June 1048, reported in the "Gesta Francorum", Source, R. Hill, op. cit., 57-58.

(24) J. Riley-Smith, "The Crusades", op. cit., 13.

(25) Ibid, 14. See Guibert of Nogent, "Historia", 123-5.

deliberation and careful inquiry into the character and ability of each of the great barons, on the 23rd July they elected Godfrey of Bouillon. They would have proceeded to crown Godfrey immediately. However, he announced,

"God forbid that I should be crowned where my Saviour bore a crown of thorns". (26).

According to Raymond of Aguilers, the crown was also offered to Robert of Normandy, who, in turn, refused it, and then the choice fell upon Godfrey of Bouillon (27). Godfrey took the title of Advocate of the Holy Sepulchre, thus suggesting that the Latin Kingdom of Jerusalem was a theocracy. Godfrey ruled wisely, strengthening himself in every possible way and making good laws for both the governing and the governed. He died after one short year of Kingship, on July 18, 1100, and was buried on Mount Calvary, in the Church of the Holy Sepulchre, near the Saviour whom in life he had striven with reverence and singleheartedness to serve. One authority states that he died from eating some poisoned fruit presented by the neighbouring Emir of Caesarea; another, states that he was poisoned by Dagebert, the new bishop of Jerusalem. His brother and successor, Baldwin, less devout and more practical, realised that a military ruler was the only chance of preserving the Kingdom and had himself crowned King. (28).

The life/ ...

(26) William of Tyre, op. cit., xxxix.

(27) Raymond of Aguilers, xx, 301, reporting Raymond's refusal of the crown; "Gesta Francorum", x, 39, 206-8, saying that Godfrey was elected "Princepem civitatis," for the purpose of fighting against the Saracens.

(28) R. Hill, op. cit., 92.

The life of Godfrey of Bouillon was soon transformed into fiction, where he became immortalized as the Swan Knight in the legendary material incorporated into the crusading cycle of the "Chanson du Chevalier au Cygne". (29). This romanticized version of the story of the First Crusade represented the interdependence of religious and secular themes. The fairy legend of the Swan Knight's appearance at Nijmegen becomes a heavenly sign in a new context. Its magic reveals the divine purpose, but through a story on which the secular and aristocratic concept of lineage has left a profound mark, and in which crucial incidents such as the encounter between Elioxe and Lothar and the Swan Knight's championship of Beatrice and her mother have courtly, amorous overtones. It is in the "Chanson du Chevalier au Cygne" that Godfrey of Bouillon emerges as the prototype of the ideal Knight, as the tale of the recovery of the Holy Places is infused with the colour of the secular chivalrous ethos. The First Crusade coincided with the development of chivalry as a code of Medieval existence. Chivalry served to introduce secular aristocratic ideals, heroic and courtly, which had little to do with ecclesiastical ideology. The "Chanson du Chevalier au Cygne" began to take definite shape in the late twelfth century, in the same period

"that social and military developments were defining in their purely secular terms a pattern of chivalrous living and which were also the heyday of the First Crusade". (30).

In the group/...

(29) Runciman, op. cit., vol. 1, 344 quotes "Chanson du Chevalier au cygne", ed. Hippeau, 2 vols., Paris, 1874-1877.

(30) M. Keen, "Chivalry" op. cit., 57.

In the group of stories brought together in the romance of the "Chevalier au Cygne", the oldest is that originally and independently known as the "Chanson d'Antioche" (31). In the form in which it survives, this poem is the work of Graindor of Douai, who wrote a little before the year 1200, but it is a reworking of an older poem by one, Richard the Pilgram, whom some believe to have been an eyewitness of the events of the First Crusade, and whose account of it tallies with the account of the original chroniclers. It offers a basically accurate account of the Crusade down to the taking of Antioch in 1098. Its tone is different from that of the Latin Chronicles of the expedition. The debates and quarrels of the leaders of the Crusade are put into direct speech, and much more is made of the individual acts of heroism, but it may still be described as essentially a verse chronicle. Into this story a little after Graindor's time, the story of Godfrey's ancestry was woven (after Graindor had reworked the "Chanson de Jerusalem"). The significance of this story in the framework of the cycle is clear; it singles out the lineage of the future conqueror by associating with it a train of miraculous and prophetic events.

Lost in the forest, Lothar, son of King Philip, laid himself down to sleep near a spring. He was woken by the fair Elixo, whose father's castle was close by. Looking on her, he fell in love instantly and offered her his hand. She consented to be his, but warned him that it would cost her her life. She would bear him a son from whom would spring the race of the future  
conqueror/ ...

- (31) J. Riley-Smith, The Crusades, op. cit., 72 quotes S. Duparc-Quioc, La Chanson d'Antioche, Paris, 1976, 7.

conqueror of Jerusalem, and would die in doing so. She fulfilled her prophecy. While he was at the wars, she bore him seven children - six boys and a girl - and died in childbirth. Each child when it was born had a gold chain about its neck. The old Queen, their grandmother, had hated Elixoe and looked askance at the children, whom she ordered to be abandoned in the forest, telling Lothar on his return that his wife had died giving birth to a monster. In the woods the children were succoured by an old hermit, but news of it came to the Queen and she sent a servant to steal their gold chains. He succeeded in stealing those of the six boys, who were instantly transformed into swans and flew away over the forest. The lonely girl wandered seeking them, till she came at last to her father's palace and was recognised. The brothers were found on a nearby lake and regained their shape when the chains were restored; all save one, whose chain was lost. Four of the brothers now disappear from view. The fifth, the Swan Knight, having grown to Knighthood, sets out in a bark drawn by his swan brother. After forty days, they come to the Emperor Otto's palace at Nijmegen. Here, the Swan Knight stepped forward to champion the Duchess of Bouillon and her daughter, Beatrice, against the Duke of Saxony who was challenging their inheritance. In a judicial duel, he slew the Duke and afterwards married Beatrice. When she asked him the question he had forbidden - what his birth was - the swan returned with the bark and took him away, sorrowing, never to be heard of again. But Beatrice still had their daughter, Ida, and in due course she married Count Eustace of Boulogne, bearing him three sons - Eustace, Baldwin and the conqueror, Godfrey. Thus, the familiar story, better known as that of "Lohengrin", became a prologue to the cycle of stories that grew up around the song of Richard the Pilgrim. This legend gave a mystic and legendary significance to the lineage of the future conqueror, and singled out

Godfrey/ ...

Godfrey of Bouillon as a chivalric Knight whose fame entered the realms of fantasy; like the other Christian Worthies, the life of Godfrey of Bouillon entered the realm of the Medieval epic, his heroic qualities immortalised.

The fame of Godfrey of Bouillon's life, his conquest of Jerusalem and the legendary treatment of the chivalric Knight in "Chanson du Chevalier au Cygne" contributed to his suitability for Jacques de Longuyon's grouping of the Nine Worthies. For in this group, Godfrey, distinguishable by the cross of the Crusaders blazoned on his chest, is the only figure whose life actually coincided with the course of chivalry and he emerges as the ideal type of early chivalry; his own life symbolic of chivalry's development from the sphere of the ecclesiastical to the world of secular influence. The Nine Worthies served to maintain interest in its principle figures and in Caxton's preface to his "Godeffroy of Boloyne or The Conquest of Jerusalem", he commences with an enumeration of the Nine Worthies and their heroic qualities. Caxton wishes to arouse in his countrymen a renewed interest in the Holy Land and above all to make them familiar with the noble deeds and "hye couragious faytes of Godefrey of Boloyne." (32). Caxton notes the many European languages in which the heroic achievements of each of the Worthies can be read; his work claims to be the first translation from French of the life of Godfrey of Bouillon (33).

"... Godefroy of Bologne ... and was  
stalled in the thryde stalle of the  
moost worthy of Cristen men, who's  
historye is made and wreton in Latyn  
and ffrenshe in large and grete  
volumes

And is/ ...

(32) William of Tyre, op. cit., 1, 1.10-12.

(33) Ibid, 3, lines 10-18.

And is not knowen emonge vs here ...  
whos noble hystorye I late forde in  
a book of ffrenshe at alonge his noble  
actes valyaunces prowesses  
And accomplysshement of his hye empryses".

Caxton has enumerated the Nine Worthies and, in particular, Godfrey of Bouillon, with a didactic purpose in mind. It is "chivalric virtue and chivalric action that Caxton sees most clearly reflected in the mirror of history", (34), for Caxton considers achieving a place in history the prime objective of all human action; thus, his enumeration of the Nine Worthies.

(34) J.B. Ferguson, "The Indian Summer of English Chivalry", Duke University Press, 1960, 38.

CHAPTER III

MEDIEVAL SECULAR ART:

THE ICONOLOGY OF THE NINE WORTHIES.

### 3.1 MEDIEVAL SECULAR ART

An early example of medieval secular art is the Bayeux tapestry (c.1080), which had probably been commissioned by Bishop Odo and his vassals for his cathedral. The triumph of the Norman horsemen caught a significant moment in the development of new arms and heralded the representation of martial techniques essential to the knight. The vast wealth which the church expended on the decorative arts generally went towards the illustration of sacred dogma and history with the exception of the Bayeux tapestry and the costly mural paintings of the Trojan war which in the twelfth century according to Hugues de Fouilloi adorned the palaces of bishops. (1). A twelfth century Latin treatise, "De Claustro Anime", "The Cloister of the Soul" speaking in general terms reproaches the clergy for adorning their palaces whilst neglecting the needy:

"The painted walls bear the Trojans in clothing of purple and gold, and the cast off garments are denied to the Christians. Arms are given to the Greeks, to Hector a shield resplendent with gold; but no bread is granted to the poor clamouring at the gates". (2).

In order for a secular theme such as the Nine Worthies to flourish in medieval art a change in patronage was required and during the Middle Ages great innovations in all/ ...

- (1) R.S. Loomis, Arthurian Legends in Medieval Art, op. cit., 4.
- (2) M.R. Scherer, The Legends of Troy in Medieval Art and Literature, op. cit., ix. See A. Thomas, "De Claustro Anime" and the "Roman de Troie", Romania, XLII, 1913, 83-85.

in all spheres of intellectual life were to facilitate such a change.

The foundations of medieval society were built upon its faith and religious fervour, but combined with political and economic conditions a new pattern of thinking emerged which was to have considerable influence over all art forms. During the thirteenth century, the abbeys of England inspired by scholastic platonism brought about an emancipation of human thought and a return to Aristotelean rationalism, and the scientific enquiry of Roger Bacon. France based her constitution on Roman Law which seemed both to justify that form of government and to authorize the diffusion of the Aristotelean concepts of Vincent of Beauvais and Albertus Magnus. The idea of the Translatio Imperii gave rise to the drawing up of historical sequences. According to the Book of Daniel, the realm of Anti-Christ would follow upon the fourth world monarchy. The medieval interpretation of history had considered that monarchy to be the Roman Imperium and so haste was made to explain the principalities of the day as the immediate successors of the Empire. In other words the history of each people was seen as the immediate continuation of Roman history or in medieval terminology the Western European dynasties were the direct descendants of Aeneas or Hector. (3). History was viewed as a procession of great figures from Adam to Charlemagne, via Seth, Methusalem, Noah, Abraham, Hector of Troy, Alexander the Great and Julius Caesar. (4). The idea of the people of Europe as the descendents of a bygone era was to influence the arts during the Middle Ages. The Middle Ages called upon the fine arts in order to  
add/ ....

(3) Van de Waal, op. cit., Vol. 1. 24.

(4) Ibid, Vol. 1. 24.

add splendour to genealogical constructions; the finest example is that of Emperor Maximilian for whom Hans Burgkmair had written his Genealogy in 1512. (5). Often the data of these genealogical sequences were chosen as subjects for festive decorations and pageants. The Heroes eponymous appear in the same function as the genealogical sequences and when there were processions they were often borne in effigy. The blown up image of the Nine Worthies gave the people of medieval Europe an immediate sense of association with the historical past.

The Nine Worthies represented a series rich in typological sequences, the sets of three heroic figures based on the Bible, Christianity, classical and Roman times represented a typological conception of history. The reason for the depiction of an historical event was nearly always its paradigmatic meaning. In other words, an event was depicted, in order to prove that today's events had occurred before in exactly the same manner. The value of representation "depended on the effectiveness of the parallel and the actual appearance of the event was of secondary importance." (6). Details which might stress any difference had to be left out whenever possible. This typological mode of representation formed part of an important iconographical tradition and allowed for an expansion of subject matter in both religious and secular art during the Middle Ages.

Medieval secular art was greatly influenced by the innovative thought of the great minds of the Middle Ages and combined with the use of typology a great wealth of subject matter could be represented in meaningful schemes. In literature this unification of numerous  
elements/ ...

(5) Ibid, I, 25.

(6) Ibid, Vol. II, 313.

elements began with Dante who effectively combined the Ages, the Spheres and the Arts. The incorporation of the virtues and the liberal arts into artistic programmes recalled Martianus Capella of the ninth century. The medieval study of astrology, of medieval number symbolism, of the sciences and the arts united to present a cultural unity, Soldati has noted:

"Even when the first fruits of humanism were beginning to ripen in art, the Middle Ages still lived on in doctrinal teaching, which only gradually felt the stirrings of renewal ... What was left of encyclopaedic science had great vigour since it antedated encyclopaedism - being that it is to say classical in its origins." (7).

This new choice of subject was to have the greatest influence on secular art but it also encouraged the use of secular pagan themes in religious art. These innovations in the choice of subject matter and the mode of representation encouraged the unification of mythological, pagan, biblical and Christian themes so apparent in the grouping of the Nine Worthies. The Nine Worthies were rarely represented in religious buildings, however it is in the work of the early Gothic artists of Italy that secular themes came to the fore in works commissioned both by the church and by noble dukes for their palaces.

In the/ ...

(7) Sez nec, op. cit., 123 quotes Soldati, *La Poesia astrologica nel Quattrocento*, 105.

In the Campanile of Florence (8), the lowest zone of bas-reliefs represents personages of Fable who are viewed expressly as inventors of arts and skills. Here the sybils, virtues, the sciences, heroes and inventors are portrayed as the precursors of civilization. Daedalus first conqueror of the air, the mathematicians Euclid and Pythagorus, and Orpheus father of poetry; yet another of civilizations early heroes and benefactors is Hercules, portrayed as a victor over the monster Cacus. Amongst this series by Giotto and Andrea del Castagno are Noah, Tubelcain and Jubal. This series gives an impression of the humanist series of famous men which began in the early Middle Ages and contributed to the appeal of the Nine Worthies throughout Europe. Hercules was a figure who was much depicted and had been associated with virtue since antiquity. He was thought of as the personification of physical strength and during the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries was a popular inclusion amongst the grouping of the Nine Worthies. Samson was a sort of Biblical Hercules who was also included amongst the later groupings of the Nine Worthies. (9).

The three typological modes of the Nine Worthies were incorporated into the encyclopaedist tradition as for example in the frescoes at the Palazzo Trinci, Foligno. In the Sala dei Giganti, "the tall figures of Scipio, Fabius Maximus, Marius are still to be seen in a legendary De Viris Illustribus". (11). In the corridor are the heroes Romulus and David, Hector and Caesar, Alexander/ ...

(8) Raymond Van Marle, Iconographie de la décoration profane des demeures princières, Gazette des Beaux Arts, Series 5, 1926, Vol. 14, 249. Seznec, op. cit., 30.

(9) See Supra, Pageantry.

(10) Seznec, op. cit., 130.

(11) Ibid, 131.

Alexander and King Arthur; the juxtaposition of heroes from Old Testament, pagan and Christian origins is again evident. Opposite the heroes are the Seven Ages of Man. (12). Allegories of the Seven Ages combined with the hours of the day, (13) and each is associated with a planetary divinity - infancy with Mars and Aurora, Adolescence with Mercury and the Third Hour, Virility with Jupiter and the Sixth. The planets and the Ages of Man are subjects which are frequently represented in the context of the Nine Worthies. The didactic intention of this representation of the heroes is clear as the arts of the Trivium and quadrivium are in corresponding positions to those of the Gods. L'Intelligenza describing the decoration of a chateau mentions a similar series of the history of Caesar, Alexander, the Trojan War and the exploits of Arthur. (14).

A similar series of heroes is to be found in the vestibule of the Chapel of the Palazzo Pubblico in Siena, executed by Taddeo di Bartolo in the early fifteenth century where Jupiter, Minerva, Apollo and Mars and several figures that had become half legendary such as Judas Maccabeus, Aristotle, Curius Dentatus and Caesar, are also represented. A medallion evokes the origins of Rome, and lastly, a procession of Virtues, Prudence, Force, Magnanimity and Justice completes the whole composition. Here the heroes from the time of the Roman republic personify civic virtues. Ghirlandaio executed a similar cycle (1482-85) in the public palace of Florence. The Nine Worthies were often represented with different persons taken from antiquity and medieval times; similar cycles are to be/ ...

(12) Here represented the inscriptions reveal on the basis of an anonymous French poem of the fourteenth century, (Bibl. Nat. 1728. fol. 271) E. Mâle, The Gothic Image, op. cit., 324 ff.

(13) Seznec, op. cit., 131.

(14) Van Marle, op. cit., 250.

are to be found for example at the Palace Visconti in Milan, at the Castle of Fenis, in the capitals of the ducal palace at Venice and in the description of the ornamentation of a palace found in an Italian poem of the fourteenth century. (15). On the facade of San Zeno in Verona there are two scenes of the history of Theodoric, another subject taken from the Romans and well known in Germany. A series of frescoes illustrating the romance of Genevieve in the Black Palace of Corredo (Trento) (16) executed between 1460 and 1469 and contemporary with those of the Dame de Vergy at the Davanzati Palace in Florence indicates the extent to which chivalrous romances were represented in the monumental arts.

A later series of frescoes of illustrious men by Andrea del Castagno are to be found at Santa Apollonia, in Florence representing three warriors, three scholars and three illustrious women. This group of twelve figures recalls the three triads of the Nine Worthies juxtaposed with the images of the Nine Worthy Women. A series of frescoes of the famous doctors and captains of Perugia were painted in c.1470 in the Baglioni Palace, (Perugia) and are often wrongly attributed to Domenico Veneziano. (17). This series of Famous Men and Women glow with light and brilliance against their dark painted marble niches. This humanistic note which represents the three scholars is not isolated. There exists a thirteenth century statuette of Virgil in Mantua and the same poet was also reproduced in the castle of Visconti in Milan.

The theme of the "gallant conversation", was popular in medieval secular art and it represented the interests  
of the/ ...

(15) Ibid, 250.

(16) Van Marle, op. cit., 254.

(17) Ibid, 255.

of the nobles, courtly life and chivalrous pastime. An Italian representation of the first half of the fourteenth century on the walls of the Campo Santo in Pisa, probably by the hand of Traini, portrays the concerns of the medieval aristocracy. In a beautiful garden a man plays a violin whilst one of the ladies accompanies him on the guitar. Two gentlemen holding falcons on their hands, converse with a lady playing with a dog; that the lady is paying attention to the amorous declarations of the one gentleman is evident by the cupids which appear above her head with lighted torches. The falcon was a symbol of noble birth during the Middle Ages. This representation of courtly love recalls the scenes of hunting and courting in the representation of the Fountain of Youth at Castle La Manta, where the Nine Worthies and the Nine Worthy Women contribute to the air of nobility of the castle. The Falcons which the two gentlemen hold in the "gallant conversation" at the Campo Santo in Pisa, resemble the scene in the fresco at Trente where a lady holds a falcon; similarly young noblemen hold falcons in representations of "The Meeting of the Three Living and the Three Dead" and "The Triumph of Death". These works are by an anonymous Umbrian painter in Italy from the middle of the fourteenth century, executed at the Sacro Speco de Subiaco, they reveal influences stemming from Siennese art and from that of Orcagna. (18). The most famous scenes in the Triumph of Death are those of the riders, the poor folk confronting Death, and the gay company making music, while above the house tops a horde of devils is unleashed. The characters fill up spaces with their gestures and each face is eloquently characterised. Various representations of the Nine Worthies often associate them with the three ages of man as they may appear old with a long white beard, or cleanshaven. The English story of the "Parlement of the Thre Ages", represents a concern with death, and mortality/ ...

(18) Jacques Dupont and Cesare Gnudi, Gothic Painting, op. cit., 110-111.

mortality, as does the Ubi Sunt theme, with which the origins of the Nine Worthies are associated.

Medieval secular art illustrates the encyclopaedic characteristics of Medieval culture, which had already been well established in the literary genius of Dante's Divine Comedy and in the innovative work of Jacques de Longuyon, "Les Voeux du Paon".

### 3.2 THE ICONOGRAPHY OF THE NINE WORTHIES

The representation of the three Jewish, three Pagan and three Christian heroes first mentioned by Jacques de Longuyon in "Les Voeux du Paon", presented the medieval artist with the task of emphasizing the achievements of Christianity against a background of Pagan and Old Testament events. An illustrated manuscript of Ovid's Metamorphoses, reveals how the medieval artist would overcome iconographical difficulties in order to reveal the medieval vision of secular history. (1). Among miniatures illustrating the stories of Media, Aesculapius or Achilles, there are unexpected pictures of the crucifixion, the Annunciation, or the Descent into Limbo, a rhymed commentary accompanies each story from Ovid and explains and justifies the presence of the Christian subject. Aesculapius, who suffered death, because he had raised the dead, is a type of Christ, (2) Jupiter, changed into a bull and carrying Europa on his back, also typifies Christ, the sacrificial ox who bore the burden of the sin of the world. Theseus, who forsook Ariadne for Phaedra prefigures the choice which Christ made between the Church and the Synagogue. The prophetic interpretation of mythology made by the medieval artist gives an indication of the means at his disposal when presenting the Nine Worthies as Christian prototypes of the ideal knight.

To illustrate the Nine Worthies in the Christian context, the artist could find inspiration in literature. The Nine Worthies could be associated with the three ages of man, the triumph of honour, the triumph over death illustrated in the theme of the Ubi Sunt, the  
battle/ ...

(1) E. Mâle, op. cit., 339.

(2) See Arsenal, No. 5069 fo. 21.

battle between the Virtues and the Vices and the most Christian of all themes, the Crucifixion with which the Nine Worthies were associated in Dante's Divine Comedy. The association of the Nine Worthies with these various themes would convey the Christian context of medieval art; but the meaning of the three triads of the Nine Worthies could be altered through the juxtaposition of the three groups of Pagan, Jewish and Christian heroes. In conventional representations the Jewish heroes are first, followed by the Pagans and the Christians; an example of a different grouping would be at Castle La Manta, Piedmont, where the three Pagan heroes are first, with Hector leading the procession.

In the representation of the Nine figures of the Nine Worthies,

"the anecdotal and individual differences were not sought, but rather the biggest common factor of the phenomena observed, just as the divine fundamental law from which they sprung was regarded as the most important part of history". (3).

The heroes were represented in an idealistic and paradigmatical manner whilst the historical subject with which they were associated was considered of prime importance. The association of the Nine Worthies with the legendary ancestors of Europe and the heroes eponymous, meant that the image of the heroes conveyed through works of art bestowed fame upon them and gave them a certain immortality. Based on these idealistic conceptions, the practice of  
seeking/ ...

(3) Van de Waal, op. cit., Vol. 1, 34.

seeking biblical or classical parallels continued, bringing to the people of Medieval Europe an image of the universal significance of the Nine Worthies.

The artist who was commissioned to represent the Nine Worthies in public works, or works for private patrons such as Tommaso Saluzzo were faced with a series of problems unknown to literary works which dealt with the subject. The question of the heroes' dress or costume; the anachronistic dress of the Nine Worthies was an indication of the idealistic vision of the heroes. In contrast to the poet the artist was more unlettered by nature and more dependent on others for enlightenment when portraying historical subjects. Dress was a means of distinguishing between the three different groups of heroes; old-fashioned dress was expressly prescribed for the principal persons of the Old Testament. In order to distinguish between allegorical figures and realistic ones, elements of classical, but sometimes also of old fashioned national costumes were made use of. The three Jewish heroes amongst the Nine Worthies often appear in such anachronistic dress. In the fragment of the tapestry which is at Basle, c.1470, the Jewish heroes, like Arthur and Charlemagne wear long flowing burgundian robes. The headgear of the heroes was a further means by which their status could easily be identified; the kings would wear crowns and the unusual status of Godfrey of Bouillon as crusader and king was easily identifiable by the cross of thorns which surrounded his helmet. An interesting representation of the three Christians amongst the Nine Worthy Women first mentioned by Sébastien Mamerot, is to be found in a stained glass window at Augsburg (1535-40). "The Three Good Christians", St. Helena, St. Brigid and St. Elizabeth are represented as saints who appear to be mourning the death of Christ. St. Brigid appears/ ....

appears dressed as a nun and in her left hand she holds a large crucifix, the other two figures are in late medieval women's dress. (4).

For the medieval artist who intended to represent the Nine Worthies, the use of architectural devices could enhance their illustration of the heroes. Like historical costumes, historical forms of architecture did not in the first place have an historical function. The artists applied these elements primarily in order to enhance the phantastic of devotional nature of their works. (5). Rogier Van der Weyden preferably uses Romanesque elements for subjects taken from the Old Testament, and Gothic elements for those taken from the New Testament. Representations of the Nine Worthies never allocated to each of the three groupings of heroes a different style of architecture; however, the Nine Worthies were frequently associated with different architectural styles from the fourteenth to the sixteenth centuries. The sculptures of the Nine Worthies in the Hansa Saal at the Council Room in Cologne (fourteenth century) shows the Nine Worthies standing in elaborate Gothic niches which resemble the sculptural programmes of the great cathedrals. (6).

A Swiss representation of the Nine Worthies reveals the extent to which representations of the Nine Worthies had altered by the seventeenth century. Mr. Caspar Freulers had commissioned Hans Pfau to produce a

"Kachelofen",/...

(4) Wyss, op. cit., 89.

(5) Van de Waal, op. cit., Vol. I, 65.

(6) Wyss, op. cit., pl. 19 Bildarchives des Rheinischen Museums, Cologne.

"Kachelofen", (7) for his Palace at Näfels c.1647. The "Kachelofen" was decorated with polychrome tiles which show the three Pagan, and three Jewish heroes in a very simply conceived landscape standing under Roman archways, in a light perspective. (The three Christian heroes are not represented). The heroes are dressed in an antique way in their armour plates as was usual in seventeenth century representations of the remote past. The heroes are anachronistically dressed. In the one hand the heroes may hold a shield, a sabre or a sword whilst the heroes rest the other hand imperiously on their hips. Only King David holds a sceptre in his right hand. Judas Maccabeus holds a stick in his right hand. The six heroes are accompanied by the seven virtues painted in the margin on the narrow alignments around them, i.e. Faith, Force, Patience, Hope, Optimism, Love and Justice. The most important motif on the oven itself is the representation of the Nine Muses, who are depicted as playing a variety of wind and string instruments. The innovative association of the Nine Worthies with the Nine Muses is a development due to the growing popularity of the Nine Worthies during the early seventeenth century inspiring this verse:

"Forgot had been thrice three worthies names if,  
thrice three muses had not writ their fames". (8).

On top of the "Kachelofen" there are two nameless portraits of a woman and a man dressed in the antique way as personifications of the seasons; Spring, Summer, Autumn and Winter. On the little steps of  
the oven/ ...

(7) Wyss, op. cit., 96.

(8) 1619. J. Taylor, Kicksey Winsey, Clb.

the oven there are depictions of hunting scenes and the personifications of Saturn, Jupiter, Mars and the Moon.

The iconographical programme of this seventeenth century Swiss work, which combines the planets, the Muses, and the Seasons with the Nine Worthies, is unique. This work represents the first association of the Nine Worthies with musical instruments, i.e. those held by the Nine Muses. Furthermore, the iconographical programme represents the developments which took place in iconography; the Nine Worthies are no longer bound to the strict typological code of the Middle Ages, but they have emerged rejuvenated through the innovations of the Renaissance. The image of the Nine Worthies in Dante's Divine Comedy (Paradise, Canto XVIII), with the planets, the virtues, the vices and the music of the minstrels' lute is echoed in this seventeenth century representation of the Nine Worthies. J. Seznec has noted the inspiration of the Muses and their association with music as a direct result of Renaissance art theory. This tradition appears in an engraving illustrating the Practica musice, by Gafurio, which appeared in Milan in 1496. (9). The image expresses a cosmic theory of the musical tonalities, and at the same time a musical theory of the world; it attempts to demonstrate "quod Musae et Sydera et Modi atque Chordae invicem ordine conveniunt". (10). Apollo is seen enthroned at the summit of the heavens; the names of the musical tones and modes cross the back of the serpent, one above the other, forming/ ...

(9) Edgar Wind, Pagan Mysteries in the Renaissance, Oxford University Press, 1980, 265 ff.

(10) Seznec, op. cit., 141. "That the Muses, the Planets, the Modes and the strings correspond with one another."

forming as it were, cords of the lyre. At the extremities of each cord are medallions on one side a Muse, on the other a planet. The didactic nature of representations of the Nine Worthies was to remain in the seventeenth century despite the diffusion of the theme from its medieval origins. Representations of the Nine Worthies required not only that there be an overall theme, but also that the individual status of each hero was easily identifiable. The grouping of the three religions was often visible through the heroes' dress but the use of heraldic coats of arms for the Nine Worthies made each of the heroes more easily recognisable. The coats of arms of the Nine Worthies differed in every country, but their purpose was to identify the hero and provide a symbol of his achievements. David's coat of arms bore a harp; Arthur bore three crowns or thirteen crowns; Charlemagne bore both the fleur de lys of France and the imperial eagle of Germany whilst Godfrey of Bouillon bore the cross of Jerusalem. (11). A further means of identifying each of the heroes amongst the Nine Worthies was by means of a titulus with the hero's name inscribed. The types of lettering could differ and during the Renaissance the types were distinguished. (12). The importance of the identity of each hero and heroine amongst the various groupings of the Nine Worthies is borne out by their appearance on the face cards of the familiar playing deck. Based on the sixteenth century Rouen deck, (13) the French tradition went back to the fourteenth century. (14). Hector is the knave of  
Diamonds/ ...

(11) Wyss, op. cit., 100. (Examples taken from French culture).

(12) Van de Waal, op. cit., Vol. I.71. (new = classical; old = medieval).

(13) Paulo d'Ancona, op. cit., 102.

(14) Eugene M. Waith, Heywood's Women Worthies, in the Concept of the Hero in the Middle Ages and the Renaissance, op. cit., 235.

Diamonds, Julius Caesar is the King of Diamonds; Alexander is the King of Clubs; David is the King of Spades, and Charlemagne is the King of Hearts. The Queen of Hearts was Judith, the Queen of Diamonds sometimes Penthesilea, but more often Rachel. The representation of the Nine Worthies on the packs of cards bears witness to their popularity in fourteenth century Europe and the representation of the heroes eponymous. The association of the Four Kings amongst the Nine Worthies with the symbolism of the house of spades, clubs, diamonds and hearts represents the diverse nature of iconographical representations of the heroes who could be transformed from the virtuous heroes of Dante's Divine Comedy to the superstitious heroes of a game associated with worldly vice.

### 3.3 TAPESTRIES

The vogue for tapestries in fourteenth and fifteenth century France represented the increased wealth amongst the aristocracy who could afford patronage of the arts and acquire prestigious symbols of wealth. From the monasteries or convents the use of tapestries gradually spread to the feudal castles and manors. As a result of the crusades the wealth and luxury experienced in the East created new tastes in the returned knights and the precious fabrics which they carried home brought new ideas and stimulus to the Western craftsmen. The keen desire of the sovereigns and principle nobles for ostentatious display of costly hangings provided the craftsmen with patronage sufficient to encourage the development of skilful labour and craftsmanship.

Inventories and records indicate that tapestries of the Nine Worthies were a luxury and were reserved for the noble dukes of medieval Europe. (1). In the years 1364 and 1365 the second son of the King Jean; Louis Duke of Anjou dictated one of the most important of medieval inventories. Both Charles the V, who succeeded his father and Louis indulged in an expensive taste for great tapestries, glittering/ ....

(1) A partial inventory of the Nine Worthies tapestries is to be found in L. Roblot-Delondre, Les sujets antiques dans la tapisserie, Revue Archeologique, 1918, Series 5, 7, 133-134.

glittering jewels and an enameled table service  
(2). Upon his father's death in 1364 Louis sent emissaries into his fiefs in Anjou and Lorraine, ravaged though they had been by the English, to collect all arrears for thirty years back. For twelve years Louis continued these extractions and until 1376 did not relent. Out of such proceeds he built up his great collection of art and treasure. It was Louis who borrowed a manuscript from his brother, of the Apocalypse that it might furnish the basis for a great series of tapestries at Angers. (3). According to the earlier inventory of 1364-65 Louis owned the large number of seventy-six tapestries (4) amongst them there is a tapestry of the Nine Worthies, a tapestry of Charlemagne, King Arthur and Godfrey of Bouillon. (5). King Charles V, brother of Louis had been acquiring his own tapestries, a number of which represented the Nine Worthies. (6).

A surviving/ ...

- (2) A cup given to Edward III in 1333, was decorated with eight figures, Julius Caesar, Judas Maccabeus, Charlemagne, Arthur, Roland, Oliver, Gawain and Lancelot, J. Vale, Edward III and Chivalry, op. cit., 45. Louis of Anjou possessed a "hanap" and a "thipenie" enameled with the subject of the Nine Worthies. Scherer, op. cit., 240, quotes L.E.S.J. Marquis de Laborde, *Notice des Emaux du Musée du Louvre*, Paris, 1853, 71, 100. Jean, Duke of Berry owned a "nef", a table ornament in the form of a ship which was decorated with the Nine Heroes and a basin for washing hands at meals on which the heroes were enameled in red. J.J. Rorimer, The Nine Heroes tapestries at the Cloisters, Metropolitan Museum of Art, Bulletin, May 1949, Vol. II, No. 9. 244. Charles the V had two tapestries of the Nine Worthies, Scherer op. cit., 240 quotes Jules Guiffrey, *Inventaires de Jean duc de Berri*, Paris, 1894-96. Vol. II, 209.
- (3) This tapestry produced by Nicholas Bataille has been related to the tapestry of the Nine Worthies at the Cloisters, M.M.A., See Rorimer, op. cit., 254.
- (4) Loomis, Arthurian Legends in Medieval Art, op. cit., 28 quotes *Bibliothèque de l'école des Chartres L*, 1889, 169.
- (5) Ibid, 171.
- (6) Loomis, op. cit., 29 quotes J. Labarte, *Inventaire du Mobilier de Charles V*, Paris, 1879, 378.

A surviving French tapestry of the Nine Worthies is thought to have belonged to Jean, Duke of Berry (7). Ten of the thirteen banners flying from turrets in the tapestry depicting the Hebrew heroes and the escutcheons on the vaults above David and Joshua display the golden fleurs de lis of France on an azure ground within an indented border of red. These are the arms of Jean, Duke of Berry, and Auvergne, count of Poitou, Étampes and Boulogne, third son of Jean King of France, and one of the greatest art collectors of the Middle Ages or of any time. Philip the Bold Duke of Burgundy the younger brother of Jean Duke of Berry and an even greater collector of richly woven tapestries had a set of the Nine Heroes and Heroines which was delivered to him in July 1388 and had the names of the heroes and heroines added in 1389. The tapestry was paid for in 1390, it was worked in Arras thread (8) and the heroes were plainly worked in large figures with their coats of arms and their armour entirely of fine gold and fine silver from Cyprus. When the reign of Jean sans Peur was brought to an end in 1419 he was succeeded by Philip Le Bon, who lived until 1467. The new Duke had inherited all the tastes of his grandfather and during the tenure of the dukedom, the prosperity of Arras reached its zenith and began to decline. The inventory taken at the beginning of his reign is a very important document in the history of tapestry. (9). The inventory was made at Dijon in 1420 and listed amongst  
the Hall/ ...

- (7) See Rorimer, op. cit., 252-259. There is no evidence of these tapestries in the inventories of Jean, Duke of Berry, 1401-1403, 1413-16.
- (8) For Arras tapestry F.P. and E. Thomson, A History of Tapestry, E.P. Publishing Ltd., 1973, 91-94.
- (9) R.S. Loomis, op. cit., 29 quotes Alexandre Pinchart, Histoire de la tapisserie dans les Flandres, Paris, 1878.

the Hall tapestries are

"one high loom tapestry, worked with Nine Knights and the Nine Amazons in rich gold; One high loom tapestry worked with Nine Knights only, woven also with gold; A tapestry with gold in places of the History of Messire Bertrand du Guesclin; A tapestry made with gold as above of Godefroi of Bouillon."

The subject of the heroism and chivalry of the Nine Worthies was of immediate appeal to the nobility during the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries. The heroism of the past and an interest in history as revealed in the deeds of individual acts of heroism held an illustrious fascination for the grand Dukes of Burgundian chivalry. Subjects from the Old Testament history were favoured; the History of Gideon was an honoured tapestry in the House of Burgundy, classical antiquity was represented in tapestries of the History of Julius Caesar (10) and Christian themes abounded, favourite themes being the Apocalypse, History of three Kings, History of Charlemagne and the History of Bertrand du Guesclin (11), whom Eustache Deschamps had nominated as a tenth amongst the Nine noble heroes. Scenes from the Trojan War were another favourite theme depicted in fifteenth century tapestries. The battle with the Sagittary and the meeting of Achilles and Hector were often represented on the same tapestry.

Surviving/...

(10) E. Thomson, op. cit., 101.

(11) These tapestries were executed by Jacques Dourdin in Arras, see E. Thomson, op. cit., 64.

Surviving present day examples show the meeting of Hector and Achilles in the right hand corner. (12). Here Hector is represented just as Caxton described him:

"flower of manhood, ground of chivalrie,  
so huge made, so wel growe on lengthe,  
there was never man that fully myght  
attayne to the prowess of this worthi  
knyght of alle good. I fynde he was  
the beste." (13).

In the tapestry scene of this event, the medieval conception of the classical heroes is evident in the sumptuous decoration of the figures. The little bells which hang from the bottom of Achilles' tunic in the tent scene, are evidence of the disregard for historical accuracy and an emphasis on decoration. In the Hector tapestry, the Trojan hero rides out to battle with harness, pendants shaped like fruits dangling from the brocaded trappings on his horse. (14). Such fruit-shaped bells were worn at the marriage of Charles the Bold to Margaret of York in 1468. Hector wears an elaborate helm which seems unlikely battle dress and the tent waves Hector's banner, decorated with his medieval coat-of-arms, a field "alle of gold, and in the middle a lion of gowles (gules or red)" (15). The lion was Hector's symbol in all illustrations of him amongst the Nine Worthies. It is possible that these tapestries were  
influenced/ ...

(12) A Centaur-Archer (Sagittary) aids the Trojans; Hupon is killed; Hector and Achilles meet: Franco-Flemish tapestry (Tournai after 1274).

(13) W.H. Forsyth, op. cit., 76-84.

(14) Ibid, 80.

(15) Ibid, 80.

influenced by a play version of the Troy romance, "L'Istoire de la destruction de Troyes la grant", in 1472, the same year Charles the Bold commissioned them. Tapestries were woven for Charles the Bold in the workshop of Pasquier Grenier, in Tournai, between 1472 and 1474.

In the surviving French example of the Nine Worthies in medieval tapestry work (16) the heroes are brought to life and rendered as part of a large iconographical programme. All of them are bearded, and all of them are crowned, even Joshua in complete disregard for historical accuracy. They are clothed in medieval garments and medieval armour, representatives of the chivalrous cult of the Middle Ages. Each of the heroes is seated in an elaborate Gothic niche, on a throne possessing the pose and regal attitude of those born of good lineage. As representatives of both learned and popular culture, they are surrounded on either side by figures from the church and warriors of old, whilst on the balcony above them appear the representatives of courtly life, each of whom contributes to the vivid display of colour, pageantry and idealism which was to mould the late Middle Ages. This was an age when display and splendour could reinforce the political and social ambitions of the aristocracy (17). The five large

figures/ ...

- (16) The Nine Heroes tapestry, The Cloisters, Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, donated by John D. Rockefeller Jnr. 1947. The set of three tapestries was woven probably in the workshop of Nicholas Bataille about 1385 for Jean, Duke of Berry. G.L. Hunter, Practical Book of Tapestries Phil. L. 1925, 17 ff.
- (17) D.A. Bullough, Games People Played: Drama and ritual as propaganda in Medieval Europe, Transactions of the Royal Historical Society, 5th Series, Vol. 24. 1974, 97-122.

figures in the tapestries are surrounded by the little people, who resemble the inhabitants of a fourteenth century ducal castle. There are spearmen and archers, musicians and churchmen. A lady plays a harp, one holds a leopard, another a falcon, one a dog and another a lily. There is no precedent for these little figures in Jacques de Longuyon's poem or in any other description of the Nine Worthies. They are apparently the invention of the designer of the tapestry and contribute to the unique quality of the tapestries.

The Heroes tapestries are very closely related to the Angers Apocalypse tapestries (18) especially in their technique - the same restricted colours with similar shading in the same light and dark tones in both sets. Shaded reds and blues predominate, recurring at intervals in the patterns. In both sets the stonework woven in a golden tan colour, slightly more faded in some places than in others is silhouetted against a very dark blue, almost black sky. Both the figures in the Nine Heroes tapestry and the Angers figures are seated under vaulted architectural structures. Moreover, such details as the butterflies and the foliage at the outer edges of the tapestries are comparable. If the Heroes tapestry and the Angers tapestry were not woven in the same workshop, they must have been produced under virtually identical supervision and with similarly trained weavers.

The style of the tapestry of the Nine Heroes resembles that of two manuscripts. A manuscript in the Pierpont Morgan Library, the Albumasar astrological treatises (M. 785) not only shows seated figures comparable to the heroes, but also has certain details,/...

(18) The Angers Apocalypse tapestries produced for Louis I, Duke of Anjou in 1378 by Nicholas Bataille.

details, in particular the windswept veils worn by a lady in the Caesar tapestry and by the seated figure of Saturn in the Albumasar astrological tapestry. This manuscript was presented on June 7, 1403 to the Duke of Berry by Abbot Lubertus, who from 1394 until 1417 directed a flourishing centre for the illumination of manuscripts in the abbey of St. Bartholomew of Eecke, near Bruges. (19). A page in Berry's Petites Heures (B.N. MS. Lat. 18014, folio 22) recalls the general composition of the Heroes tapestries. The principal scene, the Annunciation, is surrounded by small niches in which saints and other figures are placed against backgrounds of blue and red alternately.

During the fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries tapestries depicting scenes of heroism remained popular. In the second half of the fifteenth century about 1475, there is a distinct change of style. The composition becomes more orderly and consists of groups of figures separated by foliage or landscape. The foliage has changed in character, outline is more in use and the individual leaves are shaded. A new decorative feature makes its appearance, this is a surrounding band or border generally of naturally disposed flowers with little difference between them and those of the foreground.

A tapestry of the Nine Worthies which belongs to this fifteenth century genre is to be found preserved in the museum at Basle, Switzerland. (20). The Nine Heroes appear standing in a row in a frame of roses, turned to the left and the right alternately on a  
very/ ...

(19) For the relationship between the Heroes tapestries and Bourges stained glass windows especially those at the Ste. Chapelle, see Rorimer, op. cit., 255.

(20) The tapestry is fragmentary and Swiss in origin.

very flowery meadow. Judging by the costumes the tapestry might date c.1470 (21). Each hero has a titulus bearing his name with a two fold rhyming verse mentioning his origin and heroic deeds, forming a border and separating each hero from his neighbour. (22). The commonest method of explanation on wall paintings and tapestries is the third person, however, the couplets for the Basle tapestry which are written in the first person suggest that the verses were intended for oral recitation, and were intended as the parts of actors in a pageant and came to be used naturally for other purposes. In the Middle Ages, this would have been possible as the Nine Worthies were a popular topic for depiction in drama, literature and art. Amongst the Nine Heroes, the three groups are easily distinguishable as each of the two outer heroes is turned towards the central figure. Two other attributes seem to emphasize the difference between the three religions, as the Christians each carry a long lance with a small flag which bears his coat of arms, and are opposed to the Jewish heroes each of whom bears a shield with his coat of arms.

Tapestries of the Nine Worthies belonging to this fifteenth century genre indicate the move from the architectural restraints of the Gothic style in tapestry to the more flowery decoration of mannerism. The inventories made in the sixteenth century show that enormous quantities of the finest kind of  
tapestry/ ...

(21) Wyss, op. cit., 95.

(22) R.S. Loomis, Verses on the Nine Worthies, op. cit., 219. The inscriptions are as follows: David; "God came and then I slew the Great Goliath"; Judas Maccabeus; "I have been reigning the land of Judea and sending my offer to God"; King Arthur; "I had little power and little sympathy while I was at battle in every land"; Charlemagne; "I have originated worldly justice and I have consolidated that into writing". Godfried, Duke of Holland; "In the tradition of the great noble princes I have liberated the Holy Sepulchre".

tapestry were in everyday use in England. The collection of Henry VIII showed specimens bearing the arms of Lord Cromwell, Lord Sandes and others. The collection of Thomas, Cardinal Wolsey was second only to that of the King. In the year 1522, he purchased from Richard Gresham twenty one sets of hangings for Hampton Court, including one of the Nine Worthies. The inventory of tapestries taken after the death of Henry VIII includes a number of tapestries of the Nine Worthies.

(The original inventory, British Museum, Bibl. Harl., No. 1419), "5 peces of tapstrye of the IX Worthies wt the Cardinall's armes"; listed amongst those tapestries at Westminster; Amongst the Arras tapestries at Hampton Court, "6 peces of tapestrie of the IX Worthies having borders wt the late Cardinall's armes, 9 peces of Verdours with the Worthie Ladies and 1 windowe pece of Tapestrie of the nyne Worthies". Records of these tapestries continue to the seventeenth century when in 1649, on the 22nd November, "Four pieces of ye Nine Worthies" were sold for £17,10s and at Hampton Court were listed "Four peeces of very old tapestry of the Nine Worthies lined with canvas."

The tapestries of the Nine Worthies and other heroic subjects remained prized throughout the centuries as did the cloth of Arras. Although during the reign of Henry VIII the foundations of the Catholic Church were taken over by Henry VIII with the dissolution of the monasteries and religious houses in 1539, religious subjects such as the Annunciation, the Seven Virtues, the Beatitudes, as well as scenes from the Old Testament, Classical Antiquity and daily life such as Hunting and Hawking, decorated the stately residences

of the/ ...

of the King. King Henry VIII's wealth and prestige were greatly enhanced by his great collection of tapestries and although the sun was setting on the age of chivalry (23) which had brought about the image of the ideal hero, King Henry VIII continued to indulge in lavish display and a sense of longing for the heroic past. The State papers show numerous references to hangings in connection with the Great Wardrobe; when the King went on journeys he was accompanied by the "Removing Wardrobe". King Henry VIII was to continue the fascination of the popular imagination with the Nine Worthies by promoting them in a pageant at the Field of the Cloth of Gold in 1520. (24).

(23) A.B. Ferguson, The Indian Summer of English Chivalry Duke University Press, 1960.

(24) See Supra Pageantry. Edward Hall, Hall's Chronicles, London, 1809, Ams Press, New York, 1965, 619.

### 3.4 MURALS

A series of the Nine Worthies and the Nine famous women has been excellently preserved at the Castle La Manta, Piedmont. (1). They occupy a wall of the great hall and were executed in c.1420 for Valerano and Clemensia Provano, whose portraits were introduced as those of Hector and Penthesilea. Tommaso, Duke of Saluzzo, natural father of Valerano had lived much of his life in France and was thoroughly imbued with its culture. The scene of the Nine Worthies was taken from Tommaso's allegorical poem, "Le Chevalier Errant" (2). Each figure is placed above a small plaque at the bottom of the painting which describes in verse the achievements of the male and female heroes. (3). The verses are interesting as they show a clear dependance on the very earliest authoritative treatment of the Nine Worthies in literature found in the text of Jacques de Longuyon's "Les Voeux du Paon". The verses are in Italianized French, and as in the Swiss tapestry of the Nine Worthies at Basle, the verses are written in the first person which suggests the verses may have originated in one of the many dramatic presentations of the Nine Worthies.

The murals, which were executed by Jacques d'Yverni between 1410 and 1430, depict a highly decorative device well known in France and Germany known as the Fountain of Youth. (4). In the mural scene at La Manta the  
three/ ...

- (1) Raymond Van Marle, The Development of the Italian School of Painting, Vol. 7. Late Gothic painting in Northern Italy, Nijhoff, 1925, 192.
- (2) See Supra, 1.3.1,
- (3) See Novati, op. cit., 66. R.S. Loomis, Verses on the Nine Worthies, op. cit., 211 f.
- (4) See P. D'Ancona, op. cit., 185.

three ages of man are separated by three windows; to the left of the scene, old, grey and sickly men and women are riding animals and being carried towards the fountain of youth. The Fountain of Youth is a hexagonal basin with an elaborate gothic niche placed in its centre, wherein stand two figures resembling Adam and Eve; above them is a gothic canopy on the pinnacle of which is the figure of cupid with a bow and arrow. Below, couples are submerged in the water and as they emerge rejuvenation sets in and lusty enthusiastic people emerge ready to participate in the pleasures of courtly life. The figures are depicted remounting their horses ready to participate in a hunt. The figures are dressed in elaborate headgear, the women are seated behind the cavaliers on their horses as the pages, falcons and barking dogs proceed the procession. Opposite the Fountain of Youth is a mural depicting the Nine Heroes and Heroines.

The mural paintings by Jacques d'Yverni at Castle La Manta demonstrate the highly decorative nature of medieval court art,

"the aristocratic flavour of the scene, permeated through and through with the glamour of the age of chivalry and such was the elegant distinction and charm of the figures that it had long been suspected they were the work of a French artist." (5).

Jacques d'Yverni was from Avignon and the stylistic affinities between his work at La Manta and the "Trousseau window" in Bourges Cathedral suggest that he may have stayed in the province of Berry, whose capital/ ....

(5) Jacques Dupont and Cesare Gnudi, Gothic Painting, Skira, Geneva, 1979, 161.

capital was Bourges. R.S. Loomis has suggested that

"the use of trees as partitions, the outlining of the figures against the sky and the decorative heraldry suggest a certain relationship to the murals of the Davanzati Palace, Florence, done some thirty years earlier". (6).

The figures are depicted standing in a flowery meadow separated by trees on which hang their escutcheons.

The three pagan heroes are first amongst the grouping of the Nine Worthies. Hector stands engaged in casual conversation with the next hero, Alexander. He is dressed in a jupon and the robes of an Italian gentleman; he wears no headgear and carries a sword in its sheath around his waist. This representation of Hector is a portrait of Jacques d'Yverni's patron, Valerano Provano, he appears youthful and clean-shaven. Julius Caesar faces to the right; he wears a high crown and appears very old with long silver hair and a beard; in his raised left hand he holds an imperial orb and in his right hand a sword. Julius Caesar is followed by Joshua, he wears a cap, a sharply pointed beard and is seen in profile facing Julius Caesar. David is the central figure amongst the Jewish heroes; he wears a crown and a long beard; in his left hand he holds the Bible and in his right, a sling. Judas Maccabeus wears a cap and is bearded; in his left hand he holds a large sword in its sheath, resting against the tree, in his right hand, he holds a lantern. Arthur is first amongst the Christian heroes; he wears a crown and is clean-shaven, in his  
right/ ...

(6) R.S. Loomis, Arthurian Legends in Medieval Art, op. cit., 39.

right hand he holds a raised sword. He is followed by Charlemagne and Godfrey of Bouillon, who wears a floral cap.

Amongst the nine heroines, the finer details of aristocratic dress during the Middle Ages can be observed and the grace and elegance of the female figures contrasts the weapons they hold. All of the heroines wear long flowing robes with large white gloves, leaving only their faces visible. Amongst the heroines, the distinction between the three ages of man is not made, as each of the female figures appears as an idealization of youth, beauty and grace. Each of the heroines has a coat of arms which are represented on the escutcheon which hangs from a tree to the left of the figure. (7). Dephille is first amongst the Nine famous women portrayed at Castle La Manta, she is followed by Synoppe, Queen of the Amazons, Yppolite, Menalippe, Semiramis, Lampheto, Queen of the Amazons, and Thamaris. Theuca is the last figure, Jacques d'Yvernys' portrait of Clemensia Provano as Penthesilea is missing.

At Castle La Manta in Piedmont as in France and Flanders, the Nine Heroes and Heroines are seen as the virtuous and ideal figures of knighthood, they are honoured by the whole nobility. In Germany a representation of the Nine Worthies appears, which was borne out of the courtly and knightly spirit of Medieval Europe. A screen of thirty metres in length, outside the first floor of the summer residence of Lord  
Nicholas/ ...

(7) Francesco Novati, Un Cassone Nuziale senese e le Raffigurazioni delle donne illustri nell 'arte italiana dei secoli XIV e XV, Rassegna d'Arte, Vol. 11., 1911 61-67.

Nicholas Vintler at the Castle Runkelstein near Bolzen includes the Nine Worthies. (8). Here they are incorporated amongst a group of thirty figures who stand larger than life size and are divided into three groups. From left to right are the three best heroes of the Old Testament, Joshua, David and Judas Maccabeus, the three best Christians, Arthur, Charlemagne and Godfrey of Bouillon, followed by the three best knights, Parzival, Gawain and Ivan; the three best pairs of lovers; Duke William of Austria and Aglei, Tristan and Isolde, William of Orleans and Amelei. The doors leading into the summer residence are surmounted by the coats of arms of Austria and Tyrol followed by the three best sword fighters, Dietrich von Bern, with his sword Sachs; Siegfried with Baldung; Dietlieb von Steier with Welsung; the three most powerful giants; Waltram, King Ortnit and Schranman; the three noblest giant women, Riel Nagelringen, Vodelgard and Rachim; the three best midgets, King Goldemar on a small horse; King Bibunc on a deer and King Alberich on a doe. On the right hand side next to the door, a female figure presents a toast to the guests, and she is surrounded by a title which reads "You Gentlemen and Guests, I welcome you all".

All the heroes which had been painted by Hans Stocinger from Ulm between 1400 and 1413 for Lord Nicholas Vintler were invited to be seated at the table, where he would introduce the company of the most important people of the past. This somewhat strange iconographical programme bears a certain resemblance to the paintings in the adjacent room dedicated to "Tristan and Garel", painted by the same artist. This cycle was inspired/ ...

(8) R.L. Wyss, op. cit., 85.

inspired by the heroic epic, "Garel from the Valley in Flowering", which was composed by a man from Salzburg in 1270 and consisted of 20,000 verses. (9). In a very mixed series all kinds of knightly adventures with monsters, giants and midgets are depicted. In the middle of these fights and struggles Stocinger painted the Round Table of King Arthur where the Knights are portrayed eating and drinking around the table. It is possible that this served as a model to Vintler, who wanted to be surrounded by the bravest heroic figures of the world. In another room, the "Tristan" room, there are a number of scenes from the courtly love story of Tristan and Isolde, the iconographical programme of this room follows closely the epos as conceived by Master Gottfried from Strassburg in 1210, and the mural ends at the same point as the poet's incompleated version of the tale.

The largely restored Schöonne Brunnen at Nuremburg (1385-1396) is adorned with the Worthies, excluding Arthur. (10). The Nine Worthies appear in a programme in the Weavers office in Augsburg, painted by Peter Kaltenhoff in 1457. (11). In Germany, the Nine Worthies are often illustrated as models to the citizens who as members of the community, have to lead law abiding lives, in France, the heroes were ideal representations of the knight, their fidelity and love towards women and bravery in battle were the characteristics for which they were admired. The paintings by Peter Kaltenhoff are preserved in the Bavarian National Museum, where the heroes are presented in an interesting manner. They are included amongst  
twenty/ ...

(9) Ibid, 85.

(10) Ibid, 88.

(11) Ibid, 89.

twenty seven half figures with the name of each figure indicated above his head. First amongst the group are the three spiritual "Kurfürsten" (12), followed by Emperor Friedrich III, then the four worldly "Kurfürsten", then the Nine Heroes, and then the ten classical philosophers and prophets; Seneca, Plato, Socrates, Esajas, Ezekiel, Jeremiah, Amos, Cicero, Aristotle and Daniel. Above the entrance, the four evangelists are depicted. The juxtaposition of classical, pagan and biblical imagery with contemporary leaders was a common feature of representations of the Nine Worthies throughout Medieval Europe, as the heroes were associated with the heroism and grandeur of contemporary rules such as the "Kurfürsten".

A mural of the Nine Heroes is to be found at the Castle of Valeria in Sion, Switzerland, (13); the frescoes are badly damaged and identification of the heroes is not clear; as the captions are not distinct. The murals are by an unknown painter and lack an original date, and there is no document revealing the name of the commissioner. There are nine life-size figures, three pagans, three Jews and three Christians, each framed by a rectangular frame. The heroes bear a shield with their coat of arms in their left hand and in their right hand they carry either axes, swords or an oriental club. The heroes' headgear is distinctive, Joshua wears a helmet whilst David, Arthur, Alexander and Charlemagne wear crowns, contrary to tradition, Julius Caesar wears a turban; six of the heroes are bearded whilst Judas Maccabeus and Hector are clean-shaven.

All of the/ ...

(12) German title for Prince. Wyss, op. cit., 89.

(13) See Burgwart, VI, (1905), 51-53.

All of the heroes are wearing elaborate armour which the painter has invented for them. Comparable with this grouping of the Nine Worthies are the three heroes, Abisay, Sabobay and Benaya or Abraham painted with the guards from the release of Peter in 1444 at the Geneva altar. (14).

A further series of badly damaged frescoes of the Nine Worthies are at the castle of the Teutonic Knights, at Lochstedt, East Prussia. (15).

(14) Wyss, op. cit., 91.

(15) R.S. Loomis, Arthurian Legends in Medieval Art, op. cit., 38.

### 3.5 WOODCUTS AND ENGRAVINGS

The Nine Worthies are presented in a new medium in manuscript fr. 4895 in the Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris; there are three full page woodcuts of the Nine Worthies at the end of the manuscript (fol. 198 V - 203). The woodcuts consist of three sheets, each with its triad of Worthies, which were bound in the manuscript in the handwriting of Gilles le Bouvier, (d. 1458) called Berry, first herald of King Charles VII in 1420, who mentioned the Nine Worthies in his book "An Armorial of England, France, Scotland, Germany and Italy". W.L. Schreiber has dated this work between 1460 and 1470 (1), furthermore, R.S. Loomis has claimed (2) that the style of the armour and the fact that Hector seems to be a portrait of the young Charles the Bold combine, to place the woodcuts between 1465 and 1470. (3). The paper with the impression from the woodcuts has the water mark of an anchor, and is different from that of the manuscript, but the impressions are probably from the same period and are hardly later than about 1460. (4).

On each of the woodcuts there were three heroes depicted riding in full armour, with their right hands elevated, holding a sword and in their left arms, each of the heroes holds a shield. The heroes are seen passing under an archway posing in three quarter position.

The architectural/ ...

- (1) See W.L. Schreiber, Handbuch der Holz und Metall schnitte des XV Jahrhunderts, (1927) IV, 94.
- (2) R.S. Loomis, Arthurian Legends in Medieval Art, op. cit., 140.
- (3) A. Blum, Origins and Early History of Engraving in France, Van Oest, Frankfurt, 1930, 54.
- (4) A.M. Hind, An Introduction to the History of Woodcut, Constable, London, 1935, I, 157.

The architectural motif is a novelty as the woodcut introduces the idea of a triumphal arch, which can be related to the ideal of triumph with which the Nine Worthies were often associated in French literature, for example in the literary triumph of the Nine Worthies in "Le Trosne d'Honneur", dedicated to the Dukes of Burgundy. The idea of a triumphal arch found its origins in Italy and spread to France in the fifteenth century. In the so-called Burmese Caesar tapestries produced in Tournai in c.1460 "The Triumph of Caesar" related in the fourth tapestry plays an essential role in the symbolic summarisation of his heroic deeds. (5). The concept of the triumphal arch became associated with personal fame and triumph in a number of works for which the Emperor Maximilian commissioned Dürer in the sixteenth century. The Emperor desired a triumphal arch in order to promote his personal fame, in 1515 Dürer completed the triumphal arch of the Emperor Maximilian, The Betrothal of Maximilian and Mary of Burgundy, (6) this was a woodcut and the ingenious design represented a triumphal arch constructed of one hundred blocks. In the same context the emperor commissioned a triumphal procession and a special triumphal car also as woodcuts. This was a more successful idea and Burgkmair and Altdorfer solved the problem with their supple imaginations. The work of Hans Burgkmair united the fame of the Nine Worthies with that of contemporary rulers, such as the Emperor Maximilian; for Burgkmair also produced woodcuts of the Nine Worthies, and was responsible for the woodcuts illustrating his Genealogy in 1512 which he had written in honour of the Emperor.

At the bottom of each scene a six line verse is dedicated  
to each/ ...

(5) Wyss, op. cit., 83.

(6) Heinrich Wöllflin, The Art of Albrecht Dürer, Phaidon Press, 1971, 231-237.

to each of the heroes, written in the language of the Ile de France and level with their heads the name of each hero is inscribed.

Bearing great similarity to the representation of the Nine Worthies in manuscript fr. 4895, Bibl. Nat. Paris, is a further manuscript "ancien fonds francais", (9653 - 3.5.) in the Imperial library which contains the coats of arms of the French nobility by Gilles le Bouvier. (7). At the end of this manuscript there are three large wood engravings of the Nine Worthies grouped according to their different religions, each engraving occupies a double page in quarto and the Nine Worthies are mounted on horseback, each of them under a separate archway as in the previous manuscript (8), this was an innovative means of associating the Nine Worthies with the Burgundian Code of honour. These engravings are lightly illuminated with a touch of paint. Gilles le Bouvier has assigned to the Nine Worthies the same defensive weapons that are carried by the King, the Dauphin, the Dukes and French marshalls mounted on their battle horses. A six line verse printed in syllographic characters accompanies and explains the achievements of each hero. (9). In chronological order Hector is the first of the Nine Worthies, Hector of Troy,

"of whom the good scholar Homerus translated his history from Greek into Latin and an unknown translator from Latin into French". (10).

Hector is represented without headgear. King  
Alexander/ ...

- (7) Alfred Darcel, Collection de M. Sauvageot, Annales Archeologiques, Vol. 16, 235.
- (8) The previous manuscript may have been completed after the death of Charles VII in 1461. The manuscript "ancien fonds francaise", 9653. 3-5. at the Imperial library was completed before this date whilst Louis XI was the Dauphin.
- (9) Darcel, op. cit., 236-239 for verses and heraldic details.
- (10) Ibid, 236.

Alexander wears a crown and holds a shield in his hand. Julius Caesar is crowned and holds a sword, the harness of his horse is decorated with an imperial eagle. Joshua is first amongst the Biblical heroes, followed by David and Judas Maccabeus, who wears a helmet and carries a lance. King Arthur is first amongst the Christian heroes, followed by Charlemagne and Godfrey of Bouillon, the great Knight of the cross, who wears a helmet surrounded by a crown of thorns. The sources for the verses describing the heroes are the Roman de Troie, the Roman d'Alexandre and the tales of Charlemagne and Arthur, which have contributed to the fame and prestige of the heroes. The heroes' dress is contemporary with the authors of the romances and the attention given to heraldry and dress indicate a certain identification with the nobles of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries.

Hierosme de Bara had written "the Heraldry of Coats of Arms", in Paris in 1628, this book provides a description of a further French woodcut of the Nine Worthies which is unique in character and easily distinguishable from the work of Gilles le Bouvier. Monsieur Sauvageot had in his collection two woodcuts, the first was of the letter F and the second of the letter M, now in the Louvre. The letter F opens up to form two halves enclosing ten medallions carved out of the surface of the wood, representing the microscopic images of the Nine Worthies and Jesus Christ. (Dante was the first to associate the Nine Worthies of the Cross with Christ's crucifixion (11) ). This beautiful jewel of wood was made at the same time as the letter M, (during the fifteenth or sixteenth centuries), now separated from its companion piece and  
belonged/ .....

(11) See Supra, Dante 1.4,

belonged in the eighteenth century to the famous collector Monsieur Jamet. (12).

On the main shaft and transept bars of the letter F there are ten circular medallions, each of which represents one of the Nine Worthies and a tenth, which represents Christ crucified. The remaining surface of the woodcut is decorated with dragons and playing children, amongst the different groups of children, a distinguishable group can be seen playing, they are turning the wings of a windmill; this image is of great significance for the history of toys. The exterior of the cross is decorated with intertwined foliage and flowers which resemble thistles. The design of the interior of the cross is symmetrical and each of the figures represented in the medallions has been rendered with great attention to detail. Amongst the Nine Worthies the heroes are mounted on horseback with their names carved above them, they are represented in the civil dress of the first half of the sixteenth century or in the armour of the early sixteenth century; each of the heroes' horses is represented in a different gait or stance. Whether the hero's headgear is a helmet, a cap or a turban, the flowing plumes resemble those of the heroes at the Field of the Cloth of Gold.

The heroes are not arranged according to the three different religions as in other works, but are positioned randomly facing in different directions. In the top left hand corner of the upper transept bar  
is a/ ...

- (12) Monsieur Jamet owned both the letters M and F, A. Darcel, op. cit., 234 quotes the letters of the abbot of Barthélemy Mercier de Saint-Léger, in "l'Esprit des journaux", February and May 1779. M. Sauvageot purchased the woodcuts from Monsieur Hope in exchange for their weight in diamonds.

is a medallion representing Hector, from his cap flow long feathered plumes, beneath which his bearded profile can be seen - he carries a lance. Alexander is represented on the next medallion in similar garments, holding a halberd. Julius Caesar is bearded, with a long veil flowing from his hat; he carries no weapons. Amongst the Biblical heroes, Joshua wears full armour, his face invisible, as long feathers flow from his helmet; he holds a club. King David is bearded, with his helmet uplifted, in his right hand he holds a sceptre. Judas Maccabeus wears an elaborate turban with long flowing veils. Amongst the three Christian heroes Arthur rides in full armour and holds a halberd in his right hand. Charlemagne is described as "Blanche a la barbe et tout fleuri le chef" (13). Charlemagne wears an elaborate turban and flowing Burgundian robes. Godfrey of Bouillon is represented in full armour, he is bearded and carries a shield; his horse's blanket is decorated with the cross of Jerusalem.

The tenth medallion on the woodcut of the letter F is that of Christ crucified; beneath him a female figure bows down to the left and to the right a male figure gazes upwards toward the cross. The companion woodcut of the letter M is of the same wood, dimensions and finishing work, and contains medallions depicting the life of St. Marguerite. These two letters, one of which depicted the Nine Worthies and the other the legend of St. Marguerite, bring to mind the King who liked to call himself the Royal Knight and his sister Marguerite the Valois, the Marguerite of the Marguerites. The woodcut of the Nine Worthies and Christ/ ...

(13) Darcel, op. cit., 238.

and Christ crucified contributed to the association of the Nine Worthies with secular values, such as wealth, knighthood and courtly life, whilst the incorporation of the medallion of Christ crucified confirmed the importance of Christian ideals in feudal society.

The representation of the Nine Worthies in medallions was not unique and Louis XII, King of France (1498-1515) had at his castle gates medallions which represented the Nine Worthies. (14). These are illustrated in miniature in the "Chronique d'Enguerrand de Monstrelet", (ms. fr. 20360, Folio, IV, Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris).

This book was written in the sixteenth century for François de Rochechouart, Seigneur de Chanderier, and Governor of Genoa. This book illustrates the chivalrous kings, surrounded by nine round medallions, each portraying a half length portrait of the Nine Worthies (15). Two further fragmentary series of the Nine Worthies remain at Metz in Lorraine (16) and Brussels (17). The Brussels work resembles that of the Dutch masters who executed woodcuts of the Nine Worthies and only Hector, David, Arthur and Godfrey of Bouillon remain. W.L. Schreiber believes that these woodcuts formed part of a longer frieze; the series is unique, consisting of white grooves on a black background. Schreiber has dated the series c. 1500. The figure of Hector is accompanied by a Dutch verse about the hero. The copper engravings from Metz are now in Berlin and once having formed part of a series, the two remaining figures are Joshua and Charlemagne./ ...

(14) Wyss, op. cit., 82.

(15) André Blum, op. cit., 95.

(16) W.L. Schreiber, op. cit., 99.

(17) A.M. Hind, op. cit., Vol. I, 157, 2.

and Charlemagne. The two engravings are engraved with the signature CM and are dated c. 1500. A further fragmentary series of woodcuts of the Nine Worthies, undated and by an anonymous artist is to be found in the Galleria delle belle Arti, Modena (18).

A further representation of the Nine Worthies on horseback is found in three woodcuts which were initially thought to be executed by Lukas Van Leyden, but are now believed to have been executed by Cornelisz Van Oostzanen, c. 1517, (19). The three remaining folio's indicate clearly that the woodcuts of the Nine Worthies form part of a long frieze representing a group of riders. This representation of the Nine Heroes may well represent the beginning of a cavalcade such as those made during the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, at the occasion of a solemn entry or visit to the city by one of the princes or Dukes of the country, a so called triumphal entry. The pompous costumes of the Nine Worthies, the richly decorated feathered helmets, turbans and plumes suggest a romantic exaggeration of the heroes and the elaborately decorated horses seem to indicate a festive entry. The art at the court of the Emperor Maximilian influenced Dutch artists such as Lukas Van Leyden and Cornelisz Van Oostzanen, who imitated the festive decorations of court life in their art.

Hans Burgkmair (1473-1519) who had executed the woodcuts for "Genealogy" and had seen the paintings of the Nine Worthies by Peter Kaltenhoff at the weavers office in Augsburg was inspired to make three woodcuts of the Nine Worthies in 1519. The Nine Worthies are  
represented/ ...

(18) Schreiber, op. cit., 96.

(19) Nach Mitteilung des Kupferstich Kabinetts, Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam.

represented in the sub-divisions of each of the three religions and each of the heroes is engaged in dialogue. Burgkmair has balanced his representation of the Nine Worthies with the group of the Nine Worthy Women found in the French literary work of Sébastien Mamerot, "Les Histoires des Neuf Preux et des Neuf Preues", the three Jews; Esther, Judith and Jael the three Pagans; Lucretia, Veturia and Virginia, the three Christians; St. Helen, St. Elizabeth and St. Brigid. The work of Hans Burgkmair inspired the woodcutter Virgil Solis (1514-1562) to make copper engravings of the Nine Worthies and the Nine Worthy Women. Solis chose the same Worthy Women as Burgkmair had and grouped the figures according to the grouping of the three religions. Beneath each figure is a titulus bearing his or her name. Each of the figures is framed by an ornate frame representing the grandeur of antiquity as interpreted by a sixteenth century artist. Each of the heroes is seen posing in armour which is not medieval but rather representative of a cavalier with elaborately feathered plumes. The Nine Worthy Women appear barefoot in long flowing robes with their hair upswept, each of the heroines holds a shield in one hand and in the other a symbol of strength, power or honour. Veturia holds a shield in her left hand and a garland in her right; she stands in the foreground, a landscape of hills and houses behind her. The elaborate decoration of each figure's grandeur is rendered with the grandeur of baroque sentiment with large bouquets of flowers, cherubs and decorative vases placed on the border around each figure.

A German work of the fifteenth century represents the Nine Worthies in a series of copper engravings. The Nine Worthies are represented on three sheets, each sheet having three figures on it, which were engraved on the same plate. The figures are separated from  
each/ ....

each other by a perpendicular line and above the head of each figure is the name of the hero. Below the ground on which the figure stands, is a margin nearly one and a half inches wide, containing six lines of Latin in lower case Gothic characters, explicatory of the hero represented. All the heroes except King David are in armour, and all with the exception of Julius Caesar Rex, have long scarves around their hips. A striking feature of the designs is the presence of numerous waving ribbons, which flutter away from the shoulders and head dresses of the figures. The ground on which the heroes stand is paved. Passavant (20) remarks in connection with the engravings,

"These engravings, which are preserved in the British Museum, have the ink of impression very pale, and have been worked off by the aid of the frotton. The contours are heavy and the shadow parts are formed by long lines with the dry point, rarely crossed in the draperies, etc., but by short and fine lines in the flesh parts, after the special style of the Master of 1464 and the Master of 1466".

A further German example of woodcuts of the Nine Worthies is to be found in the fragmentary of a series of woodcuts of the Nine Worthies at the Kunsthalle in Hamburg, dated c.1490-1500. The only remaining example is that of the Jewish Worthies who are to be found/ ....

- (20) See Passavant, "Peintre Graveur", Vol. ii, 21. no. 34-42. Quoted in Italian by P.D.'Ancona, op. cit., 140 and by W.H. Willshire, Catalogue of Early Prints in the British Museum, German and Flemish Schools, 1883, Vol. II, 151.

found one on each page, standing under an archway (21). The unknown artist derived the idea of the Nine Worthies from the master of the "Bandrolle" series which this work resembles in details of costume, armoury, deportment and facial expression.

An interesting Austrian example of woodcuts of the Nine Worthies indicates the attraction men of worldly power such as the Nine Worthies had for members of ecclesiastical orders. In an Austrian chronicle written in 1479 by Brother Clemens Specker von Sulgen in the convent of Königsfelden entitled "The Austrian Chronicle of 96 Rulers" (Cod. A.45, Burger Bibliothek, Berne) nine woodcuts were inserted on pages 301 - 311. W.L. Schreiber has dated these woodcuts between 1460 and 1480 (22). This series consisted originally only of three plates, each with three heroes, the plates measuring 265 by 275 mm, were sub-divided into three plates whereby the figures were separated from one another by a double line. A broad frame runs around the three plates and below each figure the appropriate text is written in an elaborate script, consisting of a six line verse in German, derived from a textual translation of the verses which accompany the heroes in the manuscript fr. 4895 in the Bibliothèque Nationale Paris. It appears that these illustrations of the Nine Worthies were added to the original text in c.1480.

As in other representations of the Nine Worthies, the central figure is depicted in a frontal attitude and the two figures flanking him are turned towards the centre, so that the three figures together seem to form a closed or unified group; this unity is emphasized through a hilly landscape, which is a common feature to each plate. The heroes are named  
in titulae,/...

(21) See W.L. Schreiber, op. cit., 3.

(22) Wyss, op. cit., 93.

in titulae,

"Josue ein Jud, Judas Machabeus,  
Kunig David, Hector von Troya,  
Kunig Alexander, Julius der erst  
Keiser, Kunig Artus ein Crist,  
Kayser Karolus ein Crist, Gotfried  
von Boulion".

All of the heroes are wearing full armour and there is a notable absence of flowing ribbons and banners. The Jewish heroes are first followed by the Pagans and the Christians. In this series of woodcuts the Nine Worthies are associated with the three ages of man, as in "The Parlement of the Thre Ages", and the murals at Castle La Manta in Piedmont the phases of the three ages of man are characterized; Charlemagne and David represent old age with long black beards, Julius Caesar with a significantly shorter beard, represents man in his middle age and the character and traits of the other heroes such as the fair-headed Hector makes them recognisable as youth.

### 3.6 HERALDRY

Heraldry which can be defined as the systematic use of hereditary insignia on the shield of a knight or nobleman, was beginning to follow established rules by the end of the twelfth century (1). The development of heraldry during the Middle Ages was encouraged by the cult of chivalry. The Nine Worthies in their original representative capacity of ideal knights were so important that for each of them a heraldic weapon or coat of arms had to be found. These coats of arms had a great significance as since fifteen hundred, the coats of arms of the Nine Worthies gave them equal status with the nobility. The French and German representations (2) of the coats of arms of the Nine Worthies indicate clearly how tradition bound the shaping of the coats of arms, from the fourteenth to the sixteenth centuries.

Heraldry developed as a means to identify the individual knight when his appearance was disguised by his armour. The need to distinguish the knight as an individual arose at tournaments or large gatherings of knights. At first depicted on the shield, heraldic devices came soon to be displayed also on the surcoats of knights and on their horses' trappings, as also on their seals and on their tombs and effigies. They also came to be accepted as more than just individual marks of recognition; heraldic devices/ ...

- (1) Keen, Chivalry, op. cit., 125.
- (2) Conventional representations of the heraldry of the Nine Worthies in French, German and Italian Culture are given in Wyss, op. cit., 98-102. See F.J. Furnivall, "The Nine Worthies and the Heraldic Arms they bore". NaQ Bd.8 (1889) 22-23.

devices are hereditary to particular families and must conform to defined rules on the presentation of the shield. So although the shields of the Norman warriors in the Bayeux tapestry are decorated with geometric and animal designs, there is no reason to believe that they represent hereditary insignia. (3).

Heraldry in the Middle Ages represented not only the distinguished status of the aristocracy, but it also became emblematic of the pride of birth, the lineage and culture of the elite. The function of heraldry during the Middle Ages gradually became known to a wider audience. The romances of knighthood, the reading and reciting of tales of courtly love, the crowds who gathered to witness jousts and tournaments, fused the culture of the aristocracy with that of the masses. The arms of the Nine Worthies witnessed the use of symbolic heraldic devices which had simple associations and could thus be grasped by the public. The arms of the Nine Worthies were used to remind the public of the Nine Worthies' heroism as representatives of the cult of chivalry. Thus the breach of the rules of blazon in the arms of the Kings of Jerusalem, which charged metal upon metal (laying a cross potenté and four crosslets or on a field argent) was supposed in later times, to be deliberate: these arms were given to Godfrey of Bouillon by his companions when he was chosen to be the first King of Jerusalem, it was alleged, so that if anyone afterwards should inquire the reason for incorrect blazoning, they could be reminded of the great triumph of Christian chivalry in the conquest of the Holy City, 1099 (the development of heraldic rules came long after this date). (4). Heraldry in the Middle Ages involved a  
knowledge/ ....

(3) A.R. Wagner, Heralds and Heraldry in the Middle Ages, Oxford, 1956, 12.

(4) See BN, MS Fr 5936 fos 18-18 vo.

knowledge of the whole literary and historical culture of chivalry, an understanding of the laws of nobility and inheritance, and a knowledge of the mystical properties ascribed to plants, beasts, birds and colours. These visual symbols which were the language of chivalry were assigned to the Nine Worthies in an attempt to make them truly representative of the medieval chivalrous knight.

The Worthies Nine that were of might,  
By travaile won immortal praise;  
If they had liv'd like Capet Knights  
Consuming idly all their dayes,  
Their praises had been with them dead,  
Where now abroad their fame is spread.

The Paradise of Dainty Devises.

An unusual representation of the Arms of the Nine Worthies is to be found on the tomb of Robert Duke of Normandy, in Gloucester Cathedral, England. This representation is important because it poses a rare example of the role of the Nine Worthies in ecclesiastical art. A cross legged effigy of Robert (Curthose) Duke of Normandy (son of William the Conqueror), which is carved out of a block of oak, and placed upon a tomb of the same material, formerly stood before the high altar at Gloucester, is now stationed in the side chapel, being actually moveable upon wheels. The sides of this tomb are decorated with shields which are thus tricked by Nicholas Charles in the reign of James the First (5).

Edward the Confessor is first amongst this grouping of the Nine Worthies; Alexander the Great; Judas  
Maccabeus, /...

(5) Lansdowne, MS, 874, f.92.

Maccabeus, Charlemagne, Godfrey of Boulogne, Hector, Julius Caesar, David and Arthur with their heraldic coats of arms decorate the sides of the tomb with the arms of Godfrey of Bouillon one end and the coats of arms of France and England at the other.

The date of this monument is uncertain (6), however, it is of sufficient antiquity to prove the medieval adoption of the arms of the Nine Worthies. Joshua has been replaced by Edward the Confessor, and the coat of France and England must have been assigned to the Duke of Normandy himself. There have, however, been several repaintings and particularly one memorable restoration after the tomb had been entirely broken up, in the reign of Charles the First, as related in the following passage of Sandford's Biographical History of England

"upon the pannels of the chest are pencilled the armes of several of the Worthies and at the foot the armes of France and England quarterly, which shows these escutcheons to be painted since the reign of King Henry the Fourth. This monument (to the great credit of the substance of which it was made) stood firm until that, the Parliament party having garrison'd the city of Gloucester against King Charles the First, the rebellious soldiers tore it to pieces; but the parcels thereof (ready to be burnt) were by the care of a loyal person (Sir H. Tracy of Stanway, in the county of Gloucester) bought of the soldiers, and privately laid up, till the  
restoration/ ...

(6) John Gough Nichols, The arms of the Nine Worthies, Herald and Genealogist, November, 1862, Vol. 1. 176.

restauration of his now Majesty King Charles II when the old pieces put together again were repaired and beautified with gold and colours, at the charge of that worthy person who hath also added a wire skreen in the form of an arch, for its future preservation. This is the form of the monument taken from the original in the month of October, 1665".

Here follows an engraving of the tomb with the first four shields above described, and there is a similar engraving in Fosbroke's History of Gloucester, 1819. Confusion as to the true identity of the Nine Worthies continued as the Rev. B.S. Claxon, D.D. when offering some "Heraldic Notices of Gloucester Cathedral" to the Archeological Association in 1846, attempted to explain these shields as the arms of the kingdoms of Norway, Denmark, Ireland and other royal and princely personages. His editor (in the volume of papers of the Gloucester congress) suggested in a note that "they were probably those of the Nine Worthies".

Gerard Legh names as the Ninth Worthy in the place of Godfrey of Boulogne, (7) "Sir Gwy, Earl of Warwike, who beareth Checky or and azure, a cheveron ermine". This was the same coat which was quartered by the Beauchamps and Nevilles for the Earldom of Warwick and is usually called Newburgh. The popular tradition of replacing one of the Nine Worthies with a local hero influenced the heraldic coats of arms of the Nine Worthies. As the Nine Worthies merged with other events from the historical past, their coats of arms took on a new significance, the shield of Hector is the same as that of the Brute as Hardyng sings in his chronicle respecting the First King of Britain:

He bare on Gules two lions of Gold  
Counter rampant, with gold both crowned

Of old/ ...

(7) Ibid, 180. See Gerard Legh, Accedens of Armorye, 1591.

Of old Trojans he was the next heir found,  
And in these arms he did this Isle conquer,  
His ancestry after him the same did bear.

The same arms are assigned to Guithelin King of Britain, (founder of the town of Warwick, about the period of the birth of Alexander the Great, B.C. 356) at the commencement of Rous's Rolls of the Earls of Warwick (8).

In later representations of the arms of the Nine Worthies such as Andrieu Favine's "Théâtre d'Honneur et de Chevalrie", Paris, 1620, (published in London, in 1623), (9) the addition of Jason, Gideon and Samson to the grouping of the Nine Worthies marks the development of a popular renaissance tradition. Not content with the authority of the "romancers" Favine gives his own grouping of the Nine Worthies, Joshua, Gideon, Samson, David, Judas Maccabeus, Alexander the Great, Julius Caesar, Charlemagne and Godfrey. Gideon and Samson being substituted for Hector and King Arthur. Andrieu Favine's representation of the arms of the Nine Worthy Women in the Théâtre d'Honneur, "1620 was preceded by a representation of the Nine Worthy Women in the first part of John Ferne's "Blazon of Gentry" entitled the "Glory of Genoridity" (ed. 1586) (10). The Nine Worthy Women are introduced in a dialogue between Paradin, a herald and Sir Torquatus, a knight, who exclaims, "What have you found worthies  
amongst/ ...

- (8) See the description thereof by W. Courthope, esq. Somerset herald, 4 fo. 1859 (but dated in the title page, London, William Pickering, 1845).
- (9) J.R. Planché, The Nine Worthies of the World, Journal of the British Archeological Association, Vol. XX, 315.
- (10) See John Ferne, Blazon of Gentry, 157, 221.

amongst women? I have never heard thereof before!" Paradin proceeds to enlighten him by reciting the following list, commencing with three heathens, the first being Minerva, followed by Semiramis, "Queen of Assur", "Assyria", Tomyris, Queen of Scythia; The three Jewesses, Deborah, "Judge of Israel", Judith, "Lady of Bethulia", Jahel, "the Kenite"; the last three are Christians and sovereigns, Maude, Empress of Almaine, "inheritrix to the Kingdome of England, Duchess of Normandy and countesse of Anjou", Elizabeth, "heyre of Castile, wife of Ferdinando the fifthe, kinge of Arragon", Johan "Queen of Naples" (and sister to Ladislaus, King of Hungarie).

Andrieu Favine's "Théâtre d'Honneur", 1620, completed his series of the Nine Worthies with an unusual grouping "Of Nine Worthy Ladies added to those Nine famous and worthy men of the world". The same romancers he observes "have added or coupled with these "Nine Worthies" nine other as worthy and illustrious women, ladies of high deserving, whom the poets term women warriors and by the name of Amazons, of whom you may here behold the arms according to as I find them to be by them recorded". (11). Favine lists the Nine Worthy Women, Marthesia or Marpesia, Lampedo, Orythia, Antiope, Penthesilea, Minthia, Hippolita, Theuca and Thamaris. Favine adds,

"they should have placed in rank amongst these famous ladies the queen so highly renowned for prowess, Semiramis, of whom we have emblazoned the arms in the first book and first chapter; and

Tomyris/ ...

(11) J.R. Planché, op. cit., 320-321.

Tomyris who bore sinople (i.e. vert)  
a lion enviré (i.e. emasculated)  
sans vilenie, argent, crowned with  
laurel or, with a border crenellée  
or with gules, charged with eight  
trefoils argent".

Favine does not appear to have been aware that Tomyris is identical with Thamaris, Queen of Massagetae and conqueror of Cyrus the Great, whom he has just named as included in the list but with a very different coat of arms.

Favine's grouping of the Nine Worthy Women in the "Théâtre d'Honneur", has a special interest as illustrating a curious series of paintings of the Nine Worthy Women at Amberley Castle, Sussex, England. These paintings on a panel in the Castle, adjoining the church represent the arms of the Nine Worthy Women. Dalloway, in his Rape of Arundel, (12) notices these relics of medieval art in the following words :

"A very curious room is still preserved, with a covered ceiling of wainscot, and entirely painted by Theodore Bernardi ... The side panels exhibit a series of female figures with escutcheons of arms supposed to be illustrative of Flemish provinces".

Eight figures amongst this representation of the Nine Worthy Women remain. The female figures are all either in armour or regally crowned and attired. Only Cassandra can be positively identified amongst the heroines;/...

(12) See History of Western Sussex, vol. ii, Part, I.

the heroines; however, the coats of arms of the other figures resemble those to be found in Andrieu Favine's "Théâtre d'Honneur", and also in Paul Fursten's "Wappenbuch", published in Nuremberg in 1657 (13). Paul Fursten's Wappenbuch gives the conventional grouping of the Nine Worthies with their coats of arms and is derived from that of Sébastien Mamerot in "L'Histoire des neuf Preux et des neuf preues", 1463; here they are listed as Esther, Judith, Jael, Lucretia, Veturia, Virginia, the Empress Helena, Bridget, and Elizabeth Queen of Hungary. In Andrieu Favine's "Théâtre d'Honneur", the Nine Worthy Women consist of an unusual gathering of pagan and mythological figures.

The various series of coats of arms of the Nine Worthies and Worthy Women indicate their popularity in medieval society and the close association of their attributes with the cult of chivalry and its aftermath as the Worthies remained popular until the seventeenth century. Although the various series of heraldic coats of arms for the Nine Worthies and the Worthy Women seem disorderly and confused, the emergence of the eponymous hero contributed to innovation and novelty with regard to their heraldry which was catalogued in England, France, Germany, Holland and Italy. (14).

(13) A German translation of Andrieu Favine's "Théâtre d' Honneur".

(14) R.L. Wyss, op. cit., 99-102.

### 3.7 SCULPTURE

In France the worship of the Nine Heroes remained a matter of the courtiers in poetry and other arts; however, in Germany there was a much greater response not in literature, but in the sculptural programmes of halls, fountains and market places and here the artists were able to convey the meaning of the Nine Worthies. In Germany, the heroes were represented with the Emperors and local authorities. The whole series was enlarged by the Old Testament prophets who offered the public an image of justice in conjunction with the heroes of the past united with the highest officials of the state; these groupings were of exemplary figures whose deeds symbolised the achievements of Law and Justice. The Nine Worthies were associated with Justice when in 1346 Charles IV was crowned by the Archbishop of Cologne in Bonn (1). In 1349 the King honoured the town with extraordinary privileges which enabled the village to decorate a building with sculptures of the Nine Worthies. In Cologne, the heroes are associated with justice and become assistants of the law and the judge who renders justice to the people. Here they are shown as models to the citizens who have to live under the law of the community in a big city. The heroes are again represented as assistants of the law in three stained glass windows, in the south wall of the court house in Lüneburg dated 1420 (2). From left to right, the heroes are grouped according to the three religions, "Judas Maccabeus, King David, Joshua, Godfrey of Bouillon, Charlemagne, King Arthur, Julius Caesar, King Alexander and Hector of Troy". Although the  
Nine/ ....

(1) Wyss, op. cit., 87.

(2) Ibid, 87.

Nine Heroes were representatives of the three religions, they were rarely represented in churches, the only other example of the Nine Worthies represented in ecclesiastical art is to be found on the tomb of Robert, Duke of Normandy (3).

Amongst the representations of the Nine Worthies which were to appeal to the general public, were the frequent examples of statues of the Nine Worthies, a surviving example is to be found on the south side of the Hansa Room in the city hall of Cologne. These larger than life size stone figures stand in a row from left to right, first the Three Christians, the three Jews and lastly the three Pagans, each hero stands on a square platform under an octagonal canopy. The heads and the hands of the heroes are represented in the natural colour of the stone, with their hair and beards gilded. Eduard Trier (4) has dated these sculptures in the later realm of Charles IV from (1347-1378), in the sixth or seventh decade of the fourteenth century. In the middle of the series stands King David who is easily recognisable as the only hero with his sword drawn. The three groups distinguish themselves through their distinctive coats of arms on their shields. The Christians appear clean-shaven whilst the Jewish and Pagan heroes have beards. The Jewish heroes wear pointed helmets, resembling typical Jewish pointed hats characterizing them as Old Testament people.

The sculptor Albert Van Soest (5) cut wood statues  
of the/ ...

(3) See Supra, Heraldry.

(4) Wyss, op. cit., 86 quotes, Eduard Trier, "Die Propheten des Kölner Rathauses", Bonn University, 1952, 10.

(5) Ibid, 90.

of the Nine Worthies on the east porch of the council room (Raadsaal) in Lüneburg in 1580. In a new variation on the theme, Joshua and Charlemagne have been replaced by Darius and Cyrus, who are clearly indicated by their names but bearing the original coats of arms of Joshua and Charlemagne. This is an indication that the change was executed by the sculptor deliberately. The Nine Heroes are accompanied by eight personifications of virtues such as Temperance, Prudence, Fortitude, Patience, Charity, Fidelity, Hope and Justice; beneath them are sculptures of Mary and Jesus, Jael and two unidentifiable women. Here the Nine Worthies are displayed in association with the virtues and religious figures as a warning to the people of Lüneburg to lead virtuous and just lives. Albert van Soest's representation of the Nine Worthies presents them in unity with Mary as a Madonna, this contrasts the usual representation of the Nine Worthies with the image of Christ crucified as in Dante's Divine Comedy, (Paradise, Canto XVIII). The association of the Nine Worthies with Justice and the Virtues in Albert van Soest's sculpture provides through visual means two further associations made in the Divine Comedy (Paradise, Canto XVIII), the image of Justice being the imperial eagle as the nine heroic warriors of the cross appear in the fifth heaven of Mars, with the virtue of Fortitude.

### 3.8 PAGEANTRY AND MASQUES

Pageantry was to form an integral part of medieval and Renaissance culture in Europe. The medieval use of allegory in poetry, art and festivals had a decisive advantage:

"in that besides the personifications of abstract qualities, even historical representatives of these abstract qualities were introduced in great number - that both poetry and the visual arts were accustomed to represent famous men and women". (1).

The Divine Comedy, the Trionfi of Petrarch, the Amorosa Visione of Boccaccio - all of these works were based on the principle of the great diffusion of culture that took place under the influence of antiquity and made the nation familiar with the historical element. These historical figures, including the Nine Worthies, now appeared at festivals, either individualized, as definite masques, or in groups as characteristic attendants of some leading allegorical figure. In the public squares, in the churches and in the cloisters, extensive scaffolding was constructed with the top serving as a Paradise, that could be locked and the bottom sometimes serving as a Hell, while between the two lay the stage proper, representing all the earthly events of the drama. In Italy, as elsewhere the biblical or legendary play often began with an introductory dialogue between Apostles, Prophets, Sybils, Virtues and Fathers of the Church. From the early fourteenth century until Shakespeare's/ ...

(1) Jacob Burckhardt, The Civilisation of the Renaissance, Mentor, 1960, 289.

Shakespeare's masque of the Nine Worthies in Love's Labour's Lost (v.ii) (1594) pageantry and public display was to prove a popular medium for representations of the Nine Worthies, heralding the heroes eponymous.

The earliest recorded pageant of the Nine Worthies is that at Arras in 1336, where the heroes appeared in a cavalcade. (2). It is most likely that pageants of the Nine Worthies originated in France, Jacques de Longuyon's native land. The representations that were chiefly secular such as the pageants in which the Nine Worthies appeared were arranged especially at the more important princely courts, mainly with a view to splendid and striking scenic effects. The subjects were mythological or allegorical and there was no lack of extravagance. An indication of this splendour is to be found at a banquet on 6 January 1378 given by King Charles V of France in honour of a distinguished guest, his uncle the Emperor Charles IV. (3). The setting in the Palais de la Cité, the company and the menu were appropriately sumptuous, an elaborate re-enactment of the historical past was to take place at this scene.

"From its previous place of concealment at the end of the hall, a massive model of a ship emerged carrying a crowd of armed warriors among them persons identifiable by their arms as Godfrey of Bouillon and other leaders of the first crusade ..., An even more massive structure was next brought forward, this time representing the city/ .....

(2) Wyss, op. cit., 77.

(3) D.A. Bullough, Games People Played, op. cit., 97.

city of Jerusalem, complete with battlemented walls and towers defended by men dressed as Saracen warriors". (4)

Here a great battle was re-enacted with the crusaders triumphantly raising the banners which they had brought with them.

In November 1431 at the entry of Henry VI of England to Paris, the Nine Worthies and the Nine Worthy Women rode in front of the King. The heroes had long golden beards and the heroines wore dresses decorated with gold sequins (5).

In 1444 on the occasion of the great tournament at Liège the Nine Worthies accompanied the Archbishop Jean de Heinsberg (6). In the Coventry Leet Book an account is given of the entertainment of Queen Margaret in 1455; on this occasion, the Nine Worthies figured among the spectacles, each of them delivering a speech of welcome. (7).

Hector: "Most pleasaunt princes recordid that may be  
I hector of troy that am chefe conquerour ....,

Alex : I alexander that for chyvalry berithe the balle  
Most curious in conquest thro the world am y  
named .....

Josue:/ ...

(4) Ibid, 97. L.H. Loomis, Adventures in the Middle Ages, New York, 1962, 274-292.

(5) Wyss, op. cit., 77.

(6) Ibid, 77.

(7) R.S. Loomis, Verses on the Nine Worthies, op. cit., 217.



As a Knyght for his lady boldly to fight  
Yf any man of curage wold bid you unright". (8).

In 1458 the Nine Worthies were presented at the joyous entry of Marie d'Albret at Nevers and again at the Dijon fête (1466-67) (9). In 1470 they appear at the reception of the Queen of France, the wife of Louis XI in Le Puy-en-Velay (10). In November 1499 Henry VII's Privy Council initiated plans for a splendid Burgundian style festival to celebrate the marriage of Prince Arthur to Princess Katherine of Aragon. Spectacular disguisings on pageant cars after the Flemish style would be prepared to entertain the guests. The jousts and tournaments like the disguisings would reflect the Burgundian taste for pageantry and allegory. The city, no less than the court would have to reflect Henry's newly adopted Burgundian tastes.

In devising the triumph, the London pageant master based his plan upon the work of the most pre-eminent of all Burgundian writers then alive, Jean Molinet, trusted councillor to Philip the Fair. Molinet's "Le Trosne d'Honneur", 1467, was ostensibly an eulogy on the death of Philip the Good, but it may actually have been written for the wedding of Philip's son, Charles the Bold and Edward IV's sister, Margaret of York, as at least one early manuscript suggests (11). In Molinet's theme of the ascension of Duke Philip to a throne of honour set above the spheres, the English pageant master saw possibilities  
for/ ...

(8) Ibid, 217.

(9) Wyss, op. cit., 77.

(10) Ibid, 77.

(11) B.N. MS. Fr. Nov Acq. 21532. G. Kipling, op. cit., 75.

for transforming Katherine's triumph through London into a political apotheosis (12). In imitation of Philip's apotheosis, the pageant master planned Katherine's journey through the city in such a way to reflect the Duke's ascent into heaven. Her triumphal procession through the streets suggests that she is also destined to travel, as if in a dream, from earth, through the spheres of the cosmos to the Throne of Honour above the firmament. At the first pageant on London Bridge, Saints Katherine and Ursula appear to her from the "court celestial" to announce that she is to be conveyed "to honour". Thereafter Katherine climbs from the earthly castle of Policy, where Molinet's Virtue and Noblesse guide her on to the path of Honour (pageant two) to the sphere of the moon (pageant three) to the sphere of the sun (pageant four), to the throne of God the Father, (pageant five). Finally, she is invited to take a throne with Arthur beside Honour himself, a throne fixed upon the eternal foundation of the seven virtues and set above the cosmos (13).

A perfect exemplar of chivalry, King Arthur, accompanies Katherine "en chaire royale" beside her Charlemagne rules this sphere as a paragon of Justice. Arthur illuminates the heavens as Dame Justice had, and he also wears the spiritual armour of Justice, a further indication of his resemblance to Charlemagne as paladin of this virtue. As Katherine ascends the spheres of the cosmos, Arthur appears to her in his stellar body, (Arcturus). As she approaches the sphere of the Sun she finds Arthur awaiting her, there dressed in full armour and riding a golden chariot triumphantly through the turning circle of the Zodiac.

In a/ ...

(12) See Supra, "Le Trosne d'Honneur".

(13) G. Kipling, *op. cit.*, 77.

In a striking anticipation of Hans Burgkmair's 1526 "Wheel Chariot" woodcut in the Triumph of Maximillian the pageant is dominated by a huge wheel (14).

In adapting Molinet's Burgundian elegy to his purposes, the London pageant master has for the first time in the history of the form, given a narrative plot to a civic triumph. The pageant master transforms Katherine's triumphal chariot into a Platonic star chariot for the purposes of this drama and as she arrives before the first pageant, St. Ursula, immediately recognises her as a pilgrim soul seeking her native star, Ursa Minor, which is set fast by Arthur (the constellation Arcturus) with other stars bright in the court celestial. From her stellar vantage point Ursula can moreover identify both Katherine's native star and that of her bridegroom (15). In this way the pageant master can take advantage of medieval astrological lore, for Arcturus, well fixed in the natal horoscope, grants honour and riches to those born under its influence, transforming the pageant into a romance.

The themes introduced in the London pageant of Katherine's triumphant ascent to the throne of honour recall Dante's presentation of the Nine Worthies as the Nine Heroic Warriors of the Cross in the Divine Comedy (Paradise, Canto XVIII, 1.28-52). The stellar constellations of the pageant resemble the planets of the nine heavens in Dante's Paradise. Dante describes the triumph of Beatrice, with the twenty four elders of the Apocalypse, the four mystical beasts, the three Christian and four  
Cardinal/...

(14) See Supra, Woodcuts, 3.5.

(15) Kipling, op. cit., 80-90.

Cardinal Virtues, and St. Luke, St. Paul and other apostles in a manner that seems to indicate elaborate pageants may have taken place before his time. A further parallel between the London pageant and Dante's Divine Comedy is the chariot in which Beatrice rides which Dante could have considered a symbol of triumph. Savonarola in his Triumph of the Cross (16) imagines Christ on a triumphal chariot, above his head the shining sphere of the trinity, however the secular Trionfi were far more frequent.

In 1512 the Nine Worthies appear at a carnival at Metz, accompanied by Solomon, Samson, Holophernes, Hercules and Sardanapalus. The comparison of Hercules and Samson belonged to the popular Renaissance tradition of drawing a parallel between a scene in a fable and a scene in sacred history. In the Renaissance the comparison of mythological figures with biblical heroes became acceptable practice as Hercules and Samson are compared at Limoges Cathedral (17). The association of mythological figures such as Jason and Gideon with the grouping of the Nine Worthies found its roots in the Burgundian phase of chivalry where the heroes had featured as patrons of the Order of the Golden Fleece (18). By the seventeenth century Andrieu Favine, in his "Théâtre d'Honneur et de Chevalrie", 1620, had added Jason, Gideon and Samson to the grouping of the Nine Worthies. The addition of these classical heroes to the Nine Worthies proclaims the representation of the heroes eponymous, a tradition which Shakespeare was to follow when he presents  
five/ ...

(16) Burckhardt, op. cit., 295.

(17) E. Mâle, op. cit., 340.

(18) See Supra The Nine Worthies and Chivalry.

five Worthies in "Love's Labour's Lost" (V.ii) 1594, they are "Pompey, Alexander, Judas, Hercules and Hector." At the Field of the Cloth of Gold, 1520, Hercules leads the Nine Worthies (19).

By 1638 Hercules' association with the Nine Worthies was so well established that he had his own identity,

"Hercules among all the other Worthies was most frequently made in a lions skinne". (20).

Hercules was comparable to Hector in that he represented the descent of the great European families from the heroes of the past; in 1600 the Jesuits of Avignon charged with organizing the ceremonial reception given by the city to Marie de Médicis, bestowed on her royal consort the title of Gallic Hercules (21). The representation of the five Worthies including Hercules in Love's Labour's Lost, (V.ii) 1594, followed a popular tradition which had its origins in the Burgundian love of grandeur and display. A book on the Nine Worthies by Richard Lloyd, A briefe discourse of the most renowned actes, and right valiant conquests of those puissant Princes, called the Nine Worthies, London 1584 was thought to have been Shakespeare's source for the masque of the Worthies (22). However, Richard Lloyd lists the Nine Worthies as Hector, Alexander, Julius Caesar, Joshua, Daniel, Judas Maccabeus, Arthur, Charles and Guy of Warwick; John Hawley Roberts has noted the more likely/ ...

(19) Edward Hall, Halls Chronicles, op. cit., 619.

(20) Junius Paints Ancients, 51.

(21) Sez nec, op. cit., 26.

(22) See Professor Abel Lefranc, Sous le Masque de "William Shakespeare", William Stanley VI Comte de Derby, 2 Vols., Paris, 1919.

likely explanation that only Alexander, Judas and Hector find a parallel in Lloyd's poem and it is more likely that Shakespeare followed a general and conventional conception of the Nine Worthies (23). The central figure is Hercules, as the inclusion of Hercules amongst the Nine Worthies heralded the appearance of the heroes in pageants and on the stage; it seems much more likely that Shakespeare, in staging a masque of the heroes would have followed the tradition of stage appearances, rather than the conventional grouping of heroes to be found in literature such as Richard Lloyd's book. In staging the burlesque Masque of the Nine Worthies Shakespeare was to establish the representation of the heroes eponymous, a context in which the Nine Worthies had become frequently associated with the allegorical figure of Hercules. The inclusion of Hercules could further be attributed to the fact that Whetstone in Promos and Cassandra mentions Hercules in connection with the Nine Worthies, although he does not identify him as one of them (24).

The style and tone used by Lloyd are not unique, and Shakespeare has followed the tradition common to many poems and pageants on the Nine Worthies.

In Love's Labour's Lost:

Costard : I Pompey am

Nathaniel : When in the world I lived,  
I was the world's commander

Holofernes: Judas, I am ...,

In the/ ...

(23) John Hawley Roberts, The Nine Worthies, Modern Philology, Vol. 19, 1921-1922, 297.

(24) Quoted by Roberts, op. cit., 298.  
Whetstone, Promos and Cassandra, Part II, I, IV.

In the Verses on the Earliest Woodblock (1454) (25)  
the Worthies speak :

Hector de Troye: Je suis Hector de Troie ou li  
pouvoir fu grans

Le Roy Artus: Je fuy roy de Bretaigne, d'Escoche  
et d'Engleterre

Godfrey de Buillon: Je fu duc de Buillon dont je  
maintins l'onnour.

In Love's Labour's Lost, Shakespeare creates the  
following impression of Hector:

Biron: Hide thy head, Achilles: here comes Hector  
in arms.

Dum: Though my mocks may come back on me, I will  
now be merry.

King: Hector was but a Trojan in respect to this.

Boyet: But is this Hector?

King: I think Hector was not so clean timbered.

Long: His leg is too big for Hector's.

Dum: More calf, certain.

Boyet: No; he is best indued in the small.

Biron: This cannot be Hector.

Dum: He's a god or a painter, for he makes faces.

Lloyd/ ...

(25) I. Gollancz, The Parlement of the Thre Ages, op. cit.,  
Appendix XIV.

Lloyd in his poem has followed the tradition of Dares who describes Hector as fair, curly haired and sandblind, with a lisp (26). The Shakespearian lines provide a simple and witty repartee on the part of the King and his court concerning the traditional conception of Hector and the ludicrous appearance of Armado in the guise of a Trojan hero. It seems certain that Shakespeare was unaware of the Dares tradition or of Lloyd's poem as his keen sense of humour would have encouraged him to make use of the physical deformities and infirmities which are the stock in trade for the writer of burlesque. It seems extraordinary that Shakespeare would have satirized so vaguely Hector's stature, and have missed completely his dimmed vision and his speech impediment (27). In Love's Labour's Lost, Shakespeare gives the following lines to Alexander,

When in the world I lived, I was the world's commander;  
By east, west, north and south, I spread my conquering might;  
My scutcheon plain declares that I am Alisander.

Later, Costard says to Nathaniel,

"O, Sir, you have overthrown Alisander the conquerour,  
You will be scraped out of the painted cloth for this;  
your lion, that holds his poll axe sitting on a close  
stool, will be given to Ajax: he will be the  
Ninth Worthy".

The arms given for Alexander by Shakespeare are similar to those given by Lloyd, but these are the standard arms for Alexander since the earliest examples of the heroes' heraldic/ .....

(26) See Supra, 2.2. The Legends of Troy.

(27) Roberts, op. cit., 301.

heraldic devices (28). Gerard Legh in his Accedens of Armorie, printed in 1591, contemporaneous with Love's Labour's Lost, describes Alexander's arms as

"Geules, a Lion Or, seiante in a  
Chayer, holding a battle axe Argent". (29)

The writer of the burlesque masque in Love's Labour's Lost, was simply following tradition in regard to Alexander and was not necessarily indebted to Richard Lloyd. The masque of the Nine Worthies in Love's Labour's Lost presents the heroes in a manner which belittles the heroes great achievements. The presentation of the Worthies in the dramatic arts disguises the great literary and artistic tradition originating in medieval culture which brought about the image of the heroes eponymous.

(28) Wyss, op. cit., 98-102.

(29) J.H. Roberts, op. cit., 302.

## CONCLUSION

The cult of the Nine Worthies is first and foremost an expression of a translatio. Already Plutarch (47- c.120) had given us an example in his Lives,

"Virtue, through its expression in acts, at once so affects a man that the moment he admires the things done he emulates the doer. The "goods" which come from fortune we value in the acquisition and in the enjoyment; the goods which come from virtue we value in the practice; the first we wish to take for ourselves from others, the second we wish to be available to others from us. The beauty of goodness impels us towards itself; it impels us to act; it implants in us an urge to be up and doing; it influences our characters not by inviting us to look at it as in a picture, but in the very narration of a noble act it furnishes us with the necessary disposition of will."  
(1).

This idea of virtue slowly developed into the concept of De Viris Illustribus of the fourth century. An example is to be found in the Caesares, by Aurelius Victor, an African who presented an enumeration of famous individuals from Proca, King of Alba of Longa, to Antony and Cleopatra, (this is called de viris illustribus urbis Romae). (2). In this way we  
witness/ ...

- (1) R.H. Barrow, Plutarch and his times, Chatto and Windus, London, 1967, 54.
- (2) H.J. Rose, A Handbook of Latin Literature, From the earliest times to the death of St. Augustine, Methuen and Co., 1956, 515.

witness a gradual exemplification of the hero as an idea and an ideal, which could only grow on the culture of words such as legend, i.e. a recommendation to read what is edifying, virtue and exempla in the sense given to them by Bishop Jacques de Vitry in his Sermons (1170-1240). The early illustrated encyclopaedias of Isidorus-Rabanus reveal the tendency to personify the Lord as virtue;

"The Isidorus-Rabanus encyclopaedia had contained the pictures of the same trees and plants, Rabanus had added to each of them a particular allegorical explanation. The cedar became a symbol of Christ or of the Church, the cypress had the same meaning. The evergreen palm tree denoted that man was always flourishing through the splendour of the virtues. In Lambert the eight trees are selected systematically to symbolise the eight beautitudes. The same systematic use of a pictorial formula explains the pictures of the palma virtutum and of the lily." (3)

As these elements were to be integrated in the epic literature of the Middle Ages it is clear that the epics could not exist without the introduction of the heroes eponymous. It is interesting to note that Jacques de Longuyon's choice of the Nine Worthies has been accepted and not Dante's for instance giving preference to Virgil.

In the same vein we consider the problem of genealogy and descendance, theories in the explication of which  
Petrarch/ ...

(3) Fritz Saxl, Lectures, Warburg Institute, London, 1957, 244.

Petrarch excelled (De Viris). The Renaissance attitude leaves us with significant examples such as that of Edmund Spenser,

"I wot full well, that Nations in old time  
for their originall had recourse unto  
Hercules, and in later ages to the Trojans  
let Antiquity heerein be pardoned, if by  
entermingling falsities and truthes, humane  
matters and divine altogether, it make the  
first beginnings of nations and cities more  
noble, sacred and of greater maiestie." (4).

Here we have an example of a virtuous translation in the spirit of the Nine Worthies carried through history.

The Nine Worthies represent the embodiment of a chivalric idea; from the fourteenth to the seventeenth century one wanted to identify with the concept of virtue as expressed in the cult of chivalry. The association of the Nine Worthies with the cult of chivalry exercised a positive influence on European culture:

"There can be no doubt that this ideal of chivalry, loyalty, courage and self control has contributed much to the civilizations which upheld it. Even if the greater part of it was fiction and fantasy in public life and in education it certainly raised the tone. But under the influence of epic and romantic fancy the historical image of such peoples/ ...

(4) E. Greenlaw, Studies in Spenser's historical allegory, Baltimore, 1932, 23.

peoples as professed that ideal underwent an enchanted transformation." (5).

It was at that moment that Jacques de Longuyon conceived the idea of iconological types for various expressive modes of virtue. It is interesting to note that these personified virtues are grouped in triads and the triads correspond exactly with two major sources of influence on Western Culture, i.e. the Judaic and classic civilizations. Since principally iconology is based on the consideration of biblical sources blended with references from classical sources to match the present day history. It is interesting to note that these principles almost naturally seem to have come into the scheme proposed by Jacques de Longuyon. In order to prove and to mark ones actual position of strength based on principles of virtue this whole idea seems reinforced even more by the problem of descendance. If the feudal Knight has proved and defended his descendance by the sword, the chivalric knight intended to do so by means of civility and virtue. It is not surprising to watch the developments of heraldry in the chivalric period. Heraldry in fact could be considered the externalisation and realisation of the idea of descendance, establishing an elitist society of qualities gained by birth, power and education. It has always been one of man's innermost drives to follow examples, the good ones as well as the bad ones. The chivalric culture of the fourteenth century by word of Jacques de Longuyon demonstrated the urge for heroic and virtuous examples to be set. Where better could they be found than in the history of the major sources influencing the emerging medieval Europe. The iconographic development/ ...

(5) J. Huizinga, Homo Ludens, Routledge and Kegan Paul, London, 1949, 103.

development in the imagery of the Nine Worthies shows us a gradual development from rather conceptual heroes without attributes to contemporary portrayed figures with coats of arms and recognisable symbols, which in itself explains the influence of genealogical sequences. It is even possible to point at a certain evolutionary progression of the idea of prefiguration as we know it from the well known examples of the Old Testament prefiguring the New. Where in the case of the Nine Worthies we could point at the prefiguration of Alexander's exploits seen against those of Godfrey of Bouillon. Alexander's fierce intolerance of the infidels, the "felon Bedouin" prefigures Godfrey of Bouillon's adoption of the same attitude, a manifestation of the xenophobic attitude of the crusaders. The example of Alexander prefiguring Godfrey of Bouillon is interesting as it presents a pagan hero amongst the Nine Worthies prefiguring a Christian hero.

The great cultural transition carried by the idea of *Translatio Imperii* represents a distant cause in the evolution of thought which brought about the choice of the Nine Worthies. However, a cause is to be found in the change of the feudal structure into a system of social strata which became available for non-economic, for intellectual interests. The Knights, especially, became an extensive class which during the periods when it is not occupied with war and feuds, is obliged to look for some intellectual activity. The bondage of the age of feudalism was such that the Nine Worthies could only have been conceived of by the wealthy patrons of the age of chivalry;

"Only under/ ...

"Only under a feudal aristocracy are deadly serious vows made to accomplish unheard of feats; only here do banners, crests and scutcheons, become objects of veneration, chivalric orders bloom and questions of rank and precedence become the most vital in life. Only a feudal aristocracy has time for such things." (6).

The idea of the informal transmission of culture was put forward by the troubadours in the new lyrics. The thirteenth century English lyrics dealing with the theme of the Ubi Sunt may have been responsible in part for the origins of the Nine Worthies but even in a more general sense the troubadours had a great contribution to make in the transmission of secular values:

"In fact however, an unmistakable continuity connects the Provencal love song with the love poetry of the later middle ages and thence through Petrarch and many others." (7).

Dante's Divine Comedy seems to prove the importance of the vulgarisation of ideas which contributed to the fame of the Nine Worthies, as he wrote the Divine Comedy in Italian in order to make it more accessible to the people of Medieval Europe. Dante's great celestial vision in the Divine Comedy gives a supreme example of the recurrent number symbolism of the Middle Ages, of which Dante seems to have been the last prophet. But there is a broader sense in which Dante's Divine Comedy can be related to Medieval European culture and the ensuing cultural trends; it is related to the play element of culture expressed by Huizinga/ ....

(6) Ibid, 102.

(7) C.S. Lewis, The Allegory of Love, op. cit., 3.

Huizinga in Homo Ludens. Drama which revolves around Christ leading to the search for the virtues and the conquering of the vices, (8) is the context in which Dante places the Nine Worthies. The primary theme of legends and dramas is certainly heroic chastity; the triumphant assertion with Christ's help in life, or in a martyr's death, of individual purity such as that of Beatrice in the Divine Comedy. These are the central features of the medieval drama of life which was staged in sixteenth century pageants of the Nine Worthies.

The appeal of the Nine Worthies lay in their ability to bridge the gap between the chivalric idea of heroism and the realities of a strictly hierarchical society. The Nine Worthies had an important function in that they represented a freedom from reality which contributed to the importance of the play element in culture. The heroism of the Nine Worthies and the chivalric ideal of virtue and honour had originated in the medieval tradition and continued during the Renaissance,

"the whole mental attitude of the Renaissance was one of play. This striving at once sophisticated and spontaneous, for beauty and nobility of form, is an instance of culture at play." (9).

However, by the later seventeenth century the theme of the game and play of the hero which had inspired the Nine Worthies came to an abrupt end in the fact of the overwhelming forces of rationalism of the later  
seventeenth/ ...

(8) D.A. Bullough, Games People Played, op. cit., 109.

(9) Huizinga, Homo Ludens, op. cit., 180.

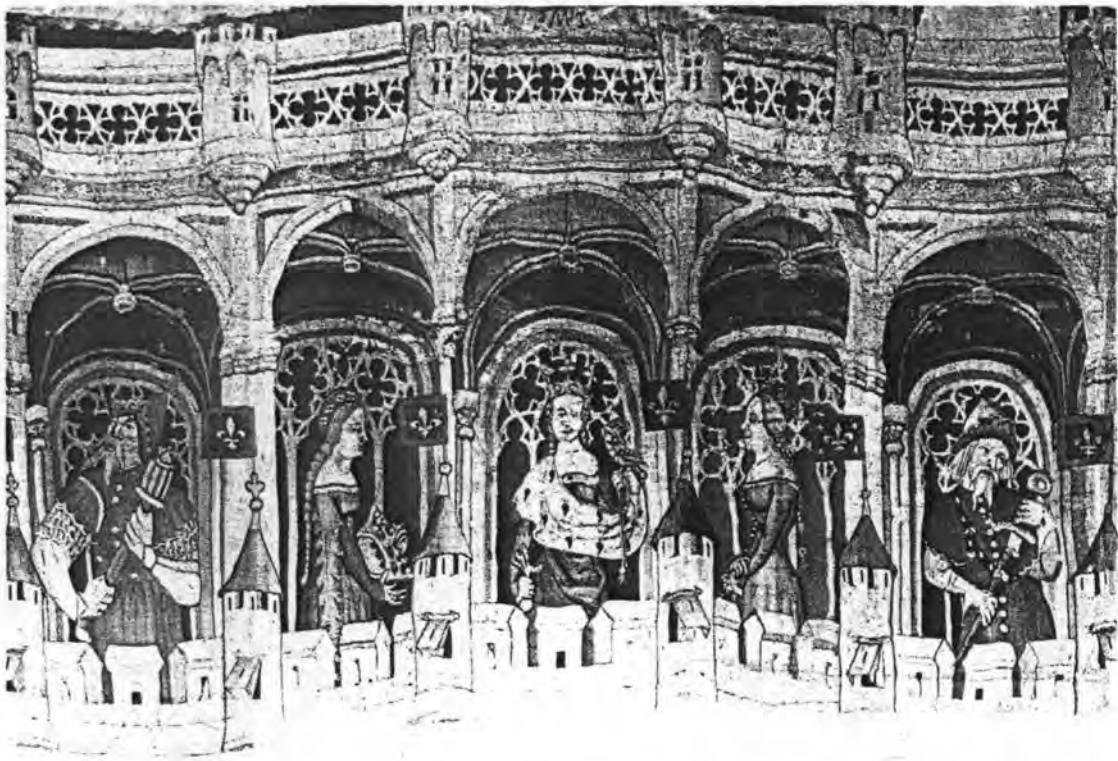
seventeenth century. The highly serious age of Descartes, Pascal and Spinoza, of blossoming science and the great moralists represented an age very different to that which had inspired the young Duke of Lorraine to attend the funeral of Charles the Bold at Nancy dressed in "the antique style", and wearing a long golden beard which reached to his girdle. Thus representing one of the Nine Worthies, the Duke had prayed for a quarter of an hour. (10).

(10) J. Huizinga, The Waning of the Middle Ages, op. cit., 326.

ILLUSTRATIONS



Detail of King Arthur, Nine Worthies Tapestry, End of the XIV Century ca. 1385. The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York.



Courtiers and Warriors, Detail from the Three Hebrew Heroes, one of the Nine Heroes tapestries; French late XIV Century. The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Cloisters Collection, Gift of John D. Rockefeller Jr. 1947.



Alexander Detail from the Three Pagan Heroes Tapestries, French late XIV Century. The Metropolitan Museum of Art, The Cloisters Collection gift of John D. Rockefeller, Jr. 1947.



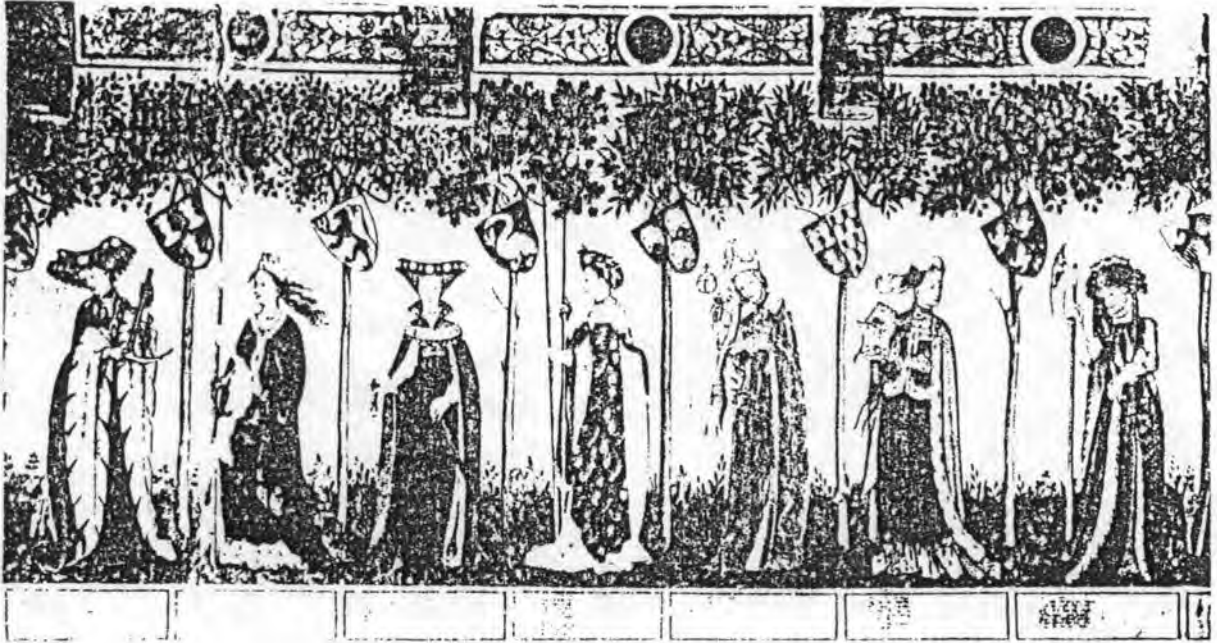
The Three Christian Worthies, Arthur, Charlemagne and Godfrey of Bouillon (from left to right), Tapestry, Historisches Museum, Basle, c.1475.



The Nine Worthies, (from left to right)

Alexander, Julius Caesar, Hector; Joshua, David, Judas Maccabeus; Arthur, Charlemagne, Godfrey of Bouillon. An illustration of "Le Chevalier Errant", by Tommaso Saluzzo.

MS Bib. Nat. Fr. 12559, f.125. c.1390.



Series of Nine Worthy Women, Piedmontese School, first half of fifteenth century, Mural, Castle La Manta. c.1430.

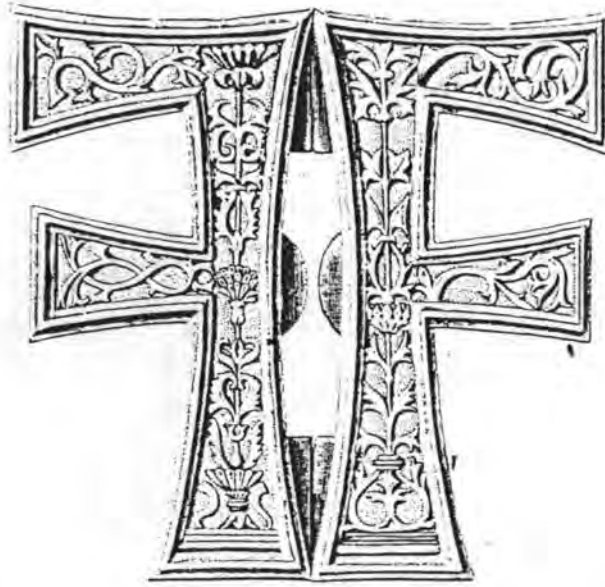


Judas Maccabeus, Arthur, Charlemagne. Mural, La Manta, c.1430.

Alexander



Judas Maccabeus



Joshua



Charlemagne



Julius Caesar



Hector



King Arthur



David



Godfrey of Bouillon



Fifteenth century Woodcut of The Nine Worthies, collection of Mr Charles Sauvageot.



Die Kunde oß ynschid hatter nit lich in lunde  
 Got ericht durch mich in dinst jaghe vñ wüder  
 Das mer in sich uf dar durch hiet ich an volk dem  
 Vber den isodan dar vlor eming had in leber  
 Xij künge bywang ich uff der farw  
 Ich herb in mit xxv iär. E got geborn ward



Narpe platerie das soucpl hân ich tod ädte  
 Vi oler wand te vngeluge goliath mit macht  
 In allen güte colen gab mî ur den bnf  
 Nach künge salz tod besall ich das küngrich  
 Vñ wistiget gowes geburt uff die vart  
 Wol a). iär. E got geborn ward



Ich besall ih musale vnd die a miopli  
 Die was mang bedywardet mî ad grom  
 Die Jarfort ich vñ vñicht wüde de iudische glöbe  
 Vñ erschlug annoch mit alle sine here  
 Och apollo dar nach nâ in mî lebe licher war  
 Ein eude E got geborn ward. Ar. 119 Jar

The Three Jewish Worthies, Woodcuts, c.1460-80.  
 Ed. A.45, Burgerbibliothek, Berne.



Ist bîn hietor oß any mîk wîbîc mîngfalt  
 Die künge sich ich kossî bîr nur mir gode gualt  
 Si schlüget sich se vnd dar vor lagen si in gîr sag  
 Ich erschlug in xxx künge die was d küngrich tag  
 Achilles isal in dag iudîc dî ich nur war nam  
 X vnd lxx iär E got wîschige an sich u

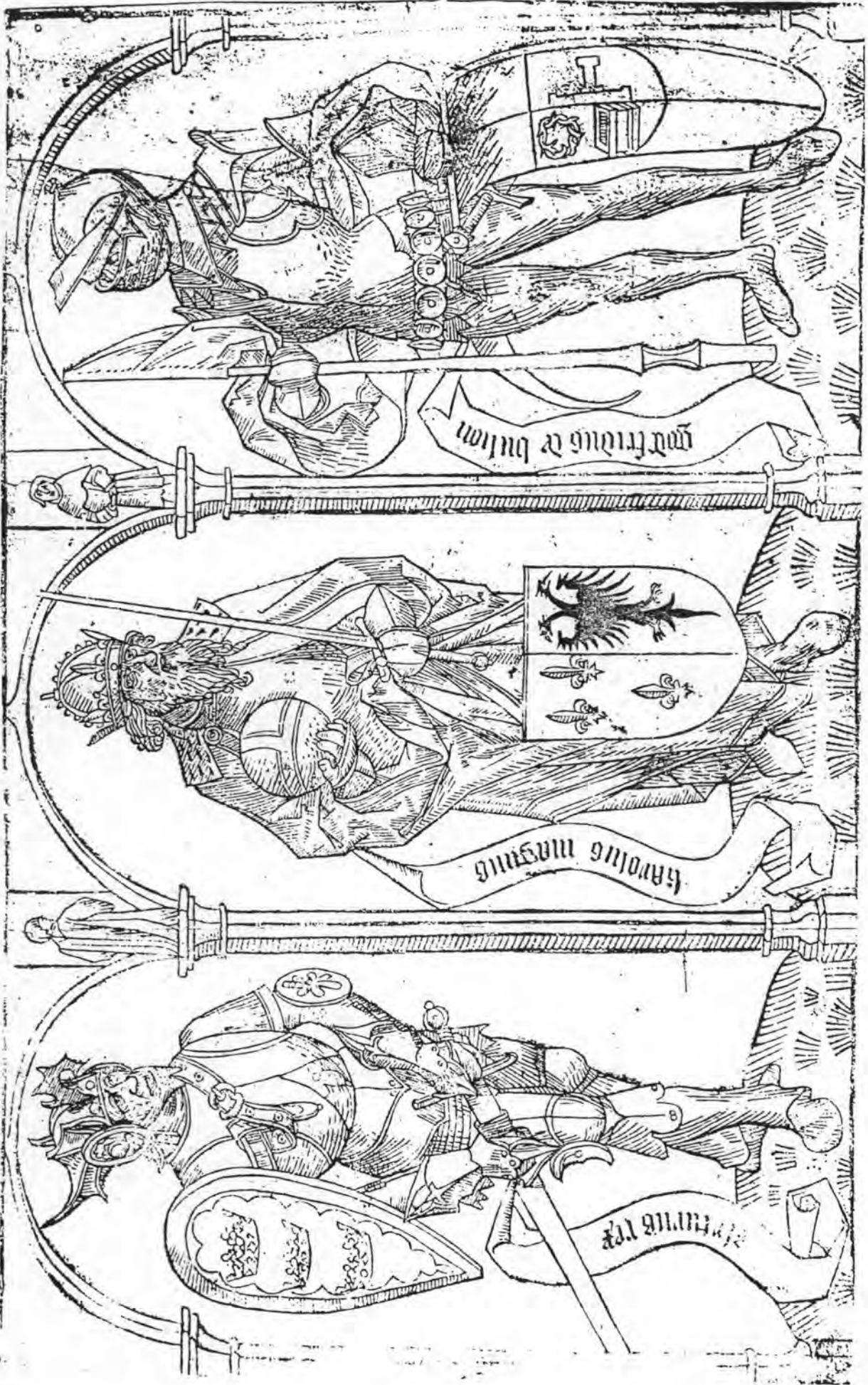


Durch mî macht bywang ich die isten ewer nuer  
 Zu ewer vñ ewer wîllîc zil nur lagen her  
 Künge dary wænt ich vñ gwan pönus  
 Die groß babilon gewan ich nur wîlres unank  
 Alle wîle wurd mîr in dîn dî wîd mîr ogelc  
 In iär vor gowes geburt muete ich lichen



Ich was kaiser zu Rom die er besall ich  
 Ich bywang slavon rûst land vñ fînk rich  
 Douper mîr lîj mæht zwugt ward mîr wîr hâd  
 Iapitîc ward mîr vñ dîn vñ alle rîschîc land  
 Nach mîr wîlle dar wîch gelag ich vor sine war  
 Vor vîlres here geburt xxxv Jar

The Three Pagan Worthies, Woodcuts, c.1460-80, Ed.  
 A.45 Burgerbibliothek, Berne.



The Three Christian Worthies, Woodcut, Kunsthalle, Hamburg, c.1490.



Des enfans d'israel hige fortment amies  
 D'vostz maistres & de vostz moiaultz vriers  
 Le royaume mer pti plus su p moi pallis  
 I effiez ouz deus sen fu maint prien assis  
 A ruyz mois cōquis puis monz nē dubitez  
 V'aneurent cy que j'hus cristifit ues

Je trouuai sou de huy & de plaisirion  
 Se hui goliath le c'and grant selon  
 En bataille & millez ome fit on apreu  
 Apres le roi saul m'infins la regnon  
 & le prophete de dieu la nacion  
 Bien m'ans deuaist son iurarnacion

Je tins iherusalem & le loy de moyse  
 Qui estoit quand je dius a perdition mist  
 Les yddes ostai si tins la loy iuse  
 Amhorus tunc dont se gent fu orise  
 & apolomon puis moru quand sy vici  
 C'as auant que dieu ot dre saie prise

The Three Jewish Worthies, Woodcut, c.1460-70, MS Fr. 4985, Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris.



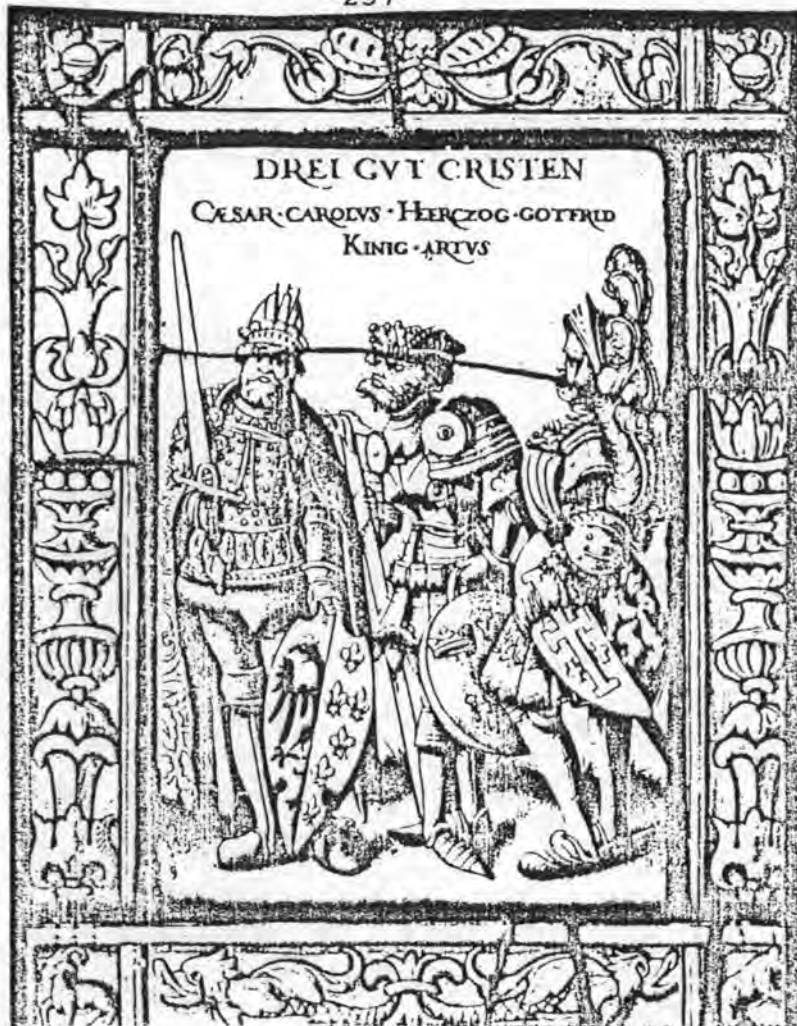
The Three Pagan Worthies, Woodcuts by Lucas van Leyden, c.1517.



The Three Jewish Worthies, Woodcuts by Lucas van Leyden, c.1516.



Charlemagne and Arthur, Statues, Hansasaal, Cologne, c.1325.



The Three Christian Heroes, stained glass, Augsburg, 1535-40. Germanisches National Museum, Nürnberg.



The Three Christians amongst  
The Nine Worthy Women,  
St. Helen, St. Brigid,  
St. Elizabeth. Stained  
Glass, Augsburg, 1535-40.  
Germanisches National  
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