# Material Malory: the Caxton and Winchester Documents

# and a Parallel-Text Edition

by

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Abstract

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The Roman War accounts found in the Winchester manuscript (BL Add 59678) and in Caxton's edition of *Le Morte Darthur* offer a tale of campaign, strategy, and conquest. Malory's postponement of the traditional disaster it precipitated and the positioning of England within the historical empires of the world make it a critical tale in understanding the issue of geographical politics, governance, and nation within the work. For fifteenth-century audiences, the chapter's concern with geography, empire, and models of kingship sparked radical revisions in order to best express the concerns and perspective of the writer/redactor and its subsequent editor. The two witnesses to Malory's Roman War account are examined, via the textual, ideological, social, and material relation of the two texts, as central in articulating a claim of imperial domain over the "Romaynes and Sarazens" of the exotic East. The Caxton text is studied as a

recontextualization of the Roman War account in light of the waning hopes of the Crusades and the early impact of printed maps of Ptolemy's *Geographia*.

This study also analyzes the theoretical underpinnings of the parallel-text edition as an editorial form and its relation to literary studies, with an emphasis on Middle English editing. Four major parallel-text editions from the last twenty years are critiqued. The study articulates guiding principles for scholarly parallel-text editions and provides a parallel-text edition of the Roman War account grounded in those principles. A textual history of the Malory documents and the ideology of 20th century editions, particularly Eugene Vinaver's *Works*, are explored within the context of materialism and "New Philology."

# TABLE OF CONTENTS

List of Figures ..... ii

Introduction ..... 1

Chapter One: "More Odd Texts": A Theory of Parallel Texts ..... 5
Part One: An Excursus on Parallel-Text Editions ..... 6
Part Two: Parallel-Texts and Material Philology ..... 28

Chapter Two: "Alas! Who may truste thys world?": A Textual History of the Winchester Manuscript and the Caxton Printed Edition ..... 64

Chapter Three: Mapping the Roman War ..... 125

Chapter Four: Editorial Methodology ..... 184

Chapter Five: A Parallel-Text Edition of the Winchester and Caxton Versions ..... 195

Works Cited ..... 274

## LIST OF FIGURES

Figure Number


1. The *Riverside Chaucer* parallel-text of *The Legend of Good Women*..... 60

2. A. V. C. Schmidt's parallel-text of *Pier Plowman*..... 61

3. Michael Warren's parallel-text of *King Lear*..... ..... 62

4. The Norton parallel-text of *The Prologue*..... ..... 63

5. "T-O" maps from Caxton's edition of *Mirrour of the World* ..... .....181

6. Text of Hermanus Levilapis's 1475 *Geographia*..... .....182

7. Map of the world in Ptolemy's second projection (Ulm edition).....183

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## Dedication

To Jerome, Conor, and Nicolai—its 100% done.

## Introduction

In the Winchester manuscript, Arthur speculates that, after having conquered Rome, that he should go over the "salt see" to Jerusalem to revenge the death of Christ. In the shortened version in the Caxton edition of Sir Thomas Malory's *Le Morte Darthur*, this reference, along with other additions and deletions change the nature of Arthur's encounter with the East. I argue that the differences between the two texts may be found in changing geographical knowledge from the mid to late fifteenth century as well as changing responses to the "threat from the infydels." This study explores these issues via the textual, ideological, social, and material relation of the two texts.

The two Malory documents at issue, the Caxton printed book of 1485 and the "roughly contemporary" Winchester manuscript, have posed questions of textual authority to scholars since the discovery of the Winchester manuscript in 1934. Eugene Vinaver, editor of the first edition based on the Winchester (*The Works of Sir Thomas Malory*), P. J. C. Field, editor of the third revised edition of Vinaver's edition, William Matthews, advocate for the validity of the Caxton text, and James Spisak, editor of the 1989 edition based on Caxton texts, have all, despite the polar opposition of their conclusions, mounted intention-based arguments over the textual relations of the two texts, each side claiming greater evidence of authorial intention in the text they advocated. Vinaver argued vociferously that Caxton corrupted Malory's work via the printing and editing process. While most scholars no longer affirm the conclusions of

Vinaver—that Caxton as an editor systematically "corrupted" Malory's work—there is broad acceptance of the view that Caxton was the likely editor of the text he printed and that the Winchester is "closer to what Malory wrote." Rather than basing his edition on the Winchester, however, there is also evidence that Caxton may have chosen to base his printed text on another copy of Malory's work, now lost to posterity (Mukai). Why Caxton chose his presumed copy text over the Winchester or why he himself might have undertaken to revise the text are subjects of wide speculation. While it is indisputable that the Caxton edition presents a mediated text—a text that resulted from the practices of the emerging printing trade—little work has been done to articulate the context of that mediation and the mediation of the Winchester manuscript.

The present study does not argue the relative merits of the Caxton or Winchester texts as competing witnesses to a hypothetical authoritative version of the work, but rather explores the two material texts as a means of considering the complex representation of the East as well as issues of governance in late medieval England. This project attempts to recuperate the place of Caxton's edition of *Le Morte Darthur* as a significant material and literary artifact in studying fifteenth-century literary culture, a position that has been obscured as the editorial mediation of the Caxton text became a focus of post-Winchester scholarship. I attempt this recuperation, not with a claim, as Spisak, Kindrick, and Matthews have argued, for textual authority based on primacy or nearness to authorial intention, but based on its unique position in print culture, its relation to the Winchester manuscript, and the cultural work Caxton's edition performed. The Roman War account, in particular, is central to our understanding of Caxton's role in

shaping and reflecting the interests and concerns of the reading public. Caxton's work, more generally, presents an ideological shift as part of the formation of English vernacular and lay literary culture of which *Le Morte Darthur*, as part of Caxton's "Nine Worthies" project, was a key text. The Winchester manuscript and Caxton's *Le Morte Darthur* provide the material basis for this inquiry.

The Roman War account is the site of the largest textual variation between the two Malory documents and, in addition to seeding the greatest controversy in the Winchester-Caxton textual debate, offers a look at the shift in literary culture and politics from 1469, when Malory is assumed to have completed his copy, to 1485 when it was published in book form. Upon the death of Edward the IV in 1483, Richard III assumed the throne of England, in a highly charged political milieu, followed in 1485 by Henry VII. The Roman War account as represented in the Malory texts reflects two versions of a changing ideal of leadership and English nationalism and implicitly addresses the contemporary crises of authority: internally, in terms of the complex relation of nobles to king, and externally, in terms of England's perception of ascendancy to the great historical empires: Babylon, Persia, Athens, Rome. Book Five of Caxton's edition of *Le Morte Dathur* and fol 71r – 96r in the Winchester manuscript present the account of King Arthur's Roman Campaign, a campaign in which Arthur defeats the emperor Lucius and the armies of the East, including Babylon, Turkey, and Africa—a move which appropriates the mantle of these realms for England. How the two versions grapple with England's relation to Rome and the fifteenth-century geographic conception of England's

place in the world provides critical insight into the struggle for authority and governance that marked the relation of king and nobles in mid-fifteenth-century England.

The parallel-text edition which accompanies this study provides an essential critical tool in understanding the effect of the shift from manuscript to print on the contour and focus of Arthurian romance as it emerged from the fifteenth century. I provide an in-depth textual study of the parallel-text edition as an editorial form and its relation to literary studies, with an emphasis on Middle English editing. While scholars have used the parallel-text edition and commented upon it within individual literary works, no study of the theoretical implications of the editorial form and its interpretive implications is yet available. This study analyzes the theoretical underpinnings of parallel-text editions, critique four major parallel-text editions from the last twenty years, articulate guiding principles for scholarly parallel-text editions, and provides a parallel-text edition of the Roman War account that is grounded in those principles.

# Chapter One:
# "More Odd Texts": A Theory of Parallel Texts

*How are we to understand the ways in which the form that transmits a text to its readers or hearers constrains the production of meaning?*

- Roger Chartier (1)

In the past twenty years, the parallel-text edition has gained wider use as an editorial form. Despite this increasing, though controversial, popularity, little scholarship has been done on the editorial form itself and the textual theories, which underlie it. Similarly, scant attention has been paid to the forms of interpretation that such editions generate, the ways that they can or cannot be read, and the characteristics that might distinguish good scholarly parallel-text editions from less useful ones. In this study, I argue that a parallel-text edition of Malory's Roman War account in the Caxton and Winchester versions will provide a critical addition to the current eclectic and facsimile editions. Such a parallel-text edition of Malory's work marks a conscious effort to produce an edition, which emerges out of the theoretical perspective of material philology. Before taking up these arguments, it is necessary to explore the theoretical implications of the parallel-text form fully and to provide an excursus on its use in post-modern editions of the late twentieth and early twenty-first centuries. Post-structuralism and textual theory have affected the shape of critical literary editions during this period

and, though many editions do not explicitly state their situatedness in this nexus, scholars who claim that parallel-text editions are merely pragmatic responses to corrupted texts fail to see that, despite the assertion that social theories of texts have failed to provide corresponding editions, the parallel-text editorial form is in fact an embodiment of an approach to texts rooted in post-structuralist theory. The past fifteen or so years have seen a number of significant parallel-text editions of major works (*King Lear*, *Piers Plowman*, *The Prelude*), but even these editions often have been presented as apologetic editorial forms which address otherwise irresolvable textual problems.[1] Far from apologizing for their use, I explore the function of parallel texts and the way this particular form encourages the examination of a social history of texts.

## Part One: An Excursus on Parallel-Text Editions

This excursus looks, in particular, at parallel-text editions that have been considered landmarks within their literary period: the Riverside Chaucer's parallel-text of the F and G versions of the prologue to *The Legend of Good Women*, A. V. C. Schmidt's four-version parallel-text edition of *Piers Plowman*, Michael Warren's *Parallel King Lear 1608-1623*, and Jonathan Wordsworth's parallel text of Wordsworth's *The Prelude*. Although the parallel-text form is again in vogue as an editorial practice, it is hardly a new form: one early attempt to produce a parallel-text edition was that of Henry Wharton

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[1] For example, see Fellows's article entitled "Author, Author, Author . . . : An Apology for Parallel-Texts."

and his 1688 edition of Pecock's *Treatise Proving Scripture to be the Rule of Faith*.[2]

Wharton wistfully notes:

> I had once intended to represent his Arguments in our modern Language, and publish both together in distinct Columns, but the fear of inlarging these Papers too much, deterred me from pursuing that design. (xl)

Wharton's concerns show that editors have struggled with the challenge of the parallel-text format for some time! Wharton himself was preceded by a more successful endeavor to produce a parallel-text: an edition of facing page translations was published in 1566 by Archbishop Parker, *A Testimonie of Antiquitie* in which a sermon by Aelfric is placed side by side with a contemporary translation. A. S. G. Edwards notes that Parker's parallel-text was used as a means of resolving the problems of "presenting an antique text to a modern audience" ("Observations" 38). The parallel-text format was also employed by medieval scholars of the mid- and late-nineteenth century, in particular Frederick Furnivall and other contributors to the Early English Text Society (EETS) series. Parallel-text editions issued by Furnivall and EETS include *A Parallel-Text Print of Chaucer's Troilus and Criseyde, Three More Parallel Texts of Chaucer's Troilus and Criseyde, A Parallel-Text Edition of Chaucer's Minor Poems, A Supplementary Parallel-Text Edition of Chaucer's Minor Poems [For Which There is Not Room in the Parallel-Text Edition]*, and *More Odd Texts of Chaucer's Minor Poems*. Walter W. Skeat likewise published his *Parallel Extracts from Forty-Five Manuscripts of Piers Plowman*

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[2] Edwards discusses Wharton's edition in "Observations on the History of Middle English Editing."

in 1866, and Julius Zupitza produced a parallel-text edition of the Auchinleck and Caius texts of *The Romance of Guy of Warwick* (1883-91), both also for EETS. The declared purpose of Furnivall's work was primarily to amass diplomatic transcriptions that "[a]ll we Chaucer-men" (*Trial* 52) might share at a time when access to manuscripts was limited. It was an editorial choice for comprehensiveness and chronology that was, as David Greetham has noted "an essentially historical activity" which legitimized the editing of vernacular texts. (Greetham, *Scholarship* 320). David Matthews has also argued that Furnivall exerted a democratizing function in making these texts more widely available through manuscript transcription and parallel-texts, breaking an elite hold on these texts.[3] In his *Trial Forewords to My 'Parallel-Text Edition of Chaucer's Minor Poems,'* Furnivall states, "The chief interest of the investigation has been to me the watching of the growth of the Poet's mind and power from his earliest efforts to the greatest triumphs of his genius" (*Trial* 6). The parallel-text format provided a chronological basis from which Furnivall hypothesized "growth"—that is, the assumption that the most-polished manuscripts were most often the products of authorial revision. The work of Furnivall and other EETS editors laid the groundwork for the ensuing eclectic editions of the early twentieth century by establishing a form of raw material archive from which editors selected a "best text" or from which variants were collated.

While medievalists have been, and largely remain,[4] skeptical of the value of the parallel-

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[3] David Matthews discusses this aspect of Furnivall's work in *The Making of Middle English, 1765-1910.*
[4] See Allen's frequently quoted article, "Some Sceptical Observations on Editing of *The Awntyrs off Arthur.*"

text edition, a related, though distinct, form has been of significant interest in translation theory.[5] Recent notable examples of facing-page translation, a particular form of a parallel-text edition, include Harvard University's *I Tatti* series (1995 - ), with facing-page Latin-English translation of classic Latin works, and the *Gesta Guillelmi of William of Poitiers* a Latin/English edition translated by R. H. C. Davis and Marjorie Chibnall and published by Oxford's Clarendon Press (1998) as part of the Oxford Medieval Text series. The facing-page translation has become a standard medium for poetry translation. While facing-page translation is a distinct type of edition from a parallel-text edition of versions of a literary work, the impetus for foregrounding of the translator's decisions is similar to the impetus to bring to the reader the different versions of a literary work. In English literary studies, however, the parallel-text edition of documentary versions of a work is still somewhat suspect. Kane and Donaldson once characterized any edition short of a fully "reconstructed" critical edition as little more than a "poor spirited and slothful undertaking" (129). Even more recent criticism continues this uneasiness: Nicolas Jacobs characterizes the argument against parallel-text editions as a lapse into "strong relativism," the implications of which for an editor are that "he or she should in effect cease to edit, and should merely reproduce . . . as many versions of the chosen text as are to hand..." (5). Despite such criticism, the number of parallel-text editions issued by scholars of medieval literature continues to grow, albeit slowly.[6] The parallel text is

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[5] See Hartmann, Harris, and Schaffner.

[6] Embree's and Urquhart's *The Simonie: A Parallel-Text Edition,* published in 1991, and Millward's *La Estorie del Evangelie: A Parallel-Text Edition* in 1998 were both part of *The Middle English Texts* series. Burton's parallel-text edition of *Sidrak and Bokus* was published in 1998.

once again being utilized to meet the critical questions of current literary interests, though for different purposes than by those the nineteenth-century editors of EETS and "[a]ll we Chaucer-men" envisaged.

Central to the debate over the post-eclectic, parallel-text edition as an editorial form is the controversial question of the decentering of the author. Eclectic editions[7] generally claim to focus on establishing the likely intent of an author, "what the author actually wrote," while parallel texts range in focus from authorial to uncertainly authorial readings, to decidedly non-authorial issues in which later redactors', scribes', or printers' versions are of interest. In *Writing East: The "Travels" of Sir John Mandeville*, Iain McLeod Higgins argues the value of studying redactors' versions by proposing a view of multiple witnesses as textual isotopes. As a rhetorical construction, a parallel-text editor formulates as his or her essential question: What is the significance of difference? How do parallel-text editions exploit the representation of difference? Parallel-text editions that represent the physical manifestations of two or more texts often shift the site of inquiry from authorial intention to that of material production and the "life" of a work. This includes the historical conditions, which plausibly explain the state of difference—even if those conditions are "ultimately irrecoverable" (Grigely 48). A parallel text, foregrounding a dialogic stance, attempts to respond within a framework of a social

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[7] While eclectic editions are often referred to as critical editions or conflated editions, I reject the former because it reserves the use of the term "critical" for one particular edition. All scholarly editions, I would argue, are "critical" in that they result from critical scholarship. See McGann *The Textual Condition* 48-50. The latter term, "conflative," used by Weiss in *King Lear: A Parallel-Text Edition*, refers to the practice of eclectic editors to use several versions to create a single-text. However, "conflative" seems to imply a pejorative stance toward eclectic editing, for which reason I also reject the term.

theories of texts and, even when the two (or more) texts are attributed to a single author, as in the case of revised texts, such editions foreground a social logic of the text.

Before pursuing the theoretical implications of parallel texts further, I wish to examine four of the many parallel-text editions that have been published in the last twenty years as exempla for the theoretical foundation of my investigation into the ways in which this particular editorial form functions.

## The F and G versions of the Prologue to the *Legend of Good Women* in The Riverside Chaucer

Of all of Chaucer's works, the manuscripts that contain the prologue to the *Legend of Good Women* appear to represent an authorial revision. Generally regarded as the last of Chaucer's dream-vision poems, the *Legend* presents an intriguing textual history. *The Riverside Chaucer*, edited by Larry Benson and a team of collaborators on the basis of the earlier work of F. N. Robinson, presents the prologue of the *Legend* as a parallel text (edited by A. S. G. Edwards and M. C. E. Shaner), the only parallel-text version of Chaucer's work to appear in the Riverside edition. (See Figure 1.) Cambridge, University Library, MS Gg. 4.27 (G), the earliest surviving manuscript, provided the base text for Robinson's initial Riverside edition of the poem. Robinson himself followed the editorial tradition of Skeat in selected G as the base text. (Most of the other editions of Chaucer's works in the *Riverside* use the Fairfax (F) manuscript as their base text.) In the revised *Riverside* (1987), Edwards and Shaner have treated G "with skepticism" while

also recognizing the complexity of issues surrounding its status as the "earliest of the manuscripts" (xlvi) yet as an authorially revised version of the prologue. Ever since the scholarship of John Livingston Lowes in the early 1900's, the t ext of the prologue in G has generally been regarded as revised by Chaucer himself and, in view of its early dating (first quarter of fifteenth century), was characterized by Robinson as possessing a "peculiar authority" (1178). In *The Riverside*, the explicit used to communally mark both the prologue versions is taken from G, whereas the jointly-assigned title to the versions is supplied from F. (The G manuscript does not include a title).

The parallel-text is laid out such that each text is represented in its manuscript order: where particular passages appear "out of order" in regard to the other of the paired text, a line reference to that section is given, rather than a side-by-side format. Textual notes are provided for each version individually. While recognizing that the multiplicity of witnesses qualify the *Legend* as "one of Chaucer's most problematical" texts (588), neither Shaner's introduction to the *Legend* nor the "General Introduction" nor the "Textual Notes" include any explicit discussion as to why this—lone among all the Chaucer texts presented—was chosen to be reproduced in a parallel-text format.

Tim Machan argues that Chaucer's works which survive in multiple copies "reveal how distinctively the process of manuscript production shaped the character of medieval literature" ("Texts" 433). Machan notes that in the case of the *Legend,* the G version has gained authority on the basis of its being considered by Robinson and other editors, following Lowes, as "more dramatically and artistically successful than the F

version . . . [and that] many critics conclude that G must represent Chaucer's final treatment of the matter" (437). Despite the allegedly authorial revision, G is considered to be the earliest witness of the twelve extant manuscripts, thereby presenting, paradoxically, both the earliest manuscript and the latest authorial revision. Machan argues that the choice to provide only one parallel-text edition among Chaucer's works in *The Riverside* makes a "kind of pre-interpretive decision" for readers, one which implies:

> that the transmission history of the prologue is so profoundly different from those of the rest of Chaucer's works that it alone merits recognition of the possibility of revision and an indeterminate final form, since it alone is printed with parallel texts, even though the transmission of other works displays a good deal of variation and possible revision. ("Texts" 438)

By way of contrast, Machan notes that the link intervening between the Monk's Tale and the Nun's Priest's Tale also survives in two versions, but only the longer (and, presumably, later and better) version is printed in *The Riverside*. Machan here identifies an important crux in the theoretical implications of the parallel text: that parallel-text editions present readers with a condition of uncertainty. Machan argues that the single version of the prologue of the Nun's Priest's Tale provided in the *Riverside* contributes to the impression that the Canterbury Tales is an integral, a polished work and that, by contrast, the prologue to the *Legend* "appears both aberrant in the Chaucerian canon and resistant to the textual certitude on which critical interpretation often rests" ("Texts" 438). In addition, the lack of any critical discussion preceding the two texts which would

explicitly address the interpretive impact of the use of the parallel-text format, leaves readers—typically students—to draw conclusions such as those which Machan indicates: that the *Legend* is a uniquely uncertain component in the Chaucer canon. While the treatment of the prologue of *The Legend of Good Women* as a parallel text has the potential to open a discussion of the manuscript transmission of Chaucer's works and manuscript culture in general, this opportunity is also eclipsed by the lack of critical commentary preceding the parallel text. By presenting the two versions of the prologue, *The Riverside* edition relies on the best textual scholarship but fails to acknowledge the interpretive distinctions that arise from the spatial arrangement of a parallel-text versus an eclectic, single-text version. Lastly, the choice to present passages from F and G only in their manuscript order means that the reader does not always have the benefit of side-by-side alignment of the two versions. For example, when the G version reads: "For trusteth wel, I ne have nat undertake/As of the lef again the flour to make" (71-72), the reader is provided with the corresponding line numbers in F and thus must turn forward one page to find the corresponding passage. Only by rolling and compressing the intervening page, might the reader approximate a side-by-side study of the corresponding passages. Other parallel-text editors have dealt with this issue by providing the differently ordered, or transposited, passages in smaller type or in italics to facilitate such comparative study. The opportunity to document widely separated variants, in footnotes or in another form of apparatus on the pages themselves, was perhaps precluded by *The Riverside's* discrete "Textual Notes" section. *The Riverside Chaucer*, then, does not provide a full critical

parallel-text edition of the prologue of the *Legend of Good Women* so much as a gesture toward the acknowledgement of the prologue's manuscript transmission. Nevertheless, its configuration of texts can provide a springboard to class discussions of manuscript culture and the complexities of textual editing.

## A. V. C. Schmidt's *Piers Plowman: A Parallel-text Edition of the A, B, C and Z Versions*

The recent publication of A. V. C. Schmidt's 1995 parallel-text edition of four of the main critically edited versions of *Piers Plowman* marked a significant contribution to the complex, and sometimes tortured, realm of "Langland" editions. (See Figure 2.) Schmidt's edition followed the model set by Skeat, whose 1886 EETS parallel-text edition of the A, B, and C texts, as Anne Hudson has observed "has remained an invaluable resource used by all serious students of the poem for over a hundred years, partly because of the convenience of its presentation of the text and partly for the notes of its second volume . . ." (Rev. 558). Skeat's edition provided three editions, each one representing the A, B, and C manuscript families, respectively. Belying Jacobs's contention that parallel-text editors "merely reproduce . . . as many versions of the chosen text as are to hand" (5), Schmidt's "daunting labor" (Hudson 558), like Skeat's before him, presents four texts, each of which represents a major manuscript family and each of which is edited within that family. In other words, Schmidt's works offers an eclectic parallel-text edition, not a representation of individual manuscripts. In this sense, his edition sits within two schools of editing, as did Skeat's before him. No explanation of

the *Piers* manuscripts and their relation can be provided simply[8] other than to note that Schmidt uses a base-text approach with Cambridge, Trinity College MS R.3.14 as the base for the A text; Cambridge, Trinity College MS B15.17 for the B text; San Marino, Huntington Library MS Hm 143 for the C text. The Z text is based on the sole member of its branch, Oxford, Bodleian Library, Oxford, MS Bodley 851. Acclaimed as eclipsing Skeats's edition as "the preeminent parallel edition of *Piers*" (Machan, Rev. 373) and lauded for the "visual clarity of the layout" (Brewer, Rev. 292), Schmidt's edition has rightly been termed a "strikingly handsome parallel-text edition" (Brewer, Rev. 286). Following Skeat's page layout, Schmidt's edition is clear and orderly, with aligned passages separated by ample white space, so that the four texts do not appear cluttered. The arrangement provides the ability to closely contrast passages and facilitates comparison of the texts. Reviewers also noted the text's expensive price and have called for it to be re-issued as a more affordable edition for students and smaller libraries. This concern recalls Wharton's frustration that a parallel-text edition, simply by virtue of its comprehensiveness, can become an expensive publication to produce. Schmidt, while providing little information about his editorial method and choices in this first of a promised two-volume work, does state that it is designed "to provide Langland specialists and advanced students with a compact and solid base for exploring the poem" (viii). On this score, Schmidt's edition is successful.

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[8] For a complete account of the complex textual relations see Brewer's *Editing 'Piers Plowman': the Evolution of the Text* or, for a shorter summary, her review of Schmidt's edition.

As a major proponent of the authorial claims of the Z text, Charlotte Brewer claims, unsurprisingly, that the inclusion of Z in Schmidt's parallel-text edition is a "ringing endorsement of Z's authenticity as an authorial, pre-A version of the poem" (Rev. 288), a position that Schmidt supports as "overwhelmingly likely" (viii). The controversial addition of Z to Skeats's original parallel text further establishes a more prominent place for Z in *Piers* scholarship than it had, to this point, been accorded, a prominence—it must be noted—which has been scathingly contested by George Kane.

Hoyt Duggan's *Piers Plowman Electronic Archive* is "a multi-level, hyper-textually linked electronic archive of the textual tradition of all three versions of the fourteenth-century allegorical dream vision *Piers Plowman* . . . it embraces the provisional nature of scholarly editing" (Archive 7/4/01). Contrasting the Schmidt's edition with the "questioning and exploratory research" of the Archive, Brewer hails Schmidt's edition "a resounding return to print culture" (Rev. 288). This is a curious position for a parallel-text edition: because it provides set, eclectic texts, and because it is a "deliberate echoing of Skeat's edition of 1886," Brewer marks it as a "return" rather than a disruption of print culture (Rev. 288). In Brewer's view, the parallel text in book form is seen as a continuation of the work of the EETS editors and their decidedly pre-electronic milieu. In this view, Schmidt's edition apparently represents a move away from the uncertainties and ambiguities of the electronic project and presents "stable" texts—albeit four of them—as representing the work. For Brewer, Schmidt's *Piers*

edition does not challenge the editorial process so much as it represents a crowning form of it.

Brewer sees the concurrent editing of the versions as affording a specialized opportunity to re-think the editorial choices that have traditionally been made when editing only a single version: "Schmidt has been the first editor of the poem to be in a position to realize Chambers's ideal of editing the versions of the poem concurrently . . ." (Rev. 288). It is clear that parallel-text editions not only alter the experience of reading texts, but also the experience of editing them. For readers, as Brewer notes, "the opportunity to compare the four texts side by side is constantly illuminating" (Rev. 292). Apparently the process of editing the texts concurrently is also illuminating, though the insights, which this procedure has allowed Schmidt to make, are not beyond criticism. For example, George Kane criticizes the fact that the inclusion of Z in the edition, and Schmidt's assumptions regarding that text's priority, "affects his editing to the extent that he takes its readings into account in editorial decisions about all versions" (316). Kane is critical of the edition on other grounds, though never simply because it presents parallel texts. Rather, he takes issue with many of Schmidt's emendations, aspects of his apparatus, and also the delay of the second, accompanying volume which is to set forth the editorial principles which underlie this volume. As Kane notes, "No review of half a book can be taken as a final assessment of its quality, particularly not one of an edited text exposed without its rationale" (322). This is a frequent complaint against Schmidt's edition and, six years later, the second volume is still "forthcoming." Schmidt's choice

of base texts, the insights gained in the concurrent editing of the text, his justification for the use of the Z text, and the rationale for certain emendations, indeed for the rhetorical construct of the edition of the whole, remain significantly problematic without the publication of the companion volume. Hudson similarly notes, "no proper assessment of the material in the first volume can be made until the explanations of the second can be pondered" (Rev. 558). The absence of the editorial rationale hampers the full interpretive impact of Schmidt's edition. Nonetheless, as Brewer justly notes, Schmidt's edition displays a "magnificent accumulation of industry and scholarship" (Rev. 292) and stands to refute the notion of parallel-text editions as invariably undertaken by "slothful" editors. This criticism is usually directed at parallel-text editions that do not also embody eclectic editions; still, by including Z, Schmidt's edition disrupts the traditional view of *Piers* as transmitted in three authorial versions and provides new evidence of the range and variation in the representation of textual transmission that can be attained within the form of the parallel-text edition.

## Michael Warren's *The Parallel King Lear, 1608-1623*

The publication of parallel-text editions of Shakespeare plays has formed a critical part in the "Material Shakespeare" school of criticism, an influential body of Shakespeare scholarship during the past fifteen to twenty years. The 1989 publication of Michael Warren's parallel text of *King Lear* affected not only Shakespeare scholarship but had a broad impact on the shape and direction of scholarly editions in English literary

studies in general. (See Figure 3.) Warren's edition provides not only parallel texts of the 1608 quarto and the 1623 folio, but produces the original format of those texts by reproducing photo facsimiles of the text. Warren aligns passages by "cutting" the photo facsimiles into dialogue units or strips with varying amounts of white space in between, as needed to allow the dialogue units from the two texts to be aligned. Similar to Schmidt's *Piers Plowman* edition, Warren's sets his editorial ideal as one of comprehensiveness: "As the book now appears, it is the most complete source for study of the fundamentals of *King Lear* ever assembled" (VII). Warren's edition is also beautifully printed and produced, and is skillfully laid out with generous margins and white space to aid the comparative process. It is similarly expensive and, because of its large folio size, is typically, and unfortunately, shelved in the remote folio section of libraries, physically separated from other volumes of Shakespearean scholarship. In addition to the "cut" and adjusted photo facsimiles in parallel-text format, Warren's edition also provides photo-facsimiles of the two versions in a continuous (uncut) format, an appendix with a summary of the textual variants, and critical discussion of his editorial rationale and his theory of the relation of the two texts.

In contrast to the *Legend* and *Pier Plowman* editions discussed above, Warren's work does not provide an edited text—rather his attempt is to provide a transparent vehicle, circumventing the traditional role of the editor as much as humanly possible. In discussing the order placement of the texts in his edition, he laments the fact that his introduction and parallel-text edition (with "cut" and aligned photo facsimiles) precedes

the continuous photo facsimiles of the single-versions. "Thus, I who wish to avoid editing as far as possible find myself, incongruously enough, placing my version before the historical documents" (VII). Warren's goal was "to produce a parallel-text presentation of the First Quarto and the First Folio after the manner of W. W. Greg's *Doctor Faustus*, but with a minimum of editorial intervention" (VII). By choosing to present his parallel-text edition in the form of cut photo facsimiles divided into dialogue units, Warren avoids introducing new typographical errors or variants and retains "the feel of the originals but also their uncertainties . . .stimulating [readers'] detective instincts" (VII). Warren's edition focuses on providing "as direct access as possible to the raw data crucial to any conception, discussion, edition, or performance of the play" (XXXVII). This presentation of "raw data" arguably represents a strong historiographical approach to the documents and, along with such an approach, a historian's hope for neutrality in interpretation. Warren claims his parallel-text edition "is not intended to advocate any position except this: that no responsible statement about *King Lear* can be made unless proper attention has first been given to the earliest texts" (XI). Like the bibliographers and philologists before him, Warren attempts to presents a kind of naked text, ostensibly free of interpretation. But Warren's approach, as noted above, clearly values a theory of texts and editions in which the reader is invited into a realm previously occupied only by the editor. Further, the presentation of the two versions foregrounds the process of seventeenth-century dramatic production and printing out of which the quarto and folio were originally written, performed, and produced. In

other words, the plays become more than written documents, but part of a complex social milieu. Still, Warren hopes that

> Although the very act of producing parallel texts—juxtaposing passages so that variants become evident, and thereby also drawing attention to words or passages present in one text but not in the other—necessarily involves the potential for prejudicing interpretation, every effort has been made to present the materials neutrally. (XXXVII)

It is not so much the "prejudicing interpretation" toward one text or the other—which Warren generally does avoid—but his approach to multiple versions of texts as artifacts of the authorial and social process and the subsequent inclusion of the reader in the collation—and interpretation—of variance that is part of a specific approach to textual and literary theory. Warren's edition posits the question all parallel-text editions must address, if only at the level of the reader; that is, what are the uses of uncertainty?[9] What interpretations can arise from this multivalent textual condition? One of the primary uses, clearly, is the foregrounding of the social production of texts. Such an edition need not function, as has been noted in the *Piers* and *Legend* texts, to the exclusion of authorial intention, but its primary concern is to represent the distinct social and historical circumstances of the particular texts.

Warren uses the metaphor of the intimate conversation to explain his use of the parallel-text form. "The aim has been to let the texts sit side by side conveniently,

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[9] Howe discusses the productive questions which have emerges from the controversy surrounding the dating for the Beowulf manuscript and the uses of uncertainty.

commenting on each other, with their own variant states provoking insights beyond those of any one reader" (XXXIX). Warren places the editor in the position of host, and acknowledges that interpretation of the author's intention is not a fixed goal for the editor, or even a desirable one; rather, that meaning will multiply in keeping with the number of readings. Warren disperses the role of editor from that of a single judge to a broad spectrum of critical readers. As an editor, Warren does not attempt to fix meaning, but rather attempts to provide a textual foundation for readers' interpretations. In so doing, he invites the reader to assume the traditional role of the editor. But Warren's editorial "neutrality" only goes as far as not expressly arguing for the validity of one text over the other: his editorial approach is clearly rooted in a particular theory of texts. As Warren explains, "This parallel-text version is intended to enable each individual to greet the materials in an accessible and relatively unmediated form. *It is a tool for use*" (emphasis his)(XXXIX). Clearly, Warren's work parallels the post-structuralist fascination with "the relationship between tool and tool-makers" (Doss 215). Warren's edition makes use of the parallel text as a tool for unearthing uncertainty by inviting:

> participation in and contribution to further understanding. In an editorial and publishing economy that promotes books presenting ideal texts, books in which scholars talk of a Platonic text achieved by distilling the original from the various imperfect exemplars, this book is conceived as a Socratic text, one that engages the reader in a dialogue, in a process that leads along the paths of acquaintance and understanding. (XXXIX)

On a very pragmatic level, one of the functions a parallel-text edition can provide is that of Through Line Numbering (TLN). TLN was first introduced into Shakespeare studies by Charlton Hinman in his 1968 edition *The Norton Facsimile: The First Folio of Shakespeare*. Hinman's edition provided a "standard scholarly reference that is independent of editorial variation" (Bertram 8) by consecutively numbering every typographical line in the Folio text of each play, including stage directions and dialogue. As various editions emended various lines, the ability to cite a passage by line number became impossible. Warren chose a related from—that of a Continuous Line Numbering (CLN)--which numbers each version independently, also counting all lines, including stage directions. Bertram and Kliman made use of TLN in their 1991 edition *The Three-Text Hamlet: Parallel Texts of the First and Second Quartos and First Folio*. They provide a numbering system in which every line is numbered according Hinman's TLN for the Folio text. For Quarto1, a line is left blank if there is no corresponding passage: e.g., Q1 has no line 460. Alternatively, the lines may appear out of order, e.g. in Q1 TLN 241 is followed by TLN 219 in Bertram and Kliman's edition. While a TLN may be initially cumbersome to work with, it does provide scholars with a stable line-reference system as a means of aiding comparison of texts whose line ordering do not consistently match up—as in the case of the *Hamlet* texts where the order of F and of Q1 are substantially different. Parallel-text editors can also choose one text to serve as a kind of anchor while repeating, usually in italics in a third column, the differently ordered or transposited passage of the second text so that the corresponding passages can be viewed

side by side, even though they appear in different sections of their respective documents. Bertram and Kliman provide an extra column labeled "Q1 transpositions" in which they provide the passage from Q1 out of order from its manuscript so that it can be read directly across from its appearance in F or Q2. They also provide the Q1 line number so the reader can refer to it in the context of its surrounding lines or scene.

Other major parallel-text editions that followed Warren's situated their editorial ideology more firmly in the conventional author-centered tradition. Both Rene Weiss's *King Lear: A Parallel Text Edition* and the Bertram/Kliman *Hamlet* edition select texts based on an assessment of the texts' authorial claims, albeit in varying degrees. Weiss uses a parallel text format to argue for F as a revised form of Q:

> The most we can safely say about Q and F *Lear* is that they differ in several important ways, and that these do not necessarily form part of a systematic revision [by Shakespeare]. But one of the most valuable results of the intensive investigation of the textual history of *Lear* has been the legitimizing of Q because it prints foul papers. (Weiss 34)

Weiss goes on to argue that a critical, eclectic edition-if one were to be made-"would now turn to Q rather than F for their copy-text" because the "holograph would rightly be preferred" (35). Weiss's parallel-text edition, therefore, is not informed by any social theory of texts. Rather, his parallel-text version and his critical commentary both attempt to establish the basis for the authorial legitimacy of Q by placing its reading head to head with those of F. In this way, a parallel-text edition is used to

legitimize one text by drawing on, as it were, the authority of the more widely accepted text and by transferring that authority to the other text by means of comparison, proximity, and critical analysis.

## The Norton and Penguin *The Prelude*

Jonathan Wordsworth's 1979 Norton edition of William Wordsworth's *The Prelude*, includes a parallel text of the 1805 and 1850 versions as well as the 1799 two-book version (printed in a separate section). (See Figure 4.) The lack of the 1799 version in the parallel-text format, because of its shorter length, provoked D. C. Greetham to observe that "a parallel-text edition of all three would be visually awkward, though very illuminating" (*Textual* 401). Similar to J. C. Maxwell's 1971 Penguin parallel-text edition of the 1805 and 1850 versions, the Norton edition presents each version as a clear reading text with periodic alignment of the versions at stanza breaks. Neither the Penguin nor the Norton, however, provide any explicit means of alerting the reader to variants between the two texts, leaving readers to sort the comparison out on their own. Because of the lack of horizontal parallelism, both the Penguin and Norton edition, as Greetham notes, "encourages each version to be read separately (i.e. vertically)" (*Textual* 401). Jonathan Wordsworth's Norton edition provides footnotes that give historical and literary contexts but refrain, surprisingly, from providing any substantial textual commentary. Maxwell's Penguin edition likewise provides, at the end of the edition, literary and historical notes followed by textual notes that "record all departures from the

1850 text" (567). These textual notes do not offer any detailed comparison of the two texts but rather deal exclusively with the 1850 text. As parallel-text editions, therefore, both of these editions provide very different reading experiences than do closely aligned texts such as Schmidt's *Piers Plowman* edition, Warren's *King Lear*, or the Bertram/Kliman *Hamlet*, and they function less effectively than parallel-text editions which facilitate contrastive analysis and which critically engage the reader with the variation between the two texts.

Nonetheless, the presentation of the two-text *Prelude* effectively constitutes a landmark in the development of parallel-text editions by disrupting the assumption that these two versions—separated by forty-five years of authorial revision—could adequately represent authorial intention in a single text. Since Ernest de Selincourt's 1926 edition—the first scholarly edition to publish the 1805 version—it has become standard to refer to the 1805 *Prelude* and the 1850 *Prelude* and to assess the earlier version as equal if not superior to Wordsworth's final authorial intention as expressed in the 1850 version. S. M. Parrish, one of the editors of the Cornell Wordsworth series, argues that "the long devotion of the poet to its shaping and revisions, and the resulting complexity and bulk of its variants have required three editions for the adequate realization of the aims stated above;" that is, to present the "earliest drafts down to the final lifetime (or posthumous) publication" (v). The Norton and Penguin texts provide an awareness of this complexity, and their editorial format stands to convey this textual multiplicity to students with the publication of these parallel-text editions in relatively

inexpensive paperback editions. As such, the Norton and Penguin serve to affirm the now-standard perception of the two, if not the three, versions as "radically different forms of the whole poem" (Maxwell 17). I would argue, then, that despite the seemingly comprehensive scholarship of the Cornell Wordsworth series and the two parallel-text editions of *The Prelude*, no critical parallel-text edition of the work yet exists which adequately serves students or scholars by providing aligned passages and an appendix of variants in one volume.

## Part Two: Parallel-Texts and Material Philology

The preceding survey of parallel-text editions shows the range of approaches and it may serve to indicate some of the ideological underpinnings manifested by parallel-text editions. Although the parallel-text form is sometimes thought to be the bastion of "non-interventionist" or "disintegrationist" editors, parallel-text editions do not invariably contain facsimile transcriptions and, indeed, often present parallel eclectic editions, such as the *Piers* and *Wordsworth* editions, derived from different manuscript "families" rather than from individual texts. Contrary, perhaps, to some conceptions of parallel-text editing, principles of historicism are not a common ideology even among the form's most recent practitioners. However, a major implication of parallel-text editions, whether grounded in constructs of the author or constructs of the social aspect of texts, is their premise of indeterminacy. The field of indeterminacy may be limited to versions definitively linked with the author—as in the Norton *Prelude* and Weiss's *Lear* edition—

or may be broadened to include issues of literary production. Of the last, few parallel-text editions disavow the author as the focus of the edition, even, as in the case of Schmidt's *Piers,* when authorial governance of the individual versions is difficult to establish. Whether the texts presented in parallel are established as authorial, critical texts or, like Warren's *Lear*, represent single states of the text, all parallel-text editions express a kind of multivocality, a form which, in Bakhtinian terms, works as a kind of polyphonic literary form. According to Bakhtin, a multivocal novel "is constructed not as the whole of a single consciousness, absorbing other consciousnesses as objects into itself, but as a whole formed by the interaction of several consciousnesses, none of which entirely becomes an object for the other" (18). Parallel-text editions recognize a blurring of textual boundaries; as Foucault observes, the "frontiers of a book are never clear cut . . . it is caught up in a system of references to other books, other texts, other sentences; it is a node within a network" (*Archeology* 23). Parallel-text editions exercise a particular form of such intertextuality, each forming a node, that is a *text*, within a network of the literary *work*. To clarify the term "work," I offer a definition based on the principles of Jerome McGann in which a "work" is defined as the global set of texts. A work is never complete as there will be continuing accretion, but it is recoverable at any point in time, at least theoretically, as it is based on material objects, that is, texts. In contrast, a "text" is a material, finite, physical object, composed of bibliographic and linguistic codes. In this schema, a text is equivalent to a document. It is never iterable; each new edition or reproduction is always different, always a new *text*.

To date, the parallel-text form, as this brief survey has demonstrated, has not been fully utilized as a tool for exploring the life and "essential drift" of a work (Derrida *Signature* 181) and has tended, not surprisingly, to remain author-centered and cautious about experimenting with new paradigms. I will argue that textual historicism forms a valid basis for parallel-text editing, not intended to replace editions centered on the author, but to provide additional avenues of textual inquiry that, while not ignoring the author as the creator of a text, study the uses, uncertainties, and appropriations of a given work. An over-reliance on the author as an organizing principle has produced editions whose claims for authority have obscurred the continual re-representation of a literary work.

While parallel-texts, at least in medieval literary scholarship, have often been accompanyied by an apology, there is also a growing recognition that "the intellectual momentum of the day favours a two-text approach" (Weiss 33), not only in Shakespeare scholarship (as Weiss was commenting on), but in literary editing generally as well as in linguistics and translation theory. As Roger Chartier has argued, if we want:

> to understand the appropriations and interpretations of a text in their full historicity we need to identify the effect, in terms of meaning, that its material forms produced. This perspective is radically different from all approaches that hold the production of meaning to result solely from the impersonal and automatic functioning of 'language.' (2)

Chartier adds that the "most ambitious (and also the riskiest) approach aims at identifying the major changes that have upset the modes of the inscription and transmission of discourse" (2). Chartier's work reverberates with the sensibilities of the "New Philology," theorized (although not necessarily under this rubric) by scholars such as Bernard Cerquiglini, David Hult, and Stephen G. Nichols. Nichols prefers the term "material philology," to define a practice which seeks to contrast the material text with an "ideal" form. Identified by Rupert Pickens as the "source text" for the New Philology (64), Cerquiglini's *In Praise of the Variant* (*L'Eloge de la Variante*) is dedicated to Foucault, and the influence of Foucault on Cerquiglini's work is strongly apparent. In what can only be called an ode to medieval sensibilities, Cerquiglini identifies medieval literary practices as an "aesthetics of return" which, rooted in memory and oral practice, takes pleasure in experiences of sameness and subtle degrees of difference. Cerquiglini writes of this aesthetic as

> a mental structure, the *habitus* shared by the huge collection of literate, half-literate, or paraliterate people who saw topical repetition as a creative act. In an aesthetics of return, where pleasure lay in variance, writing made minute shifts in what was already known, and the acts of reading and listening lent themselves to the vicissitudes of recognition and surprise" (37).

Whether Cerquiglini's praise of the variant constitutes a serious philological practice or a political treatise, and whether the "New Philology" represents a genuinely "new"

approach are questions which have been subjects of much controversy.[10] Paul Eggert and critics of the New Philology have observed that most "New Philologists" are, as Sarah Kay points out, "scholars with no track record as editors" (308). Kay asks the question:

> if they are not editors, what are they? The answer seems to be that they are seeking to restore—or to reinvent—a philological discipline which is both anchored in postmodern thought, and which also loops back into a past before linguistics was born. (308)

Still, such a theoretical positioning does not adequately account for the lack of editions by these scholars. This is the work to be taken up in the present study of Malory's *Le Morte Darthur* and in the presentation of new texts of the work—to bring to bear the theoretical basis of a material philology while engaged in the task of traditional philology; that is, to make an edition. One of the primary aims of such a "radically different" edition is to attempt to identify the "transmission of discourse" and the circumstances which produced the condition of alterity. Parallel-text editions, as one way to represent the theories of material philology, highlight the indeterminacy of both the editorial and transmission (or revision) process.

Peter Shillingsburg worries that "it is difficult to see what role the scholarly editor has when the 'means of production' is the legitimizing authority" (*Resisting* 152), while Paul Eggert similarly is concerned that the alternative to authorial agency is "to edit

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[10] See Eggert and Wenzel and, for an excellent summary and analysis of the heated debate between traditional philologists. Nichols discusses the material text as a "medieval event." Other relevant collections include Brownlee et al, Busby, and Paden.

irresponsibly . . .or not edit at all, leaving readers to deal as best as they can with, say, facsimiles" (101). Despite such concerns, more editions which include discursivity, but do not necessarily exclude agency, are certainly forthcoming. A recent contribution to "historicist" editions is Michael Rudick's *The Poems of Sir Walter Ralegh: A Historical Edition* in which Rudick presents a "canon" of Ralegh's work which includes different versions of individual poems, though not in parallel format, as well as poems with contested authority. Rudick casts himself as a textual "agnostic" (xv), making no claim to present the author's intentions, but rather to provide the material inscriptions of the poems as a means of providing the transmission history or "story" of the "text's various contextualizations" (xxv). He points out that "the aim of collations is to invite the reader to consider alternatives because they have their place in a material history that no single copy can represent adequately" (lxxviii) and goes on to argue "the double, even threefold presentation has the advantage of decreasing ponderous collations in the apparatus of any one text" (lxxvi). As Rudick argues, a historical "canon/text has the advantage of material existence, an object of study on its own terms" (xxvii) rather than editions which function as "idealized constructs" (xxix). To better understand such a historical positioning of an edition, it is essential to investigate the form of the parallel-text edition within the nexus of philology and theory, and the interaction of reader and editor.

## Contrastive Analysis

One of the greatest practical strengths of the parallel-text edition, clearly, is its function of bringing two texts into close proximity so as to foster the process of contrastive study. As Dan Embree and Elizabeth Urquhart point out in setting out their rationale for a parallel-text edition for *The Simonie*:

> to publish three separate editions would simply make the task of comparison physically awkward; to 'restore' the archetype would be to discard dozens of stanzas and scores of lines of Middle English verse; to combine all the stanzas of all three versions into a single 'composite' edition would be to edit a text that never was. (58)

Intriguingly, Embree and Urquhart consider themselves "scribes—not revisers" (59), thus situating their enterprise within the theoretical boundaries of material philology—with a historicist-oriented commitment to representing the integrity of the manuscript. Similarly, T. L. Burton argues that his decision to present *Sidrak and Bokkus* in a parallel-text form "has been made because this is the clearest and most convenient way to indicate the difference between the two school of English manuscripts" (xxi). Burton argues that producing a base text while recording the variants has "two serious disadvantages:" the obscuring of the differences between the two manuscript groups and the fact that such a presentations "would have made reconstruction of the text of manuscripts from the opposite school a laborious and time-consuming process" (xxii). Bertram and Kliman, editors of *The Three-Text Hamlet,* argue that even facsimiles can

not serve the same function as a parallel-text editions and that, although they "have long been available," the facsimiles "do not offer the convenience for direct comparison that may be found in a parallel-text format" (7).

## Reading Parallel-Texts

Not all readers of parallel-texts find its contrastive format as easy to use as Embree and Urquhart; Rosamund Allen complains that "the parallel-text edition is clumsy in use, and leaves the reader doing his own editorial work; the editor risks his elaborate textual notes being ignored as the reader struggles to keep his places in a multiple of texts of the work" (13). Allen's critique is well founded: the parallel-text editions exhibit a highly spatialized textual structure that requires different reading patterns than do the eclectic editions or "clear-reading" texts. Depending on how the texts are formatted, parallel-text editions force readers into consciously radial reading[11], to greater degrees, as in the four-text *Piers* edition, or lesser degrees, as in the Wordsworth editions. Parallel-text editions may uncomfortably push the reader into a conscious exercise of what is typically unconscious—that is, an awareness of the directional flow of reading. But Allen overlooks, I believe, the kind of skipping that readers of scholarly editions engage in if they actively use the footnote or endnotes provided, engendering a strongly vertical reading of the page. This activity similarly pushes readers into a more laborious, highly abstract form of reading. To get a grasp of the mechanics of "reading"

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[11] McGann discusses "radial reading" in his chapter "How to Read a Book,"101-128 in *The Textual Condition.*

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context and thus engender what can be a demanding reading process. With the increase in the production of parallel-text translations, hypertext and electronic archive editions, and parallel-text book editions, readers are likely to become increasingly comfortable with and skilled in the kind of radial reading required for parallel-text editions of literary works. McGann observes that radial reading "is a function of the historicity of texts" (*Textual* 125) and notes that critical editions are "one of the most sociohistorically self-conscious of texts" (*Textual* 121). While Allen's critique of the parallel-text form identifies the form as cumbersome, it should also be noted that eclectic editions with their apparatus criticus require a different, though equally abstract, form of radial reading. The effort required to shift between two parallel texts horizontally can be less taxing and is certainly more conducive to a study of textual artifacts *in extenso* than that required to construct an abstract version based on the symbolical, quasi-formulaic variants provided in the apparatus criticus.

## Audience

These spatial aspects of parallel-text editions suggest the question: who is the audience of a parallel-text edition? "Any attempt to answer that question seems to involve a further question: For whom is the text being edited?" (Edwards 97).[12] The question of audience, clearly, is a major consideration in shaping the form of an edition. As we have seen above, parallel-text editions are now available in inexpensive "student

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[12] Edwards discusses the essential editorial step of imagining and preparing for an edition's projected readers in "Editing and the Teaching of Alliterative Verse."

editions" such as the Penguin and Norton *Prelude* editions and Weiss's *Lear*, while the Warren *Lear* and the Schmidt *Piers* are expensive library texts not affordable to all levels of libraries. While parallel-text editions such as Warren's and Schmidt's are largely aimed at a scholarly or specialist audience, the two Wordsworth parallel-text editions demonstrate that there is also a student audience for such editions. Such parallel-text editions can be profitably used in the classroom to disrupt singular readings of a work and to call attention to interpretive issues such as authorial revision, material culture, reception, and transmission. A significant flaw in the Wordsworth editions, in my view, lies largely in the lack of an accompanying critical essay to set the two texts in context for its assumed student-readers, much the same way that the *Riverside Chaucer* fails to address the presence of two texts for the prologue of the *Legend of Good Women*. An introductory essay along the lines of Tim Machan's essay "Texts" in *Companion to Chaucer* would go a long way in making such a parallel-text a truly useful tool in the university classroom. Edwards asks, "What is the extent of the editor's responsibility to make the audience aware not only of the indeterminacy of his or her text, but also of the extent of that indeterminacy" ("Editing" 97). Using my distinction between text (an individual document) and work (the global set of those texts), I would rephrase Edwards's question to ask, "how does an editor make its audience aware of the multiplicity of a work's textual history and of the indeterminacy of the work?" Parallel-text editors identify this responsibility as a central tenet of their editions. Warren claims that editions which foreground such indeterminacy invite

participation in and contribution to further understanding. In an editorial and publishing economy that promotes books presenting ideal texts, books in which scholars talk of a Platonic text achieved by distilling the original from the various imperfect exemplars, this book is conceived as a Socratic text, one that engages the reader in a dialogue, in a process that leads

> along the paths of acquaintance and understanding. (XXXIX)

Not all practitioners of the parallel-text edition see this indeterminacy as completely positive. Rene Weiss labels scholars who argue against the idea of a single *King Lear* text as belonging "to the new 'disintegrationist' school of *King Lear* scholarship" (1). Nonetheless, this "Socratic" aspect of parallel-text editions presents the possibility for their productive use by students and their professors. Indeed, Michale Rudick's edition is in response, as he sees it, to a "felt need" (xvii) to "narrow the distance between Ralegh's ostensibly meager poetic canon and his major distinction as a national hero" (xvii). While editors of eclectic editions may legitimately argue that they provide a reading text that allows students to focus on the literary work itself, parallel-text editions can encourage students to explore the interpretive function of reading by foregrounding the way in which scribes, redactors, or editors interpreted the work. An awareness of scribal and early print transmission seems essential for students to gain an truer understanding of the nature of Middle English works and the literary culture in which they operated. Edwards's concern that such activity shifts the focus from work to text ("Editing") is valid only to the extent that such an activity might come to dominate all assignments

within the class. Rudick sees his edition as proposing, for Ralegh's work, "a canon of possibilities" (xxix); such editions bring these possibilities into the classroom as central to the understanding of medieval and early modern works.

## A Fragmentary Form

As Michael Warren observed, the effect of his edition of "cut-up" facsimiles of the quarto and folio induced a fragmentary representation of Shakespeare's play *King Lear*:

> I learned that the parallel-text format has a potential for distorting perception: the texts analytically distributed appeared a series of disjunctive fragments, and there was a need to establish or restore their wholeness. (VII)

To counterbalance this perception of fragmentation, Warren subsequently provides facsimiles of each of the two texts as whole, uncut, texts. But all editions represent—and "distort"—a work in various ways. While *The Prelude* parallel-text editions do not create this perception of fragmentation because of their bias away from aligning passages and presenting continuous stanzas, this effect can clearly be seen in Schmidt's *Piers* edition in which each page of the edition presents only one small section of the text in four different versions. Thus, the experience of reading the poem becomes an experience of a series of discrete passages separated from their immediate contexts. Parallel-text editions establish a binary (or more) physical field that acts in a disjunctive manner via the

process of a two-page horizontal reading. Parallel-text editions represent "a materialist hermeneutics" (McGann *Textual* 15) in which the reader is forced to encounter both the physical gap created by the gutter of the book and the hermeneutic gap created by the interpretive activity of reading two or more texts of a literary work.

Warren's concern about "distorting perception" due to the fragmentary quality of his parallel-text edition—a condition which he fervently wished to avoid as a non-interventionist editor—is an integral aspect of all editions; it just occurs in different ways. McGann recently quipped that editorial representations should rightly be termed editorial "deformations"[13] and, though Warren might wish that it were otherwise, even transcriptional representations will alter perceptions of the work. In this regard, parallel-text editions are no different. Warren astutely recognizes, however, the *quality* of this particular editorial "deformation."

## Text, Work, or Works

Central to the paradigm of an edition as either a multiplying or unifying endeavor is the editor's sense of whether he or she is working with two different texts (that is, variants of a single literary work) or two completely different literary works. Again, the term "text" is used to refer to the physical object and "work" to the global set of texts which constitute the larger, idealized sense of the work. In the wake of theorists such as Barthes, Derrida, and Foucault, editors began to work from the premise that each new act of inscription generated a new work. It makes sense to discuss here the basis of a

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[13] McGann used this term in a paper given at the 2000 MLA conference in Washington, D.C.

distinction, then, of what constitutes a literary "work." Any editor struggling with the textual history of more than one text must ask, as Warren does, "What is the work called *King Lear*?" (XI). The complexities of the concept of "work" provoked Foucault to ask: "How can one define a work amid the millions of traces left by someone after his death? A theory of the work does not exist . . ." ("Author" 104). Martin Heidegger's lament over the degenerative fate of literary works epitomizes the characterization of literary works as autonomous objects: "World-withdrawal and world-decay can never be undone. The works are no longer the same as they once were. It is they themselves, to be sure, but they themselves are gone by" (167). Heidegger's definition of a work of art, as an object, can not adequately embrace the less-easily defined borders of a literary work. Joseph Grigely provides a definition of work as "a nontangible idea represented by a sequential series of texts," (101) both authorized and non-authorized. Grigely's definition still contains elements of a unifying ideal in that it postulates a work that exists in some ideal realm beyond the physical manifestations of the texts which represent it. McGann proposes a more materialist approach, defining a work as that which "comprehends the global set of all the texts and poems which have emerged in the literary production and reproduction process" (*Textual* 32). The continuing process of accretion and deletion produces variants, errors, titles, passages, and contexts as represented in a material text. Thus, an edition such as Rudick's "historical edition," seeks to recover these moments of inscription, these acts of recontextualiztion of the work.

It is my contention that a great deal of confusion currently exists in the use of the terms "text" and "work" and that the concept of the non-iterability of inscription has been used, as in the case of Malory, to claim a kind of "divorce" between versions, with one text being postulated as the "authorial" work and other as a distinct work somehow less than or distantly related to the authorial work. In the debate over the Malory documents,[14] editors such as P. J. C. Field argue that the Caxton edition is in fact an utterly different work than that presented in the Winchester manuscript, which Field argues is significantly closer to what Malory wrote. Field, following in the tradition of Vinaver, argues that Caxton so altered his received text that in fact his edition titled *Le Morte Darthur* is a different work than that represented in the Winchester manuscript. In this way, Field indicates that the Caxton is somehow not the "real" work. Endeavoring to acknowledge the impossibility of exact iterability and the inadequacy of any single, critical text for works with complex textual histories such as *Piers Plowman*, D. C. Greetham speculates that such works "may therefore have to be considered as related, but nonetheless separate works" (*Textual Scholarship* 356). When this model of "relationary works" is used to distinguish between texts of authority or "non-authority," a stance Greetham clearly would not advocate, this separation into distinct works (especially in a world of scribal "publication") runs the risk, if taken to its logical extreme, of claiming that each manuscript or text is a separate work. I believe this approach weakens a socio-

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[14] See *The Malory Debate*, eds. Wheeler, Salda, and Kindrick.

historical approach to editing in that it fails to acknowledge both a work's Derridian "drift" and its role in socialized production and readership.

According to Weiss, Stanley Wells's 1986 *Oxford Complete Shakespeare* was "the first major edition of the works [of Shakespeare] to treat Q and F as two different texts" (Weiss 1). There should be no question that Q and F are two different *texts*; the question at hand is whether they constitute two different *works*. Weiss further observes that Wells "belongs to the new 'disintegrationist' school of *King Lear* scholarship, an influential group of textual scholars, critics and editors who have argued since the late 1970's that there is no ideal single *King Lear* text; rather there are two different texts" (Weiss 1). Weiss's use of the word "texts" is emblematic of the unspecified use of the term in literary studies to mean, at various times, either a particular inscription or the more abstract sense of a work. The Q and F are, indisputably, two different texts; to recognize them as distinct textual iterations is essential, but I argue that the Quarto *King Lear* and the Folio *King Lear* are indeed part of the same "work," representing distinct textual instances of that work. In the case of *King Lear*, Q and F represent two different versions of the work—each represented by a different text; the work is defined by the accretion of textual versions.

As Robert Sturges succinctly puts it: "Print turns a *work* into a *text*" (117). Scribal manuscript inscription similarly instantiates a work. Sturges further defines a work as "the totality of a given literary discourse" (112) while also disavowing "the valorization of the work itself as an unchanging, autonomous object, at the expense of the

social forces that continue to shape it once it has been produced" (112). While Sturges rails against the "tyranny of the author" (112), my purpose is not to dislodge the author altogether, a critical tendency that has waned somewhat in recent years,[15] but to propose instead that editions based on conceptions of the work are still an emerging editorial form.[16] Peter Shillingsburg worries that "it is difficult to see what role the scholarly editor has when the 'means of production' is the legitimizing authority" (*Resisting* 152). This is a common concern among editors, but represents an underestimation of what shape editions may come to take as a new generation of editors begins to grapple with the editorial implications of a theorized philology and a material theory of texts.

> Allen, firmly grounded in an authorial approach to editing, speculates that, the more editions we have, with their editors' informed conjectures . . . the closer we shall approximate to what the author wrote. Meanwhile the challenge of the eclectic method of editing, which must be the hardest to operate . . .is, for [*The Awntyrs off Arthure*] at least, a better means of uncovering and appraising the effects of the original poem than other editorial methods. (25)

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[15] Eggert argues that the place of the author in editing has been challenged by deconstructionists and materialist but that it continues as the only practical model for editing. Eggert's discussion is excellent, though I challenge his conclusion that editions based only on a concept of the author are viable.

[16] See Rudick as one example of new editions exploring models other than authorial intention as the basis for the edition.

While I agree with Allen's call for more editions, it is hard to concur with her evaluation of the eclectic method as "better," though it certainly may be valid for Allen's particular aims. As Ralph Hanna III has wryly pointed out:

> editions are composed to communicate texts, and the fundamental choice of editorial technique is not based on some property inherent in the materials edited but on the communication which the editor intends to effect. That is, editorial technique isn't God-given or absolute but a fact about audience or about critical perspective. There is no one way to edit any text but a multiplicity of possible editions, limited only by the audiences with the money to purchase copies or the scholar's ingenuity in discovering contexts into which the work might be placed. ("Problems" 87-88)

It may be a matter of taste as to which form a given scholar prefers for the close comparison of variant versions of multiple manuscripts. But, beyond matters of taste, editions inevitably reflect the politics, class, and nationality of the editor and/or publisher. Not all readers and all reading circumstances may comfortably accommodate the particular structures of the parallel-text edition.

Camille characterizes the discourse about electronic editions, with their capacity for image reproduction, as a "dream of a return to a 'natural' mode of text reception (as if all textuality were not something totally constructed) . . ." (46). All editors, whether of print or electronic editions, dream of a transparent representation of "the text itself."

Hanna exposes the dream and, in the aftermath of this awakening, it is possible to imagine a range of editions, ones which foreground the author, redactor, dramatic performers, scribes, or readers—not as a means to construct an ideal text, but which provide "more odd texts" and a broad field in which to consider the interplay of a literary work and its embodiment in print or hypertext.

## Electronic Editions

Electronic editions offer unique ways to represent works and texts. Extensive study has been made of the place of humanities texts in the electronic medium[17] and several major projects have been mounted which explore alternative means of presenting, "distintegrating," or editing literary works.[18] Central to the capabilities of electronic editions is the ability to view digital images of manuscript pages side by side, usually in concurrent but separate windows, possibly supplied with modern transcriptions, in order to compare multiple manuscript versions. Few electronic editions of literary works to date provide an actual parallel-text format through the use of scrollable frames,[19] but "virtual" parallel-texts are easily created by the viewer who opens and aligns multiple windows containing the different texts. One noteable use of the contrastive function is

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[17] See Finneran, Bornstein and Tinkle, Lanham, Shillingsburg, Landow and Bolter.
[18] For example, Kiernan's Electronic *Beowulf* project (CD Rom) and related site at http://www.uky.edu/~kiernan/eBeowulf/guide.htm;
*The Canterbury Tales* Project http://www.cta.dmu.ac.uk/projects/ctp/ ;
*The Rosetti Archive* http://www.iath.virginia.edu/rossetti/index.html; and
*The Piers Plowman Electronic Archive* http://www.iath.virginia.edu/piers/archive.goals.html.
[19] See my and Trudy Mercer's electronic, parallel-text edition of Margaret Fuller's *Summer on the Lakes in 1843* http://courses.washington.edu/hum523/fuller/.

contained within the "Reading Room" of MIT's *Hamlet on the Ramparts* site.[20] One of the limitations of parallel-text or virtual parallel-texts in the electronic medium is the restricted amount of available screen space—the presentation typically loses line breaks once the texts are put side by side. Furthermore, texts need to be printed out or re-copied into the user's computer files in order to be "scriptable" for the individual, that is, able to be written upon, altered, edited, and commented upon, much less meet the hypertext ideal of a collective scriptablity.

As a result of the ubiquitous presence of the electronic medium, Sven Berkits in "The Fate of Reading in the Electronic Age" expresses his concern that "we are adapting ourselves to the ersatz security of a vast lateral connectedness" (111-12). While I do not share Berkits concern, his critique does underscore the lateral nature of reading electronic editions via the qualities of hypertext, links, and multiple open windows. In this way, parallel-texts perform similarly in the print media but are also suited—by their disruption of linearity—to electronic media. Phillip Doss observes that in "allowing escape from the context of a single documentary sequence, hypertext allows a reader to escape the linearity imposed by print media" (218). Some of the claims for hypertext have been hyperinflated: it is not only the electronic medium but the editorial approach that governs the mutability of the form. Richard Lanham describes the electronic medium as a "bi-stable oscillation" (55). This oscillation is not limited to the electronic edition although, certainly, the magnitude of the oscillation greatly expands in the electronic media. In

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[20] See http://shea.mit.edu/ramparts/collections/etext/index.htm.

fact, print-based parallel-text editions are an example of the way in which electronic forms have influenced print forms—not necessarily in initiating the form (the parallel-text form, as has been discussed has a long history in medieval editing)—but in reinscribing it in a post-structuralist context in which a single text is decentered, where multiple valences intersect, where material culture and previously discarded texts are excavated, and where textual instability is the basis for new theories of textuality. Greetham sees such mutability as the very appeal of electronic editions and that the promise of poststructuralist theory is epitomized in the possibilities presented by electronic editions. According to Greetham, "postmodernist literary editing forbids the sort of closure that the 'definitive editions' actively sought, and we are now able (through electronic variation) to accomplish this deferral . . ." ("Alterity" 542). Greetham argues that the facilities of preservation of manuscripts through digital archiving can also become a facility through which the play of representation may occur. According to Greetham, "electronic, reader-driven editions" can "achieve the flexibility and lack of closure that *difference* observes" ("Alterity" 543). Greetham sees electronic editions are carrying forth two features of medieval texts: the dual iconic/lexical semiotics of the page and the potential for scriptability which scribes provided via the gloss of medieval manuscripts. As hypertext theorist George Landow has observed:

> As readers move through a web or network of texts, they continually shift the center—and hence the focus or organizing principle—of their investigation and experience. Hypertext . . . provides an infinitely

> recenterable system whose provisional point of focus depends upon the reader, who becomes a truly active reader in yet another sense. (36)

A parallel-text edition can also function in this realm of requiring a truly active reader, whether it is a parallel-text in print or hypertext. It is no coincidence that parallel-texts have increased as readers have learned to adroitly manipulate this kind of radial reading.

Jerome McGann has observed, from "a traditional scholar's point of view, an ideal scholarly edition of a literary work would marry the respective virtues of facsimile editing and critical editing . . . grounded in primary textual materials ("Rosetti" 145). McGann sees electronic editions as especially conducive to effecting such a fusion because of the limitations of print editions. A similar critique of electronic editions (be they archives or editions) as of print parallel texts is that they cannot merely function as documentary repositories—ghettos of a "profusion of textual material" (Duggan "Unrevolutionary" 83). Scholarly parallel-text editions, in book or electronic form, need to provide sound scholarly support: introductory content, alignment of passages, a system of cueing readers to variants, commentary on the interpretive gap between the documents. C. M. Sperberg-McQueen states "it is emphatically not enough to provide the full text of each witness to the text, without providing collations and information on their relationships" (44). This has been a fair criticism, and occasional mischaracterization, of parallel-text editions and, as these two forms co-exist and co-develop, will be an aspect of the form that needs stronger development. In the nineteenth century, Frederick Furnivall also noted the importance of including critical commentary to accompany his parallel-

text: "tentative as the results I have got-to, must necessarily be, I yet do not like to send out Part I of my Parallel-Text Edition of the Minor Poems for the Society, without saying something about the contents of it, and the notions I have formed . . . as to the sequence of Chaucer's works." (*Trial Forewords* 5). For Furnivall, judgment arose out of the parallel-text edition's representation of material texts.

## Editing Middle English Texts

Jennifer Fellows's article, "Author, Author, Author . . .An Apology for Parallel Texts" is justly praised by Douglas Moffat as "one of the few efforts to articulate a rationale for parallel-text editing in Middle English" (40). Fellows tentatively asks, "is it perhaps more pertinent to an understanding of medieval culture to concentrate on what was actually read than to pursue the elusive chimaera of original authorial intention?" (15). Noting that parallel-text editions have long been in use, Moffat cites Madden's edition of La3amon's *Brut* as one which exemplifies what has been a problem of the form: "the failure of editors to do much more than offer transcriptions of the versions" (41). Moffat cautiously argues that parallel-texts can be "justified" in situations "where codicological damage has resulted in a substantial loss of what would otherwise be a preferable version" (41). And this in what claims to be a defense of the form. Moffat clearly sanctions an editorial organizing principle centered primarily on authorial intent. The theoretical justification for parallel-text editions, he argues:

would be that the decision to offer a parallel-text edition, when not forced on the editor by manuscript damage, is a declaration either that the authorial text is unrecoverable, which is, in fact, the best-text edition, or that a variety of authorial, or quasi-authorial, texts exist. (42)

Moffat strives to reconcile parallel-texts as "at one with the other traditional options available to the editor of Middle English works" (42) by relating the form to best-text editing and by allowing how it may be the best approach when the authorial text is "unrecoverable." In contrast to Moffat, Edwards recognizes the value of "the analysis of social pressures on the shaping of texts" ("Editing Middle English" 197). He notes that the existence of such pressures "has long been recognized in medieval texts, mediated as they were through scribes and redactors often clearly engaged by the materials they were copying" (197). Edwards goes on to mention the study of the shaping of texts is "of considerable interest in appreciating the reception of a work" (198) but then retreats somewhat by offering this caveat:

> But from an editorial point of view there are inherent dangers in such preoccupations. An interest in the work of scribes and redactors can lead to the displacement of the editor and the author by a concern with the activities of later copyists . . . The identification and analysis of the pressures that led to the reshaping of a text by later hands remains a proper form of discrimination. In isolation, however, such activity leads merely to a study of the decomposition of a text. ("Editing Middle English"198)

Edwards' focus on textual transformations as a study of decomposition harks back to a Heideggerian sense of decay, as opposed to a dynamic study of use. But it is well to remember that most medieval writers, including Malory, can hardly be considered pure points of originary genius from which a text singularly was created. In addition to being "auctors" in the framework of St. Bonaventure's definition, they were also translators and redactors, recasting the materials that preceded them. I take seriously Hanna's warning that "the scholar who seeks not to judge must ultimately refuse to analyze the record and thereby conflate, in one of two ways, two different agents, author and scribe." (*Pursuing History* 16). But there are ways to mitigate this conflation, notably through the inclusion of strong introductory essays that situate the texts in a historical context and that actively resist such conflation: the judgment in a parallel-text shifts from that of aesthetics to that of use. In his chapter "Alterity and Editing Middle English Literature," Greetham argues that "it is the otherness or alterity of the text, medieval or modern, that confronts the contemporary critic and editor" (*Transgression* 518-9). The condition of a hermeneutic alterity[21] forms the theoretical basis of parallel-text editions. In "The Uses of Uncertainty," Nicholas Howe identifies a division amongst *Beowulf* scholars: between those engaged in the technical aspects of language and manuscript study and those primarily working from a historicist or cultural approach. Parallel-text editions can broach this divide between editions and literary theory, serving the interest of historically-oriented editors and readers by proposing questions of materiality, readers,

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[21] Spiegel discusses the function of such a hermeneutic.

only serviceable method when a "clear relationship of one text to an author" does not exist or if neither of the two versions to be presented in parallel-text form show evidence of "debasement" (24). Fellows's essay in the end becomes, indeed, little more than an apology. Her argument stops far short of offering a theory of parallel-text editions that is any different from the traditional position: that editors should seek to create texts which represent, as best as possible, authorial intention.

Having considered the kinds of textual and theoretical questions that parallel-text editions, as distinct from eclectic or single-text diplomatic editions, seek to propose and answer, I propose a parallel-text edition for the Roman War accounts in the Winchester manuscript and Caxton's printed book. The following chapter will provide a detailed textual history and examine the relationship of the two texts.[22] The two versions of the Roman War account are ideally suited to the form of a parallel text edition and pose a significant textual controversy meriting such an editorial treatment. A parallel-text edition may interrogate the two texts as integral to an understanding of the work, and it may ackowledge the intertwined textual history of the two witnesses as a rich source for understanding what has come to be known as *Le Morte Darthur*. Such an editorial position is not necessarily one which "easily slip[s] into an anti-aesthetic stance" (Berman 168) but rather a move to widen the field of editorial practice to introduce editions based on material publication and to recognize that editions suit particular textual

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[22] See also Field, *Malory: Text and Sources.*

and socio-historical purposes. Signifying a crossroad in the overlapping borderlands of manuscript and print culture, the contribution of Malory's work to our understanding of that borderland has often overlooked in the effort to establish a single authoritative text. As Chartier argues, one method of critically analyzing the way in which the form of texts affects their possible meanings is to decipher "different but contemporary modes of circulation and sorts of representation of a 'same' work" (3). In this way, the parallel-text edition of the two Malory documents from the fifteenth century tracks this circulation and representation and seeks not to *correct* their differences but to *study* them. Establishing authorial intent is clearly a legitimate mode of inquiry; searching for the "transmission of discourse" is another mode, equally legitimate, that need not be preconditioned. Despite claims that material philology has not produced editions and that there has been recourse to the author recently in terms of editorial theory,[23] more editions which explore some of the possible representations of historical documents and the aesthetic of variance are yet to come. The time is ripe for editions which seek to operate out of the theory and principles of a material philology. It is my intention that this discussion should provide a basis for a better understanding of how these editions function and how they can meet the needs of scholars and students.

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[23] See Eggert.

## General Principles for Parallel-Text Editions:[24]

1. **Integrity**. Parallel-text editions should be based on a careful study of the relevant texts and should be grounded in consistent principles.

2. **Usability**. Parallel-texts editions should have a clear, organized format that enhances the function of contrastive analysis.

3. **Alignment of passages**. Parallel-text editions should provide a system of aligning passages in order to facilitate comparison. Parallel-text editions should also provide a system to enable comparison of differently ordered passages, ideally in a side by side format.

4. **Critical context**. Parallel-text editions should be accompanied by essays which grapple with the social transmission of the texts and which attempt to account for the textual and interpretive gaps. Such essays should clearly articulate a theoretical and editorial position: a theory of the texts.

5. **Clear statement of editorial procedures**. Often accompanying editions as a "Note in the Text," this part of the edition should address the editorial principles employed. To provide the most accurate representation of the manuscripts, the editor should provide a clear explanation and notation of all changes. No silent emendations.

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[24] The basic framework of these principles is based on Shillingsburg's "General Principles for Electronic Scholarly Editions" in "Principles for Electronic Archives, Scholarly Editions, and Tutorials," 30.

6. **System of noting differences** . Ideally, the editor should provide a system to cue the reader to substanitive differences between passages in the two texts. An index which organizes these differences for further analysis could be provided.

7. **Through Line Numbering (TLN) or Continuous Line Numbering (CLN)**. While not all parallel-text editions are documentary, one of the pragmatic functions of such editions can be the establishment of a TLN system for the texts based on the historic documents. While TLN is better suited in some ways to verse than to prose, for disputed texts such as the Roman War account where scholars need to work in a closely comparative mode, TLN facilitates such contrastive analysis.

8. **Electronic editions**. Parallel-text editors should consider the way their edition might function in the electronic media and consider the implications of hypertext and the processes of radial reading.

To seen this flour, how it wol go to reste,
For fere of nyght, so hateth she derknesse.

Hire chere is pleynly sprad in the brightnesse
Of the sonne, for ther yt wol unclose.
Allas, that I ne had Englyssh, ryme or prose,
Suffisant this flour to preyse aryght!
But helpeth, ye that han konnyng and myght,
Ye lovers that kan make of sentement;
In this cas oghte ye be diligent
To forthren me somwhat in my labour,
Whethir ye ben with the leef or with the flour.
For wel I wot that ye han her-biforn
Of makyng ropen, and lad awey the corn,
And I come after, glenyng here and there,
And am ful glad yf I may fynde an ere
Of any goodly word that ye han left.
And thogh it happen me rehercen eft
That ye han in your fresshe songes sayd,
Forbereth me, and beth nat evele apayd,
Syn that ye see I do yt in the honour
Of love, and eke in service of the flour
Whom that I serve as I have wit or myght.

[CF. LL. 188–96, BELOW]

She is the clernesse and the verray lyght
That in this derke world me wynt and ledeth.
The hert in-with my sorwfull brest yow dredeth
And loveth so sore that ye ben verrayly
The maistresse of my wit, and nothing I.
My word, my werk ys knyt so in youre bond
That, as an harpe obeieth to the hond
And maketh it soune after his fyngerynge,
Ryght so mowe ye oute of myn herte bringe
Swich vois, ryght as yow lyst, to laughe or
pleyne.
Be ye my gide and lady sovereyne!
As to myn erthly god to yow I calle,
Bothe in this werk and in my sorwes alle.
But wherfore that I spak, to yive credence
To olde stories and doon hem reverence,

Thanne closeth it, and draweth it to reste;
So sore it is afered of the nyght,
Til on the morwe that it is dayes lyght.
This dayesye, of alle floures flour,
Fulfyld of vertu and of alle honour,
And evere ylike fayr and fresh of hewe,
As wel in wynter as in somer newe,
Fayn wolde I preysen, if I coude aryght;
But wo is me, it lyth nat in my myght.

For wel I wot that folk han here-beforn
Of makyng ropen, and lad awey the corn;
[And] I come after, glenynge here and there,
And am ful glad if I may fynde an ere
Of any goodly word that they han left.
And if it happe me rehersen eft
That they han in here freshe songes said,
I hope that they wole nat ben evele apayd,
Sith it is seyd in fortheryng and honour
Of hem that eyther serven lef or flour.
For trusteth wel, I ne have nat undertake
As of the lef agayn the flour to make,
Ne of the flour to make ageyn the lef,
No more than of the corn agen the shef;
For, as to me, is lefer non, ne lother.
I am witholde yit with never nother;
I not who serveth lef ne who the flour.
That nys nothyng the entent of my labour.
For this werk is al of another tonne,
Of olde story, er swich strif was begonne.

But wherfore that I spak, to yeve credence
To bokes olde and don hem reverence,

69 make of: write about
74 Of makyng ropen: reaped (the fruit) of writing
75 glenyng: gleaning
76 ere: ear (of grain)
80 Forbereth me: bear with me
85 wynt = *wyndeth*, turns, directs

Figure 1: The *Riverside Chaucer* parallel-text of *The Legend of Good Women*.

Thenne gan Gloten to grete ant gret sorwe made
Al for ys luyther lyf that a lyued hadde,
Ant avoued faste — 'For eny hungur or furste,
Schal nere fysch vpon the Fryday defyen in my wombe
Ar Abstinence myn aunte haue yf me leue —
Ant yut hath he hated me al my lyf tyme!'

'This shewynge shrift,' quod Repentaunce, 'shal be meryt to þe.'
And þanne gan Gloton greete, and gret doel to make
For his liþer lif þat he lyued hadde,
And auowed faste — 'For hunger or for þurste,
Shal neuer fyssh on þe Fryday defyen in my wombe
Til Abstinence myn aunte haue ȝyue me leeue —
And yet haue I hated hire al my lif tyme!'
Thanne cam Sleuþe al bislabered, wiþ two slymed eiȝen.
'I moste sitte,' seide þe segge, 'or ellis sholde I nappe;
I may noȝt stonde ne stoupe ne wiþoute stool knele.
Were I brouȝt abedde, but if my tailende it made,
Sholde no ryngynge do me ryse er I were ripe to dyne.'
He bigan *Benedicite* with a bolk, and his brest knokked,
And raxed and rored, and rutte at þe laste.
'What, awake, renk!' quod Repentaunce, 'and rape þee to shryfte!'
'If I sholde deye bi þis day,' quod he, 'me list nouȝt to loke.
I kan noȝt parfitly my *Paternoster* as þe preest it syngeþ,
But I kan rymes of Robyn Hood and Randolf Erl of Chestre,
Ac neiþer of Oure Lord ne of Oure Lady þe leeste þat euere was maked.

380 greete] W&r; to grete HmßR.
382 faste] GLR; to faste W&r (to] +M).
383 þe] LBR; *om* W&r.
386 slymed] α; slymy β.
388 stool] αHmG*K-D*; a stool ?β (a] mi Cr).
394 quod he] α; *om* β.
395 it] W&r; me F; *am* γ.
396 rymes; of Chestre] W&r; Romaunces; þe Reve F.
397 euere was] W&r; is F.



And gan grete grymly and gret doel make
For his liþer lif þat he lyued hadde,
And auowide to faste — 'For hungir or for þriste,
Shal neuere fissh on þe Friday defie in my wombe
Er Abstinence myn aunte haue ygyue me leue —
And ȝet haue I hatid hire al my lif tyme!'

'Hereof, gode God, graunte me forȝeuenesse
Of al my luyther lyf in al my lyf-tyme.
For Y vowe to verray God, for hungur or for furste,
Shal neuere fysch on þe Fryday defyen in my wombe
Til Abstinence myn aunte haue ȝeue me leue —
And ȝut haue Y hated here al my lyf-tyme!'

## PASSUS VII

Thenne cam Sleuthe al byslobered, with two slimed yes.
'Y moste sitte to be shryue or elles sholde Y nappe;
Y may nat stande ne stoupe ne withouten stoel knele.
Were Y brouhte in my bed, but yf my taylende hit made,
Sholde no ryngyng do me ryse til Y were rype to dyne.'
A bigan *Benedicite* with a bolk and his breste knokkede,
Roxlede and romede, and rotte at þe laste.
'What, awake, renke!' quod Repentaunce, 'and rape þe to shryfte!'
'Yf Y sholde deye be þis day,' quod he, 'Y drede me sore;
Y can nat parfitly my *Paternoster* as þe prest hit syngeth;
Y can rymes of Robyn Hode and of Randolf Erle of Chestre,
Ac of Oure Lord ne of Oure Lady þe leste þat euere was maked.

209 make] $r^1$ (to m. vJLw)ChmKn; made ?$r^1$.
211 for$^{1-2}$] R&r (for$^3$] elles W); for any; *om* dKN.
212 þe] T&r; *om* RvLwEM. wombe] T&r; mawe uvJWH$^3$ (*canc. for* wombe).

436 lyf$^1$] x; lyuyng pP$^2$.
437 for$^{2-3}$] p; for eny; *om* x.
438 on þe] x (on] in X); on p.
Collation XYIP$^1$UDK$^1$(1–62)PEAV(236–83 *om* AV)R MQF(*to* 262)SGKNK$^3$(176–269).
Rubric *Passus septimus de visione* x; *Hic explicit passus septimus Incipit passus octavus* p (*o.*] *o. de visione* M).

1 Thenne] x; Tho p.
2 or] x?$p^2$; quath he or $p^1$G. sholde] $xp^2$; shal $p^1$.
3 stonde; stoule] p; wel stande; x stoel x (ful wel P$^2$).
4 yf] x; *om* p.
5 ryse] pP$^2$; to ryse x.
6 A . . . *bene.*] x; *Bene.* he bygan p.
7 Rox-] x (Roy- Y)M (he r. M); Rasc- p (*def.* O; basc- G). romede] x (?ronede Y; groned P$^2$)R; remed p.
8 and] x; *om* p.
9 Yf y sholde] x (sh.] *om* P$^2$); Sholde ich p. quath he] pK$^2$; *om* x.

Figure 2: A. V. C Schmidt's parrallel-text of *Piers Plowman*

Invariant / Uncorrected

# THE TRAGEDIE OF KING LEAR.

## Actus Primus. Scæna Prima.

*Enter Kent, Glocester, and Bastard.*

*Kent.* I thought the King had more affected the Duke of *Albany* then *Cornwall*.

*Glost.* It did alwaies seeme so to vs: but now in the diuision of the kingdome, it appeares not which of the Dukes he values most, for equalities are so weighed, that curiositie in neither, can make choice of either's moyetie.

*Kent.* Is not this your Sonne my Lord?

*Glost.* His breeding sir hath been at my charge. I haue so often blusht to acknowledge him, that now I am braz'd to it.

*Kent.* I cannot conceiue you.

*Glost.* Sir, this young fellowes mother could, whereupon she grew round wombed, and had indeed Sir a Sonne for her cradle, ere she had a husband for her bed, doe you smell a fault?

*Kent.* I cannot wish the fault vndone, the issue of it being so proper.

*Glost.* But I haue sir a Sonne by order of Law, some yeare elder then this, who yet is no dearer in my account, though this knaue came something sawcely into the world before hee was sent for, yet was his mother faire, there was good sport at his making, & the whoreson must be acknowledged, do you know this noble gentleman *Edmond*?

*Bast.* No my Lord.

*Glost.* My Lord of Kent, remember him hereafter as my honorable friend.

*Bast.* My seruices to your Lordship.

Corrected

Though the King had more affected the



Figure 3: Michael Warren's parallel-text of *King Lear*

Unknown among these haunts in former days.
The very garments that I wore appeared
To prey upon my strength, and stopped the course
And quiet stream of self-forgetfulness.
Something there was about me that perplexed
Th' authentic sight of reason,[6] pressed too closely
On that religious dignity of mind
That is the very faculty of truth,
Which wanting—either, from the very first
A function never lighted up, or else
Extinguished—man, a creature great and good,
Seems but a pageant plaything with vile claws,[7]
And this great frame of breathing elements
A senseless idol.

This vague heartless[8] chace
Of trivial pleasures was a poor exchange
For books and Nature at that early age.
'Tis true, some casual knowledge might be gained
Of character or life; but at that time,
Of manners put to school[9] I took small note,
And all my deeper passions lay elsewhere—
Far better had it been to exalt the mind
By solitary study, to uphold
Intense desire by thought and quietness.
And yet, in chastisement of these regrets,
The memory of one particular hour
Doth here rise up against me. In a throng,
A festal company of maids and youths,
Old men and matrons, staid, promiscuous rout,[2]
A medley of all tempers,[3] I had passed
The night in dancing, gaiety and mirth—
With din of instruments, and shuffling feet,
And glancing forms, and tapers glittering,
And unaimed prattle flying up and down,
Spirits upon the stretch, and here and there
Slight shocks of young love-liking interspersed
That mounted up like joy into the head,
And tingled through the veins. Ere we retired
The cock had crowed, the sky was bright with day;

6. De Selincourt draws attention to Coleridge's later definition of reason as "the mind's eye," "an organ bearing the same relation to spiritual objects * * * as the eye bears to material and contingent phaenomena" (*CC*, IV, i, pp. 155–57).
7. As with the floating island of III, 339–43, Wordsworth's image contains a specific reference. Owen points out ("Tipu's Tiger," *NQ*, CCXV [1970], pp. 379–80) that he had in mind a near life-sized model of a tiger savaging a white man, captured at the fall of Seringapatam, India, in 1799, and on show at the East India Company in London. The tiger is now in the Victoria and Albert Museum.
8. Discouraging, depressing.
9. I.e., the study of human behavior.
2. "Promiscuous rout": varied company; both words are used in a Miltonic sense.
3. Temperaments.



In haunts where they, till now, had been unknown.
It seemed the very garments that I wore
Preyed on my strength, and stopped the quiet stream
Of self-forgetfulness.

Yes, that heartless[8] chase
Of trivial pleasures was a poor exchange
For books and nature at that early age.
'Tis true, some casual knowledge might be gained
Of character or life; but at that time,
Of manners put to school[9] I took small note,
And all my deeper passions lay elsewhere.
Far better had it been to exalt the mind
By solitary study, to uphold
Intense desire through meditative peace;
And yet, for chastisement of these regrets,
The memory of one particular hour
Doth here rise up against me.[1] 'Mid a throng
Of maids and youths, old men, and matrons staid
A medley of all tempers,[3] I had passed
The night in dancing, gaiety, and mirth,
With din of instruments and shuffling feet,
And glancing forms, and tapers glittering,
And unaimed prattle flying up and down;
Spirits upon the stretch, and here and there
Slight shocks of young love-liking interspersed,
Whose transient pleasure mounted to the head,
And tingled through the veins. Ere we retired,
The cock had crowed, and now the eastern sky

1. The omission of *1805*, lines 282–86, 289–90, 295–304, makes for an easier lead into the consecration scene that follows.

Figure 4: The Norton parallel-text of *The Prologue*

## Chapter Two:
## "Alas! Who may truste thys world?":
## A Textual History of the Winchester Manuscript and the Caxton Printed Edition

Unlike many medieval works, Malory's Arthuriad has benefited from intense textual study, not only of the surviving manuscript witness, but also of the early printed versions of the work. While the focus of this scholarship has been the establishment of a putatively authorially-intended text, this focus has also resulted in significant scholarly attention to Caxton's printed text and, to a lesser degree, that of Caxton's successor, Wynkyn de Worde's 1498 edition. The focus of the work on the Caxton and de Worde editions has primarily been to definitively establish Caxton as the editor (or, alternatively, to exonerate him from the editing) with rather less investigation of the printed text as an important artifact of the work's transmission. In *The Making of Middle English*, David Matthews argues for the importance of studies which

> invest in the history of the transmission of Middle English texts via print technology. This would mean more study of the reception, transmission, and use of Middle English texts in order to say, among other things, what people *did* with these texts at different times. (195)

Matthews also observes that the "New Philology" of recent years "has so far always come back to editing as a central concern, which would therefore suggest that a recentering of early *editions* in the field of analysis is due" (xxi). This chapter is concerned with precisely this field of analysis, specifically with the textual history and dialogic relation of the unique copy of the Winchester manuscript and the Caxton edition,

as it survives in two copies. While David Matthews expresses concern that the textual transmission of works once they reach print is "increasingly neglected" (xv), he also identifies a central problem with author-based editions, which establish a text based on the earliest manuscript:

> No matter how problematically it does so, the manuscript is thought to put us in contact with an original, medieval text. . . . However true it often is that early editions involve wild departures from the manuscripts, something is lost when they are ignored. (xv-xvi)

The "something" which Matthews laments is the cultural, political and literary life of a work—the literary work in dynamic interaction with readers. In addition, the preference for the readings of the manuscript witness, while an important emphasis, has had the effect of eclipsing study of the reader or the social history of the text. It is clear that the text presented in the manuscript, if it is closer in time to the author's life, may possibly represent a state of the text, which is "closer" to what the author wrote and "intended," if indeed such intent can ever be determined. Just how much closer, or what stages of intervention lie between the author's holograph and the manuscript, we cannot say with certainty. This textual stance, which seeks to recover an authorial version, echoes the perspective of Sir Lancelot upon hearing of Arthur's death: "Sir Lancelot's heart almost brast for sorrow, and Sir Lancelot threw his arms abroad, and said, 'Alas, who may trust this world'" (Cowen 524). Or, as it appears in the Winchester: "syr Launcelottes hert

almost braste for sorowe, and sir Launcelot threwe hys armes abrode, and sayd, 'Alas! Who may truste thys world?' (Vinaver, *Works* 1254)

Scholars interested in establishing an authorial work often adhere to what Eugène Vinaver termed a "mistrust of texts" ("Principles" 352), which is to ask, "who may trust in this text?" If the object of study, however, is the "activity of intelligence" (Pearsall 95) of editors and readers, a focus on the material artifacts forms the basis of inquiry. This is not to say that the material text is to be accepted as an unquestioned authority, rather that it be accepted as an historical artifact and a tool for inquiry into the social history of the work. Ivo Kamps has argued the major contribution of materialist criticism has been its "recognition that literary criticism is an activity inescapably replete with ideological values" (2) and this assumption underlies the ideology of much of the present study.

Editions of *Le Morte Darthur* or *Works* have never been examined in terms of the ideological representations of editions[1]: therefore, the production of editions of Malory in the fifteenth and twentieth centuries and a cultural materialist study of these editions forms the basis of the present study. In the case of Malory, we are fortunate to have three versions from the fifteenth century, allowing a study of the work as it entered into late fifteenth-century English literary culture at the cusp of print technology. This chapter also studies the work as it appeared in 20th century editions, with particular emphasis on Vinaver's edition, *Works*, and what textual uncertainties remain, despite the apparently

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[1] Gaines's anecdotal bibliography does provide many interesting details of the commercial transactions involving the early texts and a very useful discussion of the editors and the publication history of the various editions; Meale considers the way in which the critical judgments of Malory editors shaped their editions as a "hoole book" or as individual tales; and Edwards provides a reception history in "The Reception of Malory's *Morte Darthur*."

definitive three-volume edition, now in its third edition, revised by P. J. C. Field. In particular, this chapter is concerned with the ideology of editing practiced in the mid-twentieth century and which formed the basis of the two major twentieth-century editions: Vinaver's *Works* and James Spisak's Caxton-based edition. This textual history addresses the critical response to those editions and looks ahead to "post-Vinaver" editions of Malory, particularly the parallel-text edition of the Roman War account that accompanies this study.

## Description of the Texts

The Winchester manuscript,[2] spectacularly identified by Dr. William F. Oakeshott in 1934, was bound into one volume with other texts and was part of the library of Winchester College. Composed of 473 folios, the manuscript has two quires missing, one from the beginning and one from the end of the codex, with an additional three leaves lost from the body (Ker ix), none of which occur in the Roman War account. Written in the hand of two scribes, personal names and some place names appear in red ink, creating the most distinctive feature of the manuscript. Three- or five-line letters with floral flourishes marks divisions in the narrative, but the manuscript is otherwise undecorated. The hand of the scribe B, who was responsible for most of the central portion of the manuscript, which includes the Roman War tale, is a form of the sectretary hand "introduced from France a century earlier" (Ker xv). The final colophon states

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[2] Vinaver and Ker provide complete descriptions of the Winchester manuscript in their Introductions. See also Gaines and Yeats-Edwards for additional descriptions of the manuscript and its provenance. Meale provides a description of the visual features of the manuscript.

that Malory finished the work "in the ix yere of the reygne of kyng edward the fourth," thus the surviving manuscript cannot pre-date 1470 (Edward's ninth regnal year was from March 1469 to March 1470) (Meale 7). The orthography of the Winchester manuscript has been deemed "characteristic of west Northhamptonshire" (Field, "Caxton's" 41) with punctuation limited to virgules (/ or //), occasional punctus marks, and capital letters. Field's assessment of the Winchester is that it was "copied by two tolerably professional hands on paper that was apparently not manufactured until [Malory] was dead" ("Caxton's" 45). The paper is dated after Malory's death, with watermarks similar to another document definitively dated to 1475. Thus, neither the Caxton's text (printed in 1485) nor the Winchester was produced in Malory's lifetime (he died in 1471).

The manuscript, now British Library MS Additional 59678, is divided into larger sections than the printed edition, giving rise to Vinaver's opinion that Malory wrote the sections in a more or less independent fashion. Vinaver's edition, reflecting his reading of the arrangement of the manuscript, divided the work into eight sections comprising a total of forty-three tales. The Winchester manuscript is also glossed with brief summaries, a little discussed feature of the manuscript. Like the place-names, the glosses are written in red ink and, in the case of the Roman War account, for example, serve as place-markers for narrative events with typical phrases such as "The deth of Sir Gayns" (f. 79v). Meale notes a more frequent occurrence of glosses earlier in the manuscript, primiarily written by scribe A (9). The Roman War account, however, has eleven

marginal notes which note the death of key figures in the narrative and which were appararenly provided by Scribe B.

The first printed edition, *Le Morte Darthur*, was typeset at William Caxton's print shop near Westminster Abbey and issued on July 31, 1485. Caxton presented his text of Malory's work in the form of a single volume consisting of 432 folios (863 printed pages) divided into 21 books with 507 chapter divisions. Caxton's colophon states that the text was "by me deuyded in to xxi bookes chaptyred and enprynted and fynysshed in thabbey Westmester . . . (Vinaver, *Works* 1260), thus acknowledging that the chapter divisions were imposed by him rather than by Malory. What level of editing this signifies is contested. In addition, Caxton included rubrics for each of the twenty-one books into which he divided the text. The rubrics provide a single sentence synopsis of the action of each of the chapter divisions of each book. For example, the first rubric of of Caxton's Book Five reads "How twelve aged Ambassyatours of Rome came to kyng Arthur to demaunde truage for Brytayne." (Vinaver, *Works* 183).

The Caxton edition was composed with Caxton's type 4*, an enlarged version of his type 4.[3] Printed in gothic blackletter type, the book does not contain any illustrations, but each chapter and subchapter begins with a five-line and three-line woodcut letter, respectively. Punctuation is limited to virgules (/ or //), capitals and spacing. Two copies of Caxton's edition survive: a complete copy housed in the Pierpont Morgan Library in New York, comprising of 432 leaves, and an incomplete copy at the John Rylands

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[3] Needham provides a full description of the Caxton edition in his Introduction. See also Gaines's and Spisak's Introductions for additional descriptions of the physical text.

University Library in Manchester, England, missing 11 leaves. Two pages, in particular, contain significant variants, with bibliographer Hilton Kelliher of the British Library concluding that the Pierpont Morgan copy pages were reset sometime during the print run. Aside from these two pages, however, the two documents are nearly identical.

Wynkyn de Worde's 1498 edition of Le Morte Darthur survives in a unique copy at the John Ryland's University Library of Manchester. The original book consisted of 326 leaves, but twenty-two are now missing as was recently established by Tsuyoshi Mukai. De Worde's colophon states that the edition is a "newel prynted" version of Caxton's but the addition of twenty-one woodcut illustrations, the presentation of the printed text in double-columns and the addition of "comynaltee' (common people) to Caxton's list of intended readers mark the edition as envisaged for a broader audience and "reading-class" (Mukai 25). Edward Hodnett terms the woodcut illustrator the "Arthur cutter" and describes his woodcut illustrations as "markedly individual and . . . amusing" (14). The change from a dense non-illustrated manuscript to a woodblock-illustrated, printed text represents a significant change in the literary production of Malory's work and the de Worde editions need to be more fully explored for their role in circulating the work and for the semiotic exchange of images and text.[4]

Tsuyoshi Mukai has hypothesized, based on what he has determined to be de Worde's regular editorial practice, that de Worde had access to Caxton's copy-text and made corrections for his printed edition based on readings from this exemplar. This

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[4] The woodcuts in de Worde's Malory are discussed by Whitaker in "Illustrating Caxton's Malory," and in "The Illustration of Arthurian Romance."

process of correction implies that de Worde's edition may truer to the earlier copy text in certain passages. The Winchester manuscript, which has been identified as remaining in Caxton's shop at least until 1489 may, Mukai speculates, have been handed over to de Worde in 1491 when the business passed to him after Caxton's death (31). But, Mukai argues, de Worde "preferred and turned to Caxton's copy-text as a back-up copy" (38) rather than the Winchester as the basis for his corrections. Mukai's research re-opens the possibility of a collateral relationship between manuscript and print: that is, that Caxton did not necessarily base his edition on the Winchester but on a now-lost fair copy. It is Mukai's contention, then, that the de Worde edition may be the text closest to the fair-copy. An unstated implication of Mukai's argument, then, must be a questioning of the greater authority asserted for the Winchester manuscript, at least for certain passages.

Prior to the recovery of the manuscript, William Caxton's 1485 edition of *Le Morte Darthur* had been the primary witness to Malory's work for over four hundred years. Based on what we know of his press, Caxton may have printed 500 copies of Le Morte Darthur (Riddy *Sir Thomas Malory* 8). Caxton's edition, then, moved well outside of the kind of private ownership or personal circulation that marked manuscripts by authors such as Chaucer who, as Paul Strohm has pointed out, circulated his works among friends, court-affiliated officials, and fellow poets. The Winchester, in contrast did not have a large social history until the twentieth century. David Matthews notes that

> when a manuscript is produced, it copies a preexisting text, and itself can be copied, to produce a series of texts that can be imagined as having a

> vertical relation to one another (as stemmatic diagrams suggest). Print technology, on the other hand, because it is a copy technology, produces texts not only in this vertical relation, but in the horizontal one as well. (xix)

But this "horizontal" relationship of "allotexts" does not long remain undifferentiated. As David Matthews points out, printed texts, such as the Rylands and Newberry versions of the Caxton edition, "quickly begin to be differentiated from one another. They are marked by their social circumstances, just as any manuscript it"(xix). These are what Matthews calls both "the routine markings of the text," licensed and "unlicensed" (xix), both of which "inscribe the texts with the marks of its own individual history" (xx). Other than subsequent editions, and one sixteenth-century compilation of Arthurian deeds based on Malory, "no evidence survives of how contemporary readers responded to the work" (Edwards 243). Edwards has, however, identified ample evidence of the work's literary assimilation.

Four key attributes mark the major divergences of the Caxton edition from the Winchester manuscript:

1. A substantially shorter Roman War account (a topic taken up in the following chapter)
2. The modernization of linguistic features and orthography (such as the replacement of the thorn and yogh)
3. Chapter and book divisions provided by Caxton --

4. The shortening or excising of Malory's *explicits*.

One of the most celebrated excisions is the self-referential explicit which concludes the first major section, "The Tale of King Arthur" in Vinaver's edition:

> Here endyth this tale, as the Freynshe booke seyth, fro the maryage of kynge Uther unto kyng Arthure that regned aftir hym and ded many batayles.
>
> And this booke endyth whereas sir Launcelot and sir Trystams com to courte. Who that woll make ony more lette hym seke other bookis of kynge Arthure or of sir Launcelot or sir Trystrams; for this was drawyn by a knyght presoner, sir Thomas Malleorré, that God sende hym good recover. Amen. Explicit &c. (Vinaver, *Works* 180)

In the Caxton edition, this section of the tale marks the end of Book IV and is noted simply: "Explicit liber quartus. Incipit liber quintus." (Vinaver, *Works* 180 and Cowen, vol. I, 166). Similarly, at the end of the tale of the healing of Urry (the conclusion of the seventh tale in Vinaver's edition), the Winchester text provides an indication of Malory's social status via the explicit: "And here on the othir syde folowyth The Moste Pyteuous Tale of the Morte Arthure Saunz Gwerdon par le Shyvalere Sir Thomas Malleorré, Knyght./ Jesu, ayede ly pur vout<re>. bone mercy! Amen. (Vinaver, *Works* 1154). The shortened version in the Caxton edition reads: "Explicit liber xix./ And here after followeth the moost pytous history of the morte of king Arthur the whiche is the xx book" (Vinaver, *Works*1154n). The revelation of the excised *explicits* elicited new

insights into the identity and status of Malory and a biographical context in which to better place his work.[5] W. F. Oakeshott argues that the *explicits* in the Winchester "certainly derive in the form in which we now have them from Malory himself" (650). The fuller *explicits* informed the conception of the Winchester as revealing Malory's full intent both in terms of meaning and in terms of the division of the work. Most scholars have subsequently relied on Vinaver's edition, which provides the full text of the Winchester *explicits*. However, subsequent work has demonstrated that Vinaver, too, made interpretive decisions for the divisions of the tales not always directly related to the indications of the *explicits* and rubricated letters of the manuscript (Evans, Meale, Cooper "Opening").

In terms of linguistic variation, William Matthews notes several changes in the Caxton version from the Winchester, specifically in the Roman War account:

> The prevalent grammatical inversions of the older text are largely replaced by a normal late fifteenth-century syntactical order; verbal inflections used in standard speech are regularly substituted for the frequent northern inflections of Winchester; and for most of the northern dialect words, which had either been transferred from the poem or added by Malory himself, the reviser usually employs words which were current in standard speech. ("Question" 106-7)

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[5] Possible contenders for authorship have been Sir Thomas Malory of Newbold Revel, Warwickshire, championed by G. L. Kittredge, and a Yorkshire Sir Thomas Malory championed by William Matthews in *The Ill-Framed Knight*. Field argues convincingly for the Newbold Revel Malory in "Sir Thomas Malory, M.P."

In addition, the "3" and "þ" used in the Winchester are replaced, for the most part with "y" and "th," respectively, though the "3" is also used to denote the letter "z" as in the word "Sara3ens." While the excision of the *explicits* and the linguistic changes seem to promote the Winchester as the earlier text, the possibility remains, however unlikely, that the Caxton text derived from a manuscript that descended collaterally from the author's original and could reflect earlier changes rather than Caxton's editing.

Adding to the dramatic plot twists that characterized study of Malory's work in the twentieth century is the textual forensic work of Lotte Hellinga who, in 1982, linked the Winchester manuscript to Caxton's print house via the identification of extraneous type marks on the Winchester Manuscript. Hellinga employed infrared photography and other technologies to determine that the Winchester manuscript bore "offsets" that were identifiable as letter type from Caxton's print shop and in use at the time that he printed *Le Morte Darthur*. Hellinga concludes that that there is a direct derivation between the two texts rather than the collateral relationship previously posited by Vinaver. According to Hellinga, "someone (either Caxton or another person) used the Malory manuscript . . . in order to prepare a revised version in manuscript; subsequently this was marked up for the compositors and used by them. This intermediate stage would now be lost" ("Malory" 92). Hellinga's work shows that the Winchester manuscript—at some point—was in Caxton's printing shop; however, the manuscript does not bear any of the marks used by compositors to ready a text for printing, leading to her conclusion that Caxton used a different, and now lost, manuscript as the marked-up copy for his edition. Field

concurs, speculating that Caxton "must have had two manuscripts of *Le Morte Darthur* in his printing shop, and based his edition on the one that did not survive" ("Caxton's" 34). Mukai's work questions Hellinga's proposed relationship of the manuscript based on his study of de Worde's edition.

The discovery of the Winchester manuscript in the early twentieth century coincided with significant theoretical and ideological ideas about editing. Vinaver's Malory edition embodies much of the ideology upon which late nineteenth century editing was based and, in its use of Lachmannian stemmatics, displays the debt to the scientific principles of Darwin and the disciplines of natural science. As Jonathan Evans points out, botany and philology share a paradigmatic history in late nineteenth-century thought and the framework of taxonomy and the discipline of botany "had a profound influence on both later 19th-century linguistics and textual editing" (25). To date, little work has been done to excavate the ideologies, which informed the making of editions of Malory's work. And yet, as David Matthews argues, "Middle English studies at all stages had a political dimension, demanding a political description" (xxiv). Many have similarly lamented the divide of social history and bibliography from literary criticism and theory. This textual history attempts to integrate the social history of the Malory texts with textual theory, bibliography and, ultimately, literary criticism. It is in this light, therefore, that the work and critical legacy of Vinaver will be explored in the context of Vinaver's debt to nineteenth-century editorial theory and the modernist milieu of the 1930s and 40s. Paul Strohm has noted, that the mercurial fortunes of texts and

their subsequent "varied and unpredictable uses" are the "vicissitudes . . . [which] register the presence of centers of authority beyond textual bounds" (7). He describes such vicissitudes as "the operations of political agency" (7). Recognition of the influence of political, national, and institutional agency that exerted a shape and use on Malory editions situates twentieth-century editions of Malory specifically and the cultural work of editorial practice in general.

## Vinaver and the Tradition of Editing Malory

Vinaver's contribution to Malory scholarship has long been recognized and highly regarded. Russian by birth, Vinaver was Professor of French literature at University of Manchester in England; his knowledge of the French sources of Malory's work was, and remains, highly respected; he was renowned as a careful textual scholar and editor. After years spent working on a new edition of Caxton's printed text of Malory, Vinaver put aside that work when the Winchester manuscript was found, in 1934, to embark on a radically new edition based on the Winchester—an act of scholarly courage if ever there was one. Such was Vinaver's commitment to the best possible scholarship. To understand Vinaver's contribution to Malory scholarship, a brief textual history of Malory's work will establish the field out of which Vinaver was working.

In 1498 Caxton's edition was reissued by Jan van Wynkyn de Worde, as noted, with a fair number of textual variants and with the addition of twenty woodcut illustrations; de Worde reissued the edition, with some changes in the woodcuts, in 1529.

Both of the de Worde editions survive in single copies. In 1557, William Copeland printed a folio edition, as did Thomas East in 1578. In 1634, a quarto version was published by William Stansby, which was advertised on its title page as "newly-refined" for Elizabethan tastes (qtd. in Needham 3), although modernizations in language had been incrementally introduced. After 1634, the work "went into a long hibernation," but was revived, as Paul Needham notes, as an "antiquity of English literature" in the early nineteenth century (3). In 1816 there were two editions, both based on the 1634 quarto, followed by a well-known edition by Robert Southey in 1817 based on Earl Spencer's copies (including the errors from those copies) of the 1485 Caxton (missing the eleven leaves) held by the John Rylands Library and from de Worde's 1498 edition. Thomas Wright published an edition in 1858 which used the 1634 quarto as its copy text. Edward Strachey identified *Le Morte Darthur* as "our English Epic" (qtd. in Parins 175) and produced a modernized edition in 1868 based on the Caxton text of 1485. After a careful study of Southey's edition, Strachey estimated over 20,000 variants from Caxton's text had been incorporated.

In the midst of this textual drift, F. J. Furnivall had pointed out the apparent points of similarity between the alliterative *Morte Arthure* and Malory's *Le Morte Darthur*, but Malory's work was strongly conceived at the time as little more than a "most pleasant jumble" (Furnivall qtd. in Parins 165) summarizing several sources or perhaps translated from a single French book: Malory refers to an apocryphal single source several times in his text. When there is a possible question of authority in the narative, Malory maintains

that the account he provides is according to what "the French book maketh mencyon" (Vinaver 726). Malory was thought of as a compiler, a translator or condenser, almost a kind of editor himself, part of the continuous text of the Arthurian tradition. There was also strong sense in the nineteenth century that English prose lacked the kind of foundational epic found in French or German national literatures. With the first parts of Tennyson's *Idylls of the King* appeared in 1859, Malory's prose suffered in the comparison, as a kind of "crude original" (Furnivall, qtd. in Parins 173). Sir Walter Scott had earlier commented on *Le Morte Darthur* as being "written in pure Old English . . .told with a simplicity bordering on the sublime" (iii-iv). Critical opinion of Malory was much the same as the neo-classical assessment of Shakespeare had been: that is, that Malory's prose was simple and natural, but not sophisticated or aesthetic.

In 1889, H. Oskar Sommer produced a diplomatic edition of Caxton's edition, in which Vinaver later identified more than 1,000 errors though Sommer strove to produce an edition which reprinted Caxton "page for page, line for line, word for word" (Sommer viii). Sommer did, however, advance the understanding that *Le Morte Darthur* stood in some relation to the alliterative *Morte Arthure*. With Furnivall's suggestion and Sommer's diplomatic edition, the sense that perhaps Malory was working out of an English tradition as well as from French sources began to surface. Strachey continued to position the work as a key national text, arguing that its influence on "English life, upon our thoughts, morals and manners, has been great" (qtd. in Parins 323). *Le Morte Darthur*, according to Strachey was "our first great work of English prose . . .an infant

beauty in Malory's style which is full of promise of the perfectly manly form that is to be" (qtd. in Parins 323).

In the 1920s Vinaver began work on a new critical edition of Caxton's text that would collate the complete copy of Caxton's edition at the Pierpont Morgan library with the incomplete copy at the John Rylands library in Manchester and restore the sections expurgated or modernized by Elizabethan and Victorian sensibilities. This textual collation represents the basis of the eclectic, critical approach to texts. Vinaver, trained in philology and French literature, knew that numerous textual variants had been introduced into the text, erroneously in his view, and he believed that Caxton's text was therefore not a perfect embodiment of Malory's intention. Vinaver used his knowledge of Malory's French and English sources, then, to provide emendations of Caxton's text.

In 1934, Vinaver's work was enormously complicated and, ultimately, invigorated by the discovery of the Winchester manuscript. In particular, the Roman War account in the Winchester was found to be almost twice as long as the corresponding section in the Caxton edition and far closer linguistically and narratively to the English alliterative *Morte Arthure*. Vinaver's ensuing edition of 1947 solidified Sommer's earlier sense that Malory was more than a fumbling translator, that he did not "servilely copy his originals" but that in fact his work was conscious, even artful, and that it drew on native English sources as well as French (Sommer, qtd. in Parins 269). Further, Vinaver worked from the growing

understanding that romance had a different kind of narrative structure[6], a form of interlacement used in French prose romance, rather than a classical, linear unity. In other words, *Le Morte Darthur* was more than a mere boy's tale, but an important prose work worthy of being considered an English epic. As Sommer's argues, "it is one of the most important and interesting [English prose romance], considering the great influence it has exercised no only on the formation of English prose style, but also on the subject-matter of English literature" (qtd. in Parins 269). By revealing the ties with English verse, the Winchester witness provided the basis for the claim that indeed Malory's work was an instance of a national literature, not a mere borrowing from the French. After its recovery in 1934, the Winchester manuscript, seen as the artifact of this previously under recognized national literature, subsequently was championed passionately as representing "the real Malory." Shadowed by the deep concerns of World War II, Vinaver saw his editions as connected to English national identity: "To have seen a text of this magnitude through the press at a time of the greatest national emergency is in itself a unique achievement" (xii). In the Preface to the 1947 edition, Vinaver assesses the Winchester manuscript, stating "the most obvious merit of this text is that it brings us nearer to what Malory really wrote" (*Works* ix). Further, Vinaver maintained that Caxton's hand had been intentionally, even cunningly, injurious to the work.

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[6] See Vinaver, *The Rise of Romance*.

Vinaver declared that, with the publication of *Works*, "[s]ome of the damage due to Caxton's 'symple connynge' can now be repaired" (*Works* xxix).

But Vinaver did not produce a diplomatic edition of the Winchester manuscript. There was a strong sense, partly because of Vinaver's own rhetoric, that the "genuine Malory" (Wilson 209n) was now fully transparent in Vinaver's edition because of his choice of the Winchester as his base text. Vinaver used the Winchester as a best-text, drawing upon Bedier's best-text theory and Karl Lachmann's stemmatic theory, but his choice of the "best text" did not preclude him from making substantial emendation on the basis of readings in the Caxton edition and in Malory's sources. Oakeshott, upon his initial study of the manuscript, had called for exactly this kind of edition, arguing that a new Malory edition "will therefore have to be reconstructed with the aid of Malory sources" (650). For the Roman War account, Vinaver emended the readings of the Winchester manuscript from sources and also by including four passages and readings from the Caxton text.

Vinaver's "mistrust of texts" was the foundation of his recourse to sources for emending the text. In addition to the eclectic blending of primary documents into one "definitive edition" (*Malory* ix), Vinaver overlaid a second major shape on the edition: he introduced modern paragraphing, punctuation, capitalization, genitive apostrophes, and the use of quotation marks for dialogue. Vinaver did this for two reasons: to make the text accessible for twentieth-century readers but also because of the way in which he understood Malory's text as marking the emergence of what we would now call early

modern prose. Vinaver noted that "an attempt has been made to give the work the appearance of a modern novel, not that of a learned treatise" (*Works* x). But more than merely making the text accessible to modern readers, Vinaver saw Malory's work as a critical marker in the emergence of English literary prose. According to Vinaver, "the aesthetic principle involved in such changes [from verse to prose] is fundamental for the transition from medieval to modern fiction" (*Works* ix). Vinaver remarks that what he finds "surprising is a fifteenth-century author's instinctive understanding of the principle of 'singleness' which underlies the rhythmical structure of any modern work of fiction" (*Works* ix). The addition of dialogue markers by Vinaver, however, foregrounds a distinction between narrative and speech not apparent in either of the fifteenth-century texts. Thus, while Vinaver accused Caxton of imposing a false unity on the tales, Vinaver, too, was operating out of a literary and aesthetic principle of unity informed by philology and modernism. Takamiya lauded Vinaver's goal of producing a novel-like edition of Malory, stating that there "is no doubt that modern paragraphing, punctuation, and capitalization, and the use of quotation marks for dialogue, all of which Vinaver justifiably employed, have seemed to make his text as readable as a modern novel" (Rev. 252). D. S. Brewer, on the other hand, imputed this modernity of genre to Malory himself and it was Vinaver's edition which merely allowed this modernity to be recognized. Brewer states that Vinaver was 'surely right in perceiving that Malory, though he was following earlier modes, nevertheless was creating something of a modern form" (119).

Despite this attention to aesthetic unity, Vinaver challenged George Saintsbury's famous phrase that from his multiple sources in French prose romances, Malory had made "this vast assemblage of stories one story and one book" (25). Vinaver used the *explicits* excised or edited in Caxton's text to propose a new intended structure for the text: that of eight related, but autonomous tales and not the one unified book as published by Caxton. Vinaver felt that his edition restored to each "the title which Malory himself assigned to it in his colophon" (*Works* cxxv). Vinaver's conception of Malory's work as eight books was controversial and not universally accepted and more recent scholarship has made Vinaver's tale division and theory of eight independent tales seem even less convincing (see, e.g., Evans, Cooper, and Meale).

The irony is that while Vinaver's modernization of the text through the introduction of paragraphing, punctuation, and speech indicators was considered a triumph, Caxton's similar move to modernize the text for his readers was simultaneously considered a travesty. In addition, scholars who have worked closely with Vinaver's edition—Field and Cooper—have pointed out that it is not always clear when emendations are drawn from Caxton's edition and when they are inferred by Vinaver from sources, a classic example of emendation based on what the editors feels the writer might have preferred, if only he had thought of it. Like most great editors of the critical, eclectic period, Vinaver had developed a strong sense of Malory's intentions and endeavored to present a representation of those intentions.

Vinaver presents a Lachmannian study of the transmission of the manuscript witness and Caxton's printed text and, based on his analysis, argues that the two stand in a collateral relation to each other. This has been disputed by Lotte Hellinga based on infrared photography of the Winchester which shows offset marks of letter press from Caxton's print shop on the manuscript. Hellinga's study came much later than Vinaver's edition and has proved that the two versions, amazingly, share a closer textual history than was originally thought, though it is also clear that the manuscript was not used as the copy-text for the printed edition. Given the many competing theories, Michael Salda, co-editor of *The Malory Debate*, has termed the textual debate as a case of "My stemma can beat up yours" without a resolvable solution based on evidence.

The weight of Vinaver's scholarly reputation served to promote a view of the Caxton edition as a corrupted, compromised version of Malory's work: a low-culture, printed mutation of the high-culture manuscript. Vinaver's edition was initially accepted as a clear window into Malory's intention; his reconception and re-titling of the work from *Le Morte Darthur* to *Works* privileged the manuscript over the printed folio, a position that has dominated twentieth-century criticism. There has been, too, a tradition of claiming that Vinaver's edition was closer to what Malory "really wrote," which has appeared in Vinaver's edition, as quoted above, on book jackets, in introductions to various editions, and which has been repeated throughout the critical commentary. For example, John Lawlor, in his introduction to Janet Cowen's Caxton-based edition, states that the

> modern reader who is wholly intent on Malory, on seeing what he in fact wrote . . . can now turn to Vinaver's irreproachable *Works of Sir Thomas Malory*. Those who wish to revisit the *Morte Darthur*, the book as Caxton shaped it, have their text in the present volume. (xxx)

The Caxton-based edition by Cowen is positioned by Lawlor's introduction as less-authoritative than the Winchester based on assumptions of authorial intent and stemmatic descent. Vinaver's edition, to borrow a phrase from Fredson Bowers, was seen as having stripped away the disfiguring veil of Caxton's edition. Despite the now general acknowledgement of the opacity of Vinaver's edition as itself a particular rhetorical representation, the hierarchy of texts remains entrenched in Malory criticism. Jerome McGann chose Vinaver's editing of Malory as his case study for his chapter on "The Problem of Literary Authority" in his 1983 landmark text, *A Critique of Modern Textual Criticism* for the way in which Vinaver's methodology epitomized the "predilection to believe that a text which shows no editorial intervention will be *prima facie* more sincere than one which exhibits intervention" (*Critique* 82). McGann notes that Vinaver "continually pushed the reader" toward the conclusion that the Winchester was more authoritative and that this predilection is "deeply embedded in our textual criticism" (82).

It was not until 1979, more than 30 years after Vinaver's first edition, that Murray Evans argued for a more critical look at Vinaver's edition; it was almost another twenty years before scholars began to distance critical questions about Vinaver's edition from the unstinting regard with which the edition as a scholarly endeavor has been held.

Vinaver's edition is described by scholars as "formidable" (Takamiya 252), "one of the outstanding achievements of twentieth-century literary scholarship" (qtd. in "Preface" *Works* v), a "great edition" (McGann *Critique* 66) and, more recently, as "magisterial" (Cooper 255). C. S. Lewis was among the more skeptical of Vinaver's contemporary critics. He argues that Vinaver's edition "smacks of our own century as Caxton's smacked of his" (27). Despite Lewis' appraisal, Vinaver's status as a near-legendary editor of the grail of Malory's own prose continued to grow throughout most of the twentieth century. Criticism regarding Vinaver's theory of independent tales was vigorous, but his edition was largely uncontested as the definitive edition of Malory's Arthuriad. James Spisak produced a new edition in 1983 based on the Caxton text (discussed below), but Vinaver's edition, reprinted in 1967, in a paperback version in 1971, and, as the third edition, in 1990 (with revisions by Field) has been the dominant form in which students and readers encountered Malory in the second half of the twentieth century.

## The Ownership of a Manuscript

Shortly after Oakeshott realized the contents of the manuscript in the Fellows library, Vinaver came to Winchester seeking access to the manuscript, and articles detailing the discovery appeared in the *Daily Telegraph* and *Times Literary Supplement*. It was not until 1976 that the Winchester College trustees wrestled with the decision of their continued ownership of the manuscript. Paul Yeats-Edwards, Fellows Librarian of Winchester College and caretaker of the manuscript, describes the atmosphere at the

college when rumors first began to circulate that Winchester College was considering selling the manuscript to the British Library:

> The very idea of selling what was considered to be our most valuable asset split the College in half. It will not be my purpose to relate the circumstances under which W was sold. It is now, sadly, history. The manuscript has gone, despite a howl of protest from many members of the College staff, including the Archivist (Peter Gwynn) who resigned to mark his disapproval. (380)

Yeats-Edwards attempted to be neutral in regards to the sale, "despite the fact that I loved the manuscript above any other rare and valuable book in the Fellows library" (380). Yeats-Edwards attributed the outcry that ensued when "the storm broke" and the announcement was made of the sale, to the fact that many "clung to the old idea" that the Winchester manuscript had been connected with the christening of Henry VII's son Prince Arthur at Winchester Cathedral, a connection Yeats-Edwards refutes. Nonetheless, Yeats-Edwards notes that all "felt a great sympathy for Walter Oakeshott . . . [who] personally disapproved of the sale and wanted W to stay here in Winchester, for the boys' education and for their enjoyment" (381).

Yeats-Edwards does not discuss the College's Governing Body's final reasons for selling the manuscript (other than the £150,000), but reverberations of the earlier loss of the Caxton edition to America may have played a factor. The 1885 purchase of the Caxton edition by the young and then-unknown American Miss Abbey Hanscomb, only

twenty-five years old, remained a source of concern for the future of literary icons of English literature. Hanscomb, described by Needham as a "*femme bibliophile*" bought the Caxton for £2200 and, Needham notes, "this treasure of English literature migrated to America" (n.p.). Gaines is less circumspect about the propriety of Hanscomb's possession, describing her as "a young woman from Brooklyn (of all places)" (4). (Gaines lists the purchase price as £1950.) Gaines recounts how there was "much public outcry at the loss of such a national treasure to America, but there were no laws at that time to block the transaction" (4). Hanscomb died less than ten years later and her husband, Norton Quincy Pope, sold her collection of Caxtons and Shakespeare quartos to Robert Hoe; upon his death in 1911, the Pierpont Library in New York acquired the Caxton (for $42,800) where it remains today. Thus the offer by the British Library to Winchester college promised financial gain, the best possible care of the manuscript, and, perhaps most importantly, the assurance that an upstart from Brooklyn could not similarly abscond with such a national treasure.

At the British Museum's Caxton Quincentenary exhibition, the Winchester manuscript quickly went on exhibit (item 74) side by side with the printed edition (British Library, Hellinga "Malory" 91). Yeats-Edwards describes the day the sale was transacted with the clarity of a tragedy etched in memory:

> So, at 12 noon, on March 26 (a Friday), I officially handed over W to a representative of the British Library . . .This unique manuscript, the College's pride and joy, was popped into a knapsack by the official from

> the British Library who walked back with it to the railway station and went on the London. (381).

Yeats-Edwards poignant recollection of the transformation of the manuscript from local historical artifact to national icon is laced with a sad awareness that the manuscript, via the transaction, was transformed from a living document to a scholarly, museum piece—safe from any *femme bibliophile*, but separated from its historic past. This brief description of two of the nineteenth- and twentieth-century sales of the two Malory texts shows the powerful function of literary texts as cultural artifacts. This history of the documents is important, too, in setting the stage for later British-American debates about the merits of the two versions.

## *Works* and Theories of Titling: Not Just the *Morte* Anymore

A central question has been whether the name *Le Morte Darthur* is the title accorded by Malory to his work, an epilogue or afterthought, or publisher's invention. As Joseph Grigely notes, titles "like poems and novels, have textual histories" (171) and, in the case of Malory's Arthurian romance, the textual history of the title is complex. Jacques Derrida's concept of *paleonymics* theorizes the interaction, or grafting, of old names and new concepts and is a useful concept in articulating a theory of the Malory texts that considers both the interrelationship of the Caxton and Winchester versions and the titles of the work over time. Derrida explores the possibility of pressing old names into service for new or fundamentally different concepts, specifically in terms of writing, and, though Derrida does not employ the concept of paleonymics in terms of titles of

literature, he posits the peculiar dynamic between word and concept. A title—which in the case of Malory's work appears in an ending passage—can continue to function despite drastically changed conceptions of the work. Further, the historical changes in the titles can serve as evidence of the interpretive history of the work. Derrida states that "[d]espite the general displacement of the classical, 'philosophical,' occidental concept of writing, it seems necessary to retain, provisionally and strategically, *the old name*. This entails an entire logic of *paleonymics*" ("Signature" 195). In the interview "Positions," Derrida takes up "the question of paleonymy [paleonymie]" asking "what is, then, the 'strategic' necessity which sometimes requires that an *old name* be preserved in order to initiate a new concept?" (37). The title *Le Morte Darthur* has been "under erasure" in the last fifty years—crossed out by the late twentieth-century title, *Works*. Despite efforts to sever the correspondence between the "old name" and the work, however, the title *Le Morte Darthur* has persisted, seeming to defy the textual theory that precipitated its loss of favor. Critics use *Works* as the edition for their interpretive activity, yet continue refer to the work as a whole as *Le Morte Darthur*. Derrida's concept of paleonymics offers a means to sort through the confusion of multiple titles for Malory's work and documentary versions by positing names as a form of a graft: "To leave to this new concept the old name of writing is tantamount to the structure of the *graft*, the transition and indispensable adherence to an effective *intervention* in the constituted historical field" ("Signature" 195). The linguistic shadow of *Le Morte Darthur* can be seen as a form of the *graft*, generating new meaning and operating as a " *tool of intervention* (*levier*

*d'intervention*) in order to maintain a hold on the former organization which it is effectively a question of transforming" ("Positions" 37). Thinking of the title *Le Morte Darthur* as a form of a graft ultimately calls for both a historicized understanding of the interrelation of the primary documents and editions. Thus, a critique of the title provides a reading of the transient states of the title and of the discourse that developed alongside those transient states. The title of the work promotes a critical line of inquiry which affords the opportunity to study a work via its editing history, and which involves historical, bibliographic and theoretical aspects of the work.

Vinaver's interpretation of the role of the *explicits*, and in particular the final explicit, resulted in his re-titling his edition of Malory's tale of the birth, life, and death of King Arthur to *The Works of Sir Thomas Malory,* a critical edition based on principles of "eclectic editing" which he published in 1947. Vinaver's title resulted in a radically different conception of the work—one which privileged the manuscript over the printed folio and which has dominated twentieth-century criticism. Helen Cooper's 1998 edition follows Vinaver's critical stance in that it is based on the Winchester Manuscript. It does not, however, retain Vinaver's title. With Cooper's edition, *Le Morte Darthur: The Winchester Manuscript*, fifty years of effort to change the title of the work collapsed. Though Vinaver's title *Works* appears to have been relatively short-lived, it fortuitously— if inadvertently—created a kind of rupture out of which assumptions regarding the editorial and interpretive history of the work could be examined.

We do not know if Malory ever conceived of a title for his work. There is no author's holograph, no preliminary or concluding leaves to the Winchester manuscript, and no clear indication that Malory intended his final explicit to be used as a title for a unified text. The final explicit reads:

> Here is the ende of the hoole book of kyng Arthur & of his noble knyghtes of the rounde table / that Whan they were hole togyders there was euer an C and vl / and here is the ende of the deth of Arthur / I praye you all Ientyl men and jentyl wymmen that redeth this book of Arthur and his knyghtes from the begynnyng to the en″ dynge / praye for me whyle I am on lyue that god sende me good delyueraunce / & Whan I am deed I praye you all praye for my soule / for this book was ended the ix year of the reygne of king edward the fourth / by syr Thomas Maleore knyght as Ihesu helpe hym for hys grete myght / as he is the seruaunt of Jhesu bothe day and nyght/ (facsimile sig. ee.v (v) – sig.ee.vi.)

Because the concluding leaves of the Winchester manuscript do not survive, it is unknown whether the final explicit was edited, excised, or lengthened by an intermediary scribe or by Caxton. Based on the other *explicits*, it is clear that Caxton tended to delete or shorten *explicits* rather than to add to them and thus it is generally thought that the final explicit may well have been part of the Winchester text. Caxton's printed folio does

not contain a "title" in the modern sense; rather, the text is "named" within Caxton's colophon, which directly follows the final explicit:

> C Thus endeth thys noble and Ioyouse booke entytled le morte Darthur / Notwythstondyng it treateth of the byrth / lyf / and actes of the sayd kyng Arthur / of his noble knyghtes of the rounde table / theyr meruayllous enquestes and aduentures / thachyeuyng of the sangreal / & in thende the dolorous deth & departyng out of thys world of them al / Whiche book was re duced in to englysshe by syr Thomas Malory knyght as afore is sayd / and by me deuyded in to xxi bookes chapytred and enprynted / and fynysshed in thabbey westmestre the last day of Iuyl the yere of our lord / M/ CCCC/ lxxxv/
>
> C Caxton me fiere fecit
>
> (sig. ee.vi )

Prior to his edition of 1947, the work had come to be known, via Haslewood's 1816 edition, as *Le Morte Darthur*, the "title" attributed to it on the basis of the final explicit and Caxton's final colophon. Vinaver was convinced, however, that Caxton forced a false unity on what, instead, Vinaver saw as eight separate tales. Thus, when Vinaver issued his 1947 edition, he titled it simply *Malory: Works*. Vinaver argues that the title *Le Morte Darthur* was not Malory' s intended title, but rather a title applied by Caxton. According to Vinaver, Caxton's chose *Le Morte Darthur* to heighten the sense

of unity and tragedy, and Vinaver derides Caxton's title as "spurious and totally unrepresentative" ("Preface" vi) and as having been "applied by Caxton, with little justification to the entire collection" ("Preface" xxv). But R. M. Lumiansky reasonably points out that, given the material artifacts we have, the assumption that Caxton named the text is quite speculative. Lumiansky notes that three of Malory's sources—the alliterative *Le Morte Arthure,* the stanzaic *Morte Arthur,* and *Le Mort le Roi Artu*—could well have provided a precedent for Malory to title the work (153). Vinaver, however, asserts: "only nineteenth-century editors have allowed themselves to be misled by the title *Le Morte Darthur*." He goes on to point out that "Wynkyn de Worde (1498 and 1529), Copeland (1557), East (*c.*1585), and Stansby (1634) had consistently rejected it, and that the first to use it after Caxton was F. Haslewood in his 1816 reprint of Stansby's text" ("Preface" xxxiii). The instability we perceive in the current title is actually a long and intricate part of the work's textual history. And this is not a bad thing: in the complex history of the name lies insight into both the textual and critical interpretation of Malory's work.

The title of Malory's text is not a simple, continuous historical matter by any means. But most recent critics have tended to gloss over the fact that the title *Le Morte Darthur* has not been with us always. [7] Despite assertions of constancy, Vinaver's point is well taken: only in Caxton's time and in the last 180 years has the title *Le Morte*

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[7] Fries: "Thomas Malory's *Morte Darthur*—the traditional title since its publisher's epilogue (11); Lacy: "The title *Le Morte Darthur*, although now established too firmly to be challenged, came into being when Caxton mistook the title of the last tale for the title of the whole" (295); Wilhelm: "Caxton . . . became confused and took the title of the last tale . . . as a title for the whole. Posterity has let it stand" (529); Riddy

*Darthur* been a fixed designation for the work. The instability we currently perceive in the title is actually a long and intricate part of the work's textual history. Having a stable name can create the illusion of a stable text: with Malory's work, the volatility of titles affords no such illusion. Vinaver chose a new title, *Works*, not only to emphasize the episodic or independent nature of the tales and but also to underscore Caxton's title as a "misinterpretation, no doubt deliberate ("Preface" xxi). As George Painter has wryly observed, Vinaver saw Caxton's title as a form of "textual conspiracy" (17). According to Vinaver, Malory's "last explicit suggested to Caxton his most ingenious device—that of publishing the book under one title" ("Preface" xxxiii). Vinaver goes on to "indict" Caxton's alleged misinterpretation of the final explicit and his editing of other *explicits*, as a form of textual malfeasance, stating, "[t]his subterfuge proved successful" ("Preface" xxxiii). In the posthumously published article "The Besieged Printer," William Matthews notes that "stated with brilliance and conviction, Vinaver's theory [of subterfuge] proved infectious" (67). It cast the Caxton text as both textually and morally inferior—a hierarchy of texts that has pervaded both the scholarly and general reception of the two versions. Despite the recent return to the title *Le Morte Darthur* in Helen Cooper's edition, albeit in a modified form, the hierarchy of texts proposed by Vinaver continues. The recent publisher's blurb for *Le Morte Darthur: The Winchester Manuscript* appears as both the back cover statement and is the description picked up by Amazon.com, claiming:

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"the title of Malory's book, since Caxton's print of 1485, has been 'The Death of Arthur' not 'The Life'" (55).

> This modern-spelling edition, in a new abridgement by Helen Cooper, is based on the authoritative Winchester manuscript and represents what Malory wrote more closely than the version printed by William Caxton. (back cover)[8]

Cooper's is an excellent student edition based on the Winchester, but the claim it represents Malory more closely seems difficult to defend when—like Caxton—Cooper edits the Roman War account for her audience.[9]

Despite the move in textual theory toward a broader conception of editions as rhetorical documents,[10] many Malory scholars continue, perhaps partly due to publishing and academic pressures for "definitive editions," to posit the two historical documents in a hierarchical relationship. Further, based on Makao's work, the proposed hierarchy seems less defensible as a position from which to posit "authority."

In their "Note on Malory's Text" in the collection *Companion to Malory,* Elizabeth Archibald and A.S.G. Edwards note the potential confusion that arises in their book due to the various means by which different scholars refer to sections of the text—either by Caxton's chapter titles, by Vinaver's book divisions, or by the colophons used in the manuscript: "If this seems confusing and/or inconsistent it is at least a reflection of the general situation in this aspect of Malory studies" (xii). In considering the confusion

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[8] To view the on-line blurb from Amazon, see <http://www.amazon.com/exec/obidos/ASIN/0192824201/qid=1022531513/sr=1-1/ref=sr_1_1/102-0162043-9362527>.

[9] See Cooper's Introduction, in particular xxv, in which she discusses her editing of the Roman War account.

[10] Edwards considers the rhetorical nature of editions in "Editing and the Teaching of Alliterative Verse," 98.

that arises with the abundance of titles both *within* the tales of the Malory versions and *of* the Malory versions, a discussion of the rhetorical and interpretive function of titles is needed.

## Theories of Titling

Textual critic Peter Shillingsburg defines a "whole speech act," as that within which "an understanding of the work is achieved" (102). If a title is similarly conceived as a speech act, it is possible to see the powerfully shaping influence of titling a work—be it a task taken on by an author, an editor, or a critic. Greetham likens an act of editorial entitling to a genesis experience:

> An editor is thus like Bloom's strong poet, belated but virile, carrying out cultural and semiotic space in his belatedness by renaming the universe. The editor becomes Adam in the Garden of Eden, conferring identity (of difference) on every creature in his world through the act of naming. (*Theory* 287)

In this very way, Vinaver renamed the universe of Malory studies in an effort to carve out a new semiotic space in which his edition could operate. The title *Works* in every way declared that Vinaver's edition was a completely new work, and a radical rupture from *Le Morte Darthur*. Titles of literary works are indicative of both the editor's (contingent) concept of the work's identity as well the particular linguistic and interpretive community the editor envisions for the work. Greetham recognizes that these

"acts of naming are . . . transformations whereby one signification is superimposed over another, one system of naming and identifying over another . . . again, semiotics through re- or dis-location rather than mimesis through correspondence" (*Theory* 287). Grigely notes that titles, as well as texts, are changed by authors and that such changes are evidence of the non-static condition of texts: "in as much as textual transience is about change, its usefulness in critical discourse depends on being able to document transient states, whether those states were intended by the author-artist or not" (171). Without any certain evidence about any title introduced by Malory, and recognizing that "titles" as such were not yet a standard literary practice in his time—even Caxton's "title" is not a title in the modern sense but a colophon—the transient titles of Malory's Arthuriad may serve to document interpretive stances over time. Though Vinaver saw himself as unnaming rather than renaming, his title was no more "true" than that of *Le Morte Darthur*. Vinaver, of course, saw himself as rescuing the Malory text from an *erroneous* correspondence; in the process; however, he contributed to a semiotic re- or dis-location of the work. The title *Le Morte Darthur*, as Vinaver rightly claims, confers a conception of the work as a tragic epic by overlaying Arthur's death over the whole text. In choosing *Works*, Vinaver attempted to dislocate or dislodge the then-calcifying correspondence between the work and *Le Morte Darthur* occurring during the nineteenth and early twentieth century. Nonetheless, Vinaver's attempt to rename the work never completely replaced the "old name."

According to Grigely, the presence of multiple titles "develops a text's space without cornering it" (171). Investigating the dynamics of old and new titles creates such a space—one that historicizes the textual life of the versions. This does not posit a position which uncritically accepts the value of multiple texts or which shies away from making declarations regarding texts that genuinely have greater or lesser claims of authorial veracity; however, evidence to show that the Caxton edition presents an inferior text is not substantive enough to warrant such a hierarchy. Comparing multiple texts, with credible claims of authority shifts the question from 'which text is better" to "what were the paths of transmission?" This second question acknowledges the mutable nature of medieval texts and is a central concern if one is interested in writerly (that is, inscriptable) texts rather than readerly texts, that is, text as ideal form. If textual criticism of the past twenty years—from Jerome McGann to David Greetham—has accomplished anything, it is the rationale to investigate the life of texts rather than only the "death of texts"—that single moment when the author lifted pen from paper.

It is possible to acknowledge that Caxton—in the context of the process of literary production typical of his time—made changes to the text he printed, while also recognizing that the manuscript also presents a mediated text. Because there is no author's holograph, the scribes of the Winchester manuscript have thus far largely been unscathed by "accusations" of corrupting the text. However, assumptions regarding greater authenticity of the Winchester should not be the result of the conception of

manuscripts as *prima facie* preceding printed texts. [11] Field rightly recognizes that "both surviving primary texts of Malory's Roman War story suffered not only from inevitable scribal and compositorial error but also from conscious alteration, particularly at the beginning" ("Caxton's Roman War" 56). While literary production need not necessarily be equated with textual "suffering," the point is well made that each text represents the intervention of other literary participants in the effort to bring the Malory text to a state of publication. How these primary texts—in the manuscript and in the printed book—have been referred to since Vinaver's edition illuminates another dimension of the largely unstated rhetorical position of editors and critics of the Malory texts.

## Titles of the Historical Documents

Not only has the theoretical, socio-political, and institutional ideology of critics influenced the version used as the basis for an edition, it also has influenced the "titles" used to refer to the two documentary witnesses. Gerald MacLean observes:

> If we are to understand the cultural conditions of the original productions of the texts we edit . . .then I think it important that we recognize the extent to which the historical field of our inquiry is already traversed by class discourse, a discourse that is directly linked to concerns of gender, sexuality, and nationality. (41)

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[11] Barker argues that the fifteenth century was marked by non-linear relationships between manuscripts and printed texts, with manuscripts copied from printed texts as well as texts printed from manuscripts. An example of a manuscript copied from a printed text, Caxton's *Chronicles of England,* is provided by Blake in *William Caxton and English Literary Culture*, 294, n. 4.

As part of the study of the scholars and editions of Malory in the twentieth century, I provide the university with which editors and major critics of the Malory texts are affiliated, not to argue a simplistic dualism amongst Anglo-American critics, but to explore how institutional affiliation and nationality have operated as factors in editorial ideology and to foreground the reading of editions as rhetorical constructs. My use of the terms "versions," "Caxton's edition," and "Winchester manuscript" reflects my own interest in textual transmission, the particular authority of early print editions and in titles which evoke the historical circumstances of a given text.

In his Introductions and Prefaces to the 1947, '68 and '71 editions, Vinaver (University of Manchester) used the terms "Winchester Manuscript" and "Caxton's *Le Morte Darthur*" to refer to the two historical witnesses. In effect, Vinaver ascribes a quasi-ownership of the *Morte* to Caxton, affirming the degree to which he felt that Caxton altered Malory's text and, interestingly, rejecting the term "Malory manuscript" first supplied by Oakeshott. Vinaver felt that Caxton's title for the work was the cause of American critics'[12] "passionate attachment" (xliii) to the unity of the work as a result of the way in which the title *Le Morte Darthur* became "inseparable from the work itself" (xliii). "What a magnificent title it was!" Vinaver conceded, but he goes on to describe the title as "so delightfully inaccurate that even Caxton . . . felt he had to apologize for its inaccuracy. It was one of those titles that assume an existence of their own: it became a poetic concept in its own right" (xliii-xliv).

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[12] See discussion of Lumiansky's volume, *Malory's Originality*, below.

N. F. Blake (University of Sheffield), like Vinaver, characterizes Caxton's edition as a corrupted text, and Blake's choice of referents for the two versions clearly reflects this critical judgment. Ironically, he embarks on the very task for which he excoriated Caxton—re-naming a historical text. In 1976—a position reiterated in 1982 and 1991—Blake repudiates the title *Le Morte Darthur* arguing that the Caxton edition, "which I shall call *King Arthur*" ("Light" 170), should be renamed in order "to avoid confusion with the Malory text " ("Caxton Prepares" 272). Working within a framework of authorial intention and ideal text, Blake negotiates a messy divorce between the two versions by expunging the common name. By using *King Arthur* to represent the printed edition and *Works* to represent the text embodied by the manuscript, Blake attempts to clarify the blurred distinction between the historical document *Le Morte Darthur* and the title of the work over time as well as to sever the associative relationship between the title *Le Morte Darthur* and Malory. While Blake's proposal suggests an astute insight into the theoretical problem of the indeterminate relationship between title, text, and work, he ignores the fact that the Caxton edition is an historical, already-named document that represents a particular state in the textual history of Malory's work. As much as Blake endeavored to rename *Le Morte Darthur*, his choice of *King Arthur* for the Caxton edition was adopted by few other scholars and quickly fell into disuse.

When James Spisak (Virginia Polytechnical University) published his critical edition based on the Caxton edition, it sparked a heated critical debate regarding the name of the two versions. Spisak's 1983 edition was entitled *Caxton's Malory: A New*

*Edition of Sir Thomas Malory's Le Morte Darthur based on the Pierpont Morgan Copy of William Caxton's Edition of 1485*. Spisak noted how Caxton had slipped from "hero to whipping boy" (618) since the publication of the Winchester-based *Works* but proposed that, in his estimation, the Caxton text stood in closer relation to Malory's lost original than the Winchester—thus his choice of "*Malory's* Le Morte Darthur" (emphasis mine). By linking the names Caxton, Malory, and *Le Morte Darthur*, Spisak attempts to relocate authority for the work in Caxton's version. With the Pierpont Morgan as his copy text, Spisak emended his edition from the John Rylands document, from de Worde's 1498 edition, and from the Winchester manuscript (627). Though he valorized a different stemma, Spisak's is an eclectic, critical edition and his editorial principles, much like Vinaver's although not source-based, are predicated on the establishment of authorial intention and the perceived closeness of the text to an ideal, authorial text. Spisak's edition fueled the debate in which Caxtonites and Winchesterites sought to establish textual authority for Malory's work via recourse to the projected author.

Basil Cottle's 1985 review of Spisak's edition indirectly hints at an Anglo-American divide in valorizing either the manuscript or printed text. Cottle (University of Bristol) states "this handsome edition of a vitally important imprint is an all-American production" and he goes on to note that Spisak's edition effects a "partial dethronement of the Winchester manuscript" (252), a metaphor especially intriguing when contrasted to John Withrington's more recent observation that Vinaver's *Works* "broke the monopoly

of Caxton's 'authorized' edition" (350). Mirroring national metaphors, perhaps, the Winchester manuscript is associated with monarchy, Caxton's edition with capitalism.

Spisak's title of "Caxton's Malory" partly emanated in response to the "Malorization" of the Winchester manuscript in which institutional affiliation played a strong role. In his introduction to the 1976 Early English Text Society's facsimile of the Winchester manuscript, N. R. Ker (Oxford University) refers to the manuscript as "the Malory" and to the printed edition as "Caxton's edition." Similarly, in a *British Library Journal* article in 1976, "The Malory Manuscript," and in subsequent work, Lotte Hellinga (University of Amsterdam, British Library) uses the terms "The Malory manuscript" and "Caxton's edition." The British Library catalog published for the Caxton quincentenary also refers to the "Malory manuscript" in its collection. Pairing Malory's name with the word "manuscript" argues for greater authority for that version and almost implies an author's holograph. Hellinga states that once acquired by the British Library, "it has been called the Malory Manuscript since" (*Caxton* 90). As noted, the British Library acquired the manuscript from Winchester College in 1976 for a large and controversial sum, generating letters of outrage in the daily papers for the spending of public funds on a transfer of the manuscript from Winchester to London. Thus it is conceivable that the museum wished to assure its trustees, scholars, and the general public that the money had been well spent, that the Library had acquired "the real Malory," so to speak, and that the manuscript was more authentic than the Caxton edition which resided at the Pierpont Morgan Library in New York. Critics who advocated the

greater authority of the Winchester manuscript lined up behind the name "the Malory manuscript," a phrase Oakeshott had first used in his 1934 article in *TLS* just shortly after the manuscript's discovery; according to Yeats-Edwards, however, the manuscript "quickly became known as 'the Winchester Malory'" (376).

Institutional ownership and Caxton's class appeared to influence interpretation and choice of title (both for the work and its documentary versions) differently for American and British scholars. Such institutional and class perspectives are critical factors in articulating a theory of the Malory texts—one which does not accept any title uncritically, which examines assumptions of hierarchy, and which recognizes editions—and their titles— as cultural, rhetorical constructs of a particular historical period.

## Ideology of the Text

Thomas Miller situates the role of class and political ideology in the formation of English literary studies and notes that how one "interprets the politics of the reading culture will depend upon how one views the politics of reading and writing" (58). If reading and writing reflect sites of contestation for authority and privilege, then the meta-text of mid-twentieth-century Malory editions and scholarship can be seen, in part, as bids for ownership and literary authority. Russell Berman, in assessing what he considers to be the loss of lyric poetry's standing in current German studies, concedes that in its earlier centrality to the canon, "[i]deology and institutions contributed to the results as much as did aesthetic judgment" (170). In the discussion of the Malory documents,

attention to matters of class ideology and the cultural politics of reading and writing can unearth new ways of understanding the cultural situatedness of Malory editorial work in the last century.

Paratextual ideologies clearly inform the making of editions and the cultural work implicated therein. "Paratexts," according to Samuel Kinser, "indicate the forces that have shaped a text: they show how contexts invade the text'" (17). These contexts are "created tacitly or explicitly by joint decisions of authors, publishers, and editors . . . They cooperate with the text to bring it into being'" (150). This awareness of the contexts that invade a text is likewise applicable to editions.

The choice of names used by British and American critics during the early work on the Winchester manuscript and its transfer to the British Library in the 1970's reflects a complex web of textual ideology, institutional affiliation, and nationality. The chart below represents just a sampling of titles and referential names used by scholars and shows a change from the use of the term "Malory manuscript" to the use of the term "Winchester manuscript" by the early 1980's and the clustering of its use by scholars associated with the British Library. In the late 1980's, the term "Vinaver's Malory" emerges.

- **<u>Printed Books</u>:**

| | |
|---|---|
| Caxton (1485) | *The Noble and Joyouse Booke Entytled Le Morte Darthur.* |
| De Worde (1489) | *The Booke of the Noble Kyng, Kyng Arthur, Sometyme Kynge of Englonde, of his Noble Actes and Feates of Armes and Chyvalre,* |

| | |
|---|---|
| | *his Noble Knyghtes and Table Rounde and is Devyded in to. xxi. Bookes.* |
| Haselwood (1816) | *La Mort D'Arthur. The most ancient and famous History of the renowned Prince Arthur and the Knights of the Round Table.* |
| Vinaver (1948,68,71) | *The Works of Sir Thomas Malory; Malory: Works.* |
| Spisak (1983) | *Caxton's Malory. A New Edition of Sir Thomas Malory's Le Morte Darthur based on the Pierpont Morgan Copy of William Caxton's Edition of 1485.* |
| Cooper (1998) | *Le Morte Darthur: The Winchester Manuscript.* |

- **Titles used by Malory scholars:**

| | **Winchester ms.** | **Caxton's ed.** | **Vinaver's ed.** |
|---|---|---|---|
| **Oakeshott** (1934) (Winchester College) | Malory MS | | |
| **Vinaver** (U of Manchester) (1947,48,68,71) | Winchester MS | Caxton's *Le Morte Darthur* | |
| **Yeats-Edwards** (1976) (Winchester College) | Winchester Malory | | |
| **Blake** (U of Sheffield) (1976, 82, 91) (1989) | Winchester MS<br>British Museum Library<br>MS Additional 59678<br>Winchester Malory | King Arthur | |
| **Ker** (1976) (Oxford) | The Malory | Caxton's edition | |

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| **Hellinga** (1976,81,82) (U of Amsterdam, British Library) | The Malory MS | Caxton's edition | |
| **British Library Publications** | The Malory MS | Caxton's edition | |
| **Matthews** (1975) (UCLA) | Winchester MS | Caxton edition | |
| **Evans** (1979) (U of Winnipeg) | Winchester MS | | Vinaver's Malory |
| **Cottle** (1984) (U of Bristol) | Winchester MS | | |
| **Spisak** (1983) (Virginia Polytec) | Winchester MS MS version | Caxton's Malory | Vinaver's edition |
| **Moorman** (1985) (U of So. Mississippi) | Winchester MS | Caxton's edition | |
| **McGann** (1983) (U of Virginia) | | Caxton's edition | Vinaver's edition |
| **Lumiansky** (1987) (New York University) | Winchester MS | Caxton's edition | |
| **New Arthurian Encyclopedia** (1991) (Ed. Norris Lacy - Pennsylvania State U) | Malory MS | Caxton's version | |

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| **Archibald & Edwards** (U of Victoria) | Malory's text | Caxton's version | Vinaver's edition |
| **Mukai** (Naruto U) | Winchester MS | Caxton edition | The Vinaver-Field Winchester Malory |

After more than fifty years of scholarly debate, Mukai's terms reflect a general consensus among current usage across the field of North American, European, and Japanese scholars.

If the issues of institution, ideology, or nationality are considered as influences of the general pattern of the mid-century, what different principles or assumptions might medievalists in North America and medievalists in the England working during this period have brought to bear in their work as literary and textual scholars? The larger framework of American medievalists has been addressed by Spiegel when she notes a "ruptured sense of past" which was part of a "sea change in the practice of medieval history in America" (78). Spiegel notes that the class and demographics of American medievalists radically changed in the 60s and 70s when, not coincidentally, the challenges to Vinaver's assumptions began to be raised:

> In addition to the entrance of women and blacks into the American academy for the first time, there was also a new wave of participation

> among classes and what, for lack of a better word, can be called ethnic groups, among them Jews, all of whom entered the university in newly massive numbers . . . (78)

It is from this new milieu that the critiques of Vinaver's work began to surface; American editors and critics, in particular, began to champion the Caxton edition. To be sure, this change in university demographics was hardly an isolated American phenomenon, but Spiegel argues that John Van Engen's research "has pointed to the ambivalence with which these 'new' groups of Americans have approached the study of European, and specifically medieval, history (78). Spiegel notes that even for those Americans "with cultural roots in Europe . . . most came from among peasants, the unfree, or the disposed" (78). Van Engen argues that the study of "the European Middle Ages remains for Americans a continuing dialectic between connection and disjunction, the tug of social and cultural features still influential among us and the shimmer of something totally and yet perceptibly other" (414). Far from a homogeneous cross-Atlantic or international endeavor, a legitimate critique of the editorial heritage of the Malory texts represents, as Jerome McGann has called for, a "commitment to explore the social and historical dimensions of literary works" (*Historical* 3), in this case, Malory's Arthuriad. MacLean has observed that questions of class, gender, and national identity, "[o]nce excluded from editorial decision making and theorizing, such questions have nevertheless established philosophically cogent analytical and critical programs"(25).

Lumiansky (New York University) edited a 1964 collection of essays, *Malory's Originality*, published by Johns Hopkins Press, in which the authors, American scholars, controversially countered Vinaver's view of the independent relation of the tales arguing for "our view of the unity of Malory's work" (Lumiansky *Malory's Originality* 4). In the second edition of *Works*, Vinaver refutes the critique of his theory and mentions that the criticism is "summarized in a book published in 1964 under the title of *Malory's Originality* by a group of American scholars who deny that 'Malory wrote eight separate romances'"(xli).[13] Lumiansky's collection thus represented a kind of literary school of thought in regard to the Malory texts, one which Vinaver saw as "united in their rejection" of his theory of the eight tales (*Works* xli). Derek Brewer, a British scholar, had put together, as Meale suggests, "the most influential critique" of Vinaver's theory of the independence of the tales[14] just a year earlier. The collection, *Essays on Malory*, represented Oxford's scholars responses and critiques of Vinaver's theory and edition and included the well-known critique by C. S. Lewis. And yet Lumiansky's volume broke open a wider divide between British and American scholars which, in addition to the issue of unity, began to separate into questions of which text—Caxton's or the Winchester—represented Malory's "final intention" (Lumiansky 4). This divide was largely reflected in two volumes of essays on Malory which were published in the 1980s: the 1985 collection edited by Spisak, published in the United States and reflecting this "American school" of the unity of the tales and the possibility of Malory as his own

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[13] Vinaver's rebuttal is included in the Introductory material of the second and third editions of *Works*; xli-li in the third edition.

[14] Brewer offers his critique of Vinaver's theory in "'the hoole book.'" *Essays in Malory*.

reviser, and the 1986 collection edited by Toshiyuki Takamiya which generally reflected the Japanese scholars' linguistic analysis against the theory of Malory as his own reviser[15] and the more Vinaverian approach of the largely British scholars. The volume also included a brief introductory note by Vinaver. In Brewer's introduction to this volume, he affirmed his allegiance to Vinaver's *Works* stating that it "will long remain our standard text" (7). In terms of scholarly use, his prediction has largely held true. While British scholars such as Brewer disagreed with Vinaver about the unity or independence of the work, few took up argument advanced by several prominent American scholars that the Caxton text best represented Malory's own revision. It may be noted, as well, that even the artifacts themselves, ironically mirror this mid-century divide: the Caxton edition held by the Pierpont Morgan Library in New York and the Winchester manuscript held by the British Library.

In addition to national or institutional politics, Blake's scholarship on Malory raises the question of Caxton's class as a contributing influence in textual scholarship. Blake is intent on establishing that Caxton—unlike Sir Thomas Malory—was not of the aristocracy. According to Blake, although Caxton "received gifts from members of the aristocracy this did not make him any different from a host of tradesmen at the time" ("Light" 169). In comparing Caxton to Lydgate, Blake notes how both "accepted commissions from aristocratic patrons and received rewards from them, but their friends and acquaintances and the bulk of

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[15] Noguchi and Nakao have advocated the Winchester as a better text and have studied the lexical factors of the Caxton as evidence of an edited version.

their audience were to be found in their own class" ("Light" 182). Arguing against the portrayal of Caxton as a scholar, Blake concludes: "It is still most acceptable to regard Caxton as a merchant, as a man that was interested in buying and selling" (*Culture*18). Blake's criticism shows that he avoids referring to Caxton as an editor or translator—activities Caxton clearly undertook—and refers to Caxton almost exclusively as a merchant or tradesman. Blake embraces Vinaver's re-titling of the work and, more importantly, reinforces Vinaver's proposed hierarchy of the texts through what Derek Pearsall has noted as a certain "language of moral approbation and disapprobation [which] hangs around textual criticism" (103). While class, nationality, and institutional affiliation have rarely been considered as factors in scholarly editing in general and not at all in particular reference to Malory, an editor's ideology— institutional, political, cultural—seems an inextricable, though not always self-identifiable, part of the equation of his or her textual approach. MacLean notes that "class attitudes are invariably part of the structures by which we decide which texts are and are not worth editing" (38), as had been seen with Caxton's own writing, a trend reversed by the recent interest in Caxton's prose and literary activity (Kuskin, Wogan-Brown). In a curious and inexplicable assertion in the midst of the 1976 quincentenary of Caxton's contribution to English literary culture,[16] Blake claims that Caxton

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[16] Blake's article "William Caxton: The Man and his Work" first appeared in *Eight Papers presented to the Caxton International Congress 1976: Journal of the Printing Historical Society* 11 (1976-77): 64-80 and is reprinted as the second chapter of *William Caxton and English Literary Culture*. Page references are taken from the later.

> has aroused little interest among historians . . . partly because he played such a small part in the economic and intellectual life of the country and partly because there has been a natural antipathy towards biographical enquiry of people of his rank in the enquiry into wider social, constitutional and political issues. (*Culture*19)

Blake's claim references Edward Gibbon's earlier critique of Caxton as having produced work of inferior scholarly merit (563-4). While Blake's is a quizzical assertion for a paper delivered at an international conference on Caxton, it reveals an uneasiness before the rise of cultural studies with the study of a member, albeit influential, of the merchant class.

Miller's work on the formation of the discipline of "college English" pays attention to the Bakhtinian notions of heteroglossia and unification as they relate to the democratic and hegemonic affects of print culture and the ensuing definition of the literary canon (30). Miller notes that Samuel Johnson was instrumental, through the *Dictionary*, in establishing a theoretical framework for the language that distinguished high and low culture, virtue and denigration. Johnson's work "established principles of scientifically determining correct usage" (38), a framework which can likewise be seen in the work of nineteenth- and twentieth-century editors in regard to philology and stemmatics. According to Johnson, a writer may gain "publick infatuation" who does not know "the original import of words," but such a writer "will use them with colloquial licentiousness, confound distinction, and forget propriety" (*Dictionary* xxiv, as qtd. in Miller 41). Miller notes that Johnson was "a neoclassicist who defined change as

corruption . . .[and] variation as 'dangerous spots of barbarity'" (41). Miller sees Johnson's distaste for the "corruptions of oral utterance" as "more than class anxiety, though it is obviously that as well" (40). As Miller argues, literary scholars functioned as arbiters whose cultural work included the distinction of the literary from the common. Such ideological discriminations can be studied in the formation of the "Malory canon"; the recovery of the Winchester may be seen as having relieved a form of class anxiety which had previously accompanied Caxton's mediation in the Malory text. The "tradesman" in whose hands a literary icon had rested could be exorcised as a corrupting, almost vulgar, even insidious, overlay—an overlay that had obscured the true identity of the high-culture manuscript. Blake argues that scholarly interest in Caxton's work in general suffered from prejudice against the "inferior literary work" of translation, as well as a dim view of the merit of literary works of the fifteenth century (*Culture* vii). While critical work on Caxton's editions has moved well past unease with Caxton's class and Vinaver's accusations of Caxton's "symple connynge," the residual influence of a neoclassical ideological response to the Caxton edition has lingered long in the cultural work of Malory editions.

## The Politics of Debate

The greatest contribution of Vinaver's edition is the intense scholarly research and discussion generated by his choice of the Winchester as his base text and the assumptions and conclusions he drew as a result of his work. The debate has provoked, at times, intense response drawing on matters of nationality and politics and point out,

perhaps, the impossibility of a "purely textual" edition. Of particular note is the exchange between Charles Moorman, of the University of Southern Mississippi, and P. J. C. Field, of the University of Wales.[17] Moorman's 1985 article "Desperately Defending Winchester" broached the theory that the nexus of the Winchester-Caxton debate lie in matters not found in either text:

> I, for one, am inclined to think it is because Matthews is perceived by his critics not simply as a scholar attempting to examine a literary problem, but as a genuine iconoclast, a breaker of idols. Think back to the discovery of W, of what was hailed from the moment of its dramatic discovery as one of the great literary finds of the century, the authoritative Malory, the genuine handwritten article, the real thing . . . On that newly discovered manuscript old scholarly reputations were refurbished and new ones founded, new editions of it were published frequently at premium prices, the whole Arthurian industry bathed in its glory . . . Then to have a California Cockney suddenly attempt, even indirectly by raising up its deposed rival, to discredit that fabulous manuscript, to reduce it to the status of first draft, of trial run, and to raise up Cinderella Caxton as Malory's finished product, why that would never do . . . And so from desperation, out from the edge came the abacus and the grapeshot. (114)

Field's response to Moorman's allegation was to assert that academic debate:

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[17] See the Summer 1995 issue of *Arthuriana*.

like civil life generally, depends on minimum assumptions of good faith. When a senior scholar comes to believe that those who disagree with him have colluded for twenty years in unprofessional practices, from ignoring evidence to ethnic prejudice against Cockneys, it is in everyone's interest to try to see if it is possible to generate less heat and more light. (31)

The scholarship of William Matthews served as a catalyst in the heated debate over the relative authority of the two texts. Matthews, a self-described "Cockney" from London, but a professor at the University of California, Los Angeles, was a vigorous defender of the superiority of the Caxton version. Two articles by Matthews—long awaited and much discussed—were published posthumously in *Arthuriana* in 1997. Matthews argues that the Caxton version is a "much better text than that presented in the Winchester manuscript: more accurate, fuller, and, if our argument is correct, graced by Malory's own revision of the Roman War episode and possibly other small sections too" (130). Matthews felt Vinaver's claims for the Winchester were over-reaching in a way that imperiled the understanding of the Caxton text. According to Matthews, while Vinaver was "hymning the virtues of the Malory text, Caxton on the other hand is urged still further along the primrose path that leads to an academic bonfire" ("Besieged" 67). Robert Kindrick (University of Montana, now Wichita State) supports Matthews claim that Malory was his own reviser, arguing that the Winchester manuscript was an earlier and possibly more corrupt version that Caxton rejected in favor of a "more authoritative text" (18).

Field, editor of the third edition of Vinaver's *Works of Sir Thomas Malory* and the more recent *Malory: Texts and Sources*, refutes Williams' conclusion and bases his stance, in part, on linguistic analyses by Yuji Nakao and Shunichi Noguchi, both of whom argue that the evidence points to Caxton as the reviser. Noguchi argues that "Caxtonian words and phrases" ("Winchester" 18) in the Caxton version of the Roman War account mark the text as edited by Caxton. Despite the linguistic analyses that point to the occurrence of "Caxtonian words," some aspects of the Caxton version defy a clear Caxton-revision explanation of the Roman War account. According to Spisak "[e]ven Vinaver, who first suggested that Caxton did the revising, has agreed that the printed version is often closer to the alliterative poem than the manuscript is" (618). Further complicating the issue, Field notes that the Caxton edition has "northernisms" that "do not appear in the same contexts either in *W* or in the alliterative poem" ("Caxton's" 40) and Noguchi notes that Sally Shaw's study identifies Caxton's text as having "more correct readings" than the Winchester ("Winchester" 19). On the other hand, Field advocates the view that the Caxton edition is a revised account of Malory's work. But Field also allows that:

> Fifteenth-century readers lacked (above all with vernacular prose romances) any modern sense of authorial rights, so any reader dissatisfied with the story might have set about 'improving' it, and we can only guess how many readers read *Le Morte Darthur*, and what they thought of it." (36)

It seems clear that Malory's work is but one example of the diffuse conception of authority in medieval literary culture.

Kindrick continues to advance the line of thinking established by Matthews: that the Winchester manuscript was an earlier and possibly more corrupt version that Caxton rejected in favor of a "more authoritative text" (18) represented by the version he chose to print:

> Caxton worked with editorial integrity—perhaps not precisely the same as modern notions but nonetheless a dependable quality—and his efforts give his own edition of *Le Morte Darthur* preeminence as the 'better text.' (18)

Despite the implied polarities of the Winchester-versus-Caxton debate, both positions have sought to answer the same fundamental editorial question, that is, which text is "more authoritative" and, indeed, whether either text in any way represent's Malory's presumed "fair-copy." Questions of greater authority are based in an editorial theory of which the goals are to determine origin, to establish a unifying aesthetic, and to construct a critical edition. Despite long arguing that the Caxton text is an editorially corrupted version of the Winchester, Blake acknowledges "the whole concept of a definitive version of a text based on the author's original or even final intentions may well be an anachronism for this period" ("Reflections" 65). Print-culture constructions of author are fraught with complications in application to Middle English writers, scribes, and early printers.

While Field has made a compelling argument for positioning the Winchester as the earlier text based on linguistic and source analysis and for Caxton's likely editorial intervention, it is also clear that the scribal manuscript is a mediated document as there is no direct link with Malory-as-author. Resisting the jump to authorial intent posited for the Winchester as a result of evidence of mediation in the Caxton serves as a catalyst to reexamine ideas of authorship in Middle English texts. Indeed, one of the most compelling aspects of the Malory documents is that, when taken together, they contain much of the complexities of the shift from script to print culture. As Dan Embree and Elizabeth Urquhart argue in making their case for a parallel-text edition of *The Simonie*, the extant versions are "quite distinct though closely related texts which need to be understood in relation to one another before they can be very seriously studied" (58). If nothing else, recognition of the Caxton text preserves Malory's tale as a liminal work poised on the brink of two understandings of textuality.

Critical inquiry based on a Foucauldian archeology currently dominates the shape and critical questions of much current scholarship and thus, in service to those questions, new editions of Malory, rooted in history and materiality, can be imagined as functioning in a post-Vinaver world. As historian Gabrielle Spiegel has noted:

> If genealogy once meant for historians the tracing of direct lines of descent from past to present, under the sign of Foucault it now stands for all that is contingent, invasive, aleatory in history, the constant irruptions and

> disruptions, misalliances and failures that mark familial relationship over time. (76)

In a "hermeneutic alterity" (Spiegel 79), the irruptions of the familial relationship between the Caxton and the Winchester need not necessarily be smoothed over.

## Post-Vinaver

There is a current emphasis in returning, not surprisingly, to a study of the Winchester Manuscript, and a better understanding that Vinaver's text was a particular representation that spoke to the interests of New Criticism, philology, and modernism. In the most recent essay by Cooper, "Opening up the Winchester," she states, with a hint of surprise, that a study of the manuscript yields "the realization of just how far distant Vinaver's edition is from [the Winchester] itself' (256). Coming from an Oxford University scholar such as Cooper, that this represents a kind of watershed in terms of the critical reception of Vinaver's edition and shows how closely Vinaver's text was seen as representing the Winchester manuscript..

Despite the now-tepid response to their theory, the work of the Malory-as-reviser scholars (Matthews, Kindrick and Lumiansky), in addition to the work of scholars such as Evans, John Withrington and Cooper, has had the effect of wearing away the impenetrable gloss of Vinaver's edition. As Cooper notes, "there is nothing in the manuscript to indicate that the *explicits* and colophons indicate separate 'works' in Vinaver's sense" (260). Cooper's edition is a paperback student text, not meant as a

scholarly edition, but is the first since Vinaver's to seek to represent the Winchester manuscript. Based on the Winchester, it too is shaped—by modern punctuation and spelling and by being "slightly abbreviated" (xxiii)—for its audience and by its editor's understanding of the work.

While Caxton's edition bore the derision of the previous generation of textual and literary critics, *Works*—though undisputed as a scholarly endeavor of the highest caliber— is no longer univocally proclaimed "the definitive edition": it is a version bound by the textual theories of its time and of its editor. Evans (University of Winnipeg) calls for a diplomatic version of the Winchester manuscript to enable readers to go "behind" Vinaver to discover the "original landscape" of the Winchester (263). Such a version has yet to be produced, except for the current study's edition of the Roman War account. It is important, however, not to confuse this "original landscape" of the Winchester with a conception of any ideal text attributed to Malory. Any medium by which the text is produced—be it script, typeface, or hypertext— alters, or more precisely defines, that ideal, ephemeral landscape and readers' perception of it, even if the editor strives to produce a diplomatic edition. All we have are two well-worn documents—and from these new editions are crafted.

Drawing on his experience in observing the rise and fall of the status of editions, C. S. Lewis comments:

> Beyond question, Professor Vinaver has shown the cathedral from a new angle; placed the modern pilgrim where he will enjoy it best. And now

> that his edition is deservedly reaching the stage of cheap reprints, it may in its turn become the household book; until perhaps *alter Achilles*, some second Vinaver (a little cold to the first one as he is a little cold to Caxton) recalls his generation to the long forgotten book of 1485 . . . . (Lewis 28)

The variety of recent editions of literary works reflects a growing capacity for reading variation within a literary work. Particular or historical editions, which attend to the circumstances of production, circulation, and readership, are likely to emerge in greater numbers. Such editions of Malory will not negate Vinaver's work, but will propose alternative criteria to meet the interests and ideologies of a new century of Malory scholars.

## Chapter Three: Mapping the Roman War

The "mapping" of this chapter title is not an attempt to plot the progress of Arthur across the continent in the Winchester and Caxton versions, but instead the mapping addresses the suggestive implication of geographical places in the narrative, and the differences between the Winchester and Caxton versions as markers for changes in geographic representation of England and the East. This study does not study the *actual* geography of the Roman War campaign, but the powerful *imaginative* geography, especially in terms of how ideas about the exotic East inform the narrative. In creating a parallel-text of the two versions and in engaging in the contrastive analysis facilitated by such an edition, the question must be asked: what can account for such substantive changes? It is my argument that Caxton's worldview, shaped by the politics of a shifting monarchial power base, by a frustrated Crusade fervor, by international trade connections, and by the westward dissemination of maps based on Ptolemy significantly differed from that of Malory. The Roman War account, which overtly addresses issues of religious and national dominion, engendered the most significant revisions between the two versions in response to this changed worldview. An awareness of the geographical-textual process of constructing culture[1] calls for a critical study of the Roman War in terms of the fifteenth-century overwriting of the Roman War account and the concurrent changes in the representation of geographic space. While some medievalists have adopted the broader theoretical interest in issues of empire and the relationship of East

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[1] For studies of the intersection of geograhical and textual representation, see Tomasch and Giles. See also Celia Lewis's review.

and West, using the term "post-colonial Middle Ages,"[2] others have argued against the anachronistic application of an essentially early-modern conceptual framework to medieval literature. The term "post-colonial," in this sense, does indeed seem too narrow; however, fascination and violent interaction with the East hardly is reserved for later colonial impulses. Literary representations of empire, geographic space, and the East clearly have a deep and long history and are rightly studied in the context of Middle English literatures. As Ivo Kamps observes, "the metaphoric models of place . . . created by these texts become inscribed in memory and shape how people conceptualize and experience their world" (xiii). The Roman War account draws upon maps—both physical and those inscribed in memory—of its medieval reader and their conception of England in relation to the continent, to Rome, and to the East. Bernhard Klein similarly suggests that maps function as "a metaphorical paradigm" (87) and thus the Roman War account can be productively studied as a significant marker of the shifting paradigm represented by the end of the age of the *mappamundi* and the advent of the Ptolemaic map in late medieval geographic representation.

Malory's Roman War account, the tale of Arthur's campaign against the Roman Emperor Lucius, has long been considered one of the least inspired tales of his work, a tedious account of battles and place names. C. S. Lewis's oft-quoted commentary lauds Caxton for apparently having the good sense to edit and shorten "the whole dreary business" (26). Eugene Vinaver, along with other mid-twentieth century Malory

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[2] For discussions of the intersection of, and disjunction between, post-colonial theory and Middle English literature, see Cohen, Bartlett, and Ingham.

scholars, did not share Lewis's opinion and instead criticized Caxton for having printed a "drastic abridgement" of the Winchester (xxx). Vinaver argues "Caxton, 'simple person,' reduced it to less than half its size, and while doing so rewrote it from beginning to end" (xxx). Despite the criticism of Caxton's apparent editing process, subsequent editors, notably Helen Cooper in her recent edition of *Le Morte Darthur*, continue Caxton's penchant for shortening the Roman War account. Cooper states that, in the interest of students and general readers, her edition enacts "some slimming of the opening sections" (Cooper xxv) of the Roman War account. Cooper's svelte Roman War has been edited to eliminate catalogues of foes and to limit descriptions of battles. "Few readers," Cooper explains "now are likely to share Malory's passionate interest in the details of battle tactics and tournaments, and I have cut these generously" (xxv). Andrew Lynch points out that this aversion to Malory's description of battles and campaigns has been part of a century-long trend. Lynch notes that nineteenth- and twentieth-century Malory editors "lined up to abuse the fight scenes, and did so with increasing force" (82). Lynch also demonstrates that editors' and scholars'

> complaints were highly similar, and eventually formed a tradition almost unquestionable: 'A tedious battle . . . all the details of which are minutely related' (British, cited in Parins 89); 'the greatest exaggeration' (Southey xxxi); . . . 'the general reader would find it too long, too monotonous, and too obscure' (Knowles ii); 'a catalogue of encounters, with but little variation of the familiar incidents' (Minto, cited in Parins 199); . . . 'a

> monotonous lack of inflection; an endless succession of single combats . . . whose details are repeated with wearisome iteration' (Morros, Introduction) . . . . (qtd. in Lynch 82-83)

Thus, along with other battle passages, the Roman War campaign, which is at its core a tale devoted to battle narrative, has been considered a distraction and a bore or, at the very least, as a minor tangent to the larger issues of the work.

Textually, however, the Roman War account is the site of the greatest discrepancy between the Caxton print (Book Five) and the Winchester manuscript (Folio 71r – 96r). In contrast to the literary interest in the tale, the transmission history of the tale, the question of Caxton or Malory as editor, and the relative authority of the two texts, has generated substantial study.[3] Recent scholarship by William Kuskin and Fabienne Michelet, however, has begun to leave aside the fierce debate over the question of the reviser, which has dominated scholarship on the Roman War account for more than a decade, and turned, instead, to studying the Roman War account as an integral part of the literary and cultural concerns of Malory's Arthuriad and of its printer, William Caxton. Kuskin and other Caxton scholars have focused attention on Caxton's vital role as part of late fifteenth-century literary culture rather than as the fey "simple person" which vexed Vinaver. Kuskin situates *Le Morte Darthur*, and the Roman War in particular, within the larger literary scheme of Caxton's Nine Worthies project while Michelet invokes the

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[3] For a representative look at the scholarship on textual criticism of the Caxton and Winchester versions, especially in regard to the Roman War, see Wheeler, Kindrick, and Salda. Kindrick also introduced a special issue of *Arthuriana* (7.1, Spring 1997) which published Matthews's controversial paper as well as other articles regarding textual issues of Malory's work.

medieval topoi of the *translatio imperii* as the structure for the tale's "opposition of East and West" (209). Felicity Riddy previously located *Le Morte Darthur* in the political crises engendered by the War of the Roses and the multiple losses of Henry VI in France. Within that larger context, she identifies the plot of *Le Morte Darthur* as a "narrative of empire and civil war, which Malory inherited and invested with new meanings" (64-5). Riddy, Kuskin, and Michelet approach the Roman War account not as the dull cousin to the rest of Malory's Arthuriad but as a chapter rich with cultural and narrative significance. Although the Roman War account has remained, in many ways, an underappreciated tale or book (depending on one's view of the independence or unity of the section of the Arthuriad), interest in literary geography and exoticism enable a re-assessment of the Roman War account, not only as a source of a textual crux, but as a pivotal means of understanding Malory's and his reviser's representation of empire and Christian England's projected relation with the Islamic East in the context of the fifteenth-century legacy of the Crusades and cartographic representations of the world and the immediate concern for stability and the exercise of good governance at home. In preparing a parallel-text edition, and in the accompanying discussion of the Roman War account, I seek not to resolve the differences between the Winchester manuscript and the Caxton printed edition, but to study them as part of a geographic/cultural critique of the two versions, often looking at precisely the sections that Cooper's edition omits, for the way in which these passages articulate a negotiation of England's relation to the exotic east. Arthur did not battle only Lucius, apocryphal emperor of Rome, but triumphed over

Lucius and all of his allies from the East. The popularity of works such as Marco Polo's *Travels* and John Mandeville's *Travels* along with encounters as part of the Crusades, pilgrimages, and the fall of Constantinople, form the particular context of this study.

P. J. C. Field has made a substantial contribution to the study of Malory's Roman War account with his detailed textual study of both the manuscript and print versions as well as his editing Vinaver's third edition. Along with Vinaver and other Malory scholars, Field has laid the groundwork for a re-evaluation of the Roman War account as a rich and vital part of Malory's work—in both versions—for its window into ideas of geography, empire and, in particular, England's relation to the East vis-à-vis the waning hopes for the successful reconquest of Jerusalem and the kingdoms of the East. The Roman War account has been studied for insights into Malory's view on warfare, for the significance of the glorious rather than ruinous conclusion of the account, for its indications of Malory's view on Lancastrian alliances with France and, perhaps most voluminously, for the textual variants between the Winchester and Caxton version. The study of the Caxton and Winchester versions, especially in terms of textual authority, sparked a heated polarity among scholars, leaving Kuskin to remark that, "the debate continues through a self-perpetuating industry of scholarly claims, hypothesis, counter-claims and reversals" (541). But the debate has productively progressed to the point where there is now greater agreement among scholars that Caxton, not Malory, as William Matthews[4] has proposed, is the reviser of the Roman War account and, indeed,

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[4] "Caxton and Chaucer: A Review," "The Besieged Printer," and "A Question of Texts" are posthumously edited texts of Matthews's unpublished last essays which appear in *The Malory Debate*, see Wheeler, Kindrick and Salda. See also Kindrick, "William Matthews on Caxton and Malory."

the whole of *Le Morte Darthur*. The present study considers changes in fifteenth-century culture as underlying the editorial changes made in the Caxton edition: the political, geographic, and literary context in which the work was initially written (late 1460s) was significantly changed by the time the work was prepared for print in the early 1480s. Enough evidence—linguistic and literary[5] —has been compiled to make the case that Caxton "overwrote" his copy text to comply with his worldview, just as Malory had overwritten his source texts before him.[6] The issue of Caxton overwriting Malory has been acknowledged by Lewis[7] but in the intervening years, this even-handed positioning of Caxton's role as editor was displaced by efforts to establish an authoritative text of Malory's work. Though Caxton is the likely reviser, it is important that the usual corollary which accompanies this recognition be set aside—that is, that the Caxton text is a "less authoritative" text or that the Winchester perforce represents "what Malory himself wrote" (Field "Caxton's Roman War" 31) or that either version can function to establish the "better text" (Kindrick 18). Sunichi Noguchi argues, "the view that Caxton's Malory represents the author's final literary achievement is definitely a fallacy" (123). While I agree that the claim of representing Malory's "final literary achievement" would be a fallacy in terms of the Caxton text, I would also argue, that such a focus on

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[5] See the linguistic studies of Noguchi, Takagi and Takamiya, and Tieken-Boon van Ostade.

[6] For a discussion of the process of scribes, redactors, and printers "overwriting" their sources, see Higgins, especially 26 - 27.

[7] Lewis was nonplussed by Vinaver's accusations of editorial conspiracy. His view was that "Caxton's text is not most usefully regarded as a corruption. He touched up Malory as Malory touched up his predecessors and by the same right. The greatest service he did the old fabric was one of demolition" (26).

authority misses the rich contextualization which results from valuing both the book and manuscript as witnesses to the work's fifteenth-century reading. This study does not seek to establish a "Malorian" text, a pursuit that would reflect an editorial interest in the establishment and definition of authorial intention. According to Field

> any editor who declines or is unable to exercise his judgment and falls back on some arbitrary canon, such as the authority of the copy-text, is in fact abdicating his editorial function . . . the result is that what many editors have done is to produce, not editions of their authors' works at all, but only editions of particular authorities for those works, a course that may be perfectly legitimate in itself, but was not the one they were professedly pursuing. (Field *Empire* 108)

This has been the predominant complaint against editions that did not operate from the central tenet of authorial intention. However, the purpose of this study of the historical documents is not to produce an eclectic critical edition, which has as its goal to best represent Malory's intent, but a contrastive analysis: to explore Malory's representation of the geographic and political relation with the Islamic "East" by means of contrasting it with that of the reviser, presumably William Caxton. In so doing, this study also considers the way in which the Roman War account figures in the larger scheme of *Le Morte Darthur*. For this purpose, the Winchester manuscript and the Caxton print of 1485 are—as they exist—ideal texts, without need of emendation, each an artifact of medieval manuscript and print transmission, respectively, and, more to the point, each

bearing the unmistakably mark of human intervention. As such they form a kind of "multi-text,"[8] or continuum of recontextualization,[9] of the Arthuriad in English vernacular prose, forming the basis of the present inquiry.

## The Roman War: A recontextualization of empire

Iain Mcleod Higgins has described the fourteenth-century *Mandeville's Travels* as "a deliberately dialogic response to previous and contemporary writings about the East" (11). Malory's and Caxton's representations of the particular tale of Arthur's Roman War campaign are likewise informed by almost four hundred years of struggles for dominion over the East and a gradual slipping away of the conquests made by the First Crusade. There is an indication in Caxton's preface that he viewed Malory not so much an author in the same vein, say, as Chaucer or Lydgate, but rather as a redactor/translator who was part of this recontextualizing process. Caxton informs his readers that *Le Morte Darthur* is printed from a "copye syr Thomas Malorye dyd take oute of certeyn bookes of Frensshe and reduced it into Englysshe" (Vinaver cxlv). This can be contrasted with Caxton's view of Chaucer not only as an "author," but also as "that noble and grete philosopher, Geffrey Chaucer" and "laureate poete" (Blake *Prose* 61). In his introduction to his second edition of *The Canterbury Tales*, Caxton tells the story of his learning that a

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[8] See Higgins 470. Higgins uses the term to denote a work which exists in multiple, and often distinct, manuscript forms.

[9] Rudick argues that the effort to establish an authorial version acts to "suppress an equally important discontinuity, that is, the recontextualization each inscriptions materializes . . . " (xxiv).

better text of the *Canterbury Tales* was available and, in response to this news from a certain gentlemen, Caxton provides his reply:

> To whom I said, in caas that he coude gete me such a book trewe and correcte, yet I wold ones endevoyre me to enprynte it agayn for to satysfye th'auctour, where as tofore by ygnouraunce I erryd in hurtyng and dyffamyng his book in dyverce places, in settyng in somme thynges that he never sayd ne made and levyng out many thynges that he made whyche ben requysite to be sette in it. (qtd. in Blake, *Prose* 62)

Even for a writer not quite as esteemed as the "laureate poete," Caxton, in his Preface to the *Polychronicon*, mentions that his text "shal folowe al alonge after the composynge and gaderynge of Dan Ranulph, monke of Chestre, fyrste auctour of this book, and afterward englisshed by one Trevisa" (qtd. in Blake, *Prose* 131). This term of "auctour," however, is not used in reference Malory. Like Trevisa, Malory is presented as a translator and redactor. While Caxton's lack of reference to Malory as an author does not perforce mean that Caxton did not view him as such, it does hint that in Caxton's view, Malory's Arthuriad was perhaps less appreciated for its originality[10] and more as a recontextualization: an English version and reappropriation of a national legend which, as Caxton implies, had apparently languished too long in French accounts and not kept apace with the reemergence of English as a literary language.[11] Wynkyn de Worde's colophon may further indicate Caxton's perception of Malory's literary status: "ye

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[10] See Lumiansky, *Malory's Originality*.

[11] For a discussion of the emergence of English as a literary language and, in particular, Lancastrian policies which supported its nationalistic function, see Fisher.

translacon of this boke was fynyssed . . .by syr Thomas Maleore knyght (Sig.E5$^{r}$, 2$^{nd}$ column). Thus, Caxton's view of Malory exemplifies a medieval conception of textuality which embodies the notion of a "continuous text whose existence includes, but reaches past" the named author (5). This would be particularly true of a work "drawn out" of the long "historical" and literary tradition of Arthur.

Although Malory's choice of route has been the subject of speculation—either, as Vinaver argued, as a tribute to the route of Henry V, or, as Robert Kelly recently proposed, as route indicative of a "pro-Lancastrian, pro-French" position (112), in all cases, it is clear that Malory's sense of continental geography, not atypical of the fifteenth century, was vague at best (Field, *Texts* 56). The Caxton text presents an altered route within the narrative, placing the landing in Flanders rather than in Normandy and adding the additional diversion of Brabant, the implications of which Matthews and Field have considered.[12] The focus of this study is not the plotting of the narrative route, a task addressed by Vinaver, complete with map (*Works* 1396 n 227), but the powerful imaginative geography of the Caxton and Winchester versions as markers of the shifting paradigm represented by the end of the age of the mappamundi and the advent of the Ptolemaic map in late medieval geographic representation.

The Roman War chapter reflects a strong revision by Malory of his sources. Malory's account of the Roman War is derived primarily from the English alliterative poem *Morte Arthure*, composed in the late fourteenth century, though the two

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[12] See Field, "Caxton's Roman War," and Matthews for a discussion of the Caxton text's substitution of Flanders.

documentary witnesses express that derivation in distinct ways. The most significant change represented in the Winchester, presumably undertaken by Malory, is the placement of the Roman War early in the Arthuriad rather than as the concluding tale of Arthur's reign, as it appears in Geoffrey of Monmouth's account and in the Alliterative *Morte Arthure*. While Kelly has discussed how it is possible that Malory chose to rely on the French Vulgate as the inspiration for his moving of the outcome, it is clear that Malory consciously chose to deviate from his primary sources. In no previous account does Arthur return from the Roman War campaign to a united nation and a peaceful, prosperous realm.

In Geoffrey's account, in the *Morte Arthure*, and in *The Chronicles of England*, Arthur's kingdom is indirectly undone by his campaign to Rome, during which time Mordred and Guinevere make a liaison and the familiar battle between Arthur and Mordred ensues. The unintended outcome of Arthur's Roman campaign, in these earlier accounts is the destruction of the kingdom and the narrative implications, in Geoffrey, is that of the fated rise and fall of kings. In a significant contrast, Malory postpones this traditional outcome of the Roman War campaign and instead makes the campaign a cornerstone in the establishment of Arthur's reign and England's mythical world supremacy. Both in Hardyng's *Chronicles of England* (suggested by John Withrington and Toshiyuki Takamiya and MasakoTakagi as one of Malory sources) and in Malory, Arthur brings the campaign to its ultimate conclusion, arriving in Rome to receive the

crown, at the pope's hand, of the Holy Roman Empire. In Hardyng's *Chronicle*, Arthur enters Rome and is crowned at St. Peter's Church:

> At [the] Capytol, in [the sea] imperiall,
>
> They crowned hym with crownes thre of golde
>
> As emperoure moste principall,
>
> And conquerour that daye most worthy hold ;
>
> Wher then he fested the citee manyfolde,
>
> [Of Rome the byshop, and all his cardinals,]
>
> The senatours, with other estates als.
>
> (Hardyng 145; Chapter lxxxii)

However, despite achieving the crown of the Roman Empire, Arthur returns after one winter to a nation in the grip of civil unrest.

In the Winchester and the Caxton versions, the passage of Arthur's succession to the throne of the Roman Empire remains fairly stable as seen in the Winchester:

> and at þe day assigned as þe Romaynes me tel//
>
> lys he was crowned Emp*er*our*e* by the Poopys hondis
>
> with all þe Royalte in þe worlde to welde for eu*er*/ /
>
> (*W* TLN 1575-77)[13]

And, similarly, in the Caxton edition:

> And at the day appoynted, as the

[13] Beginning with this passage, the texts used for both the Caxton and Winchester are from the accompanying edition and are cited using the TLN number in the edition.

> Romance telleth, he came into Rome and was crouned em
>
> by the popes hand with all the ryalte that could be ma
>
> de / (*C* TLN 1574-76)

Caxton apparently corrects a scribal error—changing the problematic "romaynes" to Malory's standard phrase "as the romance telleth." In the Alliterative *Morte Arthure* , Arthur *plans* to proceed to Rome and visualizes the event:

> And this roye ryall, as romawns vs tellis,
>
> Reuerence the Romayns in his riche table.
>
> The tawghte men and þe conynge, when them tym thoghte,
>
> Tas theire lefe at þe Kynge and tornede agayne:
>
> To þe cete þat nyghte thaye soughte at þe gayneste,
>
> And thus the ostage of Rome with Arthure es leuede.
>
> Than this roy royall rehersys theis wordes:
>
> "Now may we reuell and riste, fore Rome es oure awen!
>
> Make oure ostage at ese, þise auenaunt childyren,
>
> And luk 3e honden them all that in myn oste lengez.
>
> The Emperour of Almayne and all theis este marches,
>
> We sall be ouerlynge of all þat on the erthe lengez!
>
> We will by þe Crosse Dayes encroche þeis londez,
>
> And at þe Crystynmesse Daye be crowned theraftyre;

> Ryngne in my ryalltes, and holde my Rownde Table,
>
> Withe the rentes of Rome, as me beste lykes. (Krishna 3200-3215)

But, of course, the news of Mordred's usurpation abruptly ends the campaign without Arthur fully achieving either the crown at the Pope's hand or the unquestioned world dominion bestowed upon him in the Malory narratives. The catalogue of place names and the lengthy treatment of the battles of the campaign in the Winchester have been seen as prominent remnants of Malory's alliterative source—in addition to Hardyng's *Chronicle*s and the Vulgate (Kelly 123)—that resisted, to a degree, Malory's effort to craft the tale into the framework of romance. Malory's reworking of the tale, as it appears in the Winchester, continues to evoke the feel of heroic epic rather than romance. According to Eugene Vinaver, Malory did not postpone the traditional disaster for the larger scheme of the purported "whole book," but because he was "interested in Arthur as a great hero and 'conqueror,' [such as] Henry V, who, like Arthur, has won his most resounding victories away from home" (*Works* 1367). But, as Kelly points out, subsequent work by Helen Wroten, Richard Griffith, William Matthews and Field "demolished" the theory that Malory intended his route to be a tribute to Henry V (113-4). Nonetheless, the image of Arthur as empire-builder and conqueror dominates the Roman War account in both the Caxton and Winchester versions.

While Caxton's text is close to the Winchester in maintaining Arthur's ascendance to the Emperorship of the Holy Roman Empire, the most overt differences between the two are language and length: the Winchester adheres to the *Morte Arthure*,

retaining the alliteration and rhythm at the expense of a style consistent with the other tales or sections of the Arthuriad. As Field notes, "Caxton seems to have systematically modified the *Morte Darthur* towards his own linguistic norms" (*Empire* 116). The Caxton edition largely eliminates the alliterative rhythm and meter and, of course, reduces the account to almost half its previous length. Perhaps the marked textual discrepancies between the Caxton and the Winchester versions can also be attributed, in addition to the issue of style, to the fact that the Roman War chapter is primarily concerned with political and historical positioning. The Roman War campaign functions as a narrative vehicle for positioning England as a real-world empire and, as such, received careful attention by the reviser. A highly politicized content is also found in Malory's final tale—the shadow-side of successful the Roman War campaign, but perhaps the inescapable death of Arthur required a closer adherence to the final narrative. The issue of empire may have provoked both Malory's dramatic change from his sources and Caxton's motivation for editing this chapter further. While contemporary editors and audiences may find the Roman War chapter of small interest, for fifteenth-century audiences, the chapter's concern with geography, empire, and models of kingship seems to have had such interest that the chapter underwent radical reformations in order to best express the concerns and perspective of the writer/redactor and its subsequent editor. Field has argued that Caxton changed Arthur's symbolic dream, experienced as he embarked on the Roman campaign, in which a dragon "oute of þe weste p*ar*tyes" (*W* TLN 297) fighting a "grymly Beare" (*W* TLN 305) that had come "oute of þe oryent" (*W*

TLN 305) to that in the Caxton edition of a dragon fighting a "grymly bore," (*C* TLN 305) also "oute of thoryent" (*C* TLN 305). Field points out that in the Caxton edition:

> the bear is (six times) turned into a boar. The change must have been deliberate, and it created a bold political allusion: the boar was the badge of King Richard III and the dragon that of Henry Tudor. The allusion would only have made sense in or just before 1485, and it is difficult to see who could have been responsible for it but Caxton himself. (Caxton's 37)

I have argued elsewhere[14] that scribal transmission and/or confusion could account for this change as the animal described is a confused amalgam of paws and tusks, but, even accepting that Caxton was responsible for consciously inserted the change, this change does not provide evidence that the Caxton text is a less authoritative text.

As has been noted by Withrington, Takagi and Takamiya, and Edward Kennedy, a major motivation for a possible revision by Caxton would be his interest in bringing Malory's French version of the story of the Roman War in line with that of the *Chronicles of England*. The *Chronicles*, as Kennedy has pointed out, was "one of the most widely circulated medieval works in England in the late Middle Ages" and contained the well-established story of King Arthur (223). He notes that the

> part of Malory's book that would have been most familiar to Caxton's readers would have been the story of Arthur's Roman War; and it is

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[14] See Roland.

> therefore not surprising that Caxton would have revised that part of the book to make it correspond in style and to a lesser extent in content more closely to the account with which readers would have been familiar, that found in the *Chronicles of England*. (223).

It is ironic, then, that the Roman War episode is perhaps the least appreciated part of Malory's tale today and, certainly for students, the tale that, should they read either paperback edition—the Penguin Caxton-based edition edited by Janet Cowen, or the Oxford Winchester-based edition by Helen Cooper—their awareness of the chapter's full cultural implications will be curtailed. In his Preface to *Le Morte Darthur*, Caxton considers the historicity of Arthur and claims that "in dyvers places of Englond many remembraunces ben yet of hym and shall remayne perpetuelly . . . Thenne, al these thynges consydered, there can no man resonably gaynsaye but there was a kyng of thys lande named Arthur" (Vinaver xiv). Caxton pushes to set the book on a historical basis, and, in light of recent geographic knowledge, it is unlikely that the existence of Prester John's land or an implied trip by Arthur to Jerusalem, as they occur in the Winchester, could meet this standard of "history." As Takagi and Takamiya point out, "by appropriating expressions or words from the Chronicles of England, Caxton aimed to create an ambience of a historical Roman War story" (178). In Caxton's Prologue to the *Polychronicon*, he makes evident his interest in the value of history: "historye representynge the thynges lyke vnto the wordes enbraceth al vtylyte & prouffite. It sheweth honeste and maketh vyces detestable. It enhaunceth noble men and depresseth

wicked men and fooles" (Crotch 66). Joerge Fichte notes that for Caxton the nature of history is verisimilitude and that Caxton's histories "partake of both historiography and romance" (102). In his Preface to *Le Morte Darthur*, Caxton sets forth his theory on the civilizing value of both history and chivalry:

> I, accordyng to my copye, have doon sette it in enprynte to the entente that noble men may see and lerne the noble actes of chyvalrye, the jentyl and vertuous dedes that somme knyghtes used in tho dayes, by whyche they cam to honour, and how they that were vycious were punysshed and ofte put to shame and rebuke. (Vinaver, *Works* xv)

Withrington was one of the first scholars to devote a careful study to the narrative effect of the variants of the Winchester and Caxton texts. While refraining from definitively identifying Caxton as the reviser, Withrington advanced the view that "Caxton's candidacy must remain the stronger" (366). More importantly, Withrington notes several key narrative points of departure between the two texts: the degree of Arthur's civil unity as the tale opens, the pairing of Lancelot and Tristram, and the diplomatic maneuvering of the ambassadors. Withrington points out that the internal order is less assured in the Winchester:

> And so aftir his mervelous knyghtis
>
> And he had venquyshed the moste p*ar*ty of his enemyes (*W* TLN 7-9).

The implication is that Arthur had *largely* defeated his enemies, but that the process was still incomplete. With England not completely brought under Arthur's control, the Winchester establishes a position which

> underlines the sense of fragility which surrounds the newly-established realm. This particular problem is resolved only when foreign imperialism is met and conquered, and Arthur's kingdom can enjoy a new-found period of stability and civil harmony. (Withrington, "Caxton" 353)

By contrast, in the Caxton text, "the implication is that Arthur has already proven triumphant in establishing the political unity and civil peace which elude the king in Winchester's version." (Withrington, "Caxton" 353). In contrast to the hint of instability in the Winchester, Caxton's text projects an image of stability and satisfaction:

> Whanne kyng Arthur had after longe werre re//
> sted /and helde a Ryal feeste and table rounde
> with his alyes of kynges/prynces/ and noble
> kynghtes all of the round table / (*C* TLN 5-8).

Withrington also points out that the Caxton text's emphasizes the "niceties of diplomatic behavior" ("Caxton" 364), which would be in accord with Caxton's commercial and diplomatic interests. Withrington's comparison is rare for its considered treatment of the narrative implications of the two texts as deliberate moves rather than as a platform for eradicating the influence of Caxton's editing from the "genuine Malory." While Withrington's emphasis is on the opening scene of the two versions, the narratives have

not been similarly investigated in terms of their representation of the East, and, specifically, references to Jerusalem, Priamus, and Prester John's land.

A contrastive analysis of the two versions of Malory's Roman War account reveals many significant variants between the two texts, of which four form the major focus of this study: the removal of Prester John from the chronicle of Eastern allies, the conversion of Priamus, the deletion of Arthur's stated intent to form a Crusade; and the addition of the term "infidels." All four of these textual changes are studied in the context of the symbolic and representational geography of the mid-fifteenth century.

## Exoticism and the Conquest: geographic implications of the Roman War Campaign

As a result of the languishing hopes for the Crusades, the reemergence of Ptolemaic maps, and new discoveries in navigation and exploration, mid-fifteenth century Europe was in the midst of a period of rapidly changing geographic knowledge. The fall of Constantinople to the Turks in 1453, while not producing another Crusade as many, including Caxton, fervently hoped, did have the effect of amplifying the process, already well underway, of the "despoiling" (Greetham *Scholarship* 311) of archives of the Eastern Empire of the Byzantines and may have hastened the "westward dispersion" of classical scholars and works such as Ptolemy's *Geographia* (Kimble 200). Accounts from the late thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, such as Marco Polo's *The Description of the World* (*Divisament dou Monde*) from the mid-fourteenth century, enjoyed wide popularity as exotic accounts of the nations of the east and Middle East. Indeed,

*Mandeville's Travels* is both a subtext and minor source for the Roman War account.[15] Field notes that *Mandeville's Travels* and "the Acts of the Apostles, provide some of the expanded material that the Alliterative poet brought into his account of the Roman War" (Field *Empire* 106). Field notes that by adding material from *Mandeville's Travels*, and the Acts of the Apostles, the places Malory names "embrace what was then almost the whole known world" (*Empire* 106). In the fifteenth-century, these accounts, still popular, were augmented with accounts from pilgrims, returning crusaders, and, turning westward, were imbued with the possibility of an expanding world. Christopher Columbus is known to have read the classics of medieval travel literature, including *Divisament dou Monde*. It is this influence of the travel writing about the East that, as Jennifer Goodman points out, "led him to expect to find an island populated by Amazons in the East Indies" (42). Edward Said has observed that a major response of Western Europe's growing contact and conflict with the nations of the East was

> to characterize the Orient as alien and to incorporate it schematically on a theatrical stage whose audience, manager, and actors are *for* Europe, and only for Europe. Hence the vacillation between the familiar and the alien. (71-72)

Said also argues that the results of "imaginative geography and of the dramatic boundaries it draws" (73) are a rhetoric that is both "anatomical and enumerative" (72).

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[15] On the fly-leaf of the Egerton version (BL MS Egerton 1982), a now-lost note on the inside of the cover read: "Thys fayre boke I have fro the abbey at Saint Albons in thys yeare of our Lord m.cccclxxxx the sixt day of Apryll. Willyam Caxton. Richard Tottyl, 1579 – Lond." (Moseley 38, n *)

In the case of the Roman War, the litany of the kings and dukes of the East provides just such an exotic and enumerative function:

/ /Than þe

Emp*er*oure sente furth his messyngers of wyse olde kny3tes vnto a Contrey callyd Ambage And Arrage And vnto Aly sundir to ynde to Ermony that the Rever of Eufrate rennys by . And to Assy Aufryke and Europe the large and to Ertayne and Elamye to the oute yles to Arrabe to Egypte to Damaske and to Damyake and to noble deukis & erlys. Also þe kynge of Capydos and þe kyng of Tars and of Turke and of Pounce and of Pampoy le And oute of Preter Iohnus londe. Also þe sowdon of Surre and frome Nero vnto Na3areth and frome Ga rese to Galely there come Sarysyns and be com sudgettis vnto Rome So they come glydyng In Galyes also there come þe kynge of Cypres and þe Grekis were gadirde & goodly arayed *with* þe kynge of Macidony and of Calabe and of Catelonde bothe kynges and deukes. And the kynge of Portyngale *with* many thousande Spaynardis // Thus all thes kyngis and dukys and Admyrallys noblys assem// bled *with* xvj. kynges at onys And so they com vnto Rome *with*

grete multytude of peple// Whan þe Emperoure vndirstood

þer comynge he made redy all his noble Romaynes & all

men of warre betwyxte hym and flaundyrs// Also he

had gotyn with hym fyffty gyauntys that were engendirde

with fendis And all tho he lete ordeyne for to a wayte on his

persone and for to breke þe batayle of þe frunte of Arthurs

knyghtes// But they were so muche of þer bodyes þat horsys

myght nat bere them. And thus þe Emperoure with all hys

horryble peple drew to passe Almayne to dystroy Arthur

es londys that he wan thorow warre of hys noble

knyghtes (*W* TLN 206-235)

In both the Winchester and Caxton versions, this catalogue of Saracen kings creates what Higgins terms "a multiple Otherness." (93). Caxton's version, though briefer, retains this sense of multiple otherness:

> Wel sayd Lucius bıfore Eester I suppose to passe the
>
> mountayns and soo forth in to fraunce/ and there byreue hym
>
> his londes with Ianeweyes and other myghty warryours of
>
> Tuskane and lombardye/ And I shall sende for them all that
>
> ben subgettys and aleyd to thempyre of Rome to come to myn
>
> ayde/ and forthwith sente old syse knyghtes vnto these coun//
>
> trayes folowynge/ fyrste to ambage and arrage/ to Alysaun//

drye/ to ynde to hermonye/ where as the ryuer of Eufrates ren//
neth in to Asye / to Auffryke / and Europe the large / to erta//
yne and Elamye to Arabye / Egypte and to damaske / to da//
myete and Cayer / to Capadoce / to tarce / Turkye / pounce and
pampoylle / to Surrye and gallacye / And alle these were sub//
gette to Rome and many moo / as Greece / Cypres / Macydone /
Calabre / Cateland / portyngale with many thousandes spay
nardys / Thus alle these kynges / dukes / and admyrals assem
bled aboute Rome with xvj kynges attones with grete mul//
tytude of peple/ whan themperour vnderstood their comyng / he
made redy his Romayns / and alle the peple bytwene hym &
Flaundres C Also he hadde goten wyth
hym fyfty Geaunts whiche had ben engendred of fendys
And they were ordeyned to garde his persone / and to breke
the frounte of the bataylle of kynge Arthur /
And thus departed fro Rome and came doune the montayns
for to destroye the londes that Arthur had conquerd (*C* TLN 202-235)

According to Field, the Roman War account derives ultimately from a short list of provinces and peoples in the Historia which looks like a typical stroke of Galdfridian historical verisimilitude. Wace reordered the list and brought it up to date by replacing Parthia with

> Turkey, and La3amon and Mannyng used the revised list with a few small changes. The alliterative poet reworked and expanded it, turning into an elaborate account of imperial summons and response. (*Empire* 106)

A key passage for establishing the context of the East-West anxiety of fifteenth-century England, this section of the Roman War account is considered part of Malory's tedious litany of battle participants, a remnant of an older literary form, which is excised from Cooper's edition. From Vinaver's thirty-three-page text of the Roman War account to Cooper's "slightly abbreviated text" (xxiii) of twelve pages, the push to reduce the Roman War account occurs, unfortunately, at a time when critical interest in issues of empire and exoticism is foregrounded.

The description in the Winchester of the "horryble peple" (*W* TLN 233) of Lucius's army does not appear in the *Morte Arthure* where the massing armies are described as "a full gret nombyre" (Krishna 602), "legyons ynewe" (Krishna 605), and as "summes full huge" (Krishna 606). As employed in the Winchester version, "horryble peple" carries with it the heightened sense of a nameless threat on the southeastern borders of Latin Christendom. Although the term "horrible peple" is not part of the Caxton print, it cannot be attributed to a more benign view of Muslims on the part of Caxton but perhaps to his effort to reduce the romantic aspects of the tale and emphasize the realistic, historiographic aspect. Clearly, like *Mandeville's Travels*, this passage in the two versions that details the assemblage of Roman and Eastern subjects functions as "an ethno-geographical survey" that resembles a form of medieval catalogue (Higgins

203). The Caxton text's omission of the reference to horrible people distinguishes between the grotesque nature of the fifty giants that served as the front guard for Saracens. The giants are present in the Caxton text and are described as "engendred of fendys" (*C* TLN 228) much as in the Winchester, "engendirde w*ith* fendis" (*W* TLN 228) which has its close source in the *Morte Arthure's* "engenderide with fendez" (Krishna 612). The Winchester text seems to amplify the sense of monstrous Otherness that threatened to spill into Europe, a threat which echoed concerns that a Muslim invasion, following upon the sacking of Constantinople in 1453, could be imminent. Both texts provide, via Arthur's vanquishing of Lucius and all his allies, a vicarious revenge narrative in response to the fall of Constantinople.

The geographical catalogue of Lucius's allies in the Winchester and Caxton texts, as well as the *Morte Arthure*, can be described as biographically sterile in comparison to Wace and La3amon's version. Despite the complex, and at times even laudatory, views of Eastern culture portrayed in Mandeville's *Travels* and Marco Polo's *Travels*, this appreciation and even individualization is obliterated in the Winchester and Caxton texts, compressed into a monotype description of all the nations of the east as equally threatening and equally subjects of Rome and all vanquished by the conquest of Lucius. The Winchester's description of the Saracen fighters retains their descriptions as kings, whereas Caxton, on the other hand, portrays the litany of Eastern rulers only as "subgettys and aleyd to th'Empyre of Rome," deleting any reference to their being

monarchs in their own lands. The Caxton text also omits the Winchester reference to "noble deukis & erlys" and shortens the "kynge of Capydos" simply to "Capadoce," and thus continuing the process of stripping out the personalities of the principalities of the East. In Wace's and La3amon's accounts, the Roman War account is far longer and includes the names of most of the kings and dukes, an inclusion which highlights their noble and kingly status. This stripping away of identity from the kings and dukes of the East in the Malory versions stands in marked contrast to a tendency Withrington points out regarding Malory's treatment of minor characters in which he "frequently gave names to those unidentified individuals he found in his sources" (17). In La3amon's *Brut*, which, as Mary Dictman has noted, Malory may have known (69), the kings and dukes of the East were named as noble, chivalrous adversaries:

> þe aereste king þe þer com —he wes swiðe kene mon,
>
> Epistrod, King of Grece; Ethion, Duc of Boece
>
> þer com mid mucle wi3e, Irtac, King of Turckie,
>
> Pandras, King of Egipte, of Crete þe king Ipolitte,
>
> of Syrie þe king Euander, of Frigie þe duc Teucer,
>
> of Babilone Mæptisas, of Sapine þe kaisere Meodras,
>
> of Medie þe king Boccus, of Libie þe king Sexstorius,
>
> of Bittunie Pollidices, of Iture þe king Sexes,
>
> Ofutesar, King of Aufrike —nes þer na king his ilike. (Barron 12657-65)

Wace also provides the names of the kings and dukes as a role call at a chivalrous tournament : "To meet Lucius came Epistrophius, King of the Greeks; Ession, King of Boeotia; and Itarc, King of the Turks, a passing strong and perilous knight" (Mason 78). But in the Winchester and Caxton Roman War versions, the "minor characters" remain the nameless adversaries found in the *Morte Arthure*:

Thane Sir Lucius lordlyche lettres he sendys

Onone into þe Oryente, with austeryn knyghtez,

Till Ambyganye and Orcage and Alysaundyre eke,

To Inde and to Ermonye, as Ewfrates rynnys,

To Asye and to Affrike and Ewrope þe large,

To Irritayne and Elamet and all þase owte ilez,

To Arraby and Egipt, till erles and oþer,

That any erthe ocupyes in þase este marches,

Of Damaske and Damyat, and dukes and erles,

For drede of his daungere they dresside þem sone;

Of Crete and of Capados the honourable kyngys

Come at his commandmente clenly at ones (Krishna 570-581)

Field notes that the result of the litany of Eastern rulers as it appears in the *Morte Arthure* is a "visionary tour de force that presents dozens of recognizably real localities in a Miltonic sweep across three continents. Malory seems to have attempted to abbreviate this while keeping as many of the place names as possible" (Field *Empire* 107). But

there is also a conscious representation of the kings and dukes as "horrible peple" rather than as the *Morte Arthure's* "honourable kinges." Caxton continues the process evidenced in the Winchester by further simplifying and diminishing the royal quality of the Eastern adversaries.

Jennifer Goodman notes that while Sir John Mandeville and Marco Polo "presented themselves to their contemporaries as true travelers undertaking real journeys, the chivalric romance of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries depict journeys of the imagination" (45). But Malory's Roman War account appears, in both its manuscript and edited printed forms, to attempt to negotiate the narrowing gap between imaginative travel accounts and real encounters with the east and, because of his trade connections, it is likely that Caxton had a somewhat more accurate geographic knowledge than Malory, although still heavily influenced by narrative, "historical" geography. Kimble points out that in *The Mirrour of the World* Caxton "printed one hundred year old information as if it were current" (Kimble 200). Kelly speculates that Malory likely never saw an actual map but rather read verbal geographic descriptions in his sources as well as in "a standard reference work such as Ranulf Higden's *Polychronicon*" (117). However, as P. D. A. Harvey points out, Higden's World Map was also popular, with many versions of the map circulating independently and as accompanying illustration (Harvey 21). The immensely popular *Polychronicon*, rewritten in versions from the 1330s to the 1360s often "included a world map to illustrate its first book on natural history and geography" (Harvey 35). Harvey notes, in reference to the Hereford Map, that the "world map may

or may not have been a generally familiar object in thirteenth-century England, but it is clear that at the very least an educated person might expect to come across one from time to time" (35). As a bookseller and manuscript dealer, Caxton could be expected to encounter such maps in the course of his business.

While Malory may have seen a Higden map or other similar "T-O" map (see Appendix A), Caxton, on the other hand, is more likely, by virtue of timing alone, to have seen such a map. It is possible that Caxton may have seen one of the new maps based on Ptolemy's *Geographia* printed in Italy in the late 1470's. While Caxton, in his Prefaces and other front and end matter does not mention Ptolemy's maps, in *Myrrour of the Worlde* Caxton uses the term "Mappa Mundi" (introduction to Book III, chapter xxiv) in reference, as Blake points out, not to an actual map but to imply a sense of the whole world: "In the seconde partye is declared to yow whiche parte of th'erthe is inhabyted and of the dyvysion of Mappa Mundi" (Blake *Prose* 117). Though general rather than specific, such a reference may be said to reveal a geographical awareness on Caxton's part of which we can be less certain in regard to Malory. Caxton's edition of *Mirrour of the World* includes the first map printed in England, a form of the "T-O" (Prior 66). (See Figure 1.) In this same text, by way of introducing the "thirde partye," consisting of information on day and night and eclipses, Caxton makes note of "firmament and of the sterres; and how the world was mesured and the heven and th'erthe; of the kynge, Tholomeus, and of his prudence" (Blake *Prose* 118). Caxton's reference here is to Ptolemy's work in astronomy, indicating that Caxton at least knew of Ptolemy's celestial

writing if not his terrestrial cartography, but which could be from a number of texts including Chaucer's *Canterbury Tales* or *Boece*. Ptolemy's *Almagest* was "circulating widely in the West from the twelfth century onwards" (Delano-Smith 41) and therefore the mention does not indicate familiarity with the new maps. Blake argues that "Caxton knew no Italian and his knowledge of works by Italians was slight" (23), the implication of which is that Caxton, who apparently did not read Latin but relied on French sources for his translations, may not have actively traded in texts from Italy such as the Latin *Geographia*. However, the *Geographia*, in its printed forms, steadily spread to Northern Europe. Kimble notes that "by 1475 maps accompanying manuscript copies of the *Geography* were beginning to include maps drawn on the new principle" and that the "effect of the re-discovery of Ptolemy's *Geography*, authentic, convincing, and vastly superior to the average text-book of the day, can therefore be imagined" (215).

**The end of the mythic East: The disappearance of the land of Prester John**

The first printed edition of Ptolemy's *Geographia* was published by Hermanus Levilapis (without maps) in 1475[16] in Venice, clearly too late for Malory to have seen. (See Figure 2.) During the intervening years between Malory's writing of *Le Morte Darthur* and its appearance in print, the impact of manuscript and printed versions of the *Geographia* were powerful. The Bologna *Geographia* of 1477, produced with the newly developed printing process, ushered in a new era in cartography and the representation of

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[16] A reproduction of one of the pages from this text can be viewed at: http://bell.lib.umn.edu/map/PTO/GEO/mainptg.html.

the earth. Copies of the print *Geographia* spread to northern Europe by the early 1480s as evidenced by Lienhart Holle's Ulm edition of 1482 published under its other title, *Cosmographia*. (See Figure 3.) The Ulm edition was complete with wood cut maps, many of which were hand-colored, deriving from Nicolaus Germanus's copies (Berggren 126). Lisa Jardine notes that by the late fifteenth century, the *Geographia*, often complete with colored and illuminated maps "took pride of place in a surprisingly large number of great men's libraries" (205). Yeats-Edwards observes that Caxton "may have been acquainted with, and had access to a major library of vernacular books in Flanders"(384) and he also notes that the Dukes of Burgundy, "whom the English nobility and Caxton accepted as arbiters of literary tastes, favored books in the vernacular, as can be seen from inventories of their libraries" (384).[17] Jardine notes that the *Geographia* was an extremely expensive purchase since some copies contained as many as sixty individual maps, drawn, place names added, then colored and decorated. The printed editions used woodcuts copied from those of Nicolas Germanus's 1460 manuscript edition. Aside from the possible presence of a *Geographia* being in the Ducal libraries, it is known that, at least by 1444, a copy of the *Geographia* was in England: a copy of *The Cosmographia* (the alternative title for *The Geographia*) was included with a group of Latin translations by Antonio Pacini given to the University of Oxford in February 1444" (Delano-Smith 254, n.98). Caxton also engaged in vigorous book

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[17] See, for example, Doutrepont. Note especially Item 199, *Cosmographia Tholomei.*

importation, in one instance bringing to London "1161 books, and one container with books" (Kerling 197).

In the fifteen intervening years between the manuscript and the printed book, maps were becoming more widely available and the hazy conception of mythical Christian kingdoms such as Prester John's land were slowly fading. By the late fifteenth-century, a diplomatic professional and merchant such as Caxton may well have had the opportunity to observe world maps which depicted the three known continents in a different symbolic relationship than the T-O maps, shifting the top orientation of the east to the now familiar orientation of north as the top and in which Jerusalem was displaced as the center of the world. Harvey notes that later medieval maps drew on "the new, vastly more accurate, portolan charts," used for navigation beginning around the second half of the fourteenth-century, many of which were now drawn, not in England—the previous site of intense geographical mapping such as represented in the Hereford Map—but in Italy (35). Early printed maps, however, tended to be reproductions of Ptolemaic maps, without information based on the portolan charts of explorers, and Caxton's connections with continental merchants, printers, and diplomats would certainly have enhanced the potential for his encounter with maps in a period in which cartography and print technology were combining to rapidly spread new images of the known world.

The advent of printing and the spread of maps, in particular the *Geographia*, is unlikely to have escaped Caxton's notice nor failed to inform his sense of the East as he sought to portray a historical Arthur in a changing geographic space. The introduction of

Ptolemaic maps to Europe did not banish all marvelous aspects of English geographical knowledge by any means. As C. W. R. D. Moseley notes, the Behaim globe, made in Nuremberg in 1492 "quotes Mandeville wholesale, with great respect" (31). For example, the globe includes places from Mandeville's narrative such as the island of the Satyrs and the mythic islands of Masculina and Feminea, supposedly inhabited by their single sex. The incorporation of such material suggests that the new maps based on Ptolemy represented not so much a radically new paradigm but a continuum of geographic representation. In fact, the opening lines of the *Geographia* put forth exactly such a conception of knowledge as connected and synthetic: the *Geographia* states that world cartography "is to show the known world as a single and continuous entity" (Berggren 57). Kimble argues that, in terms of cartography, "the practice of 'harmonizing' established facts with traditions," that is, of blending the encyclopedic maps based on narratives such as *Mandeville's Travels* with new information from Ptolemaic or portolan maps became "acute" around the mid-fifteenth century "so that scarcely any two world-maps of this period give us the same world-view" (197). Moseley notes that "the principle sources of Columbus's ideas were Polo, Mandeville and Ptolemy" (31) without the sense that Ptolemy completely replaced Mandeville or Polo. The spread of Ptolemaic maps, however, during the intervening years between the writing and editing of *Le Morte Darthur* mark a period of intensive mapmaking and the beginning of a shift in English geographic knowledge. Caxton's worldview, as

represented in the Roman War account, may be seen as reflecting some early responses to these changes in the geographical-textual process of constructing the East.

It is possible that an emerging awareness of such geographic changes on the part of Caxton can account for the removal in the print version of the reference to Prester John's land. The reference to Prester Johan's land found in the *Morte Arthure*— "Of Perce and of Pamphile and Preter Iohne landes" (Krishna 588)—is incorporated into the Winchester's "oute of Preter Iohnus londe" (*W* TLN 215), but eliminated from the Caxton print. Prester John's land, an imaginative land ruled by a Christian king, was vaguely located in the East, perhaps India, and purportedly visited by Mandeville in his travels. In the Cotton Version of Mandeville's *Travels* (a unique manuscript dated to about 1400), Prester John is described as the "great Emperour of Ynde. And men clepen his roialme the yle of Penexoire" (Seymour 194). Prester John is described as allied by marriage to the Great Khan of China but also as a "Cristene and a gret partie of his contree also" (Seymour 198), and his kingdom is accorded status as both a noble princedom and a Christian realm in which the inhabitants believe in "the Fader, in the Sone, and in the Holy Gost. And thei ben fulle deuoute and right trewe on to another" (Seymour 197). Mary Campbell notes that "rumors of Coptic Christians in Ethiopia invited its identification with the related concepts of 'Prester John' and 'India'" (239). Larry Benson agrees that the legend was "probably based on reports of Christian communities"(268, n.588) which existed in the East, but the exact location of Prester John's land in Mandeville's *Travels* remains vague. According to the Cotton Version of

the *Travels*, Prester John "holt fulle gret lond and hath many fulle noble cytees and gode townes in his royalme and many grete dyuerse yles and large" (Seymour 195), but the exact location is unspecified. Mandeville justifies his vague geographic positioning of Prester John's land by the fact that men "dreden the longe weye and the grete periles in the see in tho partyes" (Seymour 195). Caxton's edition, on the other hand, eliminates the reference to the mythical Christian kingdom and, in so doing, appears to attempt to accommodate changing geographic information and, as Field noted, to eliminate what, by the 1480s, may have been suspect as mythical references. Field proposes that Caxton purged some of the place names based on three criteria: "he did not want names that were textually corrupt or manifestly legendary or from the Holy Land" (*Empire* 124). Both the legendary nature of Prester John as well as his Christian association may have influenced Caxton decision. Caxton's support of the Crusades[18] may have determined that a decision to retain the Prester John reference, purportedly a Christian ruler in the East, would have muddied Caxton's focus on the rhetoric of opposition to the Islamic "infydeles." In addition, in light of the north-orientation of the Ptolemaic maps, the description in the Mandeville text of the geographic relation of Jerusalem and Prester John's land may have seemed less possible to Caxton than to Malory. The Cotton version of *Mandeville's Travels* describes the route to Prester John's land, stating that "in goynge from Scotlond or from Englond toward Ierusalem men gon vpward alweys. For oure lond is in the lowe partie of the erthe toward the west, and the lond of Prester Iohn is

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[18] See Kuskin.

the lowe partie of the erthe toward the est" (Seymour 134). In this worldview, as represented by the T-O maps, Jerusalem is both the geographic center as well as the altitudinal pinnacle. But Jerusalem as the symbolic spiritual and physical center of the world was no longer a tenable construct when faced with the maps of the *Geographia*. It is perhaps not a coincidence that, as hopes for the Crusades faded and intense interest focused on exploration of the New World, so too did Jerusalem's representation as the epicenter of the world. Accompanying this shift in the cartographic representation of Jerusalem would be the displacement of the already vague location of Prester John's land. Perhaps not surprisingly, King Arthur, who once was placed on medieval maps such as the Hereford, no longer had a physical place on the Ptolemaic-based maps of the late fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries.

William Matthews argued that Malory attempted to "move the Roman War from the narrow world of Arthurian chronicle into the wider Arthurian world of French and English romance, and to mitigate the epic qualities of the poetic source and invest the episode with traits more suited to romance" ("Question" 99). Within the genre of romance, however, the Caxton version appears to attempt to heighten the historical "truthfulness" of the account. While Prester John's land clearly operated in the realm of romance, by the 1480s it apparently violated the constraints of the equally important—to Caxton—mode of historiography and, quite possibly, a narrative framework that was challenged by new images of the known world.

## 'Where art thou Priamus?': The conversion of the East

Another locus of recontextualization between the Winchester and Caxton versions of the Roman War is the textual treatment of Priamus, a character who embodies the symbolic encounter of the East with the West. After engaging in a ritualized battle with Gawain, Priamus, a noble Saracen, agrees to convert to Christianity and becomes accepted by Arthur into the Round Table. In the alliterative *Morte Arthure*, Priamus expresses Christian-like behavior: when bested by Gawain, Priamus asks, "With thy þat thowe suffre me, for sake of thy Cryste, / To schewe schortly my schrifte and schape for myn ende." (Krishna 2587-2588). But it is in the Winchester and Caxton versions that Priamus is actually converted and christened. In the Winchester and Caxton texts, the conversion of Priamus functions as an enactment of the hoped-for conversion of the Muslims. In this way, Arthur performs the function on an individual, symbolic level of the broader, cultural hope of the Crusades. Kuskin argues that by eliminating many of the "stylistic traces" of the alliterative *Morte Arthure*, Caxton's version "emphasizes the Crusade-like aspect of Arthur's journey to Rome, and thus fits Caxton's Worthies Series much more closely than the Winchester manuscript" (541). Kuskin further argues that, in terms of the conversion of Priamus, "the printed edition's cleaner style gives it more weight" (541). While appreciation of this "cleaner style" may be a purely 20th century reading experience, Kuskin's observation in regard to the conscious shaping of the Roman War campaign into Caxton's Worthies project is germane. The conversion of

Priamus does become, in Caxton's streamlined version of the Roman War account, a more prominent episode by virtue of the elimination of many of the Winchester's preceding passages. Kuskin cites the printed version's "continuity with the Series themes overall" to argue that "it appears that Caxton did revise the Roman War episode" (541). Caxton's anti-Islamic and pro-Crusade rhetoric is similarly evident in his introduction to *Charles the Grete*, which dedicates the work "to the exaltacyon of the crysten fayth and to the confusyon of the hethen sarazyns and myscreaunts, whiche is a werk wel contemplatyf for to lyue wel." (Herrtage 9). In contrast to other episodes in the Roman War account, Caxton does not substantially reduce the Priamus episode itself. For example, Priamus's pledge in the Winchester, "yet woll I be leue on thy lorde þ*a*t þ*o*u belevyst on" (*W* TLN 1232-3) remains virtually intact in the Caxton, "yet wyl I byleue on thy lord that thow byleuest on" (*C* TLN 1232-33) substantiating that Caxton considered this episode to be of central importance to the Roman War narrative. Though Caxton retains the essence of Priamus's conversion, a few changes between the two versions are worthy of note. In the Winchester it is clear that Arthur himself christens Priamus:

> / / Than þe kynge In haste crystynde hym fayre
>
> and lette conferme hym Priamus as he was a fore and
>
> lyghtly lete dubbe hym a deuke w*ith* his hondys and made
>
> hym knyght of þe table round*e* (*W* TLN 1480-83).

In the Caxton, it is less clear that the christening was done by Arthur:

> thenne the kyng lete hym anon be crystned/ and dyd

doo calle hym his fyrste name Pryamus/ and made hym a du//

ke and knyghte of the table round (*C* TLN 1480-83).

Later in the Winchester version, as Arthur is distributing lands as part of the spoils of war, he calls out :

Where art þ*o*u Priamus thy fee is yet be hynde// here I make þ*e* and gyff þ*e* deukedom of Lorayne for eu*er* vnto þ*e* and thyne ayres. And whan we come In to Ingelonde for to purvey the of horse mete ~~and~~ a ml. li.quarterly for to mayntene thy s*er*uauntis so þ*o*u leve not my felyship this gyffte ys thyne owne (TLN 1594-1600)

A spatial/rhetorical question calling Priamus forward, it can also be seen as a questioning of Piramus's faith, a question later responded to, in the Winchester, with loyalty and conviction:

The knyght thankyd þe kynge w*ith*

a kynde wylle and sayde as longe as I lyve my s*er*//

vys is youre owne / / (TLN 1600-02).

In the Caxton version, as throughout, much of the direct speech is edited and thus the resonance of Arthur calling forth Priamus by his now-Christian name is lost and replaced by the more direct statement that Arthur:

& he gafe

to syre Pryamus the duchye of Lorayne/ and he thanked hym

and sayd he wold serue hym the dayes of his lyf and after

made dukes and erles/ and made euery man ryche

(*C* TLN 1581; 1596; 1601).

Gone too are the particular spoils of war Arthur promises to Priamus when he comes to England. In the Caxton version, Priamus does not receive, perhaps unfortunately, an offer of "horsemeat" and, more to the point, is not invited to come to England.

The section of the Roman war in which Priamus is converted an adaptation of the "Foraging Episode" from *Fierabras*. The transformation of Fierabras to Priamus occurs in the *Morte Arthure* and the relation of the episode to the conception of Christian Worthies is clear, a connection which would have strong appeal to Caxton. Priamus narrates his genealogy as a form of a condensed biblical history: his ancestors are two of the three old testament worthies, Judas Maccabeus and Joshua, followed by the two of the pagan worthies Hector and Alexander:

my fadir is come of Alysaundirs bloode þ*a*t was ou*er* leder of

kynges. And of Ector also was he come by þe ryght lyne

& many mo were of my kynrede bothe Judas macabeus

And deuke Josue And ayre I am alþ*er* nexte of Alysaundir

and of Aufryke and of all the oute Iles (*W* TLN 1228-32 ).

Lee Patterson suggests that "Gawain's defeat of Priamus is a metaphor for historical transition, a *translatio virtutis* from past to present. But if the dominion of the present

over the past is asserted, so too is the continuity between them" (221). This sense of historical transition becomes more sharply focused by the Malory versions, over that of the *Morte Arthure*, because of the addition of the conversion episode, presided over by Arthur himself. In defeating Lucius, the Roman Emperor, Arthur simultaneously defeats the "pagan" Saracens and enacts, at least symbolically, dominance over the kingdoms and religion of the East. In the person of Priamus, the *translatio imperii* is enacted: the lineage of empire is passed symbolically to England with Priamus's conversion and submission to Arthur. Thus, in converting Priamus and defeating the Roman Empire, Arthur enacts ascendancy to the great historical empires of Babylon, Persia, Athens, and Rome and effectively bypasses any claim of French inheritance of such a claim through Charlemagne.

## Next Year in Jerusalem

In both the Winchester and Caxton versions, the christening of Priamus is followed by Arthur's assault on the remaining towns between his troops and the ultimate object of the campaign: Rome. Punctuated by his display of mercy to the countess of Clarysyn, once the conquest of Rome is assured, Arthur gives his "assente" to the Roman senators' forced request that he govern Rome. In the Winchester, Arthur plans his crowning at Christmas:

> And than as I am a vysed to gete me
>
> ou*er* þe salte see w*ith* good men of armys to deme for his

deth that for vs all on þe Roode dyed" (TLN 1570-72).

Arthur's pledge is the same mix of the religio-military fervor of the Crusades and implies a desired violent encounter with the Jews as well as the Muslims and derives from the *Morte Arthure*:

Syne graythe ouer þe grette see with gud men of armes,
To reuenge the Renke that on the Rode dyede. (Krishna 3216-3217)

Such an encounter holds the promise of his dominion reaching the breadth of the historical Roman Empire—from England to Jerusalem. In the Caxton version, the promise of Arthur's continuing his victorious campaign in Jerusalem is absent. Several explanations for this change may be offered: textual consistency, a desire to make a greater distinction between Arthur and Lucius as models of governance, and Caxton's situating of *Le Morte Darthur* within the framework of his Nine Worthies publishing project. The editorial explanation for the deleted passage recognizes that, while Arthur expresses a trip to Jerusalem as a possibility in the Winchester text, he never embarks on such a trip and the possibility dies without further mention in the narrative. Caxton, as editor, may have felt that it made sense to drop this narrative loose end from the printed version.

A political reading of the removal of the reference to a possible Crusade to Jerusalem concerns the issue of governance: in a narrative concerned with the consequences of a sovereign's seeking and taking of advice, Arthur apparently fails to act upon his counselors' advice in the Winchester version. Arthur states that his advisors, for

apparently moral and religious reasons, urge him to proceed to Jerusalem and thus, presumably, complete the "noble" task of purging any religious states in opposition to Latin Christendom. However, in contrast to the opening sequences in which Arthur relies on the advice of his counselors, Arthur never acts upon the advice to advance to Jerusalem. Read in the broader narrative of governance, [19] such a failure to act upon the proffered advice suggests Arthur's eventual downfall. As was just demonstrated by Lucius's overruling of his senators' advice, disastrous consequences resulted when he ignored and overruled the advice of his wise counselors when they urged:

> And þ*er* fore Sirres
>
> truste to oure sawys ye shall fynde hym yo*ur* vttir ene//
>
> mye . . . be my counsayle rere up yo*ur* lyege peple and
>
> sende kynges and deukes to loke vnto yo*ur* marchis And þ*at*
>
> the mountaynes of Almayne be myghtyly kepte / / (*W* TLN 184-201).

The Caxton edition similarly retains Lucius's disregard of his senators' advice:

> wherfore I aduyse yow to kepe wel youre marches and
>
> straytes in the mountayns / For certaynly he is a lord to be do//
>
> ubted (*C* TLN 199-201).

But Lucius ignores the advice to defend the "mountayns of Almayne" and instead plans an offensive that by Easter will march into France. Later in the narrative, Lucius again

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[19] Radulescu compares *John Vale's Book* and Sir Thomas Malory's *Le Morte Darthur* in light of issues of politics and governance.

acts in contradiction to one of the senators urges, "Sir withdraw the!" (*W* TLN 866). Such disregard stands in marked contrast to the careful solicitation of advice by Arthur when the Roman senators first present Lucius's challenge and Arthur's attentive response: the proposed campaign against Lucius is discussed in full with Arthur's advisors in the Winchester text and, though more briefly, in the Caxton version. Arthur resolves "nat to be over-hasty" (*W* TLN 44-45) and undertakes the campaign against Lucius in accord with his counselor's advice. If, as Raluca Radulescu argues, "[g]ood kingship and the governance of the realm were the most prominent subjects of debate, given the monarchical problem and the conflict between the houses of Lancaster and York" (69), then the Caxton text's removal of Arthur's mention of his advisors' proposal that he continue to Jerusalem displays a later concern that the narrative lacked consistency in terms of the issue of governance based on sound advice.

Shelley Lockwood notes that the existence of "a widely perceived crisis of governance in England" (xvi) resulted in works such as Sir John Fortescue's *On the Laws and Governance of England*. Fortescue's work, along with Lydgate's *Serpent of Division*, were both part of *John Vale's Book* and both address the issue of royal counsel and England's symbolic relationship to Rome. Both works use the model of Julius Caesar's Roman Senate as, respectively, a good and bad model of advice and governance. Despite their divergent take on the Senate of Caesar, both warn of the dangers of bad governance based on the advise of evil counselors. For Fortescue, the Roman Senate

provided a model of governance in which the emperor ruled by the advice of the senators, as he explains in *De Natura Legis Naturae*:

> But he [Julius Caesar] being at last put to death on account of this arrogance, Octavian, a man of the mildest character, being raised to the monarchy of the whole world, governed it not only royally but also politically by the advice of the senate. (Lockwood 129)

Fortescue's recourse to Rome is an indication of the way in which Roman models dominated the parameters of fifteenth-century political thinkers. Fortescue's chapter 16 is a treatise on "How the Romans prospered whilst they had a great council" (Lockwood 117-118). Lockwood argues that in fifteenth-century England "a general theory of policy-centered kinship" emerged in which "an hereditary monarch . . . ruled by his will, but after due consultation with, and in the interests of, his subjects" (xxi). Fortescue clearly focuses on the aspect of advice:

> The Romaynes while theire counseill callid the Senate was grete, throughe the wisdoome of that counseill gate the lordship of the grete partie of the worlde . . . By whiche ensample it is thoughte, that yif the kyng have suche a counseill as is before specfied, his londe shal not oonly be ryche and welthy as were the Romaynes, but also his highenesse shalbe mighty and of power to subdue hys enemyes and all other that he shall luste to reigne upon. (Kekewich 246)

Fortescue goes on to warn that "whanne they lefte suche counseill they felle into noon power and povertie" (Kekewich 246). Radulescu cites *John Vale's Book* as typifying a widespread concern that "the country and its politics had entered a period of decline, which was confirmed by the factional strife among the nobility and gentry. Vale suggests the royal counselors were to blame" (72). Clearly this analog of the Roman council reverberates in the Roman War campaign in which Arthur's counselors' advice is critical to his successful campaign and the failure to heed such advice the root of Lucius's failure.

In the Winchester and Caxton Roman War narratives, Arthur consistently receives sound advice and acts responsibly upon that advice, in contrast to Lucius. As the tale nears conclusion, Caxton perhaps wrestled with the question of how Arthur could return to England leaving "good gou*er*naunce in þ*a*t noble cite" (*W* TLN 1623) when he has just failed to act upon his counselors' advice in the core issue of reconquest of the Holy Land. In this last instance of royal counsel within the Winchester version, Arthur never takes up his counselor's advice: he is crowned Emperor and, at the urging of his men, who wish to "sporte vs w*ith* our*e* wyffis" (*W* TLN 1611) (also deleted from the Caxton text and replaced with the more sober "and gyue vs lycence to goo home to oure wyues" (*C* TLN 1611), returns to England, victorious, a conqueror, a hero who has unified the realms of the historical Roman empire, but one who has also failed to extend that conquest to the Holy Land. Arthur's return to England without having revenged the death of Christ can be seen in this regard as a kind of political and spiritual failure. The

Caxton text eliminates this tension by eliminating the reference altogether. Though Malory clearly was concerned with the issues of advice and governance, the Winchester version appears to be governed more by his alliterative source than by the issue of Arthur as a consistent model of good governance. In La3amon, interestingly, Lucius sends for his subject kings and dukes, based on the advice of his senators, and he is not, therefore, conspicuously held up as a contrasting model of poor governance.

Riddy casts Arthur's conquest over Lucius as "an extraordinary transformation of the Roman conquest of Britain" (62) and, as Michelet argues, the Roman War narrative gives voice to a desire for English ascendancy to the mantle of empire previously held by the Roman empire. Like *The Wars of Alexander*, Malory's Roman War account expresses "a need to escape the limits of history itself" (Chism 116). The Roman war account is a form of symbolic historiography, which, as Chism notes in regard to The Wars of Alexander, "conflates genealogy and geography as contested territories," (117). In Malory's Arthuriad, Arthur appropriates both the geography of ancient Rome and its imperial genealogy. Arthur's performance of *translatio imperii* early in the work establishes the stakes for the final book, "The Death of Arthur," and positions the destruction of the round table in Malory as "the loss of empire, not just the civil war" (Riddy 66). Whereas Geoffrey of Monmouth's *History of the Kings of England* can be seen as a narrative of cultural identity" (Shichtman and Finke 7), the Winchester/Caxton versions expands this sense of identity to include the pursuit and establishment of empire. William Boelhower has suggested, "a map generates culture through the naming process

inasmuch as it provides a structural base for institutionalizing an implicit, and characteristically national, internal order" (50). The Roman War account, no less than the *mappamundi* or a map from Ptolemy's *Geographia*, offers a form of symbolic cartographic representation of *translatio imperii* and, in so doing, "transfers to Britain a cultural legacy, the idea of a universal empire, that had previously traveled from Babylon to Rome" (Michelet 209). By traveling east, Arthur achieves, not only the physical conquering of Rome, but seizes for England the symbolic capital of the great empires of the east. This sense of establishing a universal empire for England is strengthened in the Caxton text by the Roman ambassadors' lauding of Rome as "that noble empyre whiche domyneth vpon the vnyuersal world" (*C* TLN 43-44). Malory's account of Arthur's crowning at the hands of the Pope, which occurs in both the Winchester and Caxton versions, focuses the conclusion of the Roman War as the cornerstone for this transfer of empire. In contrast, in Geoffrey's account and in the *Morte Arthure*, the vanquishing of Rome formed part of the continuum of fortune's dispensations, and the glory quickly dissolved into despair. In Geoffrey's account, Arthur's betrayal by Mordred can be seen as a direct consequence of his quest for empire and, like all the other kings in Geoffrey's narrative, ultimately subjected to the downward motion of fortune's wheel. But in Malory's Arthuriad, although the kingdom of Arthur eventually comes to ruin, the *translatio imperii* has been successfully transacted and seems to invest a latent inheritance of such an empire in fifteenth-century England.

A third explanation for the deletion of the reference to Jerusalem in the Caxton text may be plausibly found in Caxton's conception of his Nine Worthies vis-à-vis the Crusades. Clearly, a major sub-text of the Roman war account—in both the Winchester and the Caxton print—is that of the Crusades. Indeed, the ending of Malory's Arthuriad resonates with Crusade rhetoric: Sir Bors, Sir Ector, Sir Blamour and Sir Bleoberis go, at Launcelot's urging to the Holy Land where they dyd many bataylles vpon the myscreantes or turkes./ And there they dyed vpon a good fryday for goddes sake" (fac. sig. ee.e(v)). Of course, it is essential to point out that the concluding folios of the Winchester are not extant and therefore it is not possible to determine if the Caxton text represents an editorial intervention or if it coincides with the Winchester. In the larger context of the Arthurian tradition, from Geoffrey's *Historia* in 1138 through the Caxton print, the Crusades were both a performance of and inspiration for the Arthurian romances. While still evoking intense emotion and interest on the part of the nobility, the actual possibility for a new Crusade in the 1480s was fading in proportion to the fevered rhetoric. The apparent failure of the Crusades as well as the negative comparisons of England to Rome of antiquity was of enormous concern to fifteenth-century nobility.[20] Read in the broader narrative of governance, the failure to act upon the proffered advice suggests Arthur's downfall, a downfall with more uncomfortable reverberations in the 1480s than fifteen years earlier. As Caxton prepared his text for publication, it was increasingly obvious that Edward IV was never going to make good on his pledge to

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[20] See Chism.

Pope Paul II's General Summons to Crusade against Mehemet II and the Turks. Edward IV's failure to uphold his Crusade promise stemmed in large measure from his awareness that his political position at home was too precarious to enable him to safely leave the crown for the period needed for a Crusade.

Another possibility is that, as Kuskin has suggested, Caxton conceived of the Nine Worthies as an overarching publishing project, and may have felt that the reference to a Crusade in Malory's Arthuriad might cloud the distinction between the three Christian Worthies' encounters with Islamic forces: in Caxton's edition and as part of his larger project, the military taking of the Holy Land was reserved as the domain of the narrative of Godfrey of Bologne. In 1481, Caxton had translated William of Tyre's history of the First Crusade from the French and published it under the title *Godeffroy of Boloyne, or The Siege and Conqueste of Jerusalem.* Godfrey's violent conquering of Jerusalem in the First Crusade had, by the fifteenth century, became the basis of the Crusade mythos. In Caxton's Preface to *Godeffroy of Boloyne* there is "a sense of urgency; the realization that it was high time for the princes of Christian Europe to make a concerted effort to fight the Turks" (Fichte 103). By removing the Jerusalem reference, Caxton retains for each of the three Christian worthies an encounter with the Saracens, but each in a distinct geographical zone.

## The Caxton Addition: "stuffed hit . . .with infydeles"

A startling difference between the Winchester and Caxton texts surfaces in the light of the present focus on relations with the East. In the Winchester text, after the chronicle of foreign kings and dukes allied with Lucius is listed, the narrative describes the movement of Lucius and his large armies into "Cullayne" whereupon he seized a castle and "feffed hit *with* Saresyns" (*W* TLN 236-237). In the Caxton text, however, Lucius

> . . . byseged a Castel there by/ and wanne it
>
> soone and stuffed hit with two honderd sarasyns or Infydeles
>
> (*C* TLN 236-7)

In both texts, Lucius goes on to destroy and take "many fayre countrayes" (*W* TLN 238), ("many fayr countrees" (*C* TLN 238)), which Arthur had previously won from King Claudius. The *Oxford English Dictionary* (OED) lists the first use of the word "infidel" as occurring in "1470-1485, Malory" and provides the citation to *Arthur* v.ii.[21] The term "infydeles," however, appears only in the Caxton text. According to the OED, the line from "Malory" is a "specific application" of the word meaning an "adherent of a religion opposed to Christianity, esp. a Muhammadan, a Saracen (the earliest sense in Eng.)" (927). This definition is a narrow form of the word's later meaning which broadened from the specific reference to Saracens to any unbeliever (as, noted in the OED, used by Tyndale in 1526). Thus the word's early usage in England is specifically in reference to

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[21] The book and chapter citation is from the Caxton textual division; the quotation, however, is from Vinaver, *Works*, in which he provides the Caxton version along the bottom of the page, without the chapter divisions.

Muslims and can be understood in the context of the Crusade fervor that continued to grip fifteenth-century England. Caxton is known to have introduced many new words to English via his translations[22] of French works, and the word "infidel" is again associated with Caxton, as an adjective. The first instance of the adjectival form is credited by the OED to Caxton's 1480 edition of the *Chronicles of England*. In the Chronicles, the chapter on the fall of Constantinople in 1453 appears to mark the first time the word "infidels" was used in English: "Aboute this tyme the cite of Constantinople, which was imperiall cite in all grece was taken by the turkes infidels" (ccliv). The OED citation, "The Cyte of Constantynople . . .was taken by the turkes infydeles" (928), is actually from Caxton's 1482 edition of the *Chronicles* and it is this spelling of "infydeles" that was followed in Caxton's 1485 edition of *Le Morte Darthur*. With Latin and Old French roots, "infydeles" possibly likely came into English as a result of Caxton's translation work, and its specific use in reference to the Turks can be attributed, via *Le Morte Darthur* and *The Chronicles*, to William Caxton. The *Middle English Dictionary* credits *The Chronicles of England*, BL Add 10099, circa 1500, with the introductions of "infydels'; however, it is generally agreed that the continuation in BL Add 10099, as well as in several other manuscript and print versions, was a copy of Caxton's edition and that Caxton was the compiler of the continuation.[23] Blake has shown that Caxton often would recall a word he translated for a work he had published and would then introduce it into a text on which he was currently at work and, in this way, was "responsible for the

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[22] Blake discusses Caxton's introduction of French words into English in *Caxton's Own Prose*.
[23] See Blake, *William Caxton and English Literary Culture* 294, n. 4, and Duff 50.

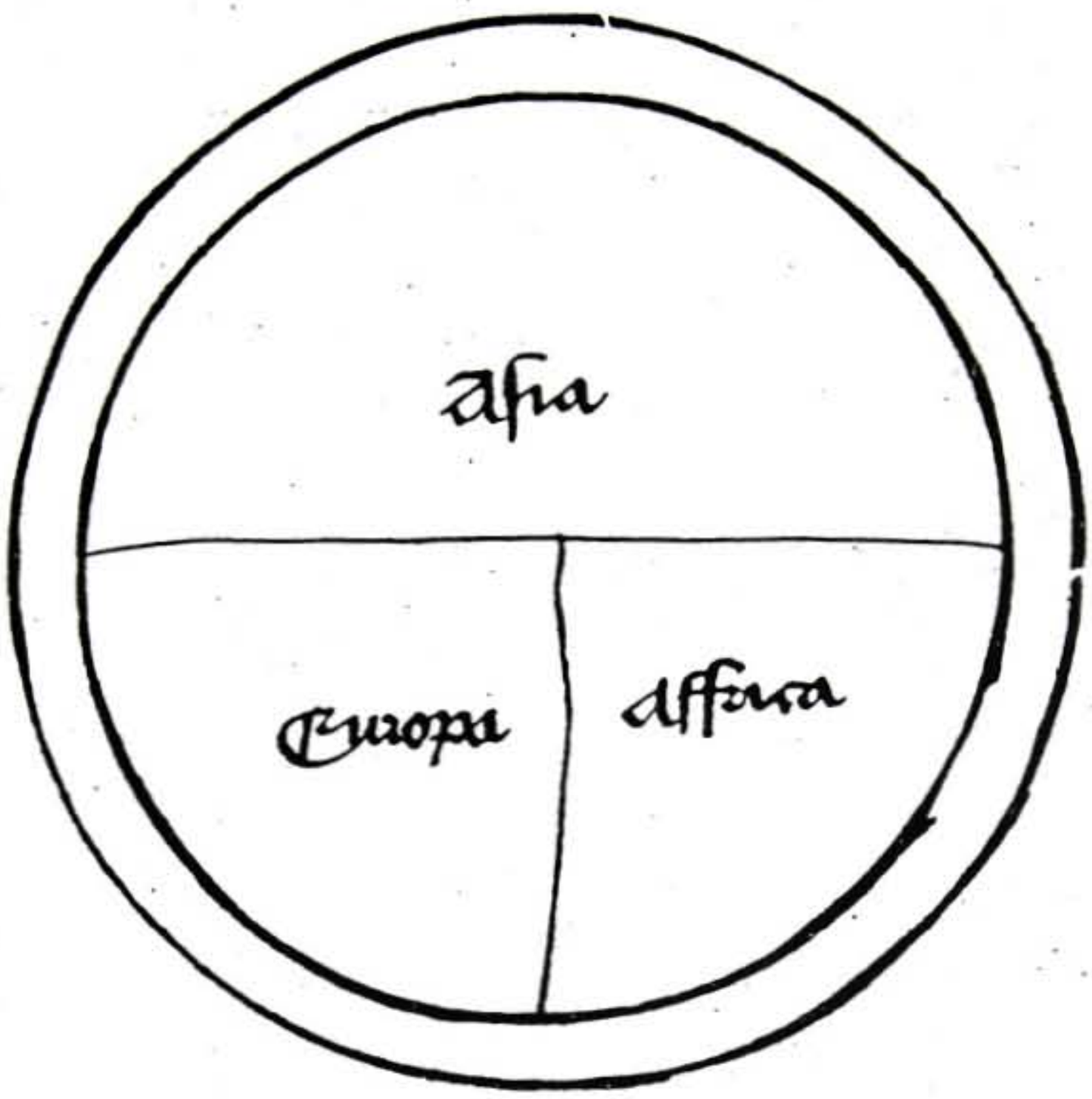
introduction of many words into English" (*Prose* 32). In addition, Noguchi has noted Caxton's "fondness for doublets" as a feature of his diction (Winchester 119). The reference to "infydeles" does not appear in Geoffrey's account, nor in Wace, La3amon, or the Alliterative *Morte Arthure*. The corresponding passage in the *Morte Arthure* contain the single reference to Saracens and, clearly, the Winchester remains close to this account:

> In the contre of Coloine castells enseggez,
>
> And suggeournez þat seson wyth Sarazenes ynewe. (Krishnu 623-4)

At one level, this apparent introduction of "infydeles" into the English language is a yet another piece of evidence, if any were needed, of Caxton's having edited *Le Morte Darthur* and the Roman War episode in particular. However, the introduction of the "infydeles" into the Arthurian tradition also provides the opportunity to study the recontextualization of the Roman War account in the late fifteenth century, in which the Latin kingdom of Jerusalem may have been a "distant memory," but, as Higgins points out, "the dream of its recovery was being kept alive in everything from small-scale Crusades and pro-crusading tracts to popular romances" (7). Rather than offering evidence for discarding the Caxton text as "unathoritative," the linguistic linking of Caxton and the word "infydeles" provides an insight into the shaping of Christian-Islamic rhetoric in late Yorkist England and the last gasp of Crusading fervor. The removal of Prester John as an ally of the Roman force and the stripping of noble identity from the allies of Rome, the focus of the Priamus conversion, the removal of the unfulfilled

promise of a Crusade to the Holy Land, and the introduction of the term "infydeles" all serve to create a new version of Malory's Roman War account which intensifies the rhetoric of east-west polarization.

The recontextualization of Malory's Arthuriad in the Caxton text can be seen then, not as a botched editing job, but as a conscious re-crafting of the well-known tale to suit the particular political nexus of Caxton's time and position. As Kuskin argues, Caxton's intervention in the text is not a marker of "intellectual simplicity, but of ideological complexity" (511). The textual comparison that forms the basis of this study was given shape by the process of constructing the parallel-text edition of the two versions. Once the versions are side-by-side, a study of the recontextualization can begin with the questions: "Is there a pattern to the changes?" and "What can account for the differences between the texts?" The final chapter of this study contains a parallel-text edition of the Winchester and Caxton texts of the Malory's Roman War both as the foundation for the current study but also, one hopes, to generate other studies of the multi-text known as the Roman War account of *Le Morte Darthur*. In the effort to bring together the interests of theory, criticism, and bibliography, the edition does not stand alone, but is situated in my own theory of textuality (Chapter One), in the history of the texts and the cultural work of the editions (Chapter Two), in my interpretive engagement with the texts (Chapter Three), and in a foregrounding of my editorial politics and practices (Chapter Four).



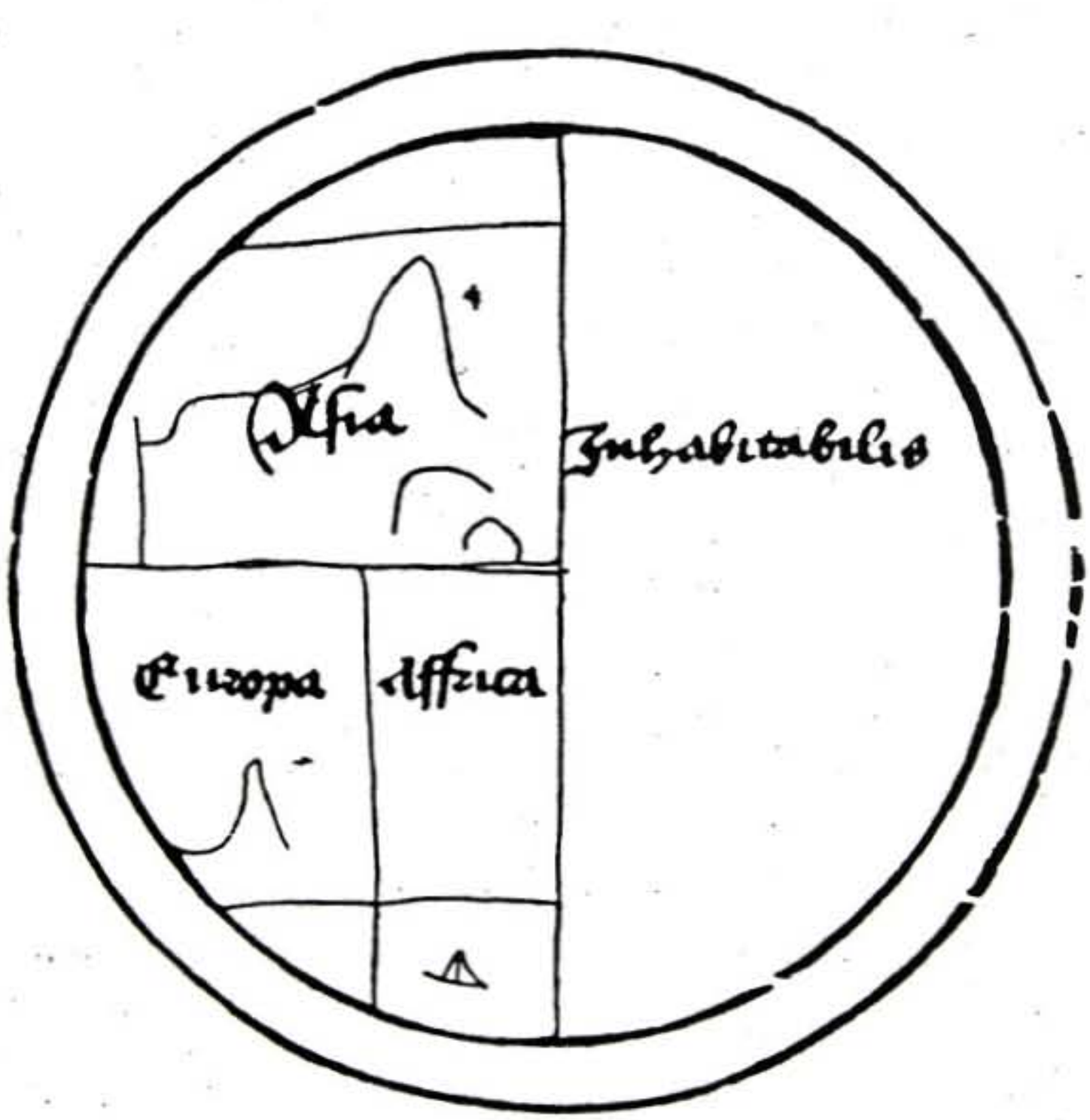




Figure 5: "T-O" maps from Caxton's edition of *Mirrour of the World*

Cosmographia designatrix imitatio est totius cogniti orbis cū
his quæ fere uniuersaliter sibi iunguntur. A chorographia hæc
differt: nam chorographia particularius cito loca abscindens /
per se & quolibet ipsoꝝ agit: describens ferme singula etiaꝫ mi/
nima contentoꝝ a se locorum: quemadmodum portus. villas. lacos. fluuioꝝ
scissiones ac huiusce modi alia. Cosmographiæ uero ꝓprium est: tam cō/
tinue habitabilem terrā nobis cognitam ostendere: quo mō natura sit ꝙ se
habeat: circaque ea tantum intendit: quæ per descriptiones orbis magis ge/
nerales sibi iunguntur: ueluti circa maiora oppida: magnas ciuitates: nō/tes
etiam fluuiosque insigniores. Præterea circa ea omnia: quæ iuxta quālibet
speciē maiori nota digni sunt. Finis chorographiæ est partem totius sigil/
latim animaduertere: ut si quis aurem tantum: aut oculum pingat. Cosmo/
graphiæ autem totum inspicere: ut si integrū quis caput designaret: Integris
enim imaginibus cum oporteat potiora membra primum adhiberi: deide
ea: quæ imagines picturasque suscipiunt: ita æqua dimensione inter se lo/
carint: ex iusta distantia ut sic posit discerniri totum sit: seu pars illius: ꝙd
pingitur. Sequitur non indigne nec præter rem chorographiæ: quæcūque
etiam minima: Cosmographiæ uero regiones ipsas cum his quæ generalius
sibi adiectantur ꝓpriū esse tribui. Nam potiores nostræ habitabilis ptes:
quæ æqua dimensione ꝓportiōe notabuntur prouinciæ siue regiones sunt.
& hæ priora habentur membra differētiæ magis insignes: quæ in ipsis re/
gionibus sunt. Versatur autem chorographia quam maxime circa quale:
magis ꝙ circa quantum eorum: quæ describuntur. Circa. n. pingendi simi/
litudinem omnino uertitur circa situm ꝓportionemq; dimissa. Cosmo/
graphia uero magis ad quantitatem ꝙ qualitatē intendit. Nā de ꝓportiōe
distantiarum animaduertit in omnibus. De pingendi uero ꝓpietatum nō
nisi solum imaginibus maiorum descriptionum. Vnde chorographia pic/
turā æget nullusque eam recte componit nisi bonus pictor. Cosmographia
autem non idem expostulat. nam poterit quis per puras lineas nudasque de/
notatiōes loca figēre ac figuras generales iscribere. Quare illi mathematica
opus ē. Sed cosmographia ea est potior pars. Contēplari. n. in hac oportet
totius orbis magnitudinem & formam. Præterea situs ad totum orbem: ut
fas sit partem contentam qualis / & quāta sit dicere: & sub quibus cælestis
sphæræ parallelis locetur. Vnde de die ac noctium magnitudine: de fixisque
supra verticem nobis sunt / de stellis: quæ supra Orizontem semp feruntur
de his quæ perpetuo nobis non oriuntur: Et omnibus deinde quæ ad ratiōē
habitationum nostrarū spectant: discerere poterit: quæ bonis ingeniis ma /
thematicis iure demonstrari altissimum atque pulcherrimū est: ut cælum
ipsum: natura se habeat: cum ueluti ambiens nos ostendit posit: ut terram

Figure 6: Text of Hermanus Levilapis's 1475 *Geographia*

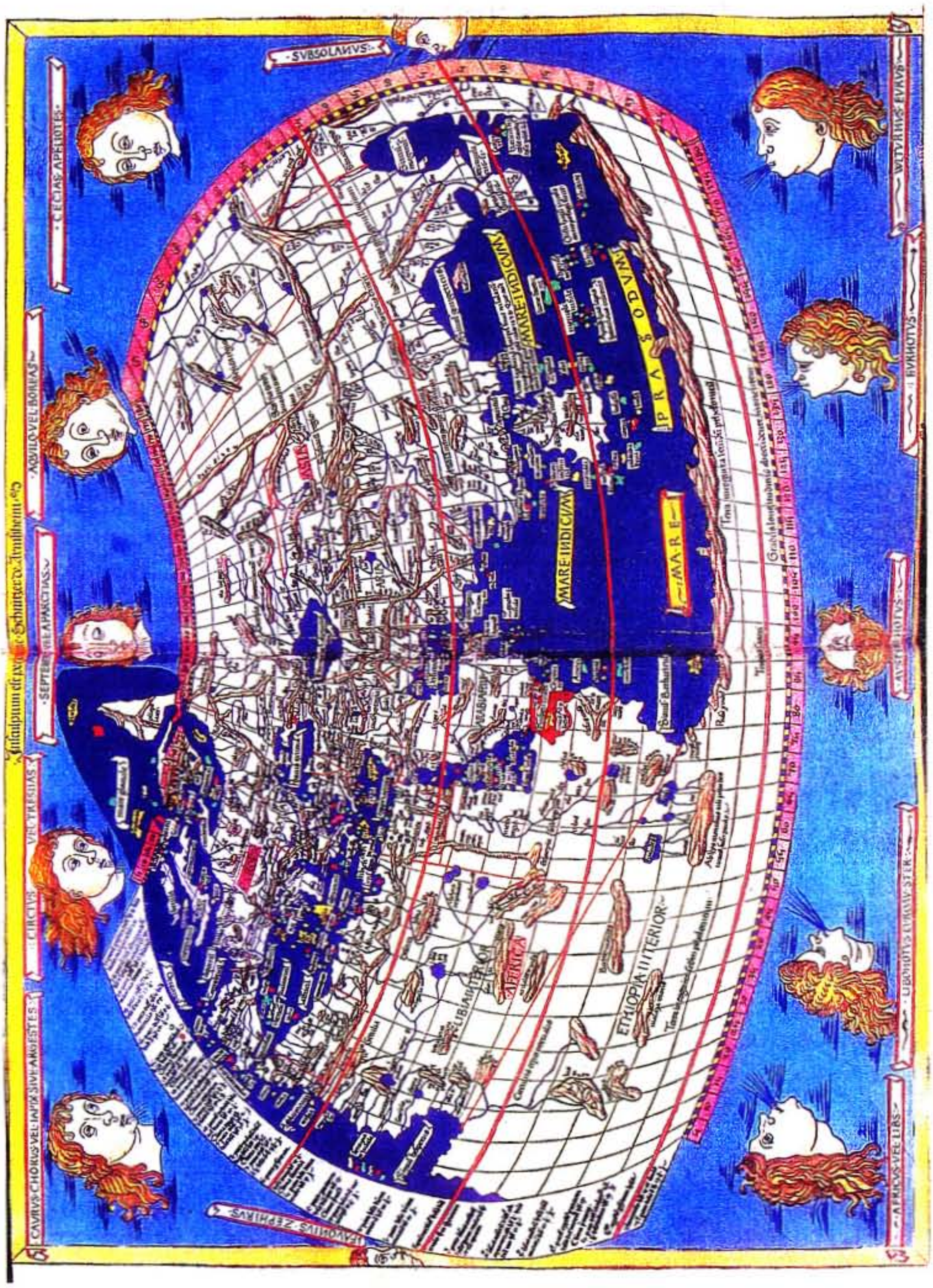



Figure 7: Map of the world in Ptolemy's second projection (Ulm edition)

## Chapter Four: Editorial Methodology

In the edition accompanying this study, I have endeavored to follow the criteria set forth in Chapter One for parallel-text editions and to represent the material production of and intervention of time in Malory's Arthuriad. As called for by Mary Jo Kline in *A Guide to Documentary Editing*, this chapter attempts to provide an explicit statement of editorial goals and methodology and relies, foundationally, upon the principles of documentary editing which emerged in the 1970s rather than the earlier practice of "critical editing." This edition strives toward a diplomatic representation of orthography, line breaks, color, and abbreviation in an effort to represent the syntactic cues of the manuscript and folio and to celebrate rather than control the alterity of the two documents.[1] As D. Thomas Hanks and Elizabeth L. Fish argue, modern readers interested in viewing Malory's text as "much as possible as he prepared it for his readers" should "turn to Malory's unpunctuated text" which, they argue, provides "all the syntactic cues that a reader needs to construct meaning of the text" (285). Symbolic notation, while kept to a minimum, follows those set forth in Kline's *Guide*.

Editorial theory is, by necessity, changed and tempered by the hard-edged practicalities of working with a particular text or, as A. S. G. Edwards has characterized the editing of medieval texts, the "quest for method and . . . the pressures that shape the quest" ("Editing Middle English,"185). G. Thomas Tanselle provided the basic maxim that:

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[1] See Grimm for a discussion of the effect of editorial decisions on readers' perception of Malory.

> All scholarly editors must decide to what extent the texts they present in their editions can be permitted to depart from the documentary texts that have come down to them; no more basic theme runs through the history of scholarly editing than the perennial debates over the role of editorial judgment . . .in the production of responsible texts. (1)

In this regard, the shape of this edition of the two fifteenth-century versions of Malory's Roman War account has changed substantially since my initial proposal of the project. While rooted in a diplomatic sensibility, the exigencies of the primary goal of contrastive analysis required that the text be broken into corresponding passages for this purpose. This breaking of the page, so to speak, transforms the edition from a strictly diplomatic edition to an edition shaped to meet a particular interest—a close comparison of the texts. Thus, while folio and signature page breaks are noted, the pages themselves are not kept as whole objects, a practice which is an example of what Derek Pearsall has coined as the "tradition of pragmatic eclectism" (93). For an experience of the sensation of the page,[2] the reader must turn to the facsimile editions (Ker, Needham) or, when possible, the manuscript and printed book. Though, of course, as Sian Echard has pointed out, the very existence of the facsimiles imposes a kind of "house arrest" (185) for the fifteenth-century documents and, indeed, the facsimiles themselves are expensive enough to be catalogued as part of some libraries rare book collections.

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[2] For a discussion of the physicality and sensuality of the page, see Camille.

Unlike the goal of the critical editions of the mid-twentieth century, the present editor makes no claim of "definitiveness" for this edition, offering instead, not an edition for posterity, but an edition useful for our particular time. Such "small" editions, in contrast to the mammoth editorial endeavors of, say, the Center for Editions of American Authors, now the Center for Scholarly Editions (CSE), may serve to loosen the hold somewhat of the "tyrannical concept of the editorial function and the imperative need of editors and readers for unequivocal assertion concerning 'the author's text'" (Pearsall 97). Indeed a goal of the CSE and its revised editorial program is "to foster the widespread dissemination of reliable texts in cheap editions appropriate for classroom use and available to the reading public" (585). If the current edition can be inexpensively reproduced and used in classrooms to further the study of the diachronic changes of Malory's work, the understanding of texts as material objects, and the changing conceptions of literature in manuscript and print in the late medieval period, the goals of the current edition would be well met.

The accompanying edition is not the first effort to present the Roman War account in a parallel-text edition nor to present the Caxton text in a diplomatic edition. Eugene Vinaver provided a form of a parallel text of the Roman War account in his edition, *Works*, by providing the Caxton text along the bottom quarter of the page. Though presented in smaller type and constrained to the bottom quarter (or less) of the page, the Caxton text is available for comparative purposes. However, the Caxton text is aligned only by larger sections and is interrupted with brief citations from the *Morte*

*Arthure* for a useful, though disjunctive, reading. H. Oskar Sommer strove to represent the Caxton edition in his 1889 diplomatic edition which set as its goal the representation of the Caxton text "page for page, line for line, word for word" (viii). Though Sommer's edition has generally stood the test of time, Vinaver did find a substantial number of transcription errors in the edition (approximately 1,000), the bane of all editors and a condition which the current editor no doubt has similarly been unable to avoid completely though every effort has been made to present the texts as accurately and faithfully as possible.

In the Caxton edition, the Roman War account comprises Book V and is divided into sixteen chapters, beginning with folio vii(v) of signature h. Woodcut letters, which denote sectional divisions, have been represented in size but not in font style. Caxton's edition compresses words such as "the empire" into "thempire" and these are not modernized or separated into two words in this edition. The Caxton edition makes liberal use of the virgule ( // ) as an indicator of phrases and sentences. As in the Winchester text in this edition, a mark represented in this edition by the symbol ( $''$ ) is often (though not always) used to denote end of line word divisions. For both texts, the font used in this edition is 12-point Book Antiqua. Very occasionally, the font is brought to 11-point for a few words when the width of the edition could not allow for the number of words fit onto the manuscript line, especially in a line in which the scribe relied heavily on abbreviations. It is important to note that these instances are a submission to the

requirements of technology and university dissertation page margins and not representing a feature of the manuscript. The pages of the current edition were set using Page Maker.

The Roman War account in the Winchester manuscript begins on folio 71 and continues until folio 96. The initial H is a five-line decorated letter with a floral-motif background and tendrils extending across the top of the page to about the mid-point and descending down the left hand margin to about the midpoint. The manuscript is ruled with the text block proportions remaining constant throughout the manuscript. Though not a deluxe manuscript, decorated initial letters denote the beginning of books and chapters. The names of persons and places are written in red ink, which forms a striking contrast with the dark lettering of the rest of the page. This practice required the scribe to put down his or her pen to switch inks, and thus indicates the relative value placed on the names of places and persons in the tale. To denote this aspect of the manuscript, those words which appear in red ink in the manuscript, similarly appear in this edition in red type. The effect of this scribal practice is evocative and is largely lost in the facsimile, which is reproduced in black and white. The marginal glosses were also written in red ink. The line breaks of the manuscript have been maintained, as has all the spelling. The representation of the orthography of the manuscript includes the use of the thorn ( þ ) and the yogh ( 3 ). The yogh is also used by the scribe to indicate the letter "z," as in Sara3ens. Italic letters indicate the expansions of abbreviations (see discussion below). The virgule, typically double, ( // ) appears in the manuscript as an end of sentence marker, though periods are also used sporadically. A superscript đouble virgule ( $^{//}$ ) is

used to represent the scribal mark often used (though not always) to denote words that are divided due to line breaks.

Every attempt has been made to provide a faithful, yet easy to read, diplomatic transcription of the two texts which represents the words and symbols but which modernizes the script/type style to facilitate the reading and comparison of the Roman War account by modern readers. Annotations have been made sparingly as ample notes on the text can be found in the editions of Vinaver, Spisak, and Cooper. Nonetheless, as Ralph Hanna has pointed out, there is a "social embeddedness of annotation" (184) both predicated on the editor's assumptions of the audience he or she addresses and reconstituting the audience of which the editor is a member. In the present edition, I am assuming an easy access to Vinaver's edition and therefore do not provide annotation other than the noting of marginal glosses; this edition focuses on the representation of the fifteenth-century texts and the alignment of passages.

To indicate word abbreviation notation, I have used italics to represent expansion of letters indicated by abbreviation marks. In the Winchester portion of this edition, if the letter is provided but above the line, it isn't italicized, for example "w$^{t}$" is represented as "w*ith*." In the case where the abbreviation is a notation rather than a letter, the letter is provided in italics. For example, "grym*m*" is a representation of "grym" in which the final m has a suspension line above it. I represent the end-of-word abbreviation mark as "-is" despite the precedence of Vinaver representing it as "-es." In Vinaver's edition, "the sign ȝ has been interpreted as *es*, despite the fact that the scribes of the Winchester

MS, as a rule prefer *is*" (Vinaver cxxiii). In the current edition, I have followed this scribal "tendency," though it can be recognized only as a tendency and not a constant practice. For example, the current edition uses "knyghtis" rather than Vinaver's choice of "knyghtes" based, in part, on the fact that in the first instance of the word, the scribe (Scribe B) spelled out the word in its entirely as "knightis" (TLN 7). Similarly, the scribe spells out "londis" (TLN 184), horsis (TLN 285), and woodis (TLN 1168) to name a few other examples. This tendency, however, is not consistent and words are also spelled out with an " –es" ending, such as "soueraynes" (TLN 191) or "bourdoures" (TLN 420). This occurrence, plus the more typical extension of the symbol certainly justifies the practice of the Vinaver/Field edition, but, in trying to represent the manuscript as close to a diplomatic representation as possible, I have opted for the "–is" ending. It is my understanding that the forthcoming on-line transcription of the Winchester, directed by D. Thomas Hanks, will also follow the practice of representing this abbreviation as "-is."

Scribal abbreviations in the Winchester are not always a direct correspondence, as in the case of "-is" and "-es." Similarly, a line through the stem of a p usually represents "er" but, as in parliament or parties, it can represent "ar." Thus, the same abbreviation can be used to indicate two different words, as is the case for "there" and "their." Instances in which "there" and "their" are fully spelled out indicate that the scribes were fully aware of the different spellings and uses of the two forms but this distinction cannot be detected in the abbreviated form. For example,

And there with þe batayle be gan to Ioyne & ̃grete

slaught*er* þ*er* was on the Sarysens p*ar*ty" (TLN 793-94)

is an instance of "there" both spelled out and in abbreviated form. Similarly, "their" is represented as both "þ*er*" and "theire." For example, "thes .iij. feawtyrd þ*er* sperys" (TLN 786) is followed a few lines later with, "And than they rode a yen to theire ferys" (TLN 790). Thus, both "there" and "their" (spelled with or without a final "e") are indicated by the same abbreviation and thus, in following the orthography of the manuscript, are represented as the same word in the edition, "þ*er*." The reader of the edition, as the reader of the manuscript, must supply the meaning and it is easily provided by the context. An exception to my practice of expansion of abbreviations is in the case of numbers or words using Latin abbreviations, i.e. "C" for hundred and "ml" for thousand and, in one instance, of "li" for pounde. I have also consistently added an italic "e" to the end of the word emperour or other words ending in r when the scribe provides an extension. The scribe is not consistent in this practice, and it has been judged at times by the Vinaver/Field or Spisak editions as an otiose mark but, in my estimation, it does, in almost all cases, indicate an "e."

Transcriptional errors are sometimes corrected in the manuscript by the scribe, usually indicated by the placement of dots under the word. To recreate this self-correction process, such instances are indicated in the Winchester portion of this edition by a strike-though line, for example as occurs with the word " ~~and~~ ". The scribe also occasionally inserts a missing or corrected word interlineally and these are indicated by the use of a caret directly preceding and following the insertion, for example " ^and^ ".

The Caxton text uses far fewer abbreviations, but these are indicated in the same manner as in the Winchester portion of the edition. In a very few places, the symbol [ ] is used to indicate an apparent erasure in the manuscript or to indicate an inkblot or some obscuring of the letters. If the letter is readily intuited by virtue of the surrounding text, I have provided the letter in the brackets, for example "[I]" (TLN 93).

## Through Line Numbering

In *Companion to Malory*, editors Elizabeth Archibald and A. S. G. Edwards note the potential confusion that arises in their book due to the various means by which different scholars refer to divisions of the text:

> While we have tried to impose a general level of uniformity on such references to the various divisions of Malory's work, we are conscious that there is no completely standard way of referring to them . . . If this seems confusing and/or inconsistent it is at least a reflection of the general situation in this aspect of Malory studies. (xii)

Vinaver's edition, by far the most frequently used edition, has posed problems of its own. Scholars frequently refer to passages by providing the page number and line number of the text as it appears in Vinaver's edition. Between the first and second edition, however, Vinaver re-formatted the paragraphing to better fit with his sense of the divisions of the text, thereby outdating all page and line numbers used in reference to the first edition. Yuki Nakao references the text by using the folio pagination of Sommer's

diplomatic edition rather than using the signatures of the more awkward signature pagination of the Caxton text. However, Sommer's edition is no longer widely used and not readily available. The Caxton signature and Winchester folio numbers, combined with line numbers, may be the best and most consistent way to refer to specific passages except that the facsimiles, though in most research libraries, are not widely available in smaller university libraries. Given these circumstances, page numbers and line numbers from Spisak's and Vinaver's editions may be the handiest reference simply because these are the volumes that are in most libraries.

It is in light of these difficulties in simply identifying a line of text that the present edition provides a system of Through Line Numbering (TLN) to provide a stable way to refer to passages in the Roman War account and to facilitate contrastive analysis of the two texts (see item 7 in the General Principles, pg. 58). Readers, for example, may refer to TLN 72-73 to study the two texts' treatment of Britain's claimed historical lineage of Bellinus and Brenius. Line numbering that corresponds to the lines of text in the manuscript and in the printed book has also been supplied for ease of reference back to the historical documents or their facsimiles.

For the most part, the Winchester manuscript was represented as a continuous text. There are several places where there are blank lines in the manuscript and the blank lines in the edition correspond with these. In some instances, it was necessary to introduce blank lines into the Winchester text to facilitate the alignment of the passages. In this edition, I included the three instances of scribal catchwords in the line numbering

(TLN 404, 908, 1428), both to allow this aspect of the manuscript to be represented on the page and to allow for alignment of the passages. In addition, Caxton often left several blank lines between chapters and the blank lines in the edition correspond to the number of blank lines in the Caxton text. Caxton also occasionally leaves half-lines blank, i.e. TLN 313, and these are likewise diplomatically represented.

**Shortcomings of the edition**

It is perhaps the fate of every edition to fall short of its editor's aspirations and, in this regard, the present edition is no exception. While an index of varying passages is an enormously useful component of a parallel-text edition (see item 6 of the General principles provided on pg. 58), it lies beyond the scope of the current edition. With such a chart of the main areas of difference between the quarto and folio versions of *King Lear*, Rene Weiss undertakes a "detailed analysis of the imaginative and textual problems signaled by the above list of Q/F differences" (7). Michael Warren similarly provides an appendix of varying passages to aid scholars in their study of the textual and interpretive nuances of the two texts. It is the intent of the editor to provide such an appendix in a future, published version. A less significant, though unfortunate, shortcoming of the current edition is the fact that endnotes rather than footnotes were a necessity within the constraints of Page Maker. Lastly, an additional aid to scholars will be the future provision of a means of noting differently–sequenced passages (see item 3 in the General Principles, pg. 58) by providing the out-of-order passage in a smaller, italicized type next to the appropriate passage.

# Chapter Five:

## A Parallel-Text Edition of the Winchester and Caxton Versions

The following edition is comprised of the Winchester manuscript version of Malory's Roman War account and the Caxton printed edition of the same account. The Winchester version appears on the left-hand pages and runs, for the most part, as a continuous text with only occasional blank lines to re-align it with the Caxton text. For the Winchester version, folio numbers appear underlined while line numbers which correspond to the manuscript are provided for ease of reference. The line numbers are not a feature of either the manuscript or the printed edition. Through Line Numbering (TLN) appears on the Winchester page, for reasons of space and layout, though the TLN reference numbers refer to both versions. A more thorough description of the purpose of the TLN numbers can be found in Chapters One and Four.

The Caxton version runs on the right-hand pages and is broken into passages so as to align with the Winchester text. The Caxton printed version is approximately half the length of the Winchester and the blank spades identify the passages not present in the Caxton edition. This edition consciously does not break lines to align passages although, at times, such a system might be preferable for ease of reading. Lines were kept whole so that the line numbering systems, both for the historical documents and for the present edition's TLN system, function without confusion. Signature references appear underlined and, as with the Winchester text, line numbers for each page of the printed text are provided for ease of reference back to the historical document. These numbers are a feature of the current edition and do not appear in the original document.

TLN

Hyt be ffelle whan Kyng Arthur had wedded
quene Gwenyuere and fulfylled the rounde
table And so aftir his mervelous knyghtis
And he had venquyshed the moste p*ar*ty of his
enemyes // Than sone aftir com Sir Laun//
celot de Lake vnto þe courte And Sir Trystrams come
that tyme also // And than so hit be felle that þe Emp*er*our*e*
of Roome Lucius sente vnto Arthure messyngers co*m*maun
ynge hym for to pay his trewage þ*a*t his auncettryes haue
payde be fore hym // Whan kynge Arthure wyste what
they mente he loked vp w*ith* his gray y3en and angred at
þe messyngers passyng sore // Than were this messyn//
gers a ferde and knelyd stylle and durst nat a ryse
they were so a ferde of his gry*m*me countenaunce //þan
one of þe knyghtis messyngers spake a lowde And seyde
crowned kynge mysse do no messyngers . ffor . we be com
at his co*m*maundemente as servytures sholde // Than
spake þe conquerro*ur* þou recrayed & coward knyght
why feryst þ*o*u my countenaunce there be In this halle
& they were sore aggreved þ*o*u durst nat for a deuke-
dom of londis loke In þ*er* facis // Sir seyde one of þe Se//
natoures so cryste me helpe I was so a ferde whan I
loked In thy face that myne herte wolde nat serue for
to sey my message. But sytthen hit is my wylle for to sey
myne erande // The gretis welle Lucius the Emperour*e*
of Roome and co*m*maundis þe vppon payne þ*a*t woll falle
to sende hym þe trewage of this Realme that thy fadir
Vther Pendragon payde oþ*e*r ellys he woll be reve þe all
thy Realmys þ*a*t þ*o*u weldyst //Thow seyste well seyde

71

(5)

(10)

(15)

(20)

(25)

**sig. h.vii(v)**

C Explicit liber quartus

Whanne kyng Arthur had after longe werre re// sted /and helde a Ryal feeste and table rounde with his alyes of kynges/prynces/ and noble kynghtes all of the round table / there cam in to his halle he syttynge in his throne Ryal xij aun// cyen men / berynge eche of them a braunche of Olyue in token that they cam as Embassatours and messagers fro the Empe rour Lucyus / whiche was called at that tyme/ Dictatour or procurour of the publyke wele of Rome/ whiche sayde messa// gers after their entryng & comyng in to the presence of kynge Arthur dyd to hym theyr obeyssaunce in makyng to him reue rence said to him in this wyse/The hyghe & myghty Emperour Lucyus sendeth to the kyng of Bretayne gretyng /commaundyng the to knouleche hym for thy lord / and to sende hym the trua// ge due of this Royamme vnto thempyre / which thy fader and other to fore thy precessours hauve paid as is of record / And thou as rebelle not knowynge hym as thy souerayne withhol// dest and reteynest contrary to the statutes and decrees maade by the noble and worthy Iulius Cezar conquerour of this Royame / and fyrst Emperour of Rome/ And yf thou refuse his demaunde and commaundement / knowe thou for certayne that he shal make stronge werre ageynst the / thy Royames & londes /and shall chastyse the and thy subgettys /that it shal be ensample perpetuel vnto alle kynges and prynces/ for to denye their truage vnto that noble empyre whiche domyneth vpon the vnyuersal world / Thenne whan they had shewed theffecte of

| | | TLN |
|---|---|---|
| Arthure but for all thy brym wordys I woll nat be to | (30) | 44 |
| ouer hasty. And þer fore þou and thy felowys shall a byde here | | 45 |
| vij. dayes and shall calle vnto me my counceyle of my | 71v | 46 |
| moste trusty knyghtis and deukis and Regeaunte kyngis | | 47 |
| and erlys and barowns and of my moste wyse doctours | | 48 |
| //And whan we have takyn oure avysement ye shall | | 49 |
| haue your answere playnly suche as I shall a byde by | (5) | 50 |
| | | 51 |
| //Than þe noble kynge commaunded Sir Clegis to loke | | 52 |
| that thes men be seteled and serued with þe beste þat there be | | 53 |
| no deyntes spared vppon them þat noþer chylde nor horse | | 54 |
| fau3t no thynge . ffor they ar full Royall peple . And | | 55 |
| thou3e they haue greved me & my courte yet we muste | (10) | 56 |
| remembir on oure worshyp . So they were led In to | | 57 |
| chambyrs & served as rychely of deyntes þat myght be | | 58 |
| gotyn//So þe Romaynes had þer of grete mervayle | | 59 |
| // Than þe kynge vnto counsayle called his noble | | 60 |
| knyghtis . And with In a towre there they assembled þe moste | (15) | 61 |
| party of þe knyghtis of þe rounde table Than þe | | 62 |
| kynge commaunded hem of theire beste counceyle // | | 63 |
| // Sir seyde Sir Cador of Cornuayle as for me I | | 64 |
| am nat hevy of this message for we haue be many | | 65 |
| dayes rested Now þe lettyrs of Lucius the Emperoure | (20) | 66 |
| lykis me well . ffor now shall we haue warre ^& ^ wor// | | 67 |
| shyp . Be [ ] cryste I leve welle seyde þe kyng sir Cador . | | 68 |
| this message lykis the but yet they may nat be so An// | | 69 |
| swerde for þer spytevous speche grevyth so my herte | | 70 |
| that truage to roome woll I neuer pay There fore | (25) | 71 |
| counceyle me my knyghtis for crystes love of hevyn | | 72 |
| //ffor this much have I founde In þe Cronycles of | | 73 |
| this londe þat sir Belyne And sir Bryne of my bloode | | 74 |
| elders that borne were In Bretayne And they hath | | 75 |
| ocupyed the Empyreship. viij. score wynters //And aftir | (30) | 76 |
| Constantyne oure kynnesman conquered hit and dame | | 77 |
| Elyne ys son of Ingelonde was Emperoure of Roome | 72 | 78 |
| and he recouerde the crosse þat cryste dyed vppon.// And | | 79 |
| thus was þe Empyre kepte be my kynde elders & thus | | 80 |
| have we evydence I now3e to þe Empyre of hole Rome | | 81 |
| | | 82 |
| | | 83 |
| | | 84 |
| //Than answerde kynge Angwysshaunc vnto Arthure | | 85 |
| Sir þou ou3te to be a boven all othir crysten kyngis for·· | (5) | 86 |

their message / the kyng commaunded them to withdrawe them

And said he shold take auyce of counceylle and gyue to them
(35) an ansuere / Thenne somme of the yonge knyghtes heryng this
their message wold haue ronne on them to haue slayne them
sayenge that it was a rebuke to alle the knyghtes there beyng
present to suffre them to saye so to the kynge / And anone the
sig.h.viii kynge commaunded that none of them vpon payne of dethe to
myssaye them ne doo them ony harme/and commaunded a kny//
ghte to brynge them to their lodgynge / and see that they haue
alle that is necessary and requysyte for them /with the best che
(5) re / and that noo deyntee be spared / For the Romayns ben gre
te lordes / and though theyr message please me not ne my court

yet I must remembre myn honour/ **C** After this the kyng le//
te calle alle his lordes and knyghtes of the round table to co
unceyl vpon this mater / and desyred them to saye theire ad//
(10) uys / thenne syr Cador of Cornewaile spacke fyrste and sayd
Syre this message lyketh me wel /for we haue many days re
sted vs and haue ben ydle / and now I hope ye shalle make
sharp warre on the Romayns where I doubte not we shal ge
te honour / I byleue wel sayd Arthur that this mater pleaseth
(15) the wel / but these ansuers may not be ansuerd/ for the dema//

unde greueth me sore/ For truly I wyl neuer paye truage to
Rome / wherfore I pray yow to counceylle me / I haue vnder//

stande that Bellinus and Brenius kynges of Bretayne ha
ue had thempyre in their handes many dayes / And also Con//

(20) statyn the sone of Heleyne / whiche is an open euydence that
we own noo trybute to Rome / but of ryght we that ben des//

cended of them haue ryght to clayme the tytle of thempyre|

**C** Capitulum Secundum

(25)

Thenne ansuerde kynge Anguysshe of Scotland/ Syr
ye ought of ryght to be aboue al other kynges/ for

| | | TLN |
|---|---|---|
| of knyghthode and of noble counceyle þ*a*t is all way | | 87 |
| In the // And Scotlonde had neu*er* scathe syne ye were | | 88 |
| crowned kynge // And whan þe Romaynes raynede | | 89 |
| vppon vs they raunsomed oure elders and raffte vs of | (10) | 90 |
| oure lyves. There fore I make myne avow vnto | | 91 |
| mylde Mary And vnto Ihesu cryste that I shall be aven// | | 92 |
| ged vppon the Romayns And to farþ*er* thy fyght [I] shall | | 93 |
| brynge þe ferse men of armys fully . xx$^{ti}$. ml. of tyred | | 94 |
| men I shall yeff hem my wages for to go and warre | (15) | 95 |
| on the Romaynes & to dystroy hem and all shall be *with* | | 96 |
| In .ij. ayges to go where þe lykes// Than þe kyng of | | 97 |
| lytell Brytayne sayde vnto kynge Arthure Sir an// | | 98 |
| swere thes alyauntes and gyff them þ*er* answere and | | 99 |
| I shall somen my peple and . xxx $^{ti}$. ml . men shall ye | (20) | 100 |
| haue at my costis and wages. ye sey well seyde þe | | 101 |
| kynge Arthure// Than spake a myghty deuke that | | 102 |
| was lorde of weste wayls Sir I make myne a vo// | | 103 |
| we to god to be revenged on the Romaynes . And to | | 104 |
| haue þe vawarde and þ*er* to vyngquyshe *with* vyctory þe | (25) | 105 |
| vyscounte of Roome// ffor onys as I paste on pyl// | | 106 |
| grymage all by the poynte Tremble than þe vysco// | | 107 |
| unte was In Tulkayne and toke vp my knyghtys | | 108 |
| & raunsomed them vnresonable//And than I complay // | | 109 |
| ned me to the Potestate þe Pope hym self but I had | (30) | 110 |
| no thynge ellys but plesaunte wordys oþ*er* reson at | | 111 |
| Roome myght I none haue and so I yode my way sore | 72v | 112 |
| rebuked and þ*er* fore to be avenged I woll arere of my | | 113 |
| wyghteste walshemen and of myne owne fre wagis | | 114 |
| brynge you . xxx $^{ti}$. ml. // Than Sir Ewayne and his son | | 115 |
| Ider that were nere cosyns vnto þe conquerro*ur* yet we// | (5) | 116 |
| re they cosyns bothe twayne and they helde Irelonde | | 117 |
| & Argayle and all the oute Iles. Sir seyde they vnto | | 118 |
| kynge Arthure here we make oure avowes vntoo | | 119 |
| Cryste manly to ryde In to Lumbardy and so vnto Me// | | 120 |
| layne wallys And so ou*er* the poynte Tremble In to þe | (10) | 121 |
| vale of vyterbe and þ*er* to vytayle my knyghtis and for | | 122 |
| to be a venged on the Romayns We shall bryng the | | 123 |
| xxx $^{ti}$. ml. of good me*n*nys bodyes//Than leepe In yong | | 124 |
| Sir Launcelot de laake *with* a lyght herte & seyde vnto | | 125 |
| kynge Arthure thou3e my londis marche nyghe thyne | (15) | 126 |
| enemyes yet shall I make myne avow aftir my po// | | 127 |
| wer þ*a*t of good men of armys aftir my bloode thus | | 128 |
| many I shall brynge *with* me .xx. ml. helmys In haubir// | | 129 |

vnto yow is none lyke ne pareylle in Crystendome/ of kny3t//
hode ne of dygnyte/ & I counceylleyou neuer to obeye the Ro//
maynes / for whan they regned on vs/ they destressyd oure el//
ders/ and putte this land to grete extorcions & taylles/ wher
fore I make here myn auowe to auenge me on them/ and for
to strengthe youre quarel I shal furnysshe xy M good men
of warre and wage them on my costes / whiche shal awayte
on yow with my self whan it shal please yow/ and the kyng

of lytel Bretayne graunted hym to the same xxx M/ where

for kynge Arthur thanked them / And thenne euery man
**sig. h.viii (v)** agreed to make warre/ and to ayde after their power/ that is
to wete the lord of westwalis promysed to brynge xxx M men

And syr Vwayne/ syre Ider his sone with their cosyns pro//
mysed to brynge xxx M/ thenne syre launcelot with alle other
promysed in lyke wyse euery man a grete multytyde/ **C** And

TLN

kes attyred þ*a*t shall neu*er* fayle you whyles oure ly// 130
ves lastyth// Than low3e sir Bawdwyn of Bre// 131
tayne and carpys to þe kynge I make myne avow 132
vnto þe vernacle noble. for to brynge w*ith* me. x. ml 133
good me*n*nys bodyes þ*a*t shall neu*er* fayle whyle there 134
lyvis lastyth// Now I thanke you seyde the ~~kynge~~ 135
kynge w*ith* all my trew herte I suppose by þe ende be 136
done & dalte þe Romaynes had bene bettir to haue 137
leffte þ*er* proude message//So whan þe .vij. nyghte 138
was atte an ende the Senatours be sought þe kynge 139
to haue an answere hit is well seyde þe kynge// Now 140
sey ye to youre Emp*er*oure that I shall In all haste me 141
redy make w*ith* my keene knyghtis and by þe reu*er* of Rome 142
holde my Rounde table and I woll brynge w*ith* me the 73 143
beste peple of .xv. Realmys. And w*ith* hem ryde on þe 144
mountaynes In the mayne londis and myne donne 145
þe wallys of Myllayne the proude and syth ryde vn// 146
to Roome w*ith* my Royallyst knightis// Now ye haue 147
youre answere. hygh. you þ*a*t ye were hense & frome 148
this place to the porte þ*er* ye shall passe ou*er*. And I 149
shall gyff you .vij. dayes to passe vnto Sandwyche 150
Now spede you I counceyle you & spare nat 151
youre horsis and loke ye go by watlynge 152
strete and no way ellys and where nyght fallys 153
on you loke ye there abyde be hit felle oþ*er* towne 154
I take no kepe for hit longyth nat to none Alyaun// 155
tis for to ryde on nyghtis and may ony be founde a 156
spere lengthe oute of þe way and þ*a*t ye be In þe wat*er* 157
by the . vij . nyghtis ende there shall no golde vnder 158
god pay for youre Raunsom//Sir seyde this Se// 159
natoures this is an harde conduyte we be seche you 160
that we may passe saufly. Care ye nat seyde the 161
kynge youre Conduyte is able//Thus they passed 162
fro Carleyle vnto Sandwyche warde that hadde 163
but . vij. dayes for to passe thorow þe londe and so 164
Sir Cador brought hem on her wayes. But the 165
Senatours spared for no horse but hyred hem ha// 166
keneyes frome towne ^to^ towne. And by þe sonne was 167
sette at þe . vij. dayes ende thay com vnto Sandwy// 168
che so blythe were they neu*er* and so the same nyght 169
they toke þe watir and passed In to fflaundres & 170
aftir þ*a*t ou*er* þe grete mountayne þ*a*t hyght Godarde 171
and so aftir thorow Lumbardy and thorow Tuskayne 172

whan kynge Arthur vnderstood theire courages and good
wylles/ he thanked them hertely/ and after lete calle thembas//

satours to here theire ansuere/ And in presence of alle his lor//
des and knyghtes he sayd to them in thys wyse/ I wylle that
ye retorne vnto your lorde and procurour of the comyn wele for
the Romayns/ and saye ye to hym Of his demaunde and com
maundement I sette nothyng/ And that I knowe of no tru
age ne trybute that I owe to hym/ ne to none erthely prynce
Crysten ne hethen/ but I pretende to haue and occupye the so//
ueraynte of thempyre/ wherin I am entytled by the ryght of
my predecessours somtyme kynges of this lond/ and saye to
hym that I am delybered and fully concluded to goo wyth
myn armye with strengthe and power vnto Rome by the gra
ce of god to take possession in thempyre/ and subdue them that
ben rebelle/ wherfore I commaunde hym and alle them of Ro
me that incontynent they make to me their homage & to knou
leche me for their Emperour and gouernour vpon payne that
shalle ensiewe/ And thenne he commaunded his tresorer to gy
ue to them grete and large yeftes/ and to paye alle theyr dis
pencys/ and assygned syre Cador to conueye them oute of the

land/ and soo they took theire leue and departed /and tooke
theyr syhppynge at Sandwyche/ and passed forthe by flaun//
drys/ Almayn/ the montayns/ and all ytalye vntyl they cam

| | | TLN |
|---|---|---|
| and sone aftir they come to the Emperoure Lucius and | | 173 |
| þer they shewed hym þe lettyrs of kynge Arthure And | 73v | 174 |
| how he was þe gastfullyst man that euer they on loked | | 175 |
| // Whan þe Emperoure Lucius hadde redde þe lettyrs and | | 176 |
| vnder stoode them welle of theire credence he fared as | | 177 |
| a man were rased of his wytte I wente þat Arthure wold | (5) | 178 |
| have obeyed you & serued you vnto your honde. for so he be | | 179 |
| semed oþer ony kynge crystynde for. to obey ony Senatour | | 180 |
| þat is sente fro my persone// Sir sayde þe Senatours lette | | 181 |
| be suche wordis for þat we haue ascaped on lyve we may | | 182 |
| thonke god euer. ffor we wolde nat passe a yen to do that | (10) | 183 |
| message for all your brode londis. And þer fore Sirres | | 184 |
| truste to oure sawys ye shall fynde hym your vttir ene// | | 185 |
| mye and seke ye hym and ye lyste for In to this londis | | 186 |
| woll he com & þat shall ye fynde with In this half yere | | 187 |
| for he thynkys to be Emperoure hym self. ffor he seyth | (15) | 188 |
| ye haue ocupyed þe empyre with grete wronge for all | | 189 |
| his trew auncettryes sauff his fadir Vther were Emper// | | 190 |
| oures of Rome And of all þe soueraynes that we sawe euer | | 191 |
| he is the Royallyst kynge þat lyvyth on erthe// ffor we | | 192 |
| sawe on Newerys day at his rounde table .ix. kyngis | (20) | 193 |
| and þe fayryst felyship of knyghtes ar with hym that durys | | 194 |
| on lyve And þer to of wysedome and of fayre speche and | | 195 |
| all Royalte and Rychesse they fayle of none.// There | | 196 |
| | | 197 |
| | | 198 |
| fore Sir be my counsayle rere up your lyege peple and | | 199 |
| sende kyngis and deukis to loke vnto your marchis And þat | (25) | 200 |
| the mountaynes of Almayne be myghtyly kepte// Be | | 201 |
| Estir seyde the Emperouré I caste me for to passe Almayne | | 202 |
| And so furth In to fraunce and þer be reve hym his londis | | 203 |
| I schall brynge with me many gyauntys of Geene that one | | 204 |
| of them shall be worth an . C. of knyghtes and perleous pas// | (30) | 205 |
| sage shall be surely kepte with my good knyghtis// Than þe | | 206 |
| Emperoure sente furth his messyngers of wyse olde kny3tis | 74 | 207 |
| vnto a Contrey callyd Ambage And Arrage And vnto Aly | | 208 |
| sundir to ynde to Ermony that the Rever of Eufrate | | 209 |
| rennys by . And to Assy Aufryke and Europe the large | | 210 |
| and to Ertayne and Elamye to the oute yles to Arrabe | (5) | 211 |
| to Egypte to Damaske and to Damyake and to noble | | 212 |
| deukis & erlys. Also þe kynge of Capydos and þe kyng | | 213 |
| of Tars and of Turke and of Pounce and of Pampoy | | 214 |
| le And oute of Preter Iohnus londe. Also þe sowdon of | | 215 |

vnto Lucius/ And after the reuerence made/ they made relacy//
on of their ansuer lyke as ye to fore haue herd/ whan thempe
rour Lucyus had wel vnderstonde theyre credence/ he was sore
meued as he had ben al araged/ & sayd/ I had supposed that
Arthur wold haue obeyed to my commaundement/ and haue
serued yow him self/ as hym wel bysemed or ony other kyng
to doo/ O syre sayd one of the senatours late be suche vayn wor
des/ for we late yow wete that I and my felawes were ful
sore aferd to beholde his countenaunce/ I fere me ye haue made
a rodde for your self/ for he entendeth to be lord of this empyre
sig. i.i whiche sore is to be doubted yf he come/ for he is al another man
than ye wene/ and holdeth the most noble courte of the world
alle other kynges ne prynces maye not compare vnto his no//

ble mayntene/ On newe yeres daye we sawe hym in his estate
whiche was the ryallest that euer we sawe/ for he was serued
at his table with ix kynges/ and the noblest/ felauship of other
prynces lordes and knyghtes that ben in the world/ and eue
ry knyghte approued and lyke a lord and holdeth table round
And in his persone the moost manly man that lyueth/ and is
lyke to conquere alle the world/ for vnto his courage it is to
lytel / wherfore I aduyse yow to kepe wel youre marches and
straytes in the montayns/ For certaynly he is a lord to be do//
ubted/ Wel sayd Lucius bifore Eester I suppose to passe the
mountayns and soo forth into fraunce/ and there byreue hym
his londes with Ianeweyes and other myghty warryours of
Tuskane and lombardye/ And I shall sende for them all that
ben subgettys and aleyd to thempyre of Rome to come to myn
ayde/ and forthwith sente old wyse knyghtes vnto these coun//
trayes folowynge/ fyrste to ambage and arrage/ to Alysaun//
drye/ to ynde to hermonye/ where as the ryuer of Eufrates ren//
neth in to Asye/ to Auffryke/ and Europe the large/ to erta//
yne and Elamye to Arabye/ Egypte and to damaske/ to da//

myete and Cayer/ to Capadoce/ to tarce/ Turkye/ pounce/ and

Surre and frome Nero vnto Na3areth and frome Ga
rese to Galely there come Sarysyns and be com sudgettis
vnto Rome So they come glydyng In Galyes also there
come þe kynge of Cypres and þe Grekis were gadirde
& goodly arayed *with* þe kynge of Macidony and of Calabe
and of Catelonde bothe kyngis and deukis. And the kynge
of Portyngale *with* many thousande Spaynardis // Thus
all thes kyngis and dukys and Admyrallys noblys assem//
bled *with* xvj. kyngis at onys And so they com vnto Rome *with*
grete multytude of peple// Whan þe Emp*er*oure vndirstood
þ*er* comynge he made redy all his noble Romaynes & all
men of warre betwyxte hym and flaundyrs// Also he
had gotyn *with* hym fyffty gyauntys that were engendirde
*with* fendis And all tho he lete ordeyne for to a wayte on his
p*er*sone and for to breke þe batayle of þe frunte of Arthurs
knyghtis// But they were so muche of þ*er* bodyes þ*at* horsys
myght nat bere them. And thus þe Emp*er*oure *with* all hys
horryble peple drew to passe Almayne to dystroy Arthur
es londys that he wan thorow warre of his noble
knyghtis// And so Lucius com vnto Cullayne and þ*er*by a
Castelle be Segys & wanne hit *with* In a whyle & feffed
hit *with* Saresyns. And thus Lucius *with* In a whyle destryed
many fayre contrayes þ*at* Arthure had wonne be fore of þ*e*
myghty kynge Claudas so this Lucius ~~Lucu~~ disp*er*cled a brode
his oste Syxty myle large and commaunde hem to mete
*with* hym In Normandy In the contray of Constantyne and
at Barflete there ye me a byde for the douchery of
Bretayne I shall thorowly dystroy hit.

Now leve we Sir Lucius and speke we of kyng Ar//
thure that com*m*aunded all þ*at* were vndir his obey//
saunce aftir the vtas of Seynte hyllary þ*at* all shulde be
asembled for to holde a p*ar*lement at yorke *with* In þ*e* wallys
and þ*er* they concluded shortly to a reste all þ*e* shyppes of this
londe and *with* In .xv. dayes to be redy at Sandwych Now
sirrys seyde Arthure I purpose me to passe many p*er*elles
wayes and to ocupye þ*e* Empyre þ*at* myne elders a fore
haue claymed þ*er* fore I pray you counseyle me þ*at* may

(10) (15) (20) (25) (30) (5) (10) (15)

TLN 216 217 218 219 220 221 222 223 224 225 226 227 228 229 230 231 232 233 234 235 236 237 74v 238 239 240 241 242 243 244 245 246 247 248 249 250 251 252 253 254 255 256 257 258

pampoylle/ to Surrye and gallacye/ And alle these were sub//
gette to Rome and many moo/ as Grece/ Cypres/ Macydone/ Calabre/ Cateland/ portyngale with many thousandes of spay nardys/ Thus alle these kynges/ dukes /and admyrals assem bled aboute Rome with xvj kynges attones with grete mul// tytude of peple/ whan themperour vnderstood their comyng/he made redy his Romayns/ and alle the peple bytwene hym &

Flaundres **C** Also he hadde goten wyth hym fyfty Geaunts whiche had ben engendred of fendys And they were ordeyned to garde his persone/ and to breke the frounte of the bataylle of kynge Arthur/

And thus departed fro Rome and came doune the montayns for to destroye the londes that Arthur had conquerd and cam vnto Coleyne/ and byseged a Castel there by/ and wanne it soone and stuffed hit with two honderd sarasyns or Infydeles
sig.i.i(v) and after destroyed many fayr countrees/ whiche Arthur had wonne of kyng Claudas/ And thus Lucius cam with alle

his hoost whiche were disperplyd lx myle in brede/ and com// maunded them to mete with hym in Burgoyne/ for he purpo sed to destroye the Royame of lytly Bretayne/

## C Capitulo tercio

Now leue we of Lucius the emperour and speke we of kynge Arthur/that commaunded alle them of his re// tenue to be redy atte vtas of hyllary for to holde a parlement at yorke/ And at that parlement was concluded to areste alle the nauye of the lond and to be redy within xv dayes at sand wyche/ and there he shewed to his armye how he purposed to conquere thempyre whiche he ought to haue of right/ And the//

TLN

be beste and moste worshyp //The kyngis & knyghtis ga// 259
rirde hem vnto counsayle & were condecended for to 260
make .ij. chyfftaynes that was Sir Baudwen of Bre// 261
tayne an Auncient & an honorable knyght for to councey// 262
le and comforte Sir Cadore son of Cornuayle þat was (20) 263
at þat tyme called Sir Constantyne that aftir was kynge 264
aftir Arthurs dayes//And þer In the presence of all þe lordis 265
the kynge resceyved all þe rule vnto thes .ij. lordis and 266
quene Gwenyvere And Sir Trystrams at þat tyme he left 267
with kynge Marke of Cornuayle for þe love of labeale (25) 268
Isode where fore Sir Launcelot was passyng wrothe 269
//Than quene Gwenyuer made grete sorow that the 270
kynge and all þe lordys sholde so be departed And þer she 271
fell doune on a swone and hir ladyes bare hir to her 272
chambir //Than þe kynge commaunded hem to god & be (30) 273
lefte þe quene In Sir Constantynes And sir Baudewens 274
hondis And all Inglonde holy to rule as them selfe 75 275
seemed beste//And whan þe kynge was an horsebak 276
he seyde In herynge of all þe lordis If þat I dye In this 277
Iurney here I make þe Sir Constantyne my trew Ayre 278
for þou arte nexte of my kyn save Sir Cadore thy fadir (5) 279
And þer fore if þat I dey I woll þat ye be crowned kynge 280
// Ryght so he sought & his knyghtis towarde Sande// 281
wyche. Where he founde be fore hym many galyard 282
knyghtis. for þer were þe moste party of all þe rounde ta// 283
ble redy on þo bankes for to sayle whan þe kynge lyked (10) 284
Than In all haste þat myght be they shypped þer horsis 285
& harneyse & all maner of ordynaunce þat fallyth for 286
þe werre & tentys and pavylyons many were trussed 287
and so they shotte frome þe bankis many grete caryckis 288
and many shyppes of forestage with coggis and galeyes (15) 289
& spynnesse full noble with galeyes & galyottys rowyng 290
with many Ores. And thus they strekyn forth In to 291
the stremys many sadde hunderthes. 292

:here Folowyth the dreme of Kynge Arthure . 293

As the kynge was In his Cog and lay In his Ca// 294
ban he felle In a slumberyng & dremed how a (20) 295
dredfull Dragon dud drenche muche of his peple 296
& com fleyng one wynge oute of þe weste partyes and 297
his hede hym semed was enamyled with Asure and his 298
shuldyrs shone as þe golde & his wombe was lyke may// (25) 299
les of a merveylous hew and his tayle was fulle of 300
tatyrs & his feete were florysshed as hit were fyne 301

re he ordeyned two gouernours of this Royame that is to say Syre Bawdewyn of Bretayne for to counceille to the best and

syr Constantyn sone to syre Cador of Cornewaylle/ whiche af

ter the dethe of Arthur was kyng of this Royamme/ And in the presence of all his lordes he resyned the rule of the roya// me and Gweneuer his quene to them/ wherfore syre launcelot was wrothe/ for he lefte syre Trystram with kynge marke for the loue of beal Isoulde/ Thenne the quene Gweneuer made gre te sorowe for the departynge of her lord and other/ and swou ned in suche wyse that the ladyes bare her in to her chambre

Thus the kyng with his grete armye departed leuyng the que ne and Royamme in the gouernaunce of syre Bawduyn and Constantyn/ And whan he was on his hors/ he sayd with an hyhe voys yf I dye in this iourney I wyl that syre Constan tyn be myn heyer and kyng crowned of this royame as next of my blood/ And after departed and entred into the see atte Sandwyche with alle his armye with a greete multitude of

shyppes/ galeyes/ Cogges /and dromoundes/ sayllynge on the see/



## C Capitulum iiii

And as the kyng laye in his caban in the shyp/ he fyll in a slomerynge and dremed a merueyllous dreme /

hym semed that a dredeful dragon dyd drowne moche of his peple/and he cam fleynge oute of the west/and his hede was enameled with asure / and his sholders shone as gold / his be ly lyke maylles of a merueyllous hewe / his taylle ful of tat

| | | TLN |
|---|---|---|
| sable. And his clawys were lyke clene golde *with* an | (30) | 302 |
| hydeouse flame of fyre þ*er* flowe oute of his mowth lyke as | | 303 |
| þe londe & þe watir had flawmed all on fyre//Than | | 304 |
| hym semed þ*er* com oute of þe oryent a grymly Beare | | 305 |
| all blak In a clowde And his pawys were as byg as a | 75v | 306 |
| poste he was all to Rongeled *with* lugerande lokys And he | | 307 |
| was the fowlyst beste þ*at* eu*er* ony man sye he Romed and | | 308 |
| rored so rudely þ*at* merveyle hit were to telle // Than | | 309 |
| þe dredfull dragon dressyd hym a yenste hym & come | (5) | 310 |
| In þe wynde lyke a ffaucon & freyshely strykis þe Beare | | 311 |
| and agayne þe gresly Beare kuttis *with* his grysly tuskis | | 312 |
| þ*at* his breste and his brayre was bloode & hit rayled | | 313 |
| all ou*er* þe see // Than þe worme wyndis away & fleis | | 314 |
| vppon hyght and com downe *with* such a sow3e & towched | (10) | 315 |
| the beare on þe rydge þ*at* fro þe toppe to þe tayle was .x. | | 316 |
| foote large & so he rentyth the beare & bren*n*ys hym | | 317 |
| vp clene þ*at* all felle on pouder bothe þe fleysh and the | | 318 |
| bonys And so hit slotered a brode on þ*e* see// Anone the | | 319 |
| kynge waked of his dreme & In all haste he sente for | (15) | 320 |
| a Philo3opher and charged hym to telle what sygny// | | 321 |
| fyed his dreme // Sir seyde the Phylo3opher þe Dra// | | 322 |
| gon þ*ou* dremyste of be tokyns thyne owne p*er*sone that | | 323 |
| thus here sayles *with* thy syker knyghtis And þe coloure | | 324 |
| of his wyngys is thy kyngdomes þ*at* þ*ou* haste *with* thy | (20) | 325 |
| knyghtis wonne. And his tayle þ*at* was all to tatered | | 326 |
| sygnyfyed yo*ur* noble knyghtis of þe Rounde table. And | | 327 |
| the Beare that þe dragon slowe a bove In the clowdis | | 328 |
| be tokyns som tyraunte þ*at* turmentis thy peple oþ*er* | | 329 |
| þ*ou* art lyke to fyght w*ith* som Gyaunte boldely In Batay// | (25) | 330 |
| le be thy self a lone // There fore of this dredfull | | 331 |
| dreme drede þe but a lytyll and care nat now sir con// | | 332 |
| querroure but comforte thy self // Than *with* In a | | 333 |
| whyle they had a syght of þe bankys of Normandy | | 334 |
| and at þe same tyde þe kynge aryved at Barfflete & | (30) | 335 |
| founde þ*er* redy many of his grete lordis as he had | | 336 |
| com*m*aunded at Crystemasse be fore hym selfe & *cetera* | 76 | 337 |
| | | 338 |
| | | 339 |
| | | 340 |
| | | 341 |
| Than come þ*er* an husbande man oute of the | | 342 |
| contrey and talkyth vnto þe kyng wond*er*full | | 343 |
| wordys. And sayde sir here is a foule Gyaunte of | | 344 |

ters / his feet ful of fyne sable / & his clawes lyke fyne gold
And an hydous flamme of fyre flewe oute of his mouthe /
lyke as the londe and water had flammed all of fyre / After
hym semed there came oute of thoryent / a grymly bore al blak
in a clowde / and his pawes as bygge as a post / he was rug//
ged lokynge roughly / he was the foulest beest that euer man
sawe / he rored and romed soo hydously that it were merueill
to here / Thenne the dredeful dragon auaunced hym and cam in
the wynde lyke a fawcon gyuynge grete strokes on the bore /
and the bore hytte hym ageyne with his grysly tuskes/ that
his brest was al blody / and that the hote blood made alle the
see reed of his blood /
Thenne the dragon flewe awey al on an hey3te / and came dou
ne with suche a swough and smote the bore on the rydge whi//
ch was x foote large fro the hede to the taylle / and smote the

bore all to powdre bothe flesshe and bonys / that it flytteryd al
abrode on the see / And therwith the kynge awoke anone / and
was sore abasshed of this dreme / And sente anone for a wyse
philosopher / commaundynge to telle hym the sygnyfycacion of
his dreme / Syre sayd the philosopher / the dragon that thow
dremedest of / betokeneth thyn owne persone that sayllest here/ &

the colours of his wynges ben thy Royames that thow haste
wonne / And his taylle whiche is al to tatterd sygnefyeth the
noble knyghtes of the round table C And the
bore that the dragon slough comying fro the clowdes / betokeneth
some tyraunt that tormenteth the peple /or els thow arte lyke
to fyghte with somme Geaunt thy self / beynge horryble and ab
homynable whoos pere ye sawe neuer in your dayes / wherfore
 of this dredeful dreme doubte the no thynge / but as a Con//
querour come forth thy self / Thenne after this soone they had
syghte of londe and saylled tyl they arryued atte Barflete
in Flaundres / and whanne they were there he fond many
of his grete lordes redy / as they had ben commaunded to awa//
yte vpon hym

## C Capitulum v

Thenne came to hym an husbond man of the countrey/
and told hym how there was in the countre of Con//
stantyn besyde Bretayne a grete gyaunt whiche hadde

TLN

Gene that turmentyth thy peple mo than .v. C. & 345
many moofoure chyldren þat hath bene his susteynaun// 346
ce all this .vii. wynters yet is þe sotte neuer cesid but 347
In þe contrey of Constantyne he hath kylled all oure 348
knave chyldren and this nyght he hath cley3te the 349
duches of Bretayne as she rode by a ryver with her 350
ryche knyghtis & ledde hir vnto yondir mounte to ly 351
by hir whyle hir lyff lastyth // Many folkys folowed 352
hym mo than .v. hundrid Barounes and bachelers 353
and knyghtis full noble but euer she shyked wondirly 354
lowde þat þe sorow of þat lady cover shall we neuer// She 355
was thy cousyns wyff Sir Howell the hende a man 356
þat we calle ny3e of thy bloode// Now as þou arte oure 357
Ryghtwos kynge rewe on this lady and on thy lyege 358
peple & revenge vs as a noble conquerroure sholde 359
Alas seyde kynge Arthure this is a grete myscheffe 360
I had levir than all the realmys I welde vnto my 361
crowne þat I had bene be fore that freyke a furlonge 362
way for to haue rescowed that lady. And I wolde 363
have done my payne// Now felow seyde Arthure 364
woldist þou ken me where þat carle dwellys I trowe I 365
shall trete with hym or I far passe Sir Conquerrour 366
seyde the good man be holde yondir .ij. fyrys for þer 367
shalte þou fynde þat carle be yonde þe colde strendus 368
and tresoure oute of numbir þer mayste þou sykerly fyn// 369
de more tresoure as I suppose than is In all ffraunce 370
aftir// The kynge seyde good man pees & carpe 371
to me no more thy soth sawys have greved sore 76v 372
my herte//Than he turnyd towarde his tentys 373
& carpys but lytyl//Than þe kynge seyde vnto 374
Sir Kay In counceyle & to Sir Bedwere þe bolde 375
thus seyde he loke þat ye .ij. aftir evynsonge be sure// 376
ly armed & your beste horsis. for. I woll ryde on 377
pylgrymage prevayly and none but we. iij. And 378
whan my lordis is servyd we woll ryde to seynte 379
Mychaels mounte where mervayles ar shewed// A 380
none Sir Arthure wente to his wardrop & caste 381
on his armoure bothe his Gesseraunte and his Bas// 382
net with his brode shylde. And so he buskys hym tyll his 383
stede þat on þe bente hoved. Than he stertes vppon loffte & 384
hentys þe brydyll and stirres hym stoutly & sone he 385
fyndis his knyghtis. ij. full clenly arayed. And than they 386
trotted on stylly to gedir ouer a blythe contray full of ma// 387

slayne murthered and deuoured moche peple of the countreye
and had ben susteyned seuen yere with the children of the co//

myns of that land/ in soo moche that alle the children ben alle
slayne and destroyed/ and now late he hath taken the duchesse
of Bretayne as she rode with her meyne/ and hath ledde her
to his lodgynge whiche is in a montayne for to rauysshe and
lye by her to her lyues ende/ and many people folowed her
moo thatn v C/ but alle they myghte not rescowe her/ but they
lefte her shrykyng and cryenge lamentably/ wherfore I sup//
pose that he hath slayn her in fulfyllynge his fowle lust of le//
chery/ She was wyf vnto thy Cosyn syre Howel/ whome we
calle ful nyhe of thy blood/ Now as thow a ryghtful kynge

haue pyte on this lady/ and reuenge vs al as thow arte a no
ble conquerour/ **C** Alas sayd kynge Arthur./ this is a grete
meschyef/ I had leuer than the best Royame that I haue/
that I hadde ben a forlonge way to fore hym for to haue resco//

wed that lady/ **C** Now felawe sayd kynge
Arthur canst thou brynge me there as thys gyaunt haunteth /

ye syre sayd the good man/ loo yonder where as thow seest tho

two grete fyres/ there shalt thou fynde hym/ and more tresour
than I suppose is in al Fraunce/ whanne the kynge hadde vn
derstanden this pyteous caas/ he retorned in to his tente /

**C** Thenne he callyd to hym syre kaye and syre Bedewere / &
commaunded them secretely to make redy hors and harneis for
him self and them tweyne/ For after euensonge he wold
ryde on pylgremage with them two only vnto saynt Mychels
sig.i.iii mounte/ And thenne anone he maad hym redy and armed
hym at alle poyntes/ and tooke his hors and his sheld /

And soo they thre departed thens and rode forthe as faste as

TLN

ny myrry byrdis And whan they com to þe forlonde 388
Arthure and they a lyght on hir foote//Now fastenyd 389
seyde Arthure oure horsis þ*a*t none ny3e oþ*er* . for I woll 390
seche this seynte be my self a lone and speke wyth this (20) 391
maystir man þ*a*t kepys this mountayne//Than the 392
kynge yode vp to þe creste of þe Cragge. And than he 393
comforted hym self w*ith* þe colde wynde And than he yode 394
forth by .ij. welle stremys. And þ*er* he fyndyd: ij fyres 395
flamand full hy3e. And at þ*a*t one fyre he founde a care// (25) 396
full wydow wryngande hir handys syttande on a gra// 397
ve þ*a*t was new marked//Than Arthure salued hir & 398
she hym a gayne and asked hir why she sate sorowyng 399
//Alas she seyde carefull knyght þou carpys ou*er* lowde 400
yon is a werlow woll dest^r^oy vs bothe I holde þe vnhappy (30) 401
what doste þ*o*u on this mountayne//Thou3e here were 402
403
Suche fyffty 404
405
suche fyffty ye were to feyble for to mac[c]he hym all at 77 406
onys. Where to berys þ*o*u armorure hit may þe lytyll avayle 407
for he nedys none oþ*er* wepyn but his bare fyste// here is 408
a douches dede þe fayryst that þ*a*t lyved he hath murthered that 409
mylde w*ith* oute ony mercy he forced hir by fylth of hym (5) 410
self and so aftir slytte hir vnto þe navyll// Dame seyde 411
þe kynge I com fro þe conquerro*ur* sir Arthure for to trete 412
w*ith* þ*a*t tirraunte for his lyege peple//ffy on suche tretyse 413
she seyde þan for he settys nought by þe kynge noþ*er* by no 414
man ellys// But & þ*o*u have brought Arthurs wyff dame (10) 415
Gwenyvere he woll be more blyther of hir than þou 416
haddyste geffyn hym halfondel fraunce and but yf þ*o*u 417
haue brought hir prese hym nat to ny3e loke what he 418
hath done vnto .xv. kyngis he hath made hym a coote full 419
of p*re*cious stonys and þ*e* bordoures þ*er* of is the berdis .xv. (15) 420
kyngis and they were of þe þe grettyst blood þ*a*t dured on erþ*e* 421
othir farme had he none of xv realmys. This p*re*sente was 422
sente hym to this laste Crystemasse they sente hym In fay 423
the for savyng of þ*er* peple. And for Arthurs wyff he lodgys 424
hym here for he hath more tresoure than eu*er* had Arthure (20) 425
or ony of his elders// And now þ*o*u shalt fynde hym at souper 426
w*ith* .vj. knave chyldirne. And þ*er* he hath made pykyll & powder 427
w*ith* many p*re*cious wynes and iij. fayre maydens þ*a*t turnys the 428
broche. That bydis to go to his bed for they .iij. shall be dede 429
w*ith* In .iiij. oures or þe fylth is fulfylled þ*a*t his fleyshe aṡkys (25) 430

euer they my3t tyl that they cam to the forlond of that mount

(5) And there they alyghted/ and the kynge commaunded them
to tarye there/ for he wold him self goo vp in to that mounte
And soo he ascended vp in to that hylle tyl he came to a grete

fyre/ and there he fonde a careful wydowe wryngynge her han
des and makyng grete sorowe syttynge by a graue newe ma//
(10) de/ And thenne kynge Arthur salewed her/ and demaunded
of her wherfore she made suche lamentacion/ to whome she an//
suerd and sayd Syre knyghte speke softe/ for yonder is a de
uyll yf he here the speke/ he wylle come and destroye the/ I
hold the vnhappy what dost thow here in this mountayne /

(15) For yf ye were suche fyfty as ye be/ ye were not able to ma//
ke resystence ageynst this deuyl/ here lyeth a duchesse deede the
whiche was the fayrest of alle the world wyf to syre Howel/

duc of Bretayne/ he hath murthred her in forcynge her/ and
hath slytte her vnto the nauyl/ **C** Dame sayd the kynge/ I
(20) come fro the noble Conqueroure kynge Arthur for to treate
with that tyraunt for his lyege peple/ Fy on such treatys sa//
yd she/ he setteth not by the kynge ne by no man els / But
and yf thou haue broughte Arthurs wyf Gweneuer/
he shalle be gladder than thow haddest gyuen to hym half fra//
(25) unce/ Beware approche hym not to nygh/ for he hath vaynquys

shed xv kynges/ and hath maade hym a cote ful of precious
stones enbrowdred with theyre berdes/ whiche they sente hym

to haue his loue for sauacion of theyr peple at this laste Cry//
stemasse/ And yf thow wylt/ speke with hym at yonder grete

| | | TLN |
|---|---|---|
| //Well seyde Arthure I woll fulfylle my message for alle | | 431 |
| yo*ur* grym wordis / Than fare þou to yondir fyre þ*a*t flamys | | 432 |
| so hy3e and þ*er* þou shalt fynde hym sykerly for sothe//Than he | | 433 |
| paste forth to þe creste of þe hylle & sy3e where he sate at | | 434 |
| his soupere alone gnawyng on a lym*m*e of a large man & | (30) | 435 |
| there he beekys his brode lendys by þe bryght fyre and | | 436 |
| brekelys hym somys and .iij. damesels turned .iij. brochis | 77v | 437 |
| And þ*er* on was .xij. chyldir but late borne and they were | | 438 |
| broched in man*er* lyke birdis// Whan the kyng be hylde | | 439 |
| þ*a*t syght his herte was ny3e bledyng for sorow// Than | | 440 |
| he haylesed hym w*ith* angirfull wordys. Now he that all | (5) | 441 |
| weldys geff þe sorow theeff þ*er* þou syttes for þou art þe fowlyste | | 442 |
| freyke þ*a*t eu*er* was fourmed & fendly þou fedyst the . þe devill | | 443 |
| haue thy soule// And by what cause þou carle hast þou kylled | | 444 |
| þes crysten chyldern þou haste made many martyrs by mour// | | 445 |
| theryng of this londis// There fore þou shalt haue thy mede | (10) | 446 |
| thorow Mychael. that owyth this mounte. And also why | | 447 |
| haste þou slayne this fayre douches// There fore dresse | | 448 |
| þe doggysson for þou shalt dye this day thorow þe dynte of my | | 449 |
| hondis// Than þe gloton gloored and grevid full foule | | 450 |
| he had teeth lyke a grayhounde he was þe foulyst wy3te | (15) | 451 |
| þ*a*t eu*er* man sye and þ*er* was neu*er* suche one fourmed on erþe | | 452 |
| for þ*er* was neu*er* devil In helle more horryblyer made for | | 453 |
| he was fro þe hede to the foote .v. fadom longe and large | | 454 |
| And þ*er* w*ith* sturdely he sterte vppon his leggis & cau3te a | | 455 |
| clubbe In his honde all of clene iron. Than he swappis | (20) | 456 |
| at þe kynge w*ith* þ*a*t kyd wepyn he cruysshed downe w*ith* the | | 457 |
| club. the Coronal . doune to þe colde erþe. the kyng cou*er*de | | 458 |
| hym w*ith* his shylde & rechis a boxe evyn Infourmede In | | 459 |
| the myddis of his forehede þ*a*t þe slypped blade vnto the | | 460 |
| brayne rechis //yet he shappis at sir Arthure but þe | (25) | 461 |
| kynge shuntys a lytyll and rechis hym a dynte hy3e | | 462 |
| vppon the haunche And þ*er* he swappis his Genytrottys In | | 463 |
| sondir //Than he rored & brayed and yet angurly he stry// | | 464 |
| les and fayled of sir Arthure and þe erþe hittis þ*a*t he kutte | | 465 |
| In to the swarffe a large swe^r^de length and more // þan | (30) | 466 |
| the kynge sterte vp vnto hym & raught hym a buffette | | 467 |
| and kut his baly In sundir þ*a*t oute wente þe gore þ*a*t þe grasse | 78 | 468 |
| and þe grounde all foule was be gone// Than he kaste | | 469 |
| a way þe clubbe and cau3te þ*e*e kynge In his armys & hande// | | 470 |
| led þe kynge so harde þ*a*t he crusshed his rybbes// Than þe | | 471 |
| baleful maydens wronge hir hondis and kneled on þe | (5) | 472 |
| grounde & to cryste called w*ith* þ*a*t þe warlow wrath Arthure | | 473 |

(30) fyre at souper/ wel sayd Arthur I wyll accomplysshe my mes

sage for al your ferdful wordes/ and wente forth by the creast of that hylle/ and sawe where he satte atte souper gnawynge on a lymme of a man/ bekynge his brode lymmes by the fyre

and brecheles/ and thre fayr damoysels tornynge thre broches
(35) wheron were broched twelue yonge children late borne lyke yonge byrdes **C** Whanne kynge Arthur beheld that pyteous sy3te/ he had grete compassion on them so that his hert
sig.i.iii(v) bledde for sorowe/ and hayled hym sayeng in this wyse he that alle the world weldeth gyue the shorte lyf & shameful dethe/ And the deuyl haue thy soule/ why hast thow murthred the//

se yonge Innocent children/ and murthred this duchesse/ Ther

(5) fore aryse and dresse the thow gloton/ For this day shall thou dye of my hand/ Thenne the gloton anone starte vp and tooke

a grete clubbe in his hand/ and smote at the kynge that his coronal fylle to the erthe/ and the kynge hytte hym ageyn that

he carf his bely and cutte of his genytours/ that his guttes &

(10) his entraylles fylle doune to the ground/ thenne the gyaunt threwe awey his clubbe/ and caught the kynge in his armes that he crusshyd his rybbes/ Thenne the thre maydens knelyd doune and callyd to Cryst for helpe and comforte of Arthur

TLN

undir and so they waltyrde & tumbylde ou*er* þe craggis and 474
busshys and eythir cleyght o*þere* full faste In þ*er* armys and 475
o*þere* whyles Arthure was a boven and o*þer* whyle vndir & 476
so they neu*er* leffte tyll they fylle þ*er* as þe floode marked. But (10) 477
eu*er* In þe walterynge Arthure hittis hym w*ith* a shorte dagger 478
vp to þe hyltys. and In his fallynge þ*er* braste of þe gyauntis 479
Rybbys .iij. evyn at onys And by fortune they felle there 480
as þe .iij knyghtis a boode w*ith* theire horsis// Whan Sir Kay 481
saw þe kynge and the gyaunte so I cleyght to gyder. Alas (15) 482
sayd sir Kay we ar forfete for eu*er* yondir is ou*re* lorde ou*er* 483
fallen w*ith* a fende hit is natt so seyde þe kynge but helpe me 484
sir Kay for this corseynte haue I clegged oute of þe yon// 485
dir clowys// In fayth seyde Sir Bedwere this is a 486
foule carle and cau3te þe corseynte oute of þe kyngis armys (20) 487
And there he seyde I haue mykyll wondir and Mychael 488
be of suche a makyng that eu*er* god wolde suffir hym to 489
a byde In hevyn. And if seyntis be suche that servys 490
I*es*hu I woll neu*er* seke for none be þe fayth of my body 491
The kynge than lough at Bedwers wordis & seyde (25) 492
this seynte haue I sought ny3e vnto my grete daun // 493
gere. But stryke of his hede and sette hit on a troun // 494
cheoune of a speare and geff hit to thy s*er*vaunte that is 495
swyffte horsed and bere hit vnto sir Howell þ*at* is In 496
harde bondis and bydde hym be mery for his enemy (30) 497
is destroyed. And aftir ^in^ Barflete lette brace hit on a 498
Barbycan that all þe comyns of this contrey may hit 78v 499
be holde// And than ye .ij. go vp and fecche me my 500
shelde my swerde and þe boystouse clubbe of Iron. And 501
yf ye lyste ony tresoure take what ye lyst for þ*er* may 502
ye fynde tresoure oute of nu*m*bir. So I haue the Curtyll (5) 503
I kepe no more. for this was a freysh Gyaunte and 504
mykyll of strength .ffor I mette nat w*ith* suche one this 505
xv. wyntir Sauff onys In þe mounte of Arrabe I mette 506
w*ith* suche an o*þer*. but this was fersar that had I nere 507
founden had nat my fortune be good Than þe kynghtis (10) 508
fecched the Clubbe and þe coote And all þe remenaunte 509
and toke w*ith* hem what tresoure that hem lyked. Than 510
þe kynge & they sterte vppon þ*er* horsys. And so they rode fro 511
thens þ*er* as they come fro./ And a none þ*er* clamoure was 512
howge a boute all þe contrey. And than they wente w*ith* (15) 513
one voyse to fore þe kynge and thanked god & hym þ*at* 514
þ*er* enemy was destroyed// All thanke ye god seyde Ar // 515
thure and no man ellys looke þ*at* the gooddys be skyffted 516

And thenne Arthur weltred and wrong/ that he was other whyle vnder and another tyme aboue/ And so weltryng and walowynge they rolled doune the hylle/ tyl they came to the see marke/ and euer as they soo weltred/ Arthur smote hym with his daggar/ and it fortuned they came to the place/ whe//

re as the two knyghtes were and kepte Arthurs hors/ then//
ne when they sawe the kynge fast in the gyaunts armes/ they came and losed hym/ And thenne the kynge commaunded syr

kaye to smyte of the gyaunts hede/ and to sette it vpon a trun//

cheon of a spere and bere it to syre howel/ and telle hym that his enemy was slayne/ and after late this hede be bounded to a barbycan that alle the peple may see and behold hit/ and go ye two vp to the montayn/ and fetche me my sheld/ my suerd

and the clubbe of yron/ And as for the tresour take ye it/ for ye shalle fynde there good oute of nombre/ So I haue the ker tyl and clubbe I desyre no more/ This was the fyerst gy//

aunt that euer I mette with/ sauf one in the mount of Arabe/ whiche I ouercame/ but this was gretter and fyerser/ Thenne the knyghtes fette the clubbe and the kyrtyl/ and some of the tresour they took to them self/ and retorned ageyne to the host

And anone this was knowen thurgh alle the countrey/ wher for the peple came and thanked the kynge/ And he sayd a// geyne yeue the thanke to god/ and departe the goodes among

TLN

that none playne of his p*a*rte// Than he com*m*aunded his 517
cosyn sir howell to make a kyrke on þ*a*t same cragge In 518
þe worshyppe of seynte Mychael On þe morne frome 519
Barflete remevyth þe kynge w*ith* all his grete batayle 520
proudly arayed// And so they shooke ou*er* þe stremys In to 521
a fayre champayne And þ*er*by doune In a valey they 522
pyght vp his tentys. And evyn at þe mete whyle come 523
ij. messyngers. that one was þe Marchall of ffraunce þ*a*t 524
seyde to þe kynge how þe Emp*er*our*e* was com In to ffraunce 525
and hath destroyed much of oure marchis and is com 526
In to Burgayne and many borowys hath destroyed and 527
hath made grete slaughtir of y*our* noble people & where 528
that he rydyth all he destroyes And now he is comyn 529
In to dowse ffraunce And þ*er* he brennys all clene Now all 79 530
the Dowse leperys bothe deukys and oþ*er* and þe peerys of 531
Parys towne ar fledde downe In to þe lowe contrey towarde 532
Roone And but yf þ*ou* helpe them þe sun*n*er they muste yelde hem 533
all at onys bothe þe bodyes and townys they can none othir 534
succo*ur* but nedys they must yelde them In haste 535
536
Than þe kynge byddis Sir Borce now bowske the 537
blythe. And Sir Lyonel and Sir Bedwere loke þ*a*t 538
ye fare w*ith* Sir Gawayne my nevew w*ith* you and take as many 539
good knyghtis and loke þ*a*t ye ryde streyte vnto Sir Lucius and 540
yf I bydde hym In haste to remeve oute of my londys. And 541
yf he woll nat so bydde hym dresse his batayle and lette vs 542
redresse oure ryghtis w*ith* oure handis. And þ*a*t is more wor // 543
shyppe than thus to ou*er* ryde mayst*er*lesse men// Than a 544
none In all haste they dressed hem to horsebak thes noble 545
knyghtis //And whan they com to þe grene wood they sawe 546
be fore hem many prowde pavylyons of sylke of dyverse 547
coloures þ*a*t were sette In a medow besyde a Ryver*e* And the 548
Emp*er*oures pavylyon was In þe myddys w*ith* an Egle display // 549
ed on loffte//. Than thorow the wood oure knyghtis roode 550
tylle þ*a*t they com vnto the Emp*er*oures tente// But be 551
hynde them they leffte stuff of men of armys In a boyshe // 552
mente And þ*er* he leffte In the boyshemente Sir Lyonel. And 553
Sir Bedwere Sir Gawayne and sir Borce wente w*ith* the 554
message// So they rode worthyly In to þe Emp*er*oures tente 555
and spoke bothe at onys w*ith* hawte wordys// Now geff þe 556
sorow Sir Emp*er*our*e* & all thy sowdyars þe a boute// ffor why 557
ocupyest þ*ou* w*ith* wronge the Empyreship of Roome that 558
is kynge Arthures herytage be kynde of his noble Elders 559

yow/ And after that kynge Arthur sayd and commaunded
his Cosyn howel that he shold ordeyne for a chirche to be bylded
sig.i.iiii on the same hylle in the worship of saynte Mychel/ **C** And
on the morne the kynge remeuyd with his grete bataylle/ and
came in to Champayne and in a valeye/ and there they pyght
their tentys/ and the kynge beynge set at his dyner/ ther cam
(5) in two messagers/ of whome that one was Marchal of frau*n*ce
and sayd to the kyng that themperour was entryd in to fra//
unce/ and had destroyed a grete parte and was in Burgoyn
and had destroyed and made grete slaughter of peple & brente
townes and borowes/ wherfor yf thou come not hastely/ they
(10) must yelde vp their bodyes and goodes/

## C Capitulum sextum

(15) Thenne the kynge dyd doo calle syre Gawayne/ syre
Borce/ syr Lyonel and syre Bedewere/ and comma/
unded them to goo strayte to syre Lucius/ and saye ye
to hym that hastely he remeue oute of my land/ And yf he wil
not/ bydde hym make hym redy to bataylle and not distresse the

(20) poure peple/ Thenne anone these noble knyghtes dressyd them
to horsbak/ And whanne they came to the grene wood/ they sa
wem any pauelions sette in a medowe of sylke of dyuerse co//
lours besyde a ryuer/ And themperours pauelione was in the
myddle with an egle displayed aboue/ To the which tente
(25) our knyghtes rode toward/ and ordeyned syr Gawayn and

syre Bors to doo the message/ And lefte in a busshement syre
Lyonel/ and syre Bedwere/ And thenne syre Gawayn and
syr Borce dyd their message/ and commaunded Lucius in Ar
thurs name to auoyde his lond/ or shortly to adresse hym to ba

TLN

there lakked none but Vther his fadir. There fore þe kyng
commaundyth þe to rdye oute of his londys oþer ellys to fyght
for all and knyghtly hit wynne// ye sey well seyde þe Emperour 79v
as youre lorde hath you commanded//But telle your lorde
I sende hym gretynge. but I haue no Ioy of youre Renckys
thus to rebuke me & my lordys// But sey youre lorde
I woll ryde downe by Sayne and wynne all þat þer to longis
and aftir ryde vnto Roone and wynne hit vp clene. hit
be semys þe ylle seyde Sir Gawayne that ony such an
Elffe sholde bragge suche wordys. ffor I had levir than
all ffraunce to fyght a yenste þe oþer I seyde Sir Borce
than to welde all bretayne oþer Burgayne the noble
//Than a knyght þat hyght Sir Gayus þat was cosyn
vnto þe Emperoure he seyde thes wordys. Thes englyshe
Bretouns be braggars of kynde for ye may see how
they boste and bragge as they durste bete all þe worlde
//Than grevid Sir Gawayne at his grete wordys
and with his bowerly bronde þat bryght semed he stroke
of þe hede of sir Gayus the knyght and so they turned[1]
þer horsis and rode ouer watyrs and woodys In to they
com ny þe busshement þer Sir Lyonell and Sir Bedwere
were hovyng stylle// Than þe Romaynes folowed faste
on horsebak and on foote ouer a fayre champeyne vnto
a fayre wood // Than turnys hym Sir Borce wyth
a freyshe wylle and sawe a gay knyght all floryshed In
golde þat bare downe of Arthures knyghtis wondirfull ma //
ny// Than Sir Borce aspyed hym he kaste In feautir
a spere and gyrdis hym thorow oute þe body that his
guttys fylle oute and þe knyght to þe grounde þat gresly
gronyd// Than preced In a bolde barowne all In pur //
pull arayed he threste In to þe prece of kyng Arthures
knyghtis and fruysshed downe many good knyghtis And he
was called Calleborne the strengyste of pavynes londis
And Sir Borce turned hym to & bare hym thorow the 80
brode shylde and þe brode of his breste þat he felle to þe erþe
as dede as a stone// Than Sir ffeldenake the myghty þat
was a praysed man of armys he gurde to Sir Gawayne
for greff of Sir Gayus and his oþer felowys And sir Gawayne
was ware and drew Galantyne his swerde and hyt hym
such a buffette þat he cleved hym to þe breste. And than he cau3//[2]
te his courser & wente to his ferys// Than a rych man
of Rome one of þe Senatours called to his felowys & bade
hem returne for yondir ar shrewed messengers & bolde

taylle/ To whome Lucius ansuerde and sayd ye shalle retorne to your lord and saye ye to hym that I shall subdue hym and alle his londes/ Thenne syre Gawayn was wrothe and sayde

I hadde leuer than alle Fraunce fyghte ageynste the/ and so hadde I saide syr Borce leuer than alle Bretayne or bu//

rgoyne **C** Thenne a knyght named syre Gaynus
nyghe cosyn to the Emperour sayde loo how these Bretons ben

ful of pryde and boost/ and they bragge as though they bare vp alle the worlde/ Thenne syre Gawayne was sore greued
sig.i.iiii(v) with these wordes/ and pulled oute his swerd and smote of his hede/ And therwith torned theyr horses and rode ouer wa ters and thurgh woodes tyl they came to theyre busshement / where as syr Lyonel and syr Bedeuer were houyng/ The ro//
mayns folowed fast after on horsbak and on foote ouer a cha*m*

payn vnto a wood/ thenne syre Boors torned his hors/ and sawe a knyghte come fast on/ whome he smote thurgh the bo// dy with a spere that he fylle dede doune to the erthe/ thenne cam

Callyburne one of the strengest of pauye and smote doune ma
ny of Arthurs knyghtes/ And whan syr Bors sawe hym do soo moche harme he adressyd toward hym & smote hym thur3 the brest that he fylle doune dede to the erthe/ Thenne syr Fel// denak thought to reuenge the dethe of gaynus vpon syre Ga//

wayn/ but syre gawayn was ware therof and smote hym on
the hede/ whiche stroke stynted not tyl it came to his breste/ And thenne he retorned and came to his felawes in the bus// shement / And there was a recountre/ for the busshement brake on the Romayns/ and slewe and hewe doune the Romayns

TLN

boosters. If we folow them ony farther þe harme shall be 603
owrys. And so þe Romaynes returned lyghtly to theire 604
tentys and tolde þe Emperoure how they had spedde. And how 605
þe marchall of Rome was slayne and mo than .v. ml.. In þe 606
felde dede. But yet one they wente and departe oure bushe (15) 607
mente brake on bothe sydys of þe Romaynes. And þer the 608
bolde Bedwer and sir Lyonel. bare downe þe Romaynes on 609
euery syde// There oure noble knyghtis of mery Ingelonde 610
bere hem thorow þe helmys & bryght sheldis & slew hem 611
downe. And þer þe hole roughte returned vnto þe Emperoure & (20) 612
tolde hym at one worde his men were destroyed .x. ml. by 613
batayle of tyred knyghtis for they ar þe brymmyst men þat evir 614
we saw In felde// But all wayes Sir Borce And Sir 615
Gawayne freyshly folowed on the Romaynes evyn vnto þe 616
Emperoures tentis// Than oute ran þe Romaynes on euery (25) 617
syde bothe on horse & on foote to many oute of numbir. But 618
Sir Borce and sir Berel were formeste In þe frunte and 619
freyshly fau3t as euer dud ony knyghtis. But Sir Gawayne 620
was on þe ryght honde & dud what he myght. But there 621
were so many hym a gaynste he myght nat helpe þer his fe (30) 622
rys. but was fayne to turne on his horse othis hir lyfffe 623
muste he lese // Sir Borce and Sir Berell þe good baroun 80v 624
nes fou3t as .ij. boorys þat myght no farþer passe//But at þe 625
laste thou3e they loth were they were yolden & takyn and 626
saved þer lyves yet þe stale stoode a lytyll on fere with Sir Gaway 627
ne þat made sorow oute of mesure for these .ij. lordys. But (5) 628
than cam In a freysh knyght clenly arayed Sir Idres Sir 629
Vwaynes son a noble man of armys he brought .v. C. good 630
men In haubirkis attyred. And whan he wyste Sir Borce 631
and sir Berel were cesed of werre Alas he sayde this is to 632
muche shame & ouer muche losse//ffor with kynge Arthure and (10) 633
he know þat thes .ij. knyghtis bene thus loste he woll neuer mery 634
be tyll this be revenged. A fayre knyght sayde sir Gawayne 635
þou moste nedis be a good man for so is thy fadir I knowe 636
full well thy modir In Ingelonde was þou borne Alas thes 637
Romaynes this day haue chaced us as wylde harys & they (15) 638
haue oure noble chyfften takyn In the felde þer was neuer 639
a bettir knyght þat strode vppon a steede //Loo where they lede 640
oure lordys ouer yondir brode launde. I make myne avowe 641
seyde Sir Gawayne I shall neuer se my lorde Arthure but yf 642
I reskew hem þat so lyghtly ar ledde vs fro// That Is kny3tly (20) 643
spokyn seyde sir Idres & pulde vp here brydyls & halowed 644
ouer þat champayne. there was russhynge of sperys & swapp // 645

and forced the Romayns to flee and retorne/ whome the no//
(20) ble knyghtes chaced vnto theyr tentes/ Thenne the Romayns
gadred more peple/ and also foote men cam on/ and ther was

a newe bataille and soo moche peple that syr Bors and syr

Berel were taken/ but whan syre gawayn sawe that/ he tooke

with hym syre Idrus the good knyght and sayd he wold ne

(25) uer see kynge Arthur but yf he rescued them/ and pulled out

| | | TLN |
|---|---|---|
| yng of swerdis. And sir Gawayne *with* galantyne his swerde | | 646 |
| dud many wondyrs //Than he threste thorow þe prece vnto | | 647 |
| hym þ*a*t lad sir Bors and bare hym thorow vp to þe hyltys & | (25) | 648 |
| lad away sir Bors strayte vnto his ferys// Than sir Idrus | | 649 |
| þe yonge sir Vwaynes son he threst vnto a knyght þ*a*t had sir | | 650 |
| Berell þ*a*t þe brayne and þe blode clevid on his swerde//þ*er* | | 651 |
| was a proude Senatoure preced aftir sir Gawayne & gaff | | 652 |
| hym a grete buffet That sawe sir Idres and aftir rydyth | (30) | 653 |
| & had slayne þe Senato*ur* but þ*a*t he yelded hym In haste yet | | 654 |
| he was loth to be yoldyn but þ*a*t he nedys muste//And w*ith* þ*a*t sir | 81 | 655 |
| Idrus ledde hym oute of þe prees vnto sir Lyonel. And vnto | | 656 |
| Syr Lovel Idrus brothir and com*m*aunded hem to kepe hym | | 657 |
| on payne of theire hedis. Than þ*er* be gan a passyng harde | | 658 |
| stoure. for þe Romaynes eu*er* wexed eu*er* bygger//Whan Sir | (5) | 659 |
| Gawayne þ*a*t aspyed he sente forth a knyght vnto kyng Arthu// | | 660 |
| re And telle hym what sorow we endure & how we haue | | 661 |
| takyn þe chefe chaunceler of Rome. And Petur is presone*re* | | 662 |
| a Senatoure full noble & odir proude pryncis we knowe | | 663 |
| nat theire namys And pray hym as he is oure lorde to res// | (10) | 664 |
| cowe vs be tyme for oure p*re*soners may pay rychesse oute of | | 665 |
| nu*m*bir And telle hym þ*a*t I am wounded wondirly sore// Whan | | 666 |
| þe messyngers com to þe kyng & tolde hym thes wordys the | | 667 |
| kynge thanked cryste clappyng his hondys. And for thy trew | | 668 |
| sawys & I may lyve many wyntyrs þ*er* was neu*er* no knyght bett*er* | (15) | 669 |
| rewardid. But þ*er* is no golde vndir god þ*a*t shall save þ*er* lyvys | | 670 |
| I make myne avow to god. And sir Gawayne be In ony perel | | 671 |
| of deth for I had levir þ*a*t þ*e* Emp*er*oure & all his chyff lordis were | | 672 |
| sunkyn In to helle than ony lorde of þe rounde table were byt // | | 673 |
| tyrly wounded// So forth þe p*re*soners were brought be fore | (20) | 674 |
| Arthure And he com*m*aunded hem In to kepyng of þe Conestablys | | 675 |
| warde surely to be kepte as noble p*re*soners// So w*ith* In a why // | | 676 |
| le com In þe fore Ryders thatis for to say Sir Bors Sir | | 677 |
| Bedwere Sir Lyonell And sir Gawayne that was sore woun // | | 678 |
| ded w*ith* all hir noble felyshyp they loste no man of worshyppe | (25) | 679 |
| So anone þe kyng lete rensake Sir Gawayne anone In | | 680 |
| his syght And sayde fayre Cosyn me Ruys of thyne hurtys | | 671 |
| And yf I wyste hit myght glad thy hert othir fare þ*e* bettir w*ith* | | 682 |
| hit I sholde p*re*sente þe w*ith* hir hedys thorow whom þou art thus | | 683 |
| rebuked. That were lytyll a vayle sayde sir Gawayne for | (30) | 684 |
| theire hedys had they lorne & I had wolde my self & hit were | | 685 |
| shame to sle knyghtis whan they be yolden// Than was þ*er* Ioy | 81v | 686 |
| & game amonge þe knyghtis of rounde table And spoke of þe gr*e*te | | 687 |
| p*ro*uesse þ*a*t þe messyngers ded þ*a*t day thorow dedys of armys//So | | 688 |

galatyn his good swerd/ and followed them that ledde tho ij

knyghtes awaye/ and he smote hym that lad syre Bors/ and took syr Bors fro hym and delyuerd hym to his felawes/ And syre Idrus in lyke wyse rescowed syr Berel/ thenne

(30) beganne the bataill to be grete that oure kny3tes were in grete Ieopardy/ wherfore syre Gawayn sente to kyng Arthur for so cour and that he hye hym for I am sore wounded/ and that oure prysoners may paye good oute of nombre/ And the mes sager came to the kyng and told hym his message/ And anon (35) the kynge dyd doo assemble his armye/ but anone or he depar

ted the prysoners were comen/ and syre gawayn and his fe//

lawes gate the felde and put the Romayns to flyght/ and af ter retorned and came with their felauship in suche wyse/ that **sig i.v.** no man of worship was loste of them/ sauf that syr Gawayn was sore hurte/ Thenne the kynge dyd do ransake his woun// des and comforted hym/ And thus was the begynnynge of the first iourney of the brytons and Romayns/ and ther we// (5) re slayne of the Romayns moo than ten thousand/ and grete

ioye and myrthe was made that nyghte in the hoost of kynge

TLN

on þe morne whan hit was day þe kyng callyd vnto hym sir 689
Cador of Cornuayle And sir Clarrus of Clereounte A clene 690
man of armys. And sir Cloudres Sir Clegis. ij. olde noble 691
knyghtes And sir Bors Sir Berell noble good men of armys 692
And also Sir Bryan de les ylyes and sir Bedwere þe bolde 693
And also he called sir Launcelot In heryng of all peple and 694
seyde I pray þe Sir as þou lovys me take hede to thes oþer kny3tis 695
& boldely lede thes presoners vnto Paryse towne þer for to be 696
kepte surely as they me love woll haue. And yf ony Rescowe 697
be falle moste I affye the In me as Ieshu me helpe // Than 698
sir Launcelot and sir Cador with thes oþer knyghtis attyred oute 699
of þer felyshyp .x. ml. be tale of bolde men arayed of þe beste of 700
þer company. And than they vnfolde Baners & let hem be displayed 701
NOw turne we to þe Emperoure of Rome þat wyste by aspye 702
whethir this presoners sholde wende. he callyd vnto 703
hym sir Edolf and sir Edwarde .ij. myghty kyngis. And Sir 704
Sextore of Lybye And Senatours many. And þe kyng of Sur // 705
re and þe Senatoure of Rome Sawtre all thes turned 706
towarde Troyes with many proved knyghtis to be trappe þe kyngis 707
sondis men þat were charged with þe presoners//Thus ar oure 708
knyghtis passed towarde paryse a busshemente lay be fore them 709
of Sixty ml men of Armys//Now lordis seyde sir Launcelot 710
I pray you herkyns me a whyle I drede þat In this woodys 711
be leyde a fore vs many of oure enemyes. There fore 712
be myne advyse sende we .iij. good knyghtis I assente me 713
seyde Sir Cador And all they seyde þe same & were aggre // 714
ed þat Sir Claryon and sir Clement þe noble þat they sholde 715
dyscouer þe woodys bothe þe dalys & þe downys. So forth rode 716
thes .iij. knyghtis & aspyed In the woodis men of armys ry // 82 717
dyng on sterne horsys// Than Sir Clegys cryed on low 718
de is þer ony knyght kyng oþer cayser þat dare for his lordis love 719
þat he servyth recountir with a knyght of þe rounde table be he 720
kyng oþer knyght here is his recounter redy// An Erle hym 721
answeryd angirly agayne and seyde thy lorde wenys with 722
his knyghtis to wynne all þe worlde I trow your currage shal 723
be aswaged In shorte tyme// ffye on þe cowarde seyde Sir 724
Clegis as a cowarde þou spekyste for by Ihesu myne armys 725
ar knowyn thorow oute all Inglonde and Bretayne And 726
I am com of olde Barounes of Auncetry noble and Sir 727
Clegis is my name a knyght of þe table rounde. And frome 728
Troy Brute brought myne elders// Thou be semeste 729
well seyde þe kyng to be one of þe good be thy bryght browys 730
but for all þat þou canst conieoure oþer sey þer shall none þat is here 731

Arthur/ And on the morne he sente alle the prysoners in to pa
rys vnder the garde of syre launcelot with many knyghtes &
of syr Cador

(10)

## C Capitulum vii

Now torne we to the Emperour of Rome whiche aspy
ed that these prysoners shold be sente to Parys/ and
(15) anone he sente to leye in a busshement certayne knyghtes and
prynces with syxty thousand men for to rescowe his knyght//
es and lordes that were prysoners/ And so on the morne as
Launcelot and syre Cador chyuetayns and gouernours of all
them that conueyed the prysoners as they sholde passe thurgh
(20) a wode syr Laun*n*celot sente certayne knyghtes tespye yf ony we

re in the woodes to lette them/ And whanne the said knyghtes
cam in to the wood/ anone they aspyed and sawe the grete en

| | | TLN |
|---|---|---|
| medyll *with* þe this tyme//Than sir Clegis Returned fro þe | | 732 |
| Ryche kyng and rode streyghte to Sir Launcelot And vnto | | 733 |
| sir Cadore And tolde hem what he had ~~seyde~~ seyne In the | | 734 |
| woodis of þe fayryste syght of men of armys to þe nu*m*bir of | | 735 |
| Sixty ml And þ*er* fore lordyngis fyght you be hovys oþ*er* ellys | (20) | 736 |
| shunte for shame chose whe þ*er* ye lykys// Nay be my fayth | | 737 |
| sayde sir Launcelot to turne is no tyme for here ^is^ all olde | | 738 |
| knyghtis of ~~olde~~ grete worshyp þ*a*t were neu*er* shamed. And as | | 739 |
| for me & my cousyns of my bloode we ar but late made | | 740 |
| knyghtis yett wolde we be loth to lese þe worshyp þ*a*t oure | (25) | 741 |
| eldyrs haue des*er*uyd. ye sey well seyde sir Cador And all | | 742 |
| thes knyghtis of your knyghtly wordis comfortis vs all | | 743 |
| and I suppose here is none woll be glad to returne. And as | | 744 |
| for me seyde sir Cador I had leu*er* dye this day than onys to | | 745 |
| turne my bak//ye sey well seyde sir Borce lette vs set on | (30) | 746 |
| hem freyshly and þe worshyp shall be oures And cause oure | | 747 |
| kyng to honoure vs for eu*er* and to gyff vs lordshyppis | 82v | 748 |
| & landys for oure noble dedys And he þ*a*t faynes hym to | | 749 |
| fyght þe devyl haue his bonys & who save ony knyghtis | | 750 |
| for lycoure of goodys tylle all be done & know who shal | | 751 |
| haue þe bettir he doth nat knyghtly so Ih*es*u me helpe// þan | (5) | 752 |
| anone Sir Launcelot and Sir Cador tho .ij myghty Dukis | | 753 |
| dubbed knyghtys worshyp to wynne Ioneke was þe fyrste | | 754 |
| a Iuster full noble Sir hectimer and Sir Alyduke bothe | | 755 |
| of Inglonde borne And sir hamerel and sir hardolf full har | | 756 |
| dy men of Armys. Also Sir harry And Sir harygall þat | (10) | 757 |
| good men were bothe// Now felowys seyde Sir Launcelot | | 758 |
| and sir Cador the k^e^ne Comhydir sir Bedwere and sir Berel. | | 759 |
| take *with* you sir Raynolde and sir Edwarde that ar sir Roulon// | | 760 |
| dis chyldir & loke þ*a*t ye take kepe to thes noble p*re*soners what | | 761 |
| chaunce so vs be tyde save them & yo*ur* self this com*m*aundeme*n*t | (15) | 762 |
| we geff you as ye woll answere to oure sou*er*ayne lorde. | | 763 |
| And for ony stowre þ*a*t eu*er* ye se vs be stadde stondys In yo*ur* | | 764 |
| stale & sterte ye no fer þ*er*. And yf hit be falle þ*a*t ye se oure charge | | 765 |
| is to muche than recou*er* yo*ur* self vnto som kydde castell & than | | 766 |
| ryde you faste vnto oure kynge and pray hym of socco*ur* as he | (20) | 767 |
| is oure kynde lorde//And than they fruyshed forth all at | | 768 |
| onys of þe bourelyest knyghtis þ*a*t eu*er* brake brede *with* mo than | | 769 |
| v. C. at þ*e* formyst frunte & caste þ*er* speares . In feawter all at | | 770 |
| onys and save trumpettis þ*er* was no noyse ellys// Than the | | 771 |
| Romaynes oste Remeved alytyll and þe lorde þ*a*t was kynge | (25) | 772 |
| of Lybye that lad all þe formyste route he keste his spere In fe// | | 773 |
| autyr & bare his course evyn to Sir Berel and strake hym.. | | 774 |

busshement/ and retorned and told syr Lau*n*celot that ther lay
in a wayte for them thre score thousand Romayns/ And then //
(25) ne syr Launcelot with suche knyghtes as he hadde and men of
warre to the nombre of x M put them in araye and met wyth

TLN

thorow þe gorge that he and his horse felle to þe grounde & 775
so he was brought oute of his lyff// Alas sayde sir Cadore[3] 776
now carefull is myne herte þ*a*t now lyeth dede my Cosyn þ*a*t (30) 777
I beste loved he a lyght off his horse and toke hym In hys 778
armys And þ*er* com*m*aunded knyghtis to kepe well þe corse//Than 83 779
þe kynge craked grete wordys on lowde & seyde one of yon prow 780
de knyghtis is leyde full lowe//yondir kyng seyde sir Cador 781
carpis grete wordis. But & I may lyve or this dayes ende I 782
shall countir w*i*th yondir kynge so Cryste me helpe// Sir seyde sir (5) 783
Launcelot meve you nat to sore but take yo*u*r speare In yo*u*r honde 784
& we shall you not fayle// Than sir Cador Sir Launcelot and 785
sir Bors the good men of armys thes .iij. feawtyrd þ*er* sperys 786
and threste In to þe myddys & ran thorow oute þe grete oste twy// 787
se oþ*er* .iij. tymes. And whan þ*er* sperys were brokyn they swange (10) 788
oute þ*er* swerdis & slowe of noble men of armys mo than an .C. 789
And than they rode a yen to theire ferys// Than a lowde the 790
kynge of Lybye cryed vnto sir Cador well haue ye revenged 791
þe deth of yo*u*r knyght ffor I haue loste for one knyght an .C. by 792
vij. score. And there w*i*th þe batayle be gan to Ioyne & grete (15) 793
slaught*er* þ*er* was on the Sarysens p*ar*ty but thorow the noble p*r*ousse 794
of kyng Arthurs knyghtis .x. were takyn & lad forth as p*r*eso// 795
ners þ*a*t greved sore sir Launcelot Sir Cador and Sir Bors 796
þe brym /The kynge of Lybye be helde þ*er* dedis and sterte on 797
a sterne horse and vmbely closed oure knyghtis & drove (20) 798
downe to þe grounde many a good man. ffor þ*er* was Sir Aladu// 799
ke slayne And also sir Ascamo*u*r sore wounded And Sir herawde 800
and sir heryngale hewyn to pecis And Sir Lovell was takyn[4] 801
And Sir Lyonell als. And neve had sir Clegis Sir Cleremon// 802
de nat bene w*i*th þe knyghthode of Sir Launcelot tho newe (25) 803
made knyghtis had be slayne eu*er*ychone// Than sir Cador ro// 804
de vnto þe kyng of Lybye w*i*th a swerde well stelyd & smote hy*m* 805
an hy3e vppon þe hede þ*a*t þe brayne folowed// Now haste thow 806
seyde sir Cador corne boote agaynewarde and þe devyll haue[5] 807
thy bonys þ*a*t eu*er* þ*o*u were borne// Than þe Sowdan of Surre (30) 808
was wood wrothe. for þe deth of þ*a*t kynge grevid hym at his 809
herte and recomforted his peple and sette sore on oure 83v 810
knyghtis //Than sir Launcelot and Sir Bors encountyrs 811
w*i*th hym sone And w*i*th In a whyle as tellyth þe Romaynes 812
they had slayne of þe Sara3ens mo than .v. ml . And sir Kay 813
þe kene had takyn a Captayne And Edwarde had takyn .ij. (5) 814
Erlys and þe Sawdon of Surre yeldid hym vp vnto Sir 815
Launcelot And þe Senatur of Sautre yeldid hym vnto sir 816
Cador// Whan þe Romaynes & þe Sare3ens aspyed how þe 817

them and foughte with them manly/ and slewe and dreten//
chid many of the Romayns/ and slewe many knyghtes & ad//

myrals of the party of the Romayns and sarasyns/ ther was

(30) slayne the kynge of lylye and thre grete lordes Aladuke/ he//
rawde and heryngdale/ but syr Launcelot fought soo nobly that

TLN

game yode they fledde *with* all hir myght to hyde there hedis 818
//Than oure knyghtis folowed *with* a freysshe fare And slew (10) 819
downe of þe Sara3ens. And folowed *with* a freysshe fare// And 820
Sir Launcelot ded so grete dedys of armys þ*a*t day þ*a*t sir Cador 821
and all þe Romaynes had m*er*vayle of his myght for þ*er* was 822
noþ*er* kynge Casyer noþ*er* knyght þ*a*t day myght stonde hym 823
ony buffette þ*er* fore was he honoured dayes of his lyff ffor (15) 824
neu*er* ere or þ*a*t day was he proved so well ffor he and Sir 825
Bors and sir Lyonel was but late a fore at an hy3e feste 826
made all .iij. knyghtis//And thus were þe Romaynes & 827
þe Sare3ens slayne a downe clene save a fewe were reco // 828
virde þ*er* by In to a lytyll castell. And than þe noble Renckys (20) 829
of þe Rounde table there as þe felde was toke vp hir good 830
bodyes of þe noble knyghtis & garte sende them vnto kyng 831
Arthure In to the erthe to be caste So they all rode vnto 832
Paryse and be leffte þe p*re*soners þ*er* w*ith* the Pure proveste & 833
than they were delyu*er*de In to sure sauff garde. Than (25) 834
eu*er*y knyght toke a spere & dranke of þe colde wyne and 835
than fersely In a brayde returned vnto þe kynge// Whan 836
þe kynge his knyghtis sawe he was than m*er*velously reioy // 837
ced & cleyght knyght be knyght In his armys & sayde all 838
þe worshyp In þe worlde ye welde be my fayth// There (30) 839
was neu*er* kyng sauff my selff þ*a*t welded evir such kny3tis 840
Sir seyde Sir Cador there was none of vs þ*a*t fayled othir 84 841
But of þe knyghthode of Sir Launcelot hit were m*er*vayle 842
to telle & of his bolde Cosyns ar proved full noble kny3tis 843
But of wyse wytte & of grete strengthe of his ayge sir 844
Launcelot hath no felowe// Whan þe kyng herde sir Cador (5) 845
sey such wordys he seyde hym be semys for to do such dedis 846
//And sir Cadore tolde Arthure whyche of þe good knyghtis 847
were slayne. The kynge of Lybye And he slew the fyrste 848
knyght on oure syde þ*a*t was Sir Berell And sir Aladuke 849
was anoþ*er* a noble man of armys And sir Maurel and sir (10) 850
Mores that were .ij. brethyrn w*ith* sir Manaduke and Sir 851
Mandyff .ij. good knyghtis //Than þe kynge w*ith* a keu*er*choff 852
wyped his Iyen & sayde yo*ur* corrage & yo*ur* hardynesse nere 853
hande had you destroyed. for & ye had turned agayne ye 854
had loste no worshyp. ffor I calle hit but foly to a byde wha*n* (15) 855
knyghtis bene ou*er* macched. Not so sayde sir Launcelot 856
the shame sholde eu*er* haue bene oures. That is trouthe 857
seyde sir Clegis and Sir Bors for knyghtis ons shamed 858
859
860

no man myght endure a stroke of his hande/ but where he came
he shewed his prowesse and myght/ for he slewe doune ryght
on euery syde/ And the Romayns and sarasyns fledde from
(35) hym as the sheep fro the wulf or fro the lyon/ and putt them
alle that abode alyue to flyght/ And so longe they fou3te that

tydynges came to kynge Arthur/ And anone he graythed hym
and came to the bataille/ and sawe his knyghtes how they had
**sig i.v(v)** vanquysshed the bataylle/ he enbraced them knyght by kn3hte
in his armes and said ye be worthy to welde all your honour
and worship/ there was neuer kynge sauf my self that had so
noble knyghtes/ Syre sayd Cador there was none of vs fail
(5) led other/ but of the prowesse and manhode of syre Launcelot
were more than wonder to telle/ and also of his cosyns whi//
che dyd that daye many noble feates of werrre/ And also syre

Cador tolde who of his knyghtes were slayne/ as syr beriel &

other syr Morys and syr Maurel two good knyghtes/ then//

(10) ne the kynge wepte and dryed his eyen with a keuerchyef/ &
sayd your courage had nere hand destroyed yow/ For though
ye had retorned ageynde/ ye had lost no worship/ For I calle
hit foly/ knyghtes to abyde when they be ouermatched/ Nay
sayd Launcelot and the other/ For ones shamed maye neuer
(15) be recouerd

TLN

Recouerys hit neuer // Now leve Sir Arthure and his no // 863
ble knyghtis and speke we of a Senatoure þat ascaped fro 864
þe batayle /Whan he com to Lucius the Emperoure of Rome 865
he seyde Sir with drawþe what doste þou here In this mar // 866
chis and to ouer ren poore peple þou shalt wynne ^no^thyng 867
ellys. & If þou dele with kynge Arthure and his doughty kny3tis 868
þou wynnys naught ellys but grete strokys oute of me // 869
sure. ffor this day one of Arthurs knyghtis was worth 870
In batayle an .C. of oures. ffye on þe seyde Lucyus for 871
cowardly þou spekyste yf my harmys me greve thy wor // 872
dys greveth me muche more// Than he called to hym 873
his counceyle men of noble bloode// So by all theire 874
advyse he sent forth a knyght þat hyght sir Leomye he 875
dressed his peple & hy3e hym he bade & take hym of the 84v 876
beste men of armys many sad hundrethis & go be fore 877
and we woll folow aftir// But þe kynge of þer commynge 878
was prevely warned & than In to Sessoyne he dressid his 879
peple & forstalled þe Romaynes from þe kyd castels & þe 880
walled townes. And þer sir Vyllers the Valyaunte made 881
his avow evyn by fore þe kynge to take oþer to sle the 882
vycounte of Rome or ellys to dye there fore. 883
Than þe kyng commaunded Sir Cadore to take he// 884
de to þe rerewarde and take renkys of þe rounde 885
table þat the beste lykes sauff Sir Launcelot & Sir Bors 886
with many mo othis Sir Kay Sir Clegis shall be þer als and 887
sir Marroke Sir Marhaulte shall be with me In fere & all 888
thes with mo oþer shall a wayte vppon my persone// Thus 889
kynge Arthure dispercled all his oste In dyuerse partyes that 890
they sholde nat ascape but to fyght them be hovys. Whan 891
þe emperoure was entyrd In to þe Vale of Sessoyne he my3t 892
se where kyng Arthure hoved In Batayle with baners 893
displayed on euery syde was he be sette þat he myght nat 894
ascape but oþer to fyght oþer to yelde hym þere was none oþer 895
boote// Now I se well seyde sir Lucyus yondir traytoure 396
hath be trayed me. Than he redressis his knyghtis on 897
dyuerse partyes & sette vp a dragon with Eglys many one ene// 898
wed with Sabyl// And than he lete blow vp with trumpettis 899
& with tabours þat all þe Vale dyndled And than he lete crye 900
on lowde with trumpettis and with tabours þat all þe Vale dyn// 901
ned And than he lete cry on lowde þat all men my3t here 902
//Syrs ye know well þat þe honoure & worshyp hath 903

## C Capitulum viii

Now leue we kynge Arthur and his noble knyghtes whiche had wonne the felde/ and had brought theyre prysoners to parys/ and speke we of a senatour whiche escaped fro the bataille/ and came to Lucius themperour & sayd to hym/ Syre emperour I aduyse the for to withdrawe the /what dost thow here/ thow shalt wynne noo thynge in these marches but grete strokes oute of al mesure/ For this day one of Arthurs knyghtes was worth in the batayll an hondred of ours Fy on the sayd Lucius thow spekest cowardly/ for thy wordes greue me more than alle the losse that I had this day /and

anone he sende forth a kynge whiche hyghte sir leomye with a grete armye and badde hym hye hym fast to fore/ and he wold

folowe hastely after/ kynge Arthur was warned pryuely/ & sente his peple to Sessoyne/ and toke vp the townes & castels

fro the Romaynes/ Thenne the kyng commaunded syr Cador to take the rereward/ & to take with hym certayne knyghtes of the round table/ and syre Launcelot/ syre Bors/ syr kay/ syre

Marrok with syre Marhaus shalle awayte on our persone/

Thus the kynge Arthur disperplyd his hoost in dyuerse partyes/ to thende that his enemyes shold not escape/ whanne the
sig. i.vi
Emperour was entryd in to the vale of Sessoyne/ he myghte see where kynge Arthur was enbatailled and his baner dysplayed/ and he was bysette round aboute with his enemyes/ that nedes he must fyghte or yelde hym/ for he myght not flee/

But sayd openly vnto the Romaynes/ syrs I admoneste you

TLN

eu*er* folowyd þe Romaynes. And this day let hit nevir be 904
loste for þe defau3te of herte for I se well by yondyr 905
ordynaunce this day shall dye much peple & þ*er* fore 906
907
Do dou3tyly 908
909
do doughtly this day & þe felde is ourys. Than anone þe 85 910
welshe kyng was so ny3e þ*a*t he herde Sir Lucyus Than 911
he dressed hym to the vycounte his a vow for to holde 912
his armys were full clene And þ*er* In was a dolefull 913
dragon and In to þe vawarde he pykys hym w*ith* styff 914
spere In honde And þ*er* he mette wyth þe valyaunte vyl// 915
lers hym self þ*a*t was vycounte of Rome and þ*er* he smo// 916
te hym thorow þe shorte rybbys w*ith* a speare þ*a*t the bloode 917
braste oute on eu*er*y syde and so fylle to the erthe and 918
neu*er* spake mo wordys aftir// Than þe noble Sir Vway// 919
ne boldely approached & gyrde thorow oute þe Emp*er*oures 920
batayle where was þe thyckest prece & slew a grete 921
lorde by þe Emp*er*ours standard And than flow to þe Ba// 922
ner & strake hit thorow oute w*ith* his bryght swerde 923
& so takyth hit fro hem & rydyth w*ith* hit a way vnto his 924
felyshyp // Than sir Launcelot lepe forth w*ith* his stede 925
evyn streyght vnto Sir Lucyus and In his wey he 926
smote thorow a kynge þ*a*t stoode althir nexte hym & 927
his name was Iacounde a Sare3en full noble & than 928
he russhed forth vnto Sir Lucyus and smote hym on 929
þe helme w*ith* his swerde þ*a*t he felle to þe erthe. And syth he 930
rode thryse ou*er* hym on a rowe and so toke þe Baner of 931
Rome & rode w*ith* hit a way vnto Arthure hym self. And 932
all sedye þ*a*t hit sawe þ*er* was neu*er* knyght dud more 933
worshyp In his dayes// Than dressed hym sir Bors 934
vnto a sterne k*n*yght and smote hym on the vmbrell 935
þ*a*t his necke braste. Than he Ioyned his horse vntyl 936
a sterne Gyaunte & smote hym thorow bothe sydys 937
And yet he slewe In his way turnyng .ij. oþ*er* knyghtis 938
Be than þe bowe men of Inglonde & of Bretayne 939
be gan to shote. And these othir Romaynes & Sara3ens 940
shotte w*ith* dartis & w*ith* crosse bowys. þ*er* be gan a stronge 85v 941
batayle on eu*er*y syde and muche slaught*er* on þe Romay// 942
nes p*ar*ty and þe douche men w*ith* quarels dud muche 943
harme for they were w*ith* þe Romaynes w*ith* hir bowys of 944
horne// And þe grete gyauntes of Gene kylled downe 945
many knyghtis w*ith* clubbys of steele crusshed oute hir 946

that this day ye fyghte and acquyte yow as men/ and remem
bre how Rome domyneth and is chyef and hede ouer alle the
erthe and vnyuersal world/ and suffre not these bretons thys
day to abyde ageynste vs/ & ther with he dyd commaunde hys
(10) trompettes to blowe the blody sownes in suche wyse that the gro//
und trembled and dyndled/ Thenne the batails approuched
and shoue and showted on bothe sydes and grete strokes were
smyten on bothe sydes/ many men ouerthrowen/ hurte/ & slayn
and grete valyaunces/ prowesses and appertyces of werre we//
re that day shewed/ whiche were ouer long to recounte the no//
(15) ble feates of euery man/ For they shold conteyne an hole vo//

| | | TLN |
|---|---|---|
| braynes. Also they sqwatte oute þe braynes of many | | 947 |
| coursers// Whan Arthure had aspyed þe Gyauntis workis | | 948 |
| he cryed on lowde þ*a*t knyghtis myght here & seyde fay// | | 949 |
| re lordys loke yo*ur* name be nat loste lese nat youre | (10) | 950 |
| worshyp for yondir bare legged knavys and ye shal | | 951 |
| se what I shall do as for my trew p*ar*te he toke there | | 952 |
| oute Excalyber And gurdys towarde Galapas that | | 953 |
| | | 954 |
| | | 955 |
| | | 956 |
| grevid hym moste he kut hym of by the kneis clenly | | 957 |
| þ*er*e In sondir// Now art þou of a syse seyde þe kyng lyke | (15) | 958 |
| vnto oure ferys And than he strake of his hede swyf// | | 959 |
| tely// Than come In Sir Cadore and Sir Kay Sir | | 960 |
| Gawayne And good Sir Launcelot Sir Bors Sir Ly// | | 961 |
| onel and sir Ector de Marys and Sir Ascamore the | | 962 |
| good knyght þ*a*t neu*er* fayled his lorde Sir Pelleas | (20) | 963 |
| and sir Marhault that were p*ro*ved men of armys | | 964 |
| All thes grymly knyghtis sette vppon þe gyauntys | | 965 |
| And by þe dyntys were dalte and þe dome yoldyn | | 966 |
| they had felled hym starke dede of fyffty all to the | | 967 |
| bare erthe// So forth they wente wyth þe kynge tho | (25) | 968 |
| knyghtis of þe rounde table was neu*er* kyng noþ*er* knyghtis | | 969 |
| dud bettir syn god made þe worlde they leyde on w*ith* longe | | 970 |
| swerdys & swapped thorow braynes shyldys noþ*er* no shene | | 971 |
| armys myght hem nat w*ith* stonde tyll they leyde on the | | 972 |
| erthe .x. ml at onys// Than þe Romaynes reled a lytyl | (30) | 973 |
| for they were som what rebuked//But kyng Arthure | | 974 |
| w*ith* his pryce kynghtis p*re*ced sore aftir// Than Sir Kay Sir | 86 | 975 |
| Clegis and Sir Bedwere the Ryche encountys w*ith* them | | 976 |
| by a clyff syde & þ*er* they .iij. by good meanys slowe In þ*a*t chace | | 977 |
| mo than .v. C. And also Sir Kay Roode vnto a kyng of Ethy// | | 978 |
| ope and bare hym thorow & as he turned hym a gayne | (5) | 979 |
| towarde his ferys a tyrraunte strake hym betwyxte | | 980 |
| þe breste & þ*e* bowellys// And as he was hurte yet he tur// | | 981 |
| ned hym a gayne & smote þe todir on þe hede þ*a*t to þe breste | | 982 |
| hit rau3te And seyde thou3e I dey of thy dente thy praysyng | | 983 |
| shall be lytyll// Whan Sir Clegys and sir Bedwere saw | (10) | 984 |
| that Sir Kay was hurt thay fared w*ith* þe Romaynes as gray// | | 985 |
| houndis doth w*ith* harys. And than they returned ayen vnto | | 986 |
| noble kynge Arthure And tolde hym how they had spedde | | 987 |
| Sir kyng sayde sir Kay I haue serued þe longe now bryng | | 988 |
| me vnto som beryellys for my fadyrs sake And com*m*aunde | (15) | 989 |

lume/ But in especyal kynge Arthur rode in the bataille ex//
hortynge his knyghtes to doo wel/ and hym self dyd as no//
bly with his handes as was possyble a man to doo/ he drewe

(20) oute Excalibur his swerd/ and awayted euer where as the ro//
maynes were thyckest and moost greud his peple/ and anone
he adressyd hym on that parte and hewe and slewe doune ry3t
and rescued his peple/ and he slewe a grete gyaunt named ga//
lapas/ whiche was a man of an huge quantyte and heyghte
(25) he shorted hym and smote of bothe his legges by the knees/ sa
yenge/ Now arte thow better of a syse to dele with/ than thou
were /and after smote of his hede/ there syre gawayn foughte

TLN

me to dame Gwenyuere thy goodly quene and grete wel 990
my worshypfull wyff þ*a*t wratthed me neu*er* and byd hir for 991
my love to worche for my soule// Than wepte kynge Ar // 992
thure ffor routhe at his herte And seyde þ*o*u shalt lyve for (20) 993
eu*er* my herte thynkis And þ*er* w*i*th þe kynge hym self pulled 994
oute the tru*n*cheoune of þe speare & made lechis to seche 995
hym sykerly And founde noþ*er* lyvir nor lungys noþ*er* bowellis 996
that were attamed// And than þe kyng putte hym In hys 997
owne tente w*i*th syker knyghtis And sayde I shall revenge (25) 998
thy hurte & I may a ryght rede// Than þe kynge In this 999
malyncoly metys w*i*th a kynge And w*i*th Excalyber he smote 1000
his bak In sunder than In þ*a*t haste he metys w*i*th a nothir & 1001
gurde hym In þe waste thorow bothe sydes. Thus he russhed 1002
here & there thorow þe thyckyst p*r*ees more than .xxxth. tymes (30) 1003
//Than Sir Launcelot Sir Gawayne and sir Lovel ys son 1004
gerde oute one þ*a*t one hande where Lucyus the Emp*er*oure 1005
hym self In a launde stood. Anone as Sir Lucyus sawe 86v 1006
Sir Gawayne be sayde all on hyght þ*o*u art welcom Iwys 1007
ffor þ*o*u sekyst aftir sorow here þ*o*u shalt be sone ou*er* macched// 1008
//Sir Launcelot was wroth at hys grym*m*e wordys and 1009
gurde to hym w*i*th his swerde a bouen vppon hys bryght (5) 1010
helme þ*a*t þe Raylyng bloode felle doune to his feete// And 1011
Sir Gawayne wyth his longe swerde leyde on faste þ*a*t 1012
iij. Amerallys deyde thorow þe dynte of his hondis //And[6] 1013
so Lovel fayled nat In þe pres he slew a kynge & a deuke þ*a*t 1014
knyghtis were noble// Than þe Romaynes Releved whan (10) 1015
they sye hir lorde so hampred they chaced and choppedde 1016
doune many of oure knyghtis good And In that Rebukyng 1017
they bare þe bolde Bedwere to the colde erthe & wyth a 1018
ranke swerde he was merveylously wounded// yet sir 1019
Launcelot and sir Lovel rescowed hym blyve. w*i*th þ*a*t come (15) 1020
In kynge Arthure w*i*th þe kynghtis of þe table Rounde and 1021
rescowed þe ryche men that neu*er* were lyke to ascape 1022
at þ*a*t tyme for ofte tymes thorow envy grete hardynesse 1023
is shewed þ*a*t hath bene þe deth of many kyd knyghtis for 1024
thou3e they speke fayre many one vnto oþ*er* yet whan (20) 1025
they be In batayle eyþ*er* wolde beste be praysed 1026

A None as kynge Arthure had a syght of þe Emp*er*oure 1027
Lucyus ffor kynge noþ*er* for Captayne he taryed 1028
no lenger And eythir w*i*th her swerdys swapped at othir so 1029
Sir Lucyus w*i*th his swerde hit Arthure ou*er* thwarte þe nose (25) 1030
& gaff hym a wounde ny3e vnto þe tunge Sir Arthure 1031
was wroth and gaff hym a noþ*er* with all þe myght þ*a*t In his 1032

nobly and slewe thre admyrales in that bataill/ And so dyd

alle the knyghtes of the round table/ Thus the bataill bitwe//
(30) ne kynge Arthur and Lucius themperour endured longe/ Lu
cius had on his syde many sarasyns/ whiche were slayn/ and
thus the bataille was grete/ and oftsydes that one party was
at a fordele and anone at an afterdele/ whiche endured so longe
tyle at the last kyng Arthur aspyed/ where Lucius themperour
(35) fought/ and dyd wonder with his owne handes/ And anon he
rode to hym/ And eyther smote other fyersly/ and atte last Lu
cyus smote Arthur thwart the vysage/ and gaf hym a large
wound/ And whanne kyng Arthur felte hym self hurte/ anon
sig. i.vi(v) he smote hym ageyne with Excalibur that it clefte his hede fro
the somette of his hede/ and stynted not tyl it cam to his breste

TLN

arme was leved that frome þe creste of his helme vnto[7] 1033
the bare pappys hit wente a doune And so ended þe Emp*erour* 1034
//Than þe kyng mette w*ith* Sir Cadore his kene Cousyn (30) 1035
and prayde hym kylle doune clene for love of sir Kay 1036
my foster bro*þer*. And for þe love of sir Bedwere þ*a*t longe 87 1037
hath me s*er*ued. There fore save none for golde nothir for 1038
sylu*er*. ffor they þ*a*t woll accompany them w*ith* Sara3ens the 1039
man þ*a*t wolde save them were lytyll to prayse And þ*er* fore 1040
sle doune & save no*þer* hethyn nothir crystyn. Than Sir (5) 1041
Cadore Sir Clegis cau3te to her swerdys. And sir Launce // 1042
lot Sir Bors Sir Lyonel Sir Bors Sir Ector de Marys 1043
they whyrled thorow many men of armys. And sir Gaway // 1044
ne Sir Gaherys Sir Lovell And Sir fflorens his brothir 1045
þ*a*t was gotyn of Sir Braundyles systir vppon a mountay // (10) 1046
ne. All thes knyghtis russhed forth In a founte w*ith* many 1047
mo knyghtis of the Rounde table that here be not reher // 1048
sid// They hurled ou*er* hyllys valeyes & clowys and slow 1049
downe on eu*er*y honde wondirfull many that thousandis 1050
In an hepe lay thru*m*belyng to gedir. But for all that the (15) 1051
Romaynes and þe Sare3ens cowde do o*þer* speke to yolde 1052
them self þ*er* was none saved but all yode to the swerde for 1053
evir kynge Arthure rode In the thyckeste of þe pres and 1054
raumped downe lyke a lyon many Senato*ur*s noble// he 1055
wolde nat a byde vppon no poure man for no man*er* of (20) 1056
thyng & eu*er* he slow slyly & slypped to a no*þer* tylle all w*er*e 1057
slayne to the nu*m*bir of a .C. ml and yet many a thousande 1058
ascaped thorow p*re*vy frendys// And than Relevys the 1059
kynge w*ith* his noble knyghtis & rensaked ou*er* all þe feldis 1060
for his bolde barouns And tho þ*a*t were dede were bur // (25) 1061
ryed as þ*er* bloode asked And they þ*a*t myght be saved there 1062
was no salve spared no*þer* no deyntes to dere þ*a*t myght 1063
be gotyn for godle o*þer* sylu*er*. And thus he let save many 1064
knyghtis þ*a*t wente neu*er* to recou*er*. But for Sir Kayes reco // 1065
vir and of sir Bedwers the ryche was neu*er* man vn // (30) 1066
dir God so glad as hym self was// Than þe kynge rode 1067
streyte þ*er* as þe Emp*er*oure lay & garte lyffte hym 87v 1068
vp lordely w*ith* barounes full bolde And þe Sawdon 1069
of Surre and of Ethyope the kyng. And of Egypte 1070
and of Inde .ij. knyghtis full noble wyth .xvij. o*þer* 1071
kyngis were takyn vp also. And also Syxty Senato*ur*s (5) 1072
of Roome that were honoured full noble men & all 1073
the elders// The kynge let bawme all thes w*ith* many .. 1074
good gum*m*ys and setthen lette lappe hem In Syxty folde 1075

And thenne themperour fylle dounde dede/ and there ended his lyf/ And whan it was knowen that themperour was slayne

(5) anone alle the Romayns with all their hoost put them to fly//

ght/ and kynge Arthur with alle his knyghtes folowed the chaas/ and slewe doune ryght alle them that they myghte at// teyne/ And thus was the vyctory gyuen to kynge Arthur &

the tryumphe/ and there were slayne on the party of Lucius
(10) moo than an honderd thousand/ And after kyng Arthur dyd

doo ransake the dede bodyes/ and dyd doo burye them that were slayne of his retenue euery man accordynge to thestate & de// gree that he was of/ And them that were hurte he lete the sur// gyens doo serche their hurtes and woundes/ and commaun//
(15) ded to spare no salues ne medecynes tyl they were hole/

Thenne the kynge rode strayte to the place where themperour lu cius lay dede/ and with hym he fond slayne the Sowdan of Surrey/ the kyng of Egypte and of Ethyope/ which we// re two noble kynges with xvij other kynges of dyuerse regy//
(20) ons/ and also syxty senatours of Rome al noble men/ whome

the kynge dyd do bawme and gomme with many good gom// mes aromatyk/ and after dyd do cere them in syxty fold of ce//

| | | TLN |
|---|---|---|
| of Sendell large And than lete lappe hem In lede þ*a*t | | 1076 |
| for chauffynge o þ*er* chougyng they sholde neu*er* savoure | (10) | 1077 |
| And sytthen lete close them In chestys full clenly a | | 1078 |
| rayed & þ*er* ban*er*s a bovyn on þ*er* bodyes and þ*er* shyldys | | 1079 |
| turned vpwarde þ*a*t eviry man myght knowe of what | | 1080 |
| contray they were// So on the morne they founde | | 1081 |
| In the heth .iij. Senatours of of Rome. Whan they | (15) | 1082 |
| were brought to the kynge he seyde thes wordis// | | 1083 |
| Now to save yo*ur* lyvys I take no force grete w*ith* that | | 1084 |
| ye woll meve on my message vnto grete Rome and | | 1085 |
| p*re*sente thes corses vnto the proude Potestate and | | 1086 |
| aftir hym my lettyrs & my hole entente & telle hem | (20) | 1087 |
| In haste they shall se me And I trow they woll be ware | | 1088 |
| how they bourde w*ith* me & my knyghtis// Than þe Emp*er*our*e* | | 1089 |
| hym self was dressed In a charyot and eu*er*y .ij. knyghtys | | 1090 |
| In a charyot ^cewed^ ~~sewed~~ aftir o þ*er* And þe Senato*ur*s com aftir by cow | | 1091 |
| plys In a corde //Now sey ye to the Potestate & all | (25) | 1092 |
| þe lordys aftir þ*a*t I sende hem þe trybet that I owe to Rome | | 1093 |
| for this is þe trew trybet þ*a*t I and myne elders haue | | 1094 |
| loste this .x. score wyntyrs// And sey hem as me semes | | 1095 |
| I haue sent hem the hole som*m*e And yf they thynke hit nat | | 1096 |
| I nowe I shall a mende hit whan þ*a*t I com for suche tresou // | (30) | 1097 |
| re muste they take as happyns vs here// So on þe morne | | 1098 |
| | | 1099 |
| | | 1100 |
| | | 1101 |
| | | 1103 |
| | | 1104 |
| | | 1105 |
| thes Senato*ur*s Rayked vnto Rome And w*ith* In .xviij. dayes | 88 | 1106 |
| they come to the Potestate and tolde hym how they hadde | | 1107 |
| brought þe taxe and þe trewage of .x. score wyntyrs bothe | | 1108 |
| of Ingelonde Irelonde And of all þe est londys ffor kyng | | 1109 |
| Arthure co*m*maunds you no þ*er* trybet no þ*er* taxe ye neu*er* no// | (5) | 1110 |
| ne aske vppon payne of youre hedys. but yf you*re* tytil be | | 1111 |
| þe trewer than eu*er* ou3t ony of yo*ur* elders// And for these | | 1112 |
| causys we haue foughtyn In ffraunce and þ*er* vs is foule | | 1113 |
| happed for all is chopped to þe deth bothe þe bettir & þe worse | | 1114 |
| there fore I rede you store you wyth stuff for war is at | (10) | 1115 |
| honde. ffor In the moneth of May this myscheff be felle | | 1116 |
| In the Contrey of Constantyne by þe clere stremys And þ*er* | | 1117 |
| he hyred vs w*ith* his knyghtis & heled them þ*a*t were hurte þ*a*t | | 1118 |
| same day and to bery them that were slayne | | 1119 |

red clothe of Sendale/ and leyd them in chestys of leed/ by ca//
use they shold not chauffe ne sauore/ and vpon alle these bo//

(25) dyes their sheldes with theire armes and baners were sette/ to

thende they shold be knowen of what countrey there were/ and
after he fonde thre Senatours whiche were on lyue to whome
he sayd/ for to saue your lyues I wylle that ye take these dede
bodyes/ and carye them with yow vnto grete Rome/ and pre//
(30) sente them to the potestate on my behaule shewynge hym my let//
ters/ and telle them that I in my persone shal hastely be atte
Rome/ And I suppose the Romayns shalle beware how they
shal demaunde ony trybute of me/ And I commaunde yow to

saye whan ye shal come to Rome to the potestate and all the
(35) counceylle and Senate/ that I sende to them these dede bodyes
for the trybute that they haue demaunded/ And yf they be not
content with these/ I shal paye more at my comynge/ for other
trybute owe I none/ ne none other wylle I paye/ And me
sig. i.vii thynketh this suffyseth for Bretayne/ Irlond and al Alma//
yne with germanye/ And ferthermore I charge yow to saye
to them/ that I commaunde them vpon payne of theyre hedes ne
uer to demaunde trybute ne taxe of me ne of my londes
(5) Thenne with this charge and commaundement the thre Sena//
tours afore sayd departed with alle the sayd dede bodyes le//
ynge the body of Lucius in a carre couerd with tharmes of the
Empyre al alone/ And after alwey two bodyes of kynges in
a charyot/ and thenne the bodyes of the Senatours after them
(10) and soo wente toward Rome/ and shewed theyr legacyon &
message to the potestate and Senate/ recountyng the batayll e

done in Fraunce/ and how the feld was lost and moche peo//
ple & Innumerable slayne/ wherfore they aduysed them in no
wyse to meue no more warre ageynste that noble conqueroure

(15) Arthur/ For his myght and prowesse is most to be doubted
seen the noble kynges and grete multytyde of knyghtes of
the round table/ to whome none erthely prynce may compare/

TLN

NOw turne we to Arthure *with* his noble knyghtis þ*a*t entryth streyghte In to Lushburne and so thorowe fflaundirs and than to Lorayne he lau3te vp all þe lordshyp// pys and sytthen he drew hym In to Almayne And vnto Lumbardy the ryche and sette Layws In þ*a*t londe that dured longe aftir. And so In to Tuskayne and þ*er* the tirrauntys destroyed and there were Captaynes full kene þ*a*t kepte Arthurs comyng and at streyte passages slew muche of his peple and þ*er* they vytayled and garnysshed many good townys// But þ*er* was a cite kepte sure defence agaynste Arthure and his knyghtis And þ*er* with angred Arthure And sedye all on hyght I woll wynne this towne oþ*er* ellys many a doughty shall dye// And than þe kynge approched to þe wallis *with* oute shelde sauff his bare harneys// Sir seyde sir fflor// ence foly þ*o*u workeste for to ny3e so naked this p*er*leous cite And thow be a ferde seyde kyng Arthure I rede þe faste fle for they wyn*n*e no worshyp of me but to waste þ*er* toolys for þ*er* shall neu*er* harlot haue happe by the helpe of oure Lord to kylle a crowned kynge þ*a*t *with* Creyme is a noynted// Than the noble knyghtis of þe rounde table approched vnto the cite and þ*er* horsis levys. they hurled on a frunte streyght vnto þe barbycans & þ*er* they slewe downe all þ*a*t be fore them stondys and In þ*a*t bray þe brydge they wanne And had nat þe garnyson bene they had wonne *with* In þe yatys and þe cite wonne thorow wyghtnesse of hondys// And than oure noble knyghtis *with* drew them a lytyll and wente vnto þe kynge & prayde hym to take his baronage and than he pyght his pavylyons of palle and plantys all a boute the Sege and þ*er* he lette sett vp suddeynly many engynes// Than þe kynge called vnto hym sir fflorens And seyde these wordys my folkys wexen feble for wantynge of vytayle And here by be forestes full fayre and þ*er* as oure foomen many and I am sure they haue grete store of bestis and thyder shall þ*o*u go to fforrey that forestes And *with* þe shall go sir Gawayne and Sir Wysharde *with* sir Walchere .ij. worshypfull knyghtis with all þe wyseste men of þe Weste marchis// Also Sir Cleremount and sir Clegis that were comly In armys And þe Captay// ne of Cardyff that Is a knyght full good// Now go ye and warne all this felyshep þ*a*t hit be done as I com*m*aunde //So *with* þ*a*t forth yode sir fflorens and his felyshyp was

1120
1121
1122
(15) 1123
1124
1125
1126
1127
(20) 1128
1129
1130
1131
1132
(25) 1133
1134
1135
1136
1137
(30) 1138
1139
88v 1140
1141
1142
1143
(5) 1144
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(10) 1149
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(15) 1154
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1156
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(20) 1159
1160
1161
1162

## C Capitulo nono

Now torne we vnto kynge Arthur and his noble kny// ghtes whiche after the grete bataylle acheued ageynste the Romayns/ entryd in to Lorayne braban and Flaundres and sythen retorned in to hault Almayn/ and so ouer the mon tayns in to lombardye/ and after in to Tuskane/ wherein was a Cyte/ whiche in no wyse wold yelde them self ne obeye/ wher fore kynge Arthur biseged it/ and lay longe aboute hit/ and gaf many assaultes to the Cyte/ And they within deffended them valyauntly/ Thenne on a tyme the kynge called syr flo// rence a knyght/ and sayd to hym they lacked vytaylle/ and not ferre from hens ben grete forestes and woodes/wherin ben many of myn enemyes with moche bestyayl/ I wyl that thou make the redy and goo thyder in foreyeng/ and take with the syr Gawayn my neuew/ Syre wysshard/ syre Clegys Syre Cleremond and the Captayn of Cardef with other/ & brynge with yow alle the beestes that ye there can gete/ And anone

TLN

sone redy And so they rode thorow holtys and hethis tho// (25) 1163
row foreste & ou*er* hyllys. And than they com In to a lowe 1164
medow þ*a*t was full of swete floures & þ*er* thes noble kny3tis 1165
bayted her stedis// And In þe grekynge of þe day sir Gaw// 1166
ayne hente his hors wondyrs for to seke// Than was he 1167
1168
ware of a man armed walkynge a paase by a woodis ease (30) 1169
by a revers syde and his shelde braced on his sholdir & he 1170
on a stronge horse rydys w*ith* oute man wyth hym save a 1171
boy a lone þ*a*t bare a grym*m*e speare// The knyght bare 89 1172
In his shelde of golde glystrand .iij. Gryffons In Sabyll 1173
and charbuckkle þe cheff of Sylu*er*. Whan sir Gawayne was 1174
ware of þ*a*t gay knyght Than he gryped a grete spere and 1175
rode streyght towarde hym on a stronge horse for to mete (5) 1176
w*ith* þ*a*t sterne knyght where þ*a*t ^he^ hoved// Whan sir Gawayne 1177
com hym ny3e In englyshe he asked hym what he was. 1178
And þ*a*t oþ*er* knyght answerde In his langage of Tuskayne 1179
and sayde whoþ*er* prychyst þou pylloure þ*a*t pr*o*fers þe so large þou 1180
1181
no pray prove whan þe lykys for my pr*e*soner þou shalt be for (10) 1182
all thy proude lokys //Thou spekyste proudly seyde sir 1183
Gawayne but I counseyle þe for all thy grym*m*e wordis þ*a*t 1184
þou grype to the thy gere or more grame falle 1185
1186
1187
1188
Than hir launcis they handylde by crauff of armys 1189
And com on spedyly w*ith* full syker dyntes and there (15) 1190
they shotte thorow shyldys and mayles and thorow there 1191
shene shuldyrs they were thorow borne the brede of an 1192
hande// Than were they so wroth þ*a*t a way wolde they neu*er* 1193
but rathly russhed oute þ*er* swerdys and hyttys on þ*er* hel // 1194
mys w*ith* hatefull dyntys and stabbis at hir stomakys w*ith* (20) 1195
swerdys well steled so freysshly þo fre men fyghtis on the 1196
grounde whyle þe flamynge fyre flowe oute of hir hel // 1197
mys// Than sir Gawayne was grevid wondirly sore & 1198
swyngis his swerde Galantyne and grymly he strykys 1199
and clevys þe knyghtis shylde In sundir & thorow oute the (25) 1200
thycke haubirke made of sure mayles and þe Rubyes that 1201
were ryche. he russhed hem In sundir þ*a*t men myght be hol// 1202
de þe lyvir and longis Than groned þe knyght for his grym*m*e 1203
woundis and gyrdis to sir Gawayne and awkewarde hym 1204
strykis and brastyth the rere brace and þe vawm brace (30) 1205

these knyghtes made them redy/ and rode ouer holtys & hyllys thurgh forestes and woodes/ tyl they cam in to a fayr medow
sig. i.vii(v) fyl of fayre floures and grasse/ And there thy rested them & theyr horses alle that nyghte/ And in the spryngynge of the day in the next morne syre Gawayn took his hors and stale away from his felaushipto seke some aduentures/ And anon
(5) he was ware of a man armed walkynge his hors easyly by a wodes syde/ and his sheld laced to his sholdre syttynge on a stonge courser withoute ony man sauyng a page berynge a

myghty spere. The knyght bare in his sheld thre gryffons of gold in sable charbuncle the chyef of syluer / w han syre G a// (10) wayne aspyed this gay knyght/ he fewtryd his spere and rode strayt to hym / and dem aunded of hym from whens that he was

that other ansuerd and sayd he was of Tuscane/ and dema// unded of syre gawayn/ what profryst thow proude knyghte the so boldly/ here getest thou no praye/ thou mayst proue whan (15) thou wylt/ for thou shalt be my prysoner or thou departe/ **C** Thenne sayd gawayn/ thou auauntest the gretely and spe// kest proude wordes/ I counceylle the for alle thy boost that thou make the redy/ and take thy gere to the/ to fore gretter grame falle to the

(20)

**C** Capitulum x

Thenne they took theyr speres and ranne eche at other with alle the myghte they had/ and smote eche other

(25) thurgh their sheldes in to theyr sholders/ wherfore anone they pulled oute their swerdes/ and smote grete strokes that the fy

re sprange oute of their helmes/ Thenne syre gawayne was al abasshed and with galatyn his good swerd he smote thurgh shelde and thycke hauberke made of thyck maylles and al to (30) russhed and brake the precious stones/ and made hym a large wounde/ that men myghte see bothe lyuer and long/ Thenne gro ned that knyght/ and adressyd hym to syre Gawayn/ & with an awke stroke gaf hym a grete wound and kytte a vayne/

TLN

bothe and kut thorow a vayne þat Gawayne sore greved for 1206
so worched his wounde þat his wytte chonged And þer with all 89v 1207
his armure was all blody be renne// Than þat knyght tal// 1208
ked to Sir Gawayne and bade hym bynde vp his wounde 1209
or thy ble chonge for þou all bledis this horse & thy bry3t 1210
wedys. for all þe barbers of Bretayne shall nat thy blood (5) 1211
staunche//ffor who þat is hurte with this blaade bleed shal 1212
he euer// Be god sayde Sir Gawayne hit grevys me but 1213
lytyll yet shalt þou nat feare me for all thy grete wordis 1214
Thow trowyste with thy talkynge to tame my herte But 1215
yet þou be tydys tene or þou parte hense but þou telle me In has// (10) 1216
te who may stanche my bledynge. That may I do and 1217
I woll so þou wolt succour me þat I myght be fayre crystynde 1218
and be com meke for my mysdedis// Now mercy I Ihesu be 1219
seche and I shall be com crysten and In god stedfastly be// 1220
leve & þou mayste for thy manhode haue mede to they soule (15) 1221
I graunte seyde Sir Gawayne So god me helpe to full 1222
fyll all thy desyre þou haste gretly hit deseruyd. So þou say me 1223
þe soth what þou sought here thus sengly thy self a lone and 1224
what lorde or legeaunte þou art vndir/ Sir he seyde I hy3t 1225
Priamus and a Prynce is my fadir & he hath bene Re// (20) 1226
bell vnto Rome and ouer redyn muche of hir londis & 1227
my fadir is come of Alysaundirs bloode þat was ouer leder of 1228
kyngis. And of Ector also was he come by þe ryght lyne 1229
& many mo were of my kynrede bothe Iudas macabeus 1230
And deuke Iosue And ayre I am alþer nexte of Alysaundir (25) 1231
and of Aufryke and of all the oute Iles yet woll I be leue 1232
on thy lorde þat þou belevyst on and take þe for thy labour tresour 1233
Inow for I was so haute In my herte I helde no man 1234
my pere So was I sent In to this werre by þe assente 1235
of my fadir with .vij. score knyghtis And now I haue enco // (30) 1236
untred with one hath geevyn fyghtyng my fylle There 1237
fore sir knyght for thy kyngis sake telle my thy name 90 1238
//Sir seyde Sir Gawayne I am no knyght but I haue 1239
be brought vp In the wardrope with þe noble kyng Arthure 1240
wyntyrs and dayes for to take hede to his armoure & 1241
all his oþer wedis and to poynte all þe paltokkys þat longe (5) 1242
to hym self and to dresse doublettis for deukys & Erlys 1243
and at yole he made me yoman and gaff me good gyff // 1244
tys more than an .C. pounde and horse & harneyse rych 1245
//And yf I haue happe my hele to serue my lyege lorde I 1246
shall be well holpyn In haste// A sayde Sir Priamus (10) 1247
and his knavys be so kene his knyghtis ar passynge good 1248

whiche greued gawayn sore/ and he bledde sore/ **C** Thenne the

knyghte sayd to syre Gawayn/ bynde thy wounde or thy blee/ chaunge/ for thou bybledest al thy hors and thy fayre armes/ For alle the Barbours of Bretayne shal not conne staunche thy blood/ For who someuer is hurte with this blade he shalle
sig. i.viii neuer be staunched of bledynge/ Thenne ansuerd gawayn hit greueth me but lytyl/ thy grete wordes shalle not feare me ne lasse my courage/ but thow shalt suffre tene and sorow or we

departe/ but telle me in hast who maye staunche my bledynge/
That may I doo sayd the knyght yf I wylle/ And so wyll

I yf thou wylt socoure and ayde me that I maye be crystned and byleue on god/ And therof I requyre the of thy man// hode/ and it shalle be grete meryte for thy soule I graunte sa// id Gawayne so god helpe me taccomplysshe alle thy desyre/
But fyrst telle me what thou soughtest here thus allone/and of what londe and legeaunce thou arte of/ Syre he sayd my na me is Pryamus/ and a grete prynce is my fader/ and he hath ben rebelle vnto Rome and ouer ryden many of theyr londes/ My fader is lyneally descended of Alysaunder and of hector

by ryght lynge/ And duke Iosue and Machabeus were of oure lygnage/ I am ryght enherytour of Alysaunder and au ffryke and alle the oute yles/ yet wyl I byleue on thy lord that thow byleuest on/ And for thy laboure I shalle yeue the tresour ynough/ I was soo elate and hauteyn in my hert that
I thought no man my pere ne to me semblable/ I was sente in to this werre with seuen score knyghtes/ and now I haue encountred with the whiche hast gyuen to me of fyghtyng my fylle/ wherfore syr knyghte I pray the to tell me what thow arte/ I am no knyght sayd gawayn/ I haue ben brough vp
in the garderobe with the noble kynge Arthur many yeres for to take hede to his armour and his other araye/ and to poyn// te his paltockes that longen to hym self/ At yole last he made

me yoman and gaf to me hors and harneys and an honderd pound in money/ And yf fortune be my frend/ I doubte not/
but to be wel auaunced and holpen by my lyege lord/ A sa// yd Pryamus/ yf his knauys be so kene and fyers/ his kny3//

| | TLN |
|---|---|
| //Now for thy kyngis love of hevyn and for thy kyngys | 1249 |
| love whe*þer* þ*o*u be knave o*þer* knyght telle þ*o*u me thy name/ Be | 1250 |
| god seyde Sir Gawayne Now woll I telle þe soth I am kno// | 1251 |
| wyn In his courte & kyd In his chambir and Rolled w*ith* þe | (15) 1252 |
| Rychest of þ*e* Rounde table And I am a deuke dubbed wyth | 1253 |
| his owne hondis þ*er* fore grucche nat good sir if me this | 1254 |
| grace is be happened his Is þe goodnesse of god þ*a*t lente | 1255 |
| me this strength// Now am I bettir pleased sayde Sir | 1256 |
| Pryamus than þ*o*u haddest gyff me þe provynce of p*er*ysie þe | (20) 1257 |
| þe ryche for I had levir haue be toryn w*ith* .iiij. wylde horse | 1258 |
| than ony yoman had suche a loose won*n*e of me o*þer* els ony | 1259 |
| page o*þer* prycker sholde wyn*n*e of me þe pryce In this felde | 1260 |
| gotyn But now I warne þe sir knyght of þe rounde table | 1261 |
| here is by þe deuke of Lorayne w*ith* his knyghtis and þe dough// | (25) 1262 |
| tyeste of Dolphyne landys w*ith* many hy3e duchemen & | 1263 |
| many lordis of Lumbardy and þe garneson of godarde & | 1264 |
| men of westwalle worshypfull kyngis And of Syssoyne | 1265 |
| and of Southlonde Sare3yns many nu*m*birde and there | 1266 |
| named ar In Rollys Sixti .ml. of syker men of armys | (30) 1267 |
| There fore but þ*o*u hy3e þe fro this heth hit woll harme | 1268 |
| vs both and sore be we hurte neu*er* lyke to recou*er* But ta// | 90v 1269 |
| ke þ*o*u hede haynxman þ*a*t he no horne blow for and he | 1270 |
| do than loke þ*a*t he be hewyn on pecis for here hovys at thy | 1271 |
| honde a .C. of good knyghtis þ*a*t ar of my retynew and to | 1272 |
| a wayte vppon my p*er*sone. ffor and þ*o*u be raught w*ith* þ*a*t rou3t | (5) 1273 |
| raunsom no*þer* rede golde woll they none aske// Than | 1274 |
| Sir Gawayne rode ou*er* a wat*er* for to gyde hym self and þ*a*t | 1275 |
| worshypfull knyght hym folowed sore wounded & so they | 1276 |
| rode tylle they com to þ*er* ferys þ*a*t were baytand hir horsys | 1277 |
| In a low medow where lay many lordys lenyng on there | (10) 1278 |
| shyldys w*ith* law3yng and Iapyng & many lowde wordys | 1279 |
| //Anone as sir wycharde was ware of sir Gawayne & | 1280 |
| aspyed þ*a*t he was hurte he wente to warde hym wepyng | 1281 |
| & wryngyng his hondys// Than Sir Gawayne tolde | 1282 |
| hym how he had macched w*ith* þ*a*t myghty man of strengthe | (15) 1283 |
| there fore greve yow nat good Sir for thou3e my shylde | 1284 |
| be now thirled & my sholdir shorne. yett thys knyght Sir | 1285 |
| Pryamus hath many p*er*elouse woundys But he hath salvys | 1286 |
| he seyth þ*a*t woll hele vs bothe But here is new note In | 1287 |
| honde nere than ye wene fore by an houre aftir none I | (20) 1288 |
| trow hit woll noy vs all// Than sir Pryamus and Sir | 1289 |
| Gawayne a lyght bothe & lette hir horsys bayte In þe fayre | 1290 |
| medow Than they lette brayde of hir basnettys & hir brode | 1291 |

tes ben passynge good/ Now for the kynges loue of heuen whe
ther thou be a knaue or a knyghte telle thou me thy name/
By god sayd syre Gawayne/ Now wyl I saye the sothe/ my
(35) name is syre gawayn and knowen I am in his courte and in
his chambre/ and one of the knyghtes of the round table/ he
dubbed me a duke with his owne hand/ Therfore grutche not
yf this grace is to me fortuned/ hit is the goodnesse of god
sig. i.viii(v) that lente to me my strenghte/ Now am I better pleasyd sayd
Pryamus than thou haddest gyuen to me al the prouynce and
parys the ryche/ I have leuer to haue ben torn with wylde hor//
ses/ than ony varlet had wonne suche loos/ or ony page or pry//
(5) ker shold haue had prys on me/ But now syre knyghte I
warne the/ that here by is a duke of Lorayne with his armye
and the noblest men of Dolphyne and lordes of lombardye/

with the garneson of godard/ and sarasyns of Southland y
nombred lx M of good men of armes/ wherfore but yf we
(10) hye vs hens/ it wylle harme vs bothe/ for we ben sore hurte/ ne//
uer lyke to recouer/ but take hede to my page that he no horne

blowe/ For yf he doo ther ben houynge here fast by an C kny3
tes awaytynge on my persone/ and yf they take the/ ther shall
no raunson of gold ne syluer acquyte the/ Thenne syre gawa
(15) yne rode ouer a water for to saue hym/ And the knyghte folo//
wed hym/ and soo rode forth tyl they came to his felawes/

whiche were in the medowe/ where they had ben al the nyghte

Anone as syre wychard was ware of syre gawayn and sawe
that he was hurte/ he ranne to hym soroufully wepynge/ and
(20) demaunded of hym who had soo hurte hym/ and gawayn told
how he had foughten with that man/ and eche of them hadde

hurte other/ and how he had salues to hele them/ but I can tel
le yow other tydynges/ that soone we shal haue adoo with ma

ny enemyes/ Thenne syre pryamus and syre gawayn alygh//
(25) ted/ and lete theire horses grase in the medowe and vnarmed

TLN

shyldys than eythir bled so muche þ*a*t eu*er*y man had wondir þ*a*t 1292
they myght sitte In þ*er* sadyls or stonde vppon erthe// Now 1293
fecche me seyde Sir Pryamus my vyall þ*a*t hangys by the 1294
gurdyll of my haynxman for hit is full of þe floure of þe 1295
iiij. good watyrs þ*a*t passis from p*ar*adyse þe mykyll fruyte 1296
In fallys þ*a*t at one day fede shall vs all //putt þ*a*t watir In 1297
oure fleysh where þe syde is tamed & we shall be hole w*ith* 1298
In .iiij. houres Than they lette clense þ*er* woundys w*ith* colde 1299
whyght wyne And than they lete a noynte them w*ith* bawme 91 1300
ou*er* & ou*er* and holer men than they were w*ith* In an houres space 1301
was neu*er* lyvyng syn god þe worlde made So whan they 1302
were clensed & hole they broched barellys & brought them 1303
þe wyne wyth bred & brawne & many ryche byrdys// And 1304
whan they had etyn Sir Gawayne seyde lordyngis go to ar// 1305
mys. And whan they were armed & assembled to gedyrs w*ith* 1306
a clere Claryon callys them to gedir to counceyle. And Sir 1307
Gawayne of þe case hem tellys// Now tell vs sir Pryam*us* 1308
all þe hole purpose of yondir pryce knyghtis// Sirs seyde 1309
Sir Pryamus for to rescow me they have made a vowe 1310
oþ*er* ellys manfully on this molde to be marred all at onys 1311
This was þe pure purpose whan I passed thens at hir p*er*el // 1312
lys to preff me vppon payne of þ*er* lyvys// Now good men 1313
seyde sir Gawayne grype vp yo*ur* hertes & yf we gyltes 1314
1315
1316
go this a way hit woll greffe oure kynge. And Sir fflorens 1317
In this fyght shall here a byde for to kepe þe stale as a kny3t 1318
noble for he was chosyn & charged In chambir w*ith* þe kynge 1319
chyfften of this chekke and cheyff of vs all. And whethir he 1320
woll fyght oþ*er* fle we shall folow aftir ffor as for me for all 1321
yondir folkys faare for sake hem shall I neu*er*// A fadir seyde 1322
fflorens full fayre now ye speke for I am but a fauntekyn 1323
to fraysted men of armys and yf I ony foly do þe faughte mus// 1324
te be youres. There fore lese nat youre worshyp my wytt 1325
is but symple & ye ar oure allþ*er* gouernoure þ*er* fore worke 1326
as ye lykys// Now fayre lordys seyde Sir Pryamus 1327
Cese youre wordys I warne you be tyme for ye shall fynde 1328
In yondir woodys many p*er*ellus knyghtis they woll putte 1329
furth beystys to bayte you oute of nu*m*bir and ye ar fraykis 1330
In this fryth nat paste .vij. C. and þ*a*t is feythfully to fewe 1331
to fyght w*ith* so many for harlottys and haynxmen wol helpe 1332
vs but a lytyll. for they woll hyde them In haste for all þ*er* hy3e 91v 1333
wordys//ye sey well seyde Sir Gawayne so god me helpe 1334

them/ And thenne the blood ranne fresshly fro theyre woun//
des/ And pryamus toke fro his page a vyolle ful of the four
waters that came oute of paradys/ and with certayne baume

enoynted theyr woundes/ and wesshe them with that water/ &
(30) within an houre after/ they were both as hole as euer they we

re/ And thenne with a trompet were they alle assembled to co//

unceylle/ And there pryamus told vnto them/ what lordes and
knyghtes had sworne to rescowe hym/ and that without faill
they shold be assailled with many thousandes/ wherefor he coun//
(35) ceilled them to withdrawe them/ Thenne syre gawayn sayd it
were grete shame to them to auoyde withoute ony strokes/
Wherfore I aduyse to take oure armes and to make vs redy
to mete with these sarasyns and mysbyleuyng men/ and wyth
**sig. k.i** the helpe of god we shal ouerthrouwe them and haue a fayre
day on them/ And syre Florens shall abyde styll in thys felde
to kepe the stale as a noble knyghte/ and we shal not forsake

yonder felawes/ Now sayd Pryamus seasse your wordes/ for
(5) I warne yow ye shal fynde in yonder woodes many peryllo//
us knyghtes/ they wylle put forthe beestes to calle yow on/
they be out of nombre/ and ye are not past vij C whiche ben o//
uer fewe to fyght with soo many/ Neuertheless sayd syr gawa
yn we shal ones encountre them/ and see what they can do
(10) and the beste shalle haue the vyctory

TLN

//Now fayre sonne sayde Sir Gawayne vnto fflorens woll 1335
ye take youre felyshyp of þe beste provyd men to þe numbir of a 1336
.C. knyghtis and prestly prove your self & yondir pray wynne I as// 1337
sent me with good hert seyde fflorence 1338
Than sir fflorens called vnto hym Sir fflorydas with 1339
v. score knyghtis & forth they flynged a faste trolle 1340
and þe folke of þe bestis dryvys. Than folowed aftir sir fflo// 1341
rens with noble men of armys fully .vij. C. And one Sir ffe// 1342
raunte of Spayne be fore on a fayre stede þat was fostred 1343
In farmagos þe fende was his fadir he flyttys towarde 1344
Sir fflorens and sayde whoþer flyest þou false knyght. Than 1345
Sir fflorens was fayne and In feautyr castis his spere 1346
& rydys towarde þe rought & restys no lenger and full 1347
but In þe forehede he hyttys Sir fferaunte and brake[8] 1348
his necke bone// Than fferaunte his cosyn had grete ca// 1349
re and cryed full lowde þou haste slayne a knyght & kynge 1350
a noynted þat or this tyme founde neuer frayke þat myght a 1351
byde hym a buffette þer fore ye shall dey þer shall none of you 1352
ascape// ffye on þe seyde florydas þou eregned wrecche and 1353
þer with to hym he flyngis with a swerde þat all þe fleysshe of his 1354
flanke he flappys In sundir þat all þe fylth of þe freyke and 1355
many of his guttys fylle to þe erthe/ Than lyghtly rydis 1356
a raynke for to rescowe þat Barowne þat was borne In þe 1357
rodis & rebell vnto Cryste he preced In proudly and 1358
aftir his pray wyndys. But þe Raynke Rycharde of 1359
þe rounde table on a rede stede rode hym a gaynste and 1360
threste hym thorow þe shylde evyn to þe herte. Than he 1361
rored full rudely but rose he neuer more .//Than alle 1362
his feerys mo than .v. C. felle vppon Sir fflorence and 1363
on his .v. score knygthis. Than Sir fflorens and sir fflory// 92 1364
das In feautir bothe castys þer spearys and they felled .v. at 1365
þe frunte at þe fyrste entre and sore they assayled oure folke 1366
and brake browys & brestys and felde many a downe// 1367
// Whan Sir Pryamus þe pryse knyght perceyved þer gamys 1368
he yode to Sir Gawyne and thes wordys seyde thy pryse 1369
men ar sore be gone and put vndir for they ar ouer sette 1370
with Sare3ens mo than .v. C. now wolde þou suffir me for the 1371
loue of thy god with a small parte of thy men to succoure hem 1372
be tyme// Sir grucch ye nat seyde Sir Gawyne þe gre 1373
is there owne for they mowe haue gyfftys full grete I gra// 1374
unted of my lorde there fore lette them fyght whylys hem 1375
lystes þe freysh knyghtis for som of hem fought nat þer fylle of 1376
all this .v. wyntyr there fore I woll nat styrre wyth my 1377

**C** Capitulo xj

(15) Thenne syre Florence callyd to hym syre florydas with an honderd knyghtes and droofe forth the herde of be stes/ Thenne folowed hym vij honderd men of armes/ and syr Feraunt of spayne on a fayr stede came spryngynge oute of the woodes/ and came to syre Florence and axyd hym why he (20) fledde/ Thenne syre Florence took his spere/ and rode ageynste hym/ and smote hym in the forhede and brake his necke bone/ Thenne all thother were meued/ and thought to auenge the dethe of syr Feraunt/ and smote in emonge them/ and there was grete fyghte and many slayne and leyd doune to gro//

(25) unde/ and syr Florence with his C knyghtes alwey kepte the stale and foughte manly/ **C** Thenne whan Pryamus the good knyght perceyued the grede fyght/ he went to syre Ga// wayn/ and badde hym that he shold goo and socoure his fe// lauship/ whiche were sore bystad with their enemyes/ Syr gre (30) ue yow not sayd syre Gawayn/ For theyr gree shall be theirs I shall not ones meue my hors to them ward/ but yf I see mo

TLN

stale half my steede length. but yf they be stadde wyth mo// 1378
re stuff than I se hem agaynste// So by þ*a*t tyme was Sir 1379
Gawayne ware by þe woodys syde men com*m*ynge woodly 1380
w*ith* all man*er* of wepon. ffor þ*er* rode þe Erle of Ethelwolde 1381
havyng on ey þ*er* half many hole thousandys and þe deuke 1382
of douchemen dressys hym hym aftir & passis w*ith* Pryam*us* 1383
knygthis. Than Gawayne the good knyght he chered his 1384
knyghtis and sayde greve you nat good men for yondir g*r*ete 1385
syght and be nat a baysshed of yondir boyes In hir bryghte 1386
weedis for & we feyght In fayth þe felde is ourys// Than 1387
they haled vp þ*er* brydyls and be gan walop and by þ*a*t they 1388
com nygh by a londys length they iowked downe w*ith* her 1389
hedys many Iantyll knyghtis a more Ioylar Ioustynge was 1390
neu*er* sene on erthe. Than þe ryche men of þe rounde table 1391
ran thorow þe thykkeste w*ith* hir stronge sperys þ*a*t many a 1392
raynke for þ*a*t provesse ran In to þe grevys & durste no kna// 1393
vys but knyghtis kene of herte fyght more In this felde 1394
but fledde// Be god seyde Sir Gawayne this gladys my 92v 1395
herte þ*a*t yondir gadlyngis be gone for they made a grete 1396
numbir// Now ar they fewer In the felde whan they were 1397
fyrst *num*byrd by .xx. ml. In feyth for all þ*er* grete boste 1398
//Than Iubeaunce of Geane a myghty gyaunte he feau// 1399
tred his speare to Sir Garrarde a good knyght of walys 1400
he smote þe waylshe knyght evyn to þe herte. Than our*e* 1401
knyghtis myghtyly meddeled wyth hir myddylwarde. 1402
but a none at all assemble many Saresyns were destro// 1403
yed for þe sou*er*aynes of Sessoyne were salued for eu*er*// By 1404
þ*a*t tyme Sir Pryamus the good prynce In þe presence 1405
of lordys Royall to his pẽnowne he rode and lyghtly 1406
hit hentys and rode w*ith* þe Royall rought of þe round 1407
table and streyte all his retynew folowed hym aftyr 1408
oute of þe woode they folowed as shepe oute of a folde 1409
and streyte they yode to þe felde and stood by þ*er* kynde lor// 1410
de and sytthyn they sente to þe deuke thes same wordis 1411
Sir we haue bene thy Sowdyars all this .vij. wynt*er* and 1412
now ^we^ for sake þe for þe love of oure lyege lorde Arthure 1413
ffor we may w*ith* oure worshype wende where vs lykys 1414
for garneson noþ*er* golde haue we none resceyved. ffye 1415
on you þe devyll haue yo*ur* bonys. ffor suche Sowdyars 1416
I sette but a lytyll// Than þe deuke dressys his dowch 1417
men streyte vnto sir Gawayne and to Sir Pryamus 1418
So they .ij. gryped þ*er* spearys and at þe gaynyste In he 1419
gurdys wyth hir noble myghtis and þ*er* sir Pryamus[9] 1420

than ther ben/ For they ben stronge ynough to matche them/ &

with that he sawe an erle called syre Ethelwold and the duk
of duchemen cam lepyng out of a wood with many thousandes
(35) & pryamus kny3tes/ & cam strayte vn to the bataylle/ thenne sir
gawayn comforted his knyghtes/ and bad them not to be a//

basshed/ for al shal be ours/ thenne they began to wallope & mette
with their enemyes/ ther were men slayn & ouerthrowen on euery

**sig. k.i(v)** syde/ Thenne threstyd in amonge them the knyghtes of the ta//
ble round/ and smote doune to the erthe alle them that wyth//
stode them/ in soo moche that they made them to recuyelle & flee/

By god sayd syre Gawayn this gladeth my herte/ for now
(5) ben they lasse in nombre by xx M/ Thenne entryd in to the ba

taylle Iubaunce a geaunt/ and fought and slewe doune ryght
and distressyd many of our knyghtes/ emonge whome was
slayne syre Gherard a knyght of walys/ Thenne oure knygh//

tes toke herte to them/ and slewe many sarasyns/ And thenne

(10) came in syr Priamus with his penon/ and rode with the kn//

yghtes of the round table/ and fought so manfully that ma//
ny of their enemyes lost theyr lyues/ And ther syr Pryamus

TLN

metyth *with* þe Marquesse of Moyses londe & smytyth 1421
hym thorow// Than Chastelayne a chylde of kyng 1422
Arthurs chambir he was a warde of Sir Gawaynes 1423
of þe weste marchis he chasis to Sir Cheldrake that (30) 1424
was a chyfteyne noble and *with* his spere he smote thorow 1425
1426
1427
Cheldrake 1428
1429
Cheldrake and so þ*a*t chek þ*a*t chylde cheved by chaunce of armys 93 1430
//But than they chaced þ*a*t chylde þ*a*t he nowhere myght a scape 1431
ffor one *with* a swerde the halse of þe chylde he smote In too// Wha*n*[10] 1432
Sir Gawayne hit sawe he wepte wyth all his herte & Inward// 1433
ly he brente for sorow// But anone Gotelake a good man of (5) 1434
armys for Chastelyane the chylde he chongyd his mode þ*a*t þe 1435
wete watir wente doune his chykys// Than sir Gawayne 1436
dressis hym ^&^ to a deuke rydys And sir Dolphyn the deuke 1437
droff harde a gaynste hym But Sir Gawayne hym dressyth 1438
*with* a grete spere þ*a*t þe grounden hede droff to his herte yette[11] (10) 1439
he gate hit oute & ran to an oþ*er* one Sir hardolf an hardy 1440
man of armys and slyly In he lette hit slyppe thorow & sodey// 1441
nly he fallyth to þe erthe yet he slow In the slade of men of 1442
armys mo than Syxty *with* his hondys// Than was Sir 1443
Gawayne ware of þe man þ*a*t slew Chastelayne his chylde & (15) 1444
swyfftyly *with* his swerde he smyttyth hym thorow Now and þou 1445
haddyst ascaped *with* outyn scathe þe scorne had bene oures. & 1446
aftir Sir Gawayne dressis hym vnto þe route and russhyth 1447
on helmys & rode streyte to þe rerewarde and so his way 1448
holdyth And Sir Pryamus hym allþ*er* nexte gydynge hym (20) 1449
his wayes and þ*er* they hurtelyth and hewyth downe hethyn 1450
knyghtis many & Sir fflorence on þe oþ*er* syde dud what he my3t 1451
There þe lordys of Lorayne and of Lumbardy both were ta// 1452
kyn and lad a way *with* oure noble knyghtis. ffor suche a chek 1453
oure lordys cheved by chaunce of þ*a*t wer*re* þ*a*t they were so a (25) 1454
vaunced for hit avayled hem eu*er*// Whan Sir fflorence and 1455
Sir Gawayne had þe felde wonne than they sente before .v. 1456
score of knyghtis and her prayes & hir p*re*soners passyth hem 1457
aftir. And Sir Gawawayne In a streyte passage he hovth tyll 1458
all þe prayes were paste þ*a*t streyte patthe þ*a*t so sore he dredith (30) 1459
So they rode tyll they þe cite sawe and sothly þe same day *with* 1460
A sawte hit was gotyn// Than Sir fflorence and sir Gaway// 93v 1461
ne harborowed surely þ*er* peple & sytthen turnys to a-tente 1462
and tellyth þe kynge all þe tale truly þ*a*t day how they travay// 1463

slewe the Marquys of Moyses land/ and syre gawayn with
his felawes so quytte hem that they had the feld/ but in that
(15) stoure was syr Chestelayne a chyld and ward of syre Ga//

wayne slayne/ wherfore was moche sorou made/ and his deth

wes soone auengyd/ Thus was the bataille ended and ma//

ny lordes of lombardye and sarasyns left dede in the feld/

**C** Thenne syre florence and syre Gawayne herberowed surely
(20) theyr peple/ and token grete plente of bestyal of gold & syluer
and grete tresour and rychesse and retorned vnto kyng Ar//

TLN

led and how his ferse men fare welle all and fele of thy 1464
foomen ar brought oute of lyff & many worshypfull *preso*// 1465
ners ar yolden In to oure handys. But Chastelayne thy 1466
chylde is chopped of þe hede yette slewe he a cheff knyghte 1467
his owne hondys this day 1468
1469
1470

NOw thanked be god sayde þe noble kynge but I mer// 1471
vayle muche of þ*a*t bourely knyght þ*a*t stondyth by þe 1472
for hym semys to be a straungere for *pre*sonere is he none 1473
lyke Sir seyde Sir Gawayne this is a good man of armys 1474
he macched me sore this day In þe mo*ur*nyng and had nat his 1475
helpe bene þ*a*t had I founden. And now is he yolden vnto 1476
god & to me Sir kyng for to be com Crysten and on good 1477
beleve. And whan he is Crystynde and In the fayth be// 1478
levys There lyvyth nat a bettir knyght nor a noble*re* of 1479
his hondis// Than þe kynge In haste crystynde hym fayre 1480
and lette conferme hym Priamus as he was a fore and 1481
lyghtly lete dubbe hym a deuke *with* his hondys and made 1482
hym knyght of þe table rounde And a none þe kynge lette cry 1483
a sawte vnto þe towne and þ*er* was rerynge of laddyrs & 1484
brekynge of wallys þe payne þ*a*t þe peple had was pyte 1485
to se// Than þe duches hir dressed *with* damesels ryche and 1486
þe countes of Clarysyn *with* hir clere maydyns they kneled In 1487
þ*er* kyrtyls þ*er* þe kynge hovyth and be sought hym of socoure 1488
for þe sake of oure lorde and sey vs som good worde And 1489
Cetyl thy peple or þe cite suddeynly be *with* a sawte wonne 1490
ffor than shall dye many a soule þ*a*t grevid þe neu*er*// The kynge 1491
of walys lyffte vp his vyser *with* a knyghtly coun// 1492
tenaunce and kneled to hir myldely *with* full meke wordis 1493
and seyde shall none mysse do you madam that to me longis 94 1494
for I graunte the Chartyrs and to thy cheff maydyns vn 1495
to thy chyldern and to thy chyff men In chambir that to 1496
þe longis// But thy deuke is In daunger my drede ys 1497
þe lesse// But ye shall haue lyvelode to leve by as to thyne 1498
astate fallys// Than Arthure sendyth on eche syde wyth 1499
s*er*tayne lordis for to cese of þ*er* sawte for þe cite was yolden 1500
and þ*er* *with* þe deuke is eldyst sonne com *with* þe keyes & kneled 1501
downe vnto þe kynge and be sought hym of his grace 1502
//And þ*er* he cesed þe sawte by assente of his lordis and the 1503
deuke was dressed to dou*re* *with* þe kyngis dere knyghtis. ffor to 1504
dwelle In daunger and dole dayes of his lyff //Than þe 1505
kynge *with* his crowne of his hede recou*er*de þe cite and the 1506

thur whiche lay styl at the syege/ And whanne they came to
the kynge/ they presented theyr prysoners and recounted the//
yre aduentures/ and how they had vaynquysshed theyre ene//
(25) myes

## C Capitulum xii

Now thanked be god sayd the noble kynge Arthur/
But what maner man is he that standeth by hym self
hym semed no prysoner/ Syre sayd Gawayne this is a good
(30) man of armes/ he hath matched me/ but he is yolden vnto god

and to me for to bycome Crysten. had not he haue be we shold
neuer haue rotorned/ wherfore I pray yow that he may be bap//
tysed/ sor ther lyueth not a nobler man ne better knyght of his
handes/ thenne the kyng lete hym anon be crystned/ and dyd
(35) doo calle hym his fyrste name Pryamus/ and made hym a du//

ke and knyghte of the table round **C** And thenne anon
the kynge lete do crye assaulte to the cyte/ and there was re//
rynge of laddres brekyng of wallys and the dyche fylled/
**sig. k.ii** that men with lytel payne my3t entre in to the cyte/ then*n*e cam
out a duchesse/ & Clarysyn the countesse with many ladyes &
damoysels/ and knelyng bifore kynge Arthur requyred hym
for the loue of god to receyue the cyte/ & not to take it by assa//
(5) ulte for thenne shold many gyltles be slayne/ then*n*e the kyng

aualyd his vyser with a meke & noble cou*n*tenanu*n*ce/ & said ma//

dame ther shal none of my subgettys mysdoo you ne your ma//

ydens/ ne to none that to yow longen/ but the duke shal abyde

my Iugement/ thenne anone the kyng commaunded to leue the
(10) assualt/ & anon the dukes oldest sone brought out the keyes/ &
knelyng delyuerd them to the kyng/ & byshou3t hym of grace/ &
the kyng seased the toun by assent of his lordes/ & toke the duc
& sent hym to douer there for to abyde prysoner terme of his lyf

TLN

castell and þe Captaynes & co*n*nestablys knew hym for lorde (15) 1507
and þ*er* he delyu*er*de and dalte by fore dyu*er*se lordis a dowre 1508
for þe deuches and hir chyldryn// Than he made warde*n*s 1509
to welde all þ*a*t londis And so In Lorayne & Lu*m*bardy he lodged 1510
as a lorde In his owne and sette lawys In þe londis ^as^ & hym 1511
beste lyked// And than at lammas he yode vnto Lusarne (20) 1512
he sought and lay at his leyser w*ith* lykyngis I nowe// Than 1513
he mevys ou*er* þe mountaynes and doth many m*er*uayles 1514
and so goth In by Godarte that Gareth sone wynnys 1515
//Than he lokys in to Lumbardy and on lowde spekyth 1516
in yondir lykynge londis as lorde woll I dwelle sir fflo// (25) 1517
rence and Sir ffloridas that day passed w*ith* .v. C. good men 1518
of armys vnto the cite of Virvyn they sought at þe gaynyste 1519
and leyde þ*er* a buysshment as hem beste lykys. So þ*er* com 1520
oute of þ*a*t cite many hundretthis and skyrmysshed wyth 1521
oure fore ryders as hem beste semed. Than broke oute (30) 1522
oure buysshemente and þe brydge wyn*n*ys and so rode 1523
vnto þ*er* borowys w*ith* baners vp dysplayed There fledde 1524
much folke oute of nu*m*bir for ferde of Sir fflorence and 94v 1525
his fers knyghtis. Than they busked vp a ban*er* a bovyn þe 1526
gatis and of Sir fflorence in fayth so fayne were they 1527
neu*er*. The kynge than hovyth on an hylle and lokyth 1528
to þe wallys and sayde I se be yondir sygne þe cite is won*n*e (5) 1529
Than he lete make a cry thorow all þe oste that vppon 1530
payne of lyff & lym*m*e and also lesynge of his goodys 1531
þ*a*t no lyege man þ*a*t longyth to his oste sholde lye be no 1532
maydens ne ladyes noþ*er* no burgessis wyff þ*a*t to the cite 1533
longis// So whan this Conquerro*ur* com In to þe cite he pas// (10) 1534
sed in to þe castell and þ*er* he lendis and comfortis þe care// 1535
full men w*ith* many knyghtyly wordis & made there a 1536
Captayne a knyght of his owne contrey & þe com*m*os 1537
accorded þ*er* tyll// Whan þe sou*er*aygnes of Myllayne her// 1538
de þ*a*t þe cite was wonne they sente vnto kynge Arthure (15) 1539
grete som*m*ys of Sylu*er* Syxty horsys well charged & 1540
be sought hym as sou*er*ayne to haue ruthe of þe peple 1541
and seyde they wolde be sudgectis vntyll hym for eu*er* 1542
and yelde hym s*er*uyse & sewte surely for hir londys 1543
bothe for Plesaunce and Petresaynte and for þe porte (20) 1544
Trembyll and so mekly to gyff for Myllayne a mylly// 1545
on of golde and make homage vnto Arthur all hir 1546
lyff tymes. Than þe kynge by his counceyle a conduyte 1547
hem sendys so to com In and know hym for lord// Tha*n* 1548
in to Tuskane he turned whan he tyme semed & there (25) 1549

& assigned certayn rentes for the dower of the duchesse & for
her children/ Thenne he made lordes to rule tho londes & lawes
as a lord ought to do in his owne countrey/ & after he took his
iourney toward Rome/ & sent sir Florys & syr florydas to fore

with v C men of armes/ & they cam to the cyte of vrbyne & leid
there a busshement there as them semed most best for them/ & ro
de to fore the toune/ where anon yssued out moche peple & scar
musshed with the fore rydars/ thenne brake out the busshement &
wan the brydge & after the toun/ & set vpon the wallis the kyn

ges baner/ thenne cam the kynge vpon an hille & sawe the Cyte
& his baner on the wallys/ by whiche he knewe that the Cyte
was wonne/ & anone he sente & commaunded that none of his
lyege men shold defoule ne lygge by no lady/ wyf /ne maide/ &
whan he cam in to the cyte/ he passid to the castel/ and comforted
them that were in sorou/ & ordeyned ther a captayn a kny3t of

his own countrey/ & whan they of Melane herd that thylk cyte

was wonne/ they sent to kyng Arthur grete sommes of money/ &
besou3t hym as their lord to haue pyte of them/ promysyng to be
his subgettys for euer/ & yelde to hym homage & fealte for the

landes of plesaunce & pauye/ petersaynt & the port of tremble/ &

to gyue hym yerly a melyon of gold al his lyf tyme/ thenne he

rydeth in to Tuskane & wynneth tounes & castels & wasted al

TLN

he wynnys towyrs and townys full hy3e and all he 1550
wasted in his warrys þ*er* he a way ryddys// Than he 1551
spedys towarde Spolute *with* his spedfull knyghtys 1552
and so vnto Vyterbe he vytayled his knyghtis and to þe 1553
vale of Vysecounte he devysed þ*er* to lygge in þ*a*t vertouse (30) 1554
vale amonge vynys full And þ*er* he suggeo*ur*nys that 1555
sou*er*aigne w*ith* solace at his harte for to wete whe þ*er* the 95 1556
Senatours wolde hym of succo*ur* beseke// But sone aft*er* 1557
on a Saturday sought vnto kynge Arthure all þe Sena// 1558
toures þ*a*t were on lyve and of þe cun*n*yngyst Cardynallis 1559
that dwelled in þe courte and prayde hym of pece and (5) 1560
p*ro*fird hym full large and be sought hym as a sou*er*ayne 1561
moste gou*er*noure vndir god for to gyff them lycence 1562
for .vj. wekys large þ*a*t they myght be assembled all 1563
And than in þe cite of Syon that is Rome callyd to 1564
crowne hym þ*er* kyndly w*ith* Crysemed hondys w*ith* Septu// (10) 1565
re for sothe as an Emp*er*oure sholde// I assente me sey// 1566
de þe kynge as ye haue devysed and comly be Crystmas 1567
to be crowned here aft*er* to reigne in my asstate and to 1568
kepe my rounde table w*ith* þe rentys of Rome to rule 1569
as me lykys// And than as I am a vysed to gete me (15) 1570
ou*er* þe salte see w*ith* good men of armys to deme for his 1571
deth that for vs all on þe Roode dyed// Whan þe Sena// 1572
fours had this answere vnto Rome they turned and 1573
made rydy for his corownemente in þe moste noble 1574
wyse and at þe day assigned as þe Romaynes me tel// (20) 1575
lys he was crowned Emp*er*our*e* by the Poopys hondis 1576
w*ith* all þe Royalte in þe worlde to welde for eu*er* //þ*er* 1577
they suggeo*ur*ned þ*a*t seson tyll aftir þe tyme and stabelys// 1578
shed all þe londys frome Rome vnto ffraunce & gaff 1579
londis & rentys vnto kyngytis that had hem well des*er*// (25) 1580
ued þ*er* was none þ*a*t playned on his p*ar*te ryche nothir 1581
poore. Than he com*m*aunded Sir Launcelot and Sir 1582
Bors to take kepe vnto þ*er* fadyrs landys þ*a*t kynge 1583
Ban & kynge Bors welded & her fadyrs loke þ*a*t ye 1584
take seynge in all yo*ur* brode londis and cause youre (30) 1585
lyege men to know you as for þ*er* kynde lorde & suffir 1586
neu*er* yo*ur* sou*er*aynte to be alledged w*ith* yo*ur* subiectis no þ*er* the 95v 1587
sou*er*aygne of yo*ur* p*er*sone and londys// Also þe myghty 1588
kynge Claudas I gyff you for to p*ar*te be twyxte you 1589
evyn for to mayntene yo*ur* kynrede þ*a*t be noble kny3tis 1590
So þ*a*t ye and they to þe rounde table make yo*ur* repeyre (5) 1591
//Sir Launcelot and Sir Bors de Gaynys thanked 1592

in his way that to hym wil not obeye/ & so to spolute & viterbe

& fro thens he rode in to the vale of vycecou*n*te emong the vynes

And fro thens he sente to the senatours to wete/ whether they
**sig. k.ii(v)** wold knowe hym for theyr lord/ But soone after on a sater
day came vnto kynge Arthur alle the senatours that were left
on lyue/ and the noblest Cardynals that thenne dwellyd in
Rome/ And prayd hym of pees/ and profered hym ful large

(5) and bysought hym as gouernour to gyue lycence for vj we//
kes for to assemble alle the Romayns/ And thenne to crowne
hym Emperour with creme as it bylongeth to so hyhe astate/ I
assente sayd the kynge lyke as ye haue deuysed/ and at cry//
stemas there to be crowned/ and to holde my round table with

(10) my knyghtes as me lyketh/ And thenne the senatours maade

redy for his Intronysacyon/ And at the day appoynted as the
Romaunce telleth he came in to Rome/ and was crouned em
perour by the popes hand with all the ryalte that coude be ma

de/ And sudgerned there a tyme and establysshed all his lon//
(15) des from Rome in to Fraunce/ and gaf londes and royammes
vnto her seruauntes and knyghtes to eueryche after his desert
in suche wyse that none complayned ryche ne poure/ & he gafe

TLN

þe kynge fayre and sayde þ*er* hertis & s*er*uyse sholde eu*er* 1593
be his owne// Where art þ*o*u Priamus thy fee is yet 1594
be hynde// here I make þe and gyff þe deukedom of 1595
Lorayne for eu*er* vnto þe and thyne ayres. And whan 1596
we com in to Ingelonde for to purvey the of horse 1597
mete ~~and~~ a ml. li quarterly for to mayntene thy 1598
s*er*uauntis so þ*o*u leve not my felyship this gyffte ys 1599
thyne owne// The knyght thankyd þ*e* kynge w*ith* 1600
a kynde wylle and sayde as longe as I lyve my s*er*// 1601
vys is youre owne// Thus þe kynge gaff many 1602
londys there was none þ*a*t wolde aske þ*a*t myghte 1603
playne of his p*ar*te. ffor of Rychesse & welth they 1604
had all at her wylle// Than the knyghtis & lordis 1605
þ*a*t to þe kynge longis Called a counsayle vppon a 1606
fayre morne and sayde Sir kynge we be seche 1607
the for to here vs all we ar vndir youre lordship 1608
well stuffid blyssed by god of many thyngis and also 1609
we haue wyffis weddid we woll be seche youre 1610
good grace to Reles vs to sporte vs w*ith* our*e* wyffis 1611
for worshyp be Cryste this Iourney is well ou*er* com 1612
ye say well seyde þe kynge for I now3e is as good 1613
as a feste for to attemte god ou*er* muche I holde 1614
hit not wysedom// And þ*er* fore make you all redy 1615
and turne we in to Ingelonde// Than there was 1616
trussynge of harneyse w*ith* caryage full noble and þe 1617
1618
1619
1620

kynge toke his leve of þe holy fadir þe Pope and Pa// 96 1621
rtryarkys and Cardynalys and Senatoures full 1622
ryche and leffte good gou*er*naunce in þ*a*t noble cite and 1623
all þe contrays of Rome for to warde and to kepe on 1624
payne of deth þ*a*t in no wyse his com*m*aundement be 1625
brokyn. Thus he passyth thorow þe contreyes of all 1626
p*ar*tyes And so kyng Arthure passed ou*er* the see vnto 1627
Sandwyche haven// Whan quene Gwenyuere her// 1628
de of his com*m*ynge she mette w*ith* hym at London & 1629
so dud all oþ*er* quenys and noble ladyes. for þ*er* was 1630
neu*er* a solempner metyng in one cite to gedyrs for 1631
all man*er* of Rychesse they brought w*ith* hem at þe full 1632
//Here endyth þe tale of þe noble kynge Arthure 1633
that was Emp*er*our*e* hym self thorow dygnyte of his 1634
hondys. And here folowyth afftir many noble 1635

to syre Pryamus the duchye of Lorayne/ and he thanked hym
and sayd he wold serue hym the dayes of his lyf/ and after

made dukes and erles/ and made euery man ryche/ Thenne after this alle his knyghtes and lordes assembled them afore hym/ and sayd blessyd be god your warre is fynysshed and your conquest acheued/ in soo moche that we knowe none soo grete ne myghty that dar make warre ageynst yow/ wherfore we byseche you to retorne homeward/ and gyue vs lycence to goo home to oure wyues/ fro whome we haue ben longe/ and to reste vs/ for your Iourney is fynysshed with honour & wor ship/ Thenne sayd the kyng/ ye saye trouthe/ and for to temp// te god it is no wysedome/ And thefore make you redy and retorne we in to Englond/ Thenne there was trussyng of har// neis and bagage and grete caryage / And after lycence gyuen he retorned and commaunded that noo man in payne of dethe shold not robbe ne take vytaylle/ ne other thynge by the way but that he shold paye therfore/ And thus he came ouer the see and londed at sandwyche/ ageynste whome Quene Gweneuer his wyf came and mette hym/ and he was nobly receyued of alle his comyns in euery cyte and burgh/ and grete yeftes presented to hym at his home comyng to welcome hym with/

**sig. k.iii** **C** Thus endeth the fyfthe booke of the conqueste that kynge Arthur hadde ageyenste Lucius the Emperoure of Rome/ and

| | TLN |
|---|---|
| talys of Sir Launcelot de lake | 1636 |
| | 1637 |
| Explycit the noble tale be twyxt kynge | 1638 |
| Arthure and Lucius the Emperoure of Rome. | 1639 |

here foloweth the syxth book whiche is of syr Launcelot du lake

## Endnotes
(TLN number appears in parenthesis)

1. Left-hand marginal gloss: The deth of Gaynes (578)

2. Right-hand marginal gloss: The deth of Sir ffeldenake (599)

3. Right-hand marginal gloss: The deth of Sir Berel (776)

4. Right-hand marginal gloss: The deth of iij. knightis sir Aladuke, sir herawde & Sir heryngale (801)

5. Right-hand marginal gloss: The deth of þe kyng of lybye (807)

6. Left-hand marginal gloss: How Sir Gawayne slew iij. Admyrallys In batayle (1013)

7. Left-hand marginal gloss: How kyng Arthure slew þe Emp*erour* of rome sir Lucy*us* (1033)

8. Left-hand marginal gloss: How Sir fflorence slew sir fferaunte (1348)

9. Left-hand marginal gloss: The deth of þe marquesse (1420)

10. Right-hand marginal gloss: The deth of Chastelayne (1432)

11. Right-hand marginal gloss: The deth of Sir dolphyn (1439)

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