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**Malory and Morte Arthure : some problems in sources.**

Clark, Aidan

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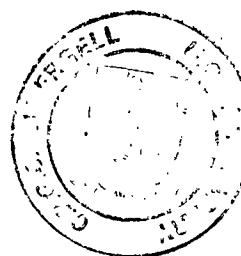
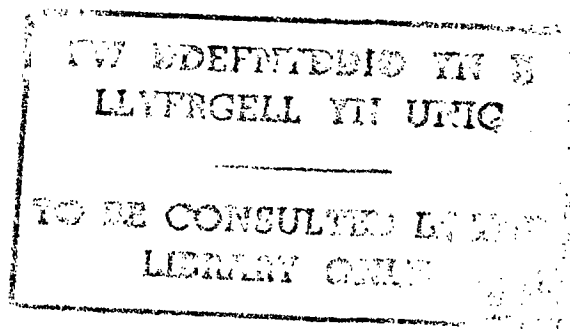
Malory and Morte Arthure: Some Problems in Sources

By  
Aidan Clark

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## INTRODUCTION

The fourteenth-century poem called the Alliterative Morte Arthure is the source of Sir Thomas Malory's Roman War story; but it was a long time before it was known to be so. This is partly because Le Morte Darthur was neglected in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries,<sup>1</sup> partly because Malory does not use the latter part of the Morte Arthure, in which Mordred rebels, but mostly because of the form of the Roman War story in the available versions of Le Morte Darthur. For centuries the only known versions of Malory's book were the surviving copies of William Caxton's edition of 1485 (C) and editions based upon it.<sup>2</sup> When serious study of Malory's sources began in the nineteenth century, it was necessarily these editions that scholars worked from.<sup>3</sup> In the 1830s Sir Frederick Madden argued that this version of Malory's Roman War story was loosely based on a version of the Alliterative Morte.<sup>4</sup> In the late nineteenth century Moritz Trautmann and H. Oskar Sommer made more detailed comparisons of the two works.<sup>5</sup> Sommer too concluded that the Alliterative Morte was Malory's source, but he was not certain whether variations between the two works were due to deliberate alterations by Malory or to differences in the source manuscripts.<sup>6</sup> Sommer also believed that Malory had supplemented his main source from Wace, Layamon and Robert of Gloucester's chronicle sources, or the Suite de Merlin.<sup>7</sup> Sommer and Trautmann (and others) believed the Alliterative Morte Arthure to have been written by the Scots poet Huchown,<sup>8</sup> but this view is now entirely discredited.<sup>9</sup> Who the author was remains unknown.

In 1934 the textual situation was revolutionised by the discovery of the Winchester Manuscript (W).<sup>10</sup> This manuscript, now British Library Additional

Manuscript 59678,<sup>11</sup> contains a version of Malory's book in which the Roman War story is longer, more alliterative, and generally closer to the Morte Arthure than is the corresponding part of Caxton's edition, his Book V. In a celebrated article, E.V. Gordon and Eugène Vinaver established new verbal parallels between the alliterative poem and the Winchester Manuscript, much more numerous than those between the poem and Caxton's text.<sup>12</sup> These correspondences proved beyond doubt that Malory's prime source for the Roman war story was a version of the Alliterative Morte Arthure. Gordon and Vinaver argued that common scribal errors even showed that the Winchester Manuscript and the only surviving copy of the Alliterative Morte Arthure both ultimately derive not merely from the same work but from the same manuscript of that work.

The original poem was probably written about the year 1400, but the surviving copy is a generation later, and at least two copying stages removed from the original.<sup>13</sup> The earlier of the scribes apparently involved (M2) may have come from Louth in Lincolnshire and the second (M1) from south-west Lincolnshire, perhaps "somewhere between Sleaford and Grantham."<sup>14</sup> A draft letter from Lincolnshire dating from the second or third quarter of the fifteenth century mentions "ane Inglische buke [that] es cald Mort Arthur" which has been written in the author of the letter's hand.<sup>15</sup> This may be a lost version of the Alliterative Morte Arthure, and possibly even M2 itself.

The surviving copy of the Morte Arthure is found in Lincoln Cathedral Manuscript 91, which is generally known as the Thornton Manuscript (T), from the name of the scribe Robert Thornton.<sup>16</sup> The manuscript was probably constructed out of seventeen quires which vary in length,<sup>17</sup> and the 64 works contained in it, most in Middle English, but some in Latin, include a number of

romances, numerous religious works and even some medical recipes. There has been some attempt to organise them into sections according to content.<sup>18</sup> The Alliterative Morte is the first work in quire d.<sup>19</sup> George Keiser believes that the Alliterative Morte was one of the first works to be transcribed, although the Prose Alexander is the first romance in the manuscript as it is now arranged.<sup>20</sup> Watermarks for the whole manuscript have been dated approximately at between 1420 and 1450,<sup>21</sup> so if the Alliterative Morte Arthure was one of the first works to be transcribed, it probably dates from the 1420's or 30's.<sup>22</sup> Some slight support for that conclusion is given by another piece of evidence. Ingrained dust on the first page of the poem suggests that its gathering remained unbound for a considerable time after it was written.<sup>23</sup>

Robert Thornton certainly copied the Morte Arthure in Lincoln Cathedral Manuscript 91, because he says at the end of the poem that he has written it and asks for God's blessing on himself by name: "R. Thornton dictus qui scripsit sit benedictus."<sup>24</sup> Thornton's name also appears in the Lincoln manuscript at a number of other points,<sup>25</sup> and most of those competent to give an opinion believe that the whole manuscript was written by one person.<sup>26</sup> The same phrase, naming Thornton and asking God's blessing, can also be found in another manuscript, British Library Additional Manuscript 31042, written in the same hand.<sup>27</sup> Thornton's hand has been described as "a fairly typical mid-fifteenth-century-cursive hand,"<sup>28</sup> and his transcriptions appear to have been done quickly rather than neatly.<sup>29</sup>

The Lincoln manuscript also mentions a place called Ryedale, and the scribe Robert Thornton is usually identified with a Robert Thornton who was probably born in Ryedale in the North Riding of Yorkshire at some time around the end of the fourteenth

century.<sup>30</sup> The official records known as Feudal Aids confirm that Robert Thornton owned two pieces of land in the Ryedale area. In 1441 he was also the executor of Richard Pickering of Oswaldkirk's will, which also names a Richard Thornton (who was probably the scribe's brother) as one of its beneficiaries. Robert Thornton of Newton in Ryedale also appears as a witness to three quitclaim deeds in 1443, and another in 1449. The 1449 deed was also witnessed by his (presumed) sons William, Thomas and Richard. According to a family pedigree compiled by Thomas Comber, a seventeenth-century Dean of Durham, who married into the Thornton family, Robert Thornton became lord of East Newton in Ryedale in 1418. He served as one of the six official tax collectors for the North Riding of Yorkshire in 1453. He was discharged from duty, but reinstated in 1454. He was probably still alive in 1456, as his son William had not yet taken over the family estate. Robert Thornton must have died in or before the year 1465, when his wife Isobel remarried. The names of four of Thornton's descendants can be found in the Lincoln manuscript in later hands, and the birth of another Robert Thornton is recorded on a blank page.

These facts about Thornton open up the possibility that Malory might have used T. Thornton's copy of the Alliterative Morte, as we have seen, may have been completed about 1430, and it must of course have been completed before he died, and therefore by 1465. Malory's Morte Darthur was completed between 3 March 1469 and 4 March 1470, and more important in this connection, if the most recent theory about his life is correct, it is likely to have been begun in or soon after June 1468, when he is thought to have been imprisoned by the Yorkists.<sup>31</sup> These dates would allow Malory to have used the Thornton Manuscript, and as we shall see shortly, at least one scholar has claimed

that he did use it. It would be much easier to estimate Malory's aims and achievements if we could compare his work with a manuscript that he actually used. It is therefore desirable to establish the relationship of his work not only to the Alliterative Morte in general, but to the version of that poem in Robert Thornton's manuscript in particular.

The Alliterative Morte Arthure is certainly the closest to Le Morte Darthur of all Malory's sources in his own language. The authenticity of the Alliterative Morte's lines is particularly difficult to judge, as the line length and the number of alliterative points in the line do not always follow the expected rules for alliterative poetry, but the Winchester Le Morte Darthur is close enough to the Thornton text of the alliterative poem to be useful as a check on the authenticity of some of the more dubious lines in that manuscript.

The poem has been said to be the first source Malory used for his book and an influence on his style in his subsequent tales.<sup>32</sup> This is contentious: the order of composition of Malory's tales has been debated for many years.<sup>33</sup> Terence McCarthy, for instance, argued some years ago that, difficult though it was to establish an exact order for the composition of the tales, the sixth tale (The Tale of the Sankgreal) might have been written first, and the seventh and eighth tales were almost certainly written last.<sup>34</sup> It is now generally believed that before he began to write Malory had acquired more knowledge of Arthurian literature in English than he was once credited with, and this knowledge, rather than the Morte Arthure in particular, is now considered to be responsible for what some have thought to be an English element in the style of his other tales.<sup>35</sup> Malory's Roman War story (his second tale) is generally thought to have been written after

the first tale (which has a main French source apparently supplemented by several very minor English sources), and the archaic style and occasional awkwardness of the prose of the second tale are widely ascribed to its origins in an alliterative source and to the difficulties of changing alliterative verse into prose, rather than to Malory's inexperience as an author.<sup>36</sup>

If the relationship between Malory and the Thornton manuscript is to be clarified, it is best to begin with Gordon and Vinaver's findings. They believed T to be a "considerably shortened" text compared with the hypothetical autograph version.<sup>37</sup> In addition to this (presumably conscious) shortening, incoherences in the text of T suggested to them that some lines had dropped out of it by accident. The Winchester Manuscript, surprisingly for a prose work, contains a number of apparent alliterative lines, some of which fill some of the gaps in the Thornton Manuscript. The alliterative lines in the Malory manuscript have been the subject of a good deal of scholarly dispute. Tania Vorontzoff, writing in the same issue of the same journal as Gordon and Vinaver, argued that these lines were derived from a version of the poem since lost.<sup>38</sup> William Matthews and Terence McCarthy on the other hand have argued that Malory was quite capable of writing some of the alliterative lines himself.<sup>39</sup> Matthews made the larger claim for Malory, arguing that the Thornton version of the Alliterative Morte Arthure was the only one which Malory would have known, because the version of Arthur's epitaph that Malory records "agrees in every detail" with the epitaph given in the Thornton manuscript.<sup>40</sup> That epitaph was apparently written in another hand than Thornton's, and Matthews argued that "it is peculiar to this copy, and it would [therefore] be reasonable to

think that Malory's copy of the poem was the Thornton manuscript." Matthews also claims that just as Malory added his own alliteration in his translations from the French so he added his own alliteration here, both in creating original lines, and in embellishing existing weak lines.<sup>41</sup>

Part of this thesis will be devoted to comparing Malory's alliterative lines (and parts of alliterative lines) with those of the Morte Arthure. These issues will have to be explored more fully later, but for the present it may be noticed that most critics have argued that some of the apparent alliterative lines in W which have no counterpart in T come from their common original, and that during the copying process that produced the Thornton Manuscript, they were omitted either by Thornton or by one of his predecessors. The passages apparently involved are of varying length, and not all of them display all of the characteristics of alliterative poetry, but one of the most striking of them is the description of the dragon's golden claws and tattered tail, which appears in both Caxton's Book V and in the Winchester Manuscript: "his taylor was fulle of tatyrs, and his feete were florysshed as hit were fyne sable" (Works p. 196.15-16). This passage at least is strong evidence that the manuscript Malory used for the Morte Darthur was not T or any manuscript derived from it.

To the problems created by our not having the version of Morte Arthure that Malory used must be added problems created by our not having Malory's own manuscript of his Morte Darthur, only the two derived texts, Caxton's edition and the Winchester Manuscript. If the relationship between Malory and the Alliterative Morte Arthure is to be established, it will be necessary first to establish and keep clearly in mind the relationship between Malory's own manuscript and

its two surviving derivatives. Some spectacular evidence bearing on this has been published in recent years. Lotte Hellinga has established from reversed letter-shapes made by oil-based printer's ink from Caxton's typefaces 2 and 4 that the Winchester Manuscript was apparently in Caxton's workshop at some time during the years 1480-83, when those typefaces were in use.<sup>42</sup> A piece of printer's waste from Caxton's workshop dateable to 1489 has been used to repair the manuscript, and this repair was probably made by the printers.<sup>43</sup> The manuscript may have been in Caxton's workshop for another ten years after that.<sup>44</sup>

Surprisingly, however, although the Winchester Manuscript was in Caxton's printing house for such a long time, Caxton printed from a different manuscript altogether. Scribal errors common to the Winchester Manuscript and Caxton's edition prove that they derive from a lost common original,<sup>45</sup> but cases where each text has a reading confirmed by Malory's source when the other text is in error show that neither derives from the other. It is not surprising that each of the Malory texts contains compound scribal errors suggesting that neither W or C was close to Malory's autograph,<sup>46</sup> or, most relevant to this present thesis, that Caxton's Book V also contains some passages that are missing from the Winchester Manuscript. Passages in C that are missing from W include the reference to the statutes and decrees of Julius Caesar (in MA) and the incident when Arthur's younger knights attempt to attack the Roman ambassador and his party (not in MA).<sup>47</sup>

As the Thornton Manuscript, the only surviving version of the Alliterative Morte Arthure, is manifestly imperfect, it would be an advantage both to intending readers of the poem and to students of Malory



if its faulty lines could be restored. It is clearly possible that the evidence of one or both of the Malory texts could help with this. It is also possible that the poem's sources could provide evidence that would help. For years there has been debate over the likely sources of the Morte Arthure. Generally it is agreed that the poet's main source was the Arthurian Chronicle tradition stemming from Geoffrey of Monmouth's Historia Regum Britanniae, and including Geoffrey's book itself, Wace's Roman de Brut, Laȝamon's Brut, Robert Mannyng's Story of England, Robert of Gloucester's Metrical Chronicle, and Peter Langtoft's Chronicle.<sup>48</sup> The poet also seems to have used poems and romances about Alexander and Charlemagne. The former include Les Voeux du Paon and The Parlement of the Thre Ages and the later Sir Fierabras, which was the source of Sir Ferumbras and Li Fuerres de Gadres.<sup>49</sup> Sir Fierabras or Sir Ferumbras or both seem to have been the basis for Gawain's single combat with Sir Priamus, and Li Fuerres de Gadres for the foraging expedition. Numerous other sources have also been postulated.

The poet apparently used various supplementary sources (including the chronicles) to provide additional details for his main story. In these cases, it is harder to establish proof of the poet's dependence as he rarely reproduces any minor source exactly, so there is often the possibility of coincidence. This thesis will confine itself to the parts of the poem which are based on the chronicle tradition, but minor sources will be discussed as they become relevant. Critics have usually believed that the alliterative poet used only one of the main chronicles (Geoffrey, Wace and Laȝamon have been the favourites) with possible borrowings from the other chronicles, but Mary Hamel has recently argued strongly that the poet used all three of these chronicles and

Mannyng's Story of England in parallel.<sup>50</sup> In the second part of this thesis I will go on to investigate these claims. The Chronicle of Thomas Bek of Castelford<sup>51</sup>, which is not a claimed source although it predates Morte Arthure and it was written by a Yorkshireman, will be used as a control. A brief commentary on the theoretical possibility that it is a source, and whether comparison with Castelford strengthens or weakens the claims of the claimed sources, will appear in the conclusion to the Four Sources section.

PART I

CHAPTER I: ALLITERATIVE LINES IN THE ALLITERATIVE MORTE  
ARTHURE

According to the established rules, the ideal alliterative line would be divided into two parts by a caesura in the middle. It could also have four stressed words that carry the alliteration, but an element of variety is provided by the fact that it is very rare for all four words to alliterate on the same letter. In the commonest variant, the two stressed words in the a-line and the first part of the b-line alliterate, but the second does not. This is called aaax alliteration (a indicates a stressed word that alliterates, and x one that does not.) The two halves of the line are linked by alliteration and by their both being part of a complete grammatical and rhythmical unit. The end of the line is normally strongly felt and this is one of the characteristics (along with repetitious b-lines) that Krishna believes makes MA resemble the syntax of oral poetry.<sup>1</sup>

In practice, if these rules are always adhered to the lines would become rather monotonous, so there are many variations on these rules. The only surviving manuscript of Morte Arthure is regarded either as a good representation of the poem as originally written, and as one that takes alliterative freedom and experimentation to greater lengths than is normal and contains few corrupt lines, or as being monstrously corrupted (the latter view is now rather out of fashion).

In practice, words with any initial vowels can alliterate together (as was common in OE poetry), as can certain combinations of initial letters. In MA these vowels are usually different; but as Krishna points out I uses the same vowel three times in a line more often than most Old English poetry does.<sup>2</sup> Hamel

also points out that h/vowel alliteration is not uncommon in the poem.<sup>3</sup> h/vowel alliteration, however, was not common in OE poetry.<sup>4</sup>

Alliterative revival poetry is generally freer than Old English (Anglo-Saxon) poetry. There are often three alliterating words in the a-line, making a total of four in the line as a whole. It is also quite possible for a line of MA to have only one, or occasionally no alliterating word in the a-line, or no alliterating word in the b-line, or alliteration at the end of the b-line, or two alliterating words in the b-line. Sometimes in order to make a line alliterate satisfactorily one is forced to place a stress on the prefix rather than on the root syllable.<sup>5</sup> The midline stop was common in Old English poetry.<sup>6</sup>

Krishna claims that ax : ax is the second most commonly found pattern, with xa : ax being the third.<sup>7</sup> Hamel points out that a a : x x lines are common in T.<sup>8</sup> Weak lines may be more likely to occur when two or more lines alliterate on the same letter. It has been claimed that over three-quarters of the poem contains two or three line sections with shared alliteration.<sup>9</sup> It is not unknown for alliterative poems to have a few consecutive lines alliterating on the same letter but T contains many more such examples than would be expected.<sup>10</sup> Hamel accepts O'Loughlin's claims that the "faulty" lines frequently occur in pairs where the stronger one supports the weaker one's alliterative deficiencies.<sup>11</sup> Hamel, however, is more willing to accept some of T's "normal" alliterative variants (a x : a x and x a : a x) than O'Loughlin was.

There are a large number of possible combinations of such pairs.<sup>12</sup> Hamel cites other examples of linked and failed lines including lines 432-34 and 3996-98 which alliterate as follows:

a a : a x (a perfect line) / x a : b x / b b : b x  
 (another perfect line).<sup>13</sup> The alliteration gently  
 moves from one alliterative letter to another during  
 the course of these lines. A similar example is the  
a a : a x / a a : x b / b b : b x alliteration in lines  
 945-47.<sup>14</sup> Other weakly linked lines which Hamel finds  
 acceptable include a x : x b / a a : a b,<sup>15</sup> a a : a b /  
a x : x b;<sup>16</sup> the reverse of the previous example),  
x b : x a or x b : b a,<sup>17</sup> a a (a) : b x / (b) a a :  
a (a) b,<sup>18</sup> a a : a x / x a : a x,<sup>19</sup> a a : a b / a x :  
x b,<sup>20</sup> a b : b a or a x : a x,<sup>21</sup> a b : c x,<sup>22</sup> a b :  
c x,<sup>23</sup> a b : b a / c b : c x,<sup>24</sup> a b : b a / c b : x a /  
d d : d c,<sup>25</sup> a a : a x / a a : b x / c b : b c,<sup>26</sup> a a :  
a x / a x : a x / b b : x a,<sup>27</sup> a a : a x / b b : x a.<sup>28</sup>  
 There are many other examples.

However, Hamel prefers x a : x a to a a : x x in  
 line 766,<sup>29</sup> and is uncertain about the x a : x b / b b  
 : a x alliteration in lines 811-13.<sup>30</sup> She rejects T's  
a b : a b / x x : x b / c b : b c alliteration in lines  
 1178-80.<sup>31</sup> She also rejects the "isolated" a a : x x  
 alliteration in line 2298 and line 2472.<sup>32</sup> Line 2780  
 is also emended because she does not believe "a x : x  
x, without a secondary pattern or other linkage" to be  
 part of the poet's practice.<sup>33</sup> Line 4020 is emended  
 for the same reason.<sup>34</sup>

MA also uses two or three initial letters to bear  
 the alliteration. Brock mentions sc[/sk], bl, tr,<sup>35</sup>  
 while Krishna states "to the OE st, sp, sc, which  
 alliterate exclusively with themselves, are added such  
 clusters as sl, sw, br, ch, pr, tr, gr."<sup>36</sup> Krishna  
 also mentions the non-typical clusters use of the  
 alliterative clusters--sk, pr, ch, gr, tr, fl, cl, fr,  
gl, and the most commonly used non-typical form,  
sw.<sup>37</sup> It is also possible that h alliterates with  
 vowels, y or f with w, w with wh<sup>38</sup> and qw.<sup>39</sup> Further,  
soo may alliterate with sk.<sup>40</sup> However, Hamel believes

that sw/skw should not alliterate with s or st;<sup>41</sup> nor kw with kn.<sup>42</sup> st and sk only alliterate with the same group in Sir Gawain.<sup>43</sup>

There are usually four or more stressed words, mostly falling on the alliterating words.<sup>44</sup> The number of unstressed syllables varies but there may be up to four.<sup>45</sup> In the lines where the stresses are marked by Brock they are rarely on the initial letters unless the words begin with vowels or y. The stress is also on vowels within words.<sup>46</sup>

Brock was uncertain about the weight to be given to a final e.<sup>47</sup> Valerie Krishna, however, cites Marie Borroff to the effect that it was not normally pronounced after a stressed syllable--in the probable area of the poem's composition and at the approximate date of composition.<sup>48</sup>

As has been seen the MA-poet appears to have enjoyed more apparent alliterative freedom than most poets of his period, or of earlier times, while also conforming to certain expected norms. There is, however, considerable uncertainty, as to how much latitude the poet allowed himself. Unfortunately, we only have Thornton's copy of the poem extant, and Malory's reworking of it to judge these lines by. In the next chapter we will be looking at a range of examples of Malory's lines compared with their equivalents in T, beginning with the most similar examples, and then working our way through lines which are increasingly different because of Malory's adaptations or differences in the source manuscripts. Later chapters will examine individual lines which appear to be missing from T and lines which appear to have been edited in some way in more detail.

## CHAPTER II: MALORY'S ALLITERATIVE LINES

Although there are many alliterative lines in Malory's Roman War story, and those that are particularly close to their equivalents in T have had a good deal of scholarly attention, there are in fact surprisingly few of the latter. This is probably due partly to differences in dialect and to errors of transcription produced during copying, and partly to the conscious revisions of Malory or of scribes.

In an attempt to analyse the state of the two texts, and M's methods of adapting his source material, I have divided Malory's better alliterative lines into several categories. The most important of these are lines with good a-lines and good b-lines which are taken from a single source-line and alliterate on the same letter, otherwise good lines with faulty a- or b-lines, good lines with different alliteration, and lines with no counterpart at all in T. Weaker lines with different alliteration have also been examined.

There are 241 good lines which correspond to and alliterate on the same letter as single lines in T. They are the most likely to correspond to a line in the lost source of the surviving texts. We will examine their distribution first. I have divided Malory's Roman War Story, as it appears in the standard edition of Malory, edited by Vinaver and Field (0<sup>3</sup>) into 66 line-groups.<sup>1</sup> A few lines, as they appear in 0<sup>3</sup>, are split between two of my line-groups: they are counted as being in the group in which the majority of the line is contained. 63 of the 241 lines fall in to the first third or so of the line-groups. Only 5 line-groups have 5 or more lines of the type being considered. There are even fewer good lines in the middle section (only 22) and some groups contain none of these lines at all (most notably groups 34, 35, 36, 37 and 38; this



happens again at the end of Malory's Tale--groups 65 and 66 contain no strongly alliterative lines. Line-groups 45 to 63, however, all have at least five of these lines per group. The distribution of alliterative lines in Malory's Roman War story is set out more fully in Table I, which follows this section.

The similarity of these lines to T varies, but the following lines of O<sup>3</sup> seem to me the closest: 186.4, 188.8, 188.9, 188.19-20, 189.12, 189.27-28, 190.17-18, 190.23-24, 197.19-20, 198.9-10, 199.8, 200.1-2, 200.14, 201.20-21, 202.3, 202.24-25, 204.18, 205.1-2, 206.7-8, 207.25, 212.5-6, 212.23, 215.32-33, 221.8, 222.11-12, 226.11-12, 226.12-13, 226.16-17, 227.17, 227.20-21, 227.21-22, 227.22-23, 228.9-10, 228.10-11, 229.11-12, 230.16-17, 231.15-16, 232.14-15, 233.9-10, 233.11-12, 233.23-24, 234.13-14, 234.14-15, 235.11-12, 235.13-14, 235.26-27, 236.12, 236.15-16, 236.23-24, 237.4-5, 237.5-6, 237.17-18, 237.20-21, 238.14-15, 239.3-4, 240.16-17, 240.22, 240.26, 241.14-15, 241.15-16, 241.16-17, 241.19-20, 242.1, 242.12-13, 242.14-15, 242.15-16, 243.3-4, 243.6, 243.7-8, 243.10, 243.16-17, 243.25-27, 244.2-3, 244.6, 244.15-16 and 244.19-20.

I regard having the same words bear the alliterative stress as being more important than the transposing of alliterative words and minor variations in dialect. Malory has also padded out many lines with extra prose-words. I take the addition of more than a few short words as preventing the line from being regarded as particularly similar.

We shall now go on to examine similarities and differences between Malory's good lines derived from single lines of the poem. We shall begin with a few examples of lines where M closely follows his source and move on to lines that progressively increase in dissimilarity. Near identity can be seen in the line-pair O243.6/3113 (T3069):<sup>2</sup>

"for ferde of sir Florence and his fers knyghtes"  
 "For ferde of sir Florent | and his fers knyghtez."

Another example is the line-pair Q236.12/2761:

"that was fostred in Farmagos: the fende was his fadir"  
 "Was fosterde in Famacoste | the fende was his fadir."

An example of a slightly less similar line is found in lines Q232.16-17/2644:

"Therefore grucche nat, good sir, if me this grace is  
 behappened"  
 "Gruche noghte, gude sir, | þofe me this grace happen."

Malory seems to have added therefore, and replaced þofe with if and happen with is behappened, resulting in a longer line. Another example of a slightly less similar pair of lines is the line-pair Q186.4/136:

"'Sir,' seyde one of the senatoures, 'so Cryste me  
 helpe'"  
 "'Sir' sais þe senatour | 'so Crist mott me helpe.'"

Malory has extended and prosified his a-line. He has also abridged his b-line. He has probably done this in order to keep his narrative consistent with a change he has made a little earlier. Whereas the alliterative poem has only one senator, escorted by sixteen knights (lines 80-81), Malory has accepted the idea found in the earlier chronicle tradition of an embassy of twelve distinguished old men all of whom he takes for senators, and he modifies his sentence here accordingly. Earlier, however, he tells of "one of the knyghtes messyngers." Robert H. Wilson saw this discrepancy as an indication "that Malory was, in fact, combining two contradictory accounts."<sup>3</sup> Wilson believed that rather than

deriving the alternative version from one of the chronicles, he could have obtained all its details from a combination of the Cyclic Merlin and the Suite.<sup>4</sup>

A pair of lines less similar still is the line pair Q202.20-21/1066:

"Thou haste made many martyrs by mourtheryng of this  
 londis"  
 "Thow has marters made | and broghte oute of lyfe."  
M apparently removes the inversion from the a-line, but  
 the difference in the b-line could be because T is  
 faulty here, as Wroten believes.<sup>5</sup> Matthews includes  
 this line in his list of 10 cases where M has more  
 alliteration than T.<sup>6</sup> M's b-line is more alliterative,  
 but it is also too long.

A different kind of example is the line-pair  
 0187.20/251:

"The lettyrs of Lucius the Emperoure lykis me well."  
 "þe lettres of sir Lucius | lyghttys myn herte."  
 Malory's a-line is made rather too long by the addition  
 of the Emperoure. That aside, both b-lines are  
 metrically correct and either could be close to the  
 original. M's b-line is shorter and completely  
 different to T's but preserves the alliterative metre.

Extreme examples of the differences between two  
 good alliterative lines are shown in the line-pair  
 0196.7/755:

"They strekyn forth into the stremys many sadde  
 hunderthes"  
 "And all þe steryn of þe streme | strekyn at onez."  
M's is a very different line with only three words in  
 common with its counterpart in T. This line is further  
 considered below, in my discussion of Hamel's claims  
 that the alliterative poem was reworked by an  
 intermediary (whom she calls Scribe E) between the  
 archetype and T. M's sadde is used in its poetic  
 sense, meaning "important." This choice of a poetic  
 word is rather a puzzle. It may well come from a lost  
 version of the poem, but T does not use sadde in this  
 context at all, which perhaps makes this unlikely.

Another extreme kind of difference between line-  
 pairs is contradiction in meaning. An example of this  
 is the line-pair 0238.22-23/2907.

"For the soveraynes of Sessoyne were salved for ever"  
 "The soueraynge[s] of Sessoyne, | þat saluede was  
 neuer."

Both lines are obscure and it is difficult to be sure which is closer to the original. The following lines (Q239.1/2925) contradict each other in terms of quantity:

"Sir, we have bene thy sowdyars all this seven wynter."  
 "We hafe bene thy sowdeours | this sex 3ere and more."

It is hard to say with certainty which b-line is the closest to the original. Another pair of otherwise similar lines with a numerical difference is the line-pair Q226.11-12/2358:

"the taxe and the trewage of ten score wynters"  
 "The taxe and þe trewage | of fowre score wynteris."

Although no figure is given in C Branscheid was able to deduce that T's non-alliterative fowre was incorrect, and that the number should have been ten.<sup>7</sup> Nearly fifty years later the discovery of M provided evidence that his theory was correct. Hamel also believes that M is superior here and emends T's fowre to M's ten.<sup>8</sup> This shows that M is sometimes superior to T and that it may be possible on occasions to deduce successfully from the evidence available which line is the closest to the original. A third example is the line-pair Q193.24-25/612:

"fyffty gyauntys that were engendirde with fendis."  
 "Sexty geauntes before, | engenderide with fendez."

It might be argued that T's Sexty is correct because sixty giants are defeated in the much later line 2312, but sixty is very much a conventional number, and fifty sounds better as the line then begins and ends with words beginning with f. If this is the case, then the line may well alliterate abba. Although one would perhaps not expect it, it is possible for the first word in a line in T to be an alliterative one (e.g

lines 3, 11, 15, 20, 21, 25 etc.).<sup>9</sup> A final example is the line-pair Q237.19-20/2822:

"(for som of hem) fought nat theire fylle of all this  
fyve wyntyr"  
"Frekes [pat] faughte noghte þeire fill this fyftene  
wynter."

It is perhaps a little more likely that M has reduced T's fifteen winters to five by an error of omission than that the converse happened.

There are cases where both M and T's half-lines have inverted the word-order for poetic effect. It is of more significance for our purposes when one version has inverted word order and the other has not.

Examples of this include the line-pair Q198.13-14/853:

"as she rode by a ryver with her ryche knyghtes."  
"Beside Reynes as scho rade | with hire ryche  
knyghttes."

M's a-line is closer to prose than T's inverted half-line, and T's Reynes (Rennes) is in Brittany rather than Normandy. Perhaps Malory deleted the reference to Rennes as he felt that the distance between Rennes and Mont St. Michel was rather a long way for the giant to travel in a day ("The Duchez of Bretayne | todaye has he takyn"--852). Therefore T's line is the more likely to resemble the form of the original. Matthews includes this line in his list of 24 lines with alliterative words apparently replaced by Malory.<sup>10</sup>

A second example of poetic inversion is contained in the line-pair Q200.18-19/945.

"he fyndys two fyres flamand full hyghe"  
"Two fyrez he fyndez, | flawmande full hye."

M's lines are less poetic in these examples, and it is natural to assume that they have been prosified by Malory. Other instances where the alliterative words in M's single a-lines are placed differently to their counterparts in T include Q196.25, 197.6, 198.16, 202.20-21 (above), 202.26, 204.7, 211.9, 229.2-3, 229.13, 232.4, 234.22-23, 235.14-15, 240.1-2 and

240.27-28.

There are also examples where M may have moved the alliterative word in the b-line. The line-pair Q202.17-18/1061 is a relatively minor case, as ever in Malory's normalised b-line is semi-alliterative.

"For thou art the fowlyste freyke that ever was  
fourmed"

"For the fulsomeste freke that fourmed was euere!"

T's word-order is almost certainly correct, as it follows the pattern of lines 781, 861 and 3808. (Line 3808 contains the dissimilar b-line that fourmede us all, but it confirms that fourmede is not normally the last word.) Matthews was probably correct to believe that Malory modernised fulsomet to fowleste.<sup>11</sup>

Matthews also believed ey in freyke is "probably a northern spelling for long e."<sup>12</sup> A second example of apparent alteration to the b-line is the line pair Q230.20-21/2581.

"Thow trowyste with thy talkynge to tame my herte"

"Thow trowes, with thy talkynge, | þat my harte  
talmes!"

Malory here seems to have replaced an obscure dialect word (talmen, "to faint", "to tire", "to become exhausted") with a better known one. Line Q240.23-24/3015 is a similar case.

There are also, however, cases where M obeys the expected alliterative rules better than T. The line-pair Q235.9-10/2727 is an example of this:

"And yf we g<et>tles go <thus> away hit woll greffe  
oure kynge"

"3if we gettlesse goo home, | the kyng will be  
greuede."

A second example is the line pair Q244.4/3150

"Than into Tuskayne he turned whan h<ym> tyme semed"

"Into Tuskane he tourne, | when þus wele tymede."

M's line is alliteratively superior and makes more immediate sense.

M sometimes contains more alliteration than the

corresponding lines in T. In the line pair Q243.21-22/3136, M is alliteratively superior to T:

"(they sente unto kynge Arthure)  
 grete sommys of sylver, syxty horsys well charged"  
 "(And send to Arthure | sertayne lordes,)  
 Grette sommes of golde, | sexti horse chargegid."

T appears to alliterate on s here with secondary g-alliteration on two unstressed words, which explains the weakness. Matthews gives Malory the credit for creating "firmer alliteration" here.<sup>13</sup> It is more likely, however, that a scribe in the tradition that produced T has changed MA's original and more alliterative sylver to the more glamorous though less alliterative gold.

A similarly weakened example is contained in the line-pair Q244.22-23/3213

"And comly be Crystmas to be crowned hereafter"  
 "And at De Crystynmesse daye | be crowned theraftertyre."

Gordon and Vinaver say that M "strengthens the alliteration" in this line and in line Q244.24-245.1/3215.<sup>14</sup>

"with the rentys of Rome to rule as me lykys"  
 "Withe the rentes of Rome, | as me beste lykes."

However, in both cases M's superior alliteration and denser meaning suggests that Malory may have preserved an original reading that T or an earlier scribe corrupted. Other examples of cases where M's lines contain more primary alliteration than T are Q189.11, 202.20-21, 204.17, 221.17, 226.11-12 (in the paragraph relating to quantity), 235.27-28, 236.4-5, 238.5, 238.14, 239.1, 242.7, and 244.24-245.1.<sup>15</sup>

Sometimes additional alliteration arises out of M's attempts to clarify the meaning of the line, as in the line-pair Q239.16/2956:

"(and so) that chek that chylde cheved by chaunce of  
 armys"  
 "This chekke hym eschewede | be chauncez of armes."

I now give a few examples of lines with additional alliteration which has resulted in such extended line-length that Vinaver has had to leave three or four words outside of the marks indicating that they are good alliterative lines. I enclose these words in brackets. The first example of this is the line-pair Q222.11-12/2191

"(and grete wel) my worshypfull wyff that wratthed me  
never"

"And my worthily weife, | þat wrethide me neuer."

Apart from the addition of grete wel this pair of lines is fairly similar. Another example is the line-pair Q202.19-20/1065

"by what cause, thou carle, hast thou kylled thes  
Crysten chyldern?"

"Because that thow killede has | þise cresmede  
childyre."

Malory's line is considerably expanded. The alliterating phrase thou carle does not appear in T, which has a weak a-line and M uses Crysten instead of cresmede. Wroten observes

MA says that the giant will receive his punishment because he killed the children; Malory says 'by what cause' instead of 'Why did you do it.'<sup>16</sup>

M apparently moves kylled to the b-line. He also replaces the poetic word cresmede (with its dual connection with Christian baptism and kingly coronation) with the blander word Crysten.

The next two pairs of long lines (Q189.30-31/368), have also probably been rewritten by Malory:

("Than lepe in yong) sir Launcelot de Laake with a  
lyght herte"

"'By oure Lorde', quod sir Launcelott, | 'now lyghttys  
myn herte!'"

M transforms poetic dialogue into narrative here.<sup>17</sup>

Another example is the line-pair Q191.13-14/488:

"by the sonne was sette at the seven dayes ende"  
(they com unto Sandwyche)"

"By þe seuende day was gone | þe cetee þai rechide."



These lines are very different, the sunset replaces the bland phrase was gone, and the "city" (in reality a town) is now named. Matthews gives Malory the credit for "firmer alliteration" in this line.<sup>18</sup> Vinaver also marks line 242.19-20 as being a good alliterative line, but again it is far longer than the equivalent in T:

"(And so) in Lorayne and Lumbardy he lodged as a lorde  
in his owne"  
"Thus in Lorayne he lenges | as lorde in his awen"  
(3092).<sup>19</sup>

This line is close to T, but Malory has extended the line by adding Lombardy to Arthur's conquests. This not only, as Wroten points out, destroys the rhythm, but makes Malory's geography less coherent than that of T.<sup>20</sup> These cases of M's lines with excessively added alliterative content (and of lines where Malory has apparently added to lines low in alliteration) give some support to Matthews's contention that Malory invented whole alliterative lines.

Sometimes M's lines contain enough alliteration to pass as good alliterative lines but lack additional alliteration contained in T that is not a vital part of the metrical pattern, as in the line-pair Q191.8/475

"'Care ye nat,' seyde the kynge, 'youre conduyte is  
able'"  
"'Care noghte' quod the kynge | 'thy coundyte es  
knawen.'" "

M's line 240.20-21 lacks the additional rather distracting w-alliteration of T's line 3012:

"(And) sothly the same day with asawte hit was gotyn"  
"Sothely the same daye | was wit[h] asawte wonnen."

However, M sometimes contains secondary alliteration not found in T. An example of this is contained in the line-pair Q236.11/2760:

"sir Feraunte of Spayne before on a fayre stede"  
"One sir Feraunt before | apon a fayre stede."

These lines are generally fairly similar. However, T's

shorter line does not mention that Sir Feraunt(e) came from Spain as M does, which is hard to reconcile with M's/T's next lines which state that he was fostered in Farmagos/Famacoste (Famagusta in Cyprus). The addition of Spayne also increases the number of words with the initial letter s to three.<sup>21</sup> All in all, of Spayne looks very unlikely to have been written by the poet, and much more likely to be Malory's, perhaps the product of a realisation that Ferrante was a Spanish man's name. Another example is the line-pair Q243.16-17/3131:

"comfortis the carefull men with many knyghtly wordis"  
 "Comfourthes þe carefull | with knyghtly wordez."

This is a similar line although M has apparently added men and many to the line. Both lines also contain two words beginning with w (with and words). (See also line 242.21-22 below.)

Even amongst the good lines there is a range of differences in the final word or words. An example of this is the line-pair Q227.20-21/2444:

"For they wyne no worshyp of me but to waste their  
 toolys"  
 "Thay wyn no wirchipe of me, | bot wastys theire  
 takle."

These lines are similar apart from the last word.

Matthews may well have been right to see toolys:takle as an example of Malory's "translation" of words in the poem.<sup>22</sup> Lines Q242.21-22/Hamel 3078 (T3094) are nearly as close.

"And than at Lamma he yode, unto Lusarne he sought"  
 "And one þe Lammese Day | to Lucene he wendez."

Both these lines have faulty alliteration in the a-line. he yode ("he went") is a typical Malorian phrase and is probably original to Malory but--as he also uses the phrase he sought--it seems superfluous. It is possible that a subject and a verb have been lost from T's a-line. The verb is unlikely to be yode, which is

not used by the poet, but it may have been leves (used in this sense in line 1708). Malory's b-line has secondary s alliteration, "unto Lusarne he sought." A third example is the line-pair Q242.25/3092-T3108:  
 "Than he lokys into Lumbardy and on lowde spekyth"  
 "Lukande one Lumbarddye, | and one lowde melys."  
 Here the last word (and others) are apparently normalised and updated. On the other hand, "Than he spedys towarde Spolute with his spedfull knyghtys" (Q244.6-7) and "Spedis them to Spolett | with speris inewe" (3161) have very different b-lines although they alliterate on the same letter. Spedfull does not appear anywhere in T or anywhere else in Malory, which leaves open the possibility that M has adapted the word from spedis, or that it occurred here in his copy of MA.

Good lines with weak a or b-lines (marked by Vinaver) are relatively rare but weak a-lines are commonest in groups 18, 31 and the early fifties, and weak b-lines are most often found in groups 51 to 63. We will begin with a couple of weak a-lines (Q190.20-21/428):

"and myne doune the wallys of Myllayne the proude"  
 "To Meloyne the meruaylous | and myn doun the walles."

M's line begins with MA's b-line and consequently lacks one alliterative word, and in his b-line Milan becomes the proude rather than T's the meruaylous. A similar example is the line-pair Q214.32-33/1756:

"with mo than fyve hondred at the formyst frunte"  
 "Fif hundreth on a frounte | fewtrede at onez."

M's is a weak alliterative line, lacking one alliterative word from the a-line, but having two in the b-line. Matthews was probably correct to claim that M's line has been altered by Malory and is the "livelier" of the two.<sup>23</sup> A final example of a weak a-line is the line-pair Q227.8/2408:

"And so into Tuskayne, and there the tirrauntys  
 destroyed"  
 "The tyrauntez of Turkayn | tempeste a littyll."  
 Malory's a-line is unsatisfactory unless "into"  
 provides the necessary alliteration, which seems  
 unlikely. The poetic use of tempeste is not found  
 elsewhere in T, but is well authenticated in the  
 dictionaries.<sup>24</sup> Its appearance here may have been due  
 to the poet's struggling to find a suitable word  
 beginning with t here. M appears to wish to omit this  
 poetic phrase and transfers the tyrants to the b-line.  
 Other examples of this include Q213.12, 227.8 and  
 233.20-21. Most of these examples are the result of  
 Malory blending words from the a and b-sections of one  
 line together to reconstruct a differing (and  
 imperfect) line.

It is perhaps not surprising that there are  
 relatively few good lines derived from several lines.  
 None of them occur in groups 1 and 2, 4-10, 14-15, 19-  
 21, 26-27, 31, 33-35, 38-41, 43-45, 58, 62 and 64-66.  
 One occurs in each of the following groups: 11-13, 24-  
 25, 28-29, 36-37, 42, 46, 52, 54-55, 57 and 60. Two  
 occur in the following groups: 16, 22, 30, 47, 49, 50-  
 51 and 59. Three occur in groups 17-18, 32, 48, 53 and  
 63, and four occur in groups 3, 23, 56 and 61. There  
 are only 66 of these and their density is never high  
 enough to prove anything conclusively. Their density  
 is also plotted in Chart 2 which follows this section.

Malory seems to have based some of these lines on  
 one line with a word or two borrowed from another line  
 nearby. An example of this is the line-pair Q196.17-  
 18/772:

"an hydeouse flame of fyre there flowe oute of his  
 mowth"  
 "And syche a venymmous flayre | flowe fro his lyppez."  
T's flayre becomes a flame of fyre, creating an  
 additional alliterative word, while the (semi-

alliterative) venymuous becomes hydeouse.<sup>25</sup> Fyre is taken from the following line (773). Other lines may be based on two half-lines or combinations of a line and a half-line--perhaps two a-lines, perhaps an a-line and a b-line, a whole line and a half-line, or two b-lines.

Line 0188.11 is based on two a-lines (284-85a)

"recoverde the Crosse that Cryste dyed uppon."  
 "He pat conquerid pe Crosse | be craftez of armes  
 That Criste was on crucifiede . . . ."

M's line is also heavily rewritten.

An example of a line created out of an a-line and a b-line is line 0196.10-11/760-61

"dremed how a dredfull dragon dud drenche muche of his  
 peple"

"Hym dremyd of a dragon | dredfull to beholde,  
 Come dryfande ouer pe depe | to drenschyn hys peple."

M's a-line is reasonably close to T although dredfull and dragon are transposed which removes much of the poetic feel of the line. His b-line comes from the next line of MA with the additional prosifying words much of.<sup>26</sup>

M's line 0202.8-9 is based on two b-lines (1043-44)

"and syghe where he sate at his soupere alone"  
 And sydlynggs of pe segge | the syghte had he rechide,  
 How vnsemyly pat sott | satt sowpande hym one."

M omits the exact location of the giant and transforms the syghte into syghe ("saw") and sowpande hym one becomes at his soupere alone.<sup>27</sup>

M's line 0197.21 is based on the MA a-line 825 (first) and elements of the following line.

"with som gyaunte boldely in batayle be thyself alone"  
 "Or ells with somme gyaunt | some journee sall happyn  
 In singulere batell by zoure selfe one."

Malory's line alliterates on the letter b for batell taken from the second a-line, which alliterates on the letter s.<sup>28</sup> M's line 0241.17-18 is an example of a good line based on several lines of MA (3050-52):

"and besought hym of socoure for the sake of Oure  
Lorde"

"We beseke 3ow, sir, | as soueraynge and lorde,  
That 3e safe vs to-daye, | for sake of 3oure Criste:  
Send vs some socoure | and saughte with the pople."

M has made major adaptations and cuts to his source. The major difference in wording is Oure Lorde instead of 3oure Criste. The word lorde in MA may have helped to trigger Malory's line, although it refers of course to Arthur rather than God.

We have already seen some examples of faulty a- and b-lines marked as alliterative lines by Vinaver, most of these resulting from Malory (or a scribe) mixing words from MA's a- and b-lines together to make a new line. Now we come to a- lines and b-lines that have apparently been deliberately weakened by the omission of an alliterative word or that ultimately derive from several lines of the poem. An example of the former is the line-pair Q199.10-11/876:

"Woldist thou ken me where that carle dwellys"  
"Bot walde 3ow kene me to þe crage thare þat kene  
lengez."

M drastically shortens the a-line, deleting the reference to the crag, and replaces poetically used second kene with the more normal carl.<sup>29</sup>

A second example of a weakened line is contained in the line pair Q203.24-25/1147:

"They never leffte tyll they fyllle thereas the floode  
marked."

"they feyne neuer are they fall at þe flode merkes."

M deliberately omits feyne, replacing it with leffte, which he moves in front of the loan-word neuer; furthermore thereas replaces at, and contributes to the line's prosifying tendency. A final single-line example of this is the line-pair Q205.8/1198:

"And anone the clamoure was howge aboute all the  
contrey"

"Be that to courte was comen | clamour full huge."

M's line is extensively rewritten and may contain

secondary a-alliteration (And anone and aboute). Malory's new line is far closer to poetry, contains only two words with the initial letter c--only one of which is the same as T's, and has reversed alliteration in the b-line--which adds to the prose-effect.

Malory's semi-alliterative a-lines are often derived from several lines of the poem. He has a large number of alliterative words to draw upon here; so their apparent omission or substitution is probably deliberate. The line-pair Q203.18/1137-38 is an example of this:

"Kneled on the grounde and to Cryste called."  
 "Kneland and cryede, | and clappide þaire handez:  
 'Criste comforthe 3one knyghte | and kepe hym fro  
 sorowe.'"

This is a good example of Malory's technique of reduction. Cryede may have suggested called, while the prayer is omitted with only the loan-word Criste and the additional word called remaining. M's single line contains all the salient information of MA's two lines, but only occupies half the space. Malory could have had a better alliterative line if he had echoed T's a-line and not mentioned the ground ("Kneled and cryede and to Cryste called"), but he may very well have been aiming at this point at something other than reproducing the alliterative metre. As we have seen, Malory sometimes appears to follow his source closely and at other times he apparently reduces, modifies or increases the alliteration. A second example of Malory's technique of reduction is contained in the line-pair Q204.8/1162-65.

"'In fayth,' seyde sir Bedwere, this is a foule  
carle.'"  
 "'Now cerytez' saise sir Bedwere 'it semez be my lorde,  
 He sekez seyntez bot selden; | þe sorere he grypez,  
 þat þus clekys this corsaunt | owte of þir heghe  
 clyffez,  
 To carye forthe siche a carle | at close hym in  
 siluere.'"

Changing Now certez to In fayth also moves the alliteration from s to f. A final example of a weak a-line derived from several lines of MA is the line-pair O205.2-3/1176-77:

"that had I nere founden, had nat my fortune be good."  
 "He was the forcyere be ferre | that had I nere  
fundene,  
Ne had my fortune bene faire, | fey had I leuede!"

M's line is a fairly faithful rendering of the b-line of line 1176 and the following a-line. Malory derives the single alliterating a-line from the b-line, which is effectively identical. The b-line of M's version of MA is apparently altered with the inverted phrase Ne had replaced by the more prosaic phrase be good (the extra alliteration is unnecessary in what is now the b-line).<sup>30</sup>

We will now examine some examples of M's weak b-lines. The examples of b-lines we have already seen have been taken from single lines and have had inverted word order--but their alliteration has usually been acceptable. The new group of lines may derive from single or multiple line sources in MA. An example of such a line derived from a single line is line O212.7-8 which is derived from a line similar to line 1605 in T.  
 "and sir Bors, sir Berell, noble good men of armys"  
 "and sir Bors, sir Berell, | with baners displayede."  
M's non-alliterative b-line soundly slightly odd with its phrase "noble good men of armys" which seems rather artificial (and perhaps unnecessary). It is possible that Malory was unable to decide between two adjectives and wrote down both. A second example is the line-pair O212.21-22/1622.

"sir Edolf and sir Eduarde, two myghty kynges"  
 "Sir Vtolfe and sir Ewandyre, | two nonourable kynges."  
 Malory's line is reconisably derived from a version of this line although someone has substituted the non-alliterative word myghty for T's honourable as well as



Eduarde, a more familiar name, for Evander. The differences in the names in the a-line does not affect the alliteration, but M's apparent substitution of myghty for honourable does. A third example is the line-pair Q212.24-25/1629:

"All thes turned towarde Troyes with many proved  
knyghtes"

"Traise towarde Troys þe treson þe treson."

(þe treson þe treson is usually emended to something approximating to to wyrke.) M's line again reads as prose as against MA's poetry. Matthews sees Malory's apparent modernisation and prosification of traise to turned as another example of Malory's grasp of the poem's "dialect and alliterative diction."<sup>31</sup> M misses the opportunity to show the King of Syria's men in a sinister and treacherous light, although in his line the danger to Arthur's men is perhaps increased.

Lines with deliberately weak b-sections and which derive from several lines of MA can also be found. An example of this is the line-pair Q201.3-4/976-77:

"He hath murdered that mylde withoute ony mercy"

"He hath morthirede this mylde | be myddaye war rongen  
Withowttyn mercy one molde; | I not watte it ment."

M's line is constructed out of a reasonably close version of line 976a and the following a-line, but omitting the final archaic alliterative word molde and making one into ony and moving it in front of mercy. This produces aaxa alliteration.<sup>32</sup>

A second example is contained in the line-pair Q207.6-7/1318-19:

"Therefore the kyng commaundyth the to ryde out of his  
londys"

"Forthi the comelyche kynge, | curtays and noble,  
Comandez þe kenely | to kaire of his landes."

M omits a quantity of superfluous formulaic alliterative padding here. His b-line fails because of the substitution of ryde for T's kaire. Kaire is an archaic word (perhaps obscure in Malory's day) meaning

to turn or go. Matthews also believes that Malory's ryde is a good "translation" of an archaic word.<sup>33</sup> M's line certainly makes more immediate sense. A third example of the apparent deliberate weakening of the b-line is contained in the line-pair O219.22-23/2042-43

"And therefore do doughtly this day, and the felde is ourys."  
 "Do dresse we tharefore, | and byde we no langere  
 Fore dredlesse withowttyn dowtte | the daye schall be ourez."

As Vinaver remarks "Doughtly is not in MA [= T], but it was suggested to M by the word dowtte which occurs in the corresponding line."<sup>34</sup> M also changes daye to felde resulting in a faulty b-line. A final example of this is M's line O213.29-30 which is based on elements drawn from lines 1716-19 of MA--

"'Other ellys shunte for shame, chose whether ye lykys.'"  
 "'For thus vs schappes to-daye, | schortly to tell;  
 Whedyre we schone or schewe, | schyft as pe lykes.'"  
 "'Nay' quod Cador | 'so me Criste helpe,  
 It ware schame | pat we scholde | schone for so lytyll.'"

This line is a variation on line 1719 with the b-line derived from line 1717b but MA's schone has prompted shunte (a very different word, but a near homophone) in a way that recalls dowtte/doughtly in the previous example, and schyft has been replaced by chose, which weakens the alliteration.<sup>35</sup>

Good lines with different alliteration are far rarer than weaker lines with different alliteration, but more are found in the groups 45-48 than elsewhere. I reproduce three varied examples here. M's line O188.20-21 has a very different b-line to T's line 296:

"Therefore I make myne avow unto mylde Mary"  
 "And I sall make myn avowe | deuotly to Criste."  
 Although some words in the a-line are shared (make myn(e) avow(e)), the alliteration moves from v/u to m and a new b-line is created which replaces Criste with

mylde Mary.<sup>36</sup> T contains three references to the Virgin Mary:

"Whene we are moste in destresse, | Marie we mene,  
That es oure maisters seyne | þat he myche traistez;  
Meles of þat mylde Qwene | that menskes vs alle"  
(2869-71).

"'Here I make myn avowe,' quod the kyng thane,  
To Messie, and to Marie, the mylde qwene of heuene'"  
(3997-98).

"And thare-to make I myne avowe devottly to Cryste,  
And to hys modyre Marie, the mylde qwene of heuene"  
(4040-41).

Two of these references involve a vow and all three describe Mary as the mild queen. This makes it very likely that M's line is a closer approximation to the lost original. (Line 1211 also concerns the (unnamed) Virgin Mary "Or myracle of his modyre, that mylde es tille alle.") The complete list of good Malory lines with different alliteration to T is 188.20-21, 204.17, 207.25-26, 208.4-5, 213.10-11, 215.32-33, 226.20, 228.22-23, 229.24-230.1, 230.12-13, 239.22-23, 240.24, 242.29-243.1 and 244.17-18.

The next example (lines 0204.17/1179) contains a more subtle alliterative shift--

"and geff hit to thy servaunte that is swyffte-horsed"  
"Gife it to thy sqwyre, | fore he es wele horsede."<sup>37</sup>

Malory's line uses the word servaunte instead of T's sqwyre. Both lines contain only two alliterative words; but T's sqw/w alliteration is inferior. Gordon and Vinaver<sup>38</sup> and Hamel follow M and emend wele to swyffte. Wroten also suggests that M's is the correct reading.<sup>39</sup> In this case it looks as if each line preserves half the original. The last example of a subtle alliterative shift is the line-pair 0213.10-11/1659-60:

"Be he kyng other knyght, here is his recounter redy"  
"If here be any hathell man, | erle or oper,  
That for þe emperour lufe | will awntere hym selfen."

M's version is more original than the two previous examples, as it shares few words with T, alliterates on

a different letter, and contains aabb alliteration.

Finally, we may consider weak lines which alliterate on a different letter to their counterparts in T. M contains a surprisingly large number of these. The lines concerned are distributed as follows:

There are none of these lines in groups 9, 43, 65 and 66--	total 0
There is 1 of these lines in groups 2, 3, 7, 8, 10, 14, 17, 28, 61 and 63--	total 10
There are 2 of these lines in groups 1, 4, 11, 20, 31, 34, 38, 44, 46, 51, 53, 55, 56, 58, 59, 60, 62 and 64--	total 36
There are of 3 these lines in groups 12, 19, 21, 22, 23, 24, 27, 37, 47, 48, 52 and 54--	total 36
There are 4 of these lines in groups 5, 6, 13, 15, 16, 18, 25, 29, 30, 35, 39, 41, 42, 45 and 50--	total 60
There are 5 of these lines in groups 26, 32 and 36--	total 15
There are 6 of these lines in group 40--	total 6
There are 7 of these lines in group 49--	total 7
There are 8 of these lines in group 33--	total 8
No groups contain 9 of these lines--	total 0
There are 10 of these lines in group 57--	total 10

These results are plotted on Chart III which appears at the end of this section. This shows few groups with over five such lines and reveals the surprising total of ten such lines in group 57--while preceding and subsequent groups contain few of these lines.

These weaker lines (or parts of lines) fall into several categories. Some are only fragments, where for example the quantity of soldiers has been changed. There are also other examples of short lines lacking an alliterating word and lines of excessive length that

cannot be easily subdivided, lines which are derived from several source-lines--with differing alliteration in each line--with the result that the line so derived alliterates on more than one letter. There are cases where M brings out latent secondary alliteration and makes it dominant, and finally lines which are completely different from MA and apparently share no common words.

Malory's half-lines and fragments include "thirty thousand" (Q189.29) where T has "fyfty thosande" (M also changes the quantity in the whole line Q190.3-4 shortly afterwards), "galeytes and galyottes" (Q196.6) where T has "coggez and crayers"--even today M's half-line sounds the more modern. Other cases include "that none nyghe other" (Q200.13-14) where T has "O ferrom bytwene" (934), and "thes noble knyghtes" (Q206.16) where T has "theis galyarde knyghttez" (1279). Matthews picks none nyghe as a good example of M's translation of obscure words.<sup>40</sup> Another example of a half-line is "with many mo othir", which apparently replaces "wyth legyones ynewe" (2000). A different type of example is "noble knyghtes (of mery Ingelonde)" where T has "Erles of Inglande" (1412), as there is no need for modernisation in T's reading: M presumably substituted his phrase just because it was one of his favourites. "Within a whyle" (Q211.19), where T contains "Bot in þe clere daweyng, | the dere kynge hym selfene" (1601) is clearly a change made in order to abridge material of only secondary importance. "Ten were takyn" (Q215.26-27) replaces several lines with c/k and vowel alliteration (1864ff.).<sup>41</sup> Some of M's half-lines are very weak, such as line Q216.6-7, where the prosifying phrase "grevid hym at his herte" replaces "es sorowfull in herte" (1844). Sorowfull formed part of the alliteration of the original line but M replaces it with grevid, and adds the bland word

hym (which probably does not provide proper alliteration, as grevid would not be the stressed word).

Apparently missing good lines are few and widely dispersed. It is often hard to be certain whether they are really missing or simply so different as to be unrecognisable. The lines that appear to be missing from I will be examined in Chapter III.

Key to Table I: The Distribution of Alliterative and Semi-Alliterative Lines in Malory's Roman War Story

This table is the most concise way of showing the distribution of alliterative lines and half lines (smaller fragments are noted but not counted) within each line group. In this table the column on the left represents 66 numbered groups of twenty six lines (the final group is somewhat shorter). (These are the same 66 groups that form the horizontal axis of the tables "The Distribution of Alliteration, Dialogue and Narrative in Malory's Roman War Story", "Good Malory Lines Derived From Several Lines of MA" and "Malory's Semi-Alliterative Lines With Different Alliteration from MA" where they are numbered 1-66 but no page or line references are given.) The individual lines a-z appear across the next twenty six columns and the total number for each group of twenty six lines considered to be alliterative appear in the Total column on the far right. There is also a grand total and an average figure so that it can easily be seen whether each group of lines contains a greater or lesser proportion of alliteration than the mean.

The lines were arranged into groups of twenty six rather than any other number simply for convenience: the 26 letters of the alphabet make visually distinct (and compact) column headings. The individual lines and half lines have only been counted if at least half of a line as it appears on the page appears to be alliterative (or semi-alliterative). It is considered unimportant in this case whether lines so divided make grammatical sense. The cut-off point is, however, sometimes difficult to determine. Possible weak alliterative lines are marked with a question mark and awarded only half a point. So as not to give undue weight to dubious lines, any left-over half marks are

not included in the totals for the groups of twenty six lines or in the grand total. An f indicates that an alliterative fragment can be found at this point rather than a complete line. An e indicates that a few words from an alliterative line are left over in the last sentence at the bottom of a paragraph.





	a	b	c	d	e	f	g	h	i	j	k	l	m	n	o	p	q	r	s	t	u	v	w	x	y	z				
230.15-231.16.	*	*	*	*	*	?	*			?	*			*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*			?	*	*	*	18		
231.17-232.18.	?	*	*		f			?	?	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	19		
232.19-233.21.	*	*	*	?	*			*	*	*	*	*	e	*	*	*	*	*	*	?	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	19		
233.22-234.22.	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	?	*	?	*	*	*	*	*	*	?	?	*	?	f	*	*	17		
234.23-235.20.	*			*			*	e	f	*	*	*	e	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	19		
235.21-236.18.		*		*			*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	?	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	19		
236.19-237.15.	?	*		*			*	*	*	*	*	*	?	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	?	*	?	?	20
237.16-238.14.	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	?	?	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	24	
238.15-239.10.	*	*	?	*	*		*	?	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	20	
239.11-240.5.		*	*	*	?	*	*	?	*	*	*	*	*	*	?	*	*	*	*	*	?	*	*	*	*	*	*	?	20	
240.6-31.	*	?		*			*	*	*	*	*	*	?	*	?	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	?	18		
240.32-242.1.	*	*	*	*	*		?	e	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	?	?	?	19
242.2-27.	*	*	*	*	*	*	?	?	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	e	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	25	
242.28-243.24.	?	*	?		*	?	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	?	*	?	*	*	*	e	?	*	*	*	*	18		
243.25-244.23.	*	*	*	*	*		*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	?	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	23		
244.24-245.25.	?	*	*	*	?		*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	?	*	*	*	*	*	?	*	*	f	*	*	*	13		
245.26-246.17.	e						*	*		*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	?	?					*	*	11		
246.18-247.9	*			*	*	?																					*	03		

Total number of alliterative lines: 967

Average (divide by 66): 14.65

Source: The Works of Sir Thomas Malory (Third Edition).

Key to Tables II-VI:  
The Distribution of Alliterative and  
Semi-Alliterative Lines in Malory's Roman War Story

It seemed worthwhile to try to discover whether alliteration was more frequent in the narrative part of the story or in the dialogue. These results are plotted in these tables and also in a chart which immediately follows them.

Table II (along with the similarly named chart) shows the distribution of alliterative line groups and how the alliteration in each group is divided between dialogue and narrative.

In this table the column on the left "No." represents which of the 66 numbered groups of twenty six lines (the final group is somewhat shorter) we are concerned with. These are the same 66 groups that form the horizontal axis of the aforementioned chart where they are numbered 1-66 but no page or line references are given.

The second column "O.E.T." gives the page and line references to the Third Edition of the Oxford Edition of Malory's Works edited by Eugene Vinaver and P.J.C. Field. These references relate to the number given in the first column.

The total number for each group of twenty six lines considered to be alliterative appear in the third column "Allit." "Allit" stands for alliteration.

The fourth column "+/-" shows whether each group of lines contains a greater or lesser proportion of alliteration than the mean. A "+" shows that there are more than 14.65 alliterative lines out of 26 and a "-" that there are fewer than 14.65.

The fifth column "Dial" shows how many lines (not necessarily alliterative) out of each group of 26 are dialogue and the sixth column how many are narrative.

Tables III to VI are abbreviated versions of Table II. Table III shows lines with more alliteration than average (of which line groups 45-63 form an unbroken sequence), Table IV shows lines with less (of which line groups 20-28 form an unbroken sequence), Table V shows lines with more dialogue than narrative, and the larger Table VI shows lines with more narrative than dialogue.

The tables show that 41 out of the 66 line-groups contain more narrative than dialogue and 25 contain less. About half of each of these two sets of line-groups contain more or less alliteration than average. It seems therefore that on average narrative and dialogue passages are equally likely to be alliterative. The tables and graph show no clear relationship between the amount of alliteration and the amount of dialogue or narrative in the text. The alliteration line reveals dramatic peaks and troughs, but perhaps the most significant feature is the increasing amount of alliteration in the second half of the story.

The density of alliteration varies in the early part of this tale but there is less than average in all of line-groups 20-28 (204.20-212.26)--from after the fight with the giant up to and including the message to Lucius and the ensuing fight. There is less alliteration than average in most of line-groups 31-44 (214.14-226.9)--down to the end of the war with the Romans and the embalming of the dead; but there is above average alliteration in line-groups 45-63 (226.10-244.23)--the siege, Gawain and Priamus, and the final battles. One would expect the alliteration from a source poem gradually to increase its influence on the style of a derived prose work in this way. Malory may also have felt this style suitable for this part of the story, although he is often prepared to extend the

lines, remove (or add) alliterating words, make up a sentence from bits of several lines, or perhaps invent an alliterative line of his own. The later part of these line-groups, though, tend to be somewhat closer to T than elsewhere. It is not surprising that the last line-groups 64-66 (244.24-247.9), which, in contrast to MA, bring the story to a triumphant conclusion, have less than average alliteration.

Table II:  
THE DISTRIBUTION OF ALLITERATION, DIALOGUE AND  
NARRATIVE IN MALORY'S ROMAN WAR STORY

No.	O.E.T.	Allit	+/-	Dial	Narrative
01.	185.1-186.7.	10	-	10	16
02.	186.8-187.9.	08	-	17	09
03.	187.10-188.14.	18	+	19½	06¼
04.	188.15-189.16.	19	+	22½	03½
05.	189.17-190.11.	10	-	20	06
06.	190.12-191.9.	17	+	23	03
07.	191.10-192.8.	09	-	12	14
08.	192.9-193.11.	16	+	17	09
09.	193.12-194.11	11	-		26
10.	194.12-195.12.	19	+	06	20
11.	195.13-196.12.	12	-	04	22
12.	196.13-197.12.	14	-		26
13.	197.13-198.15.	16	+	20	06
14.	198.16-199.23.	13	-	23	03
15.	199.24-200.25.	18	+	09	17
16.	200.26-202.1.	17	+	26	
17.	202.2-27.	17	+	16	10
18.	202.28-203.21.	15	+		26
19.	203.22-204.19	18	+	15	11
20.	204.20-205.18.	11	-	14	12
21.	205.19-206.17.	10	-	18	08
22.	206.18-207.18.	06	-	16	10
23.	207.19-208.17.	13	-	03	23
24.	208.18-209.18.	12	-	02	24
25.	209.19-210.12.	10	-	11	15
26.	210.13-211.5.	14	-	06½	19½
27.	211.6-31.	09	-	16	10
28.	212.1-26.	10	-	05	21
29.	212.27-213.22.	17	+	17	09
30.	213.23-214.13.	07	-	20	06
31.	214.14-215.3.	16	+	11	15
32.	215.4-29.	10	-	10	16
33.	215.30-216.19	17	+	05	21
34.	216.20-217.13	06	-	07	19
35.	217.14-218.10	09	-	19½	06½
36.	218.11-219.10	09	-	09	17
37.	219.11-220.12	09	-	07½	18½
38.	220.13-221.3.	17	+		26
39.	221.4-29.	16	+	03½	22½
40.	221.30-222.23.	15	+	10	16
41.	222.24-223.12.	14	-	01	25
42.	223.13-224.14.	14	-	06	20
43.	224.15-225.9.	11	-		26
44.	225.10-226.9.	11	-	15	11
45.	226.10-227.14.	18	+	12	14
46.	227.15-228.9.	18	+	12	14
47.	228.10-229.12.	18	+	07	19
48.	229.13-230.14.	18	+	04	22
49.	230.15-231.16.	18	+	26	

No.	O.E.T.	Allit	+/-	Dial/Narrative
50.	231.17-232.18.	19	+	26
51.	232.19-233.21.	19	+	21 05
52.	233.22-234.22.	17	+	11 15
53.	234.23-235.20.	19	+	20 06
54.	235.21-236.18.	19	+	14 12
55.	236.19-237.15.	20	+	08 18
56.	237.16-238.14.	24	+	11 15
57.	238.15-239.10.	20	+	09 17
58.	239.11-240.5.	20	+	02 24
59.	240.6-31.	18	+	06 20
60.	240.32-242.1.	19	+	12 14
61.	242.2-27.	25	+	05 21
62.	242.28-243.24.	18	+	01 25
63.	243.25-244.23.	23	+	02 24
64.	244.24-245.25.	13	-	12 14
65.	245.26-246.17.	11	-	16 10
66.	246.18-247.9.	03	-	00 17

Total number of alliterative lines: 967  
Average: 14.65

Table III:  
THE DISTRIBUTION OF DIALOGUE AND NARRATIVE IN MALORY'S  
LINES WITH MORE ALLITERATION THAN AVERAGE

No.	O.E.T.	Allit	Dial/Narrative	
03.	187.10-188.14.	18	19 $\frac{1}{2}$	06 $\frac{1}{2}$
04.	188.15-189.16.	19	22 $\frac{1}{2}$	03 $\frac{1}{2}$
06.	190.12-191.9.	17	23	03
08.	192.9-193.11.	16	17	09
10.	194.12-195.12.	19	06	20
13.	197.13-198.15.	16	20	06
15.	199.24-200.25.	18	09	17
16.	200.26-202.1.	17	26	
17.	202.2-27.	17	16	10
18.	202.28-203.21.	15		26
19.	203.22-204.19	18	15	11
29.	212.27-213.22.	17	17	09
31.	214.14-215.3.	16	11	15
33.	215.30-216.19	17	05	21
38.	220.13-221.3.	17		26
39.	221.4-29.	16	03 $\frac{1}{2}$	22 $\frac{1}{2}$
40.	221.30-222.23.	15	10	16
45.	226.10-227.14.	18	12	14
46.	227.15-228.9.	18	12	14
47.	228.10-229.12.	18	07	19
48.	229.13-230.14.	18	04	22
49.	230.15-231.16.	18	26	
50.	231.17-232.18.	19	26	
51.	232.19-233.21.	19	21	05
52.	233.22-234.22.	17	11	15
53.	234.23-235.20.	19	20	06
54.	235.21-236.18.	19	14	12
55.	236.19-237.15.	20	08	18
56.	237.16-238.14.	24	11	15
57.	238.15-239.10.	20	09	17
58.	239.11-240.5.	20	02	24
59.	240.6-31.	18	06	20
60.	240.32-242.1.	19	12	14
61.	242.2-27.	25	05	21
62.	242.28-243.24.	18	01	25
63.	243.25-244.23.	23	02	24

Total number of groups of lines with more alliteration than average: 36



Table IV:  
THE DISTRIBUTION OF DIALOGUE AND NARRATIVE IN MALORY'S  
LINES WITH LESS ALLITERATION THAN AVERAGE

No.	O.E.T.	Allit	Dial/Narrative	
01.	185.1-186.7.	10	10	16
02.	186.8-187.9.	08	17	09
05.	189.17-190.11.	10	20	06
07.	191.10-192.8.	09	12	14
09.	193.12-194.11	11		26
11.	195.13-196.12.	12	04	22
12.	196.13-197.12.	14		26
14.	198.16-199.23.	13	23	03
20.	204.20-205.18.	11	14	12
21.	205.19-206.17.	10	18	08
22.	206.18-207.18.	06	16	10
23.	207.19-208.17.	13	03	23
24.	208.18-209.18.	12	02	24
25.	209.19-210.12.	10	11	15
26.	210.13-211.5.	14	06½	19½
27.	211.6-31.	09	16	10
28.	212.1-26.	10	05	21
30.	213.23-214.13.	07	20	06
32.	215.4-29.	10	10	16
34.	216.20-217.13	06	07	19
35.	217.14-218.10	09	19½	06½
36.	218.11-219.10	09	09	17
37.	219.11-220.12	09	07½	18½
41.	222.24-223.12.	14	01	25
42.	223.13-224.14.	14	06	20
43.	224.15-225.9.	11		26
44.	225.10-226.9.	11	15	11
64.	244.24-245.25.	13	12	14
65.	245.26-246.17.	11	16	10
66.	246.18-247.9.	03	00	17

Total number of groups of lines with less alliteration than average: 30.

Table V:  
THE DISTRIBUTION OF ALLITERATION IN MALORY'S LINES WITH  
MORE DIALOGUE THAN NARRATIVE

No.	O.E.T.	Allit	+/-	Dial/Narrative
02.	186.8-187.9.	08	-	17 09
03.	187.10-188.14.	18	+	19½ 06½
04.	188.15-189.16.	19	+	22½ 03½
05.	189.17-190.11.	10	-	20 06
06.	190.12-191.9.	17	+	23 03
08.	192.9-193.11.	16	-	17 09
13.	197.13-198.15.	16	+	20 06
14.	198.16-199.23.	13	-	23 03
16.	200.26-202.1.	17	+	26
17.	202.2-27.	17	+	16 10
19.	203.22-204.19	18	+	15 11
20.	204.20-205.18.	11	-	14 12
21.	205.19-206.17.	10	-	18 08
22.	206.18-207.18.	06	-	16 10
27.	211.6-31.	09	-	16 10
29.	212.27-213.22.	17	+	17 09
30.	213.23-214.13.	07	-	20 06
35.	217.14-218.10	09	-	19½ 06½
44.	225.10-226.9.	11	-	15 11
49.	230.15-231.16.	18	+	26
50.	231.17-232.18.	19	+	26
51.	232.19-233.21.	19	+	21 05
53.	234.23-235.20.	19	+	20 06
54.	235.21-236.18.	19	+	14 12
65.	245.26-246.17.	11	-	16 10

Total number of line groups with more dialogue than narrative: 25

Number of groups of lines with more than average alliteration: 13.

Number of groups of lines with less than average alliteration: 12.

Table VI:  
THE DISTRIBUTION OF ALLITERATION IN MALORY'S LINES WITH  
MORE NARRATIVE THAN DIALOGUE

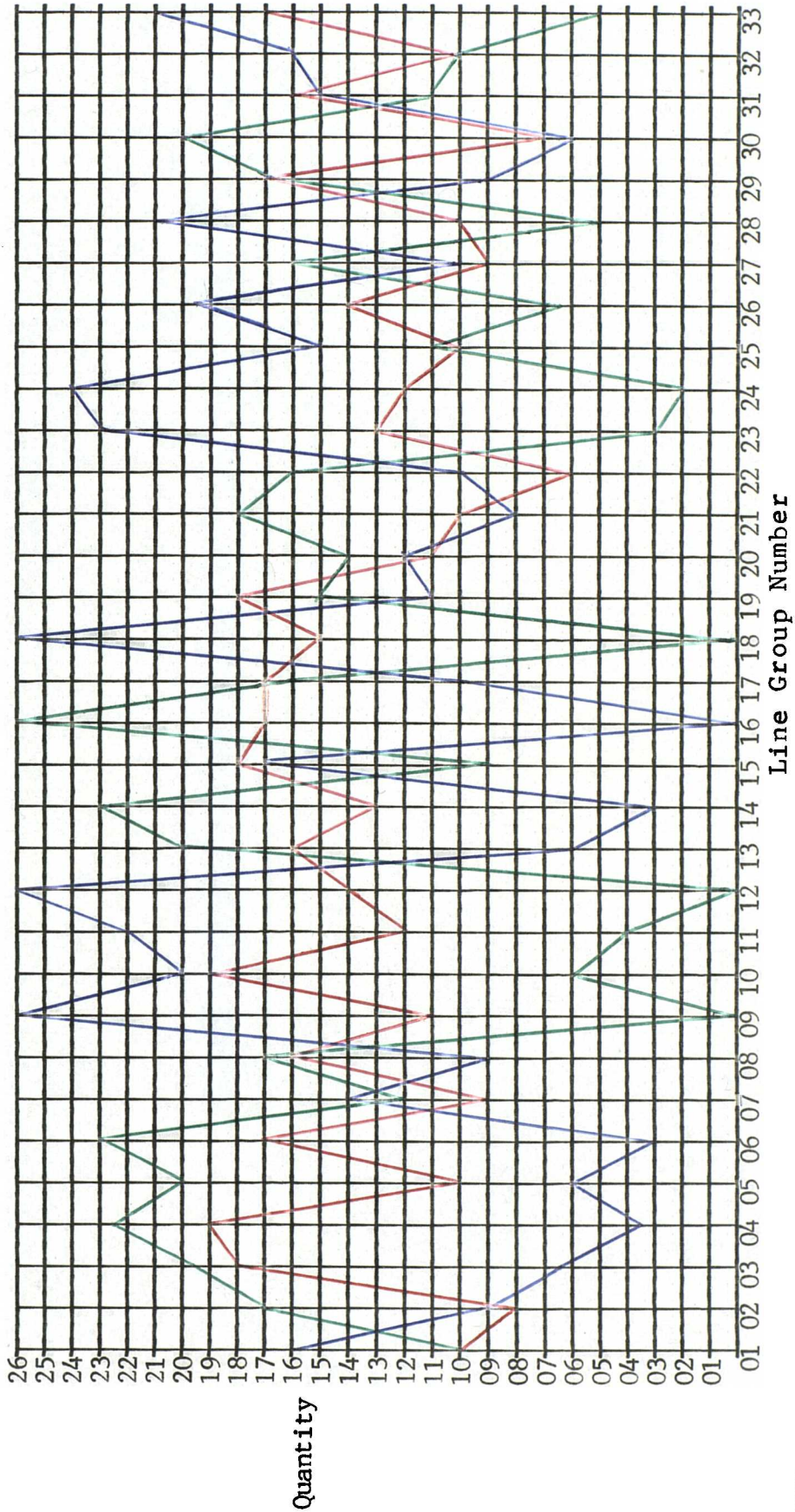
No.	O.E.T.	Allit	+/-	Dial/Narrative	
01.	185.1-186.7.	10	-	10	16
07.	191.10-192.8.	09	-	12	14
09.	193.12-194.11	11	-		26
10.	194.12-195.12.	19	+	06	20
11.	195.13-196.12.	12	-	04	22
12.	196.13-197.12.	14	-		26
15.	199.24-200.25.	18	+	09	17
18.	202.28-203.21.	15	+		26
23.	207.19-208.17.	13	-	03	23
24.	208.18-209.18.	12	-	02	24
25.	209.19-210.12.	10	-	11	15
26.	210.13-211.5.	14	-	06½	19½
28.	212.1-26.	10	-	05	21
31.	214.14-215.3.	16	+	11	15
32.	215.4-29.	10	-	10	16
33.	215.30-216.19	17	+	05	21
34.	216.20-217.13	06	-	07	19
36.	218.11-219.10	09	-	09	17
37.	219.11-220.12	09	-	07½	18½
38.	220.13-221.3.	17	+		26
39.	221.4-29.	16	+	03½	22½
40.	221.30-222.23.	15	+	10	16
41.	222.24-223.12.	14	-	01	25
42.	223.13-224.14.	14	-	06	20
43.	224.15-225.9.	11	-		26
45.	226.10-227.14.	18	+	12	14
46.	227.15-228.9.	18	+	12	14
47.	228.10-229.12.	18	+	07	19
48.	229.13-230.14.	18	+	04	22
52.	233.22-234.22.	17	+	11	15
55.	236.19-237.15.	20	+	08	18
56.	237.16-238.14.	24	+	11	15
57.	238.15-239.10.	20	+	09	17
58.	239.11-240.5.	20	+	02	24
59.	240.6-31.	18	+	06	20
60.	240.32-242.1.	19	+	12	14
61.	242.2-27.	25	+	05	21
62.	242.28-243.24.	18	+	01	25
63.	243.25-244.23.	23	+	02	24
64.	244.24-245.25.	13	-	12	14
66.	246.18-247.9.	03	-	00	17

Total number of alliterative lines with more narrative than dialogue: 41.

Number of groups of lines with more than average alliteration: 22.

Number of groups of lines with less than average alliteration: 19.

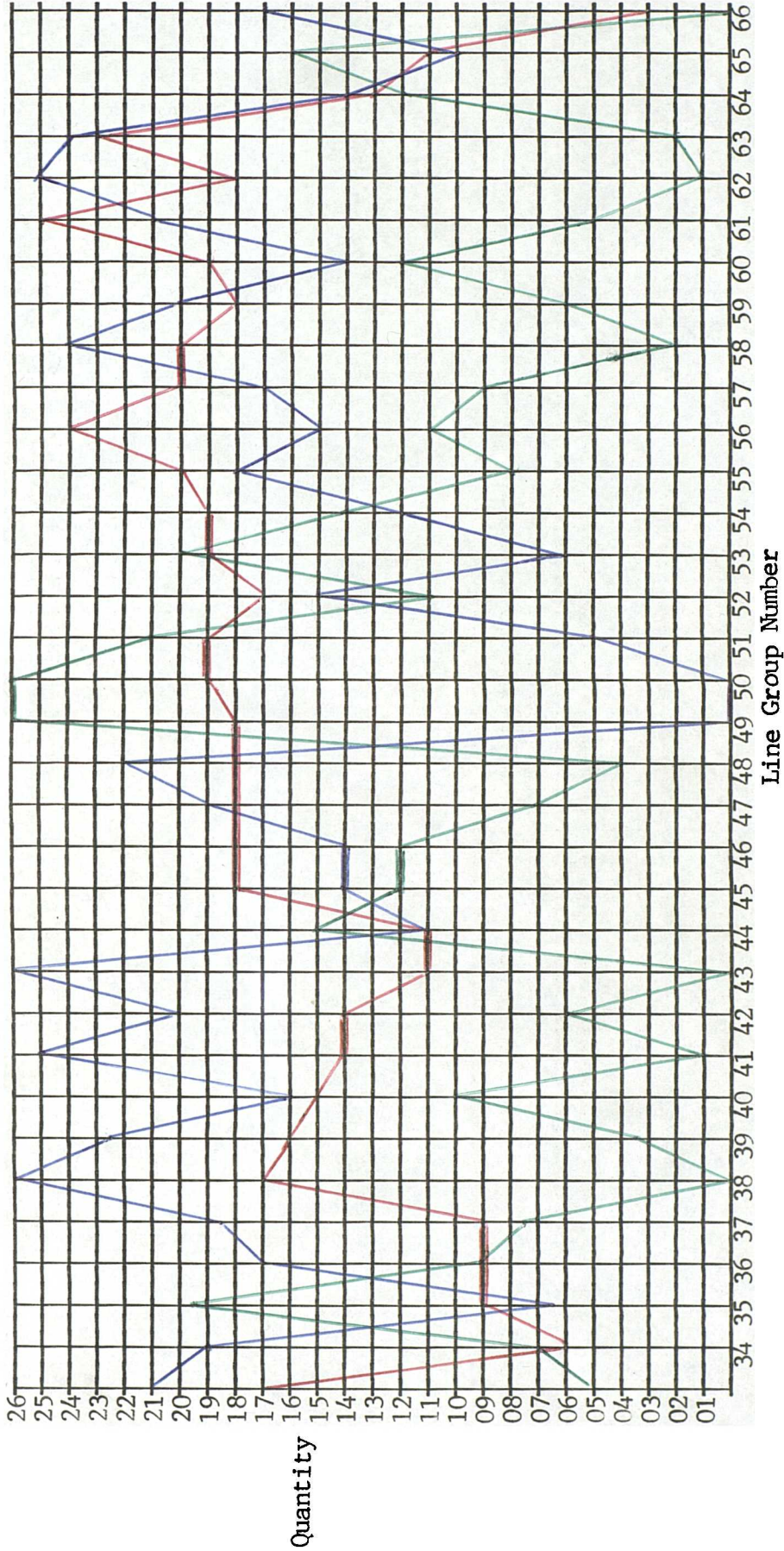
**CHART I**  
**THE DISTRIBUTION OF ALLITERATION, DIALOGUE AND NARRATIVE IN MALORY'S ROMAN WAR STORY**  
**PART ONE**



**KEY:**  
 Red = alliteration.  
 Green = dialogue.  
 Blue = narrative.  
 Source: The Works of Sir Thomas Malory (Third Edition).  
 This table is continued overleaf.

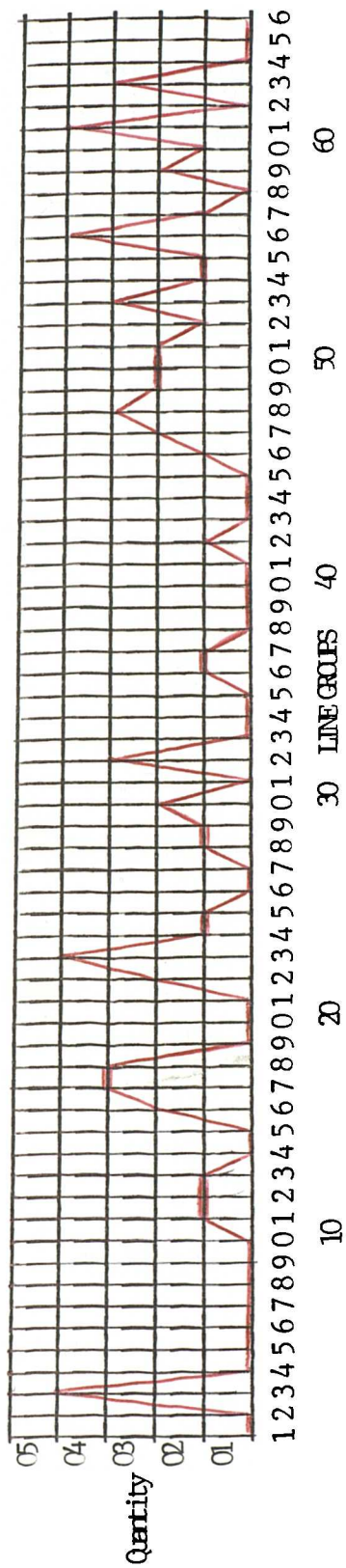


CHART I  
 THE DISTRIBUTION OF ALLITERATION, DIALOGUE AND NARRATIVE IN MALORY'S ROMAN WAR STORY  
 PART TWO



KEY:  
 Red = alliteration.  
 Green = dialogue.  
 Blue = narrative.  
 Source: The Works of Sir Thomas Malory (Third Edition).

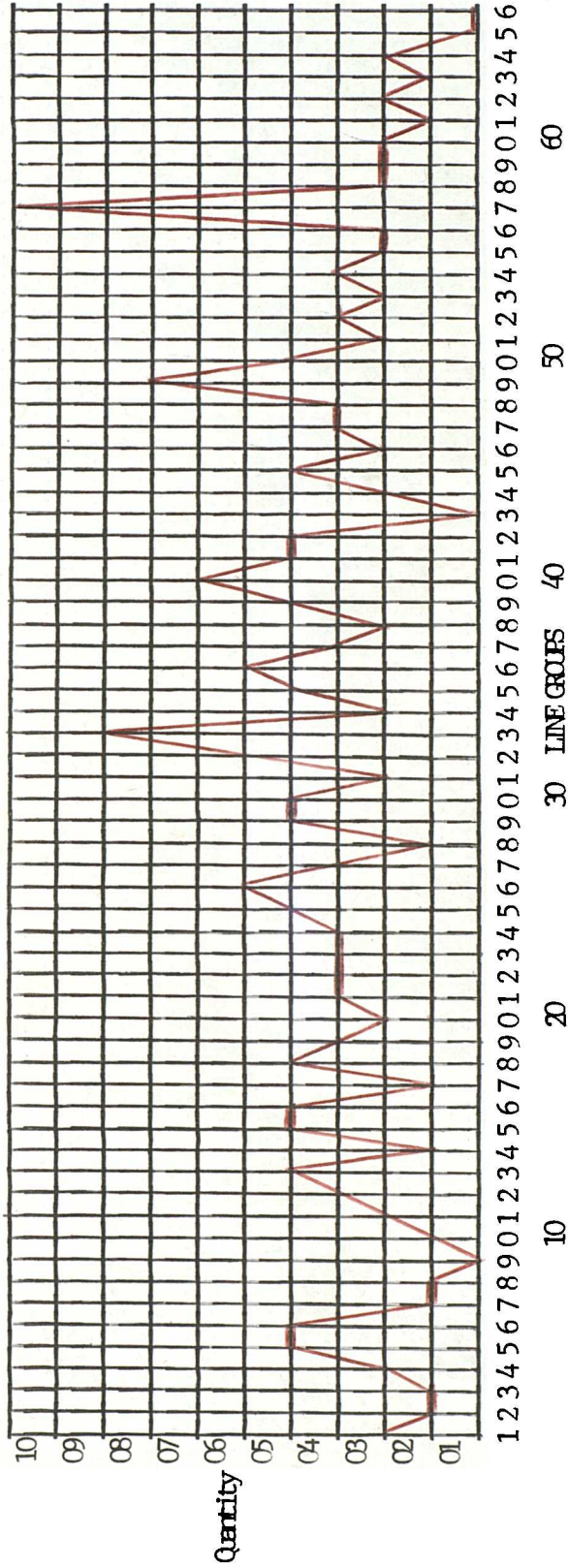
CHART II: GOOD MALORY LINES DERIVED FROM SEVERAL LINES OF MA



Source: The Works of Sir Thomas Malory (Third Edition).



CHART III: MALORY'S SEMI-ALLITERATIVE LINES WITH DIFFERENT ALLITERATION FROM MA.



Source: The Works of Sir Thomas Malory (Third Edition).

COMPANION TO CHART IV:  
THE DISTRIBUTION OF THE BEST MALORIAN ALLITERATIVE  
LINES

The groups of lines mentioned above give a rough idea of the distribution of alliteration but reveal very little about its quality. It is desirable to try to estimate quality too, but that is a more difficult task. Some of the weaker semi-alliterative lines have been mentioned earlier in "Malory's Alliterative Lines." The best alliterative lines are naturally the easiest to recognise. Over three hundred have been marked by Eugene Vinaver, but I have found several more. I also include lines similar to T's and sharing slight alliterative imperfections. For convenience I reproduce their page and line references here: 186.4, 188.8, 188.13-14, 195.3-4, 204.7, 204.17, 204.18, 205.1-2, 207.16-17, 221.27, 223.12, 230.6-7, 234.25-26, 237.14-15, 239.24-25, 240.26, 244.22-23.

Vinaver's 306 marked lines give an average figure of 4.64 per line-group. When my 17 lines are added the total becomes 323 and the average approximately 4.89. We will therefore take 5 as a working average figure.

Vinaver has marked no passages in these nine groups:

1 (185.1-186.7)	2 (186.8-187.9)
20 (204.20-205.18)	26 (210.13-211.5)
34 (216.20-217.13)	35 (217.14-218.10)
38 (220.13-221.3)	65 (244.24-246.17) and
66 (246.18-247.9).	

(I consider groups 1 and 20 to contain at least one good line each.) However, in my less strict assessments (above), which include the weaker lines, nearly all of these passages also contain below average alliteration (apart from group 38).

Fifty-nine out of the total number of sixty-six



groups contain good alliterative lines. They occur in the following line-groups and in the following quantities when my additional lines are included, the totals in the different groups are as follows:

1 (186.4; 1)	3 (187.10-188.14; 6)
4 (188.15-189.16; 5)	5 (189.17-190.11; 3)
6 (190.12-191.9; 7)	7 (191.10-192.8; 2)
8 (192.9-193.11; 5)	9 (193.12-194.11; 4)
10 (194.12-195.12; 2)	11 (195.13-196.12; 2)
12 (196.13-197.12; 4)	13 (197.13-198.15; 5)
14 (198.16-199.23; 4)	15 (199.24-200.25; 4)
16 (200.26-202.1; 3)	17 (202.2-27; 9)
18 (202.28-203.21; 6)	19 (203.22-204.19; 5)
20 (204.20-205.18; 1)	21 (205.19-206.17; 1)
22 (206.18-207.18; 1)	23 (207.19-208.17; 5)
24 (208.18-209.18; 2)	25 (209.19-210.12; 2)
27 (211.6-31; 1)	28 (212.1-26; 3)
29 (212.27-213.22; 3)	30 (213.23-214.13; 1)
31 (214.14-215.3; 5)	32 (215.4-29; 4)
33 (215.30-216.19; 1)	36 (218.11-219.10; 1)
37 (219.11-220.12; 1)	39 (221.4-29; 4)
40 (221.30-222.23; 1)	41 (223.24-223.12; 2)
42 (223.13-224.14; 3)	43 (224.15-225.9; 1)
44 (225.10-226.9; 1)	45 (226.10-227.14; 8)
46 (227.15-228.9; 6)	47 (228.10-29.12; 8)
48 (229.13-230.14; 11)	49 (230.15-231.16; 11)
50 (231.17-232.18; 8)	51 (232.19-233.21; 9)
52 (233.22; 8)	53 (234.23-235.20; 14)
54 (235.21-236.18; 12)	55 (236.19-237.15; 12)
56 (237.16-238.14; 13)	57 (238.15-239.10; 9)
58 (239.11-240.5; 9)	59 (240.6-31; 9)
60 (240.32-242.1; 7)	61 (242.2-27; 19)
62 (242.28-243.24; 9)	63 (243.25-244.23; 18)
64 (243.25-244.23; 1).	

The following twenty-eight groups of lines each have at least five good lines, and therefore above

average alliteration:

3 (187.10-188.14; 6)	4 (188.15-189.16; 5)
6 (190.12-191.9; 7)	8 (192.9-193.11; 5)
13 (197.13-198.15; 5)	17 (202.2-27; 9)
18 (202.28-203.21; 6)	23 (207.19-208.17; 5)
31 (214.14-215.3; 5)	45 (226.10-227.14; 8)
46 (227.15-228.9; 6)	47 (228.10-29.12; 8)
48 (229.13-230.14; 11)	49 (230.15-231.16; 11)
50 (231.17-232.18; 8)	51 (232.19-233.21; 9)
52 (233.22; 8)	53 (234.23-235.20; 14)
54 (235.21-236.18; 12)	55 (236.19-237.15; 11)
56 (237.16-238.14; 13)	57 (238.15-239.10; 9)
58 (239.11-240.5; 9)	59 (240.6-31; 9)
60 (240.32-242.1; 7)	61 (242.2-27; 19)
62 (242.28-243.24; 9)	63 (243.25-244.23; 18).

It is readily apparent that the bulk of these line-groups occur in line-groups 45-63, as might be expected from the general trend displayed in the tables and graph described above. Only one of these good alliterative-line-groups contains below average alliteration according to my own tables, which take the weaker semi-alliterative lines into account as well as the best ones:

23 (207.19-208.17).

This group is only slightly below average and this minor discrepancy is unlikely to be significant. All the other twenty-seven line-groups contain above average alliteration on the more comprehensive estimate as well as the narrower one.

The following thirty-seven groups of lines contain fewer than five good lines, and are therefore below average:

1 (186.4; 1)	2 (186.8-197.9; 0)
5 (189.17-190.11; 3)	7 (191.10-192.8; 2)
9 (193.12-194.11; 4)	10 (194.12-195.12; 2)
11 (195.13-196.12; 2)	12 (196.13-197.12; 4)

14 (198.16-199.23; 4)	15 (199.24-200.25; 4)
16 (200.26-202.1; 3)	20 (204.20-205.18; 1)
21 (205.19-206.17; 1)	22 (206.18-207.18; 2)
24 (208.18-209.18; 2)	25 (209.19-210.12; 2)
26 (210.13-211.5; 0)	27 (211.6-31; 1)
28 (212.1-26; 3)	29 (212.27-213.22; 3)
30 (213.23-214.13; 1)	32 (215.4-29; 4)
33 (215.30-216.19; 1)	34 (216.20-217.13; 0)
35 (217.14-218.10; 0)	36 (218.11-219.10; 1)
37 (219.11-220.12; 1)	38 (220.13-221.3; 0)
39 (221.4-29; 4)	40 (221.30-222.23; 1)
41 (223.24-223.12; 2)	42 (223.13-224.14; 3)
43 (224.15-225.9; 1)	44 (225.10-226.9; 1)
64 (243.25-244.23; 1)	65 (244.24-246.17; 0)
66 (246.18-247.9; 0).	

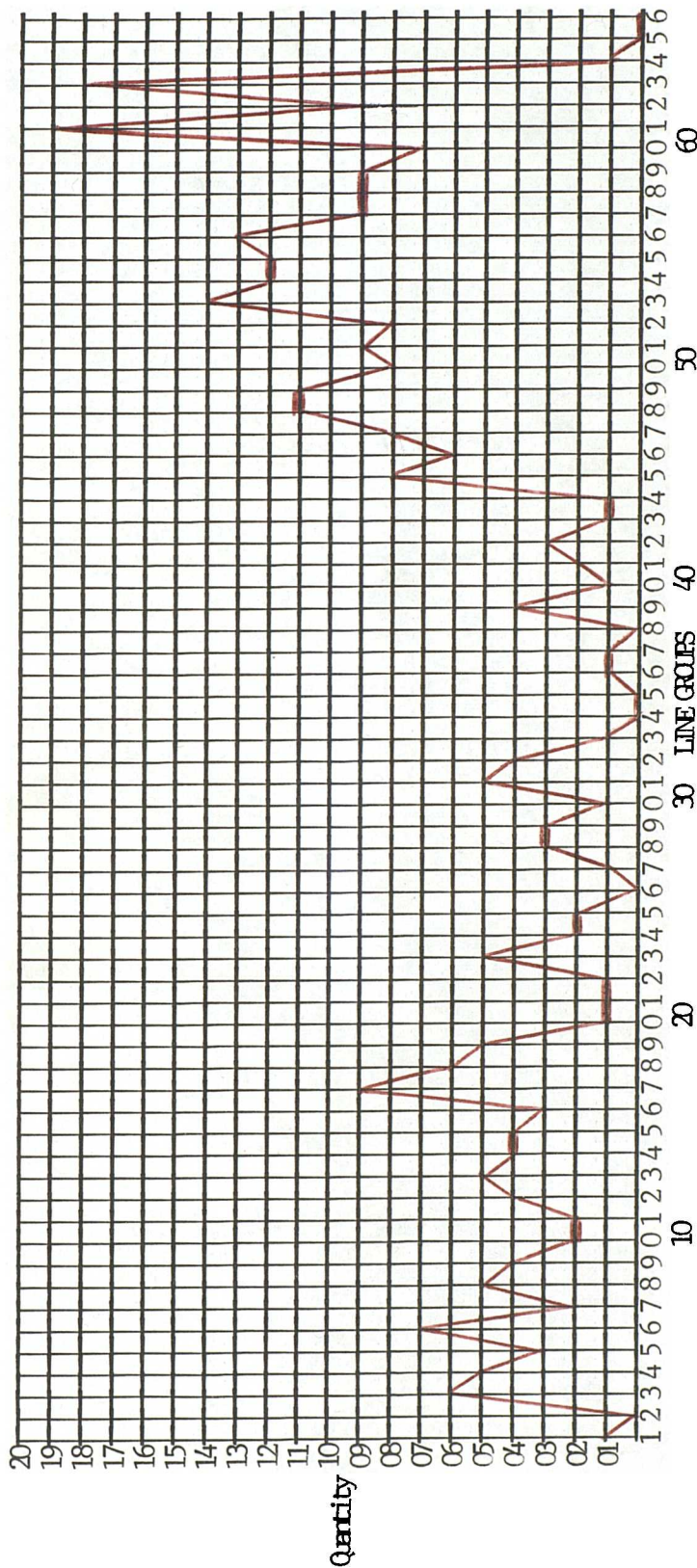
However, eight out of these thirty-eight groups of lines contain more possible alliterative points than average when the weaker semi-alliterative lines are included. These line-groups are:

10 (194.12-195.12)	15 (199.24-200.25)
16 (200.26-202.1)	29 (212.27-213.22)
33 (215.30-216.19)	38 (220.13-221.3)
39 (221.4-29)	40 (221.30-222.23).

The amount of alliteration in these eight "rogue" groups varies between 15 to 19 points, when the average is 14.65 points (see p. 30-31), and the maximum is 25 points; so none of these lines contain very large quantities of weaker alliteration.

The good alliterative lines marked by Vinaver are not always similar to MA as it is found in the Thornton manuscript (T). However, line-groups 45-63 inclusive are generally far closer than the earlier line-groups. When all the alliteration is compared, including the weaker alliteration, a similar result is produced: line-groups 53-55, 58-59, and 61-63 are closest to T.

CHART IV: THE BEST MALORIAN ALLITERATIVE LINES



Source: The Works of Sir Thomas Malory (Third Edition).

## CHAPTER III: MISSING GOOD LINES

The apparent alliterative lines in Malory's Roman War story can clearly be explained in one of two ways: either Malory created them or they are lines missing from T. Vinaver believed that some of them at least could be shown to fall into the latter category.<sup>1</sup> Helen Wroten also believed that Malory used a more complete text of the poem and that lines are missing from T,<sup>2</sup> but she concluded that it is not always possible to be certain whether these lines are Malory's additions or whether they were present in Malory's source-text.<sup>3</sup> William Matthews, on the other hand, while accepting that T "is far from perfect" and "sometimes obscure" believed that "Malory could have used the Thornton text or one very similar to it and that his divergences are of his own doing."<sup>4</sup> He adds

conjectured poems, conjectured variants of poems, are as insubstantial as ghosts and as difficult to lay low. This conjectured variant of the Morte Arthure is the offspring of Malory's variations, particularly his alliterating variations.<sup>5</sup>

The lines in question, whether missing from T or added by Malory are reproduced and discussed in sequence below. The sequence takes account of a list of alliterative lines compiled by Matthews<sup>6</sup> that appears to be intended to be comprehensive, but includes some lines that he omitted.

"I complayned me to the Potestate the Pope hymself"  
(O189.14-15).

Wroten believed that the alliteration in this line was derived from a line of the poem that has dropped out of T or its ancestor texts.<sup>7</sup> Hamel is undecided as whether the line is missing or original to Malory as "no gap is apparent in T."<sup>8</sup> Matthews, however, made this line the first of his "forty alliterative

passages, half-lines, full lines, and two extended sequences, which have no parallels at all in the Thornton text".<sup>9</sup> The much later line 2327 has certain similarities to this line--"For pape ne for potestate | ne pryne so noble," which because line 2327 is too physically distant to be a plausible source line, at least shows that this line is in the style of the poem. The possibility that this is a missing line is increased because M does not use potestate outside of his Roman War story (where it also appears at 225.19, 225.26 and 226.10) so it does not appear to have been part of his normal vocabulary. It is not unlikely that Malory's text of MA used a variant of line 2327 at this point, which dropped out of T or an ancestor text.

M mentions the Pope's unsatisfactory response after the ransom, and if MA followed this sequence, the conjectured missing line would have to have additional lines following it--perhaps including pleasaunt wordys, other reson at Rome and rebuked. We may guess at these, but implementing them would be taking textual emendation further than would be proper.

"they helde Irelonde and Argayle and all the Oute Iles"  
(O189.23-24).

Matthews again claims that this line is original to Malory.<sup>10</sup> In favour of Malory having created a line linking Ewayne with these territories, it could be argued that the MA-poet thought of Ewayne's father Uriens as being dead: he is not mentioned anyway in T. Uriens reappears later in Le Morte Darthur where he attends a tournament and takes part in the healing of Sir Urry, so Malory, who had a special interest in minor characters, must have kept him alive in that.<sup>11</sup> Wroten, however, believed this to be a missing line. She points out that, as Malory usually named the king of Ireland Anguish, he is unlikely to have made Ewayne

its ruler here without prompting from a source.<sup>12</sup> In T the king of Ireland is unnamed, while the similarly named Aungers is king of Scotland. We may add that Malory referred to the Oute Isles in a section of his previous tale,<sup>13</sup> but this is the only time he mentions Argayle. M might have remembered the later lines 2359 and 3534--"Of I[n]glande, of Irelande, | and all þir owtt illes" and "Of Irelande and Orgaile | owtlawede berynes"--but as in the case of the line reproduced above, the distance between these two lines of T both from each other and from M's line makes this unlikely, and suggests rather that this line (apart from the two first words) is in the style of MA, so MA may have used a variation of these lines at this point, which dropped out of T or an ancestor text.

"'Sir,' sayde the senatours, 'lette be suche wordis'"  
(Q192.1).

Vinaver does not comment on this line, but Matthews claims that it could not be a missing line, as "an addition from Malory's version would involve recasting the language of contiguous lines."<sup>14</sup> It seems to me, however, that the line could fit very well between what are now lines 514 and 515:

"'He sulde fore solempnitee | hafe seruede þe hym  
seluen.'"

'Sir,' seyde the senatours, 'lette be suche wordis  
That will he neuer for no wye | of all þis werlde  
ryche.'"

The probability of that is slightly increased by the fact that the first half of Malory's line has a twin earlier in the poem: "'Sir' sais þe senatour | 'so Crist mot me helpe'" (line 227). Line 227 appears after the feast and Arthur's brief speech, incidents not reported in Malory's shorter version.

"(to loke unto your marchis, and that)  
the mountaynes of Almayne be myghtyly kepte"  
(Q192.18-19).

Wroten regarded this as a line missing from T,<sup>15</sup> but for Matthews it was the fifth example of a line where Malory had made slight changes of meaning, or added small details.<sup>16</sup> Its equivalent in the poem is "and sende to þe mountes" (551b), which is also senatorial advice and occurs at the correct point. Malory does not use the word Almayne outside the Roman War story, whereas it appears seven times in T, and one of these occurrences (line 555) is in roughly the right place to act as the donor for this word. It seems likely therefore that this line is his own creation.

"of Calab[r]e and of Catelonde bothe kynges and deukes"  
(Q193.16-17).

Hamel adopts this line in her edition as line 603W because she doubts that M or E would have added two obscure names to their source.<sup>17</sup> Field agrees with this.<sup>18</sup> Malory certainly never mentions these places elsewhere. Matthews, however, again claims this as an original Malorian line.<sup>19</sup> Malory mentions kynges and dukes in the slightly earlier line 192.17 and kynges, dukes and erlis in later tales (1138.25, 1146.25). Despite this Malorian ending, however, I cannot see why Malory would have wanted to expand this list at this point by creating an unnecessary line if there was no mention of these two territories in his source. His list is generally shorter, although he appears to have added the kyng of Portyngale with many thousande Spaynardis for no apparent reason at page 193.17-18;<sup>20</sup> T only mentions Portyngale at line 1028, where Portyngale wynes form part of the giant of Mont St Michel's diet.



"for to counceyle and comferte; sir Cadore son of Cornuayle" (Q195.3-4).

Although Matthews does not include it in his list of original Malory lines, this must be an original line replacing Mordred with alternative rulers compatible with Malory's story as a whole. Wroten adds

The rather confusing passage, 'sir Cadore son of Cornuayle, that was at the tyme called sir Constantyne,' is cleared up by Caxton: 'and syr Constantyn sone to syre Cador of Cornewaylle.'<sup>21</sup>

W's phrasing seems likely to be the result of Malory being precise in a rather ponderous way, specifying that Constantine is a knight now, although he will become King Constantine after Arthur's death, as Malory says in his final tale. Caxton has neatly and accurately simplified this. W may also have lost a final s: Malory normally says Cador(e)s sone (cf. 1147.27, 1149.14, and 1159.27). Not surprisingly, no exact parallel to this line can be found in T. The closest line is the earlier line 259, which may have been in Malory's memory when he composed his line.

"'Sir Cadour' quod the kyng | 'thy concell es noble.'" Malory's line alliterates aaaa, as do some of the other lines in this tale, e.g. 188.20-21, 195.3-4, 203.15, which makes it metrically imperfect.

"his taylor was fulle of tatyrs" (Q196.15).

Vinaver, Wroten and Hamel all believe that at least part of this line is missing from T, as the tattered tail is mentioned by the philosophers in lines 821-22.<sup>22</sup> It is another reason for believing that the line had its source in the poem that this is Malory's only use of tatyrs. Vinaver believed that the original line may have been his taylor was totared, with tonges ful huge.<sup>23</sup> Matthews does not mention this line.

"And his clawys were lyke clene golde" (Q196.16-17).

Gordon and Vinaver thought this to be a missing line, although they were less confident in this case than in the case of the previous line reproduced above.<sup>24</sup> Vinaver does not mark the line as alliterative, perhaps because it is manifestly incomplete, but Hamel includes it in her text as 771W because "loss from the T text seems more likely than addition to the W text (or Malory's source)."<sup>25</sup> This is Malory's only use of clene golde, which reinforces the likelihood that Hamel is correct.

"Thy soth sawys have greved sore my herte" (Q199.19).

Vinaver and Wroten believed this to be a missing line,<sup>26</sup> but these words do not seem typical of the poet. Soth(e) is used in T, but sawys is not, and greved is not normally used with herte. Malory does not use soth sawys in any of his other stories, but he does use saw(e), and he is fond of using proverbs as well as speaking about them.<sup>27</sup> Matthews believed this line to be one of Malory's creations,<sup>28</sup> and Dichmann quoted this line as an example of Malory's emendation of Arthur's character to increase his "manly restraint" and "self control."<sup>29</sup> In T, Arthur does not speak at this point; instead he romyez, welterys, wristeles and wryngez hys handez (888-90). Perhaps M wanted to eliminate such behaviour and such archaic words and thought a brief speech a suitable replacement.

Hamel believes that W's alliterative line (Thy soth sawys . . . my herte) is an example of Scribe E "at his least inspired."<sup>30</sup> She believes that the poet would have described a more emotional and appropriate response to rape and cannibalism than this. She considers M's line to sound like a stock phrase or a failure of memory,<sup>31</sup> and it does indeed seem to give Arthur rather an inadequate response to the

circumstances. It looks like the work of someone wanting to give Arthur the more restrained responses of contemporary romance rather than those of a chanson de geste hero. Such motivation is perhaps less likely in a scribe than in Malory, whose characters are often provided with understated dialogue.<sup>32</sup>

"and that is more worshyppe than thus to overryde maysterlesse men" (Q206.13-14).

This line is alliteratively imperfect, and consequently Vinaver did not mark it as an alliterative line. He maintained that maysterlesse is here used in the sense of "unprotected", "unarmed."<sup>33</sup> This particular word is not extant in T (or anywhere else in Malory) although T has several words beginning with mayster. Querrydez, on the other hand, was part of the vocabulary of both writers: it appears in T at line 1430; and in a later Malory story.<sup>34</sup> Vinaver also implied that this moralising statement was Malory's alternative to the poem, where Arthur challenges Lucius to war as a kind of trial by combat, the result of which will reveal "whatt ryghte at he claymes thus to ryot is rewme and raunsome the pople."<sup>35</sup> Malory often adds moralising lines of this type and it is perhaps most likely that he has added this line.

"they boste and bragge as they durste bete all the worlde" (Q207.23-24).

"Loo! how he brawles hym | for hys bryghte wedes,  
As he myghte bryttyn vs all | with his brande ryche!  
3itt he berkes myche boste, | 3one boy þere he  
standes" (1349-51).

Matthews is right to claim this as another example of where inserting the alliterative line from Malory's version would involve recasting the language of contiguous lines in the poem as we have it.<sup>36</sup> He also claims that

several of these alliterative additions . . . occur in passages where Malory has a free precis of lengthier matter in the Thornton text; here his alliteration is sometimes his own, sometimes pieced out from scattered words in Thornton, and sometimes modelled on alliterative passages elsewhere.<sup>37</sup>

Other examples of claimed alliterative additions are 208.3-4, 209.20, 210.9-10, 210.10-11, 210.22-23, all of which are discussed below.<sup>38</sup> Boste appears in T here and the poetic phrase brytten vs alle, in which brytten is a technical term from hunting, could have suggested the more modern and humdrum phrase bete all the world to Malory. Malory uses boste nine times, but bragge only appears twice in the Roman War story. Neither word appears in Malory's other writings, so it looks as if their use and this line as a whole were inspired by exposure to the poem.

"Than the Romaynes folowed faste on horsbak"  
(O208.3-4).

"And of þe Romayns arrayed | appon ryche stedes,  
Chased thurghe a champagne | oure cheualrous knyghtez  
. . . (1361-62)

And folowes faste on owre folke | and freschelye  
ascryez" (1367).

Vinaver did not mark this xaax line as being an alliterative line. Matthews rightly pointed out that it is another example of a case where inserting M's line into T would involve recasting the language of contiguous lines in the poem.<sup>39</sup> M has considerably shortened his account of this incident and updated ryche stedes to horsebak, and such alliteration as there is seems to to be an accidental byproduct of his alteration. There is every reason to take this as a rewritten rather than a missing line.

"on foot over a fayre champeyne unto a fayre wood"  
(O208.4-5).

"Thane folous frekly one fote | frekkes ynewe, . . .  
Chasede thurghe a champayne | oure cheualrous knyghtez

Till a cheefe forest | on shalke-whitte horses"  
(1360, 1362-63).

Matthews groups this and the previous line together.<sup>40</sup> It is clearly another rewritten line using several words from M's source, and adding fayre, which was a favourite word of Malory's, so no missing or corrupted word need be hypothesised.

"were formeste in the frunte and freyshly faught"  
(0209.20).

Several of the words that appear in this line are typical of the poet: frunt(e) appears several times in T, as does freyshly (usually at the end of the line--askryes often follows it; although Malory would probably have wanted to modernise that word). However, Malory could have picked up these words from their other appearances, or been familiar with them already, or both. He also uses the phrase formyst frunte in the later line 214.32-33 (and again in a later story)<sup>41</sup> so he was familiar with the expression. As Vinaver remarked, followed by Matthews, this line (209.20) does not fit well into the poem, and that makes it probable that the line is Malory's adaptation rather than a lost line.<sup>42</sup>

"sir Borce and sir Berell, the good barounnes, fought  
as two boorys" (0209.24-25).

This line could be missing, or influenced by line 1433 "Sir Beryll es born down and sir Boice taken." If the line is the proper length it does not make a complete grammatical unit; if it forms a complete grammatical unit it is too long and contains too much alliteration. Presumably for this reason, Vinaver did not mark this line as being alliterative. As Vinaver and Wroten observed, the great difference between the two texts at this point means that they cannot shed much light upon one another.<sup>43</sup> Wroten also observed

that Malory names Sir Berell here for the first time, whereas previously he had always replaced him with Sir Lyonel.<sup>44</sup> This is Malory's only use of good barounnes in any of his stories. The familiar knight as a wild-boar motif is used surprisingly sparingly in T (only in line 4214) and is much commoner in Malory, who probably introduced it here. Matthews believed this line to be another of the "free precis" passages original to Malory,<sup>45</sup> which seems a fair judgement.

"There was never a bettir knyght that strode uppon a steede" (0210.9-10).

Sir Gawain does not praise Idres here in T. Vinaver did not consider this to be an alliterative line, but although the a-line is long and weak, the line has possible aabb alliteration on never, knyght, strode and steede. Matthews included the latter part of this line in his list of original Malory lines which appear in "free precis" passages.<sup>46</sup> That would suggest it was based on a line from Malory's source, but there is no such line in T. The nearest is T's line "The beste of oure bolde men | vnblythely wondyde" (1434), which might indeed have suggested it but which is much too distant in context for Malory's line to be called a "precis" of it. Since Matthews believed Malory worked from T, or a very similar text,<sup>47</sup> his phrase was therefore presumably due to an oversight. M's b-line in fact seems rather odd and not typical of the poem or of Malory. However, because the first part of the line is reminiscent of other Malory lines, and as bestrade is used by Malory in the next tale (and not at all in T), it is more probable that this is an original Malory line than a line that has dropped out of T or an ancestor manuscript.

"(Loo) where they lede oure lordys over yondir brode launde" (Q210.10-11).

Again Matthews classed this as one of Malory's lines which appear in "free precis" passages, but it is not a precis of anything that survives in T.<sup>48</sup> Launde is used commonly by the MA-poet and less frequently by Malory. This is Malory's only use of brode launde and lede oure lordys. Lines 1446-49 of T alliterate on l and may have inspired M's choice of l-alliteration as Wroten believed.<sup>49</sup> She also pointed out that this line might fit after line 1446 as:

"And we lurkede vndyr lee | as lowrande wreches!  
Loo where they lede oure lordys over yondir brode  
launde.  
I luke neuer one my lorde | the dayes of my lyfe  
And we so lytherly hym helpe | that hym so wele  
lykede" (1446-48).

Although Hamel does not incorporate this line into the text of the poem, these factors seem to me to make it slightly more likely that this is a missing line than an original one.

"(sir Berell,) that the brayne and the blode cleved on his swerde" (Q210.22-3).

In T, the obscure Sir Berell is borne down in line 1433, and is probably one of the knights said to be vnablythely wondyde in the next line. His companion Sir Boice is said to be taken (and in areste halden in line 1456; he is rescued in line 1483-85), but nothing is said on either occasion about Sir Berell, who does not appear again until line 1605.

This line was not marked by Vinaver, presumably because the b-line fails to alliterate. Wroten believed that this was a missing line and also a rare example of Malory's rearranging a passage (in M Berell injures a knight rather than being wounded himself).<sup>50</sup> Matthews considered this to be a "free precis" passage, but included the brayne and the blode as one of M's

lines with no parallel in T.<sup>51</sup>

The least dissimilar line in T is "The breny one  
|pe bakhalfe | he brystez in sondyre" (1482), but this  
describes Sir Gawain, and breny means "hauberk" rather  
than "brain" although, given Malory's habits of  
composition, it could have easily inspired brain. T  
does not use cleved to mean "clung" and this is  
Malory's only use of the word with this meaning--which  
raises the possibility that this line, or at least this  
word, is by an intermediate scribe (although Hamel does  
not claim it for Scribe E). However, given that Malory  
mentions blood and brain together in his "Merlin", this  
passage could still be original to Malory.<sup>52</sup>

"the kynge thanked Cryste clappyng his hondys"  
(O211.9).

"'Crist be thankyde,' quod the kynge" appears in T  
(1559), so the only part of this line that could be  
missing is clappyng his hondys. Vinaver believed that  
this was part of an alliterating line from MA,<sup>53</sup> but  
Wroten thought it an expression of Arthur's joy added  
by Malory to make him more human.<sup>54</sup> Clapping is not an  
action frequently found in Malory (it only occurs here  
and at 281.28). Although that is not strong evidence  
for Malory having added the detail of Arthur's  
clapping, clapping in T is an indication of sorrow or  
concern rather than joy (956, 1137). Matthews includes  
this both in his list of lines original to Malory and  
in his list of lines where Malory has slightly changed  
the meaning or added minor details.<sup>55</sup> The argument  
here seems evenly balanced between inheritance and  
invention.

"But there is no golde undir God that shall save their  
lyvys" (O211.11-12).

"Thare sall no siluer hym saue | bot Ewayn recouere"  
(1572).



Hamel mentions Mennicken's emendation "bot [sir] Ewayne [be salued]"--which is also quoted by Vinaver, who took the presence of Gawain's name as evidence that the line originally alliterated on g.<sup>56</sup> Wroten, who also thought T was corrupt, believed that something approximating to Malory's line originally belonged in MA.<sup>57</sup> Hamel, however, believes that as there are eight lines alliterating on g here (including this one), this line must also alliterate on that letter. Hamel therefore denies that no golde undir God is the MA-poet's, although she allows that it might be Malory's or derive from a text leading to M and post-dating the common ancestor (X).<sup>58</sup> We may add that the case for siluer being original is strengthened by its being mentioned again shortly afterwards in line 1580 in relation to ransom. Moreover, the probability that Malory's phrase is not the poet's is increased because Malory's earlier line 191.4 also contains it (there golde is taken from the source but the lines are very different). It looks as if Malory may have been reproducing an alliterative phrase that he was pleased with. In the process he apparently created a complete line that fulfilled the criteria of alliterative metre to precisely the same extent as the line in his original, but alliterating on a different letter. Matthews did not include this in his list of lines original to Malory.

"that the messyngers ded that day thorow dedys of  
armys" (O212.2-3).

"Desteny and doughtynes | of dedys of armes  
Alle es demyd and delte | at Dryghtynez will"  
(1563-64).

Demed and delte could easily have suggested ded to Malory. Matthews was probably right to say that this line is Malory's creation.<sup>59</sup>

"that they sholde dyscover the woodys, bothe the dalys  
and the downys" (O213.5-6). T has the lines  
"Here es þe Close of Clyme | with clewes so hye;  
Lokez the contree be clere, | the corners are large  
Discoueres now sekerly | skrogges and oþer" (1639-41).

M's line is not marked as alliterative by Vinaver, and Wroten said that Malory tells the tale in his own words here.<sup>60</sup> He has apparently taken dyscover from MA and replaced the obscure skrogges with the more prosaic woodys.

Matthews included this part of this line--(the dalys and the downys)--in his list of lines with no parallel in T and which he claimed to be original to Malory.<sup>61</sup> Dalys appears three times in T but they are all after this point. Malory appears habitually to have read ahead in his source before the process of composition,<sup>62</sup> and he might have remembered this word, but this is perhaps unlikely as he replaces dale with vale at page 219.7).<sup>63</sup> Dales and downs are respectively northern and southern terms that one would not expect to find together in an alliterative revival poem unless the author had absorbed them during his wide-ranging reading (they do, however, sometimes appear together in poems such as Chaucer's The Rime of Sir Thopas from The Canterbury Tales, as is noted in the OED). Dalys appears nowhere else in Malory's writings, and downys appears only here and at 1232.27, (where Malory's main source was the Stanzaic Le Morte Arthur). This is the type of case--with different alliteration and words not commonly used by either author--that Hamel sometimes attributes to Scribe E. It is less likely that a line is missing from T here.

"two myghty dukis, dubbed knyghtys worshyp to wynne"  
(O214.13-14).

In T this line appears as Than this doughtty duke  
| dubbyd his knyghttez (1738). Vinaver does not mark

M's line as being alliterative, presumably because of the aabb alliteration and because the caesura is in the wrong place. As a result of these imperfections, this does not look like an original line of the poem. Whatever other latitude the MA-poet allowed himself, he always kept the caesura in the correct place. Worship was one of Malory's favourite words, and worship and win do sometimes appear together in the same sentence in his writings, although as Vinaver points out the phrase occurs in MA too, as at line 1805.<sup>64</sup> Vinaver also believed this phrase to be Malory's addition, and Matthews agreed.<sup>65</sup> worshyp to wynne is Matthews's sixteenth example of a line (or half-line) not in T which is the creation of Malory.

"of the bourelyest knyghtes that ever brake brede"  
(O214.31-32).

M's line may be based on lines 1753-54:

"An than the Bretons brothely enbrassez þeire  
scheldez,  
Braydez one bacenetez and buskes theire launcez"

or it may be a line lost from T. Wroten comments that Malory's line bears the b-alliteration of MA lines 1752-54.<sup>66</sup> Malory does not use bourely or bourelyest in any other story, but he does use bourely at page 240.31. Hamel notes that bourely(est) is a word that reappears in M's line without support from T, as at 207.25-27. Since it is a variation on T's burliche, which appears elsewhere in the poem, Malory could have remembered it and substituted it for the obscure word brothely (= "at once").<sup>67</sup> A scribe could have done this too, but the process would be a typical Malorian substitution. Hamel sometimes claims lines with features which are not typical of M or T for Scribe E; but the alliteration in this line is too weak for it to be a Scribe E line unless the alliterative weakness is

the result of subsequent modifications by Malory.

T's use of braydez may possibly have inspired the shorter form brede despite their different meanings (brede means "bread", braydez means "drives" or "dashes"). However, the phrase is not used by Malory elsewhere and it might contain poetic depth of meaning (possibly sacramental) which could suggest that it came from the poem, or another alliterative poem. Hamel calls it "a tag, reminiscent of popular traditions."<sup>68</sup> In favour of the former possibility, the sense of the line would fit quite neatly between 1753 and 1754. The opening distributive genitive would also not be out of place in the poem, and in that position would match one of the most surprising norms that Hamel establishes as part of the poetics of the Morte Arthure.<sup>69</sup> The MA-poet quite often follows a metrically perfect alliterative line with what would normally be thought an imperfect or even a bad line alliterating on the same letter, the two together presumably providing some element of variety that he thought desirable. In this context, the apparent metrical weakness of this line could be fully in accordance with the rules that the poet worked out for himself. Matthews does not include this in his list of Malory's original lines.

"and speke we of a senatoure that ascaped fro the batayle" (0218.3-4).

This line is not in T, and its form is typical of Malory's linking lines. T has the lines

"Whene the senatours harde say | þat it so happenede,  
They saide to þe emperour. . . ." (1950-51a).

T does not say that the senators had escaped from the battle. Despite this omission, it seems unlikely that a line is missing in T at this point. Vinaver and Wroten state that the line is M's creation which in Vinaver's words "mark[s] a change of scene."<sup>70</sup> Despite

noting in his Commentary that the line is M's, Vinaver omits to mark the line as an alliterative line in his text, which it undoubtedly is. Matthews did not include it in his list either, but it appears to be an alliterative line deliberately created by Malory.

"Fayre lordys, loke youre name be nat loste!  
Lese nat your worshyp for yondir bare-legged knavys"  
(Q221.4-6).

Hamel inserts the first of these lines into the text of T as follows:

"[Fayre lordys, loke youre name be nat loste!]  
I wende no Bretouns walde bee | basschede for so  
lyttill--  
And fore bare-legyde boyes | þat on the bente houys!"  
(2120W, 2121-22).

She believes that this line supplies "exhortation and encouragement" missing from T and that W's line (down to worshyp) is more likely to have dropped out of T or an ancestor text than to be the creation of Malory or the result of Scribe E's editing. She reconstructs the original as "Fayre lordys loke 3e lese noghte 3our name."<sup>71</sup>

T uses all the key-words elsewhere in the senses they have here: fair in relation to men (in lines 970 and 3306) and luke is used several times with this sense (= "look"; e.g. in lines 1643 and 3209), and name to mean reputation (523 and 2083), but this usage is not unknown in Malory.<sup>72</sup> Malory refers to the loss of worshyp more often than name(s) both in the Roman War story and elsewhere, as in the similar phrase at 235.18-19. Vinaver does not mark this line as being alliterative, presumably because of the inverted b-line, but Hamel is probably right to see it as the worked-over remains of an alliterative line.

"Ye shall se what I shall do (as for my trew parte)"  
(O221.6-7).

Vinaver does not mark this line as alliterative, presumably because of the weak b-line. As Wroten says, it has no counterpart in T.<sup>73</sup> It feels to me less like an original line than like one of Malory's additions, but Matthews does not include it in his list. As for my trew parte is a variation of a Malorian phrase found elsewhere.<sup>74</sup> The line forms a complete grammatical unit and it could fit into T as follows:

"I wende no Bretouns walde bee | basschede for so  
lyttill-  
And fore bare-legyde boyes | þat on the bente houys!  
Ye shall se what I shall do as for my trew parte.'  
He clekys owtte Collbrande, | full clenlyche  
burneschte" (2121-24).

However, despite Hamel's demonstration that the MA-poet sometimes allowed himself a line that was metrically imperfect provided it followed a perfect line and observed some of the criteria for alliterative verse, I doubt whether it belongs there.

"whan they be in batayle eyther wolde beste be praysed"  
(O223.12).

This line is not in T and is unlikely to be a missing line. Vinaver does not mark it as an alliterative line and Matthews does not include it in his list. It may be part of a proverbial saying, but Vinaver and Wroten saw this line as one of Malory's own observations on soldiers' conduct.<sup>75</sup>

"Kylle doune clene for love of sir Kay (my foster-brother)" (O223.23-24). T contains the lines:  
"Cosyn of Cornewaile, | take kepe to þi selfen  
That no captayne [ne kynge] | be keypde for non  
siluer,  
Or sir Kayous dede | be cruelly vengede!" (2262-64).

The emendation to line 2263 is Mennicken's, which is followed by Hamel. M's line, which Vinaver does not mark as alliterative, is probably loosely based on

these lines and on Cadore's reply in line 2267--"þat I ne schall kill colde dede | be crafte of my handez." Wroten points out that MA does not even hint that Kay is Arthur's foster-brother,<sup>76</sup> but this is the kind of detail that one could reasonably assume that Malory added, given his interest in this kind of relationship and his knowledge of this particular relationship elsewhere. Matthews considered this an original line; it is number 17 on his list.<sup>77</sup>

"(And therefore) sle doune and save nother hethyn nothir Crystyn" (Q224.3-4).

Vinaver does not mark this as an alliterative line, presumably on account of the weak b-line. In I he states:

"Thare ne es kaysere ne kynge | þat vndire Criste  
ryngnes  
þat I ne schall kill colde dede | be crafte of my  
handez!" (2266-67).

Wroten describes this as a passage original to Malory.<sup>78</sup> Matthews, however, does not include this line in his list. Sle doune is used elsewhere by Malory.<sup>79</sup> It seems likely that Criste suggested Crysten to Malory, which in turn suggested its opposite, hethyn. His save could be taken from line 2276--"Thare myghte no siluer thaym saue | ne socoure theire lyues." Alternatively, it is just possible that save may have connotations of religious salvation, which could suggest that something approximating to this line followed line 2267. In such a context this would be rather black humour, but that is not unknown in the poem (or in Malory).

"Than sir Cadore, sir Clegis, <they> caughte to her swerdys" (Q224.5-6).

This line is not in I, although lines 2261-69 alliterate on c. I am not aware of caughte being used

in this sense in T. Cador and Cleremus appear in the earlier adjacent lines 1637-38, but not at this point. M, however, uses a similar phrase elsewhere in this story with reference to a club (in 202.32) and in a later story too.<sup>80</sup> Because this phrase was in Malory's word-hoard, I suspect that this is Malory's line (as did Matthews).<sup>81</sup> Juxtapositions of two names without a connecting and appear in both texts, in M for example "sir Cloudres, sir Clegis . . . sir Bors, sir Berell" (212.6-7, and cf. 215.34-5 and 219.2-3) and in T in lines 1603-4, 1995, 1997, 2157, 2495, 2680 and 4265.

"that thousandis in an hepe lay thrumbelyng togedir"  
(O224.13-14).

Thrumbelyng is not normally part of T's vocabulary, but it does not appear anywhere else in M either (or at all in C). Gordon and Vinaver point out that thrumbelyng is a northern word, but they appear unsure which parts of this passage are Malory's and which are missing from T.<sup>82</sup> It seems unlikely that Malory would have added this particular word to his account of the battle if it were not in his source. The word may have been added by someone else with a different vocabulary--maybe Scribe E, if he really existed. in a hepe at least sounds as though it came from Malory's pen. Hamel adds the line to the poem although with some hesitation, saying that it is a likely-sounding a x : a x line, but that as it stands it may have only a tenuous resemblance to the original.<sup>83</sup> The original line may have approximated to "thousandis in a thrange lay thrumbelyng togedir." Matthews does not include it in his list of original Malory lines.



"ever he slow slyly and slypped to another"  
(Q224.20-21).

This line has no obvious counterpart in T. Gordon and Vinaver believed that although Malory may have added details of this battle, this particular line comes from the source.<sup>84</sup> Hamel agrees, but suggests that the line was based on a conventional formulaic cluster of Scribe E. She also points out that lines 2975-76 and 3854-55 are reminiscent of M's lines--

"Sleyghly in at the slotte | slyttes hym thorowe,  
That the slydande spere | of his hande sleppes  
(2975-76).

His hand sleppid and slode | o slante one þe mayles  
And þe toþer slely | slynges hym vndire" (3854-55).<sup>85</sup>

M's line certainly resembles these lines, but they are too far away from this point in the story to be plausible donor lines. Rather, by demonstrating that Malory's line is in the style of the poem, they make it more probable that MA once contained a line like Malory's near what is now line 2274. However, Malory's wording is generally very different from T at this point, and so this particular line has probably been heavily modified also. In M this line follows on from

"and raumped downe lyke a lyon many senatours noble.  
He wolde nat abyde uppon no poure man for no maner of  
thyng" (Q224.18-20)

which corresponds to T lines 2276-77:

"Thare myghte no siluer thaym saue | ne socoure theire  
lyues;  
Sowdane ne Sarazene | ne senatour of Rome."

M's line alliterates on the same letter as these lines, and in its original form would presumably have followed on from them. Matthews, however, claims that M's line is original to Malory.<sup>86</sup>

"and of Ethyope the kyng, and of Egypte and of Inde"  
(Q225.3-4).

Branscheid, Björkman and Vinaver believed this to be a missing line (1395),<sup>87</sup> although Vinaver did not

mark it as an alliterative line, presumably because of its imperfect alliteration. Hamel adds it to the poem because she believes that the place-names probably came from the poem although the rest of the line may have been heavily modified.<sup>88</sup> T does not mention Ethiopia, although Egypt appears in lines 576 and 2200 (and in M at 193.8) and India in line 573. Ethiopia also appears in M at 221.30.

As Hamel points out T mentions "certain kings" in lines 2296-97, but "honourable kings" are also mentioned at lines 2289 and 2298.<sup>89</sup> Perhaps it is more likely that this could be an interpolation made because Malory was more concerned with naming minor characters (or to a lesser extent to their places of habitation) than the MA-poet and because he found his source too vague at this point. Matthews does not include this line in his list of original Malory lines.

"and there were captaynes full kene that kepte Arthurs comyng" (O227.9-10).

Vinaver believed this to be a lost line because the relevant passage in MA (2390-97) has eight lines alliterating on k, and a ninth line with k-staves would complete three groups of three,<sup>90</sup> a statement that is reproduced by Wroten.<sup>91</sup> The criterion does not seem to be a strong one, and although the line would make sense in context, Hamel does not insert it into the poem. T mentions "kynges and kaysers, | clerkkes and oþer." The last two words could well be taken as an indication that the MA-poet did not wish to elaborate further on this matter. Matthews does not claim this as original to Malory, but it seems likely to be so nevertheless.

"Also sir Cleremount and sir Clegis that were comly in armys" (O228.11-12).

T has "sir Clarymownde þe noble" (2497), which

Hamel emends to Cleremount.<sup>92</sup> Wroten says that M's half-line is "a typical second half-line of the poem", but is unsure whether it is missing from T or whether Malory merely remembered it at this point.<sup>93</sup> T uses comly with reference to a crown (particularly Christ's crown) to clothing, armour, a king, castles, and a cross--but not in quite this sense. M also uses comly in the alliterative line "and comly be crystmas to be crowned" (244.22-23). I therefore suspect that this is more likely to be a Malorian addition. Matthews does not include this half-line in his list of original Malory lines.

"(So) with that forth yode sir Florens, and his  
felyshyp was sone redy" (Q228.15-16).

Vinaver points out that although this line is not in T the corresponding passage contains two lines alliterating on f (lines 2501-02).<sup>94</sup> The line could be missing, as Wroten believed,<sup>95</sup> or based on (or to match) line 2501: "Now ferkes to þe fyrthe | thees fresche men of armes." ferkes ("rushes") may be the source of Malory's sone redy, or fyrthe (meaning "woodland" but a near homophone of forth) could have suggested forth to Malory. Matthews believed this to be an original Malorian line,<sup>96</sup> and as this line could not be incorporated into T without making 2501 redundant, he is probably correct.

"And thorowoute the thycke haubirke made of sure  
mayles,  
and the rubyes that were ryche, he rushed hem in  
sundir,  
that men myght beholde the lyvir and longes"  
(Q230.5-8).

"Clefe þe knyghttes schelde | clenliche in sondre--  
Who lukes to þe leftte syde | when his horse launches  
With the lyghte of the sonne | men myghte see his  
lyuere" (2559-61).

Hamel believes that W's lines from thorowoute the

thycke haubirke to he russhed hem in sundir might have been lost from T "since it completes the blow begun in 2559," but are more likely to be the work of Scribe E. As she points out, T's anacoluthon is confirmed by M, so at least that part of T is probably reasonably authentic.<sup>97</sup> A possible objection to the authenticity of the first two of M's lines is that T has used hawberkes (2552) and rusches (2550) only a few lines before this point. Malory reports this earlier incident, but he might have saved up these particular words for this point. The key-words thorowoute, haubirke and mayles are found at various points in both texts, but neither uses rubyes elsewhere. Malory often uses mayles, and sure is used in this sense with armour(e) at 445.11 and 1166.34. It is perhaps less likely therefore that M's line contains elements of slightly earlier lines of the poem, which have been reworked by an editing scribe, than that it has been modified and transformed into prose by Malory.

"and the rubyes that were ryche, he russhed hem in sundir" (Q230.6-7).

The closest line to this in T is "Clefe þe knyghttes schelde | clenliche in sondre"--which has the same ending (2559) but appears to alliterate on two letters (c/k and s, but not r). Matthews states that M's the rubyes that were ryche "completely changes the meaning but retains the alliteration of the line in Thornton",<sup>98</sup> but M's line does not alliterate on the same letters as T. Vinaver and Wroten observed that the "rubies" part of M's line is not in MA, but did not go so far as to speculate whether it was missing or original to Malory,<sup>99</sup> nor did Vinaver mark this line as being alliterative, which it undoubtedly is. Hamel believes that it may be a missing line "since it completes the blow begun in 2559", but that it is more

likely to be the creation of Scribe E.<sup>100</sup> Perhaps M's source originally contained rybbys ("ribs") instead, which was subsequently corrupted. With that alteration the line could fit into the text of T as follows:

"Clefe þe knyghttes schelde | clenliche in sondre--  
 [Thorowowte þe thykke hawberke | and þe rybbys that  
 were riche]  
 Who lukes to þe leftte syde | when his horse launches,  
 With þe lyght of þe sonne | men myghte see his  
 lyuere!" (2559-61).

More radically, the original line could have been something like "þat þe rybbys in his side | he thrystez in sundere" (based on line 1151). "Rich", however, appears several times in this passage (lines 2566, 2569 and 2572) so it need not have been in a missing line.

"for thou all bebledis this horse and thy bryght wedys" (Q230.15-16).

Vinaver points out that T lines 2576-78 alliterate on b.<sup>101</sup> Wroten and Hamel believe this to be a missing line possibly resulting from a saute du meme au meme,<sup>102</sup> and Hamel adds it to the poem. Matthews, however, believed this to be an original Malory line.<sup>103</sup> T often uses wedys (and usually with and adjective before it--although never bryght); but beblede(s) only occurs in line 2250, while it occurs several times in M. This may of course be one of Malory's adaptations of a hypothetical lost line. The line certainly fits well into the poem, so it is perhaps most likely to have dropped out of T or one of its source manuscripts.

"(I myght be fayre crystende) and becom meke for my mysdedis; now mercy I Jesu beseche" (Q231.1-2).

Vinaver did not mark this as being an alliterative line, but in his earlier study with Gordon he claimed that comparison of Priamus's request to Gawain that he should be baptised a Christian (2585-88) with the

corresponding passage in Malory suggested that some lines had been dropped after 2588, two of them alliterating on m.<sup>104</sup> Matthews claimed that differences between M and T here were the result of Malory having rephrased or expanded on his source rather than the loss of lines from T.<sup>105</sup> Larry Benson believes that Malory has produced this line because of his reluctance to "leave unresolved narrative lines."<sup>106</sup> Hamel also appears to be uneasy about this line, as she believes that this line and others may be Scribe E's work.<sup>107</sup> There is only one reference like this to J(h)esu in T (line 863): references to Christ are far more common in Malory's Roman War story (at pages 204.12, 212.14-15 and 213.16). I am also only aware of one other appearance of meke in T (at 3056/241.22-23), compared to the six examples found throughout Malory's work. Malory also uses crystynde and mysededis several times (in various spellings). Because of these factors this does not appear to be a typical line of the poem. The most natural assumption therefore is that it is Malory's work.

"and thou mayste for thy manhode have mede to thy soule" (Q231.3-4).

Matthews believed these additional lines are largely original to Malory and "a rephrasing or expansion of the poem."<sup>108</sup> T uses manhede elsewhere, and lines 666, 3455 and 4018 end with fore mede of my saule. These lines are too far away from this point in the story for it to be likely that Malory had borrowed the words and used them to create his own line. This line appears likely to have dropped out of T as Gordon and Vinaver believed,<sup>109</sup> although it could have been recreated in the style of the poem by Malory, who does use manhode and soule several times.

"Yet woll I beleve on thy Lorde that thou belevyst on"  
(Q231.16-17).

T does occasionally use Lorde for God as in line 255, but such a usage is also rare in Malory's Roman War story--God is named at pages 189.9, 192.2, 195.14, 204.10-11, 205.11, 211.13 and 224.31; Jesu is named three times at pages 204.12, 212.14-15 and 213.16 and Christ at pages 189.25, 203.18 and 215.12. The only other reference to (Oure) Lorde is on page 227.21-22. O'Loughlin believed this to be a lost line from the poem, but Matthews thought it to be an original Malory line.<sup>110</sup> The line as it now stands certainly looks more like the latter.

"for here hovys at thy honde a hondred of good  
knyghtes" (Q233.13).

This could well be a missing line. Matthews believed it to be a Malorian line,<sup>111</sup> but Gordon and Vinaver argue that M's use of they in line 2664 without antecedent indicates that a line is missing;<sup>112</sup> and Hamel inserts it between line 2663 and 2664 as "essential to the sense of the passage";<sup>113</sup> she emends it to "a .C.". T certainly uses hoves in this way, but of good knyghtes makes the line a little long and may be a Malorian emendation--although he might merely have added of). There is a problem with this line, whoever wrote it, in that Priamus has "seven score knights" (231.19-20/2614) not one hundred, and so forty of his knights are unaccounted for.

"how he had macched with that myghty man of strengthe"  
(Q233.25-234.1).

It is not clear why Matthews believed this to be another original Malorian line.<sup>114</sup> In T the corresponding line appears as How he maistered at man,  
| so myghtty of strenghes (2683). This line is clearly

a modernised "prosing" of MA with the archaic maistered replaced by macched.

"they myght sitte in their sadyls or stonde upon erthe" (Q234.10-11).

Wroten claims that this passage "would appear to have an alliterative source. There are lines in MA alliterating on s, the last being line 2692."<sup>115</sup> Gordon and Vinaver are more sceptical, as the line does not fit comfortably into T.<sup>116</sup> Matthews once more believed this to be an original Malorian line.<sup>117</sup> The phrase sitte in their sadyls does not appear in T (and on grounde her he standez is a more typical line ending than stonde uppon erthe, cf. 1054 and 1131. If this line and the line reproduced below) are based on lost lines of MA, they have been too heavily prosified for the original lines to be accurately reconstructed.

"Now tell us, sir Pryamus, al the hole purpose of yondir pryce knyghtes" (Q235.1-2).

Vinaver does not mark this rather long line as being alliterative, but he does believe that several lines are missing from T at this point.<sup>118</sup> "Prize" knights appear several times in T, including lines 94, 569, 688, 1477, 1520 and 1636, so they could have originated in a now missing line; but they could also have come from Malory's memory of earlier lines. If this line were inserted into the text of T it would interrupt the flow of Priamus's long speech and it does not belong before the speech either. Consequently I am inclined to agree with Matthews who believed lines like this to be largely original to Malory, and "a rephrasing or an expansion of material in the poem" (a claim he also makes of 235.4-5/5-6 and 6-7).<sup>119</sup>



"manfully on this molde to be marred all at onys"  
(O235.4-5).

This looks like a line that has dropped out of T, as Vinaver believed,<sup>120</sup> or which was inspired by a line like the later line 3322: "Bot I was merride one molde | on my moste strenghethis." That particular line is, however, probably too far away to be the donor, but it serves as a witness to the authenticity of the style of M's line and therefore to the probable existence of a lost line at this point in the poem. Matthews believed these "additional" lines were original to Malory.<sup>121</sup> (Malory's closest phrase to this is "marred for ever"--806.30). Hamel, however, attributes Priamus's speech to Scribe E, whom she accuses of carelessness

since the danger to the forayers comes not from Priamus's personal retinue of 140 men (seuen score knyghttez--2614 and 231.19-20) but from the Duke of Lorraine's army of thousands."<sup>122</sup>

T's account is very different from M's. In M Priamus makes a speech which includes this line, whereas T gives a speech that reports Priamus's words. Hamel's edition by means of ingenious punctuation assigns that speech to Gawain, but Brock's less heavily edited edition has a scout deliver the message. The speaker, whoever he is, reports Priamus as saying that the men are not his retinue, but rather "an oste . . . Vndirtakande men of peise owte londes" (2722-23). The speaker is presumably summarising the speech made by Priamus to Gawain (after Gawain reveals his identity) in lines 2646-47--which is where the Duke of Lorraine and his men are mentioned.

The total number of the Duke's troops is "sixty thowsande and tene" (2659). (Hamel changes this to "Sixty thowsande, for sothe"). This gives a total of seventy thousand men rather than Priamus' seven score. It is just possible that the figure "seven" could have suggested the number of Priamus's men to "Scribe E" or

Malory.

Despite Hamel's doubts, M's account is at least partially correct in that Priamus's men do form part of the Duke of Lorraine's larger force. Priamus warns Gawain of their proximity in T lines 2662-7/233.9-16. They later desert the Duke of Lorraine because they have not been paid and, more honourably, because they do not wish to fight Priamus who has also changed sides (2925-33/0239.1-4).

"This was the pure purpose, whan I passed thens"  
(0235.5-6).

Vinaver believed that this speech belonged to Malory's source.<sup>123</sup> Matthews, however, believed these "additional" lines were original to Malory.<sup>124</sup> I too suspect that this is one of M's original lines, or that it is at least heavily modified by Malory. Malory uses pure eighteen times and purpose ten times but he does not use this phrase elsewhere. Pass and purpose appear together in T at lines 640, 687 and 2843, but not with pure.

"at hir perellys, to preff me uppon payne of their  
lyvys" (0235.6-7).

Vinaver also believed that this line belonged to Malory's source.<sup>125</sup> The style of the line does suggest that it belonged to the source, although it is also possible that M put the line together from stock-phrases. Pain and peril appear together in the earlier line 1612, while M's b-line is reminiscent of line 95b (and part of 3123a) but these lines are probably too far away for Malory to remember although he often uses perellys (variously spelled; "payne of my life" is a more typical Malorian phrase and "payne of . . . hedis" appears in lines 210.30 and 226.14). Once again, the

apparent authenticity of style suggests that a line may be missing from T.

"they jowked downe with her hedys many jantyll knyghtes" (O238.7-8).

Although T does not use jowked (= "knocked"), this line does form a complete grammatical unit and it sounds archaic enough to be based on a missing original (although probably prosified in the middle by Malory). "Gentle knights" do frequently appear in T (lines 246, 372, 1161 etc.). Vinaver believed that this line and M's next line have both dropped out of the T-text, and that this line would have formed part of a group of four lines alliterating on j.<sup>126</sup> Wroten also believed this to be a missing line,<sup>127</sup> and it would fit into T. M's a-line is faulty, and consequently the line is not marked as alliterative by Vinaver. Not surprisingly, Matthews thought that this was an original Malorian line.<sup>128</sup> Matthews may well have been correct, as while M's page 238.8-9 gives an approximation to MA line 2875, it omits the references to the vale of Jehosopate, Julyus and Joatall (2876-77), and this could be a replacement line.

"(durste) no knavys but knyghtes kene of herte fyght more in this felde, but fledde" (O238.12-13).

Hamel shares Gordon and Vinaver's view that W's phrase no knavys but knyghtes kene of herte is likely to have occurred in a k-alliterating line in M's source text which preceded T's line 2882.<sup>129</sup> Malory does not use the phrase knyghtes kene of herte again, which makes it unlikely that he would create the line independently. Matthews, however, believed this to be an original Malory line.<sup>130</sup> Hamel, like Gordon and Vinaver, also suspects that a line is missing, but like Matthews, doubts that M's is the missing line.<sup>131</sup>

It may well be true that a line is missing, but M's lines are rather too short to give an accurate representation of the original lines (assuming, because it alliterates on two different letters, that this passage is really two lines). A possible source for the second part of M's line may have been something similar to T's line "Thay are fewere one felde | þan þay were fyrste nombirde" (2887). Since this line (as it appears in M) does not fit into the text of T, this could only be a missing line if T were heavily modified (or corrupted) at this point. Malory is perhaps the most likely person to have heavily modified his source at this point.

The three k-words found in M's line could reasonably be expected to occur together in an alliterative poem. "Knaves" and "knights" appear together in line 2632 and 2637 of T. Although knavys sometimes appears in T, it is also part of M's vocabulary (appearing at 221.6, 232.8, 238.12, 305.15 and 515.8, and it could have been ultimately derived from lines 2880-81 which carry approximately the same meaning:

"For so raythely þay rusche | with roselde speris  
That the raskaille was rade | and ran to þe grefes."  
raskaille could have suggested knavys (although the word sometimes appears in T). Knyghthede and kene appear in T in line 2619 (where kene has a different meaning), and knyghte and kende appear in line 2194. However Hamel infers that the line is the work of Scribe E.<sup>132</sup>

T's line contains adequate alliteration, so there was no need for Scribe E, if he existed, to revise it on those grounds. It is perhaps most probable that this is a line created by Malory from lines 2880-81 and rewritten in the style of other lines of the poem. M line may therefore be an alternative version of MA's

lines which happens to alliterate on a different letter to T.

"and now we forsake the for the love of oure lyege lorde Arthure" (Q239.2-3).

T contains the line "We forsake þe to-daye | be serte of oure lorde" (2926). Vinaver was surely correct to believe that no lines are missing from T here; as he notes "in MA they refuse to fight because their pay is in arrears."<sup>133</sup> He does not mark this as being an alliterative line. Matthews was also correct to believe this to be a genuine Malorian line, although he only reproduces for the love of oure lyege lorde Arthure, missing the weak forsake/for alliteration.<sup>134</sup> This is, of course, not regular metrical alliteration as found in MA. In the first half of the line Malory has replaced the archaic phrase be serte with for, and has perhaps accidentally created f-alliteration in the process.

"Now and thou haddyst ascaped withoutyn scathe, the scorne had bene oures!" (Q240.3-4).

Wroten believed this to be a missing line.<sup>135</sup> Gordon and Vinaver, however, believed that Malory added this line as Gawain's comment and observed that other examples exist in the poem, for example in line 2685.<sup>136</sup> But the example they quote is followed by further dialogue, whereas this line stands in isolation (which perhaps makes it less likely to be a lost line). The use of scorne to mean "shame" does not seem typical of the poem. If M's line were based on a missing line of MA he must have both extended it and prosified it in order to produce this result. Matthews seems likely to be right in including this line in his list of Malory's original lines.<sup>137</sup>

"But ye shall have lyvelode to leve by as to thyne  
astate fallys" (Q242.5).

Vinaver did not mark this as being an alliterative line, and Matthews included it in his list of Malory's original lines.<sup>138</sup> It could fit into T after 3061, but I doubt whether it belongs there. Malory uses lyvelode elsewhere and he adds several passages relating to money (and other forms of reward). This could well be one of them.

"Than the kyng with his crowne on his hede recoverde  
the cite (and the castell)" (Q242.13-14).

Vinaver believed that Malory added Than the kyng with his crowne on his hede because he wanted Arthur to wear his regalia on entering Metz, but that the crowne was prompted by the adjective crowell, referring to captayns and constables in MA 3087.<sup>139</sup> T contains these lines, which Malory has adapted and abbreviated:

When þe kyng Arthure | hade lely conquerid  
And the castell coverede | of þe kythe riche,  
All þe crowell and kene | be craftes of armes,  
(3068-70). T lines 3084-86.

If crowell suggested crowne to Malory (as seems likely) then kythe could have suggested cite. Matthews includes part of this line in his list of original lines (Than the kyng with his crowne on his hede).<sup>140</sup>

"(and besought hymn as soverayne) moste governoure  
undir God for to gyff them lycence" (Q244.17-18).  
"Besoughte hym of surrawns, | for sake of oure Lorde"  
(3181).

Gordon and Vinaver say of this particular line that Malory has preserved some alliterating lines which do not fit the text of T well, and that these may be interpolations into Malory's source manuscript at an earlier time.<sup>141</sup> This is very much the kind of thing that Hamel says elsewhere of Scribe E. Gordon and Vinaver add that since this single line with g-

alliteration breaks into a group alliterating on s it is unlikely to be original to the poet.<sup>142</sup> If the five words marked in brackets are also considered, the line seems even less likely to be lost from the original poem. Matthews considered this to be a Malorian alliterative line.<sup>143</sup> He did not consider the possibility that it might be the work of an earlier scribe. In any event, by this point Malory was using Hardyng's Chronicle as a source rather than Morte Arthure. The remainder of Malory's alliterative lines are his own, by chance or design.

"There they suggeourned that seson tyll after the tyme" (O245.8-9).

M's a-line is certainly in the style of MA. Cf. the much earlier line 624--"And suggeournez at seson wyth Sarazenes ynewe." This earlier line is too far removed for Malory to be likely to remember it in context, but it suggests that Malory might have kept stock alliterative phrases in mind as he wrote his Roman War story. Hamel cites suggeourned that seson as one of Malory's alliterative additions.<sup>144</sup> Sojourn is perhaps more likely to have come from Hardyng's Chronicle.<sup>145</sup> The discovery of this word in Hardyng may have triggered the alliterative phrase. Matthews only reproduces tyll aftrir the tyme in his list of original lines.<sup>146</sup>

"There was none that playned on his parte, ryche nothir poore" (O245.12-13).

This line is also in the style of MA--cf. the much earlier line 1217: "That none pleyn of theire parte, o peyne of 3our lyfez." This earlier line, however, is unlikely to be the source line. Matthews believed this to be an original Malorian line and part of Malory's "triumphant conclusion."<sup>147</sup>

"and suffir never your soverayne to be alledged with your subjectes" (Q245.18-19).

Matthews and Hamel believe this to be a Malorian line.<sup>148</sup> The words are certainly not typical of the MA-poet, who does not use alledged (meaning "diminished") or soveraynte.

"The knyght thankys the kyng with a kynde wylle" (Q245.33).

Hamel cites this line as one of M's additions.<sup>149</sup> Wroten and Matthews do not comment on it. This line could well be produced by Malory after continued exposure to the alliterative rhythm of MA.

"and sayde 'As longe as I lyve my servys is youre owne'" (Q245.34).

Matthews believes this to be an original Malorian line,<sup>150</sup> but it may be based on lines 3138-39:

"And saide he wolde sothely | be sugette for euer  
And make hym seruece and suytte | for his sere  
londes."

These lines refer to the Syre of Melane and are close enough to be a possible influence on Malory. Sugette for euer could have been transformed into the more prosaic phrase as longe as I lyve.

"There was none that wolde aske that myghte playne of his parte,  
for of rychesse and welth they had all at her wylle" (Q246.1-3).

These lines also have certain similarities to line 1217--"That none pleyn of their parte, o peyne of 3our lyfez." Matthews and Hamel, however, cite myghte playne of his parte in their lists of original Malory lines.<sup>151</sup> Matthews reproduces the second in full. Hamel also cites welth they had all at her wylle as one of Malory's additions. There was none that wolde aske



is alliteratively weak, but it may anticipate the w-alliteration of welth they had all at her wylle.

"Than the knyghtes and lordis that to the kynge longis called a counsayle uppon a fayre morne" (O246.3-5).

Matthews reproduces the knyghtes and lordis that to the kynge longis in his list of original lines.<sup>152</sup> Matthews's line may be of approximately the right length for an alliterative line but it lacks one alliterating word, while called a counsayle contains the c/k alliteration (but not the l-alliteration). It appears that Malory had stopped writing pure alliterative lines by this point, but that he was still in the habit of writing prose which alliterated in ways that resembled alliterative lines (even if not of the normal length, or alliterating the expected number of times, and in the expected places).

"We ar undir youre lordship well stuffid, blyssed be God, of many thynges; and also we have wyffis weddid" (O246.6-8).

Matthews reproduces we have wyffis weddid in his list of original Malorian lines.<sup>153</sup> We and well appear to anticipate the alliteration of the phrase noted by Matthews, as is noted above.

We have now considered all of Malory's alliterative lines that may be missing from T. Before reaching the conclusion on this section, it is perhaps best to recapitulate our findings in the form of a table.

## KEY TO TABLE VII

The Missing Lines Table summarises the earlier discussion of lines that appear in M but which may be missing from T.

The first column marks the position of the line in the text of the third edition of The Works of Sir Thomas Malory, ed. Eugene Vinaver, 3rd ed. rev. P.J.C. Field, 3 vols. (Oxford: Clarendon, 1990), by page and line.

The quality of the lines is briefly indicated in the second column with regard to their overall quality, length, and similarity to Morte Arthure as represented by T. Because of the unorthodox but apparently authentic construction of some of the lines in T and the fact that Malory's lines are part verse and part prose with various possible additions, omissions, and substitutions, the quality is sometimes difficult to determine. It must be stressed that these grades can only be approximate, and that the grade is in some cases a distinctly subjective judgement. Nevertheless, some brief comment (or comments) appears in this column. An asterisk in this column indicates that the line is a good line, in other words that it appears to fulfil the criterion of normal alliteration and line-length. Comments such as long, short, weak, and prosy, are self-explanatory; aaaa or aabb indicate in the first instance the line has excessive alliteration, and in the second that the b-line alliterates on a different letter to the a-line. reversed b-line indicates that the line alliterates aaxa rather than aaax as would normally be expected.

An asterisk in the third column indicates that there is a reasonable possibility that a line is more likely to be an authentic line that Malory took from his manuscript of the alliterative poem, but which is

missing from T, rather than it was adapted from a source manuscript by Malory or created by him.

Lines which appear likely to have been adapted or original creations of Malory appear in the fourth or fifth column respectively.

If these lines contain mixtures of missing words, partial adaptation, or some original and non-adapted Malorian words, then the Missing, Adapted and Malory columns are linked by broken lines. If the broken-line goes through the Adapted column, and no question-mark or asterisk appears in this column, then the column contains both missing and Malorian words, but not Malorian adaptations.

Some of the lines where attribution is doubtful contain question-marks in the Missing, Adapted and Malory columns and broken lines linking these columns. An asterisk and a question mark indicate that the line under consideration is more likely to be missing, adapted or Malorian, than another line which is marked only with a question mark, or which is not marked at all.

TABLE VII: MISSING LINES

Page/line	Quality	Missing	Adapt	Malory
189.14-15	so-so	*		
189.23-24	*	*		
192.1	*	*		
192.18-19	*		*	
193.16-17	*	*		
195.3-4	aaaa			*
196.15	part	*		*
196.16-17	part	*		
199.19	*/prosy			*
206.13-14	long/weak			*
207.23-24	long		*	
208.3-4	weak		*	
208.4-5	prosy		*	
209.20	aaaa			*
209.24-25	rev/long	?-----*	*-----*	*
210.9-10	weak/prosy			*
210.10-11	reversed b	*-----?		?
210.22-23	weak	?-----*	*-----?	?
211.9	prosy		*-----*	(part)
211.11-12	weak		*	
212.2-3	prosy		*	
213.5-6	long		*	
214.13-14	aabb		*-----*	(part)
214.31-32	weak	?-----?	?-----?	?
218.3-4	*			*
221.4	reversed b	*-----*	*-----*	
221.6-7	weak			*
223.12	prosy			*
223.23-24	prosy		*-----*	*
224.3-4	weak b		*-----*	*
224.5-6	*			*
224.13-14	weak	?-----?	?-----?	
224.20-21	so-so	*-----*	*-----*	
225.3-4	reversed b	?-----?	?-----*	*
227.9-10	long/*			*
228.11-12	$\frac{1}{2}$			*
228.15-16	long	*-----*	*-----*	*
230.5-6	weak b	*-----*	*-----*	
230.6-7	*/long b	*-----*	*-----*	
230.7-8	*		*	
230.15-16	weak	*-----*	*-----*	*?
231.1-2	*/long			*
231.3-4	*	*-----*	*-----*	*
231.16-17	prosy			*
233.13	*	*-----*	*-----*	(part)
233.25-234.1	weak		*	
234.10-11	*	?-----?	?-----*	*?
235.1-2	long			*
235.4-5	*	*		
235.5-6	*			*
235.6-7	*	*		

Page/line	Quality	Missing	Adapt	Malory
235.7-8	weak	?-----?	-----?	-----?
238.12-13	*	?-----*	-----*	-----?
238.13	short/prosy		*	
239.2-3	weak		*	
240.3-4	long			*
242.5	weak			*
242.13-14	prosy		*-----*	* (part)
244.17-18	*		*-----*	*
245.8-9	aabb			*
245.12-13	long/rev b			*
245.18-19	long/rev b			*
245.33	so-so			*
245.34	weak		*-----*	*
246.1-2	$\frac{1}{2}$			*
246.2-3	weak			*
246.3-5	long/weak			*
246.6-8	long/weak			*

Total number of lines in the table: 68.

Total number of missing lines: minimum 8, maximum 25.

## CONCLUSIONS TO CHAPTER III

If the conclusions given in summary form in this table are correct, the great majority of lines that prima facie appear to be alliterative lines from Malory's source manuscript but which are missing from T have been adapted or added by Malory. Only 11 of the lines discussed above are probably missing alliterative lines. In 13 instances either there seems to be a possibility that Malory has heavily adapted a now missing line, or that it is hard to be certain whether the line is missing because of the degree of Malory's adaptations. But in about 46 cases Malory appears to have created an alliterative line or heavily adapted one.

The 11 probably missing alliterative lines, if genuine, suggest that Matthews's theory that Malory worked directly from T was incorrect.

As has been said in this chapter, Malory (or someone else) often appears to have invented new lines taking a key-word or words from his source and building new alliteration around it. It will be noted that most of the lines likely to have been adapted or produced by Malory appear to be deficient in one way or another, perhaps in the case of the adapted lines because of Malory's revisions, although it cannot be assumed that he started with conventionally regular lines. As we have seen, the MA-poet appears to have allowed himself considerable metrical and alliterative freedom.

There are several rhythmically inadequate long or short lines in M, as can be seen from this table. Hamel has claimed that many are unlikely to have been created by Malory as, if he had invented them at all, he would have made better alliterative lines than these.<sup>154</sup> This, however, is a distinctly arbitrary assumption. Malory appears to have been capable of

creating good alliterative lines, poor alliterative lines, and prose lines with alliterative elements. There is no particular pattern to the distribution of any of these kinds of lines, and the simplest explanation for their existence is that Malory produced them on impulse, as the mood took him.

We have already discussed Malory's changes of style, but he also made additions and changes of content, which are not due to differences in the lost source manuscripts of M and T. Mary Dichmann, in Malory's Originality, cites Malory's use of the incident where Arthur's knights wish to attack the Roman ambassador and his embassy as proof that not all lines in Malory but not in T are missing.<sup>155</sup> Malory has apparently borrowed this particular incident from Wace (or another work in the chronicle tradition).<sup>156</sup> The fact that Malory's account of this incident is in prose with no substantial alliterative element is further evidence that this section is not missing from T.

Many other examples of changes in plot and emphasis, the latter mostly relating to Launcelot and his relatives, are given by Dichmann.<sup>157</sup> Not all of these concern us, but she does mention Malory's making Constantine regent rather than Mordred as in the poem,<sup>158</sup> a passage including the original alliterative line 195.3-4 ("for to counceyle and comforte: Cador son of Cornuayle") relating to Constantine, which has been discussed in Chapter III above. The heavily rewritten middle section of the speech that Malory attributes to Bors contains a fair proportion of alliteration but it is not claimed to derive from missing lines ("and cause oure kyng to honoure us for ever and to gyff us lordshyppis and landys . . . And he that faynes hym to fyght, the devyl have his bonys!" 214.7-10).<sup>159</sup> Similarly, Malory has to add or adapt material when he

allows Kay and Bedevere to survive to play their roles in his later stories.<sup>160</sup> The material in question includes line 223.23-24--"Kylle doune clene for love of sir Kay, my foster-brother," which is also discussed in Chapter III above.

Arthur's character is also softened by Malory.<sup>161</sup> Other examples of claimed Malorian additions include the semi-alliterative line referring to Arthur's handkerchief on page 217 ("Than the kynge [wepte and] with a keuerchoff wyped his iyen . . . " 217.23).<sup>162</sup> Dichmann quotes a section of M which is based on MA--this includes alliterative and semi-alliterative phrases "bolde barouns . . . buried as their blode asked, and they that myght be saved there was no salve spared, nother no deyntes to dere that myght be gotyn for golde other sylver" (224.25-28).<sup>163</sup> In contrast, Malory's additional remark about Arthur's joy at his knights recovery is pure prose ("And thus he let save many knyghtes that wente never to recover, but for sir Kayes recovir and of sir Bedwers the ryche was never man undir God so glad as hymself was": 224.29-31). The modified "cooler" form of Arthur's speech (225.26-226.8) is for the most part alliteratively weak. Larry Benson believes that Priamus's christening and reward are Malory's additions. Most of these examples have not been cited below as this section is only concerned with alliterative lines, while they are well known to be Malory's additions and they are generally not very alliterative.

Towards the end of Malory's Roman War story, as McCarthy points out, both Malory's borrowings and his original alliterative lines increase in number.<sup>165</sup> McCarthy doubts that the latter derive from Malory's copy of the poem, believing rather that they were created while Malory was still under the influence of the poem.<sup>166</sup> His suspicion is clearly shown to be true



by the tables, as is the fall-off in alliterative quality once the source poem was abandoned. Since Malory appears to have been entirely capable of creating good lines when he chose, the semi-alliterative ending may have been intended to be a transitional phase between a semi-alliterative chapter and a more straightforward prose section, his Noble Tale of Sir Launcelot du Lake.

As we have seen, the idea that Malory may be responsible for at least some of the alliterative lines in M but not in T, and that many of the types of differences outlined above can be accounted for by Malory's emendations, was tentatively acknowledged as a possibility by Vinaver and Wroten and enthusiastically embraced by William Matthews and Terence McCarthy. As the table shows, this is also the conclusion that I have reached by independent analysis.

Five of the lines discussed above (210.22-23, 213.5-6, 214.31-32, 224.13-14 and 244.17-18) contain some signs of the type of possible scribal meddling which Hamel sometimes claims for Scribe E (although she does not claim it in these particular instances). The possibility that they and others of Malory's alliterative lines are the product of systematic scribal interference is considered in the following section.

## CHAPTER IV: SCRIBE E

Perhaps the most interesting and complicated question involving the text of the Alliterative Morte Arthure was raised by Mary Hamel when she pointed out that there are many cases

where Malory seems to be neither expanding nor condensing his material, but rather expressing the essential meaning of the poem using different alliteration.<sup>1</sup>

Examples of these have already been given in Chapter II: "Malory's Alliterative Lines", and a more complete list including fourteen good lines and nearly 200 weaker examples (including long lines, lines with mixed alliteration, fragments and "clumps") appears in my appendix of lines with different alliteration. Hamel sees some of these lines as having being rewritten by an editing "Scribe E" who

at some stage of transmission between X [the common ancestor] and M [Malory's autograph manuscript] . . . modernized the poem, being careful to maintain (and perhaps even improve) alliterative patterns as he did so.<sup>2</sup>

She believes that the MA-poet was a much better poet than Scribe E, who was more traditional and metrically correct, but less imaginative.<sup>3</sup> Hamel claimed three of the good lines (O204.17, 207.25-26 and 240.24) and twelve of the weaker lines (197.21, 199.19-20, 205.18-19, 210.24-25, 211.11-12, 211.12-13, 214.14-15, 226.20, 231.1-2, 231.2, 235.22-23 and 245.2-3) as possible Scribe E lines. This is clearly an important claim, put forward by a leading scholar, and it deserves to be taken seriously. If it is true, our understanding of both the alliterative poem and M will be changed. The lines that Hamel names will be considered individually in this section.

As we have seen, William Matthews wanted to credit Malory with all of the alliterative lines in Le Morte

Darthur that are not in T. Hamel concedes that this is a possibility, that "many of these revisions, if not all, are Malory's own--that is, that he was so much influenced by the alliterative structures of the poem that even when revising freely to remove unfamiliar language he took care to shape adequate alliterative lines."<sup>4</sup> However, she feels that the many examples of M's lines which are "rhythmically inadequate" and too long or short to pass as alliterative poetry are unlikely to have been created by Malory, as he would have had to have "revised them to more prosaic rhythms to fit into his tale."<sup>5</sup> Hamel further asserts that many of these revised lines contain words that were not part of Malory's normal vocabulary, and that although they could have been derived from elsewhere in the poem, he generally edited such words out.<sup>6</sup> Hamel sees this as evidence that "the version of the poem Malory had before him already contained many of these revisions: Scribe E's work."<sup>7</sup> This is certainly possible, and if it is possible it needs to be examined carefully.

We will examine Hamel's lines and her claims for them in the order in which they appear in the two texts. Malory's lines are given first followed by T's.

"recoverde the Crosse that Cryste dyed uppon"  
(O188.11).

"He þat conquerid þe Crosse | be craftez of armes  
That Criste was on crucifiede, | þat Kyng es of Heuen"  
(284-85).

Hamel claims that this detail was added by the poet, who also transferred "The Invention of the Cross" from the Empress Helena to her son Constantine, and added the idea of military conquest, which Scribe E or Malory found unacceptable and so replaced conquerid with recouerde.<sup>8</sup> However, conquerid is probably not an authentic reading, but the product of textual

corruption. It is a strange word to use in this context, and appears only two lines earlier in a natural context, describing how Constantine became emperor. It would have been easy for a scribe to substitute it in line 284 if that line originally read couerid. couer provides a particularly plausible origin for conquerid, because the similarity in form between the two words would have been even greater in fifteenth-century script, where u and n might be identically two minims; and it is the word T normally uses to mean "acquire" or "recover", in preference to recouer, which is used only once, and then for recovery from injury. The appearances of couer as "acquire" include one very shortly before the passage under discussion, at line 274.

The change from couerid to recouerde in Malory also seems likely to be a scribal variation; Malory uses reouerde to mean "regain" at page 242.14, but not outside the Roman War story, so it does not appear to have part of his normal vocabulary. Apart from that, however, the alliterative line in M could very well be the accidental (or deliberate) product of abbreviation by Malory himself. It does not require us to assume creative reworking by one of the scribes who copied the poem.

"And thus they strekyn forth into the stremys many  
sadde hunderthes" (0196.7).

"And all þe steryn of þe streme | strekyn at onez"  
(755).

Hamel claims that M's line shows Scribe E "at his most poetic." She believes that streken ("strike their sails") may have been mistaken or reinterpreted by E.<sup>9</sup> Re-use of strekyn and streme in different senses is the kind of thing that Malory did frequently.<sup>10</sup> Malory used strekyn in the phrase strekyn of his hede in his "Merlin" (106.19), so he was aware that it meant

"strike." However, although M also uses sadde hunderthes again in line 218.17-18, he does not use it outside of the Roman War story, so the phrase is perhaps unlikely to be his creation. M's sadde is used in a poetic sense, meaning "important." This choice of a poetic word is rather a puzzle. It may be Malory's as he often uses it in the different phrase sadde strokys, or it could come from a lost version of the poem, but T does not use sadde in this context at all, which perhaps makes this unlikely. Sadde (and related words) do appear in alliterative poetry with this meaning.<sup>11</sup> Matthews states that hunderthes and hundretthis are northern spellings.<sup>12</sup> There are many words used elsewhere by Malory in this line, so it is perhaps most likely to be his work, although the uncharacteristic phrase sadde hunderthes may indicate that an editing scribe with a different vocabulary to Malory and the MA-poet influenced Malory's source in this instance.

"the coloure of his wyngys is thy kyngdomes that thou haste with thy knyghtes wonne" (0197.15-16).  
 "The colurez | at ware castyn | appon his clere wengez  
 May be thy kyngrykez all | that thow has ryghte  
 wonnyn" (819-20).

Malory's line is substantially modernised, and the addition of non-poetic words serves to lengthen the line excessively, damaging the metre and consequently reducing the line to prose despite an increase in alliteration. In M's line Kyngrykes has also been changed to kyngdomes. This is exactly the kind of archaic word that one would expect Malory to change in his account, and indeed it is not part of his vocabulary elsewhere. However, this alliterative line is the only one in M which contains kyngdomes: Malory usually refers to realms instead. This may have been because of the influence of his sources, which of

course are mostly French (although kyngedom is mentioned at lines 434.19 and 1252.21 and kyngdomes at 72.29 and 197.16). Realmys appears in three of Malory's alliterative lines (O190.18-19, 199.7 and 201.17-18) and in the first and last of these cases T also contains the word. Despite the fact that he does not often use kyngdomes and usually preferred realmes it is still likely that Malory rather than a scribe has changed kyngrykes to kyngdomes, as it still sounds like the source word. As we have seen, Malory often liked to keep the sound of source-words even if he changed them.

Hamel believes that M or Scribe E emended ryghte to with thy knyghtes.<sup>13</sup> It is possible to imagine a line in Malory's source which contained knyghtes instead of ryghte. Although such a line would be alliteratively superior to T's--where the alliteration depends on kyngrykes alliterating with ryght--it would still lack one alliterating letter and one therefore wonders whether a scribe of the kind that Hamel postulates who sought to improve the alliteration would bother to make this change.

We may also notice that such a line would give the knights a lot of credit at the expense of Arthur's own glory. Malory, however, may in any case have had his own reasons for making the change from ryghte to with thy knyghtes. A curious feature of M's line is that it mentions Arthur's knights three times in the philosopher's brief speech: the dragon represents Arthur who sails with his knights, the knights who helped Arthur win his kingdoms (represented by the dragon's wings), and the tail which represents the knights themselves. Three such occurrences is rather excessive and suggests that at least one of them, of which this is the most likely, is an addition. T only

mentions that Arthur sails with his knights, while Caxton only mentions the knights with reference to the dragon's tail. As Malory was very interested in Arthur's knights (he often for example makes additions to his sources, naming minor knights and documenting their relationships),<sup>14</sup> perhaps he is the most likely person to have added this phrase.

"(som gyaunte) boldely in batayle be thysel self alone"  
(O197.21).

"In syngulere batell | by 3oure selfe one" (826).

Hamel claims W's phrase boldely in batayle results from Scribe E's (or M's) misgivings about the poem's a x : a x or a b : b a alliteration.<sup>15</sup> Malory's line alliterates on the letter b, presumably taken from batell, which serves as a key-word around which the alliteration is constructed, while T's line apparently alliterates on the letter s. Malory (or Scribe E) seems not merely to have created a different line out two lines of MA (som gyaunte comes from line 825) but a different line alliterating on a different letter. On Hamel's theory that line would presumably originally have read as something approximating to boldely in batell be 3oure selfe one, with subsequent modifications being mostly due to Malory.

M's phrase boldly in battle does occur in T in lines 1450 and 1486, long after this point. Malory might have remembered it from previous readings of the poem. He is perhaps more likely to have remembered the phrase than created it, as he does not use it again in the Roman War story, or at all in his other tales. He apparently removes singulere meaning single-combat,<sup>16</sup> but probably with overtones of unusual and superior, and replaces it with the more prosaic boldely. Singulere batell sounds rather odd in any case and the phrase does not occur elsewhere in T, or at all in

Malory.

As it stands W's b-line is hard to attribute to an editing scribe who had strong preference for maintaining conventional alliterative structure. M's phrase be thyself alone appears more authentic than T's by 3oure selfe one--particularly as it is addressed to the King and as "thou" and "thy" have appeared in previous lines of T. Arthur is normally addressed as "thou" as in the speech by the senator,<sup>17</sup> with "you" reserved for the plural;<sup>18</sup> the senator is initially addressed by thee, thou, etc, but in lines 2321, 2322, and 2323 he is addressed as 3e. Although "thy" and "your" do sometimes appear together in the same passage--as in the speech by the philosophers (814ff.),<sup>19</sup> it is very likely that this line of M is authentic.

"woldist thou ken me where that carle dwellys?"  
(O199.10-11).

"Bot walde þow kene me to þe crage | thare þat kene  
lengez" (876).

Hamel claims that the two occurrences of kene in T's line are "a highly characteristic near-pun" rather than being due to dittography, and that M's phrase that carle is M's or Scribe E's replacement for þat kene.<sup>20</sup> Someone has made several modifications to his source line, drastically shortening the a-line and deleting the reference to the crag. Since Malory uses carle four times in the Roman War story and twice outside it (on page 271), it was part of his working vocabulary, and he could be responsible for replacing kene with the more normal carl. This is also another case of M (or someone else) replacing lengez with an appropriate substitute word, and according to Matthews, of Malory's grasp of northern dialect.<sup>21</sup> This line also appears in Matthews's list of lines with alliterative words apparently replaced by Malory.<sup>22</sup> All in all, the



changes look like typical Malorian substitutions, and so cannot prove the existence of an editing scribe.

"The kynge seyde, 'Good man, pees! and carpe to me no more.

Thy soth sawys have greved sore my herte.'

Than he turnys towarde his tentys and carpys but lytyl" (O199.18-20).

"Thane romyez̄ the ryche kynge | for rewthe of þe pople,  
Raykez ryghte to a tente | and restez no lengere;  
He welterys, he wristeles, | he wryngez hys handez"  
(888-90).

Vinaver and Wroten believed Thy soth sawys have greved sore my herte to be a missing line,<sup>23</sup> but these words do not seem typical of the poet. Hamel believes that W's alliterative line is an example of Scribe E "at his least inspired."<sup>24</sup> She also believes that Arthur's response has been toned down, but perhaps Malory would be more likely to do this than a scribe. This line has been discussed in more detail in Chapter III.

"and geff it to thy servaunte that is swyffte-horsed" (O204.17).

"Gife it to thy sqwyre, | fore he es wele-horsede" (1179).

Hamel follows Gordon and Vinaver and Wroten and emends T's wele to swyffte, because she does not believe that the MA-poet would have used sqw/w alliteration. However, she believes that M's line's swyffte- might be due to Scribe E's desire to make the alliterative pattern more regular.<sup>25</sup> It is certainly unlikely to be due to Malory, as he normally uses the phrase wele-horsede, so he would probably have followed his source here if this had been its reading. Malory's line also differs in using servaunte instead of T's sqwyre. I am not aware of T using servaunte at any point, so it is unlikely that this word is original. The simplest explanation is that each line preserves

half of the original alliteration, that Malory's swyffte is due to the poet, and servaunte to himself. If this is the case, there is no reason to attribute any part of it to an intermediate scribe. The only drawback to this theory is that the emended line still contains only two alliterative words.

"but this was fersar; that had I nere founden, had nat my fortune be good" (Q205.2-3).

"He was þe forcyere be ferre. | þat had I nere funden,  
Ne had my fortune bene faire; | fey had I leuede!"  
(1176-77).

Hamel,<sup>26</sup> following Vinaver and Wroten,<sup>27</sup> states that forcyere ("stronger") was originally derived from Geoffrey of Monmouth's Historia (X. iii, p. 473), which inspired most of the subsequent works of the Chronicle tradition. The word would have been changed to fersar ("fiercer") by Malory or Scribe E. As we have seen, however, this kind of substitution is typical of Malory, who uses fierce and fiercely quite often elsewhere, although he never uses fersar. The other changes are more straightforward. Malory has taken founden from the poem practically unchanged, although he does not use it elsewhere, and fortune, which is a favourite of his although he usually precedes it by the word by. As well as borrowing words from the poem, Malory also reduces the alliteration by about half by making non-poetic substitutions. In M's line faire becomes the more prosaic good, and the archaic and poetic phrase fey had I leuede is omitted as superfluous. M's line contains the usual three alliterative words of an alliterative line, but is the length of one and a half lines of the poem. This line does not seem to owe anything to an editing scribe.

"and so they shooke over the stremys into a fayre  
champayne" (O205.18-19).

"Thurghe a faire champayne | vndyr schalke hyllis"  
(1226).

Hamel believes that Scribe E has brought champayne and shooke together in this line--with the later pronunciation of these words--while T's line retains the Old French pronunciation of initial ch in champayne and schalke.<sup>28</sup> However, in the later line 1362 of T, champayne alliterates with chasede and cheualrous, and with cheualrous again in line 1822. As the OED states that these words have always been pronounced in the same way,<sup>29</sup> it looks as if the poet thought that the sounds ch and sh alliterated. schalke also alliterates with cheefe, in the later line 1363. The OED's entry for chalk also suggests that it was possible for chalk to be pronounced "shalk": so T's peculiar spelling could be deliberate (by the author or a scribe) as a guide to where the alliteration and therefore the stress falls. This appears to show that the pronunciation of ch/sch in line 1226 may well have been characteristic of the poet, and not due to the intervention of an editing scribe. As the alliteration in a line is so often continued in the next line, the best guide to the original pronunciation of this line may be the presence of chesez in line 1225.

M's shooke does not appear in T at any point, but schake appears in the earlier line 1213, which is close enough for M to have remembered it without the need for an editing scribe. Malory does not use the word again. He seems to have borrowed stremys from line 1224 or adapted strandez from line 1227 of MA. As he is interlacing details from at least two lines he is clearly not following his source exactly, but there is again no reason to suppose that an editing scribe was involved.

"and with his bowerly bronde that bryght semed  
he stroke of the hede of sir Gayus the knyght"  
(0207.25-27).

"Graythes towarde þe gome | with grucchande herte;  
With his stelyn brande | he strykes of hys heuede"  
(1353-54).

Malory appears to have taken his b-alliteration from line 1349 (which includes bryghte), and from brande in line 1354 rather than taking over 1354's s alliteration. Hamel believes that as T's graythe and gome do not appear in M, they probably did not appear in Malory's source either.<sup>30</sup> Malory, however, would probably have rejected these words anyway as being too archaic and poetic for his prose work. Hamel also points out that M's bowerly (which occurs in T as burliche) does not occur outside the Roman War story and is therefore unlikely to have formed part of Malory's normal vocabulary. However, as burliche appears in T several times it is not impossible that M (or, as Hamel implies, Scribe E) remembered it and substituted it for stelyn. The phrase stelyn brande also appears in T line 2129 and so it could well be original. T uses burliche with reference to the handsomeness or nobility of kings more commonly than in relation to swords, although it is used in the latter sense in lines 1111 and 2239. T usually describes brandes as being rich rather than bryght (lines 893, 963, 2566 and elsewhere). These words are therefore typical of the poet even if the phrases are not, and Malory could have created his line from memory without the aid of an editing scribe.

"There was a proude senatoure preced aftir sir Gawayne,  
and gave hym a grete buffet. . . .  
'I am wounded wondirly sore'" (0210.24-25; 0211.6-7).  
"The breny [Gawain's] one þe bakhalfe he brýstez in  
sondyre" . . . .  
"Saue sir Ewayne fytz Henry | es in þe side wonddede"  
(1482; 1558).

Hamel claims differences in alliteration in W are due to Malory or Scribe E attempting to interpret a puzzling passage, with Malory or E combining the name of T's minor character "Ewayne fytz Henry" (who makes his first appearance here, but does not appear in W) and Gawain's wound of line 1482 in order to make the story consistent.<sup>31</sup> She believes that the poet invented Ewayne fytz Henry so that the most notable casualty should be one of the less important knights and Gawain would recover speedily. Wroten also suggested that Malory might have transferred Ewayn's "buffet" (0210.25) to Gawain because he makes no further mention of Gawain's wound, and in spite of the fact that neither version has mentioned Ewayne's role in the battle up to this point.<sup>32</sup>

There are, however, some possible objections to this. Ewayne does seem to be an important knight, as Arthur later says "Thare sall no siluer hym saue | bot Ewayne recouere" (1572). This is the sort of reaction that would be expected to apply to someone like Gawain rather than a lesser knight. Secondly, the whole of Malory's line 0210.24-25 looks as though it is in his own words. In 0211.6-7, it is relevant that Malory uses the word sore many times and he uses the phrase wondirly sore twelve times at various points in the Le Morte Darthur. This certainly looks like Malory's phrase. Malory also uses preced at 0144.16 ("Merlin"), 0208.12 (where T has presez), 0210.24 (T has Thurghe | 2e presse), 0221.26 (not in T) and 0236.28 (T has presses).

"But there is no golde undir God that shall save their  
lyvys,  
I make myne avow to God, and sir Gawayne be in ony  
perell of deth" (0211.11-13).  
"Thare sall no siluer hym saue | bot Ewayne recouere"  
(1572).

Hamel believes that this line should alliterate on s as seven other lines do at this point.<sup>33</sup> This seems likely, as siluer is mentioned again in line 1580. Hamel appears uncertain whether Malory or Scribe E has emended the line. Malory is the more obvious candidate. Lines 211.11-13/1572 are discussed further in my Chapter III.

"Joneke was the fyrste, a juster full noble"  
(214.14-15).

"Ioneke and Askanere, | Aladuke and oþer" (1739).

Hamel believes W's line to be Scribe E's work.<sup>34</sup> Malory certainly does not use this phrase again. He normally describes justers (= "jousters") as the beste (0599.2 and 0607.11) or passyng good (050.5), so the phrase does not appear to be his style. However, this line does appear to be in the style of the poet, which makes it less necessary to postulate an editing scribe. The much later line 3412 not only contains the same b-line, but also mentions the order of appearance of the first and fourth jousters. The latter, who is amongst the Nine Worthies, appears as "The ferthe was sir Judas, a justere full nobill." Justere full noble could well be the poet's original a-line or, if not that a stock phrase remembered by Malory from somewhere else in the poem.

T's lines 1739-45 primarily consist of lists of newly dubbed knights and T's line looks acceptable in context. Ioneke and Aladuke appear to be "genuine" characters as they reappear in lines 1868 and 1905, and 1824 and 1916 respectively. Askanere in contrast is not heard of again: it is possible that he could have been introduced as an alliterative "filler" to make good some sort of defect in an original line. He may have been based on the hero of the French Arthurian romance Escanor.

"Recover yourself unto som kydde castell" (O214.28).  
 "Eschewes to som castell | and chewyse 3our selfen"  
 (1750).

Hamel notes that Malory's version has been altered to avoid unfamiliar words.<sup>35</sup> Eschewes, chewyse and selfen are all archaic and poetic, and therefore likely to be altered by Malory in the course of producing what was nominally a prose work.

I am not aware of recover being used in this way in T, or elsewhere by Malory with this meaning, although Malory uses the phrase "a few were recovirde thereby into a lytyll castell" at page O216.27-28. This could be a piece of military jargon.<sup>36</sup> Malory might have known this phrase because of his martial past, while the MA-poet may well have been a more peace-loving and scholarly individual (although we cannot be certain, and obscure military terms do appear in MA). Hamel notes that one of the substitute words, kydde, is not used in Malory's other stories.<sup>37</sup> Kydde appears several times in T and kydd castles also appear in T lines 654, 849 and 3129. This phrase could well have been in Malory's memory. It could of course have been in a scribe's memory instead, but that is a more complicated hypothesis, and therefore rather less likely when there is no extra evidence supporting it.

Although, as Hamel says, M's line alliterates at three points, they are not the correct points and the line does not have a proper caesura. If we have a Scribe E line here (and there seems no reason to suppose that we have), it must, therefore, have been heavily modified by Malory.

"And than they fruyshed forth all at onys,  
 of the bourelyest knyghtes that ever brake brede,  
 with mo than fyve hondred at the formyst frunte,  
 and caste their spears in a feawter all at onys"  
 (O214.31-4).

"And than the Bretons brothely | enbrassez þeire  
 scheldez,

Braydez one bacanetez | and buskes theire launcez;  
 Thus he fittest his folke | and to þe felde rydez,  
Fif hundreth on a frounte | fewtrede at onez"  
 (1753-56).

Surprisingly Malory uses the obscure word fruyshed, which he also used earlier at page 208.14. On both occasions the word has no obvious source in T, although variations of it appear in the much later lines 2804 and 2900. Malory never uses the word again. The line "of the bourelyest knyghtes that ever brake brede", which is further discussed in the Chapter III, appears to contain a typical Malorian substitution.

Formyst frunte with its quasi-tautology sounds rather Malorian: an expanded version of the phrase appears at 0209.20, and the phrase itself is also used of Tristram at 0740.35. Malory uses formyst ten times, frunte seven times, and the phrase at 0740.35. The expansion and clarification of fewtrede at onez into and caste theire spears in a feawter all at onys also appears to be Malory's work. Fruyshed forth therefore looks like the only part of the Malory passage that there is any reason to attribute to an editing scribe, and the appearance of the verb later in T must raise suspicion that it was in the poem as first composed. Perhaps 1755a as we have it is a scribal corruption.

"Whan the Emperoure was entyrd into the vale of  
 Sessoyne" (0219.7).

"To seke in to Sexon | with my sekyre knyghttez. . . .  
 Seþen into Sessoyne | he soughte at the gayneste"  
 (1964, 1977).

Hamel emends both Sexon and Sessoyne to Sessye. She says that, since W implies that Sessoyne contains a number of castles and walled towns (0218.21), Malory or Scribe E understood that place to be a region, not a single valley. This is not unlikely, since, as Hamel shows, the form Sessoyne was widely used to represent Saxony.<sup>38</sup> M's assumption that there is a "vale" of the



same name (presumably within the region) could easily have been deduced from lines 2006-07:

"Bot the emperour onone, with honourable knyghtez  
And erlez, enteres the vale awntyrs to seke."

Malory uses this phrase seven times (and a similar phrase once). These lines, therefore, could have been composed by Malory directly without the need for an editing scribe.

"ever he slow slyly and slypped to another"  
(O224.20-21).

"They hewede doun haythen men | with hiltede swerdez  
Be hole hundrethez on hye | by þe holte eyuyes;  
Thare myghte no siluer thaym saue | ne socoure their  
lyues" (2274-76).

Hamel believes this line may be Scribe E's using a conventional formulaic cluster.<sup>39</sup> As I show in my discussion of the line in Chapter III, however, these lines are in the style of the poet.

"Of Ethyope the kyng and of Egypte and of Inde"  
(O225.3-4; 2296W).

Hamel believes that the three names probably belonged to the poem in its original form. It is also possible that they were added or interpolated into M.<sup>40</sup> It seems unlikely that this line has been rewritten by Hamel's editing scribe because the alliteration in line 2296W is reversed. Line 2296W is also discussed in Chapter III.

"and than lete lappe hem in lede  
that for chauffyng other chongyng they sholde never  
savoure,  
and sytthen lete close them in chestys full clenly  
arayed" (O225.9-11).

"Lappede them in lede, lesse that they schulde  
Chawng or chawffe, 3if þay myghte escheffe  
Closed in kystys | clene vnto Rome" (2300-02).

As Hamel points out, the MA-poet uses the obscure verb escheffe ("arrive at") rather than the more common

acheve(n).<sup>41</sup> Malory presumably omitted the word because it was archaic and poetic, or because he did not understand it, or because his readers might not understand it. It is replaced with savour ("smell unpleasant"), which Malory uses to mean "smell" generally (for example a bratchet recognises Sir Tristram by his savour), but also in this sense (nobody can abide the unpleasant savour at page 0666.15). T, however, does not use the word at all. We cannot tell what words may have come naturally to a hypothetical scribe, but this one is most naturally taken as substitution by Malory. Malory is also likely to have added syththen, which he uses elsewhere, and normalised kystys to the more readily comprehensible chestys. He does not use kystys at any point.

Hamel believes that clene in line 2302, which she interprets as "untainted", has been misunderstood by Scribe E (or possibly Malory). She considers the result close them in chestys full clenly arayed to be "a very plausible a x : a x line."<sup>42</sup> It is hardly surprising, however, that a prose reworking of an alliterating half-line that still keeps the key alliterating words should produce another acceptable half-line by accident. There is nothing in these lines that makes us need to postulate an editing scribe.

"For in the moneth of May this myscheff befelle"  
(0226.20).

"In the kalendez of Maye | this caas es befallen"  
(2371).

Hamel is probably correct in believing that T's version is authenticated by the principle of durior lectio.<sup>43</sup> The similarly weak a-line in line 345--which also contains kalendez and the name of a month--increases the possibility that T is closer to the archetype: "By þe kalendez of Juny | we schall encountre ones." Hamel believes that when kalendez was

modernised to the more alliterative moneth, caas was also changed to myscheff creating a perfect line.<sup>44</sup> It is impossible to say with certainty who made these changes, but it could well have been Malory. Malory never uses kalendez, whereas he uses the phrase the moneth of May five times; he also uses myschyeff nine times elsewhere.

"(they had wonne within the yates)  
and the cite wonne thorow wyghtnesse of hondys"  
(0227.28-30).

"Ne hade the garnyson bene gude | at þe grete gates,  
Thay hade wonn that wone | be theire awen strength"  
(2471-72).

Malory's lines are closer to his source than usual at this point, as Hamel notes. She accepts Gordon and Vinaver's claim that W's phrase thorow wyghtnesse of hondys was reproduced from Malory's source manuscript,<sup>45</sup> but she believes that it may be one of Scribe E's creations. However, despite her doubts as to the origins of Malory's b-line, she incorporates it into the text of the poem because she believes that an isolated non-alliterating b-line breaks the poet's own rules.<sup>46</sup> Wyghtnesse is, moreover, used seven times in T and appears in this phrase in line 516, while the similar phrase wyghtnesse of strength appears in lines 796 and 2214. It seems a good deal less likely that M's uncharacteristic phrase thorow wyghtnesse of hondys is a revision by an editing scribe, or was transplanted from elsewhere in the poem by Malory, than that it is an authentic b-line lost from T as the result of textual corruption.

"And thorowoute the thycke haubirke made of sure  
mayles,  
and the rubyes that were ryche, he rushed hem in  
sundir,  
that men myght beholde the lyvir and longes"  
(0230.5-8).

Clefe þe knyghttes schelde | clenliche in sondre--  
 Who lukes to þe lefte syde | when his horse launches  
 With the lyghte of the sonne | men myghte see his  
 lyuere" (2559-61).

Hamel believes that W's lines from thorowoute the thycke haubirke to he russhed hem in sundir might have been lost from T "since it completes the blow begun in 2559," but that they are more likely to be the work of Scribe E.<sup>47</sup> The "rich rubies" line is commented upon in Chapter III. As I argue there, it seems possible that M's line may be the result of textual corruption.

"that I myght be fayre crystynde and becom meke for my mysdedis. Now mercy I Jesu beseche, and I shall becom Crysten and in God stedfastly beleve, and thou mayste for thy manhode have mede to thy soule" (0231.1-4).  
 "With-thy þat thowe suffre me, for sake of thy Cryste, To schewe schortly my schrifte | and schape for myn ende" (2587-88).

These lines have been discussed in Chapter III--231.1-2 and 231.3-4. Hamel claims that the former is Scribe E's work,<sup>48</sup> but most of the key-words are used by both Malory and the MA-poet. Both writers, for instance use crystynde several times (with various spellings).

The reference to Jesu is more typical of Malory than of the poet, although not surprisingly once again we cannot say what might be typical of a scribe who occasionally edited his copy. The latter part of the Malory passage is most likely to be based on a pair of lines missing from the poem, or (less likely) recreated in the style of the poem by Malory.

"'Sirs,' seyde sir Pryamus, 'for to rescow me they have made a vowe, other ellys manfully on this molde to be marred all at onys. This was the pure purpose, whan I passed thens at hir perellys, to preff me uppon payne of their lyvys'" (0235.3-7).  
 "'3onder es a companye | of clere men of armes,  
 The keneste in contek | þat vndir Criste lenges;  
 In þone oken wode | an oste are arrayede,  
 Vndirtakende men | of þiese owte londes,

As sais vs sir Priamous, so helpe Seynt Peter!"  
(2720-24).

Lines Q235.4-5, 5-6, and 6-7 are further discussed in Chapter III. From that discussion, it seems less likely that they were created by an editing scribe than that they were either Malory's invention or lines missing from T.

"'Now, fayre lordys,' seyde sir Pryamus, 'cese youre wordys,  
I warne you betyme, for ye shall fynde in yondir woodys  
many perellus knyghtes; they woll putte furth beystys  
to bayte you oute of numbir'" (Q235.21-4; 2740W).

Hamel believes that Priamus should speak these lines in T, as he does in Malory, but that the language he uses in M is not that of the poem. She supplies an invented pair of alliterative lines as the "only" alternative to M's first two lines:

"'Fayre lordes' quod Priamus, | 'forsake 3ow behoues,  
For 3e schall fynde in 3one fyrthe | frekes full  
many.'"<sup>49</sup>

T also uses wordys in this way but not betyme. M uses betyme occasionally elsewhere. M's lines are only lightly alliterative apart from the last grammatical unit (although wordys, warne and woodys do alliterate with each other), so if these lines have been rewritten by a scribe--as the unusual words such as bayte suggest--Malory must have heavily rewritten what the scribe wrote.

T does not use the phrase putte furth (the latter occurs with this spelling in M at Q278.25 and Q748.22, and more commonly differently spelled). Hamel believes that the alliterative cluster beystys/bayte is more likely to be Scribe E's invention than the poet's (or Malory's), and that it is part of a section intended to fill a gaping hole in the story in the common ancestor text (X). She claims that "beasts" do not appear in

the poem (although Arthur does mention them to Sir Florent when he commands that the foraging expedition takes place in line 2488--where bestys means "cattle"). As Hamel says, if this line is inserted into the poem it becomes the only occurrence of bayte with this meaning (it usually appears as the homograph meaning to allow a horse to graze). In this kind of context the MA-poet usually mentions an (en)buschement or occasionally betrappede or skoulkery rather than the setting of a trap with bait. bayte can refer to the "sport" of baiting an animal such as a bear, a bull or a boar (as in Sir Gawain and the Green Knight line 1461), but this does not seem likely in context as Arthur's men would be being bated by beasts. M does not use this word again. The fact that neither the MA-poet or Malory normally uses bayte raises the possibility that this line too may be the work of an interpolating scribe. oute of numbir, however, is used several times in the Roman War story (0199.15, 204.25, 209.19, 211.6, 235.24 and 243.5-6) where it is clearly Malory's addition (apart from the last case, where a slight modification is required).

"for they woll hyde them in haste for all their hyghe wordys" (0235.27-28).

"They will hye theym hyen, | for all þeire gret wordes!" (2744).

M's line is fairly similar to its counterpart in T, but with hyde theym in haste in the a-line rather than the more archaic and poetic hye theym hyen. This suggests that M (or less likely a scribe) modernised at least this part of the line. Hyghe words does not appear in any other of M's alliterative lines: he usually wrote gret(e) words (0207.25, 215.8, 230.20, 330.24 and 398.28). Since hyghe wordys was not one of his commonly used phrases it seems most likely that Malory's hyghe was prompted by hye in the a-line in his

source. Mennicken, Gordon and Vinaver claim that because M contains hyghe T should be similarly worded.<sup>50</sup> Hamel rejects this, believing that it is the result of Scribe E's rigid following of the rules of normal alliterative poetry. She argues that, as the previous line alliterates fully, this b-line need not be perfect. She points out too that the MA-poet too uses gret rather than hyghe to mean boastful.<sup>51</sup> However, the line in W appears to be explicable as the product of the kind of changes that Malory normally makes to his source.

"many a raynke for that prouesse ran into the grevys,  
and durste no knavys but knyghtes kene of herte  
fyght more in this felde, but fledde" (0238.11-13).  
"That the raskaille was rade | and rade to þe grefes  
And karede to þat cou[e]rte | as cowardes for euer"  
(2881-82).

Hamel remarks that Malory never uses raskaille and rade, but that he occasionally borrowed raynke from the poem (it also appears in lines 0236.26 and 0236.29); but it is not a borrowing at this point.<sup>52</sup> M's line many a raynke for that prouesse ran into the grevys contains key-words that also occur in T. Renke occurs several times and prowesche once (1958). Variations of grove(s) (greue, greuez, greues and grefes) occur a few times in T, and while M's b-line is not found anywhere in T, one would not be surprised to see it there. As the line contains words common to Malory and the MA-poet, the hand of an editing scribe is not readily discerned in this line.

M's line "no knavys but knyghtes kene of herte fyght more in this felde, but fledde" (0238.12-13) is discussed in Chapter III. As the discussion there shows, it is perhaps most probable that this is a line created by Malory in the style of the poem.

"'Be God,'" seyde sir Gawayne, 'this gladys my herte'"  
(0238.14).  
"'Peter!' sais sir Gawayne, | 'this gladdez myn herte'"  
(2883).

Gordon and Vinaver claim that Gawain's oath should be as alliterative as Priamus' oath in line 2646,<sup>53</sup> because it is doubtful that Peter could become Be God by any known process of scribal error. Hamel, however, believes that M's alliteration is superior because of Scribe E's deliberate efforts in an ancestor manuscript.<sup>54</sup> However, two additional factors make it probable that Peter is original to the poem. Firstly, Seynt Peter is mentioned in T in the slightly earlier line 2724--and it may be interpreted as having been in Priamus's speech. Secondly, T does not normally mention God in this way, which suggests that Be God is Malory's addition. Gawain also swears Be God in M at page 0230.19, but not at the corresponding point in T. Malory's characters rarely swear by the saints in the Roman War story (apart from the special case of Saint Michael in the giant of Mont St Michel episode, where their oaths are supported by T). These factors makes it probable that Be God is Malory's normalisation, which perhaps by chance happens to alliterate better than T's version.

"Now and thou haddyst ascaped withoutyn scathe, the  
scorne had bene ourys!" (0240.3-4).

This line is discussed in Chapter III. As is shown there, it seems probable that it is indeed missing from the poem.

"(syththen turnys to a tente and tellyth the kyng)  
all the tale truly, that day how they travayled"  
(0240.24).  
"Tornys tytte to þe tente | and to þe kyng telles  
All the tale sothely, | and how they hade spede"  
(3015-16).

Gordon and Vinaver claimed that W's line is more



authentic because the alliteration is better.<sup>55</sup> Hamel argues that the stronger alliteration is Scribe E's work. She believes that a line with a reversed b-line (and three alliterative words in the a-line) followed by an a b : x b line is quite acceptable.<sup>56</sup> M's truly is more alliterative but somehow less poetic than T's sothely, and Malory's b-line is alliteratively superior to T's, but rather long. Malory does not use tale truly again and he never uses tale sothely. M's unusual use of travayled looks like "wearied", but actually means "fared" or "worked" (see the glossary in O<sup>3</sup>).<sup>57</sup> Malory frequently uses spede with the same meaning as this line in T. T, however, normally uses trauayle to mean "travelling" and only uses it with this meaning in line 3566. T also uses spede with the same meaning as in these lines only once (in line 2414). In T the homograph spede usually means "make haste." Malory is therefore unlikely to have picked up words with these unusual meanings from the poem if his copy bore any resemblance to T: they are more likely to have come from his own vocabulary.

"In yondir lykyngre londis as lorde woll I dwelle"  
(O242.26).

"In 3one lykande londe | lorde be I thynke!"  
(Hamel 3093; T3109).

Hamel believes that M (or Scribe E) has paraphrased this line of the poem in an attempt to reduce the obscurity of the non-alliterative part of the b-line,<sup>58</sup> nothing about it suggests that it is the work of anyone other than Malory. That being the case probability requires us to attribute it to the one person we know to have tampered with the text of the alliterative poem rather than to some hypothetical alternative. Some similar examples are reproduced in my Chapter I. As even Hamel is unsure about

postulating scribal interference in this line, further analysis seems unnecessary here.

"to deme for His deth that for us all on the roode dyed" (0245.2-3).  
 "To reuenge the Renke | that on the rode dyede" (3217).

Hamel points out that M's line contains different alliteration to T's and that retaining the original ending creates a reversed b-line even though three alliterating words are supplied.<sup>59</sup> However, a scribe interested in maintaining conventional alliterative structure would be unlikely to have produced such a result. Moreover, Malory commonly used deme in his tales, and he was probably responsible for modernising renke to His as Hamel claims (although he does sometimes use the former in the Roman War story). Hamel also suggests that Malory also added for us all, which seems very likely. It seems possible that M, or a scribe, used the final word dyed as a key-word and constructed a line with new alliteration around it. However, M's inclusion of the two similar alliterating words deth and dyed again seems sufficiently characteristic of Malory's normal methods of working not to need explaining by scribal interference.

We have now examined all the individual examples of Hamel's "Scribe E" lines. Before reaching a conclusion as to the probable existence or non-existence of this hypothetical scribe, it is perhaps best first to recapitulate our findings in the form of a table.

## KEY TO TABLE VIII (SCRIBE E)

Table VIII (the Scribe E table) consists of five columns. The first column marks the position of the line in the text of the third edition of The Works of Sir Thomas Malory, ed. Eugène Vinaver, 3rd ed. rev. P.J.C. Field, 3 vols. (Oxford: Clarendon, 1990) by page and line. The second column briefly indicates the quality of the lines. The indications are mostly self-explanatory, but an asterisk indicates a line of good quality, and 2/3 indicates that the line contains two rather than three alliterating words. An asterisk in the third column indicates the possibility of scribal interference in manuscripts textually prior to the one used by Malory. An asterisk in the fourth column indicates that Malory is most likely to be responsible for differences in the two texts. The fifth column "Notes" indicates whether the line has already been discussed in Chapter III and whether lines are really likely to be missing.

If a broken line joins an asterisk in the Scribe E column and one in the Malory column then there may have been "corrupting" influences from both a scribe (or scribes) and Malory. If a broken line joins an asterisk in either the Scribe E or the Malory column (or both) and the fifth column, the line may originally have been in the poem, although it has not reached the Thornton manuscript (a "missing" line). If the fifth column mentions Chapter III then the line has been examined in this chapter (the Missing Lines section). Unfortunately some lines have been claimed as both lines missing from T and as Scribe E lines. These lines have been discussed in Chapter III and also appear in Table VII (the Missing Lines Table). If the comment "(in Chapter III)" in the fifth column is in brackets (lines 199.19, 211.11-12, 225.3-4, 231.1-2,

235.4-5, 235.5-6, 238.12-13, 238.13, and 240.3-4) then I think it unlikely that the line is really missing. (Lines marked "in Chapter III" and which are not in brackets are more likely to be missing or to contain elements that are missing from T.) Lines 214.14-15, 227.29-30 and 235.23-24 are marked in this table as missing lines, but they do not appear in Chapter III because they are claimed to be Scribe E lines and have not previously been claimed as missing lines by scholars.

TABLE VIII: SCRIBE E

Page/line	Quality	Scribe E	Malory	Notes
188.11	*	*-----*		
196.7	long	*-----*		
197.15-16	long		*	
197.21	so-so		*	
199.10-11	weak		*	
199.19	*		*	(in Chapter III)
204.17	2/3 allit		*	corrupt
205.2-3	long		*	
205.18-19	long		*	
207.25-27	so-so		*	
210.24-25	2/3 allit		*	
211.6-7	½ line		*	
211.11-12	long 2/3 all		*	(in Chapter III)
214.14-15	2/3 allit		*	-----missing?
214.28	weak	*-----*		
214.31-33	odd allit		*	-----in Chapter III
219.7	diff weak b		*	
224.20-21	*		*	-----in Chapter iii
225.3-4	rev b		*	(in Chapter iii)
225.9-11	long		*	
226.20	*	*-----*		
227.29-30	weak			missing
230.5-6	weak b	*-----*	*	-----in Chapter III
230.6-7	long b		*	-----Missing/corrupt
230.7-8	weak		*	
231.1-2	weak		*	(in Chapter III)
231.3-4	*		*	-----in Chapter III
235.4-5	*			(in Chapter III)
235.5-6	*		*	(in Chapter III)
235.6-7	*		*	-----in Chapter III
235.21-22	weak		*	
235.23-24	?	*-----*	*	-----lacuna in story?
235.27-28	*		*	
238.11-12	weak		*	
238.12-13	*		*	(in Chapter III)
238.13	prosy		*	(in Chapter III)
238.14	*		*	
240.3-4	long		*	(in Chapter III)
242.26	*		*	
245.2-3	rev b		*	

Total possible Scribe E lines: six.

## CONCLUSIONS TO THE SCRIBE E SECTION

Mary Hamel's claims for Scribe E are made with some reservations and these results certainly appear to justify her caution. The fifteen lines she claims are only a tiny proportion of Malory's alliterative and semi-alliterative lines (over 200 in all). Of the fifteen, only six appear to suggest the existence of an editing scribe such as Hamel postulates. As these lines are so few in number, they could very well be the product of chance. Hamel appears to assume that Malory would produce either pure prose, or lines that were metrically and alliteratively perfect. This, as has been said in the previous section, is a very arbitrary assumption. As Malory was apparently torn between a desire to render the Morte Arthure as prose on the one hand, and being taken over by the addictive alliteration and rhythm of his source on the other, it is not surprising that he should have written some poetic lines, some prose lines and lines that are half alliterative verse and half prose. It will be noted that the six lines most likely to be Scribe E lines are all connected to broken lines: in other words, my investigation has suggested to me that Malory is likely to have made a considerable contribution to the style of every one of them. Even if they were wholly due to some scribal tampering, the totality of the apparent evidence would not suggest any very extensive changes.

Hamel's claim that Malory's Roman War story contains words which were not normally part of Malory's working vocabulary can be considered as a potentially distinct argument. Examples of apparent deliberate scribal alteration can certainly be found elsewhere in Malory. For example Sir Grummor Grummorson is turned into two knights twice in "The Tale of Sir Gareth" (343.27, 346.22-4) and again much later in Malory's

book (1149.18-19). Perhaps the same mistake was made three times, or the first mistake was discovered to be an error and duplicated for the sake of consistency.<sup>60</sup> Line 1001.11 appears to contain an example of a scribe substituting a nobler word for felawe.<sup>61</sup> Similarly in the Roman War Story, there is evidence to support Hamel's contention about scribal interference in the Roman War story in some cases. Examples of possible scribal words from the Roman War story are recoverde in 188.11, sadde hunderthes in 196.7, fruyshed forth (214.31) and bayte (235.24). Others of the claimed Scribe E lines, however, are apparently in the style of the MA-poet (for example 214.14-15, 224.20-21, and 231.3-4). Some scribal changes would of course not be readily discernible if the postulated editing scribe had a similar vocabulary to the MA poet or to Malory.

It has long been known that Malory made changes to details of the Roman War story for his own purposes, including building up the roles of chosen knights at the expense of others and changing details in order to extend Arthur's reign. Terence McCarthy believes that Malory made dramatic alterations to his source poem,<sup>62</sup> increasing the poetic effect, writing some additional alliterative lines by accident,<sup>63</sup> rewriting the poem rather than writing prose,<sup>64</sup> altering difficult words,<sup>65</sup> and using words with similar sounds.<sup>66</sup> Many of the traits mentioned in this paragraph have been noted in my earlier section "Malory's Alliterative Lines." McCarthy also believes that Malory is the "corrupter" of supposedly corrupt lines.<sup>67</sup> If Malory closely followed a different source text (which he doubts) then the discrepancies between M and T can only be accounted for by Malory's source manuscript's being a radically different text to T's.<sup>68</sup> He concludes that most of the differences between M and T are likely to be due to Malory's revisions and additions. He

therefore denies O'Loughlin's claim that T is corrupt.<sup>69</sup>

McCarthy also makes the tentative (and somewhat unlikely) claim that Malory may have been working from memory without having the text in front of him.<sup>70</sup> Malory may, of course, not always have had the text of MA open in front of him at the appropriate point, but he is hardly likely to have memorised enough of the poem to have reproduced the number of words from it that appear at the corresponding points in his own story. It is abundantly clear from his treatment of his other sources that Malory was the kind of author who was not averse to freely paraphrasing and adapting his source (as can be seen from the notes to Vinaver's commentary passim).

Malory's changes of this sort suggest that he might well have made other more minor changes of wording as well (for example the additional reference to knyghtes at 197.15-16). Other differences can be accounted for by Malory's tendency to take key-words from a source and use them to create a new line. The alliteration can be changed in the process (for example as in lines 197.21 and 211.11-12). We also find instances of well-established factors such as Malory's wordplay in using words with the same sound but different meanings, as in strekyn (196.7). Some of the changes Malory is likely to have made include the use of surprising words. The process of substitution that put kyngdomes at line 197.15-16, for example, in the text is typical of Malory although the word itself is not. Some of these atypical Malorian words could also have been the result of textual corruption, as in the case of recoverde in line 188.11.

For me the weightiest evidence against Hamel's Scribe E is that it is part of her postulate that Scribe E was bent on improving the alliteration,



whereas some of the lines she attributes to him, such as 197.15-16, 204.17 and 214.28, remain alliteratively suspect (although Malory may be partially responsible for this).

All in all, the existence of Scribe E does not appear to have been proven by the evidence we have considered. The whole case for an editing scribe may have underestimated the flexibility of the MA-poet (and of alliterative revival poetry generally) and Malory's word-play and inventiveness.

## PART II

CHAPTER V: THE SOURCES OF THE ALLITERATIVE  
MORTE ARTHURE

ARTHUR'S CONQUESTS

"Orgayle and Orkenay | and all this owte iles,  
Irelande vttirly | as Occyane rynnys,  
Scathyll Scottlande by skyl | he skyftys as hym  
lykys,  
And Wales of were | he wane at hys will,  
Bathe Flaundrez and Fraunce | fre til hym seluyn,  
HOLAUND and Henawde | they helde of hym bothen,  
Burgoyne and Brabane | and Bretayn the lesse,  
Gyan and Gothelande | and Grece the ryche,  
Bayon and Burdeux | he beldytt full faire,  
Turoyn and Tholus | with toures full hye,  
Off Peyters and of Prouynce | he was prynce holdyn,  
Of Valence and Vyenne | off value so noble,  
Of [Ou]lernge and Anjou, | thos erledoms ryche,  
By conqueste full cruell | þey knewe hym fore lorde,  
Of Nauerne and Norwaye | and Normaundye eke,  
Of Almayne, of Estriche | and oþer ynowe,  
Danmarke he dryssede all | by drede of hym seluyn,  
Fra Swynn vnto Swetheryke | with his swerde kene--"  
(30-47).

Hamel believes that more than half of these place-names come from the poem's chronicle sources, particularly from Wace, while Germany and Austria may be intended to establish a parallel to the conquests of Charlemagne.<sup>1</sup> The lines apparently based on chronicle sources are listed and then briefly discussed in the Arthur's Conquests Table and commentary (below) which chart the countries and regions listed as being conquered by Arthur (list A), rulers from these regions attending Arthur's plenary court at Caerleon (B), and the list of Arthur's loyal supporters against the horrible heathen hordes of Lucius (C).

## A). ARTHUR'S CONQUESTS AND EARLY ALLIES

In this table G represents Geoffrey, W = Wace, L = La<sub>3</sub>amon, M = Mannyng, R = Robert of Gloucester and B = the Prose Brut.

Orkney:	G	W	L	M	R	
Ireland:	G	W	L	M	R	<u>B</u>
Scotland:	G	W	L	M	R	<u>B</u>
Wales:				M		
Flanders/Flemings:		W	L	M		<u>B</u>
France:	G	W	L	M	R	
Holaund*		W	L			<u>B</u>
Burgundy:		W	L	M		<u>B</u>
Gyane/Guienne#:		W	--L	-----		(Gascony)
Gothland:	G	W	L	M	R	<u>B</u> .
Touraine:		W	L			<u>B</u> --( <u>Turyn</u> )
Poitiers/Poitou:	G	W	L	M	R	<u>B</u>
Erugia: (Auvergne)		---	W	--L		
Aniane (Anjou)		-----	W	--L	-----	R <u>B</u> --(Aungers?)
Navarre:				M		<u>B</u>
Norway:	G	W	L	M	R	
Normandy:	G	W	L	M	R	<u>B</u>
Denmark:	G	W	L	M	R	
<u>Totals:</u>		09	16	16	13	10 11

\* includes Hoiland, Frisia, and Boulogne. Boulogne and Friesland appear in La<sub>3</sub>amon.

# Wace and La<sub>3</sub>amon have Gascony which may equate with these names.

Argyle, Hainault, Brittany (Hoel is of Arthur's kin), Brabant, Greece, Bayonne, Bourdeux, Toulouse, Provence, Valence, Vienna, Germany, and Austria do not appear in any of the chronicles at this point.

## B). EASTER FEAST GUESTS

Orkney:	G	W	L	M	R	<u>B</u>
Ireland:	G	W	L	M	R	<u>B</u>
Scotland:	G	W	L	M	R	<u>B</u>
Wales	G	W	L	M	R	<u>B</u>
Flanders/Flemings:		W	L	M		
France: (regions)-----	G	W	L	M	R	
Holaund*	G					
Hainault:		W				
Burgundy:		W				
Brabant:		W				
Brittany:	G	W	L	M	R	<u>B</u>
Gyane/Guianne (Gascony)-----	W			M		
Gothland:		W	L	M	R	<u>B</u>
Poitiers/Poitou:	G	W	L	M	R	
Ernge/Ouergne (Auvergne):		W				
Aniane/Anjou:		W	L	M	R	
Navarre (Spain)-----	W			M		
Norway:	G	W		M	R	<u>B</u>
Normandy:	G	W	L	M	R	
Germany:		W		M		
Denmark:	G	W	L	M	R	<u>B</u>
<u>Totals</u>	<u>11</u>	<u>20</u>	<u>12</u>	<u>16</u>	<u>12</u>	<u>08</u>

\* this roughly equates with Hoiland, Frisia, and Boulogne which appear in Wace, La<sub>3</sub>amon and Mannyng. Only Geoffrey's word has been included in this table as his is much the closest match.

Argyle, Greece, Bayonne, Bordeaux, Touraine, Toulouse, Provence, Valence, Vienna and Austria do not appear in any of the chronicles at this point.

## C). ARTHUR'S FORCES

Orkney:	G	W	L	M	R	
Ireland:	G	W	L	M	R	<u>B</u>
Scotland:	G	W	L	M	R	<u>B</u>
Flanders/Flemings (Ruteni)--	G	W	L	M		<u>B</u>
France: (regions),	G	W	L		R	<u>B</u>
Holaund (Boulogne only)-----		W	L			<u>B</u>
Brabant:				M		<u>B</u>
Brittany: (speech)--	G	W	L		R	<u>B</u>
Gyane/Guienne: (Gascony)-----					R	<u>B?</u>
Gothland:	G	W	L	M	R	<u>B</u>
Poitiers/Poitou:	G	W	L	M	R	<u>B</u>
Ernge/Ouergne (Auvergne):		W				
Aniane/Anjou:	G	W	L	M	R	
Navarre: (Spain)-----						<u>B</u>
Norway:	G	W	L	M	R	
Normandy:	G	W	L	M	R	<u>B</u>
Germany:						<u>B</u> --(Brabant)
Denmark:	G	W	L	M	R	<u>B</u>
<u>Totals</u>	<u>12</u>	<u>14</u>	<u>13</u>	<u>11</u>	<u>12</u>	<u>14</u>

Argyle, Wales, Hainault, Burgundy, Greece, Bayonne, Bordeaux, Touraine, Toulouse, Provence, Valence, Vienna and Austria do not appear in the chronicles at this point.

(Geoffrey mentions the Cennomani and the Portivenses). A few kings are mentioned in the Prose Merlin but their realms are not (pp. 643-44).

As the tables show, many of these countries or regions, such as Orkney, Ireland, Scotland, Gothland, Norway, Normandy and Denmark, are listed by the major sources (Geoffrey, Wace, La<sub>3</sub>amon and Mannyng) at all three points. In many instances they are also mentioned by Robert of Gloucester and the Prose Brut

also. Those countries or regions, such as Argyle, Greece, Bayonne, Bordeaux, Toulouse, Valence, Vienna and Austria, do not appear on any of the lists and are likely to be original additions.

Eighteen of these places are named in lists A and C, while twenty-one appear in list B, (with four of these being potentially problematic: Holaund (Hoiland, Boulogne, or Frisia), Gyane, Erugia and Aniane; Banks and Hamel emend the last two to Auvergne and Anjou).

However, these names sometimes appear in list A but not in Wace. Navarre is only named by Mannyng and the Prose Brut and only in list A (although Spain is mentioned by Wace and Mannyng in list B and again by the Prose Brut in list C). Wales only appears in Mannyng in list A, but in several chronicles in list B. Touraine only appears in list A in Wace and La<sub>3</sub>amon (Turyn appears in the Brut). Burgundy appears in Wace, La<sub>3</sub>amon, Mannyng and the Prose Brut in list A, but only in Wace in list B.

Geoffrey may have donated up to nine of the names in list A, Wace up to fourteen (sixteen if Holaund and Gyane are included), La<sub>3</sub>amon up to thirteen (fifteen if Holaund and Gyane are included) and Mannyng up to thirteen. Geoffrey may have donated up to ten of the names in list B (eleven if Holaund is included), Wace up to eighteen (twenty if Holaund and Gyane are included), La<sub>3</sub>amon up to twelve (thirteen if Holaund is included) and Mannyng up to fourteen (sixteen if Holaund and Gyane are included). Geoffrey may have donated up to twelve of the names in list C, Wace, up to thirteen (fourteen if Holaund is included), La<sub>3</sub>amon up to twelve (thirteen if Holaund is included) and Mannyng up to eleven.

Hainault only appears in Wace and only in list B. Ernge is probably derived from Wace's Auvergne (B and C). Germany appears in Wace but also in Mannyng (B).

Brabant appears in Wace in list B and in Mannyng and the Prose Brut in list C. Wales does not appear in list C. Wace contributes most of the regions' names (this is more noticeable in part B), as Hamel notes.

#### OUERNGE AND ANJOU

"Of Ernge and Anyon | thos erledoms ryche" (42).

Banks emended ernge and Anyon to Ouernge and Anjou because these regions are similarly paired in La<sub>3</sub>amon (although with Turuine between them; these are regions conquered by Howele at Arthur's bidding--12006). She believed Ou was lost through haplography and that g and n of "Auvergne" were transposed.<sup>2</sup> Most editors of the poem subsequently read n as u, producing Eruge. Hamel, however, reads it as Ernge. Hamel also has credible theories as to how these errors may have occurred: she broadly agrees with Banks about Ernge, although she points out that ng spellings are frequently found as alternatives to gn in T; and she argues that Anyon is the product of a scribe's misreading j as i and rewriting it as y, and u being misread as n.<sup>3</sup>

Alvergne and Anjo also appear together in Wace (PA 1574) where Arthur sends messengers to his foreign allies. The Prose Brut mentions Anjon and Aungers (ch. lxxviii, p. 80), and Mannyng mentions "Normandye & Angeowe" (12003). Auvergne does not appear in Geoffrey (IX, 19; 466), or in Robert of Gloucester's Chronicle (4102) or the Prose Merlin (in which the kings and dukes are named but their realms are not; p. 427). As Alvergne and Anjo appear together without an intervening proper name in Wace (although Anjo is mentioned first) Wace appears to be the most likely source here. La<sub>3</sub>amon is the second most likely source.



## THE EASTER FEAST

"Qwenn he thes dedes had don, | he doublyd hys  
 knyghtez,  
 Dyuysyde dowcherys and delte | in dyuerse remmes,  
 Mad of his cosyns | kyngys ennoyntede,  
 In kyth there they couaitte | crounes to bere"  
 (48-51).

Hamel believes that these lines are derived from Wace's account of the Paris Easter feast (PA 1605-26), where Arthur distributes lands to his loyal knights.<sup>4</sup>

In all four chronicles when Arthur has subjected all Gaul he holds a court in Paris. Of the major knights Bedevere is given Neustria (Normandy), and Kay receives Anjou. This incident also occurs in the Prose Brut (ch. lxxviii, p. 80) and Robert of Gloucester (3867-69).

It may be significant that Arthur mentions his kinship with Howeldin in La<sub>3</sub>amon (12065) while Wace and Mannyng mention that Borel is Arthur's cousin here (PA 1622; 10994). Cosyns in MA line 50 could, however, have arisen out of alliterative necessity rather than being a borrowed word. These lines could be based on almost any of the chronicles, or perhaps even drawn from memory.

## THE DEER HUNT

"Sweys in to Swaldye | with his snell houndes  
 For to hunt at þe hartes | in thas hye laundes"  
 (57-58).

Geoffrey mentions sudgualensium (or sudWallensium) and Wace's Roman de Brut mentions Sutgales or Sugales in the list of Arthur's guests, as Hamel notes.<sup>5</sup> Geoffrey's, and to a lesser extent Wace's words do sound a little like Swalde (which Hamel identifies as South Wales) so they could be the sources as she believes. However, Geoffrey, Wace (PA 1661) and Mannyng (11039) state that Caerleon is in Glamorgan (although La<sub>3</sub>amon does not); it would presumably have

been general knowledge that Caerleon (or Glamorgan) was in South Wales, so even if there is a specific source for this line Mannyng's casual reference to Glamorgan could have influenced line 57a. There is no reference to South Wales or any part of it in Robert of Gloucester's Chronicle, the Prose Brut or the Prose Merlin.

None of the chronicles mentions that Arthur hunts at this point, but Hamel believes that the hunting theme could have been built up from Wace's "grant plante de venoisons" (PA 1674). However, Mannyng also mentions that the forest is full of deer and venison (11048-49), and Laȝamon states that "þer wes wude and wilde deor, wunder ane monie" (12110). Deer, hounds and hunting are not mentioned in the other possible sources. As Mannyng mentions Glamorgan and deer and venison, he is perhaps the most likely source of these lines.

#### THE SUMMONING

"On the riche reuare | þat rynnys so faire:  
There he myghte semble his sorte | to see whenn hym  
lykyde" (62-63).

Hamel interprets line 63 as meaning "There he might gather his followers (to go) to sea when he wished" believing that Wace's lines

Cil qui d'autre terre venoient  
Par cele eve venir pooient (PA 1669-70)

are the source of this line.<sup>6</sup> However, there is a significant difference of meaning between the two passages, and Geoffrey's reading also needs to be considered. He states that they will be carried over the sea and up the Usk in ships:

Predictum nobile flumen iuxta eam fluebat per quod  
transmarini reges & principes qui uenturi erant  
nauigio aduehi poterant (IX, xii, 452).

At least this account mentions the river and so it could have inspired MA's line 62, but then so could

some of the other chronicles. Laȝamon also relates that Caerleon is by the Usk, which he asserts is the best of rivers (12107). Wace also mentions that Caerleon was by the Usk, which he says is part of the Severn (1667-68). Robert of Gloucester states that Glamorgan is "vpe þe water of usk" (line 3883, p. 273). Mannyng, the Prose Brut and the Prose Merlin do not mention the river Usk or the sea. It seems then that Geoffrey, Wace, Laȝamon, or Robert of Gloucester could have inspired this line, but there is no convincing evidence that any of them did.

Line 63 of MA could mean that Arthur could muster his men at Caerleon whenever he wishes. That takes semble . . . to see literally as "gather . . . to inspect". In Geoffrey he plans to wear his crown and to summon his leading subjects for the Whitsun celebrations and renew peace treaties with them. Wace does state that Arthur's leading subjects could come to him by river, but he does not mention the sea. Laȝamon does not mention Arthur's motive for summoning these men to his feast and the summons takes place over land (12130-35). Mannyng's description of Arthur sending messengers to summon the nobles to his coronation (11079-82) sounds slightly like MA as Hamel understands it. They come to Caerleon by water and land (11074). Robert of Gloucester, the Prose Brut and the Prose Merlin do not mention the sea at this point. I can find nothing in any of these texts to suggest that Arthur summoned people to Caerleon so that they could go to sea again.

Laȝamon's description of Arthur's return from his expedition against Froll is more reminiscent of MA's line:

Arður nom his folc feire and to þere sae uerde,  
and lette bonien his scipen, wel mid þan bezsten,  
and ferde to þissen londe and up com at Londen  
(12077-79).

## GUESTS

"Wyth dukez and dusperes | of diuers rewmes,  
 Erles and ercheuesques | and oþer ynowe,  
 Byschopes and bachelers | and banerettes nobill  
 þat bowes to his banere, | byske when hym lykys"  
 (66-69).

Geoffrey includes a huge list of guests including kings, dukes, earls and archbishops who appear in MA, but he does not mention the twelve peers (IX, xii, 453-55). Hamel believes that Wace is the source here and she cites part of Wace's lines 1698-1702 (PA edition):

Toz ses barons i fist venir:  
 (Manda ses) rois, (manda ses) contes,  
 (Manda ses) dus, (et ses) viscontes,  
 (Manda) barons, (manda) chasez,  
 (Manda) evesques et abez.

She feels that the MA-poet may have borrowed doze pers from Wace's account of the coronation feast:

Et de Chartres li cuens Gerin;  
 Cil amena par grant nobloi  
 Les doze pers de France o soi (PA 1768-70).

Ercheuesques from Wace (PA 1746) is claimed to be another borrowing (it actually appears as arcevesques).<sup>7</sup> Krishna also appears to take the word as support for Matthews' theory that MA was based on an Old French work.<sup>8</sup>

La<sub>3</sub>amon says:

þe king nom his sonde and sende 3eond his londe;  
 hæhte cumen eorles, hehte cumen beornes,  
 hehte cumen kinges and aec here-ðringes,  
 hehte cumen biscopes, hehte cumen cnihtes,  
 hæhte alle þa freomen þa euere weoren an londe,  
 bi heore life hehte heom beon a Whitesunedaei at  
 Kaerleon (12130-35.)

La<sub>3</sub>amon also mentions twelve knights at a later point, but it seems doubtful whether this is the source of MA's dusperes:

Hal seo þu, Arður king, Bruttene deorling,  
 and hal seo þi du<sub>3</sub>eþe and al þi drihtliche uolc.  
 We sunden twaelf cnihtes icumen her forðrihtes;  
 riche and wel idone we sundeð of Rome (12356-59).

Mannyng contains the lines

Messegers he dide sende  
ffor kynges & ducs, fer & hende,  
And for erles and barouns,  
Knyghtes of castels, lordes of touns  
(11079-82).

Mannyng also mentions three "Erchebischofes" at line 11085. He also mentions the "dusze pers" among those summoned to the feast at Caerleon (11142). Robert of Gloucester's Chronicle also mentions kings, erchebissopes, earls, barons and knights. The dosse pers are mentioned in line 3909. Bachelors appear in MA's line 68 and Robert also mentions that knights prove their bachelerye in line 3963. The Prose Brut mentions kings, earls and barons (pp. 80-81). The Prose Merlin is very different--Merlin tells Arthur the messengers are there (p. 424). It is not apparent that any of these chronicles are sources, but Mannyng seems at least as likely to be a source as Wace.

#### THE SENATOR

"So come in sodanly | a senatour of Rome  
Wyth sexten knyghtes in a soyte | sewande hym one"  
(80-81).

The chronicles usually describe twelve distinguished elderly men who bear olive branches and a letter from Lucius rather than MA's sixteen knights.

Geoffrey says:

Dum hec inter eos distriburet arturus. ecce  
duodecim uiri mature etatis. reuerendi uultus  
ramos oliue in signum legationis dextris ferentes.  
moderatis passibus ingrediuntur (IX, xv, p. 459).

Wace says:

Ez vos doze homes blans, chenuz,  
Bien afublez et bien vestuz;  
Dui et dui an la sale vindrent  
Et dui et dui as mains se tindrent;  
Doze estoient et doze rains  
D'olive tindrent an lor mains (PA 2075-80).

In La<sub>3</sub>amon's Brut:

þer comen into halle spelles seolcuðe.  
þer comen twalf þeines ohte mid palle biþehte,  
hae<sub>3</sub>e here-kempen, heh<sub>3</sub>e men on wepne (12346-48).

Although there are only twelve Romans here, they are more like the warriors that appear in the Morte than the olive-bearing ancients of Geoffrey and Wace (and Robert of Gloucester). In La<sub>3</sub>amon at an earlier point, sixteen Icelandic knights greet Arthur (11216) and this may have suggested the "sexten knyghtes in a soyte." Mannyng mentions twelve messengers who bear olive branches and enter in pairs, one bearing a letter. In the Chronicle of Robert of Gloucester twelve old, olive-bearing men deliver the letter "Fram þe senatour of Rome" (3988, p. 279). The chronicles rarely mention senators, although Robert of Gloucester's Senator Lucius (rather than Emperor Lucius) could have suggested that the leading ambassador was a senator. Pairs of richly dressed princes appear in the Prose Merlin with a letter (ch. xxxii, p. 424). The Prose Brut mentions "xij elderne men of age, rychely arraiede" (ch. lxxx, p. 81). Of all these texts, La<sub>3</sub>amon seems most likely to have suggested the knights to the MA-poet.

The Roman embassy does have a spokesman in the Vulgate Merlin as it does in MA. The Prose Merlin states "si parla li uns qui maistres estoit dels" (ch. xxxii, p. 424.37). There is, of course, also a maister of hem alle in the English equivalent, the Prose Merlin (ch. xxxii, p. 639). Hamel claims that the Merlin is the only source where there is a clear spokesman.<sup>9</sup> The ambassadors also, however, have a spokesman in Wace (PA 2085-89). Any of these could have suggested the spokesman who appears in MA and the speech that he delivers.

## SALUTATION

"He salu<sub>3</sub>ed the souerayne | and the sale aftyr,  
 Ilke a kyng aftyre kyng, | and mad his enclines"  
 (82-83).

In MA the leading senator salutes and bows to Arthur and his knights. Hamel claims that in the poem his greeting is more polite than in the chronicles although the message he delivers is "more insulting as Arthur is addressed 'as sugett'--that is, as a rebellious vassal."<sup>10</sup> This insult occurs in line 87 of Morte Arthure.

The Romans do, however, salute Arthur in Geoffrey, Wace and the Prose Brut (they "curteisly saluede þe kyng"; p. 81). But there is expressly said to be no salutation in the Prose Merlin (ch. xxxii, p. 424), and Robert of Gloucester and La<sub>3</sub>amon do not record the senator's gestures and behaviour either. In La<sub>3</sub>amon, however, the leading Roman knight uses courtly speech and wishes Arthur and his followers good health (12355-57). In Mannyng they greet Arthur "Wyþ softe pas & [fulle] seine" (11447). Geoffrey, Wace or the Prose Brut could have inspired the salutation.

Lucius's message is offensive in most of the chronicles, beginning with Geoffrey's Historia. Geoffrey says

Lucius rei publice procurator arturo regi  
 britannie: que meruit. Admirans uehementer super  
 tue tirannidis proteruia (IX, xv, 459-60).

Geoffrey and Wace imply that Arthur is a vassal, as the truage that Arthur owes is mentioned in the letter (PA 2114, 2129). In La<sub>3</sub>amon the knight states that Lucius ordered him to greet Arthur with "mid his grim worden" (12363) and Arthur is intended to acknowledge Lucius as his lord. In Mannyng the truage is said to have been paid for 400 years. Arthur is again implied rather than stated to be a vassal. In Robert of Gloucester's Chronicle Arthur is accused of not rendering "seruage"

(3996). The speech accuses Arthur of "cruel lufperhede, robberye," and "vnri<sub>3</sub>t gret dedyn" (lines 3992 ff.). The Prose Brut mentions Caesar's conquests and the resulting tribute, accuses him of folly and misdeeds and threatens to destroy him and his land (ch. lxxx, pp. 81-82). The Prose Merlin mentions that Lucius claims "le pooir de la signorie sor tot le monde" and that Arthur has withheld "le seruice & le treu de romme" (ch. xxxii, p. 425). As we have seen, the idea that Arthur is Lucius's subject is implicit in most of the works in the chronicle tradition. That apart, the source cannot be pinned down with certainty. The Prose Brut, however, appears unlikely to be the source.

#### LUCIUS

"Sir Lucius Iberius, | the Emperour of Rome,  
Saluz the as sugett | vndyre his sele ryche" (86-87).

Geoffrey of Monmouth probably invented the name of Lucius (H)iberius and identifies him as "rei publice procurator" (IX, iv; 459) although he does later identify him as being the Roman emperor.<sup>11</sup> Hamel believes that in describing him as emperor in the first line of the message (but not before) MA is probably following the Vulgate Merlin's line "Iou Lucus empereres de Romme & qui ai la poeste" (the Prose Merlin, ch. xxxii, p. 425). Lucius is mentioned by Geoffrey's authorial voice, but not by the Romans before the letter is read. Wace resembles MA in that Lucius's letter reveals his title immediately, as Hamel notes, but the senators state who has sent them in advance of the reading of the letter (PA 2089).<sup>12</sup> Wace and the Merlin differ from MA, in giving the Emperor's name as Lucius rather than Lucius Iberius.

In Mannyng the messengers name the author of the letter as "þe emperour Lucius Iber" (11452), which resembles the name given by Geoffrey and is a closer



match with MA than any of the other post-Geoffrey chronicles in this respect, although it differs from MA in that Lucius is named before the letter is read and the letter does not refer to him as emperor at first ("Lucius, þat Rome had in baillie, & ouer þe Romains haþ maistrie"--11459-60).

Laȝamon's Brut resembles MA in that it does not mention a letter and as Lucius is called an emperor from the beginning, and it may have influenced the MA-poet in this respect, but it differs in calling him Lucius rather than Lucius Iberius (12360-61).

In Robert of Gloucester's Chronicle Lucius is said to be a senator rather than the emperor. The Prose Brut does not name Lucius or state his rank in the letter, although the messengers state that they come "fram þe Emperour" (ch. lxxx, p. 81). Robert of Gloucester's Chronicle and the Prose Brut are therefore unlikely to be sources, but the Vulgate Merlin, the Prose Merlin, and Wace, Laȝamon and Mannyng could be, and the other chronicles do state that Lucius is the emperor, even if they do not do so in the first line of the letter (or message). As MA is not closely based on any source, this may have been a strong enough suggestion to have produced these lines.

#### THE LION

"The kyng blyschit on the beryn | with his brode eghn,  
þat full brymly for breth | brynte as the gledys;  
Keste colours as kyng | with crouell lates,  
Luked as a lyon | and on his lyppe bytes" (116-19).

In some of the chronicles the Romans are threatened, but the threat comes from Arthur's knights rather than his withering glance. The Romans are threatened in Wace (PA 2163-70), Laȝamon (12392-401), Mannyng (11533-39), the Prose Brut (ch. lxxxii, p. 82), and the Prose Merlin (ch. xxxii, p. 425). There is no

such reference in Geoffrey or Robert of Gloucester's Chronicle.

#### ARTHUR BITES HIS LIP

"Luked as a lyon | and on his lyppe bytes" (119).

Hamel is probably correct to believe that this line was influenced by La<sub>3</sub>amon's line 12400 "3if Ar<sup>̄</sup>thur ne leope to swulc hit a liun weore" where Arthur is calming his knights rather than threatening the Romans.<sup>13</sup> This incident does not occur in Geoffrey's Historia where Arthur does not respond until the council meets in the tower. Arthur's expression is not recorded in Wace, La<sub>3</sub>amon, Mannyng or the Prose Merlin. In Robert of Gloucester's Chronicle, Arthur tells his men to treat the Romans well. In the Prose Brut Arthur commands that they should suffer no harm and that they be well treated (ch. lxxxii, p. 82).

Wace does, however, make an earlier reference to a lion in the letter sent by Lucius to Arthur. In this letter Lucius says

Que li lyons fuit por l'ooille  
Et que li lous fuit por la chievre  
Et li levriers fuit por le lievre (PA 2122-24).

Wace again compares Arthur to a lion:

Come lyons que fains destraint  
Ocit quel beste qu'il ataint,  
Tot ausimant li bons rois fet (4333-35).

Lions are also mentioned by Mannyng, where they are amongst the gifts Arthur gives to the storytellers before the Romans arrive. In the Prose Merlin Lucius's letter contains further animal imagery:

Saces que se tu le fais longement que li leus  
fuira por loeille & li lions por la chieure & li  
lieures cachera le leurier car nient plus nas tu  
de poisance enuers nos que loeille a enuers le leu  
car tu es ausi sougis enuers nos comme le oeille  
est au pastor (ch. xxxii, p. 425).

La<sub>3</sub>amon seems to be the most likely source, although Wace may also have been an influence on the MA-poet.

## MERCY

"Kynge coroune of kynd, | curtays and noble,  
 Misdoo no messangere, | for menske of þi seluyn,  
 Sen we are in thy manrede | and mercy þe besekeþ;  
 We lenge with sir Lucius | that lorde es of Rome,  
 That es þe merueyouseste man | þat on molde lengez.  
 It es lefull till vs | his likynge till wyrche"  
 (125-31).

Hamel interprets MA's phrase "in thy manrede" as meaning "in the midst of thy vassals." The Roman knight's speech in MA has no immediately obvious counterpart in the chronicles, although Hamel claims that its main source is Arthur's speech in Wace.<sup>14</sup> In these lines Arthur defends the ambassadors on the grounds that they are speaking their lord's words:

Qui lor cria: "Teisiez, teisiez!  
 N'i avront mal, messagier sont,  
 Seignor ont, son message font;  
 Dire pueent quanqu'il voldront;  
 Ja par home mal n'i avront"  
 (PA 2172-76).

La3amon's account is similar to Wace's and is perhaps closer to MA's line 128, as it also mentions that Lucius is lord and names Rome:

Bilaeuēð, bilaueð swiðe þas cnihtes on liue!  
 Ne sceollen heo on mine hirede nenne harm þolien;  
 heo beoð hider iriden ut of Rom-leoden  
 swa heore lauerd heom hehte, Luces is ihaten.  
 AElc mon mot liðen þer his lauerd hine hateð gan;  
 nah na man demen erendes-mon to daeðen  
 bute he weoren swa ufele biwiten þet he weore  
 lauerd-swike (12402-08).

Hamel further believes that the appeal to Arthur for protection may have been influenced by La3amon's line 12403.<sup>15</sup> In La3amon the leading knight also praises Arthur in his speech, and this is more in keeping with his first words to Arthur than to anything in Wace. Mannyng's version of Arthur's reply is fairly similar to La3amon's, and Mannyng also mentions lord and Rome:

'Bretouns!' he saide, 'holdeþ þow stille!  
 þe messegers schul haue non ylle!  
 Ne neyþer ill haue ne here,  
 But come & go in faire manere;

Messegers of Rome þey are,  
 In pes þey come, so schul þey fare;  
 Þer message þat þei haue seyð,  
 A lord þey haue, on þem hit leyð.'  
 (11541-48.)

In the brief account in the Prose Brut Arthur commands "þat þe messagers shulde haue none harme, and mow by resoun none deserue" (ch. lxxxii, p. 82). The Prose Merlin says:

biaus signeur laisies les il sont messagier, & i sont enuoie de par lor signor . si doiuent faire & dire tot ce que on lor a encargie ne il ne doiuent auoir doutance de nului (ch. xxxii, p. 425).

This incident does not occur in Geoffrey or Robert of Gloucester's Chronicle. The most likely chronicle sources appear to be La<sub>3</sub>amon, followed by Mannyng, with Wace bringing up the rear.

#### SIR KAY

"There was a cheeffe buttlere, | a cheualere noble,  
 Sir Cayous þe curtaise | þat of þe cowpe seruede"  
 (208-09).

Bedeuere is usually Arthur's butler in the chronicles, as Hamel notes, citing:

Li seneschaus, Keus avoit non . . .  
 Au mangier a servi le roi . . .  
 Beduer, de l'autre partie,  
 Servi de la botellerie"  
 (PA 1917, 1919, 1925-26).<sup>16</sup>

According to Geoffrey, Wace, La<sub>3</sub>amon, and Mannyng Kay is in charge of serving the food (but not the wine) during the feast at Caerleon. Cayus is praised in La<sub>3</sub>amon as "haexte cniht on londe vnder an kinge" (12270). According to La<sub>3</sub>amon Bedeuere has a golden bowl and is the king's chief cupbearer ("hae<sub>3</sub>e birle"--12278). La<sub>3</sub>amon's account is similar in making Kay the chief of what he does as in MA. In Mannyng (as in Wace) Kay is not praised here, although he is chosen to serve. He "serued of þe botelerye" (line 11314) and he bears "þe kynges coupe" (11319). He also serves

(serue) "byforn þe kyng in halle" (11306). Robert of Gloucester states that "bedwer is boteler" and "kay is paneter" (3867-68). The Prose Brut and the Prose Merlin do not go into this kind of detail. Laȝamon or Mannyng may have influenced these lines but it cannot be proved.

#### OWGHTRETH

"Sir Owghtreth on þe toþer syde, | of Turry was lorde"  
(234).

Owghtreth seems likely to be "an unusual form of Ughtred" as Banks claimed, adding that it may be "a doublet of Wychere, Whycher, Wecharde, the reading of Guitard in this poem."<sup>17</sup> Hamel also believes that this spelling "may be based on Mannyng's 'Vtred' (lines 13227ff.), reminding the author of the important local family the Ughtreds, and ultimately deriving from Wace's 'Guitard de [Pei]tiers. Guitard also appears in Geoffrey (as guitardus pictauiensis--IX, xii, p. 455) and Laȝamon (12008 etc.). Robert of Gloucester calls him "Gwider of peyto" (line 3908). There is no such reference in the Prose Brut or the Prose Merlin. None of the other sources appear to offer a convincing source for this name. Mannyng therefore appears to be the most likely source.

## THE COUNCIL

Hamel believes that up to six sources may have been used simultaneously to produce MA's council scene.<sup>18</sup>

## THE GIANTS' TOWER

"To þe Geauntes Toure | jolily he wendes" (245).

The tower appears in Geoffrey as the "turrim giganteam" (Griscom, IX, xv, p. 461), in Wace as "Tor Gigantine" (PA 2182), in Mannyng as "þe Tour Geant" (11556) as Hamel notes.<sup>19</sup> The tower is not mentioned in La<sub>3</sub>amon, Robert of Gloucester, the Prose Brut or the Prose Merlin.

## CADOR THANKS GOD

"I thanke Gode of þat thraa | þat vs þus thretys!" (249).

In La<sub>3</sub>amon lines 12428-30 Cador says:

Ich þonkie mine Drihte þat scop þes daeies lihte  
þisses daeies ibiden þa to hirede is ibo<sub>3</sub>en  
and þissere tidinge þe icumen is to ure kinge.

Hamel believes that this line of MA may be based on La<sub>3</sub>amon's words.<sup>20</sup> Cador does not thank God in the Historia although He is given the credit for the Romans' resentment. In Geoffrey's words: "famamque milicie qua ceteris gentibus clariores censentur. in eis omnino deleret" (IX, xv, p. 461). Geoffrey and most of the chronicles have Cador mention God or the Virgin Mary in his speech (once or twice; see also the section on line 257 below).

Wace has Cador say "Mes Damedeus, soe merci . . ." (PA 2206). In Mannyng he says "þanked be God & oure lady, / Now ar we wakned a party" (11581-82). This is more likely to have influenced MA line 257 (below). Robert of Gloucester has Cador say "& þer wiþ nis no<sub>3</sub>t god ypaid. þeruore he aþ ibro<sub>3</sub>t / þe romeins in such wille . þat we nere to ydel no<sub>3</sub>t" (lines 4027-28).

Cador also thanks God in the Prose Merlin: "mais merci dieu ore nos ont esueille li rommain qui uient calengier nos terres et nos pais" (ch. xxxii, p. 425). No such line appears in the Prose Brut.

Krishna notes that MA's version of the council scene is so much enlarged that it bears little relationship to the chronicles.<sup>21</sup> Wace, La<sub>3</sub>amon, or less likely, Mannyng, the Prose Merlin, Robert of Gloucester, or Geoffrey, may have suggested this line.

#### REPUTATION

"We hafe as losels liffyde | many longe daye  
With delyttes in this lande | with lordchipez many  
And forelytenede the loos | þat we are layttede"  
(252-54).

Wace's version of this part of Cador's speech states: "Par lonc sejour et par repos / Poons nos perdre nostre los" (PA 2203-04). Hamel interprets line 254 as "And diminished the honor (or 'worship') that we earlier sought." She believes that these lines of MA are based on Wace's lines.<sup>22</sup> Wace continues

Nos a un petit resveilliez,  
Qui Romains a ancoragiez  
De chalongier nostre païs  
Et les autres qu'avons conquis (2207-10).

This is part of a repudiation of easy living and idleness.

Geoffrey refers to Cador's fear that the reputation of Arthur's knights as the bravest of warriors might be lost (IX, xv; p. 461). La<sub>3</sub>amon and Mannyng make heavy use of the theme of "idleness" in their long rhetorical versions of Cador's speech:

For idelnesse is luðer on aelchere þeode  
for idelnesse makeð mon his monscipe leose,  
ydelnesse makeð cnihte forleosen his irihte,  
idelnesse graeiðeð feole ueele craften,  
idelnesse makeð leosen feole þusend monnen;  
þurh eðeliche dede lute men wel spedeð.  
For 3are we habbeoð stille ileien--ure wurðscipe  
is þa lasse (12432-38).

La<sub>3</sub>amon has Cador speak of the loss of manhood and rights here; while in Mannyng Cador is concerned about the loss of honour:

Often in studie haue y ben,  
 And in gret drede ay bytwen,  
 þat þorow idelnesse of pes  
 Are Bretons feble & herteles;  
 ffor Idelnesse norischeþ but iuel;  
 Temptacion of flesche & of þe deuel;  
 Idelnesse makeþ man ful slow,  
 & doþ prowesse falle right low;  
 Idelnesse norischeþ lecherye,  
 & doþ vs tente to such folye;  
 Idelnesse & long rest,  
 3ougþe in wast away wil kest,  
 & doþ men tente to folye fables,  
 Tyl hasardrie, des, & tables.  
 We haue now al þis fyue 3er  
 Lyued in lechours mester,  
 & þorow rest & such soiour  
 Haue we lorn gret honour.  
 A long while þen haue we slept,  
 þat noman wakyng vs kept  
 (11561-80).

If La<sub>3</sub>amon or Mannyng had influenced these lines then one could reasonably expect the word "idleness" to appear in MA here.

Robert of Gloucester has Cador say that he is concerned:

Leste þat ydel lif . þat þine men abbeþ ylad  
 Nou moni day out of los . & in sleuþe hom bro3te  
 Vor wanne man beþ al ydel . þat þer batailes so3te  
 Hor ydelnesse hom ssal bringe . to sunne of  
 lecherye (4020-23) . . .  
 Ac þat we come to vr stat a3en . of vre verste  
 prowesse (4029).

In the Prose Merlin he says "quil auoient grant piece del tans vse en parece & en els deduire" (ch. xxxii, p. 425). There is no such reference in the Prose Brut. Cador is concerned about the loss of honour or worship in Geoffrey, Wace, La<sub>3</sub>amon and Mannyng and Robert of Gloucester. No particular source suggests itself from this evidence, although the similar words los and loos ("honour") occur in Wace and MA, while Mannyng seems to



express the idea of the loss of honour more clearly than the others.

#### DISUSE

"For gret dule of deffuse | of dedez of armez" (256).

Hamel emends T's deffuse ("prohibition") to dessuse ("lack of habitual or customary exercise"). She believes that the former word is due to a scribal error, as the chronicles usually imply the lack of use of weapons. Geoffrey's Historia says "usus armorum videtur abesse" (IX, xvi; p. 461). Hamel believes that this "provides the verbal clue."<sup>23</sup> Wace, Laȝamon, Mannyng, and the Prose Brut do not mention the neglect of the use of weaponry. Robert of Gloucester's Chronicle includes the lines: "Vor wanne men beþ al ydel . þat er batailes soȝte / Hor ydelnesse hom ssal bringe . to sunne of lecherye . . ." (4022-23). These are broadly similar sentiments, but not close enough to be a likely source. In the Prose Merlin, however, Gawain refers to "les proeces darmes que il font" (ch. xxxii, p. 425). After Geoffrey's line this appears to be the closest of the other possible sources to T's line.

#### CADOR GIVES THANKS

"Now wakkenyse þe were, | wyrchipide be Cryste!" (257).

In some of the chronicles Cadour mentions the Britons awakening from sleep and gives thanks to God (in Laȝamon as in MA for the second time) for their awakening. In Wace Cadour says "Par lonc sejour et par repos / Poons nos perdre nostre los" (PA 2203-04). He thanks God only once but his thanks are both for the threat and its consequence--the awakening. Mannyng has him say: "A long while þen haue we slept . . . / But, þanked be God & oure lady, / Now are we wakned a party" (11579-82). Hamel believes T's line to be "an echo of

both Wace and Mannyng."<sup>24</sup>

Geoffrey has Cadour say that God has made the Romans resentful in order to restore the Britons' courage. In La<sub>3</sub>amon he reiterates his earlier sentiments thanking God who created the daylight, and adds that he is grateful that the Romans are so fierce and that their ferocity will turn into sorrow. The sentiments expressed in this line of MA are more in tune with his earlier remarks in La<sub>3</sub>amon where he said:

Ich þonkie mine Drihte þat scop þes daeies lihte  
 Þisses daeies ibiden þa to hirede is ibo<sub>3</sub>en  
 and þissere tidinge þe icumen is to ure kinge,  
 þat we ne þuruen na mare aswunden liggen here  
 (12428-31) and

"For <sub>3</sub>are we habbeoð stille ileien--ure worðscipe is þa lasse" (12438).

In Robert of Gloucester's Chronicle Cadour gives thanks to God for bringing the Romans in order to stop idleness but he does not mention the awakening (although it is implied). He states "& þer wiþ nis no<sub>3</sub>t god ypaid . þeruo<sub>3</sub>e he aþ ibro<sub>3</sub>t . / þe romeins in such wille . at we nere to ydel no<sub>3</sub>t" (4027-28). The Prose Merlin mentions being "esueille" by the Romans (ch. xxxii, p. 425). Cadour does not give thanks to God in the Prose Brut. Mannyng appears to be the most obvious source for the awakening, but it may be significant that Cadour gives thanks twice in both La<sub>3</sub>amon and MA.

#### MARVELLOUS CADOR

"Bot þou arte a meruailous man | with thi mery wordez"  
 (260).

In Mannyng, Gawain rather than Arthur makes the similar statement: "Merueillike, Cadour, þou seys!" (line 11594). Hamel believes that MA's line 260 may be based on Mannyng's line.<sup>25</sup> La<sub>3</sub>amon only has Gawain say "Cadour, þu aert a riche (mighty) mon!" (12454a). As Gawain gets angry with Cadour, La<sub>3</sub>amon is unlikely to be

a major influence here.

Hamel does not seem to have noticed that in Geoffrey and Wace the authorial voice (although not Arthur) describes Cadur as a merry man ("Qant Cadur dist an sozriant"--PA 2187) before his speech, which may have influenced MA's b-line. Arthur does not comment on Cadur's character in the Historia or in Wace. Geoffrey says "Cadur dux cornubie ut erat leti animi. in hunc sermonem cum risu coram rege solutus est" (IX, vi, p. 461). In Wace he speaks "gaily" and the lords jest among themselves as they climb the tower "A ces paroles que cil distrent / An la tor vindrent si s'asistrent" (PA 2225-26). In Wace and Mannyng Gawain answers Cadur and comments on the benefits of peace. In Robert of Gloucester's Chronicle Arthur is "al in gladnesse" after the speech (4032, p. 282). No such remark occurs in the Prose Brut or the Prose Merlin. MA's line 260a may well be based on Mannyng and 260b owe a debt to Geoffrey or Wace.

#### TRIBUTE

"He askyde me tyrauntly | tribute of Rome,  
That tenefully tynt was | in tym of myn elders,  
There alyenes in absence | of all men of armes  
Couerde it of comouns, | as cronicles telles.  
I haue title to take | tribute of Rome" (271-75).

According to Geoffrey Arthur's ancestors were only defeated because they were disunited and weakened by internal strife (IX, xvi, p. 462). Arthur claims the right to extract tribute from Rome on the grounds that Rome was conquered by his ancestors. In Wace Arthur claims that the Britons did not know how to defend themselves against Rome (PA 2279). Arthur again mentions the British conquerors of Rome and claims the right to take tribute (PA 2307ff.). La<sub>3</sub>amon mentions the Britons' inability to defend themselves, Arthur's ancestors--"ure cun" (12495), and the right to take

tribute "And þus we mid rihte ahten Rome us biriden" (12506). In Mannyng Arthur's ancestors were overcome "wyþ harde stours" (11666), "trewage" and "our fadres" are also mentioned, as is Arthur's right to aske "euery del" of Rome (11663-82). In Robert of Gloucester's Chronicle Arthur also claims that it was possible for the Romans to defeat the Britons and extract tribute because of "descord & contek · þat bituene vr eldorne was þo" (4039). In the Prose Brut he claims "and at Rome hastely y shal be, nouȝt to ȝow truage, but forto axen truage" (ch. lxxxi, p. 82.25-26). Arthur's arguments are summed up in the Prose Merlin: he says

Il nous ont reprove les hontes & les damages quil nous ont fais & a nos anchisors . vante se sont kil les uenkirent & quil lor rendirent treu & de tant les deuons nous plus hair . si irons calengier romme . . . (ch. xxxii, p. 426).

Civil dissensions are the excuse for the Roman conquest in Geoffrey and Robert of Gloucester, while elsewhere the Britons are unable to defend themselves, but there is no real parallel to MA's line. Arthur's right is also referred to in Geoffrey, Wace, Laȝamon, Mannyng, Robert and the Prose Merlin. It is not possible to identify a single source here as all the possible sources are telling broadly the same tale. MA's phrase "in absence of all men of armes" (274) seems to be the most interesting element. It is certainly the best possible excuse for being conquered.

#### BRENNE

"Belyne and Bremyn and | Bawdewyne the thynde" (277).

Geoffrey names the first of these legendary rulers "Belinus," Wace calls him "Belins," Laȝamon calls him "Beline" (12500) or "Belin" (12507, 12552), Mannyng calls him "Belyn," while Robert of Gloucester has Arthur mention "bely þe noble king" (4048). In the Prose Merlin Arthur calls him "Belins" (ch. xxxii, p.

426 footnote 2). He does not appear in the Prose Brut. MA's spelling suggests an English source.

The second of these characters appears as "Brennius" in Geoffrey, and as "Brenne" in Wace, La<sub>3</sub>amon ("Brennen" in line 12501) and Mannyng, and as "brannes" in some versions of the Prose Merlin (p. 426, footnote 2). Hamel notes that T's Bremyn is probably an error due to nn̄ becoming nnn, which in turn became min, perhaps also being influenced by the proximity of Belyn.<sup>26</sup> T's Bawdewyne the thirde is, however, original.<sup>27</sup>

#### EMPEROR BELIN

"They occupyede þe Empyre | aughte score wynnttyrs,  
Ilkane ayere aftyre oþer, | as awlde men telles"  
(278-79).

According to Geoffrey Brennus remained in Italy and mistreated its people while Belinus returned to Britain. "Habita ergo uictoria remansit brennius in italia populum inaudita tyrande afficiens" (III, x, 290). Geoffrey's story was followed by the other chroniclers. Wace states that Belin[u]s left Rome to his brother "Quant Belins d'iluec repeira, / Rome a son frere comanda" (PA 2315-16). In Mannyng Arthur claims that Belyn made Brenne "Emperour" when he returned to Britain:

When Belyn turnde to Bretayne,  
Of Rome he made Brenne cheftayne,  
& bad hym gouerne al þe honour,  
& he so regned as Emperour (11691-94).

There is no such reference in Robert of Gloucester or the Prose Brut at this point. In some versions of the Prose Merlin Arthur merely states that "belins qui fut roy des bretons et brannes son frere conquirent Rome" (ch. lxxxii, 426, footnote 2). This certainly suggests that Belyns was not an emperor. Hamel argues at length that the MA-poet had not read the history of Belin and Brenne in the chronicles, as only Brenne in fact became

emperor.<sup>28</sup> However, in *Laȝamon* the two brothers appear to share Rome: "and seoððen heo nomen al þat lond and setten hit an heore aȝere hond" (12505).

It does, however, strain credulity somewhat to imagine that the *MA*-poet took *Laȝamon*'s words as evidence that the brothers were co-emperors and arranged for them to rule alternate years, thus eliminating the problem of how Britain was governed in their absence. It is perhaps more likely that he misinterpreted the chroniclers who could be understood as saying that they both were the conquerors and therefore co-emperors of Rome although one remained in Britain.

#### THE CROSS

"Seyn Constantyne oure kynsmane | conquerid it aftyre  
þat ayere was of Ynglande | and Emperour of Rome  
He þat conquerid þe crosse | be craftez of armes  
That Criste was on crucifiede, | þat kyng es of Heuen"  
(283-86).

The chronicles make the British Constantine the son of Helena (she is not named in *MA*) and Emperor of Rome.<sup>28</sup> Geoffrey makes Constantine "helene filius" (Griscom, p. 463), and in *Wace* too he is "filz Heleine" (PA 2319), Belin and Brennes are born in Britain and Constantine the son of Helena was descended from Brenne and Belin" (PA 2317-19). *Laȝamon* says

. . . Constantin þan stronge;  
he wes Helene sune, al of Brutten icume;  
he biwon Rome and þa riche awelde (12508-10).

Mannyng also says that Constantine was

Constances sone & Eleyne,  
þat held Rome als his demeynes.  
Constance, of Rome had seynurye fair,  
& Constantyn þen was his heyr (11697-700).

Robert of Gloucester makes "constantin eleyne sone . 3e witeþ wel rome nom" (4049) with Arthur adding "Min auncetres hii were alle þre & kinges of þis londe" (4051). In the Prose *Brut* he says "Constantyne, þat

was Elynus sone, þat was Emperour of Rome" (ch. lxxxii, p. 82) and these are the only verbal parallels, although this may be due to coincidence. The Prose Merlin says that after Belyns and Brenne "ceulx constantins qui fut Roy et sire des bretons fu sire de Rome" (ch. xxxii, p. 426, footnote 2).

The MA-poet has, however, conflated the mother of the British Constantine with Saint Helena, the mother of the more famous and less fabulous Constantine the Great. Saint Helena reputedly discovered the True Cross, and built the Holy Sepulchre.<sup>29</sup>

#### THE SPEAKERS

In MA Arthur and his knights speak in the meeting in the giants' tower in the following order: Cador, Arthur, Aungers, Hoel, the Welsh King (Valiant), Ewayne, Arthur (for the second time), Ewayne (for the second time), Lancelot, Lottez, and Arthur (for the third time). According to Geoffrey, Wace, La<sub>3</sub>amon, and Mannyng, Robert of Gloucester and the Prose Merlin Cador speaks first. Gawain also speaks in Wace, La<sub>3</sub>amon, Mannyng and the Prose Merlin. Hoel is called Ohel in Mannyng, where he approves of Arthur's speech and Gawain and King Aguyssel of Scotland also speak. Robert of Gloucester gives Cador's speech first, followed by Arthur, Howel and King Auncel. The Prose Brut does not give details of the speeches.

Hamel claims that the chronicles (Geoffrey, Wace, La<sub>3</sub>amon, and Mannyng) show only Arthur, Hoel (Howell) and Auguisel (Aungers) speaking in the council proper.<sup>30</sup> This discounts Cador and Gawain. She further notes that the King of Scotland speaks before Hoel in MA, while he speaks after him in the chronicles. She believes that this may be because in MA Aungers is the first to mention the wrongs done to Britons by the Romans in the past and vows to take

revenge and vows and vengeance are recurring themes in the scene (and elsewhere).

It is curious that Gawain does not speak here in MA, as he later emerges as Arthur's most important knight. This may suggest that the four chronicles that recount his speech are not used as sources in this particular section. Cadur, Gawain, Hoel and the King of Scotland (however named) all make a speech in Wace, La<sub>3</sub>amon and Mannyng. It is a remote possibility that as Gawain does not speak in Geoffrey's Historia this has suggested his silence in MA.

#### SCOTLAND

"I dare saye for Scottlande | þat we them scathe  
lympyde" (292).

Hamel translates the b-line as meaning "that we suffered harm from them." Mannyng contains a similar line "Alle oure scapes schul þey quyte" (11852), as Hamel notes.<sup>31</sup> Despite having the similar word sca es this does not have the same meaning as in Mannyng: King Aguisal here is more concerned with revenge than the past suffering of his countrymen.

Several of the chronicles refer to the past suffering of the Britons under the rule of Rome. In Geoffrey's Historia King Augustulus mentions "in illos clades quas olim nostratibus ingesserunt uiriliter uindicamus" (IX, xviii, p. 465). In Wace and Mannyng the king declares his hatred of the Romans because they are proud, evil and acquisitive. In Wace he states that

Sel deussiens nos comancier  
Et de nostre gent guerrier  
Por nostre paranté vangier (PA 2443-45).

In Mannyng he notes that the Romans are proud and covetous and that they "robbe and struye" (11826-34). However, King Angel does not mention the physical suffering of the Scots in La<sub>3</sub>amon, Mannyng or Robert of



Gloucester's Chronicle. There is no such reference in the Prose Brut (ch. lxxxii, p. 82) or the Prose Merlin. If we interpret the harm suffered by the Britons as being other than robbery (for which see the section below), then Geoffrey's account is perhaps the most likely to be the source.

#### RANSOM AND RAPE

"When þe Romaynes regnede | þay raunsoude oure eldyrs  
And rade in theire ryotte | and rauyschett oure wyfes,  
Withowttyn reson or ryghte | refte vs oure gudes"  
(293-95).

This is not from Geoffrey whose Augustulus only mentions the past killing of their country-men, "in illos clades quas olim nostratibus ingesserunt uiriliter uindicamus" (IX, xviii, p. 465) although Arthur does earlier imply that the Roman conquest was illegal and immoral (IX, xvi, p. 462). Ransom and rape do not appear in the chronicles at this point. King Angel does not mention the robbing of the Scots in Wace or Laȝamon, although in Wace he does claim that their fathers were wronged when they were made to pay tribute (which is presented as a form of robbery). This incident does not occur in the Prose Brut or the Prose Merlin.

In Mannyng King Agusel says

I trow þat þey nere þem non [trewage] gaf,  
But þorow force þem ouer haf,  
As þeues robbed þem, & reft (11845-47).

Hamel sees similarities with MA's lines 293-95, and both versions contain reft(e) (and force could conceivably have suggested rauyschett to the MA-poet).<sup>32</sup> Robert of Gloucester's King Auncel does not mention robbery or ransom, but his Arthur has already said "Vor he naþ reson non bote robberie & miȝte" (4042). This at least mentions robbery and so this could have influenced the MA-poet.

## REVENGE

"Of this grett velany | I sall be vengede ones" (298).

In Geoffrey's Historia, as in many of the chronicles, Augustus hopes for vengeance. He says:

dum romani & germani illesi permaneant. nec in  
illos clades quas olim nostratibus ingesserunt  
uiriliter uindicamus (IX, xviii, p. 465).

Hamel, however, believes that this line of MA is similar to Wace's line "Nos et noz ancessors vanjons!" (PA 2456).<sup>33</sup> In Mannyng Agusel wants to take back by force what the Romans have stolen by force. He mentions vengeance "ffor to venge our auncessours" (line 11841--almost the same as Wace--quoted by Hamel and "3yf God wil graunte vs wel to venge"--11869). Robert of Gloucester's Chronicle contains the line "Vor to awreke vre faderes" (4091). La3amon does not appear to be the source of this line as, although he states that the Romans will atone for their message with their lives and that their lands will be seized, he does not mention vengeance for past villainy. There is no such reference in the Prose Brut or the Prose Merlin. Geoffrey, Wace, Mannyng, or Robert of Gloucester could have suggested this line.

## SELF-SACRIFICE

"No more dowtte the dynte | of theire derfe wapyns  
þan þe dewe þat es danke | when þat it doun falles,  
Ne no more schoune fore þe swape | of theire scharpe  
suerddes  
Than fore þe faireste flour | þatt on the folde  
growes" (312-15).

Geoffrey's "original" version of Hoel's speech is very different. After praising Arthur for his Ciceronian eloquence, he states that Arthur will be fighting to defend Britain's liberty, mentions the Sybilline Prophecies and the conquests of Belinus and Constantine, and declares his willingness to provide 10,000 men (IX, xvii, p. 464). Hoel's speech is

similar in Wace and La<sub>3</sub>amon's Brut. There is no such detail in the Prose Brut or the Prose Merlin.

Wace's, and Mannyng's versions of Hoel's speech also state that injuries, suffering, and death are insignificant when compared to the preservation of the king's honour. In Wace his speech includes the lines:

Veraiemant dire poon  
 Que cop ne plaie ne criemon  
 Ne mort ne travail ne prison  
 Tant come nos t'enor queron (PA 2395-98).

Hamel believes that these lines of MA are based on Howell's speech in Wace although "with a verbal hint" from Mannyng's line: 'ffor we ne doute no dynt ne wounde' (11788)."<sup>34</sup> Mannyng also echoes Wace when he states that the Britons fear nothing "Ne deþ, ne prison, ne langour, / So wilne we faste þyn honour!" (11789-90).

It is not only in Wace and Mannyng that Hoel proclaims his willingness to endure the blows of the Romans. In La<sub>3</sub>amon Hoel states that the nobles of Britain (or Brittany) will risk their lives and limbs in the war against Lucius. Robert of Gloucester's Chronicle also contains lines revealing Hoel's willingness to suffer to uphold Arthur's glory:

Swete wolleþ þe wunden be . to me & noþing  
 stronge  
 Suete wole ek my deþ be . 3if ich im auonge . . .  
 (4089-90).  
 & vorto anhansy vre king . as we ssolle on alle  
 wyse (4092).

However, Mannyng's Story of England appears to contain all the vital elements and could well be the sole source used here.

#### ARTHUR'S VOW

"In Lorayne or Lumberdye|whethire me leue thynkys;  
 Merke vn-to Meloyne, |and myne doune the wallez,  
 Bathe of Petyrsande, |and of Pys, and of the Pounte  
 Tremble" (350-52).

In the Morte, Arthur states in his speech that if

his council agree he will have his forces ready by the beginning of June. He swears by Christ and the holy vernacle that by Lammas he and his men will be in Lorraine or Lombardy. They will then travel to Milan and mine down the walls of "Petyrsande", "Pys" and "Pounte Tremble." They will stay for six weeks in the Vale of Viterbe and then lay siege to Rome. Arthur's vow is based on Edward III's in Vows of the Heron, as Hamel notes.<sup>35</sup> Hamel believes that Wace was also an influence on Arthur's vow and particularly for the lines: "Aguisel's 'Loherainne conqueron' and Hoel's 'Passe Mongeu, pran Lonbardie' (PA 2482, 2369)."<sup>36</sup> Arthur does not mention these places himself in these chronicles.

Geoffrey's Historia does not mention Lorraine and Lombardy here (IX, xx; p. 467). In Wace, La<sub>3</sub>amon, and Mannyng Arthur does not mention where and when his men will assemble or the places he intends to destroy. As we have seen, Wace reports Aguisel's speech in which he tells of cities and castles that should be sacked, and Hoel's suggestion that Lorraine be seized. In La<sub>3</sub>amon King Angel says:

For þenne we habbeoð Rome and alle þa riche,  
 We scullen nimen þa londes þa þerto liggeð,  
 Peoile and Alemaine, Lumbardie and Brutaine,  
 France and Normandie --þa hit haete Neustrie--  
 (12588-91).

La<sub>3</sub>amon's Howel does not suggest taking Lorraine. In Mannyng Aguisel mentions retaking the tribute by force, the winning of treasure, horses and harnesses and capturing Rome and its empire. In Mannyng as in Wace he recommends that Lorraine be seized and the strongholds of Germany (lines 11870-71). Hoel suggests a plan of campaign--invade France, go through Mont St. Bernard, conquer Lombardy and enter Italy itself. He also mentions crossing the Alps in Mannyng: "& passe Moungu in to þe mountz" (11759). Robert of Gloucester

and the Prose Merlin do not mention Lorraine and Lombardy at this point. The Prose Brut is also very terse (ch. lxxxii, p. 82). Wace does mention both Lombardy and Lorraine and so provides a more satisfactory hypothetical source, but Lombardy is also mentioned in La<sub>3</sub>amon, and Lorraine in Mannyng.

## PRAISE

"Alweldande Gode | wyrchipe <sub>3</sub>ow all  
 And latte me neure wantte <sub>3</sub>ow | whylls I in werlde  
 regne!  
 My menske and my manhede | <sub>3</sub>e mayntene in erthe,  
 Myn honour all vtterly | in <sup>o</sup>per kyngys landes,  
 My wele and my wyrchipe | of all <sup>p</sup>is werlde ryche;  
<sub>3</sub>e haue knyghtly conqueryde | <sup>p</sup>at to my coroun langes.  
 Hym thare be ferde for no faees | <sup>p</sup>at swylke a folke  
 ledes,  
 Bot euer fresche for to fyghte | in felde when hym  
 lykes;  
 I acounte no kynges | <sup>p</sup>at vndyr Criste lyffes,  
 Whills I see <sub>3</sub>owe all sounde; | I sette be no more"  
 (397-406).

In Geoffrey after Cadour's speech Arthur briefly praises his chief knights for their good advice and skill in war (IX, xvi, p. 232).

Consocii inquit prosperitatis & aduersitatis.  
 quorum probitates actenus & in dandis. & in  
 miliciis agendis expertus sum. adibite nunc  
 uanimiter sensus uestros . . .  
 (IX, xvi, p. 461).

There is no second speech like this one in the Historia. Hamel claims that Arthur's speech in praise of his followers is partially based on his first speech to his council as it appears in Wace:

Par vos et par vostre ajutoire  
 Ai ge eu mainte victoire . . .  
 Les terres de ci environ  
 Ai par vos an subjection (PA 2241-42, 2249-50).<sup>37</sup>

In La<sub>3</sub>amon, after Gawain's speech and before Hoel's Arthur says:

<sup>p</sup>urh eou ich hadde biwunnen vnder <sup>p</sup>ere sunnen  
<sup>p</sup>at ich aem swiðe riche mon, reh wið mine feonden;

gold ich hadde and gaersume; gumenen ich aem  
 aelder.  
 No biwan ich hit noht ane, ah dude we alle claene.  
 To moni feohte ich hadde eou ilad, and aeure 3e  
 weoren wel irad  
 swa þat feole kinelondes stondeð a mine honde.  
 3e beoð gode cnihtes, ohte men and wihte;  
 þat ich hadde iuonded i wel feole londen  
 (12467-74).

La<sub>3</sub>amon seems as likely a source as Wace, and perhaps more likely as Arthur seems to give his men even more credit for his conquests than he does in Wace. Arthur also praises his knights in Mannyng (after Cadore's speech):

þorow 3oure help & god auys  
 Hauy wonnen mikel pris;  
 By water, by londe, haue y 3ow led,  
 þorow 3ow in nede haue y wel sped;  
 Euere y haue founde 3ow trewe,  
 & euere 3our conseil god & newe;  
 Alle þe londes þat y haue wonne,  
 Wyþoute 3ow was nought bygonne (11615-22).

Mannyng uses wonne rather than "conquer." After Cadore's speech Robert of Gloucester has Arthur say:

3e louerdinges he sede þat ich abbe . in conseil &  
 in batayle .  
 Ifonded as uor anante me . þat nolde me neuere  
 faile" (4033-34).

Mannyng and Robert of Gloucester do not appear to be the source. No such reference is made in the Prose Brut.

In the Prose Merlin after Cadore's and Gawain's speeches Arthur says:

Mi ami & mi compaignon a la moie honor en  
 prosperite que vous aues maintenu en batailles &  
 en guerres que ie ai eus puis que ie uing a terre  
 tenir & vous ai menes en mes grans besoins par  
 terre & par mer & maues aidies uostre merci a  
conquerre les terres a enuiron que par les uos  
 aiues sont tous obeissans a moy  
 (ch. xxxii, p. 426).

In MA as in the Merlin Arthur's knights have also helped him conquer, and honour is also mentioned. Despite these similarities, which may be due to

coincidence, La<sub>3</sub>amon or Wace appear most likely to be the source.

#### LUCIUS'S ALLIES

"Till Ambyganye and Arcage | and Alysaundyre eke,  
 To Inde and to Ermonye | as Ewfrates rynnys,  
 To Asye and to Affrike | and Ewrope þe large,  
 To Irrttayne and Elamet | and all þase owte ilez,  
 To Arraby and Egipt, | till erles and oþer  
 That any erthe occupyes | in þase este marches;  
 Of Damaske and Damyat | þe 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;  
 To Tartary and Turkey | when tythynggez es comen,  
 They turne in by Thebay, | terauntez full hugge;  
 The flour of þe faire folke | of Amazonnes landes,  
 All thate faillez on þe felde | be forfette fore  
 euere;  
 Of Babyloyn and Baldake | the burlyche knyghtes;  
 Barons with þeire baronage | bydez no langere  
 Of Perce and of Pamphile | and Preter Johne landes,  
 Iche prynce with his powere | appertlyche graythede.  
 The Sowdane of Surrye | assemblez his knyghtes,  
 Fra Nylus to Nazarethe | nommers full huge:  
 To Garyere and to Galele | þey gedyre all at ones,  
 The sowdanes that were sekyre | sowdeours to Rome.  
 They gadyrede ouere þe Grekkes See | with greuous  
 wapyns  
 In theire grete galays | with gleterande scheldez.  
 The Kyng of Cyprys on þe see | þe Sowdane habydes  
 With all þe realls of Roodes | arayede with hym one;  
 They sailede with a syde wynde | ouere þe salte  
 strandez.  
 Sodanly þe Sarezenes, | as them selfe lykede,  
 Craftyly at Cornett | the kynges are aryefede,  
 Fra þe cete of Rome | sexti myle large.  
 Be that the Grekes ware graythede, | a full grete  
 nombyre,  
 The myghtyeste of Macedone | with men of þa marches,  
 [And of Calabre and of Catelonde bothe kynges and  
 deukes;]  
 Pulle and Pruyslande | presses with oþer,  
 The legemen of Lettow | with legyons ynewe" (572-605).

Geoffrey, Wace, La<sub>3</sub>amon, and Mannyng name the kings who come from these regions, while MA does not. If we set out the place-names common to MA and the "four chronicles" we get the following result:

<u>Morte Arthure</u>	<u>Geoffrey</u>	<u>Wace</u>	<u>Laȝamon</u>	<u>Mannyng</u>
Affrike	astriconum	Aufrique	Aufrike	Aufrik
Egipt	egypti	Egypte	Egipte	Egipte
Crete	crete	Crethe	Crete	Cyce
Turky		Turs	Turckie	Turckie
Babyloyne	babilonie	Babiloine	Babilone	Babilloyne
Surrye	sirie	Sire	Syrie	Syre
Grekes	grecorum	Grece	Grece	Grece

The alliterative poet seems to have used the corresponding passages from one or more of the chronicles, and to have supplemented it from Mandeville's Travels and the The Acts of the Apostles, chapter 2, verses 9-11, as Hamel notes.<sup>38</sup> He apparently omitted Lybia, which appears in Geoffrey, Wace, Laȝamon, Mannyng and Robert of Gloucester although Sir Sextynour who hailes from Lybia, many senators, and the King of Syria are sent to Chartres to rescue the prisoners in line 1625. Most of the chronicles name the king of each region, but Robert of Gloucester, like the alliterative poet, does not. This is likely to be coincidence: had the poet wanted to keep the names, consistency would have required him to invent personal names for the rulers of all the regions he added from Mandeville and Acts.

Hamel observes that MA's place names are mostly given in French rather than English or Latin forms. However, I can see no example in this short list where the MA-poet's spelling of a place-name is closer to Wace than to an equivalent English chronicle. The spelling of the place names in fact tends to be more like those of the English chroniclers Laȝamon and Mannyng, as may well be expected. Robert of Gloucester is also close:

Of affric & of grece . of spayne & of scyrye .  
 Of medes & of parkes . of ytours of libye .  
 Of egypt. of babiloyne. & of frygie .  
 Of mesepoc . of bytynie . & of boecye  
 (lines 4125-28, pp. 289-90).



The similarities here, however, may well be the product of importing the names into the same language.

The most definite conclusion that can be drawn is that the alliterative poet did not take his material solely from the Prose Brut or the Prose Merlin, neither of which gives a list of Lucius's allies, or from Geoffrey, who does not mention the Turks at this point.

#### ARTHUR'S KNIGHTS

"Kayere to 3our cuntrez | and semble 3our knyghtes  
And kepys me at Constantyne, | clenlyche arayedede;  
Byddez me at Bareflete | apon þa blythe stremes,  
Baldly within borde | with 3owre beste beryns;  
I schall menskfully 3owe mete | in thos faire  
marches" (627-31).

This speech is a summary of the longer passage in the chronicles that includes an equivalent list of Arthur's allies, as Hamel notes.<sup>39</sup> Most of the details in MA, such as the "blithe streams", are the creation of the poet for alliterative purposes and are not derived from any particular source. Geoffrey calls the French port and landing ground for the invasion portum barbe (Barfleur; IX, xx, p. 467). Wace and Mannyng mention Barbeflué or Bareflete here, in the latter case with the same spelling as in the Morte. But they both say that Barfleur is in Normandy rather than "Constantine" (PA 2620; 12027), but the Cotentin peninsula is part of Normandy in any case, as a well educated man (or experienced soldier) would have known. The Cotentin is not named in the other chronicles. La3amon uses the spelling Barbefleote (line 12707). Robert of Gloucester says

þat hii wende ech in his syde to hor contreye anon  
& þat hii a lanmasse day . mid hor poer come  
Euerichone to barbesflet . & þes veiage nome  
(4110-12).

## MORDRED'S MOTHER

"That es me sybb, my syster son | sir Mordrede hym  
seluen" (645).

The MA-poet's phrase me sybb means "kin to me." The chronicles usually consider Mordred to be the son of King Loth of Lothian and Arthur's sister Anna (although, in Geoffrey, due to an error, she is Aurelius Ambrosius' sister), as Hamel notes.<sup>40</sup> Mordred is said to be Arthur's sister's son in Wace (nevos--PA 2625), La<sub>3</sub>amon (12715), Mannyng (cosyn in lines 12033 and 12044) and Robert of Gloucester (4133). The Prose Brut, however, names him "Mordrede"--"one of his Neewes þat was a wise kny<sub>3</sub>t, & a herdy" (ch. lxxxiii, p. 83.26-7). Mordred is not mentioned in the Prose Merlin. MA's reference is too vague to pin a source down, but it was not Geoffrey's Historia or the Prose Merlin.

The spelling of the name in this text varies; and only one r is used for Modrede in lines 679, 3555, 3569, 3766, 3772, and 3840. Mordrede is the more commonly used spelling. Hamel believes that the inconsistent spelling of Mo[r]drede may be due to the MA-poet's use of multiple sources (although even the spelling of proper names is not standardised in T).<sup>41</sup> Although Wace (and the Prose Brut) spell his name with r before the d, Geoffrey, La<sub>3</sub>amon, and Mannyng do not, as Hamel also notes. In La<sub>3</sub>amon the spelling varies i.e.--"Moddred" (12711), "Modraed" (12721), "Moddraed" (12723) and "Moddrede" (12735). He is called "Moddred" here in Mannyng and it is also said that he is Arthur's cousin and that he has already slept with the queen. Robert of Gloucester names him "Modred" (4133). If the spellings of Mordred's name are at all significant, then the source used for this line must be Wace or the Prose Brut.

## MORDRED

Geoffrey merely states that Arthur leaves the defence of Britain to Mordred and Queen Guinevere:

arturus modredo nepoti. suo atque ganhumere regine  
britanniam ad conseruandum permittens  
(X, ii; 468).

Wace and later chronicles add authorial comments revealing that Mordred will betray Arthur. Hamel also states that Arthur's dialogues with Mordred and Guinevere are ambiguous and ironic.<sup>42</sup> The MA-poet breaks with this later tradition and follows Geoffrey by not revealing their treachery in advance, although Mordred's rebellion and adultery would not be likely to surprise many readers or listeners when it eventually occurred.

Wace certainly does not seem to use much (dramatic) irony he tells of how Mordred's hidden love brought Guinevere little honour. In Wace the court is already aware of their adultery, but this is not the case in La3amon. La3amon's account is more ironic (in a different sense) as he calls the Queen

[the] wurðlukest wiuen  
þa þe in þissere leode wunede an londe.  
Arður bitahte al þat he ahte  
Moddrade and þere quene --þat heom was iqueme!  
(12724-27).

Mannyng is as unsubtle as Wace and La3amon, describing Mordred as a traitor who loved the queen privily (12033-49). Robert of Gloucester also says

Vor he truste to hom mest . as me þindþ he wel  
a3te .  
Ac as 3e ssolle after yhure . hii bro3te him subþe  
to na3te (4135-36).

The Prose Brut notes that "he was nou3t al trewe, as 3e shul here afterwarde" (p. 83.27-28). The Prose Merlin does not mention Mordred at this point.

La3amon adds that in the end Mordred and the queen were damned and hated by all (12731-32). He does not

mention her adultery with Mordred here, although he is said to pay court to her. Laȝamon claims that Mordred will be damned (and therefore answer before God), which may be echoed in MA line 670: "answere before the austeryn jugge."

Mannyng follows Wace when he states that:

Arthur bitaught hym Geneuere þe quen,  
 (Alas þat euere hit scholde so ben!)  
 & al þe lond saue þe coroune (12047-49).

The Prose Brut also states that "Kyng Arthure toke al his reame to þis Mordrede, saue oneliche þe crone" (ch. lxxxiii, p. 83.28-9). The crown is also mentioned here in MA where Arthur promises to crown Mordred on his return--if Mordred has behaved well. This odd promise may well have been triggered by one of the rather different references noted above in the chronicles.

#### ARTHUR SAILS

"Thare the grete ware gaderyde | wyth galyarde  
 knyghtes,  
 Garneschit on þe grene felde | and graythelyche  
 arayedede:  
 Dukkes and duzseperez | daynttehely rydes,  
 Erlez of Ynglande | with archers ynewe.  
 Schirreues scharply | schiftys the comouns,  
 Rewlys before þe ryche | of the Rounde Table,  
 Assingnez ilke a contree | to certayne lordes  
 In the southe on þe see banke, | saile when þem lykes.  
 Thane bargez them buskez | and to þe bannke rowes,  
 Bryngez blonkez on bourde | and burlyche helmes,  
 Trussez in tristly | trappyde stedes,  
 Tenntez and othire toylez | and targez full ryche,  
 Cabanes and clathe sekkes | and coferez full noble,  
 Hukes and haknays | and horsez of armez;  
 Thus they stowe in the stuffe | of full steryn  
 knyghtez.  
 Qwen all was schyppede that scholde | they schounte no  
 lengere,  
 Bot vntelde them tyte | as þe tyde rynnez.  
 Coggez and crayers | þan crossez þaire mastez,  
 At the commandment of þe kyng | vncouerde at ones;  
 Wyghtly on þe wale | þay w[e]lye vp þaire ankers  
 By wytt of þe watyremen | of þe wale ythez.  
 Frekes on þe forestam | faken þeire coblez,  
 In floynes and fercostez | and Flemesche schyppes;  
 Tytt saillez to þe toppe | and turnez þe lufe,

Standez appon sterebourde, | sterynly þay songen;  
 The pryce schippez of the porte | prouen theire  
     depnesse  
 And fondez wyth full saile | ower þe fawe ythez;  
 Holly withowttyn harme | þay hale in bottes;  
 Schipemen scharply | schoten þaire portez,  
 Launches lede apon lufe, | lacchen þer depez,  
 Lukkes to þe lade-sterne | when þe lyghte faillez,  
 Castez coursez be crafte | when þe clowde rysez  
 With þe nedyll and þe stone | one þe nyghte tydez;  
 For drede of þe derke nyghte | þay drecchede a  
     lyttill,  
 And all þe steryn of þe streme | strekyn at onez"  
 (721-55).

Geoffrey, Robert of Gloucester, the Prose Brut and the Prose Merlin are very terse here. In contrast, Wace gives a similarly lengthy account of the embarkation and departure, which Hamel believes inspired MA's scene, although they differ markedly in detail (PA 2643ff.).<sup>43</sup> Shared details such as raising anchor and steering by the stars are probably coincidence. There are no clouds or compasses in Wace. Laȝamon mentions only that the ships had long keels (12741), that weeping that took place during the embarkation (12743-44), that anchors were raised (12746), that minstrels sang (12748), that sails were hoisted and that ropes were adjusted (12750).

Mannyng also gives a lengthy account of the embarkation (12053-96) and it seems to me to be the closest to MA.

Þer myghte men se þe mariners,  
 Many wyght men in schipes fers,  
 Ropes to righte, lynes to leye,  
 By banke & brymme to tache & teye,  
 Cables to knytte aboute þe mast,  
 þe sail on ȝerde þey feste ful fast,  
 Ancres, ores, redy to hande,  
 Roperes, helmes, right for to stande  
 Bowlyne on bouspret to sette & hale,  
 Cordes, kyviles, atached þe wale;  
 When al was redy in god point,  
 Vnto þe lond þe schipes ioynt;  
 Somme stode in schipe, somme on sand,  
 Brygges & plankes þey caste to land,  
 Wyþ men & hors for to charge

Cogges, barges, & schipes large;  
 Brought yn helmes, hauberks and scheldes,  
 & al þat men yn bataille weldes,  
 Hors in to drawe, hors in to dryue;  
 Men hyed þer-after yn ful blyue.  
 When alle were inne, and mad al 3are,  
 & þey on þer wey[e] schuld[e] fare,  
 To þeym o land þey preieden eft  
 To grete þer frendes þat þey had lefte:  
 On boþe parties was heuy chere  
 [Whan frendes departed leue & dere.]  
 When alle were ynne, & were o flote,  
 Mariners dighte þem to note,  
 þer takel for to righte & taille,  
 By þe wynd wel for to saylle;  
 Ancres o bord, sayl drowen heye,  
 þe wynd blew wel, þer schipe gon fleye,  
 & þe mariners þat weren sleye,  
 Ilkon dide þer maistrie:  
 Somme aforced þe wyndas,  
 Somme þe loof, somme þe bytas;  
 þe mayster mariner was byhynde,  
 þe schip to stere by þe wynde.  
 (Queynte he was, & right hardy,  
 & engynous man & sley,  
 þat first fond schip on se to fare,  
 & turnde wyþ þe wynd þer he nyste whare,  
 Lond to seke þat he saw nought,  
 Ne whiderward he schulde be brought).

This version includes the loading of horses and armour, and coggez are mentioned as in MA. But given the nature of the story and the amount of detail in both texts this may be coincidence. Cogs, for instance, were the commonest type of merchant ship in late medieval Europe.

#### THE LUFF

"Tytt saillez to þe toppe | and turnez þe lufe,  
 Standez appon sterebourde, | sterynly þay songen"  
 (744-45).

La3amon's Brut contains a broadly similar account of this incident and Hamel believes that MA's lines may have been inspired by his lines 12748-49: "Scipen þer forð þrunge, gleomen þer sunge. / seiles þer tuhten, rapes þer rehtten."<sup>45</sup> She also believes that the nautical phrase Turnez þe lufe may be derived from

Wace's line "Li autre [s'esforcent] al lof" (PA 2664). However, Mannyng's line 12088 also contains lufe, although his spelling is very different. The mariners do not sing in Geoffrey, Wace, Mannyng, Robert of Gloucester, the Prose Brut or the Prose Merlin.

#### THE POLE STAR

"Lukkes to þe lade-sterne when þe lyghte faillez,  
Castez coursez be crafte when þe clowde rysez  
With þe nedyll and þe stone one þe nyghte tydez"  
(751-53).

þe lade-sterne does not appear in Geoffrey, Mannyng, La<sub>3</sub>amon, Robert of Gloucester, the Prose Brut or the Prose Merlin. Hamel believes that this navigational aid may have been inspired by Wace's lines 2681-82: "Au vant gardent et as estoiles, / Selonc l'ore portent les voiles."<sup>46</sup> However, the pole-star would have been known to anyone with a rudimentary knowledge of navigation, and the MA-poet reveals his interest in many aspects of ships by his detailed description of the embarkation, so there need not have been a source for this detail.

#### DREAD OF THE NIGHT

"For drede of þe derke nyghte | Þay drecchede a  
lyttill,  
And all þe steryn of þe streme | strekyn at onez"  
(754-55).

This pair of lines might have been inspired by Wace. Brock interprets drecchede as "delay," while Hamel is uncertain whether the lines mean that the sailors reduce the area of sail (as in Wace's line "A deus rens corent ou a trois"--PA 2685; "They ran with two or three reefs") or take the sails down completely.<sup>47</sup> The second of these lines is discussed in the Scribe E section above. La<sub>3</sub>amon is not the source here, nor does any similar passage appear in Geoffrey, Mannyng, Robert of Gloucester, the Prose Brut

or the Prose Merlin. If Hamel's first interpretation of drecchede is correct, and Brock is incorrect, then Wace may well have influenced MA's line 754.

#### THE DREAM

"And with þe swoghe of þe see | in swefnynge he fell"  
(759).

In MA the rhythmic motion presumably rocks Arthur to sleep. In La<sub>3</sub>amon's Brut lines 12750-52 Arthur sleeps because of the calm:

wederen alre selest and þa sae sweuede.  
For þere softnesse Arþur gon to slaepen.  
Also þe king slepte a sweuen him imette.

Hamel believes that this line may have been inspired by La<sub>3</sub>amon's lines.<sup>48</sup> Despite the difference in meaning, La<sub>3</sub>amon's sweuede and sweuen could have suggested the near homophones swoghe and swefnynge.

Geoffrey's Historia does not mention the motion of the sea, although Arthur is said to be sailing briskly. As Geoffrey says

Ad conseruandum permittens. cum exercitu portum  
hamonis adiuit. ubi tempestiuo uentorum afflatu  
mare gaudio altum mare secaret (X, ii; p. 468).

Wace ascribes Arthur's sleep to his tiredness and the fact that it is night, although he also mentions a fair wind:

Les genz Arthur a joie aloient,  
Bon vant avoient, bel sigloient;  
A mie nuit par mer coroient,  
Vers Barbleflué le cors tenoient,  
Quant Artus prist a somellier;  
Andormi soi, ne pot veillier.  
Vis li fu, la ou il dormoit,  
Que parmi l'air un ors veoit  
(2691-98).

In Mannyng the weather is also fair--"Sire Arthur hadde weder at wille" (12097.) Robert of Gloucester also mentions the "wind þat god him sende / þo he com ver in þe se . & he aslepe was" (4138-39, p. 290). In the Prose Merlin Arthur dreams in a tent rather than on a



ship (p. 428). This incident does not occur in the Prose Brut. La<sub>3</sub>amon is the most likely to be the source here because his Brut is the only one of the chronicles to mention the motion of the ship and because of the similarity of the words in the two versions.

#### THE BURNING SEA

"the flode of þe flawez | all on fyre semyde" (773).

The sea also appears to burn in La<sub>3</sub>amon's Brut in lines 12775-76:

me þuhte a mire sih<sub>3</sub>eðe þat þa sae gon to berne  
of leite & of fure. þa þe drake ferede

and Hamel is probably correct to believe that this element has influenced the MA-poet.<sup>49</sup> The sea is not said to appear to burn in Geoffrey's Historia. Wace states the dragon's bright eyes light up the land and sea:

Et des ses ialz flame gitoit;  
De lui et de la resplendor  
Reluisoit terre et mer antor (2704-06).

Mannyng says "Of his mou þa flaume cam out, / þe lond, þe water, schon al about" (12109-10). In the Prose Merlin it is the surrounding countryside rather than the sea that is lit up by dragon-fire (p. 428). Two dragons appear in Robert of Gloucester's Chronicle and the fire comes from the first dragon's eyes: "þat þe leom of is eyen . al þe contreye li<sub>3</sub>te" (4144). The dragon does not appear in the Prose Brut.

Robert of Gloucester's comment that the dragon is "dreadful" (4143) might be more significant than the idea of fiery eyes, as this is also said in MA line 760, but it has to be said that "dreadful" is one of the more obvious words to use when describing a dragon in an alliterative poem. The dragon is said to be terrifying in Geoffrey, but not in Wace or Mannyng.

La<sub>3</sub>amon is the only chronicle to state that the

sea appears to burn and his Brut is therefore the most likely source, although it would not require a giant leap of the poet's imagination to invent this from the clues supplied by Wace, Mannyng, or Robert of Gloucester. Robert's Chronicle may have suggested the dragon's dreadful aspect.

#### THE HAIRY BEAR

"Lothen and lothely | lokkes and oþer,  
All with lutterde legges, | lokerde vnfaire,  
Filtyrde vnfrely, | wyth fomaunde lyppez" (778-80).

Mannyng uses lothly (= "hairy" or "shaggy") in his line 12105, as Hamel notes, although she also states that this description of the bear is mostly the poet's own.<sup>50</sup> The bear is not described by Geoffrey. Wace describes the bear as "Molt let, molt gros, molt fort, molt grant; / Molt estoit d'orrible facon" (2700-01). Robert of Gloucester mentions that the bear is "grislich" (line 4141, p. 291). The bear does not appear in the Prose Brut. The Prose Merlin does not say that the bear is hairy. Laȝamon's description of the bear is also unlike the Morte's although he does twice describe the bear as "ladlic" (12769, 12771) which may be significant, especially as Laȝamon seems to be more influential than Mannyng in this part of the poem.

#### THE EARTHQUAKE

"He rom[y]ede, he rarede, | that roggede all þe erthe"  
(784).

The earth also trembles in Geoffrey's Historia: "cuius murmure tota litora intremebant" and Hamel believes that this is an imitation of Geoffrey's line (X, ii; p. 468).<sup>51</sup> The heavens quake in line 4142 of Robert of Gloucester's Chronicle, which cannot be completely discounted as a source, especially as it may have influenced line 773 (line 4142). The earth does

not move in Wace, La<sub>3</sub>amon, Mannyng, the Prose Brut or the Prose Merlin. Geoffrey's Historia is the most likely source.

#### THE DIVING DRAGON

"Thane wandyrþ þe worme | awaye to hys heghttez,  
Commes glydande fro þe clowddez | and cowpez full  
euen,  
Towchez hym wyth his talounez | and terez hys rigge  
Betwyx þe taile and the toppe | ten fote large"  
(798-801).

In MA the dragon climbs high and dives on the unfortunate bear. A similarly hawk-like dragon attack occurs in La<sub>3</sub>amon's lines 12782-85 as Hamel notes:<sup>52</sup>

Neoðeles, a þan aende, he<sub>3</sub>en he gon wende  
and he flah dunrihte mid feondliche raesen,  
and þene beore he ismat þat he to þere eorðe  
iwhat;  
and he þer þene beore ofsloh and hine lim-mele  
to-droh.

There is no hawk imagery in Geoffrey's Historia or in Wace. In Wace, the dragon crushes the bear to death: "Mes li dragons l'ors anbracoit / Et a terre le cravantoit" (PA 2711-12). Mannyng says

þe dragon was swyft, & sleyly swypte,  
þe bere in his clawes he clypte,  
& riste hym so þat he to-barst,  
& doun vnto þe erþe hym cast (12117-20).

Robert of Gloucester states "Ac þe dragon velde þulke bere . & to grounde him caste" (4145). The bear is also cast down to the ground in the Prose Merlin (p. 428), but again no mention is made of the dragon's climbing and diving. La<sub>3</sub>amon does appear to be the source in these lines. There may, however, be no particular source for these lines. There is no verbal correspondence between La<sub>3</sub>amon and MA, and because falconry was a popular pastime at many levels of society there would have been a general awareness of the hunting techniques of raptors, so the MA-poet may merely have added a familiar technique of birds of prey to the poem at this point.

## ARTHUR AWAKENS

"So they breen þe bolde kyng | bynne þe schippe burde  
 þat nere he bristez for bale | on bede whare he  
 lyggez" (804-05).

La<sub>3</sub>amon's Brut describes Arthur's awakening from his dream in fear: "feorlic wes þat sweouen þene king hit auerde: / þa þe king him awoc swiðe he wes idraecched" (12753-54). Arthur is not said to be moved by his dream in the Historia or in Wace. He does not appear particularly concerned by the dream in Robert of Gloucester's Chronicle either. The dream is not mentioned in the Prose Brut. However, Mannyng also states that when "Arthur of his slepyng wok, / Gret tent of his drem he tok" (12121-22). Arthur is also said to "sesmeruella moult durement del auision" in the Prose Merlin (p. 428). Hamel cites these lines in support of her claim that La<sub>3</sub>amon's Brut is the only chronicle to show Arthur as being frightened by his dream.<sup>53</sup> Presumably Hamel believes that La<sub>3</sub>amon's is the only likely chronicle to be used as a source by the MA-poet at this point. The Prose Merlin is unlikely to be a source, but La<sub>3</sub>amon or Mannyng might have suggested these lines, although the lack of verbal parallels perhaps makes this unlikely.

## THE MESSENGER

"Comez a templere tye | and towchide to þe kyng"  
 (841).

In La<sub>3</sub>amon the message reporting the abduction of Helena by the giant and the appeal for Arthur's aid is brought by a "hende cniht" (12802). Hamel claims that the poet's Templar is based on La<sub>3</sub>amon's knight.<sup>54</sup> La<sub>3</sub>amon's Brut is the only chronicle source to mention an individual knight. Geoffrey only states "Interea nuntiatur arturo quendam mire" (X, iii, 469). Wace's Roman de Brut merely states that Arthur's men had not been in "Constantin" long before the king was informed

of the giant's deeds (PA 2739-42). Mannyng, Robert of Gloucester, the Prose Brut (ch. lxxxiv, p. 84) and the Prose Merlin (p. 428) are equally vague. La<sub>3</sub>amon may have suggested a single knight-messenger who was turned into a Templar by the MA-poet, or the poet may have simply invented the Templar without resorting to any particular source.

#### THE CANNIBAL

"He has fretyn of folke | mo than fyfe hondrethe  
 And als fele fawntekyns | of freebornne childyre;  
 This has bene his sustynaunce | all this seuen  
 wyntteres,  
 And 3itt es that sotte noghte sadde, | so wele hym it  
 lykez.  
 In þe contree of Constantyne | no kynde has he leuede  
 Withowttyn kydd castells | enclosid wyth walles,  
 That he ne has clenly dystroyede | all the knaue  
 childyre  
 And them caryede to þe cragge | and clenly deworyde"  
 (844-51).

The giant is said to be a cannibal in Geoffrey: "plures capiebat quos deuorabat semiuiuos" (X, iii, p. 469) and in La<sub>3</sub>amon's line 12816 "Alle he makeð him to mete þa men þa he igripeð" as Hamel notes.<sup>55</sup> Robert of Gloucester merely reports "& al quic hom vret" (4166). The giant is not said to be a cannibal at this point in Mannyng, Robert of Gloucester (4162-66), the Prose Brut (ch. lxxxiv, p. 84) or the Prose Merlin (ch. xxxii, p. 428). In Wace and Mannyng the giant carries off women and children, but he is not actually said to eat them. Geoffrey or La<sub>3</sub>amon may have suggested the theme of cannibalism. Only Wace and La<sub>3</sub>amon mention Constantin (line 2734 PA edition; Costentin in La<sub>3</sub>amon at line 12797), but the MA-poet may have known that these events supposedly occurred in this region without needing to borrow the information from the chronicles.

## THE YOUNG DUCHESS

"Scho was thy wyfes cosyn, | knowe it if þe lykez"  
(864).

The girl is actually Arthur's cousyns wyff, as in W, as Hamel notes.<sup>56</sup> She also notes that the chronicles call Howell Arthur's cosyn or "nephew." Geoffrey says that Hoel is Arthur's nephew (cousin must be intended, but each word can carry the modern meaning of the other), Wace states that Hoel is Arthur's cousin, La<sub>3</sub>amon states that he is of Arthur's kin (12065), Robert of Gloucester states he is his "neueu" (3911). Mannyng, the Prose Brut and the Prose Merlin do not comment on his kinship with Arthur.

The four chronicle "sources" also make Helena Howell's niece or daughter, as Hamel also notes.<sup>57</sup> The girl is Hoel's niece in Geoffrey and Wace, (Ohel's niece) in Mannyng, Robert of Gloucester and niece of "lional de nantoel" in the Prose Merlin (p. 429). La<sub>3</sub>amon states that she was "Howeles dohter icoren" (12811). She is Hoell's cousin in the Prose Brut (ch. lxxxiv, p. 84). This line could well have come from the MA-poet's wider knowledge of Arthurian literature rather than from any specific source.

## THE VIEW

"Sire, see 3e 3one farlande | with 3one two fyrez?"  
(880).

St. Michael's Mount is not visible from Barfleur (where according to MA the Templar speaks to Arthur in his tent) as Krishna and Hamel point out.<sup>58</sup> La<sub>3</sub>amon's equivalent to MA's lines is:

Isihst þu lauerd, þe munt and þene wude muchele?  
þer wuned þe scaðe inne þa scended þas leode  
(12821-22).

Hamel believes that this is the source of MA's line.<sup>59</sup> In La<sub>3</sub>amon's Brut Arthur is shown the mountain and the wood from his camp (12821), but the two fires are not

mentioned until later (12843-46). What is significant here is not the detail of the description but that this is the only chronicle source where Arthur's gaze is directed towards the mountain at all.

In Geoffrey's Historia Arthur is not told to look at the mountain and he, Kay, and Bedevere do not see the two fires until they approach the Mount: "Ut igitur prope montem uenerunt. aspexerunt quendam rogam super eum ardere. alium uero super minorem montem" (X, iii, p. 470). Wace's Roman de Brut states that Kay, Arthur and Bedevere see the two hills both crowned by flaming coals from the ford rather than from camp (PA 2785ff.). La3amon does not report Arthur, Kay, and Beduer seeing the two fires until they have moved on from the camp. The description of the two fires is given in lines 12843-46:

þa ise<sub>3</sub>en heo, nawiht feorren, a muchel fur  
 smokien  
 uppen ane hulle mid sae-ulode biuallen;  
 and anoder hul þer wes swiðe heh--þae sae hine  
 bifledde ful neh  
 þeruonon heo ise<sub>3</sub>en a fur þat wes muchel and  
 swiðe stor.

In Mannyng Arthur sees two hills in the water: each has a fire burning on it. Arthur is uncertain which hill the giant lives on (12201-10). There are also two fires in Robert of Gloucester's Chronicle (4173-74), the Prose Brut (ch. lxxxiv, p. 84) and the Prose Merlin (p. 428). The two fire-crowned hills appear in all the chronicle sources, but La3amon may well have suggested the much expanded description of the site that appears in MA lines 880-87.

#### NO FUSS

"There was no wy of þis werlde | þat wyste whatt he  
 menede" (891).

In the chronicles Arthur normally conducts his giant-killing mission in secret. This is presumably

also the case in MA. T's menede may well mean "meant" as Brock thought, but Hamel believes it is more likely to mean "intended" than "complained of," or "lamented for."<sup>60</sup> If the former meaning is correct then Arthur intends to keep his actions a secret from everyone apart from Kay and Bedevere. His leaving at the time when supper is served (line 897) also suggests that he is trying to slip away unnoticed.

Arthur does leave secretly in the chronicles, as Hamel notes. In Geoffrey Arthur departs at two in the morning, keeping his actions a secret because he wishes to inspire his men by killing the monster on his own:

primo ihorruit. quia dubitabat monstrum illud  
adesse. Reuocata ocius audatia gladium  
euaginavit. & ascendo cacumine nichil aliud  
reperiit preter rogam. quem prospexerat  
(X, iii, p. 470).

In Wace Arthur also leaves by night. He wishes to prove by single combat who is the mightier; and believed that a group action against a single giant would be unseemly (PA 2774ff.). However, Kay and Bedevere have instructions to save Arthur from death if the need arises (PA 2921-28).

La<sub>3</sub>amon relates how Arthur and his small band of men depart at midnight, but does not state why Arthur wishes to keep his mission a secret. La<sub>3</sub>amon's line 12835--"þat na mon under Criste of heore uare nuste"--is cited by Hamel as an example of "the secrecy of Arthur's proceedings."<sup>61</sup> Mannyng shows an Arthur who wishes to show his might in single combat, but who does not want his men to know in advance: "He nolde schewe to namo / þat he wolde to þe geant go" (12187-88). Mannyng's lines are also cited by Hamel. Robert of Gloucester's Chronicle also shows Arthur's desire that no one know of their departure:



& al stilleliche wiþinne niȝt . þe king nom is  
 boteler .  
 Bedwer þat no mon it nuste . & kay is paneter .  
 Vor he truste to hom mest . & wende vorþ alone .  
 Vor he nolde to such geant . verdes lede none .  
 (4167-70).

They also go "pryuely" in the Prose Brut (ch. lxxxiv, p. 84). The Prose Merlin, however, gives no impression that the mission is conducted in secrecy (p. 429).

Laȝamon, Mannyng, and Robert of Gloucester all show that Arthur wants no man to know of his departure. Although secrecy is also maintained in Geoffrey and Wace, it is not explicitly stated that Arthur wants none of his men to know. The three chronicles that state that this is the case are more likely to be potential sources than the chronicles that do not, but since Arthur's intention that no one be aware of his departure is implicit in nearly all of the chronicles, no one source can be pinned down for this line.

#### KAY AND BEDIVERE

"He calles sir Cayous | þat of þe cowpe serfede  
 And sir Bedvere þe bolde | þat bare hys brande ryche"  
 (892-93).

Geoffrey mentions Kay and Bedivere and their courtly functions at this point:

Nocte igitur sequenti in secunda hora assumpto  
 kaio dapifero & beduero pincerna clam ceteris  
 tentoria egressus (X, iii, p. 469).

Wace's lines 2770-72 are similar to Geoffrey's:

Keus apela et Bedoer,  
 Ses seneschaus fu li premiers  
 Et li altres ses botelliers.

Hamel cites Wace's lines (in the PA edition) implying that they are the source.<sup>62</sup> Kay is Arthur's seneschal and Bedivere his cupbearer here, as in Geoffrey, but Hamel believes that the MA-poet has deliberately reversed their roles (presumably for alliterative reasons).<sup>63</sup> Robert of Gloucester's Chronicle shows Arthur taking "is boteler . Bedwer þat no mon it nuste

& kay is paneter" (4167-68).

Their offices are even less similar to MA in the other chronicles. La<sub>3</sub>amon states that Bedivere is an "eorl" and a "god cniht, wis and war" (12976) while Kay is said to be the "kinges stiward and his maei" (kinsman) in line 12977. Mannyng and the Prose Brut do not mention their roles (ch. lxxxiv, p. 84). In the Prose Merlin Kay is said to be "le senescal" (ch. xxxii, p. 428). Geoffrey seems as likely or unlikely to be a source as Wace; with Robert of Gloucester coming a poor third. None of the chronicles mentions the bearing of Arthur's sword.

#### THE WIDOW SPEAKS

"Said 'Carefull careman, | thow carpez to lowde!  
 May <sub>3</sub>one warlawe wyt, | he worows vs all.  
 Weryd worthe þe wyghte ay | that þe thy wytt refede,  
 That mase the to wayfe here | in þise wylde lakes.  
 I warne þe for [þi]l wyrchipe, | þou wylnez aftyr  
 sorowe--  
 Whedyre buskes þou, berne? | vnblysside þow semes;  
 Wenez thow to britten hym | with thy brande ryche?  
 Ware thow wyghttere than Wade, | or Wawayn owthire,  
 Thou wynnys no wyrchipe, | I warne the before!  
 Thou sayned the vnsekyrly | to seke to þese mountez;  
 Siche sex ware to symple | to semble with hym one,  
 For and thow see hym with syghte, | the seryez no  
 herte  
 To sayne the sekerly, | so semez hym huge'" (957-69).

In MA Arthur is advised to flee, as is Bedevere in the sources, as Hamel notes. She adds that MA is "more vivid in characterization, as the old lady is half scornful . . . and half-pitying."<sup>64</sup>

There is no scorn in Geoffrey's account, although pity is present. The old woman warns Bedevere

O infelix homo quod infortunium te in hunc locum  
 subuectat? O inenarrabiles penas mortis passure  
 (X, iii; p. 470).

Wace's account is generally similar to Geoffrey's (e.g. in PA 2832-38). In Wace, Mannyng, and Robert of Gloucester, however, the woman warns him of the dangers

of being seen more explicitly than in Geoffrey (cf. MA 968).

Mannyng's account of the old woman's speech contains an element of scorn as well as referring to the danger of being seen by the giant:

Whan scheo perceyued sire Beduer,  
 Scheo saide, "cheytyf, what wiltow her?  
 Som synne hap þe hyder y-brought,  
 þat þy deþ her hastow sought;  
 þis day ys þe schape to deye,  
 3yf þe geaunt þe se wyþ eye.  
 þis ilke hil swyþe þou weyue,  
 So þat he þe nought perceyue"  
 (12243-50).

La<sub>3</sub>amon has the woman warn Beduer that he will be destroyed even though he is covered with (or possibly made of) steel (12915-16). In MA he is warned that he would be destroyed even if he were Wade or Gawain. La<sub>3</sub>amon may have suggested the idea of such a comparison (with an angel) and the consequent unfavourable outcome.

Robert of Gloucester's Chronicle also refers to the danger of being seen by the giant:

Alas alas þou wrecche mon . woch mesaunture  
 Ap þe ybro<sub>3</sub>t in to þis stede . alas hou ssalt tou  
 dure  
 Alas þo pynes þat þou ssalt . sone þolie of deþ.  
 þe pyte þat ich abbe of þe . þoru out min herte geþ.  
 Vor þis vorbroyde geant . abbe he of þe an si<sub>3</sub>t  
 þi faire body so gentil . vor swolwe he wole to  
 ni<sub>3</sub>t  
 Vor he wole sone come . þulke vorbroyde pece  
 (4187-93).

The Prose Brut and the Prose Merlin contain accounts broadly similar to the sources previously mentioned, but are unlikely to have suggested specific details to the MA-poet (ch. lxxxiv, p. 84; ch. xxxii, p. 429). The specific details which may have been derived from the chronicles are: the consequences of being seen by the giant which are given in Wace, Mannyng or Robert of Gloucester; and the inevitability of being destroyed

even if one were someone else (or made of something else) which is given in La<sub>3</sub>amon.

#### ARTHUR'S APPEARANCE

"Thou arte frely and faire | and in thy fyrste flourez" (970).

Hamel correctly sees the similarity of this line to Geoffrey's "florem iuuentutis tue" (X, iii, p. 470).<sup>65</sup> Robert of Gloucester's Chronicle is also a possible source as he mentions Bedwer's "faire body so gentil" (4192). The old woman does not mention Bedevere's youth in La<sub>3</sub>amon, but she asks him if he is an angel (which presumably implies that he is young and good-looking: 12911). Bedevere's youth is not mentioned by Wace or Mannyng. This incident does not occur in the Prose Brut or the Prose Merlin.

#### THE DUCHESS

"He has forsede hir and fylede, | and cho es fay  
leuede:  
He slewe hir vn-slely | and slitt hir to the nauylle!  
And here haue I bawmede hir | and beryede berafty"  
(978-80).

In MA the woeful widow relates that giant has raped the duchess, slitting her to the navel, and her body has been buried by the woeful widow. Hamel makes three claims regarding similarities between the possible chronicle sources--that the giant inadvertently killed the duchess before completing the rape, that he then buried her, and then raped the old woman, breaking her limbs.<sup>66</sup> All three statements are true for La<sub>3</sub>amon's Brut. It may be significant that in La<sub>3</sub>amon, the crone states that the duchess is unable to endure the force of the giant at this point (cf. MA line 978 above). In Geoffrey, Wace, Mannyng, Robert of Gloucester and the Prose Merlin, however, the old woman (whose limbs are not said to broken) buries Helen. In Mannyng the duchess dies of pain, distress and because

of her youth and the giant's great size (12271-78). The old woman was also ravished in this account "Wyþ force he dide me leue stille, / His lecherie in me to fulfille" (12287-88), but the story implies that her limbs were not broken, because she was able to bury Eleyne. Robert of Gloucester also relates the tale of the girl's rape and subsequent death and burial by the old woman who has also been raped (4195-4201). Both women have been ravished in the Prose Brut (ch. lxxxiv, p. 85; which resembles a briefer version of Mannyng's account) although it does not state who buries Elyne. The Prose Merlin states that the old woman and her foster daughter have both been raped, that the old woman has buried her daughter, who could not endure the rape because of the giant's size and repulsiveness, and the old woman will be raped again (p. 429).

La<sub>3</sub>amon's description of the old woman's broken limbs and the burial of the duchess both go against the chronicle tradition and have not been incorporated into MA. However, La<sub>3</sub>amon's Brut might have supplied other details such as the crone mentioning the giant's use of force. In addition to this La<sub>3</sub>amon (12933) and MA both state that the duchess was only fifteen years old, and that the old woman says that she was the maiden's foster mother (12926; as in the Prose Merlin) rather than her nurse as in Geoffrey, Wace, Mannyng and Robert of Gloucester.

#### THE KIRTLE

"Bot he has a kyrtyll one, | kepide for hym seluen,  
 That was sponen in Spayne | with specyall byrdez  
 And sythyn garnescht in Grece | full graythly  
 togedirs;  
 It es hydede all with hare | hally al ouere  
 And bordyrde with the berdez | of burlyche kynggez,  
 Crispid and kombide, | that kempis may knawe  
 Iche kyngge by his colour, | in kythe there he lengez.  
 Here the fermez he fangez | of fyftene rewmez,  
 For ilke Esterne ewyn, | howeuer that it fall,  
 They send it hym sothely | for saughte of þe pople,

Sekerly at þat seson | with certayne knyghtez;  
 And he has aschede Arthure | all þis seuen wynntter.  
 Forthy hurdez he here | to owttraye hys pople,  
 Till þe Bretouns kynge | haue burneschte his lyppys  
 And sent his berde to that bolde | wyth his beste  
 berynes.  
 Bot thowe hafe broghte þat berde, | bowne the no  
 forthire" (998-1013).

The kirtle made of kings' beards is a borrowing from the poet's chronicle sources, which after the encounter with the giant of Mont St Michel have Arthur mention an earlier encounter with another giant, as Hamel notes.<sup>67</sup> Geoffrey says:

Dicebat autem se nunquam inuenisse alium tante uirtutis. postquam rethonem gigantem in aruaio monte | interfecit. qui ipsum ad preliandum inuitauerat. Hic namque ex barbibus regum quos peremerat fecerat sibi pelles. & mandauerat arturo ut barbium suam diligenter excoriaret (X, iii; p. 473).

This account includes the giant Retho's demand that Arthur pull his own beard off and Retho's promise that he will place Arthur's beard high in the coat as befits Arthur's status. If Arthur refuses to remove his beard they will fight for the coat and for the beard of the loser as a trophy. Wace's Brut is generally similar to Geoffrey's account although the beards are removed by shaving rather than ripping. The story recurs in Mannyng. Laȝamon does not mention the kirtle at all. The kirtle is not mentioned in Robert of Gloucester's Chronicle, the Prose Brut or the Prose Merlin. Geoffrey, Wace or Mannyng could have suggested these lines but the details are the MA-poet's invention.

#### THE GIANT'S BEARD

"His berde was brothy and blake . . ." (1090).

Geoffrey does not mention the giant's beard, but his face is soiled with pig's blood:

Aderat autem inhumanus ille. ad ignem. cuius ora infecta erant tabo semesorum porcorum. quos

partim deuorauerat. partim uero uerubus infixos.  
subterpositis prunis torreat (X, iii, 471-72).

The giant (or the food) is covered in ash in La<sub>3</sub>amon's Brut (12971); but the state of the giant's beard is not reported in La<sub>3</sub>amon's Brut, Robert of Gloucester's Chronicle, the Prose Brut or the Prose Merlin.

Hamel explains that brothy in MA refers to contamination by juices (presumably melted fat or blood) from the giant's meal.<sup>68</sup> According to Hamel, Wace's lines "La barbe avoit et les grenons / Soillez de char cuite es charbons" (PA 2935-36), inspired Mannyng's "His bryne his berde þer with was broþen / & al to-so[ill]ed wyþ þe spyk" (12344-45; the Petyt MS).<sup>69</sup> The first of these passages would explain why the giant's beard was blake, and broþen in the second could be the source of the "broth."

#### THE GIANT'S FOREHEAD

"Full-butt in þe frunt | the fromonde he hittez,  
That the burnyscht blade | to þe brayne rynnes.  
He feyede his fysname | with his foule hondes  
And frappez faste at hys face | fersely þeraftyre"  
(1112-15).

In MA Arthur's sword pierces the giant's brain, but the giant wipes his face and strikes again. Arthur then castrates the giant, who carries on fighting even after he has been eviscerated by a further sword blow.

Geoffrey's Historia and Wace's Brut mention the sword and the blood but not the wiping action.

According to Geoffrey:

Arturus uero acri ignescens ira. erecto in frontem  
ipsius ense uulnus intulit tantum. & si non  
mortale; tamen unde sanguis in faciem & oculos  
eius profluens: eorundem excecauit aciem  
(X, iii; p. 472).

Mannyng states:

Wyþ his swerd Caliborne;  
Scharply he gan hym torne;  
þat swerd he lifte wel on hey,  
& valedede his scheld a party;  
Endlong his forhed he hym smot,

þe swerd bot wel, & he was hot,  
 & entamed boþe his bryn  
 þat al þe skyn heng ouer hys eyn  
 (12381-88).

MA's brayne ("brain") might ultimately be derived from the similar sounding bryn ("brows") in Mannyng's lines, as Hamel notes.<sup>70</sup> However, the skin does not appear to fall over his eyes in MA, and there is no wiping action in Mannyng. The giant is injured in lines 4226-30 of Robert of Gloucester's Chronicle. Robert mentions that the blow falls on þe front in the first of these lines, as in MA.

In La<sub>3</sub>amon's Brut Arthur cuts off the giant's chin and jaw and injures his thigh, but the giant's forehead is not mentioned (13003-04). The giant's injury is not recorded in the Prose Brut. In the Prose Merlin, however, "li iaians ne le ueoit mie car trop estoient si oeil couert del sanc" (p. 430).

The MA-poet does not appear to be following the chronicles particularly closely, but if they are not due to coincidence there is a possibility that individual words may be taken from Mannyng and Robert of Gloucester.

#### THE BEARHUG

"Thane he castez the clubb | and the kynge hentez;  
 On þe creeste of þe cragg | he caughte hym in armez  
 And enclosez hym clenly | to cruschen hys rybbez;  
 So harde haldez he þat hende | þat nere his herte  
 brystez" (1132-35).

Arthur escapes the giant's embrace with relative ease in Geoffrey (where in both versions the giant forces him to his knees) and less easily in Wace. However, the giant does not appear to touch Arthur at all in La<sub>3</sub>amon, although the King's shield is shattered (13001-02). In Mannyng, the giant lifts Arthur four feet into the air and then throws him to his knees, but Arthur is able to stand up and break free (12403-16,



pp. 433-34). The Prose Merlin contains the similar lines

& lors reiete sa machue enuoie & commenche a  
tastoner por le roy prendre as mains . . . & lors  
ieta . j . saut & le prinst par les flans a . ij .  
bras & lestraint si durement qua poi quil ne li  
rompi leskine (ch. xxxii, pp. 430-31).

Arthur escapes when the giant attempts to take his sword (p. 431). There is no such crushing embrace in Robert of Gloucester's Chronicle or in the short account given in the Prose Brut. The Prose Merlin is the closest to MA here, but this may be due to coincidence.

#### THE FIERCEST GIANT

"He was þe forcyere be ferre. | þat had I nere funden,  
Ne had my fortune bene faire; | fey had I leuede!"  
(1176-77).

forcyere (meaning that the earlier giant was the stronger of the two giants) is derived from Geoffrey's phrase "Postea nulli forciori isto obuiauemat" (X, iii, p. 473) as Hamel notes. She adds that Malory or Scribe E confused the word with fersar.<sup>71</sup> However, Malory often deliberately adapted source words into words with similar sound but different meaning. Krishna is less sure which giant was the stronger, believing that the passage may mean that the earlier giant was the strongest Arthur had previously encountered.<sup>72</sup>

Wace states

"Eūe ai," dist Artus, "peor.  
Nen oi mes de jaiant graignor  
Fors de Rithon tant solemant,  
Qui avoit fet maint roi dolant" (3011-14).

It is also possible that the MA-poet may have been influenced by Wace's fors rather than Geoffrey's phrase.

In La<sub>3</sub>amon's Brut Arthur states

No uaeht ich nauere ueht non uppen þissere uolden  
buten þa ich sloh þene king Riun uppen þan munte  
of Rauinite! (13036-37).

La<sub>3</sub>amon does not explicitly mention the fierceness or strength of the giants. Mannyng says:

þen telde Arthur to Beduer & Kay,  
þat he nadde neuere suche affray,  
Of no geaunt but of on,  
& þat geaunt highte Ryton; . . .  
Siben fond Arthur neuere non  
But Dinabrok, as was Ryton,  
þat neuere dide til hym in dede,  
þat he had of so mykel drede  
(12447-50; 12477-80).

Nothing is said about the relative strengths of the two giants in Robert of Gloucester's Chronicle, the Prose Brut, or the Prose Merlin. Geoffrey or Wace could have suggested forcyere to the MA-poet, but it is rather an obvious word to use and so could be original.

Geoffrey further states that the earlier giant was killed "in aruaio monte" (X, iii, p. 473) which appears in MA as the montez of Araby (1175). Rithon is killed on the "mont de Rave" in Wace (PA 3038) and "an munte of Raunite" in La<sub>3</sub>amon. Mannyng does not reveal where this incident took place. The other giant is not mentioned in Robert of Gloucester, the Prose Brut or the Prose Merlin. Geoffrey's name for the location is much the closest to MA's.

#### THE WHITE CASTLE

"Towarde C[h]astell Blanke | he chesez hym the waye"  
(1225).

In Geoffrey of Monmouth's Historia as in MA, although Arthur's men pitch camp, they are not said to build a castle at this point. Geoffrey's Albam fluvium ("River Albam" or "White River") becomes a castle in the later chronicles and in MA.<sup>73</sup> In Wace Arthur builds defences by the Aube: "Sor Aube, a une molt fort place, A un chastelet compassé" (PA 3090-91),<sup>74</sup> and

Hamel believes that the MA-poet's C[h]astell Blanke is based on Wace's lines, with Wace's Aube triggering the alliterative poet's Blanke, "white". Branscheid also suggested that Geoffrey's place-name Augustodunum was the source of Castell.<sup>75</sup>

Hamel's claim that Arthur builds a castle on hearing of Lucius's proximity in the "four" chronicle sources is misleading, as, as in Geoffrey (and Robert of Gloucester's Chronicle line 4254, p. 299), Arthur pitches his pavilions rather than building a fort as we have seen.

The river is the similarly named Albe in Mannyng (12506, p. 437) and La<sub>3</sub>amon (13088) and as la riuere daube in the Prose Merlin (ch. xxxii, p. 431). Neither the river nor the White Castle is mentioned in the short account contained in the Prose Brut (ch. lxxxv, pp. 85-86).

Hamel seems to imply that Wace's Brut is the source because the strong place or the castle are mentioned so soon after the river,<sup>76</sup> but they are equally close in La<sub>3</sub>amon (13085-88) and Mannyng (12520-21, p. 438), which therefore are also possible sources, but further apart in the Prose Merlin. Geoffrey could have influenced this line in a negative way, as he does not mention a castle. The poet could have obtained the name of the castle by changing the Latin form of the name of the river into a French form (because the river is in France). The Latinate form of the name of the river could have been obtained from almost any of the chronicles. La<sub>3</sub>amon and Mannyng seem as plausible sources as Wace, and Mannyng's Albe was perhaps more likely to suggest "white" to the MA-poet than Wace's Aube.

## THE MESSENGER(S)

"Onone aftyre myddaye, | in the mete-while,  
 Pare comez two messangers | of tha fere marchez,  
 Fra þe Marschall of Fraunce, | and menskfully hym  
 gretes,  
 Besoghte hym of sucour | and saide hym þise wordez"  
 (1231-34).

Although Geoffrey's Historia does not make it clear who warns Arthur of Lucius's camp and his apparently irresistible force (X, iv, 474), the later chronicles usually state that Arthur is informed of Lucius's heinous deeds by spies (as Hamel notes).<sup>77</sup> Spies are mentioned in Wace (who also mentions peasants, lines 3075-76), in La<sub>3</sub>amon lines 13057-64 (and a knight brings news in 13070ff.) and in Mannyng (12508) and the Prose Brut (ch. lxxxv, p. 86). Neither spies or messengers appear in the Prose Merlin. It may well be that the MA-poet's choice of messengers rather than spies was influenced by La<sub>3</sub>amon's "an wis cniht" of lines 13070ff., as Hamel believes,<sup>78</sup> although as the knight messenger is wounded and they are not it could also be an original passage depending on no source.

In MA the messengers warn of the huge and horrible Romans and their equally repulsive allies, who capture castles and cities, confound the commoners and the clergy, fell forests and forage, rob the people, kill the nobles, and commit sundry further atrocities (1240ff.). These dastardly deeds do not occur in Geoffrey's Historia, but are hinted at in some of the other chronicles. The Romans only afflict the land in Wace's restrained account: "Et la contree porprenoient" (PA 3070). As might well be expected, La<sub>3</sub>amon's account is more gory: La<sub>3</sub>amon's wounded knight-messenger has been robbed of his lands by the fiendish Romans and he delivers La<sub>3</sub>amon's line 13063: "& Bruttes alle aquellen: quicke þer heo heom funde." Mannyng

states "þat þey of Rome com wyþ gret route, / & tok þe contre al aboute" (lines 12503-04). Mannyng's line has certain similarities with MA's line 1244, but this may well be due to coincidence. The Prose Merlin states that he "estoit uenus en cele contree & le destruoit" (ch. xxxii, p. 431). The Prose Brut records that there are five or six of Lucius's allies against every one of his men, but does not comment on Lucius' depredations (ch. lxxxv, p. 86). Arthur is frightened by the tidings in Robert of Gloucester's Chronicle but the depredations are not mentioned (4251-53).

Here MA is more in keeping with the spirit of La<sub>3</sub>amon's lines than with the other sources, but the MA poet was quite capable of supplying lurid details without La<sub>3</sub>amon's assistance.

#### ROBBERY

"þus he fellez thi folke | and fangez theire gudez"  
(1249).

La<sub>3</sub>amon's knight-messenger who "wes al for-wunded: & his folc afelled swiðe. / hafden Romanisce men: al his lond bi-raeiued him" (13071-72) and Hamel suggests that this may be the source of MA's line.<sup>79</sup> Wace does not mention robbery, but his reference to reaping and garnering could be taken as a metaphor for robbery (3084-86). Robbery is not reported in Geoffrey, Mannyng, the Prose Brut, Robert of Gloucester or the Prose Merlin. Wace or La<sub>3</sub>amon could have suggested this idea and La<sub>3</sub>amon contains a verbal parallel, although looting is a time-honoured practice among soldiers at war, particularly when they have not been paid, as was frequently the case with medieval armies.

## GAWAIN'S COMPANIONS

"The kynge biddis sir Boice, | 'Buske the belyfe:  
Take with the sir Berill | and Bedwere the ryche,  
Sir Gawayne and sir Gryme, | these galyarde knyghtez'"  
(1263-65).

Boso/Boice leads the group in all four chronicle sources as Hamel notes.<sup>80</sup> He is called "bosonem de uado boum" in Geoffrey, "Bos d' Ossinefort" in Wace (3101), Beof in La<sub>3</sub>amon (13097) and "Beofs of Hamptone" in Mannyng (12536). None of these forms is particularly close to MA's Boice.

In Geoffrey, Wace, La<sub>3</sub>amon and Mannyng he is accompanied by only two other named knights: Gerin of Chartres, and Gawain. Björkman's emendation of Gryme (which appears in T) to Gerin is therefore in accordance with the chronicle sources, and it is followed by Hamel and Krishna.<sup>81</sup> The source is not Robert of Gloucester's Chronicle, where the knights are rather vaguely said to be "þe erl of oxenford . . . & an oþer erl al so . / & sir wawein is soster sone" (4255-56a). Gawain, Segramor and Ewein deliver the message in the Prose Merlin (ch. xxxii, p. 432). This incident does not occur in the Prose Brut. Geoffrey, Wace, La<sub>3</sub>amon or Mannyng could be the source, with additional knights being added by the MA-poet in order to fill out the alliterative lines.

## ARTHUR'S CHALLENGE

"In caase that he will noghte, | þat cursede wreche,  
Com for his curtaisie | and countere me ones!  
Thane sall we rekken full rathe | whatt ryghte þat he  
claymes" (1273-75).

In Geoffrey's Historia Arthur states:

direxit ut suggereret ei quatinus recederet a  
finibus gallie. aut in postero die ad experiendum  
ueniret quis eorum maius ius in galliam haberet  
(X, iv, p. 474).

The concept of proof by battle is not used here or in the Prose Brut. In Wace and many of the other

chronicles, however, Arthur also wishes to fight to prove who has the better right:

S'il ne s'an voloit retorner,  
Par bataille venist prover . . .  
Li queus i avoit graignor droit  
(PA 3111-12, 3114).

Hamel cites Wace's lines implying that they are the source.<sup>82</sup> Wace does not mention Arthur's rudeness in insulting Lucius or have him mention courtesy.

In La<sub>3</sub>amon's Brut Arthur boasts that he won France by battle and that he will hold it in the same way (13104-12). The idea that the best man will win is certainly present, but not the idea that God will defend the right. These ideas also appear in Mannyng where, however, Arthur does mention the right as he does in MA:

Sey þemperour he go to Rome,  
& to ffraunce non hender come,  
Ne til no landes þat y wan,  
Ne chalange hit as man Romayn;  
þo ar myne; & myne schul be;  
Romayn of þeym schal neuere haue fee.  
3yf he wil nought turne ageyn,  
Byd hem abide þe bataille pleyn,  
& aenture at alle chaunce  
To dereyne þe ryght of Rome & ffraunce.  
As longe as y may ffraunce saue,  
þe Romayns schul hit neuere haue.  
Wyþ bataille, sey hym, y hit wan,  
& schal defend hit fro ilka man.  
Wip force, þer-of had þey first fee,  
Wyþ force þey les hit a-geyns me;  
& now wip bataille schal hit be sene  
Who schal haue hit quyt & clene" (12545-62).

Robert of Gloucester's Chronicle also mentions the right and is therefore theoretically a possible source:

To hote him þat he hastiliche . oute of france  
wende  
Oþer þat he com anorwe . batayle uor to do .  
Vor to cuþe weþer adde . betere riȝt þer to  
(4258-60).

The Prose Merlin also mentions proof by battle (p. 432), but courtesy is not mentioned.

As we have seen Wace, Mannyng, Robert of Gloucester and the Prose Merlin all mention combat to determine who has the right to France, although none is particularly similar to MA. Arthur's comments in MA have already implied that God's judgement will determine the outcome and this is made more explicit in lines 1277-78:

Thare sall it derely be delte | with dynttez of  
handez.

The Dryghtten at Domesdaye | dele as hym lykēs!  
As he also goes on in Wace to say that the God of battles will determine the outcome, Wace appears to be the most likely source for this section.

#### LUCIUS'S ENCAMPMENT

"Thise hende houez on a hill | by þe holte eyues,  
Behelde þe howsynge full hye | of hathen kynges--  
They herde in theire herbergage | hundrethz full many  
Hornez of olyfantez | full helych blawen--  
Palaisez proudliche pyghte, | þat palyd ware ryche  
Of pall and of purple | wyth precyous stones,  
Pensels and pomell | of ryche prynce armez,  
Pighte in þe playn mede | þe pople to schewe"  
(1283-90).

Geoffrey's Historia does not describe Lucius' camp at all. Wace briefly states that the Romans had shelter in tents, and in buildings constructed from branches. Hamel believes that MA's detailed description is an expansion of Wace's single line "Les herberges virent de l'ost" (PA 3141) and two lines of Mannyng.<sup>83</sup> herbergage also appears in MA line 1285 and elsewhere. The possible source-lines in Mannyng are

His pauilons, his penceles, þykke  
Nought fer fro þenne had þey don wyk (12511-12).

Mannyng and MA both specifically mention the emperor's pavilion and pensels (small flags) appear in MA at line 1289. Pensels is a word that could well be expected to appear in a detailed description of a pavilion without it being dependent on any particular source.



La<sub>3</sub>amon also states that Gerin, Beof and Gawain ride right up to the emperor's pavilion, but elephants, jewels and palaces are not mentioned in any of the chronicles (13142-44). In Mannyng and La<sub>3</sub>amon the Romans come out of their tents to see the Britons. Krishna and Hamel both doubt that the word palaisez really does mean palaces. Krishna believes that "palisade" is meant,<sup>84</sup> while Hamel thinks that this means that the emperor's tent is as rich as a palace.<sup>85</sup> As a palisade is unlikely to be adorned with costly cloth and precious stones Hamel appears to offer the more realistic interpretation. The Roman encampment is not described in Robert of Gloucester's Chronicle, the Prose Brut or the Prose Merlin which is too brief to be the source.

Wace's and Mannyng's lines could have been an influence on the MA-poet, although herbergage and pensels appear several times in MA and do not prove dependence on any source.

#### THE NEPHEW

"Thane answers sir Gayous | full gobbede wordes--  
Was eme to þe emperour | and erle hym selfen"  
(1346-47).

The character Gayous is probably based on Geoffrey's Gaius Quintillianus, as Hamel and Krishna point out, although Krishna also notes that Björkman believed that the spelling of the name suggested a French source.<sup>86</sup> He appears as Quintelien in Wace (3284), Quencelin in La<sub>3</sub>amon (13197), Quyntalyn in Mannyng (12647), Quitylian in Robert of Gloucester (4263) and Titilius in the Prose Merlin (ch. xxxii, p. 432). Lucius's nephew does not appear in the Prose Brut.

Branscheid's sensible suggestion that the MA-poet changed his relationship to Lucius from nephew to uncle (eme), probably for the sake of alliteration, is also

noted by Hamel.<sup>87</sup> He is said to be the emperor's syb and cousin in Mannyng (12648) and his nephew in Geoffrey (X, iv, p. 475), Wace's Brut (PA 3191), Robert of Gloucester's Chronicle (4263), and the Prose Merlin (ch. xxxii, p. 432). His relationship to Lucius does not depend on any one of these chronicles.

Quintillianus provokes Gawain in nearly all sources. He is not said to be an earl in the Historia, and he has no such title in Wace or the Prose Merlin. La<sub>3</sub>amon and Mannyng say that he is a knight (La<sub>3</sub>amon also states that he is a noble man) and there is a possibility La<sub>3</sub>amon's words in particular might have prompted the MA-poet to have considered giving him a title. His title is not given in Robert of Gloucester's Chronicle, but he is specifically said to have "ansuerede" Gawain's speech (4263) as he also does in La<sub>3</sub>amon's Brut (13198), the Prose Merlin (p. 432) and MA. La<sub>3</sub>amon, Robert of Gloucester or the Prose Merlin could have influenced MA's line 1346 in this respect.

#### THE ROMANS GIVE CHASE

"Thane folous frekly one fote | frekkes ynewe,  
And of þe Romayns arrayed | appon ryche stedes"  
(1360-61).

Geoffrey's line "partim pede partim equis" (X. iv, p. 475) is similar in details and Hamel cites it implying that it is the MA-poet's source.<sup>88</sup> However, some of the other chronicle sources contain broadly similar lines. Robert of Gloucester also says "Ac wat an horse wat auote / þe romeyns hom sywede ynou" (4270-72, p. 300), and in La<sub>3</sub>amon's Brut mounted earls and (presumably unmounted) armed warriors chase Arthur's knights in lines 13226ff:

Sone heom after wenden iwepnede kempen,  
 þer sixe, þer seouene; þer aehte þer niȝene.  
 And aeuere þa eorles arnde biliues,  
 and aeure umbe stunde biseȝen heom bihinde;  
 and euere þæ cnihtes of Rome after biliue come.

In Wace (and Mannyng) the Romans run for their horses and then pursue the Britons on horseback, but there does not appear to be a simultaneous pursuit on foot and on horseback as in Geoffrey and MA. Wace states:

Molt par veissiez l'ost fremir,  
 Seles metre, chevaux seisir,  
 Prandre lances, espees ceindre,  
 Esperoner por tost ateindre (3219-22).

Mannyng also relates how

Romayns ronne out of paulyons,  
 & hasted fast after þe Bretons.  
 Ilkon tok þat þey myght hent,  
 & after þem prykede faste, & went.  
 On þer was þat hadde a stede," . . .  
 (12675-79).

Only horses are mentioned in the Prose Merlin (ch. xxxii, p. 432). The Prose Brut does not relate how the Romans pursue the Britons.

Geoffrey, Laȝamon or Robert of Gloucester are the most likely chronicles to have suggested the form of the Romans' pursuit of Gawain's knights.

#### GAWAIN OR GERIN

"Thane sir Gawayne the gude | appone a graye stede,  
 He gryppes hym a grete spere | and graythely hym  
 hittez;  
 Thurghe þe guttez into þe gorre | he gyrdes hym ewyn,  
 That the grounden stele | glydez to his herte"  
 (1368-71).

In MA as in Geoffrey, Laȝamon (13235-38), Mannyng (12659-61), Robert of Gloucester and the Prose Merlin (ch. xxxii, p. 432), the first Roman knight is killed by Gawain instead of Gerin as in Wace. Hamel gives the impression that this is unusual but it is not.<sup>89</sup>

Laȝamon has Gawain wound the Roman with a spear as in MA; but he decapitates him with a sword. In Geoffrey,

Mannyng, Robert of Gloucester (4281-82), and the Prose Merlin he only uses a sword (p. 432). To complicate matters further, one of the Romans is killed by a spear in some of the chronicles. In Wace Gerin kills the first Roman with a spear. A spear is also used by Gerin in Mannyng to kill the second Roman (12684ff.). This incident does not occur in the Prose Brut.

The perfect match with MA is for Gawain to kill the first Roman with a spear. This (almost) happens in La<sub>3</sub>amon but nowhere else. La<sub>3</sub>amon also specifically mentions a steed in lines 13235-38, as does MA. La<sub>3</sub>amon therefore appears to be the most likely source.

#### MARCEL

"For grefe of sir Gayous | þat es on grounde leuede"  
(1385).

In T Sir Feltemour (whom Hamel boldly emends to Marcel de Mouce) attempts to avenge the death of Sir Gayous, the first Roman to die at the hands of Sir Gawain. Geoffrey give the knight similar motivation: "Marcellus Mutius . . . volens quintillianum vindicare" (X, iv, p. 475). Hamel believes that this line of MA is based on Geoffrey's line.<sup>90</sup> Other possible sources include Robert of Gloucester, who mentions that Marcel's motives are "Vor to awreke quintylian. to quelle sir waweyn" (4280). In the very different account in the Prose Merlin Marcell is the knight who overtakes Gawain and is killed by a mighty sword blow that reaches down to his teeth. Marcell's cousin is said to be "si fu moult dolant de son neuveu quil uit iesir mort a la terre" and attempts to avenge him (ch. xxxii, p. 433).

Wace does not explain Marcellus's motivation, as Hamel notes. In La<sub>3</sub>amon's Brut Marcel is one of the Roman knights, but again he is not said to be eager to avenge Quencelin (lines 13231ff.). In Mannyng, Marcells

hopes to take Gawain prisoner and thus to boost his own reputation (12720-22, p. 445). This incident does not occur in the Prose Brut. In Geoffrey's Historia Marcellus Mutius is motivated by vengeance and not by grief. As sorrow and grefe are near kindred Robert of Gloucester's account would appear to be closer to the spirit of MA.

#### BOLD BOASTERS

"Than a ryche man of Rome | relyede to his byerns:  
 'It sall repent vs full sore | and we ryde forthire;  
 3one are bolde bosturs | þat syche bale wyrkez.  
 It befell hym full foule | þat þam so fyrste namede.'  
 Thane þe riche Romayns | retournes þaire brydills  
 To þaire tentis in tene; | telles theire lordez  
 How sir Marschalle de Mowne | es on þe monte lefede,"  
 (1391-97).

Geoffrey (X, iv, p. 475), Wace (3235ff.), La<sub>3</sub>amon (13263ff.), Mannyng (12683ff.), Robert of Gloucester (4273ff.) and the Prose Merlin (ch. xxxii, pp. 432-33) all describe a battle between Arthur's messengers and a quantity of Romans. During the course of this Marcel's nephew is killed, as Hamel notes.<sup>91</sup> Hamel emends T's Marschalle de Mowne too to Marcel de Mouce. She also believes that the retreat of the Romans to their tents after Gayous is killed is the poet's invention.

In MA the Romans accuse the Britons of being bold boasters at the end of the battle. In Geoffrey, Wace, La<sub>3</sub>amon, Mannyng, Robert of Gloucester and the Prose Merlin, however, the accusation is the cause of Gawain's decapitating the Roman (Geoffrey's Gaius Quintillianus) and this is what leads to the battle. Tutillius also accuses the Britons of boasting in the Prose Merlin but in very different terms: "Moult sont boin manecheur breton mais del fet i a petit" (ch. xxxii, p. 432). The battle follows. This incident does not occur in the Prose Brut.

La<sub>3</sub>amon's version mentions both boldness and boasting. La<sub>3</sub>amon also states that he is a noble man of Rome. Since La<sub>3</sub>amon's version is the most similar version to MA's, it is most likely to be the source of MA's lines 1391 and 1393.

#### GREAT JAPES

"Forejustyde at that journee | for his grett japez"  
(1398).

Marcel's grete japez are found only in Mannyng, "& seyde, 'hit were ful gret ferlik / But he broughte Wawayn to þem al quyk'" as Hamel notes (12721-22).<sup>92</sup> The usual story is less amusing. Marcel rides after Sir Gawain. When he sees him Marcel attempts to capture him, but Sir Gawain kills him, despatching him to hell with a message for his uncle.

Geoffrey does not mention japes in the Historia, where Marcellus's sole motivation is vengeance. Wace, La<sub>3</sub>amon, Robert of Gloucester, the Prose Brut, or the Prose Merlin do not imply that there is anything humorous about these events either.

MA's Forejustyde could imply the use of a spear so the source of this word could be La<sub>3</sub>amon, but not Mannyng, or it could have been chosen merely for alliterative reasons.

#### THE BRITISH AMBUSH

"Thare ware Bretons enbuschide | and banarettez noble"  
(1403).

In the sources the ambush is usually mentioned beforehand. Arthur is usually said to have sent out several thousand men searching for news of the messengers before the ambush takes place as Hamel notes.<sup>93</sup> Wace mentions the ambush in advance of the event, stating what Arthur commands (PA 3331-33). In La<sub>3</sub>amon Arthur is said to have sent men to the wood for news of Gawain and his companions (13277-82). Mannyng

states that Arthur sends six thousand men to the wood in order to succour the three messengers (12823-26). The ambush is not mentioned in the Prose Brut. It is suggested by Merlin in the Prose Merlin (ch. xxxii, p. 433).

The British soldiers taking part in the ambush suddenly appear in Geoffrey's Historia (X, iv, p. 476) and Robert of Gloucester's Chronicle (4291-92, p. 302) as they also do in MA. The MA-poet may have been influenced by one or other of these chronicles, or independently have decided that it would be more dramatic to keep the ambush as a surprise.

#### SENATOR PETER

"To þe Senatour Petyr | a sandesmane es commyn" (1419).

Senator Petyr is derived from Geoffrey's Historia as Hamel and Krishna note.<sup>94</sup> Geoffrey states

Quod cum petreio senatori nuntiatum fuisset. x. milibus comitatus subuenire sociis suis festinauit" (X, iv; p. 476).

Wace also mentions Peter but he describes him as a rich baron rather than a senator (3355). Petreius is an "eorl" in La<sub>3</sub>amon's Brut where he brings six thousand men (13307-09). In the Prose Merlin Petrius is a knight of great renown and brings six thousand men also (p. 434). Mannyng calls him Petreus and describes him as a noble and worthy knight, but not as a senator (12799-806). Petreye a grete romeyn appears in Robert of Gloucester where he brings ten thousand men (4295, p. 302). He does not appear in the Prose Brut. As only Geoffrey states that Peter is a senator, his Historia is the obvious choice for a source, although a well-read author might have deduced independently that a noble Roman could be a senator.

## SIR BOICE

"Thane þe Bretouns boldely | braggen þeire trompez,  
 And fore blysse of sir Boyce, | was broughte owtte of  
 bandez,  
 Boldely in batell | they bere doun knyghtes,  
 With brandes of broun stele | þey brettene maylez,  
 þay stekede stedys in stoure | with stelen wapyns,  
 And all stewede wyth strenghe | þat stode þem agaynes.  
 Sir Idrus fitz Ewayn | þan 'Arthure!' ascryeez,  
 Assemblez on þe senatour | wyth sextene knyghttez  
 Of þe sekereste men | þat to oure syde lengede;  
 Sodaynly in a soppe | they sett in att ones,  
 Foynes faste att þe fore-breste | with flawmande  
 swerdez,  
 And feghttes faste att þe fronte | freschely  
 þareafyre,  
 Felles fele on þe felde | appon þe ferrere syde,  
 Fey on þe faire felde | by þa fresche strandez  
 (1484-97).

The chronicles show Boice attempting to capture Peter (rather than being taken prisoner himself before being rescued by Gawain as in MA), as Hamel notes.<sup>95</sup> In MA Boice is captured by Peter's men and he has to be rescued by Sir Gawain (1480-83); while it is Idrus fytz Ewayne and his sixteen knights who capture the senator (1500). Hamel further suggests that the MA-poet has divided this episode into the capture and liberation of Boice, and the capture of Peter.

In Geoffrey's Historia Boice is supported by the Britons but Gawain is not mentioned (X, iv; 477). Gawain, Yder and Guerin capture Peter in Wace and Mannyng (13075; p. 453). Gawain captures the senator in Laȝamon (13374). In Robert of Gloucester's Chronicle Boice captures Peter without the aid of Gawain (4302-10, pp. 302-03). Yder (Idrus) helps to rescue Beofs and capture Peter in Wace (3381ff.) and Mannyng (13075, p. 453) and this may have influenced Idrus's role in MA. The possibility that Mannyng may have influenced MA is strengthened by the fact that The Story of England contains the line "Bretons cried 'kyng Arthour,'" (13,059) as Idrus does in MA at line 1490.



In Wace the Britons cry out as Arthur had taught.

Boice is called "Bosoni" in Geoffrey's Historia, "Bos" in Wace, "Beof" in La<sub>3</sub>amon's Brut, "Beofs of Oxenforde" in Mannyng (12881ff.), but the Earl of Oxford is not named at this point in Robert of Gloucester's Chronicle (4302, p. 302). Segramor rather than Boice catches Petrus in the Prose Merlin (pp. 434-35). This incident does not occur in the Prose Brut. None of the chronicles is particularly close to MA's Boice.

#### ARTHUR GIVES THANKS

"þat þus in my absens | awnters em selfen" (1596).

In Geoffrey's Historia Arthur thanks his men for the gift of the captured Romans, offers them future reward and mentions his own absence from the battle:

Quibus ille congratulans & honores & [b]onorum  
augmentaciones promisit quoniam eo absente tantam  
probitatem egerant (X, iv, pp. 478-79).

Hamel believes that this line of MA is derived from Geoffrey.<sup>96</sup>

In the other sources Arthur gives thanks but does not mention his own absence. In Wace (3528-30), Mannyng (13105) and the Prose Merlin (p. 435) Arthur also congratulates his men but he does not mention his absence. In La<sub>3</sub>amon Arthur is only said to be pleased with his gift (13391). Robert of Gloucester states "Welle þat þe king . vor he nuste her of no<sub>3</sub>t" (4321). This incident does not occur in the Prose Brut. Geoffrey's Historia is the only one of these chronicles that is likely to have influenced this line of MA.

## THE QUARTET

"Comaundyd sir Cadore | with his dere knyghttes,  
 Sir Cleremus, sir Cleremonte, | with clene men of  
 armez,  
 Sir Clowdmur, sir Clegis, | to conuaye theis lordez,  
 Sir Boyce and sir Berell, | with baners displayede,  
 Sir Bawdwyne, sir Bryane, | and sir Bedwere þe ryche,  
 Sir Raynalde and sir Richere, | Rawlaunde childyre"  
 (1602-07).

Only four of these knights are named in the chronicle tradition, as Hamel notes.<sup>97</sup> Here are the spellings:

Geoffrey: Cador, Bedevere, Borellus and Richerius;  
 Wace: Cador, Borel, Richier and Bedevere;  
 La<sub>3</sub>amon: Cador, Borel, Beduer and Richier;  
 Mannyng: Cador, Borel, Richer and Beduer;  
 Prose Merlin: Bretel, Richier, Cador and Bediver.

Any of the possible sources could have supplied Cador, La<sub>3</sub>amon or Mannyng's spellings are most like MA's Bedwere, and La<sub>3</sub>amon is the closest to Richere. These knights do not appear in Robert of Gloucester's Chronicle or the Prose Brut.

## CHARTRES?

"Towardez chartris they chese, | thes cheualrous  
 knyghttez,  
 And in the Champayne lande | full faire þay eschewede"  
 (1619-20).

Hamel emends T's chartris to chartre. She claims that T's chartris is taken from Wace's line "An chartres les fera tenir" (SATF 12087; "an chartres," PA 3535) and does not mean the city Chartres but rather "He will have them held in prison."<sup>98</sup> Wace further states that they will be imprisoned in a castle in Paris. Robert of Gloucester translates this correctly (line 4323, p. 304). Mannyng states that they will be held in court in Paris (13112-14). The Prose Merlin's line "& les fesist tenir en chartre" (p. 435) is similar, as Hamel notes.<sup>99</sup>

These details do not appear in Geoffrey's Historia

or the later chronicles what will befall them in Paris is not usually revealed (although it could be guessed), as in La<sub>3</sub>amon's Brut, or the Prose Brut. They are taken to Benoyk in the Prose Merlin (ch. xxxii, p. 435). Wace or the Prose Merlin are the most likely influences.

#### THE ROMAN AMBUSH

"Sir Vtolfe and sir Ewandyre, | two honourable  
 kynges,  
 Erles of þe Oriente | with austeryn knyghttez,  
 Of þe awntrouste men | þat to his oste lengede,  
 Sir Sextynour of Lyby | and senatours many"  
 (1622-25).

MA differs from the chronicles in detail. The leader of the Roman ambush in MA is Sir Sextynour of Lyby who appears as King Sertorius of Lybia in most of the chronicles (and as the more similar Sextorius in La<sub>3</sub>amon--13427). The Prose Merlin, which is obviously not the source, names him "Gestoire qui estoit sires de libe" (p. 435).

MA's Vtolfe was originally Geoffrey's Vulteius Catellus (X, v, p. 479). He is transformed from a senator into an Eastern king as Hamel notes.<sup>100</sup> In Wace (3560) and La<sub>3</sub>amon (13506) he appears as Catellus, and in La<sub>3</sub>amon and Mannyng as Catel (13429 and 13141). Calidus and Catenois appear in the Prose Merlin (p. 435). Only Geoffrey could be the source of his name.

Evander appears in Geoffrey, Wace (3557), La<sub>3</sub>amon (13428), Mannyng (13140) and the Prose Merlin (p. 435).

Robert of Gloucester mentions only "the King of Scyrie" (line 4335, p. 305). None of these characters are mentioned in the Prose Brut. Geoffrey appears to be the most likely source for these names.

## THE CLOSE OF CLYME

"Here es þe Close of Clyme | with clewes so hye"  
(1639).

The MA-poet appears to have invented "þe Close of Clyme" for alliterative reasons, as Hamel notes.<sup>101</sup> Only La<sub>3</sub>amon gives a description of the site "in aenne wude . . . in ane dale deope" (13443-44) as she also notes. La<sub>3</sub>amon's deep dale is geographically similar to Close, which Hamel defines as "a mountain valley or pass." Geoffrey does not state where the ambush took place. In Wace helpful peasants guide the Romans to a suitable place for an ambush (3549ff.). In Mannyng the ambush is only said to be in sight of the Paris road. No geographical details are given in the Prose Merlin, Robert of Gloucester, or the Prose Brut. This location could have been suggested by La<sub>3</sub>amon's words, although a valley with a road running through it is as good a place for an ambush as any, and it may have been invented independently by the MA-poet.

## ALIDUC

"Ioneke and Askanere, | Aladuke and oþer" (1739).

Of these three named knights only Aliduc of Tintagel takes part in this battle (during the course of which he is killed) in Geoffrey, Wace and Mannyng, as Hamel notes.<sup>102</sup> These characters do not appear in La<sub>3</sub>amon, Robert of Gloucester's Chronicle, the Prose Brut, or in the Prose Merlin. Hamel is probably right to believe that the poet has taken the other names from outside of the chronicle tradition, so they do not concern us here.

## THE DEATH OF SIR BOREL

"Thane this cruell kynge | castis in fewtire,  
Kaghte hym a couerde horse | and his course haldez,  
Beris to sir Berill | and brathely hym hittes,  
Throwghe golet and gorgere | he hurtez hym ewyne.  
The gome and þe grette horse | at þe grounde liggez,

And gretez graythely to Gode | and gyffes Hym þe  
 saule.  
 Thus es Berell the bolde | broghte owtte of lyue  
 (1769-75).

Sir Berel is also killed in this battle in  
 Geoffrey, Wace, La<sub>3</sub>amon and Mannyng, when King Evander  
 of Syria sticks or throws a spear through his throat.  
 Geoffrey's account states:

Amiserunt etenim illum inclitum cenomannorum  
 consulem borellum. qui dum cum euandro rege syrie  
 congredereetur lancea ipsius infra gulam infixusa  
 uitam cum sanguine eructauit" (X, v, p. 480).

Wace's Brut is more similar to MA in that it also  
 suggests the departure of the soul:

Borel del Mans, uns gentius cuens,  
 Qui grant mestier avoit as suens,  
 S'i contenoit hardiemant  
 Et molt amonestoit sa gent.  
 Mes desor lui point Evander;  
 De sa lance li fist le fer  
 Parmi la boiche trespasser.  
 Borel chei, ne pot ester (PA. 3637-44).

La<sub>3</sub>amon's Brut states that: "þer wes Borel of-sla<sub>3</sub>en:  
 and idon of lif-da<sub>3</sub>en" (13479), as Hamel notes.<sup>103</sup> She  
 thinks these lines are the source of this section of  
MA. La<sub>3</sub>amon adds "Euander king hine aqualde mid luðere  
 his crafte" (line 13480). Borel is killed in lines  
 13215-18 of Mannyng, where the departure of the soul is  
 not mentioned. In Robert of Gloucester's Chronicle it  
 is Bedwer who dies at this point (4403). Borel is  
 listed amongst the dead in the Prose Brut (ch. lxxxvi,  
 p. 87) and the Prose Merlin, but his death is not  
 described (ch. xxxii, p. 436). Wace's account seems  
 closer to MA than any of the other chronicles.

#### SIR CLEREMONTE

"Ne hade sir Clegis comen | and Cleremonte þe noble,  
 Our newe men hade gone to noghte, | and many ma oþer"  
 (1828-29).

In the chronicles (other than Geoffrey's Historia,  
 where this incident does not occur) it is Guitard of

Poitou's large force rather than only Clegis and Cleremonte who come to the relief of the Britons, as Hamel notes.<sup>104</sup> Hamel adds that this was a deliberate alteration as the odds against the Britons and consequently their triumph are greater, as only two knights reinforce them rather than three thousand or so.

In Wace Guitard comes to the rescue after hearing the noise of battle (3648ff.). Wace states that the Britons would have been "discomfited" and the prisoners would have been liberated if Guitard had not appeared, but it is not explicitly stated that the Britons would have been killed. According to La<sub>3</sub>amon Guitard's men have been foraging when they hear the sound of the Romans (13493). More than three hundred Britons have already died (13482). La<sub>3</sub>amon does not explicitly state that Guitard's fortuitous appearance saves the lives of the Britons.

In Mannyng the Britons are reinforced by "Vtred, a lord of Peyters" and three thousand knights and archers. He has been told that the Romans intend to rescue the prisoners:

Ner grace had ben, al had be slayn,  
 Al had ben ded & doun born,  
 & þer prisons had ben lorn;  
 But Vtred a lord of Peyters . . . (13224-27).

Robert of Gloucester states

So þat vor defaute of help . hii were wel ney  
 issend  
 Ac þo com þe duc of peyto as god adde þe grace  
 ysend (4331-32, p. 304).

The Prose Merlin states

& tout i fuissent mort ou prins quant cleodalis li  
 senescaus de carmelide i soruint a tout . <sup>M</sup>v  
 hommes que li rois artus i ot enuoiet par le  
 conseil de merlin (ch. xxxii, p. 436).

These names sound more like Clegis and Cleremonte than the other chronicles. The duke of Poitou does not appear at this point in the Prose Brut.

The chronicles are different from one another and from MA. The Britons are reinforced at the crucial point in Wace, La<sub>3</sub>amon, Mannyng, Robert of Gloucester and the Prose Merlin. Mannyng's account is probably the closest to the Morte's. Only Mannyng, Robert of Gloucester, and the Prose Merlin state that the Britons are in peril of death as is expressly stated in MA.

#### CARUCE

"The Senatour Barouns | es kaughte with a knyghtte"  
(1908).

Branscheid's emendation of T's Barouns to Caruce is adopted by Krishna and Hamel.<sup>105</sup> The emendation is made because Geoffrey's "Quintus Carucius" appears at this point, he is a senator and his name alliterates on k. According to Geoffrey he commands a legion in the battle, in line 3559 of Wace as "Caritius," he is amongst those taking part in the ambush and in La<sub>3</sub>amon he appears as Carrius, where he also is present during the ambush (13428). He is not captured or killed in Geoffrey or any other chronicle. The form of the name suggests that it has been donated by Geoffrey, or possibly Carice who appears in Mannyng at line 13141 (p. 456).

#### ALIDUC

"Sir Alidoyke of Towell | with his tende knyghtez"  
(1916).

Hamel emends Towell to Tyntaiuell to make it more like the Tintagel of Geoffrey, Mannyng and particularly Wace (Elidur de Tintaiuel--PA 3633).<sup>106</sup> The name must come from one of these three, as he is not mentioned in La<sub>3</sub>amon's Brut, Robert of Gloucester's Chronicle, the Prose Brut, or the Prose Merlin.

## LE MANS

"Gude sir Mawrell of Manncez | and Mawren his broþer"  
(1918).

Hamel emends to þe Mannez to follow Wace, Mannyng's (and the Prose Brut's) association of Berell (or Borel) with Le Mans in Maine.<sup>107</sup> She believes that Mawrell is an alliterating amalgam of the names of Berell and Wace's "'Mauric Cador Cananeoic' (PA 3635)" who also dies in the battle. There is no apparent connection between Berell and Le Mans in Geoffrey, La<sub>3</sub>amon or the Prose Merlin. Geoffrey calls the latter "mauricum cador canariensem" (X, v, p. 480) while Mannyng calls him "Mauryk / Cador / Caneyc" (13213) so they could also have donated part of this name. He does not appear in La<sub>3</sub>amon.

Hamel believes that his brother Mawren is based on "Mauron (Wigornensis) Earl of Worcester" who is rather buried in the list of those attending Arthur's plenary court (Geoffrey, IX, xii, p. 453). He also appears in La<sub>3</sub>amon as "Maurin of Winchastre" (12144), as Hamel notes).<sup>108</sup>

Less likely candidates include Mannyng's "Sire Mauryce þe Erl of Wyncestre" (11098) and Wace's "Moruit, compte de Gloucester" (PA 1713, 3763, 4377). "Sire Moryond þe Erl of Gloucester" also appears in Mannyng (11097). "Moroud" and "Mauron erl of warewik" appear in Robert of Gloucester (3896-97, p. 274). "Mauran, erle of Glocestr" appears in the Prose Brut at an earlier point (ch. lxxix, p. 81) and "Borell, erl of Maans" is listed with the dead at a later point (ch. lxxxvi, p. 87). There are so many possible names in the sources that could have been adapted to form the characters who appear in this line of MA that no one source can be pinned down with confidence.



## LUCIUS WAVERS

"My herte sothely es sette, | assente 3if 3owe lykes,  
 To seke in to Sessye | with my sekyre knyghttez,  
 To fyghte with my foomen | if fortune me happen,  
 3if I may fynde the freke | within the foure haluez;  
 Or entire into Awguste, | awnters to seke,  
 And byde with my balde men | within þe burghe ryche--  
 Riste vs and reuell | and ryotte our selfen,  
 Lende þare in delytte | in lordechippez ynewe,  
 To sir Leo be comen | with all his lele knyghtez,  
 With lordez of Lumberdye, | to lette hym þe wayes"  
 (1963-72).

In the chronicles Lucius is undecided whether to risk a major battle with Arthur or to make a strategic withdrawal to Autun to await reinforcements (or to "Oston" to rest in Mannyng line 13294), as Hamel notes.<sup>109</sup> In MA Lucius appears angry and determined and assembles the lords, who only hear his speech and do not give advice. Geoffrey says:

Lucius autem hyberius tales casus moleste ferens  
 animum suum diuersis cruciatibus uexatum nunc huc  
 nunc illuc reuoluit. hesitans an cepta prelia cum  
 arturo committat. an infra augustudunum receptus  
 auxilium leonis imperatoris expectet  
 (X, vi, p. 481).

In this account he appears more undecided than frightened, but as in MA, he is not said to take the advice of his lords. Potential reinforcement would also come from Leo in Geoffrey's Historia as in MA line 1971. The other sources give rather bland unspecific accounts. Wace says:

An dotance fu qu'il feroit,  
 S'il Artur se combatroit  
 Ou son riereban atandroit,  
 Qui apres lui venir devoit (PA 3717-20).

Hamel quotes Wace's Brut as an example of Lucius's indecision. There he is frightened and takes the advice of his lords. He is equally frightened in La3amon:

He iwaerð afered þa wunder ane swiðe,  
 and nom him to raede and to som-rune  
 þat he wolde to AEust mid alle his iuerde;

forð bi Lengres he wolde uare--of Arðure he hafde  
muchele kare! (13547-50).

In Mannyng the emperor receives news of the defeat of his men and the death of his ally Ewander. He is dismayed but is advised to retreat retreat to Oston (13275-96). In Robert of Gloucester's Chronicle, after great thought and apparently without taking advice, Lucius retreats to a strong city to await reinforcements (4339-42). In the Prose Merlin Lucius also wonders whether to fight immediately or "de atendre son arriere ban qui apres lui deuoit uenir" (p. 436). This incident does not occur in the Prose Brut, which is too short to include this kind of detail.

In MA's version Lucius does not appear to be afraid or to take advice. In these two respects MA is most reminiscent of Geoffrey's account, although he does not take advice in Robert of Gloucester's Chronicle either. The most likely source appears to be Geoffrey's Historia, although MA does not appear to be following any of the chronicles closely at this point, and it could be closer to the Historia not because it is dependent on that work but because some of the later accretions have been deliberately omitted in order to make Lucius a more formidable enemy.

#### "SESSYE"

"To seke in to Sexon | with my sekyre knyghttez"  
(1964).

"Seþen into Sessoyne | he soughte at the gayneste"  
(1977).

Hamel emends both Sexon and Sessoyne to Sessye. She lists variant spellings of the name of the battlefield: Geoffrey Sessia (p. 482 Bern MS), Wace: Suifson (PA 3746), Soeise (SATF 12302), Laȝamon Sosie (13560), Mannyng Swesy (13312).<sup>110</sup> The site is not named at this point in Robert of Gloucester's Chronicle (p. 305), and the Prose Brut is too short to contain

this kind of detail. The valley has the very different name Ceroise in the Prose Merlin (p. 437). As T appears to be corrupt at this point (and specific spellings are an unreliable guide in any case) no source of this name can be determined, although we can rule out Robert of Gloucester's Chronicle, the Prose Brut and the Prose Merlin. La<sub>3</sub>amon's Brut also contains the similar sounding phrase "scolden cnihtes" (13562) but this may be due to coincidence or alliterative necessity.

#### AUTUN

"Or entire into Awguste, | awnters to seke" (1967).

In MA Lucius considers withdrawing his men to Awguste to rest, revel and enjoy themselves. The form of the name given in T is closer to Geoffrey's Augustudunum (X, vi, p. 481), than it is to Wace's Ostum (PA 3723), La<sub>3</sub>amon's AEust (13549) or Mannyng and the Prose Merlin's Oston (13294; dosteun--p. 437), as Hamel notes.<sup>111</sup> Robert of Gloucester only mentions a strong city (4341), and even the city is not mentioned in the Prose Brut. MA's Awguste is most likely to be a contracted anglicised form of Geoffrey's Augustudunum.

#### "SIR" LEO

"To sir Leo be comen | with all his lele knyghtez"  
(1971).

Only Geoffrey names Leo where he appears as the emperor: "an infra augustudunum receptus auxilium leonis imperatoris expectet" (X, vi, p. 481), as Hamel correctly notes. She believes that the reason that the MA-poet makes Leo into a mere "sir" is that he remembered that he had previously followed Wace's example in naming Lucius as emperor (although Geoffrey and most of the subsequent chronicles do state that Lucius is emperor at one point or another).<sup>112</sup> This is not entirely convincing, as the poet does not always

give people their proper titles: in line 4262 for example King Arthur becomes "sir Arthur." If a king can be called "sir" then an emperor can also.

If Wace and the MA-poet consciously demoted the Emperor Leo to a knight or a noble this was presumably done to avoid having two emperors ruling at the same time. There were of course two emperors reigning from 395 AD when the empire was divided, and Arcadius ruled in the East and Honorius in the West,<sup>113</sup> a system that continued until the deposition of the last western emperor Romulus Augustulus in 476.<sup>114</sup> At the time of the historical Leo I who ruled the eastern empire from 457-474 (possibly a time for the "historical" Arthur also) there were indeed two emperors reigning simultaneously. If Geoffrey had some awareness of an Emperor Leo it may have been confined to seeing that name on a list of emperors rather than any historical detail.

None of the other chronicles names the (other) emperor at this point. The only other chronicler to mention another person's force is Robert of Gloucester. Robert calls Lucius a senator and mentions the unnamed emperor here: "Vorte þe emperour him miȝte more poer sende" (4342). The Emperor Leo's force is not mentioned in Laȝamon's Brut, Mannyng (p. 461), the Prose Brut (ch. lxxxv, p. 86), or the Prose Merlin (p. 436), although Lucius's own rearguard are said to be available to reinforce him in the latter.

Geoffrey must be the source of the name Leo, but it is much more doubtful whether Wace's example of making Lucius an emperor has resulted in the Emperor Leo becoming Sir Leo in MA. Wace is particularly unlikely to be a source as he does not mention either Leo or any emperor's force. In Wace as in the Prose Merlin the reinforcements are Lucius's own.

## SEVEN DIVISIONS

In MA before the final battle against Lucius Arthur divides his forces into "seuen grett stales" (1980). In this the MA-poet appears to follow Geoffrey's "per cateruas septenas" (X, vi, p. 482), although Arthur has a total of ten divisions in the Historia as Hamel notes.<sup>116</sup> Robert of Gloucester's Chronicle, following Geoffrey, also has seven divisions: "His ost he delde a seuene" (4352).

There are ten companies in Wace's Roman de Brut (PA ed. 3749ff.). Arthur does not divide his men into seven in La<sub>3</sub>amon's Brut either (13600-18). Mannyng does not state that there are seven divisions and in his account there appear to be nine in all, including Arthur's force. Arthur divides his men into eight companies in the Prose Merlin (p. 437). Arthur's army is not said to be so divided in the Prose Brut (which does not list the commanders). Geoffrey, Robert of Gloucester, or alliterative necessity could be the source of the "seuen grett stales" in MA.

In MA the ten named commanders are Sir Valiant of Vyleris (the Welsh King of the council scene), Arthur, Raynalde and Richere, the duke of Rouen, Kay and Clegis, Lot and Launcelot, and Cador.<sup>117</sup>

Geoffrey names Arthur's commanders as Earl Morvid (in reserve), King Auguselus of Albany, Cador, Gerin of Chartres and Boso, King Aschil of Denmark and King Lot of Norway, King Hoel and Gawain, Kay and Bedevere, Holdin and Guitard of Poitou, Jugein of Leicester and Jonathel of Dorchester, Cursalem of Caistor and Urbgennius of Bath, and Arthur (X, v; pp. 482-83).

Wace lists the commanders as: Mordup Earl of Gloucester (in reserve), King Arthur, King Aguisel of Scotland, Cador, Boso and Earl Guerin of Chartres, King Echil of Denmark and King Lot of Norway, Hoel and

Gawain, Kay and Bedevere, Holdin of Flanders and Guitard of Poitou (PA ed. 3763, 3803ff.).

In La<sub>3</sub>amon's Brut the commanders are Moruith Earl of Gloucester (in reserve), King Angel of Scotland and Cador, Beof of Oxford and Geryn, AEscil of Denmark, Lot of Norway, Howel of Brittany, Gawain, Kay and Beduer, Howeldin of Flanders and Gwitard of Gascony, Wigain of Leicester and Jonathas of Dorchester, Cursaleyn of Chester and Urgein of Bath (13600-618).

Mannyng's list is similar to La<sub>3</sub>amon's. He states that the commanders are Moronthe of Gloucester (in reserve), Arthur, Agusel and Cador, Beofs of Oxford and Geryn of Chartres, King A-child of Denmark and King Loth of Norway, Ohel and Gawain, Kay and Bedevere, Holdyn and Guitard of Poitou, "Iugens of Leycestre" and "Ianatas of Dorcestre," Cursalen Earl of Chester, "Baruk of Circestre, (and) of Bape Vrgen" (13325-37; 13371-88).

Robert of Gloucester's commanders are mostly defined by their realms and are very different to those of MA:

. . . be king of cornwayle. & of scotland al so .  
 Of norpweye of denemarch . of bruteyne of peyto .  
 Of gascoyne . of normandye . of erles 3ut ber to .  
 Of carcois of oxenford . of leicestre al so .  
 & sire wawein is neuue . flour of corteysye .  
 (lines 4347-51, p. 306).

These are very much Vulgate characters.

The Prose Merlin names Arthur's commanders as the "conte de gloucestre", King Arthur, King "aguiscans", "dus escans de cambenic", "belcis li rois des danois", "li rois loth dorcanie", "li rois tradelmans" (of North Wales), Gawain, "li rois vriens", "mesires yuain ses fiex", "yuain li auoltres", "li rois belinans", "li roi nantres", "li rois des . C . cheualiers", "li rois clarions" (of Northumberland), "li rois carados", "li rois bohors", "cleodalis le senescal de carmelide" and

"li rois bans de benoyc" (p. 437).

Arthur, Kay, Lot and Cadour appear in Geoffrey, Wace, La<sub>3</sub>amon and Mannyng and could be derived from any of these chronicles. Clegis, Launcelot, Raynalde, Richere and the Duke of Rouen are apparently additions made independently of the chronicles. MA's Sir Valiant the Welsh King finds a near parallel in the English Prose Merlin's "kyngge Tradilyuans of North walis", but this is probably mere coincidence.

#### THE TRAP

"Oure burlyche bolde kyngge | appon the bente howes  
With his bataile on brede | and baners displayede.  
He had þe cete-forsett | appon sere halfes,  
Bothe the clewes and þe clyfez, | with clene men of  
armez;  
The mosse and þe marrasse, | the mounttez so hye,  
With grete multytude of men | to marre hym in þe wayes  
When sir Lucius sees . . ." (2010-16a).

In MA Lucius and his men enter the vale seeking adventures (2006-07) but are then surprised by Arthur's host and no retreat is possible. Lucius is also ambushed in La<sub>3</sub>amon's Brut:

ise<sub>3</sub>en alle þa dales: alle þa dunes:  
alle þa hulles mid helmes biþahte.  
he<sub>3</sub>e hare-marken, haeleðes heom heolden,  
sixti þusende þrauwen mid winde,  
sceldes blikien, burnen scinen,  
palles gold-fa<sub>3</sub>e, gumen swiðe sturne,  
steden lepen--sturede þa eorðe!  
þe keiser isah þaene king fare, þer he was bi wude-  
sca<sub>3</sub>e (13652-59).

Hamel believes that these lines may be based on La<sub>3</sub>amon. This is because Lucius's spies give him prior warning of the ambush in the other sources.<sup>118</sup> In La<sub>3</sub>amon's Brut tidings are again mentioned, but as in MA Lucius actually sees Arthur's forces rather than being warned in any other way.

In Geoffrey, Lucius becomes aware of the trap but decides to fight anyway and makes a long speech to inspire his men (X, viii; pp. 485-86). Wace's account

is broadly similar to Geoffrey's (PA ed. 3905ff.). Mannyng says "þen herde þemperour by spies seye / þat Arthur had trauersed his weye" (13463-64). The Prose Merlin also states that tidings come to Lucius (ch. xxxii, p. 438). This incident does not occur in Robert of Gloucester's Chronicle or the Prose Brut (ch. lxxxv, p. 86.31). It is possible that the idea of Lucius seeing Arthur's forces did come from La3amon, particularly as banners or standards are also seen waving in the wind in both accounts, but there is no verbal correspondence.

#### THIEF OR TRAITOR

"This traytour has treunt | this treson to wyrche!" (2017).

Wace and Mannyng have Lucius compare Arthur to a robber or a thief during the course of his long speech. In Wace he states:

"Ne sai quel robeor novel,  
Ou robeor ou larroncel,  
Nos ont devant close la voie  
Par ou je mener vos devoie" (3949-52).

In Mannyng he says "I ne wot wheþer þey be robbours / Or þeues þat wolde haue ought of ours" (13501-02). In La3amon's Brut he makes a similar comment, but he makes it immediately, as he does in MA: "What beoð þeos utla3en: þa þisne wei us habbeoð for-uaren" (13662).<sup>119</sup> No such comment occurs in Geoffrey, in Robert of Gloucester's Chronicle, or in the Prose Brut. The Prose Merlin has Lucius say "Et li berton nous ont tolu le chemin uers ostun que nous ni poons aler ne passer se par bataille non" (ch. xxxii, p. 438). The three possible sources for this line are Wace, La3amon and Mannyng. Since this reference (which is not an exact match) is buried in a long speech in Wace and Mannyng, but correctly positioned and more prominent in La3amon, the latter is the most likely source.



## DRAGON AND EAGLE

"Dresses vp dredfully | the dragone of golde,  
With egles al ouer | enamelede of sable" (2026-27).

In the chronicles Arthur has a golden dragon standard (to which the wounded retreat) and Lucius uses the conventional golden Roman eagle. In MA after sighting Arthur's forces Lucius raises what is normally Arthur's dragon, while Arthur apparently has no particular standard (although banners are mentioned in line 2011), as Hamel notes.<sup>120</sup>

In Geoffrey these standards appear as "Aureum draconem infixit," (X, vi, p. 483) and "auream aquilam quam pro uexillo duxerat" (X, viii, p. 487). Wace's and Robert of Gloucester's accounts are similar to Geoffrey's. The eagle is mentioned later in the battle but it is not described by Wace. Arthur's men are slain by its bearers ("An l'eschiele a l'empereour / S'anbatirent devant les lor" PA 4247-50). Later Lucius's men rally to the eagle, rescuing their emperor (PA 4304-06). These details do not appear in Lazamon. In Mannyng, after Ohel and Gawain's attack, the Romans

fflede vnto þe Egle of golde.  
(Egle ys ern on Englische roun;  
þat was þe Romayns gunphanoun.)  
þere þey fond þe Emperour (13756-59).

The Prose Merlin mentions the golden dragon and the eagle: "si i fu sa maisnie priuee que il ot norie & fist tenir son dragon el milieu que il faisoit porter pour ensegne" (p. 437) and (Gawain and Hoel come) "enuindrent al gonfanon a laigle dor . Illuec estoit li empereres" (p. 439). Robert of Gloucester describes Lucius as having "An erne in stude of is baner . he sette vp of golde" (4397). The banner does not appear in the Prose Brut. MA's account appears to be highly original.

## THE NOISY DALE

"For dauncesyng of Duchemen | and dynnyng of pypez,  
All dynned fore dyn | that in þe dale houede"  
(2030-31).

In MA the dancing and piping of Lucius's men as they celebrate prior to battle makes the dale resound. No such celebration occurs in the chronicles. In Laȝamon's account the two rival armies make the earth shake as they advance. Trumpets and sixty thousand of Lucius's horns are sounded. An equal number of Arthur's horns are sounded in reply:

þa gon þat folc sturien -- þa eorðen gon to dunien;  
bemen þer bleowen, bonneden ferden;  
hornes þer aqueðen mid hæh<sub>3</sub>ere stefnen,  
sixti þusende bleowen tosomne.  
Ma þer aqueðen of Arðures iueren  
þene sixti þusande segges mid horne;  
þa wolcne gon to dunien, þa eorðe gon to biuien  
(13696-702).

Hamel cites these lines.<sup>121</sup> The first and last lines are probably the most significant as the earth and welkin ("sky") are said to dunien which is similar to MA's dynned for dyn.

There are no dancing Germans in the Historia or in Wace's Roman de Brut. The trumpeters, however, do appear in Geoffrey (X, ix, p. 487) and Wace after Lucius has spoken and deployed his forces. In Wace's Brut one company attacks Arthur's men:

Donc öisses granz corneïz  
Et de gresles grant soneïz (PA ed. 3981-82). . . .  
Molt veïssiez le chanp fremir,  
L'une eschiele l'autre anvaïr,  
L'un conroi o l'autre hurter,  
Les uns ferir, les uns boter,  
Les uns venir, les uns torner,  
Les uns cheoir, les uns ester (PA ed. 4005-10).

Pipes also appear in Mannyng:

On boþe sydes þey gonne to blowe  
Trumpes & pipes a wel god þrowe;  
De batailles neyghed ney & ney,  
Sadly passing, and softely" (13541-44).

And "Al þe valeye aboute schok, / So harde þe parties

to-gidere tok" (12565-66) where the shaking is differently caused. Earlier in the Prose Merlin "& rommain lor saillent al deuant a si grant bruit que la terre en tramble toute & fremist enuiron els" (ch. xxxii, p. 435). Less likely influences include the horns mentioned later in chapter xxxii, "Lors oisies grans soneis de cors & de busines dune part & dautre" (p. 438). (In the English Prose Merlin this appears as "Than sholde ye have herde grete sown of trumpes, and mules and Olyfautes"--p. 660). This incident does not occur in Robert of Gloucester's Chronicle or the Prose Brut.

Some type of horn is sounded and the earth shakes in several of the chronicles, as we have seen. Trumpets appear in Geoffrey, Wace, La<sub>3</sub>amon, Mannyng and the English Prose Merlin. The pipes that appear in MA are also found in Mannyng which could therefore be the source, although it is perhaps more likely to be mere coincidence. The earth resounds or shakes in Wace, La<sub>3</sub>amon, Mannyng and the Prose Merlin. The valley is mentioned in *Wace and Mannyng, which are a little closer to MA*, although it is still the battle rather than the clarion call that makes the ground move. MA's dynned resembles La<sub>3</sub>amon's dunien and as it is an uncharacteristic usage it is more likely to have been influenced by La<sub>3</sub>amon's account than to have arisen independently. All in all, the shaking earth could have been taken from any of the chronicles, but this one word suggests that the borrowing was from La<sub>3</sub>amon.

#### SIR JENITALL

"Joynes on sir Jenitall | and gentill knyghtez" (2112).

Hamel emends T's Jenitall to Jonatall because the original o may have been mistaken for an e and mixed with gentill in the same line.<sup>122</sup> The exploits of this knight are not recounted in any of the chronicles,

although a similarly named noble is one of Arthur's commanders in Geoffrey, Wace, La<sub>3</sub>amon and Mannyng. "Ionathal dorecestrensis" commands one of Arthur's divisions in Geoffrey, (X, vi, p. 483) as Hamel also notes. In Wace "Jonatas de Dorecestre" turns up before the battle as a constable of the seventh legion (PA 3824). La<sub>3</sub>amon's Brut calls this knight "Ionatan, Eorl of Dorchestre" (13612). Different Mannyng manuscripts give the names "Ianatas of Dorecestre" and "Ionathas" (13386). The most similar name is Robert of Gloucester's Ionatal of dercestre, who is mentioned as attending Arthur's court at Caerleon but is not listed amongst Arthur's commanders. He does not appear in the Prose Merlin or the Prose Brut either. This name looks like an anglicisation of Geoffrey's Ionathal, but it cannot be stated with certainty whether it was derived from Geoffrey, or from Wace, La<sub>3</sub>amon or Mannyng.

#### BARE-LEGGED BOYS

"[Fayre lordys, loke your name be nat loste!]  
 I wende no Bretouns walde bee | basschede for so  
 lyttill--  
 And fore bare-legyde boyes | pat on the bente howys!"  
 (2120W, 2121-22).

Possible changes from the original line 2120W and the influence of Scribe E are discussed in the Scribe E section of this thesis.

Arthur insults his opponents in most of the sources, in Geoffrey's Historia calling them "muliebres istos" and "semiuiiri isti" (X, xi, pp. 492-93).<sup>123</sup> In Wace, where he mentions Britain but not the Britons or Bretons, he praises his men for their manliness. He also insults the Romans claiming that they are only a tenth as good as his own men, and that the coming battle will resemble a tournament of dames. In his second and shorter speech during the battle he threatens to kill his men himself if they run away. He

bids them remember their ancient courage and conquests. In Geoffrey and La<sub>3</sub>amon Arthur does not mention Britons (or Bretons) in his speech. In La<sub>3</sub>amon's Brut Arthur again insults the Romans and their allies in his speech before the battle. This time he mentions their satanic characteristics.

And þis beoð þa forcuðeste men of alle quike  
 monnen,  
 hæðene leode --Godd heo seondeð laðe!  
 Ure Drihten heo bilaeueð and to Mahune heo tuhteð;  
 and Lucas þe kaeisere of Godd seolf naueð nane  
 care,  
 þat hafueð to iueren hæðene hundes,  
 Goddes wiðer-iwinnen! . . . (13634-39).

He also reminds his men of their past victories over Rome and asserts that their coming victory will be by the will of God. In La<sub>3</sub>amon Arthur's speech during the battle consists of only two lines (13880-81). In Mannyng Arthur insults the Romans in the speech he makes before the battle. His speech begins Lordynges (line 13403, cf. MA 2120W) and he also mentions Bretaygne (13410, cf. MA 2121). He continues

Wommen con bettere of fightyng!  
 On Crist we schul hope & affye  
 A-geyn þe houndes of Paynye!  
 ffor houndes, schul 3e neuere fle,  
 & Romayns ar nought worþ a be!  
 (13432-36).

The Prose Brut only mentions enemies of Christendom and God (86.17-22). The Prose Merlin shares some words with T:

ore i paira qui bien le fera car quanke vous  
 onques fesistes en uostre uie est tout perdu se  
 vous ore ne le faites bien enuers ces rommains  
 (p. 437).

The English version of the Prose Merlin states:

Lordes, now it shall be sene how wele ye will do;  
 for all that ever ye have don in all your lif is  
 loste, but ye do wel at this tyme a-gein these  
 Romayns (p. 659).

Arthur also reminds his men of their past prowess (p. 440). Arthur does not ridicule his opponents and

praise his men in Robert of Gloucester's Chronicle.

In MA Arthur's claim that the Romans and their allies are mere boys (and therefore not men) may reflect the explicit charge of effeminacy made in Geoffrey and perhaps implied in Wace and Mannyng.

#### RIVERS OF BLOOD

"So fele fay es in fyghte | appon þe felde leuyde  
That iche a furthe in the firthe | of rede blode  
rynnys!" (2143-44).

The chronicles also comment on the amount of blood shed in the battle. Geoffrey mentions slaughter and a blood-bath before Arthur's battle-speech, and slaughter is mentioned several times afterwards. Geoffrey has Arthur say:

Set non opus erat querela quia undique  
sanguinolente acies mutuo irruentes non  
permittebant eis spacium predicti gemitus quin  
ipsos ad defendum sese coegissent (X, ix, p. 489).

Wace's Brut contains a line that is closer to MA: "Sanc veïssiez corre a ruissiaus" (PA 4411). Hamel believes this is the source of MA's line,<sup>124</sup> but La<sub>3</sub>amon's Brut also contains a broadly similar line: "beornes þer swelten, blodes aturnen; straecten after stretes blodie stremes" (13713-14). Mannyng states: "þe blod ran þer as water stremes / In chynes, in creuesses, & in semes" (13975-76). This image of flowing blood does not appear in Robert of Gloucester's Chronicle, the Prose Brut, or the Prose Merlin. Wace's, La<sub>3</sub>amon's, Mannyng's and MA's accounts all mention some form of water-course and so any of the three of them could have suggested MA's line.

#### THE ROMANS RALLY

"Thane þe Romayns releuyde, | þat are ware rebuykkyde,  
And all to-rattys oure men | with theire riste  
horsses,  
Fore they see þaire cheftayne | be chauffede so sore"  
(2234-36).

The Romans also rally and relieve their Emperor in the chronicles. Geoffrey describes their recovery and aid of Lucius against Gawain: "ecce romani subito recuperantes impetum in armoricanos faciunt & imperatori [suo] subuenientes" (X, xi, p. 492). Hamel believes that MA's lines may have been inspired by Geoffrey's or later chronicle versions of the incident.<sup>125</sup> In Wace the legions are said to help the emperor by sweeping the Britons away. Wace is generally similar to Geoffrey here:

Mes cil de Rome recovrerent;  
 A l'aigle d'or se rasanblerent,  
 L'anpereor ont securu,  
 Por po ne l'orent ja perdu (PA 4303-06).

In La3amon Arthur's men furiously attack the emperor, who is rescued by the Romans (13874ff.). The Romans are also inspired at an earlier point by seeing Kinard's death (13844ff.). Mannyng seems the closest to MA:

þe Romayns perceyued þer bataille hard,  
 & relyed þem to þe standard,  
 & come to socoure þemperour  
 þat was in a perilous stour;  
 fful litel failed he nadde ben lorn.  
 þen were þe Bretons bakward born  
 (13843-48).

There is a possibility that perceyued here inspired the Morte's similar releuyde. Both versions mention that the Romans rally.

Robert of Gloucester contains the line "þe romeins come to hor maistres sone . to helpe him in such cas" (line 4449, p. 313). The Romans do not rally at this point in the Prose Brut. In the Prose Merlin the Romans only rally after Gawain has killed Lucius (ch. xxxii, p. 440).

The Romans temporarily rescue Lucius in Geoffrey, Wace, La3amon, Mannyng and Robert of Gloucester, any of which could have suggested MA's lines, but Wace and Mannyng are slightly closer to MA than the others.

## ON TO THE EAGLE

"To owtraye þe emperour, | 3if auntire it schewe,  
Ewyn to þe egle, | and 'Arthure!' askryes" (2244-45).

In MA after Bedevere's death Arthur and his men come to the aid of Gawain's beleaguered force. They intend to kill or injure Lucius and they approach his Roman eagle calling the name of their leader. In Wace, Mannyng and the Prose Merlin it is Gawain or Hoel who reaches the eagle. Hamel also observes that it is only in MA that Arthur kills Lucius in single combat.<sup>126</sup>

In Wace Hoel leads his men up to the eagle. Wace states:

"O les granz cos que il donoient  
Et o la gent que il menoient  
Vindrent desi au confanon  
Qui portoit l'eigle d'or an son" (PA 4215-18).

These lines are cited by Hamel. In Mannyng (13756-60) as in Wace, Ohel and Wawayn chase the Romans "vnto þe Egle of golde" where the Emperor lurks. Geoffrey, Robert of Gloucester and La3amon do not mention the eagle banner at this point, although, in Geoffrey (X, ix, 488-89) and Robert (at an earlier point) Kay comes to Arthur's dragon at an earlier point (4408, p. 310). These incidents do not occur in the Prose Brut. The Prose Merlin, however, does mention that the people of Brittany reach "al gonfanon a laigle dor . Illuec estoit li empereres" (p. 439). Wace, Mannyng or the Prose Merlin could have suggested these lines.

## THE DEATH OF LUCIUS

"Thus endys þe emperour | of Arthure hondes,  
And all his austeryn oste | þareofe ware affrayede"  
(2255-56).

In MA Arthur kills Lucius with his sword and the surviving Romans flee. In the chronicles, Lucius dies in obscure circumstances, although Mannyng, Langtoft<sup>127</sup> and the Prose Merlin credit Gawain with the deed (but the Romans just fight harder thereafter in the latter:



p. 440). Wace states that Lucius is killed with a spear rather than a sword as in MA (4397-4404). In Robert of Gloucester's Chronicle the emperor is again killed by an anonymous spear thrust (line 4473, p. 315). No one knows who killed Lucius in Geoffrey (X, xi, p. 494), La<sub>3</sub>amon (13892-95), or in the Prose Brut (87.11-12).

The fear shown by the Romans in the Morte also appears in Geoffrey, Wace, Robert of Gloucester, the Prose Brut and Mannyng, in the latter's words "þe Romayns alle faste þey fledde, / & þe payens for dredde spredde" (13969-70). Any of these chronicles could have suggested fear to the MA-poet, or he could have devised the idea himself.

#### NO QUARTER

"Thane þe kyde Conquerour | cryes full lowde,  
 'Cosyn of Cornewaile, | take kepe to þi selfen  
 That no captayne [ne kyngel] | be kepyde for non  
 siluer,  
 Or sir Kayous dede | be cruelly vengede!'  
 'Nay' sais sir Cadour, | 'so me Cryste helpe,  
 Thare ne es kaysere ne kyngel | þat vndire Criste  
 ryngnes  
 þat I ne schall kill colde dede | be crafte of my  
 handez!'" (2261-67).

In the chronicles Arthur generally gives a similar command to Moruit, the commander of his reserve forces, prior to the battle, but moving the order to this point makes Arthur appear more cruel, as Hamel notes.<sup>128</sup>

In Geoffrey's Historia, however, Arthur calls for no quarter after Gawain and Lucius' fight has been interrupted (X, xi, p. 492). This is the speech in which he insults the Romans (for which see above).

Wace's version is reproduced by Hamel as an example of what the sources contain:

Et se Romain par aventure  
 Tornoient a desconfiture,  
 Poigniez après ses ateigniez,  
 Ociez les, nes espargniez!

Et cil distrent: "Bien le feron" (PA 3769-73).<sup>129</sup> Laȝamon's version is similar to Wace's. In Laȝamon Arthur mentions that it is the will of "þe liuiende Godd" (13582) that the Romans be defeated before telling Moruiþ to kill the Romans, who run away as in Wace (cf. MA 2266-67 where he invokes Christ and swears that there is no enemy under Christ that he will not kill). Geoffrey's authorial voice (but not Arthur) also states that the slaughtering, imprisoning, and robbing of the Romans was pre-destined by God (X, xii; p. 494).

In Mannyng, as in Wace and Laȝamon, Arthur tells Sir Moreont the Earl of Gloucester:

3yf swylk auenture bytide or be,  
 þat þe Romayns turn bak & ffle,  
 ffolewe þou affter, þenne, & slo;  
 In god tyme þider þou go (13333-36).

In Robert of Gloucester's Chronicle after the Romans rally to save Lucius from Gawain Arthur says: "Wy lete ȝe þis haluemen . þus longe alieue go" (4453) and "Ne leteþ non alieue go. to grounde smiteþ ȝoure fon" (line 4457, p. 314). This incident does not occur in the Prose Brut. In the Prose Merlin, when the Romans rally after Lucius's death Arthur orders "si nen laisies nul escaper" (ch. xxxii, p. 440).

The command that Arthur gives in Geoffrey's Historia, Robert of Gloucester's Chronicle and the Prose Merlin is closer to MA than the versions in the other chronicles are, as it is given during the battle, but it need not be the source of Arthur's words in MA. Arthur's naming of Christ in Laȝamon's Brut or Geoffrey's reference to divine providence may have influenced the MA-poet, but because of the great differences between them, this is less than certain.

## LUCIUS'S COFFIN

"Sewed them in sendell | sexti-faulde aftire,  
 Lappede them in lede, | lesse that they schulde  
 Chawngē or chawffe, | <sup>3</sup>if þay myghte escheffe  
 Closed in kystys | clene vnto Rome:  
 With theire baners abowne, | theire bagis therevndyre,  
 In what countre þay kaire | that knyghttes myghte  
 knawe  
 Iche kynge be his colours, | in kyth whare [he]  
 lengede (2299-2305).

La<sub>3</sub>amon's is the only chronicle to include a lengthy and detailed account of the burial of the dead and of Lucius's coffin. Hamel therefore believes that the elaborate description of the Roman's coffins may be loosely inspired by La<sub>3</sub>amon. She cites La<sub>3</sub>amon's lines 13901--which refers to gold cloth, and line 13904--which describes the coffin decorated with gold.<sup>130</sup>

La<sub>3</sub>amon's Brut relates how:

Arður lette slaen an teld amidden aenne bradne  
 ueld  
 and þider iberen lette Lucēs þene kaisere,  
 and lette hine bitillen mid gold-fa<sub>3</sub>e pallen,  
 and biwiten hine þer lette þreo da<sub>3</sub>es fulle  
 þe while he wurchen lette an werc swiðe riche,  
 ane cheste longe, and wreon heo al mid golde;  
 and lette leggen þerinne Lucēs of Rome--  
 þat wes a swiðe duhti mon þa while his da<sub>3</sub>es  
 ilasten.  
 þa 3et dude Arður maere, aðelest alre Brutte:  
 Arður asechen lette alle þa riche  
 kinges and eorles and þa riccheste beornes  
 þa i þan fehte weoren isla<sub>3</sub>en and idon of lif-  
 dae<sub>3</sub>en;  
 he lette heom burien mid baldere pruten.  
 Buten þreo kinges he beren lette Lucēs þan  
 kaisere,  
 and lette makien beren riche and swiðe maren,  
 and lette heom sone senden to Rome (13899-914).

The latter part of this passage is similar to MA where Arthur's men seek out the bodies of the Sultan of Syria, various kings and sixty senior senators. The bodies of some of the enemy appear to be buried locally in Geoffrey (X, xiii; p. 495), Wace (PA 4421-24), and La<sub>3</sub>amon (13907ff.). There is no such reference in

Mannyng, Robert of Gloucester, the Prose Brut or the Prose Merlin.

Geoffrey does not say that Lucius's body is placed in a decorated coffin. He merely says that it is returned to Rome as tribute. There is a little more detail in Wace who states:

Le cors fist de l'anpereor  
Prandre et garder a grant enor;  
A Rome an biere l'anvea  
Et a ces de Rome manda (4425-28).

Mannyng only describes this episode briefly:

He tok þe body of þe Emperour,  
& dide hit kepe at gret honour,  
& sent hit to Rome to do in graue (13991-93).

Robert of Gloucester's Chronicle (4487, p. 316) or the Prose Brut (ch. lxxxvi, p. 87.28-9) are unlikely to be sources as they give no details. Laȝamon's is certainly the most detailed of the chronicles but it is not necessarily a source as this is the sort of detail that the MA-poet would be likely to expand with alliterative padding and the coffin would naturally be decorated with gold to show Arthur's wealth, taste and magnanimity.

#### MERCY

"'Grante vs lyffe and lym | with leberall herte,  
For His luffe that the lente | this lordchipe in  
erthe!'  
'I graunte' quod [þe] gude kynge | 'thurghe grace of  
my selfen;  
I giffe ȝowe lyffe and lyme, and leue for to passe'"  
(2318-21).

Here the senators ask for mercy in God's name. Hamel believes that Arthur's omitting to give God the credit for his victory as he is alleged to do in the chronicles is significant. She cites Wace's lines 4417-18 as an example of this: "Grasces randi au Roi de gloire, / Par cui il ot eū victoire."<sup>131</sup> Hamel is being rather misleading here, as he actually gives thanks to God only in Wace and Mannyng. There is some

similarity between the senators' words in MA's line 2317 and Arthur's actions in Wace and Mannyng:

þerfore þanked Arthur God Almyghty,  
þat gaf hym þe maistri (13983-84).

Arthur is actually more merciful in the Morte than in Geoffrey's Historia, where those Romans who do not surrender, to be tied up "like women," are robbed, imprisoned or slaughtered: "Ita quod maxima pars eorum ultro protendebat manus suas muliebriter uincendas" (X, xii: p. 494). As we have seen Geoffrey maintains that this is "ordained by divine providence": "Quod diu potentie stabat dispositione" (X, xii; p. 494). No such slaughter occurs in Wace or Mannyng, nor do the senators ask for mercy. In La3amon some Romans flee from their castles for fear of Arthur, others beg Arthur for his protection (13956-59). This incident does not occur in Robert of Gloucester's Chronicle or in the Prose Brut although the Romans are pursued and slaughtered (ch. lxxxvi, 87.16-19).

In not giving thanks to God, Arthur could be following Geoffrey, La3amon or Robert of Gloucester rather than going against the chronicle tradition as Hamel claims. Arthur is also asked for mercy in La3amon. However, none of the chronicles seem close enough to MA here to be certain sources.

#### THE "TRIBUTE"

"'Here are the kystis' quod the kynge, | 'kaire ouer þe  
mownttez,  
Mette full [of] monee | þat 3e haue mekyll 3ernede'"  
(2342-43).

All the chronicles refer to Arthur's sending the corpses to Rome as tribute, as Hamel notes. She reproduces four lines from Mannyng as an example of this:

Arthur preyes 3ow, for þe arrerage  
 þat 3e receyue now þys truwage;  
 And 3yf 3e chalange hym any mare,  
 He schal 3ow sende swiche as þyse are  
 (13999-14002).<sup>132</sup>

Arthur also claims to be sending the Romans their tribute in Geoffrey (X. iii, p. 496), Wace (PA 4429-32), La<sub>3</sub>amon (13915-18) and the Prose Merlin (p. 441), although he does not actually mention kystis ("coffins"), or that the tribute will take the form of money as MA does. In MA Arthur also mentions treasure in line 2351. In Wace Arthur states (although in a letter) that the (one) corpse is the only type of truage he will pay:

"Et a ces de Rome manda  
 Que de Bretaigne qu'il tenoit  
 Altre treü ne lor devoit,  
 Et qui treü li requeroit  
 Autretel li anvoieroit" (PA 4428-32).

La<sub>3</sub>amon also mentions the Romans' desire for tribute in the form of "Arðures golden" (13918; cf. MA line 2343a). Robert of Gloucester also mentions "truage" but not "money" or "gold" (4488-89). The Prose Brut only mentions that "oþere truage he wolde none paie" (ch. lxxxvi, 87.30-31).

As Wace and La<sub>3</sub>amon mention the form that the tribute will take, they appear closer to MA than the other chronicles. This is, however, rather slender evidence for one or both of them being the source of these lines in MA, as the mention of money should not be a great surprise in an expanded account such as this.

## STORAGE AND STUFFING

"We rede 3e store 3owe of stone | and stuffen 3our walles" (2369).

Arthur's messengers appear to be advising the Romans to gather stones to repair their walls or to drop on the Britons who will besiege them (and possibly food to last throughout the expected siege). Hamel believes that repair of the defences is the least likely as the alternative meaning of stuff may have been unknown at the time.<sup>133</sup> However, in support of her interpretation Hamel quotes a line from La3amon from this stage in the story where Arthur says that he will "Rome walles rihten: þe 3are weoren to-fallen" (13921). This does not have quite the same meaning, as MA may be implying that the walls are in a state of disrepair rather than having been overthrown. However, if this is the case Arthur is missing an opportunity to mention his ancestors and his claim to rule the Roman empire yet again. Miners fail to destroy the walls of Rome in Mannyng (3431-32) where Rome is eventually seized but not destroyed. There is no such reference in Geoffrey, Wace, Robert of Gloucester, the Prose Brut, or the Prose Merlin. There is no convincing source for this line.

## THE BURIAL OF KAY

"The cors of Kayon þe kene | at Came es beleuefede" (2380).

MA reports that Kay's body is transported to Came for burial. Björkman believed that Kayon suggests a French source,<sup>134</sup> but Hamel doubts this as this form does not appear in French Arthurian romances.<sup>135</sup> She argues instead that the reading of the poem was a sign that a final -s had been omitted at an earlier stage of transmission. Wace spells the name Key.

Came sounds something like "Caen" but actually

means "Chinon." The closest form to Came is Geoffrey's Camum as Hamel notes (X, xiii, p. 495). Wace names Chinum and Chinon (PA 4434-36 and 4440). Laȝamon states that "Kaei" was buried by hermits near "Kinun" castle (13929-37). Mannyng says that Kay was taken to Chymoun (14,007). Kay is buried in "Kenen, his owen castel" in the Prose Brut (ch. lxxxvi, p. 88). Robert of Gloucester does not mention Chinon. He says only that Kay's body was sent "in to angeo" (line 4482, p. 316). The Prose Merlin does not record the procedures for the interment of Kay's body.

MA's Came is closer to Geoffrey's Camum than to any of the later chronicles. The forms found in the other chronicles more obviously resemble "Chinon" and are less likely to have suggested this line.

#### THE BURIAL OF KAY AND BEDEVERE

"He beryes at Bayouse | sir Bedwere þe ryche;  
The cors of Kayon þe kene | at Came es beleuefede,  
Koueride with a crystall | clenly all ouer;  
His fadyre conqueride þat kyth | knyghtly with hondes"  
(2379-82).

Bedevere is said to be buried in Bayoue ("Bayeux") in line 2379 of MA, but his father or grandfather are not mentioned at this point. MA agrees with Geoffrey (X, xiii, p. 495), Wace (4441), Laȝamon (13938-40) and Mannyng (14,013-16) in the claim that Bedevere is buried in Bayeux. Robert of Gloucester merely says "and bedwer in to normandye" (line 4482, p. 316). The Prose Brut does not state where Bedevere is buried although Arthur sojourns in "Burgoigne" (ch. lxxxvii, p. 88). This detail does not appear in the Prose Merlin. Geoffrey, Wace, Laȝamon or Mannyng could have provided this information.

None of the chronicles mention that Kay's father (or Kay himself) conquered the city as MA does in line 2382. Geoffrey (X, xii; p. 495) and Wace credit Kay



with building Chinon (which is MA's Came as we have seen). (In Geoffrey's Historia Kay is still alive when he is taken to Chinon, where he dies and is buried.) According to La<sub>3</sub>amon, Arthur gave Kay the city and changed its name from Kinun to Kain after his death (13933-36). Mannyng says that Kay was borne to the castle and that "He compassed hit in lengþe & brede / Er he to þe bataille 3ede" (14005-06). Kay is buried in "Kenen, his owen castel" in the Prose Brut (ch. lxxxvii, p. 88). There is no such reference to Chinon in Robert of Gloucester's Chronicle or the Prose Merlin.

It is possible that MA's claim that Chinon was conquered by Kay's father is an adaptation of Geoffrey's reference to the founding of Bayeux by Bedevere's grandfather, and to Bedevere's burial in this city, as Hamel notes.<sup>136</sup> The details vary but the pattern they form is identical, and since the references are so close together, one could have prompted the other. Since the other chronicles do not state who founded this city, they are less likely to have prompted MA's lines.

#### BURGUNDY AND BAYEUX

"Seyn in Burgoyne he bade | to bery mo knyghttez--  
Sir Berade and Bawdwyne, | sir Boyce þe ryche--"  
(2383-84).

In MA Arthur stays in Burgundy while the dead are buried. He also remains there in Mannyng: "Arthur lefte in Burgoyne" (14020), Wace: "remest an Bergoigne" (PA 4448)<sup>137</sup> and in La<sub>3</sub>amon (13948-49) and the Prose Brut (ch. lxxxvi, p. 88) but not Robert of Gloucester or the Prose Merlin. Burgundy is not mentioned in Geoffrey. Wace, La<sub>3</sub>amon, Mannyng, the Prose Brut, or alliterative necessity could have suggested MA line 2383.

The burial of the dead (other than Kay and

Bedevere) is also mentioned in the chronicles. Earl Holdin is said to be buried in Geoffrey's Historia, Wace, La<sub>3</sub>amon, Mannyng and the Prose Brut. Wace, La<sub>3</sub>amon and Mannyng also mention Sir Ligier. The minor knights are not named in Robert of Gloucester. In the Prose Merlin Arthur buries the unnamed dead and proceeds to Lausanne to fight a gigantic cat which is possessed by the devil. Unfortunately this incident does not occur in MA (where one suspects that it would have been very entertaining). The absence of this incident is further evidence that the Merlin is not a major source for MA. The MA-poet appears at this point to be inventing names that alliterate with Burgoyne rather than following any of the chronicles closely.

#### TRIBUTE

When the "Syre of Milan" learns that Arthur has captured Como he offers him homage and tribute of gold, horses, jewels, cloth and purple dye. Hamel believes that this section of MA is based on the deeds of Belin and Brenne, and she cites Wace's version of the bribes offered to the brothers by the Romans:

Or e argent tant lur durunt  
 Que ja plus ne demanderunt,  
 E estre ceo lur promettrunt  
 Treu chescun an a doner  
 (SATF 2898-2901).<sup>138</sup>

This is one of the sections Hamel believes "demonstrate conclusively the poet's primary dependence on Wace."<sup>139</sup>

In Geoffrey a tribute of gold and silver is paid to the brothers by Rome in Geoffrey: "Optulerunt etiam plurima donaria auri & argenti: sigulisque annis tributum ut sua cum pace possidere sinerentur" (III, ix, p. 287). La<sub>3</sub>amon's Brut reports that they:

3iuen heom seluer and gold and bi-techen heom al  
 þis lond.  
 3iuen heom garisum swa heo wulle[ð] kepe.  
 vre childre to 3isle 3ef heo swa wulleð.  
 aelc/ches barunæs sune þe i þissere burh wuneð.

þeo scullen beon icorne and swiðe wel iborne.  
 childre swiðe hendi 3isles feor and twenti.  
 & aelche 3er of golde ten hundred punde.  
 (2650-56).

In Mannyng the Romans offer to pay the brothers gold, silver and "truage" (3318-19, p. 117). No tribute is mentioned in the Prose Brut (ch. xxiii, pp. 26-27). It is possible that the MA-poet could have sought out an account of this much earlier incident in Geoffrey, Wace, La3amon, or Mannyng's chronicles. Arthur also mentions the tribute paid to his ancestors in his speech to his council in the giant's tower in MA and most of the chronicles, but he does not go into detail. The rather general descriptions which are given in the council of the tribute formerly paid by the Romans appear unlikely to have influenced this section of MA. The chronicles also show Arthur (rather than his distant and probably fabulous ancestors) being given tribute and homage earlier in the chronicles.

La3amon gives an account of tribute paid by the Scots (10951-52), the Irish (11169-77) and the Danes (11630-32) and of the submission of these peoples. The tribute includes fabric, horses, gold and child-hostages. Geoffrey's Historia makes a good deal less of the tribute and submission of Arthur's conquered foes, and Wace and the other chronicles place only a little more emphasis on tribute and fealty. I see no need for the poet to go back to Arthur's distant ancestors when tribute paid to Arthur by subject peoples was also reported in the chronicles, and particularly by La3amon, whose account is similarly detailed; although the detail could be the result of independent alliterative expansion and padding.

#### HOMAGE

"And euer withowttyn askynge | he and his ayers  
 Be homagers to Arthure | whills his lyffe lastis"  
 (3146-47).

Hamel notes that in La<sub>3</sub>amon's Brut, the Romans tell the brothers:

We swullen þine men bi-comen. & þine mon-scipe  
heien:  
mid allen oure mihten. daies and nihtes  
(2696-97).<sup>140</sup>

This incident is not recorded in any of the chronicles at this particular point. Mannyng mentions truwage and hostages, but not homage (13996). This is in any case the situation that a conquered foe would be likely to find himself in, and no particular source is required.

#### THE TORMENT OF TUSCANY

"Into Tuskane he tourneþ, | when þus wele tymede,  
Takes townnes fulle tyte | with towrres full heghe;  
Walles he welte down, | wondyd knyghtez,  
Towrres he turnes | and turmentez þe pople;  
Wroghte wedewes full wlonke, | wrotherayle synges,  
Ofte wery and wepe | and wryngen theire handis,  
And all he wastys with werre | thare he awaye rydez--  
Thaire welthes and theire wonny[n]ges | wandrethe he  
wroghte!  
Thus they spryngen and sprede | and sparis bot  
lyttill,  
Spoilles dispetouslye | and spillis theire vynes,  
Spendis vnsparely | þat sparede was lange;  
Spedis them to Spolett | with speris inewe.  
Fro Spayne into Spruyslande, | the worde of hym  
sprynges  
And spekynngs of his spencis-- | disspite es full  
hugge!" (3150-63).

Hamel believes that MA's description of Arthur's wasting of Tuscany is another passage that is based on Wace's account of Belin and Brenne.<sup>141</sup> Geoffrey briefly relates how the brothers afflicted Italian cities and farms (III, ix, 290). Wace's lines are cited by Hamel as MA's source:

Toscane unt conquise e robee [MSS DL e guastee]  
Une terre desaloee.  
Quant plus alerent purpernant  
E vers Rome plus aprismant,  
E cil de Rome plus fremirent  
Ki les noveles en oïrent (SATF 2873-77).

La<sub>3</sub>amon's Brut, however, contains a similar account:

Tuscan heo habbeð al bi-wunnen. i Salome heo  
 slowe monie þusend monnen.  
 Swa heo nehlehte toward Rome to late heom þuste  
 are heo þer comen  
 & þat Romeanisce floc swiðe wes of-fered.  
 for heom comen stronge tidinge from Belin þon  
 kinge (Caligula 2626-2629).

Mannyng states:

þey robbed þorow al Tuskane,  
 & al ouer rod, & þorow ran.  
 Als þey ryfled landes ay whore,  
 Rome þey neighed ay þe more.  
 Romayns dredden hem for to deye,  
 ffor þo tydynges þat þey herd seye;  
 Al day of passande men þey herd,  
 þe two breþere wonnen al þe werd  
 (3291-98).

The chronicles do not mention Arthur's Tuscan campaign. MA's account of the ravaging of Tuscany need not have been based on Wace's Brut: it could have been based on Laȝamon or Mannyng.

#### THE DAMAGED VINES

"Spoylles dispetouslye | and spillis their vynes"  
 (3159).

Arthur's scorched-earth policy resembles Hoel's deeds (at Arthur's command) against Guitard of Poitou after the defeat of Frolo and just before the story of MA begins, as Hamel notes. She cites Wace's lines:

Kar, fors de tur et de chastel,  
 Nen out remés rien a gaster  
 Ne cep ne vinne a estreper (SATF 10126-28).<sup>142</sup>

The destruction of the vines is also mentioned by Mannyng at the same point: "Al was destroyed, & al was reft, / þe selue vynes þey ne left" (10939-40).

In Geoffrey's Historia Hoel defeats Guitard and ravages Gascony and Aquitaine with fire and sword (IX, xii; 450-51, and in Laȝamon's Brut he lays waste to Poitou and slays the people (12012). However, vines are not mentioned here by Geoffrey, Laȝamon, Mannyng (10791ff) or Robert of Gloucester. In the Prose Brut Arthur's siege causes the people of the city to have

"despendede al her' vitailles þat were wiþin . . ." (ch. lxxviii, p. 79). This incident does not occur in the Prose Merlin. The destruction of the vines may have been derived from the earlier incident in Wace or Mannyng and transferred from Poitou to Tuscany, or the MA-poet may have thought of vines flourishing in the Tuscan sunshine, and added the detail spontaneously.

#### BELIN AND BRENNE AGAIN

"Fro Spayne into Spruyslande, | the worde of hym  
srynges" (3162).

Mannyng relates how word of Belyn and Brenne's deeds, which include ravaging Tuscany, reaches Rome: "Al day of passande men þey herd, / þo two breþere wonnen al þe world" (3297-98). Hamel cites these lines as evidence that they may have suggested this line in MA.<sup>143</sup> In Wace the Romans tremble when they hear the news (SATF 2877-78). La<sub>3</sub>amon also mentions the fear caused by word of the earlier English king: "for heom comen stronge tidinge from Belin þon kinge" (2629).

La<sub>3</sub>amon also mentions tidings of Arthur in the similar lines 11987-88, which follow the defeat of Frolo. No such reference occurs in the other chronicles at this point. It is hardly surprising that word of an approaching conqueror and his deeds should precede him, as it does in MA's line 3162, so there may be no particular source for this line. Wace, Mannyng and La<sub>3</sub>amon's lines on Belyn and Brenne are rather far removed from this point in terms of legendary historical time, but as both chronicles lines and MA's lines relate to the despoiling of Tuscany there may be a connection. La<sub>3</sub>amon's line 11998 at least relates to Arthur, but it is perhaps less likely to be the source.

#### THE CUNNING CARDINAL

"Prayes hym for þe pes | and profyrs full large"  
(3179).

The "cunningest" cardinal in Rome attempts to make peace with Arthur in this line. Wace mentions the Romans' efforts to buy off the earlier conquerors Belin and Brenne:

Mais se il poënt pais trover  
 Pur promettre ne pur doner,  
 Vers les dous freres pais querunt.  
 (SATF 2895-97).

Hamel believes that this line of MA may be a summary of Wace's lines.<sup>144</sup> The Romans also attempt to buy off Belinus and Brennius in Geoffrey (III, ix; p. 287). In La3amon they are not said to have a cardinal, and as they worship Dagon (2695) and Teruagant (2670), they are evidently not Christians. The church does not intervene on the Romans' behalf in Mannyng or the other chronicles either.

The Romans do not attempt to bribe Arthur in the chronicles. The cardinal appears to be the poet's invention, and his deeds are what would be expected of a diplomat and a cleric in real life, so this line too need have no literary source.

#### THE TRUCE

"Besoghte hym of surrawns, | for sake of oure Lorde,  
 Bot a seuenyghte daye | to pay ware all semlede,  
 And they schulde sekerlye hym see | the Sonondaye  
 Peraftyre  
 In the cete of Rome | as soueraynge and lorde"  
 (3181-84).

In MA the cardinal requests a week's truce before Arthur can be made Roman Emperor. In La3amon's Brut Arthur's ancestors Belin and Brenne demand tribute, homage, and fealty within seven days, as Hamel notes:

To-daie a seouen-nihte : bringeth me her rihtte .  
 gold & gersume : 3eoue and eower 3isles .  
 & cumen her on fore : þe haexete of Rome.  
 & swerie me aefes : þat aed heom scel iwurden .  
 & bi-cumen nu mine men : & mine monscipe haeien.  
 (2714-18).<sup>145</sup>

In La<sub>3</sub>amon the Romans are also given a week's truce after Arthur defeats Frolo (11978). Geoffrey, Wace, Mannyng and Robert of Gloucester, the Prose Brut and the Prose Merlin do not mention a week's truce. La<sub>3</sub>amon's Brut is markedly different from Wace and the chronicles derived from Wace.

La<sub>3</sub>amon may be the source of these lines, but there are no verbal parallels, so the similarity may be due to no more than coincidence.

#### CORONATION

"And crown hym kyndly | with krysome de hondes,  
With his ceptre, [forsothe], | as soueraynge and  
lorde" (3185-86).

There are several references in the chronicles to Britons ruling the Roman empire in the past. Geoffrey mentions that Belinus and Constantine once won the imperial crown of Rome: "belli atque constantinum imperii romani gessisse insignia" (IX. xvii; p. 464). In Wace's Brut Hoel also states that Belinus and Constantine were masters of Rome (PA 2381-86). Brenne is made "kaeisere" in La<sub>3</sub>amon along with his brother (13189-90). Mannyng mentions that Belyn makes Brenne emperor, as Hamel notes: "Belyn gaf Brenne al þe empyre, / And he was Enperour & sire" (3553-54).<sup>146</sup> Hamel implies that this is the only possible source. In Robert of Gloucester's Chronicle Hoel again mentions the prophecy that three Britons will rule Rome. Bely and Constantine have already ruled Rome and Arthur will be the third to do so. In the Prose Brut Arthur mentions Constantyne and Maxinian [sic] (ch. lxxxii, p. 82). In some versions of the Prose Merlin Arthur mentions Belins and Brannes, Constantins and Maximien as British rulers of Rome (p. 426, footnote 2).

Any of these references in the chronicles could have suggested these lines, although as they do not mention the Pope, as they relate to earlier rulers, and



as there are no verbal correspondences, the similarities could be due to coincidence and these lines could be the MA-poet's own invention.

#### THE CHILD HOSTAGES

"Of this vndyrtakynge, | ostage are comyn  
Of ayers full auenaunt, | awughte score childrene  
In toges of tarsse | full richelye attyryde,  
And betuke them the kynge | and his clere knyghttes"  
(3187-90).

Hostages are frequently taken in most of the chronicles and sometimes hanged. Twenty-three noble hostages were hanged by the brothers in Geoffrey:

Cumque id conspexissent. fratres confestim  
proterue ignoscentes ira. nobilissimos obsidum in  
conspectu parentum suspendi preceperunt"  
(III, ix, p. 289).

Arthur mentions the incident in the council meeting (IX, xv; p. 463). Hamel believes that this particular incident in MA is once again derived from the section of Wace's Brut that tells the story of Belin and Brenne:

Del treü e des covenanz  
Ourent ostages remanz [MS H avenant]  
De Rome vint e quatre enfanz  
De plus forz e plus mananz (SATF 2913-16).<sup>147</sup>

Later in Wace, in the council scene, Arthur himself tells of the hanging of twenty-four hostages by Belinus and Brennus, but he does not say that any of the hostages were children:

Vint et quatre ostaiges pandirent  
Si que tuit lor parant les virent (PA 2313-14).

He does not say how many hostages were hanged at this point in La<sub>3</sub>amon's Brut, although Belin and Brenne hanged "childre swide hendi 3isles feor and twenti" (2655). Mannyng also relates how

pe brepere tok of þem hostage;  
Twenty childre of þe beste lynage  
& of þe richest of al þe toun,  
þey presented hem as for raunson (3329-32).

Mannyng mentions the number twenty, eight score

hostages appear in MA. The hostages are children as in MA. He also uses the word richest, although not of the hostages' apparel. There would, of course, be little point in taking unimportant hostages. Arthur also mentions the hanging of twenty hostages during the debate in the giant's tower (11688-89).

The hanging of the hostages is recalled during the council scene in some versions of the Prose Merlin (ch. xxxii, p. 426), but not mentioned in the corresponding scene in Robert of Gloucester's Chronicle, or the Prose Brut.

There are many potential sources, of which Mannyng appears to be the most likely, although as has been said hostage-taking was common in the chronicles and presumably in warfare at the time the alliterative poem was written, so coincidence cannot be ruled out.

#### THE EMPEROR OF GERMANY

"The Emperour of Almayne | and all theis este marches"  
(3210).

This line is difficult to interpret in context. Hamel believes that Arthur wants to become Holy Roman Emperor and that to achieve this goal he must conquer Germany itself as Belin and Brenne did in Wace.<sup>148</sup> Ingenious though this interpretation is, it seems less than convincing because Arthur is said to have conquered Germany in lines 45 and 618. (If the passage is meant to be geo-politically realistic, he could be concerned about his eastern allies, some of whom he could be holding hostage to ensure their loyalty.) The brothers are not said to be crowned again in Germany in Geoffrey, Laȝamon, Mannyng, Robert of Gloucester, the Prose Brut, or the Prose Merlin.

#### ARTHUR IN THE WILDERNESS

"Me thoughte I was in a wode, | willed, myn one,  
That I ne wiste no waye | whedire þat I scholde;  
Fore woluez and whilde swynne | and wykkyde bestez

Walkede in that wildernesse, | wathes to seche.  
 Thare lyouns foll lothely | lykkyde þeire tuskes,  
 All fore lapyng of blude | of my lele knyghtez.  
 Thurghe þat foreste I flede, | thare floures whare  
 heghe,  
 For to fele me for ferde | of tha foule thynggez"  
 (3230-37).

Hamel believes that these lines may be derived from four sources: Winner and Waster 47, Mum and the Sothsegger 876, Arthur's symbolic and prophetic dream in Laȝamon--"þat nuste ich under Criste: whar heo bicumen weoren" (14003)--and Dante's Inferno.<sup>149</sup> It has been demonstrated, however, that there is no reason to think the last-named influenced these lines.<sup>150</sup> Mannyng mentions a letter warning of Mordred's treachery rather than a dream (14031). No such dream appears in Geoffrey, Wace, Mannyng, Robert of Gloucester, the Prose Brut, or the Prose Merlin. There is a prophetic dream before the final battle against Mordred in the Mort Artu (para. 176) and the Stanzaic Le Morte Arthur (3170-87), but it is rather different. The idea of wandering in the wilderness is a traditional theme, although Laȝamon may indeed be a source here (he mentions a lion in lines 14007-10).

#### FROLLE

"For I fellid down sir Frolle, with frowarde knyghtes"  
 (3345).

Here Fortune claims the credit for defeating the Roman general Frolle, whom Arthur kills in single combat in the chronicles. Hamel mentions the poet's assumption of his audience's familiarity with Wace or Geoffrey implying that they are the source of this line.<sup>151</sup> His name is spelled Frollo in Geoffrey, but Frolle in Wace, Laȝamon, Mannyng and the English Prose Brut, Fullon or Follon in Robert of Gloucester and ffrolle in the Prose Merlin. However, the seeming agreement among some of the English texts may merely be the result of anglicization.

## BAD TIDINGS

"Me awghte to knowe þe kyng; | he es my kydde lorde"  
(3509).

This line is spoken by Sir Craddoke. He is a knight-messenger who appears as a British pilgrim bound for Rome seeking pardon from the Pope. He also seeks his king. Arthur, who apparently wishes to appear anonymous, asks him whether he knows his king and if he has been to court.

Messengers bring the news in both *Laȝamon* and *Mannyng*, as Hamel notes.<sup>152</sup> In *Laȝamon's Brut*, however, the news is brought by an anonymous knight who does not dare tell Arthur the news until the king has had a dream (13971-76, 14041-51), while in *Mannyng* it was "a messenger þat he wel knewe" (14030). *Mannyng* does not give the messenger's name either. Robert of Gloucester's *Chronicle* only mentions a messenger (line 4500, p. 317). The Prose *Brut* only says that tidings come to Arthur (ch. lxxxviii, p. 89). There is no comparable line in Geoffrey, Wace, or the Prose *Merlin*. In the French Vulgate *Mort Artu*, which probably suggested Arthur's dream of Fortune, as Hamel notes,<sup>153</sup> Guinevere sends a boy to bear the news of Mordred's rebellion (he arrives with the news in para. 163).

Knight-messengers appear in *Laȝamon* and *Mannyng* as they do in *MA*, but there are no verbal parallels and knight-messengers are not uncommon in Arthurian literature, so this is the kind of detail that could well be due to coincidence.

## SIR CRADDOKE

"Sir Craddoke was I callide | in his courte riche"  
(3511).

No similarly named knight appears in the chronicles at this point. However, *Laȝamon* includes the similarly named knight *Cradoc Catelles sune* in the

list of guests who attend Arthur's Easter feast at Caerleon (12152) as Hamel notes.<sup>154</sup> This knight appears in Geoffrey as Cathleus Mapkathel (IX, xii; p. 454), as Hamel also notes. The more similarly named Caradocus appears as a Duke of Cornwall from before Arthur's time in Geoffrey's Historia (V, ix-xiv; 341-350). He also becomes king. Mannyng's version of Geoffrey's name is Catel sone, Catellus (line 11,116). He is not named in Robert of Gloucester's Chronicle. The Prose Brut only says that tidings come to Arthur and does not name this knight (ch. lxxxviii, p. 89). Sir Craddocke does not appear in Wace or the Prose Merlin. It is possible that the MA-poet may have searched as far back as La<sub>3</sub>amon's guest-list for a name alliterating on c, but it does not seem particularly likely.

It is more likely that the name may have been derived from King Caradoc (Karadós) in the the French Vulgate Mort Artu, as Hamel notes.<sup>155</sup> In the Mort Artu Karados leads Arthur's third battalion against Mordred (para. 180), but he is killed by Heliades, the puppet-king of Scotland (para. 184).

Björkman and Krishna also note that Sir Craddocke appears in several romances.<sup>156</sup> As he was a relatively famous knight (though not in the same class as Gawain or Lancelot) one of the tales about him could have been known to the MA-poet, but the French Mort Artu appears to be the most likely source of his name.

#### MORDRED'S MISDEEDS

"He has castells encrochede, and corownde hym seluen,  
Kaughte in all þe rentis of þe Rownde Tabill"  
(3525-26).

Mordred also performs these deeds in the chronicles, as Hamel notes.<sup>157</sup> Only Geoffrey (X, xiii; p. 496) and Robert of Gloucester (4503) state that Mordred crowns himself, but not that he captures

castles. Wace does not mention Mordred's coronation, but adds:

Et Mordrez li vost tot tolir  
 Et a son oés tot retenir;  
 De toz les barons prist homages  
 Et de toz les chastiaus ostages (PA 4459-62).<sup>158</sup>

The Morte does not actually say that he has taken a hostage from every castle. Mannyng similarly states:

He had taken of þe lond homage,  
 & leyd in casteles gret hostage (lines 14035-36).

The Prose Brut also says that Mordrede

toke homages and feautes of al ham þat were in þis lande, and wolde haue hade þe lande to his owen vse, and toke castelles about, and lete ham arraie (ch. lxxxvii, 88.16-18).

These details also appear in the Mort Artu, which relates how many of the nobles, who believe that Arthur is dead, willingly swear fealty to Mordred on the saints--in token of which they deliver their gages to him and recognize him as lord of their castles (para. 142). Because these things are done willingly, the Mort Artu is unlikely to be the source of these lines. These details do not appear in Layamon and the incident is not included in the Prose Merlin.

Geoffrey and Robert of Gloucester could have supplied the idea of Mordred's coronation. Wace, Mannyng, or the Prose Brut could have supplied the idea of Mordred's capturing castles. However, these are the sort of deeds that a usurper of a kingdom would be likely to do in order to secure his own position, and so they could have been an original creation of the MA poet, or be drawn from the author's memory of the chronicles or of his knowledge of any period of mediaeval history up to and including his own time.

#### THE DANES

"Dubbede of þe Danmarkes | dukes and erlles" (3528).

Mordred's allies the Danes do appear in Wace

"Manda Saisons, manda Denois" (PA 4660) and Mannyng "þe Saxons come wyþ þe Danys" (14236), despite William Matthews's claims to the contrary, as Hamel notes.<sup>159</sup> The Prose Brut also mentions "Danoys" (ch. lxxxvii, p. 88.25). The Danes do not appear in Geoffrey, La<sub>3</sub>amon, Robert of Gloucester's Chronicle, or the Prose Merlin. Only the Saxons are named in the French Vulgate Mort Artu (para. 180). Wace, Mannyng (or less likely the Prose Brut) could have suggested this detail.

#### SOUTH WALES

"Soueraynes of Surgeuale, and sowdeours many" (3532).

Hamel believes that Surgeuale or Surgenale is likely to be a corruption of the Old French spelling Surgales ("South Wales").<sup>160</sup> Similar but not identical forms appear in Wace and the Vulgate romances. The possibility that this refers to Wales is strengthened by the reference to the "west marches" (the defended frontier region) in line 3551, as Hamel also notes. The chronicles do not mention that the Welsh fight on Mordred's side, but the Mort Artu does (para. 181, 18-20), as Hamel also notes. The Mort Artu differentiates between the (South) Welsh who form two of Mordred's battalions and the North Welsh who form three battalions. Krishna, however, argues that this name may relate to the Swiss city Sargans, or Sergen in Turkey.<sup>161</sup> This is an ingenious theory, but it seems unlikely that the MA-poet would want to name either of these cities at this point, if only because neither of them is likely to have had more than one king at a time, if that. This word does not appear in Geoffrey, Wace (in this form), La<sub>3</sub>amon, Mannyng, Robert of Gloucester's Chronicle, the Prose Brut, or the Prose Merlin.

If there were no French source then the poet would presumably be more likely to say "South Wales" rather

than independently use a French form here. If Surgenale does mean South Wales, then the Mort Artu would appear to be the most likely source.

#### CHILDRIKE'S REWARD

"Fro Humbyre to Hawyke | he haldys his awen,  
And all þe cowntre of Kentt, | be couenawnte  
entayllide--  
The comliche castells | that to the corown langede,  
The holttes and the hare wode | and the harde bankkes-  
All þat Henguste and Hors | hent in þeire tym"  
(3541-45).

Geoffrey's Historia records that Mordred gives the Saxon leader Childrike those lands:

partem illam insule que a flumine humbri usque ad  
Scotiam porrigebatur & quicquid in cantia tempore  
uortigerni horsus & hengistus possederunt  
(XI, i; p. 497).

Wace and many of his translators mention Hengist but not Horsa:

Et en eritage dune  
Par lor aie et par lor force  
De Hundre tot jusqu'a Escoce  
Et ce que ot an Kant Hanguist,  
Qant Vortiger sa fille prist (PA 4494-98).

In La<sub>3</sub>amon's Brut Mordred only promises "al bi<sub>3</sub>eonde þere Humbre" to "Childriche" (line 14111-12). Mannyng says

By-<sub>3</sub>onde Humber, vntil Scotland,  
Cheldrik hap þat in his hand;  
& al þat langes vntil Kent,  
Vntil Cheldrik gyue þey rent (14042-46).

In Robert of Gloucester's Chronicle Chelrik is offered:

. . . al Kent ver and ner .  
Al þat hengist adde wule . bi þe kinges day  
vortiger  
He bi het him & is al so . al nor homber lond .  
& al þat lond fram homber anon in to scotlond .  
(4517-20).

The Prose Brut states that he will receive

al þe lande fram bi<sub>3</sub>onde Humber vnto Scotland,  
and al þe lande þat Engist hade of Vortigers  
ifte,  
When þat he hade spousede his dou<sub>3</sub>ter



(ch. lxxxvii, p. 88.28-30).

There is no such reference in the Prose Merlin. In the French Vulgate Mort Artu (para. 180), the Saxons are motivated by hatred and revenge, rather than any other form of reward. The same text says that Mordred gives generous gifts (para. 168), and it mentions a brother, called Arcans, of the king of Sesnes (Mort Artu, para. 181). This is obviously not the source.

Since only Geoffrey mentions Horsa, his Historia would appear to be the source. However, the names Hengist and Horsa are so strongly linked that one could suggest the other, so the possibility remains that Wace, Mannyng, Robert of Gloucester, or the Prose Brut could have suggested these lines (and it is perhaps worth noticing that only Mannyng and MA spell the Saxon's name with a d).

#### SOUTHAMPTON

"Att Southamptone on the see | es seuene skore chippes"  
(3546).

None of the possible sources mention that the Saxons land at Southampton. There are 700 ships in Wace and Mannyng and 800 in Geoffrey and Robert of Gloucester. Robert of Gloucester also mentions "ei<sub>3</sub>te score thousand of hors" (4526). This is probably a figure picked from its alliterative properties and which does not depend on any particular source.

#### MORE BAD NEWS

"Bot <sub>3</sub>itt a worde witterly: thowe watte noghte þe  
werste" (3549).

The messenger warns Arthur that he has saved the worst news for last--Guinevere's adultery with Mordred. Guinevere's liaison with Mordred is mentioned after his revolt in Geoffrey, Wace, Mannyng, Robert of Gloucester and the Prose Brut. La<sub>3</sub>amon mentions it first (14043).

Wace, Mannyng and the Morte Arthure-poet certainly

believe that this is a worse deed than rebelling  
against his kinsman and rightful king. As Wace says:

Deus, quel honte, Deus, quel vilté! (4454) . . .  
Après ceste grant felenie  
Fist Mordrez altre vilenie,  
Car, contre crestiene loi,  
Prist a son lit fame le roi,  
Fame son oncle et son seignor  
Prist a guise de traïtor (PA 4463-68).

Hamel believes that this line may be derived from  
Mannyng's lines 14037-38, which are derived from Wace:  
"3it wil he nought be þer-by, / But waiteþ þe more  
vileny."<sup>162</sup> This is hardly a particularly close  
correspondence.

This is not said to be the worst deed in Geoffrey,  
La<sub>3</sub>amon, or Robert of Gloucester's Chronicle. The  
Prose Brut calls this "anoþere grete wrong" (ch.  
lxxxvii, p. 88.19). In the Mort Artu Guinevere does  
not commit adultery with Mordred, but locks herself in  
the Tower of London (para. 141-42) before escaping to  
become a nun. This incident does not occur at all in  
the Prose Merlin.

Wace or Mannyng could have suggested these lines,  
although there are no verbal parallels.

#### THE WITNESS

"Forthy I merkede ouer thees mowntes, | to mene þe the  
sothe" (3556).

Hamel believes that this line from the end of Sir  
Craddocke's speech may be derived from La<sub>3</sub>amon's line  
14048: "and ich aem icumen to þe seoluen : soðe þe to  
suggen."<sup>163</sup> There is a verbal parallel here, as both  
mention travelling to reach Arthur and use the word  
sothe. However, this may be merely be the result of  
coincidence.

The messenger is not said to have witnessed  
Mordred's treachery in Geoffrey, Wace, or Mannyng. His  
speech is reported rather than direct in Robert of

Gloucester's Chronicle. (He does not speak in Geoffrey, or Wace.) The Prose Brut only says that tidings come to Arthur (ch. lxxxviii, p. 89) and then goes on to describe them. There is no such messenger in the Prose Merlin. La<sub>3</sub>amon is the only source that is likely to have suggested this line.

#### CAUSE FOR REGRET

"'By þe Rode,' says þe roye, | 'I sall it revenge!  
Hym sall repente full rathe | all his rewthe  
werkes!'" (3559-60).

Hamel believes that these lines may be based on the Mort Artu,<sup>164</sup> where Arthur swears that he will kill Mordred with his own hands (para. 164). He later adds that Mordred is a traitor and a perjurer to God as well as to his king (para. 171). He prays for victory against perjurers and traitors (para. 176).

Wace mentions Arthur's vengeful vow "Et de Mordret se vangeroit / Qui sa fame et s'enor tenoit" (PA 4479-80). La<sub>3</sub>amon also reports Arthur's threat to kill Mordred and to burn the Queen (14065). In Mannyng, Arthur vows "On Moddred wil y bateille bede, / & take vengeance of his misdede" (14063-64). In Robert of Gloucester's Chronicle Arthur swears: "Ac to awreke him of is luf<sup>er</sup> neuu . his herte bar alre best" (4508). No such statement appears in Geoffrey, the Prose Brut or the Prose Merlin. La<sub>3</sub>amon and Robert of Gloucester seem as close to (or distant from) MA as Mort Artu. The only possible verbal parallels here are Wace and Mannyng (or less likely Robert of Gloucester), but they may be due to coincidence. This may well be an original passage due to alliterative expansion.

#### RENEGADE WRETCHES

"Has made all hys retenewys | of renayede wrechis"  
(3572).

The chronicles do not use the word renegade of

Mordred or his supporters (although they are renegades). In the chronicles Mordred's force is a mixture of pagan and Christian. Geoffrey mentions an unnumbered group "tam paganorum quam christianorum" (XI, i, p. 497). They are also unnumbered in Robert of Gloucester line 4528. In Wace Mordred:

Antre la gent qui fu paiene  
Et la gent qui fu crestiēne  
Ot a haubers et a destriers  
Seissante mile chevaliers (PA 4501-04).

In Laȝamon there are sixty thousand heathens and one hundred thousand men including the Christians (14121-22). Pagans and Christians appear in the Prose Brut (ch. lxxxvii, p. 88.24). They are not mentioned in Mannyng.

If any of this mixture of pagans and Christians had held lands of Arthur, and it is natural to assume that most of them did, then they are renegades in one sense, by contravening their allegiance to the king to whom they first swore homage. Hamel, however, interprets renayede as "apostate" and sees this as a reference to Richard II's Lollard retainers.<sup>165</sup> This seems to be forcing the evidence since Mordred's allies are "renayede wrechis" not "renayede Christians" or "renayede Lollards." There are no grounds for believing the Christians among Mordred's supporters to have abandoned their faith unless fighting alongside pagans was thought to imply that ipso facto. Some late medieval Englishmen may have thought it did but it is a contentious point and Hamel does not attempt to prove it. Renegade wretches do not appear in any of the likely chronicle sources. In the French Vulgate Mort Artu Arthur makes several references to his enemies as being traitors and perjurers (paras. 171, 176, 179, etc.) and I suspect that this line of MA has a similar meaning, but as Arthur's is such a natural comment in

the circumstances it may not be derived from any source.

#### SIR HOWELL

"Sir Howell and sir Hardolfe here sall beleue" (3583).

These knights stay in Italy while Arthur returns to Britain to fight Mordred. La<sub>3</sub>amon uses bileofuen at this point, but in its transitive sense, as Hamel notes: "And her ich bileofuen wulle . . . Howel minne leofue maei" (14067-68).<sup>166</sup> Robert of Gloucester's Chronicle also states: "þe king howel of brutayne . . . He bileuede . . ." (4510-11). Hoel is called Ohel in Mannyng, where he holds Burgundy and France for Arthur (14057-60). He also holds these lands in Wace (PA 4473-76), while he restores peace to the region in Geoffrey (XI, i, 496-97). None of the possible sources mentions Hardolfe at this point. The Prose Brut states that Hoel holds France with half of Arthur's men (ch. lxxxviii, p. 89.5-7). He is not mentioned at this point in the Prose Merlin or the French Vulgate Mort Artu. Geoffrey, Wace, La<sub>3</sub>amon, Mannyng, or Robert of Gloucester could be the sources of this line, but La<sub>3</sub>amon and Robert are more likely because of the verbal correspondences.

#### HANGING HOSTAGES

"Or ells all þe ostage | withowttyn þe wallys  
Be hynggyde hye appon hyghte | all holly at ones!"  
(3589-90).

Hamel believes that Arthur's order is yet another reference (and the last) to Belin and Brenne having hanged child-hostages when the Romans broke the treaty.<sup>167</sup> Geoffrey's Historia states:

Cumque id conspexissent. fratres confestim  
proterua ignoscentes ira. xxiii. nobilissimos  
obsidum in conspectu parentum suspendi preceperunt  
(III, ix, 289).

Wace says:

Veant les oilz a cez dedenz,  
 Veant amis, veant parenz,  
 Unt les ostages amenez  
 Sis unt as furches halt levez  
 Vint e quatre filz a Romains (SATF 3055-59).

Hamel cites these lines implying that they are the source of the MA-poet's lines.

La<sub>3</sub>amon's Brut reports that:

þa feouwer and twenti children þe we habbed to  
 3islen.  
 and doo up an waritreo þer-on heo scullen winden.  
 & wreken þan sides and ure wider-i-winnen.  
 for 3et we scullen heom to liðen swa heom bið  
 aelre lae[ð]est.  
 þe furken, weoren araered heo teuwen up þa 3isles.  
 and heom þer hengen bi-foren heore eldren.  
 Wa wes heore faderen þeo heo i-sei3en heore baern.  
 hengen.  
 Mid muðen heo seiden mid aðen heo hit sworn.  
 þer-fore hit sculden iwurðen muchele þa wurse.  
 swa þat for deaðe ne for lif nalden heo nauere  
 makien grið.  
 for þat weoren þa richcheste & þa alre haeh3este  
 & þa rad-fulleste þe wuneden in Rome.  
 þat bi-foren heore e3enen bi-hu<l>den and i-se3en.  
 þat heore bern me on-heng on he3e trouwen  
 (2849-62).

Mannyng states:

Galewes dide þe breþere renege;  
 Of þer blod þey wol þeym venge;  
 þe galewes þey reysed vp ful heye,--  
 þe Romayns wel myght hem se wyþ eye,--  
 & hongeden alle þer hostagers,  
 Burgeyses sones, lordes peres.  
 þat kynde, y trowe, had sorewe & wo,  
 To schames dep þat saw hem go (lines 3445-52).

No mention of the hanging of child-hostages is made in Robert of Gloucester's Chronicle, the Prose Brut, or the Prose Merlin at this point.

MA does not state that the potential victims are children as the chronicles do. La<sub>3</sub>amon appears to be the closest to MA, as both state that the hostages are to be hanged high, but this is almost inevitable in an alliterative poem. It is very doubtful that this is a reference to Belin and Brenne, although both refer to

Rome, as hostage-taking and hanging is such a common practice in the chronicles and in ancient warfare. There need not be any source for these lines.

#### SIR GAWAIN

"May I þat traytoure ouertake, | torfere hym tyddes  
That this treson has tymbyrde | to my trewe lorde!"  
(3741-42).

La<sub>3</sub>amon has Gawain ask "whi is hit iwurðen. / þat mi broþer Modred þis morð hafueð itimbred" (14078b-79), as Hamel notes.<sup>168</sup> He then vows to disown him, to destroy him and to hang him higher than a criminal (which may have suggested the lines discussed above). La<sub>3</sub>amon also gives Gawain a large role in the landing-battle, as Hamel also notes:

Walwain biforen wende and þene waei rumde,  
and sloh þer aneuste þeines elleouene;  
he sloh Childriches sune þe was þer mid his fader  
icume (14136-38).

MA's account of the battle is somewhat different, there Gawain kills the king of Gotland and wounds Mordred. No such speech or incident occurs in Geoffrey, Wace, Mannyng, Robert of Gloucester's Chronicle, the Prose Brut, or the Prose Merlin. Gawain dies without fighting Mordred in the French Vulgate Mort Artu. The echo suggests that La<sub>3</sub>amon could well have been an influence on this line.

#### THE RIVER TAMAR

"And by þe Tambire þat tide | his tentis he reris"  
(3902).

Arthur's last battle against Mordred is said to occur by the River Tamar in Wace--"Joste Tanbre" (PA 4683) La<sub>3</sub>amon "Tambre" (14238) and Mannyng "Tambre" (14,261) as Hamel notes.<sup>169</sup> Robert of Gloucester's Chronicle also contains the line "Byside þe water of tamer" (4558). The river Camblan is mentioned in Geoffrey and in some Wace manuscripts. La<sub>3</sub>amon names

the site of the battle Camelford (14239). No such detail occurs in the Prose Brut or the Prose Merlin. The battle occurs on Salisbury Plain according to Mort Artu (para. 178). The name of the river could have been supplied from the MA-poet's general knowledge, but it is more likely to have been supplied by Wace, La<sub>3</sub>amon,<sup>or</sup> Robert of Gloucester.

#### GUINEVERE

"And all for falsede and frawde | and fere of hir  
louerde" (3918).

These are the reasons for Guinevere's retreat to a convent in Caerleon in MA. Hamel suggests that her motives are nobler in the chronicles, particularly in Wace (PA 4639-54)<sup>170</sup> and Mannyng (14213-28), but MA's account is not unique.

There is more than a hint of fear in her "despair" in Geoffrey where she flees to the nuns of church of Julius the Martyr in the City of Legions and takes a vow to lead a life of chastity:

Periurus ille reuocatis undique suis. insequenti  
nocte quintoniam ingressus est. Quod ut ganhumare  
regine nuntiatum est: confestim sibi desperans.  
ab eboraco ad urbem legionum diffugit. atque in  
templo iulii martiris inter monachas earum uitam  
suscepit: & caste uiuere proposuit  
(XI, i, p. 498).

Robert of Gloucester's Chronicle, also appears to show a frightened rather than a sincerely penitent Guinevere:

& ycrouned him selue king . þoru þe quene rede.  
& huld hire in spousbruche . in vyl flesses dede  
(4503-4).  
þo gwenwar þe luper quene . hurde of þis cas .  
Fram eurwik to karleon . 3o fleu mid quic pas .  
& bicom nonne þere . to libbe in chaste liue .  
Som wat 3o was er adrad . ar he hiede so bliue  
Heo ne hiede no3t a3en hire louerd . to welcome  
him to londe .  
3ut hire was betere nonne to be . þen come vnder  
is honde . (4537-42).

The Queen has good reason to be afraid in La<sub>3</sub>amon,



for Arthur's men threaten to kill her and her lover. Arthur threatens to burn her (14065), this was a traditional punishment for women.<sup>171</sup> Gawain helpfully suggests having her torn apart by horses (14083). This is hardly in keeping with the later character of Gawain as every woman's friend. La<sub>3</sub>amon leaves it uncertain whether her motivation is or is not sincere repentance:

þa quene laei inne Eouerwic--naes heo naeuere swa  
 sarlic;  
 þat wes Wenhauer þa quene, saer<sub>3</sub>est wimmonne.  
 Heo iherde suggen soððere worden  
 hu ofte Modred flah and hu Arður hine bibah;  
 wa wes hire þere while þat heo wes on life!  
 Ut of Eouerwike bi nihte heo iwende  
 and touward Karliun tuhte swa swiðe swa heo mahte;  
 þider heo brohten bi nihte of hire cnihten twei<sub>3</sub>e.  
 And me hire hafð biwefde mid ane hali rifte,  
 and heo wes þer munechene, karefullest wife.  
 þa nusten men of þere quene war heo bicumen weore,  
 no feole <sub>3</sub>ere seoððe nuste hit mon to soðe  
 whader heo weore on deðe . . .  
 þa heo hireseolf weore isunken in þe watere  
 (14203-16).

Edward Donald Kennedy believes that Guinevere's fear in MA was probably derived from the French Vulgate Mort Artu.<sup>172</sup> In the Mort Artu Guinevere fears that Arthur will kill her because of the belief (false in that version of the story) that Mordred has slept with her (para. 169). She wishes to take refuge with the nuns because of her fear (para. 170) and she is finally said to become a nun "por la poor qu'ele avoit del roi Artu et de Mordret" (para. 170).

The Prose Brut states that she

mi<sub>3</sub>t nou<sub>3</sub>t endure a<sub>3</sub>eynes Kyng Arthure, she was  
 sore adrade, and hade grete doute, and wist nou<sub>3</sub>t  
 what was best al forto done, for she wiste wel  
 here lorde Kyng Arthure wolde nou<sub>3</sub>t of her haue  
 mercy, for þe grete shame þat she to him hade  
 done (ch. lxxxviii, pp. 89-90).

These incidents are not included in the Prose Merlin.

Guinevere can be seen to be motivated by fear in

Geoffrey, La<sub>3</sub>amon, Robert of Gloucester, Mort Artu and the Prose Brut. The MA-poet may have been influenced by one or more of these works, but he seems to have chosen of his own free will to suggest more explicitly that Guinevere had not genuinely repented.

#### GOTLAND

"And the guchede kyng | in the gay armes" (3937).

This line refers to one of the men that Arthur has killed or wounded in the landing battle. Hamel believes that guchede means Gutlande or Gothelande, the Swedish island-province of Gotland.<sup>173</sup> In both Geoffrey and La<sub>3</sub>amon, a similarly named king attends Arthur's coronation-feast "Dolaius rex gudlandie" and "Doldanet King of Gutlande" (line 12167), as Hamel notes. Mannyng mentions "Doldan þe kyng of Gouthland" in the same place (line 11135), and Wace calls him "Doldani rois de Golande" (PA 1169). He is not mentioned in Robert of Gloucester's Chronicle at this late point, although "doldam of godlonde" appears in Caerleon (line 3905, p. 274). Nor does he appear in the Prose Brut at this late point although "Malgamus, kyng of Gutland" appears in Caerleon (ch. lxxix, pp. 80-81). He does not appear in the Prose Merlin. If Hamel's interpretation is correct, Geoffrey, Wace, La<sub>3</sub>amon, Mannyng, Robert, or the Prose Brut could have supplied this name, but the name is not at the corresponding point in the landing battle section, which makes this a good deal less likely.

In the manuscript this word is "Guchede". Brock thought it meant "spotted" (presumably with blood), which would make sense in context. MED believes that guchede may mean "fallen" or "prostrate", but this is the only example of the word it cites. The meaning of this line is so obscure that no clear source can be determined.

## SIR WYCHARD'S ADVICE

"I rede 3e warely | wende and wirkes the beste:  
 Sojorne in this cete | and semble thi berynes,  
 And bidde with thi bolde men | in thi burghe riche.  
 Get owt knyghttez of contres | that castells holdes  
 And owt of garysons grete | gude men of armes,  
 For we are faithely to fewe | to feghte with them all  
 þat we see in his sorte | appon þe see bankes"  
 (4026-32).

Sir Wychard advises Arthur to wait for reinforcements and Hamel suggests that this advice is derived from Arthur's deeds in the chronicles.<sup>174</sup> Wace states:

Tote s'ost manda jusqu'au Hunbre,  
 Granz fu li pueples, n'an sai nonbre (PA 4673-74).

In La<sub>3</sub>amon Arthur's followers are summoned to attend with their weapons on pain of being buried alive (14228-32). When they have been successfully raised, Arthur's forces are said to be as plentiful as drops of rain (14233-34). Mannyng's lines are also cited by Hamel:

3yf Arthur hadde lenger abiden,  
 þe sykerere myghte Moddred haue ryden (14249-50).

The Prose Brut mentions that Arthur

lete sende after his men into Scotland, & into  
 Northumberland vnto Humber, and lete assemble folc  
 wiþout noubre (ch. lxxxviii, p. 90.5-7).

In the French Vulgate Mort Artu Arthur has his whole army when he rides out from Dover castle (para. 176). Arthur's forces do not appear to be particularly mighty in Geoffrey, or Robert of Gloucester's Chronicle, while the Prose Merlin does not include this incident.

The MA-poet may have been influenced by Wace, La<sub>3</sub>amon, Mannyng (or even the Prose Brut) but there are no verbal parallels and the section could well be original.

## MARRAKE

Hamel believes that Sir Marrake, who is one of Arthur's men, may be derived from Wace's Mauric Cador Cananeois (PA 3635), the Vulgate Merlin Continuation's Mauruc de la Roche, or of "Marec" Alier's son in other Vulgate romances.<sup>175</sup>

Geoffrey calls him "mauricum cador canariensem" when he attends court at Caerleon (X, v; p. 480). Mannyng calls him "Mauryk / Cador / Caneys" (line 13213). Morvith of Gloucester and Maurin of Winchester also attend court at Caerleon in La<sub>3</sub>amon (12144). The Prose Brut contains the characters "Morwiþ, erl of Cornnewaile; Mauran, erle of Gloucestr" (ch. lxxix, p. 81) in the list of guests at Arthur's Easter-feast, but they do not appear at this point either. Moroud and Mauron Earl of Warwick attend the feast in Robert of Gloucester's Chronicle (3896-97). He is not mentioned in the Prose Merlin or the Mort Artu. We have a choice of many names and potential sources, but none of them supports Arthur in the battle against Mordred. Their accounts of the final battle are generally brief. The most reasonable conclusion seems to be that this name may also be invented.

## IDIROUS

Hamel believes that Idirous may be based on Geoffrey's "Hyderus," (X, iv, p. 477) who captured Senator Peter in lines 1490 to 1516 of MA. She points out that the chronicles make him the son of "Nu(s)"; but MA makes him Ewayne's son in line 1490.<sup>176</sup>

In Wace Yder is the son of Nut--"le fil Nu" (PA 3381, 3388). Mannyng calls him Ider. He does not appear in Geoffrey, Wace, La<sub>3</sub>amon, Mannyng or Robert of Gloucester before, or during Arthur's final battle. Iderous does not appear at this point in the Prose Brut, or the Prose Merlin. Boice (the earl of Oxford)

captures Peter in Robert of Gloucester (p. 303). Geoffrey's form of this name is the closest to MA's, but the name may have been invented for alliterative reasons.

#### MORDRED AND ARTHUR

Mannyng's and Robert of Gloucester's are the only chronicles to describe the fight between Arthur and Mordred in any detail, of which Hamel only notices the former.<sup>177</sup> They also kill one another in the French Mort Artu, which contains a reasonably detailed account of the incident (para. 190). Any of these three could be the source of the fight, or it could be an original addition to the other chronicles.

#### SIR CADOR

"Karpis to sir Cadors | thes kyndly wordez" (4188).

Hamel amends Cadors to Cadore. As Wace uses the traditional spelling she rejects Matthews's claim that MA's Cadors is a "French form"<sup>178</sup> believing it more likely to be -e/sigma-s error. Hamel also denies that this knight died at Sessye as he reappears in this line.<sup>179</sup> In Geoffrey's Historia, the casualties of Arthur's last battle include Cador Limenich (XI, ii, p. 501), whose name Mannyng simplifies to Cador (14314), as Hamel also notes.<sup>180</sup>

Sir Cador does not appear at this point in Wace, Laȝamon, the Prose Brut, or the Prose Merlin. Arthur leaves his realm to Cador's son, Constantine, in Geoffrey, Wace, Laȝamon, Mannyng and Robert of Gloucester, which could be taken to imply that Cador was dead. Robert also says that the crown goes to "þe erl cadoures sone of cornwayle . þat was is cosin" (4586).

It is odd that Sir Cador plays an important part against the Romans, then is apparently forgotten about

until he mysteriously reappears at this point, where he plays no part in the conflict (other than appearing in order for Arthur to have a brief conversation with him before killing Mordred). There is no real parallel to this incident in the chronicles, and MA does not list him among the dead. Rather than noting that he dies in Geoffrey or Mannyng, where this conversation does not take place, the MA-poet may merely have remembered him at this point.

#### ARTHUR AND MORDRED

In MA Arthur's sword Calaburne shatters Mordred's shield injuring the traitor's shoulder. Mordred fights back making a six-inch wound in Arthur's side. Arthur then cuts off Mordred's sword arm near the elbow, and sinks his sword through Mordred's mail, down to its hilt. Hamel claims that among the chronicles Arthur only engages in single combat with Mordred in Mannyng (following Langtoft).<sup>181</sup> She reproduces Mannyng's lines:

When Arthur sey Moddred feloun,  
 He rod til hym wiþ gret raundoun;  
 Byfore hym dide bere his dragoun,  
 Moddred to smyte as a lyoun.  
 Moddred he smot, & he smot hym,  
 On boþe partis were woundes grym (14271-76).

This single combat, however, also occurs in Robert of Gloucester's account where it is slightly more similar to the Morte's:

He drou calibourne is suerd . & in eyþer side slou  
 & vorte he to þe traytour com . made him wey god  
 ynou  
 He hente verst of is helm . & supþe mid wille god  
 Anne stroc he 3ef him . mid wel stourdy mod  
 & þoru hauberc & þoru is coler . þat nere noþing  
 souple  
 He smot of is heued as liȝtliche . as it were a  
 scouple (4573-78).

They also fight in the French Mort Artu (paras. 188 and 190). In this account Mordred pierces Arthur's

shield, Arthur knocks his son down, and when they fight again and Arthur thrusts his lance through Mordred's body. When he extracts it sunlight can be seen through the wound. Mordred then strikes Arthur's helm, breaking off a piece of his father's skull and mortally wounding him.

These accounts are radically different from one another, and although it is conceivable that one or more of them suggested MA's account there is no good evidence that any of them did so.

#### THE FINE SWORD

"The felone with þe fyn swerde | freschely he strykes"  
(4236).

Mannyng's line 14271 also calls Mordred a felon: "When Arthur sey Moddred feloun." Hamel believes that MA's line may be based on Mannyng's,<sup>182</sup> but Mannyng does not mention Moddred's sword. It does not appear either in Geoffrey, Wace, Robert of Gloucester's Chronicle, the Prose Brut, the Prose Merlin, or the Mort Artu. In Laȝamon Arthur is wounded by a spear rather than a sword (14260). The most that can be said of this line is that Mannyng may have suggested felone to the MA-poet.

#### THE DEAD

"Bot when sir Arthur anon | sir Ewayne he fyndys,  
And Errake þe auenaunt | and oþer grett lordes--  
He kawghte vp sir Cador | with care at his herte,  
Sir Clegis, sir Cleremonte, | þes clere men of armes,  
Sir Lothe and sir Lyonell, | sir Lawncelott and  
Lowell,  
Marrake and Meneduke, | þat myghty ware euer--  
With langoure in the launde thare | he layes them  
togedire" (4262-68).

This list of dead warriors is composed of people who have played a major role in this and previous battles, as Hamel notes.<sup>183</sup> Both Geoffrey and Mannyng name a few of the more important knights who have been

killed in the battle, as she also notes. Geoffrey names "Odbriectus rex norguegie. aschillus rex dacie. cador limenich. cassibellaunus" (XI, ii; p. 501). Mannyng names Egbright, Askyl, Cador and Cassibolon (lines 14313-14). Robert of Gloucester also mentions the kings of Norway and Denmark, but as he does not mention Cador his Chronicle is less likely to be the source:

& þe king of denemarch was aslawe . & þe king al  
so .  
Of norweye & of is oper men . mony a þousend er  
to (4565-66).

King Yon (para. 183), King Karados (para. 184), Galegentin the Welshman (para. 189), Sir Yvain (para. 189) and Sagremor the Foolish (para. 190) are killed in the Mort Artu, and Lucan the Butler dies afterwards when the king embraces him, but their names are not given in a list (para. 192). Mort Artu is unlikely to have suggested Lyonel and Lancelot, as in it they are in France and do not take part in this battle. It does not mention Erec at this point either. Arthur's dead knights are not named by Wace, Laȝamon, the Prose Brut or the Prose Merlin (which does not include this incident).

If Geoffrey or Mannyng donated Cador, the MA-poet must have chosen to omit Cassibolon, presumably because he does not appear in MA at any point. MA's Ewayne (who appears in the poem several times) is an English form of Yvain, a character who dies in this battle in Mort Artu. However, since the MA-poet has Lancelot killed off in this battle, he is clearly not following tradition, so he could be making up his own list of the dead and not relying on sources.



## ARTHUR ALONE

"I may helples one hethe | house be myn one,  
 Alls a wafull wedowe | þat wanttes hir beryn;  
 I may werye and wepe | and wrynge myn handys"  
 (4284-86).

After the last battle the injured Arthur weeps over his wounded knights. Hamel believes that these lines may have been inspired by the lament of the survivors in Mort Artu (where widows are also mentioned in Merlin's prophetic inscription and in the archbishop's words that accompany their discovery; paras. 191, 178), or by Mannyng's comment in line 14,316: "Many lady wydewe, þat was wyf."<sup>184</sup> However, in Mort Artu the "widow" references occur before the battle and are not made by Arthur, while Mannyng's comment is authorial rather than Arthurian, but it is made after the battle.

In Wace, Laȝamon and Mannyng, before the final battle, Arthur laments the loss of Gawain and other knights. In Laȝamon he regrets being born (14147). In the Mort Artu, where Gawain has died after an earlier battle of the head wound given by to him by Lancelot, he laments Gawain's death during a lull in the fighting in this battle (paras. 186 and 187). Arthur also laments the decapitation of Sagremor (para. 190) and prays all night for mercy for the souls of the departed (para. 191). Robert of Gloucester's Chronicle does not record Arthur's last words. There is no such speech in Geoffrey, the Prose Brut, or the Prose Merlin.

There is so much weeping and lamentation to chose from that there are many possible sources. These are stock themes and could have come from Mannyng, from a combination of elements in Mort Artu, or from no source at all.

## GLASTONBURY

"Graythe vs to Glaschenbery--| vs gaynes non oþer--  
Thare we may ryste vs with roo | and raunsake oure  
wondys" (4303-04).

Geoffrey's Historia contains the famous line "Ad sananda uulnera sua in insulam auallonis euectus" (XI, ii, p. 501) which influenced the other chronicles, as Hamel notes.<sup>185</sup> The word "Glastonbury" does not appear in Geoffrey, Wace, La<sub>3</sub>amon, or Mannyng; although Avalon appears in all four of Hamel's favoured sources, and in the Prose Brut. In the Mort Artu (para. 194), Arthur is interred before the altar of the Black Chapel.

Geoffrey, Wace, La<sub>3</sub>amon, Mannyng, Robert and the Prose Brut all mention that Arthur's wounds will be attended to.

Robert of Gloucester also says that Arthur's bones may be found at Glastonbury (4592). As this is the only chronicle to mention Glastonbury, it would appear to be the most logical source; but since Glastonbury has been effectively interchangeable with Avalon since the alleged discovery of Arthur's burial cross there in 1191 (if not before), Glastonbury is a more prosaic alternative to Avalon, and a more natural choice if Arthur is to die and not be carried off into the west by elves, as in La<sub>3</sub>amon (14277ff.). It follows that the source of this line, if there is one, need not have mentioned Glastonbury at all.

## CONSTANTINE

"Constantyn, my cosyn, | he sall the corown bere"  
(4316).

Constantine is of course the son of Sir Cador, as Hamel notes.<sup>186</sup> Geoffrey states: "constantino cognato suo. & filio cadoris ducis cornubie diadema britanniae concessit" (XI, ii, p. 501). Constantine is also said to be Cador's son in Wace, La<sub>3</sub>amon and Mannyng, who do not mention the crown, and in Robert of Gloucester, who

does. Robert states: "He 3ef þe croune of þis lond .  
þe noble constantin . / þe erl cadoures sone of  
cornwayle . þat was is cosin" (lines 4585-86). In  
La<sub>3</sub>amon Arthur merely tells Constantine that he will be  
entrusted with his realm (14272-75). La<sub>3</sub>amon does not  
state that Constantine is Arthur's cousin (although he  
is said to be of near kin), while Geoffrey, Wace,  
Mannyng and Robert of Gloucester do. The Prose Brut  
states that Constantyne "was Cadore<sub>3</sub> sone, erl of  
Cornwail, his cosyn" (ch. lxxxix, p. 90.32-33).  
Constantine is not mentioned in the Prose Merlin or the  
French Vulgate Mort Artu at this point. Since Geoffrey  
and Robert of Gloucester mention Constantine, the crown  
and cousinship they appear to be the closest matches to  
MA, but these details in MA might be due to  
alliterative necessity rather than to dependence on any  
particular chronicle.

#### MORDRED'S CHILDREN

" . . . Mordrede children,  
That they bee sleyghely slayne | and slongen in  
watyr--  
Latt no wykkyde wede waxe | ne wrythe one this  
erthe!" (4320-22).

The chronicles relate that Mordred's sons lead a  
further rebellion after Arthur's death. Constantine  
crushes the rebellion and kills Mordred's sons, as  
Hamel notes. She believes that the command to kill  
Mordred's children at this point is an anticipation of  
these events in Geoffrey (XI, iii-iv, pp. 502-03).<sup>187</sup>  
However, Constantine also kills Mordred's sons in Wace  
(SATF ed. 13315ff.), La<sub>3</sub>amon, Mannyng (14345ff.),  
Robert of Gloucester (4599-4604) and the Prose Brut  
(ch. xc, p. 91). The chronicles usually state that  
after Arthur's death Constantine kills one of Mordred's  
sons in Winchester and the other in London. In Mort  
Artu after Arthur's death Lancelot and King

Bors kill Mordred's sons (paras. 197-98). The Prose Merlin does not mention the death of Mordred's children. However, as we have seen, several sources mention Constantine's killing Mordred's sons and this provides yet another possible origin of Arthur's command in MA.

A further possibility is that the poet could have got the idea from the death of Arthur's foster-sons in this battle in La<sub>3</sub>amon, or Mannyng, who also mention that Arthur's younglings die at this point.

None of the chronicles link Mordred's sons' deaths to water. However, MA's reference to the projected watery death of Mordred's sons could be derived from La<sub>3</sub>amon's unique reference to the possibility of Guinevere's having been "sunk in the water", which is made shortly before this point.

#### ARTHUR'S BURIAL

"The baronage of Bretayne thane, | bechopes and othire,  
 Graythes them to Glaschenbery | with gloppynnande  
 hertes  
 To bery thare the bolde kynge | and brynge to þe  
 erthe" (4328-30).

MA rejects the legend of Arthur's survival, as do Mannyng (14,286-306) and Robert of Gloucester (4587-96). Geoffrey is ambiguous (XI, ii, p. 501) and Wace is rather cryptic, as is the Prose Brut (ch. lxxxviii, p. 90), but the former implies that Arthur is dead. At any rate in Wace Arthur is definitely not buried in Glastonbury (PA 4705-23). In La<sub>3</sub>amon Arthur sails to Avalon with Argante the fairest of the elves (14277ff.). The Prose Merlin does not state whether Arthur at this point lives, dies, or is translated to another dimension. Like Geoffrey, although in a different way, the Mort Artu is ambiguous: Arthur boards a ship full of women (including his sister Morgan the Fay), but his tomb is soon discovered before

the altar of the Black Chapel (para. 194). In his down-to-earth attitude to Arthur's death, the MA-poet is more akin to Mannyng, Robert of Gloucester and perhaps Mort Artu than to the other chronicles.

#### THE BRUT

The poet mentions the "Bruytte" in line 4346. He may be echoing Wace or La<sub>3</sub>amon here, or naming the Prose Brut, or the whole tradition of which it is part.

We have now finished examining individual lines or short sections of the Alliterative Morte Arthure and their probable sources. We will now proceed to the "Sources Probability Table" (preceded by a key to the table) documenting the findings from this section and shorter tables, recapitulating the total "scores" for each claimed source, and, it is to be hoped, revealing the probabilities of each chronicle being a source of the Morte Arthure at any particular point.

The tables are followed by a brief chapter on Thomas Bek of Castelford's Chronicle. Castelford's Chronicle is a related text which has not been cited as a source in previous scholarship. Castelford will act as a control as it reveals the inevitable similarities that will occur in two Arthurian chronicles which draw on a common pool of sources and are written in the same language and in the same century, even though Castelford and MA are not directly related to one another. After the brief section on Castelford we come to the conclusion of this section.

The conclusion to the sources of MA ends the thesis proper, but it is followed by appendixes which show Malory's alliterative and semi-alliterative lines. Sub-sections within these appendixes show Malory's lines which alliterate on a different letter to their

equivalents in T, good and poorer Malory lines derived from several lines of MA, and lines with deliberately weak a or b-lines.

KEY TO THE DISTRIBUTION OF LINES INFLUENCED BY THE  
CHRONICLE SOURCES TABLE

This table shows the distribution of the lines discussed above, which appear to show the dependence on the four most plausible chronicle sources--Geoffrey, Wace, La<sub>3</sub>amon and Mannyng--and Robert of Gloucester, the Prose Brut, the Prose Merlin and Mort Artu. The table is divided into two sections.

The first section sets out the data in four sections. The first column "Subject" gives a brief explanatory title to the line or lines. The second gives the line reference to T. The third part "Possible" (influences) reveals which of the chronicles may have influenced the MA-poet's line, or lines. Lower-case letters mean that the influence of a chronicle is more doubtful. The final column records which of the chronicles appear more likely to have influenced the poet. Use of an upper-case letter again shows that the relevant chronicle has been judged more likely to have been an influence than one marked with a lower-case letter.

The following abbreviations are used in the third and fourth columns:

- G = Geoffrey of Monmouth
- W = Wace
- L = La<sub>3</sub>amon
- M = Mannyng
- R = Robert of Gloucester
- B = the Prose Brut
- V = the Vulgate Prose Merlin (English and French)
- F = the French Vulgate Mort Artu.

The second section, "Totals", gives the total number of "weak", "possible", "intermediate" and "probable" lines for each chronicle. Each chronicle is

further divided to reveal the degree of probable influence on each of the six pages of the table previously discussed. In this way the probable increase or decrease of each chronicle is revealed as the story unfolds.



## SOURCES PROBABILITY TABLE

SUBJECT	MA LINE	POSSIBLE	PROBABLE
Arthur's Conquests	30-47	G LMRBV	w
<u>Ouernge</u> and <u>Anjou</u>	42	B	wl
The Easter Feast	48-51	G RB	wlm
The Deer Hunt	57-58	GWL	m
The Summoning	62-63	GW R	l
Guests	66-69	W MR	
The Senator	80-81	G M	wl v
Salutation	82ff.	GWLMRBV	gw m b
Lucius	86-87	W	g lm v
The Lion	116-19	WLM BV	
Arthur Bites his Lip	119	W M	L
Mercy	125-31	W BV	lm
Sir Kay	208-09	GW M	
Owghtreth	234	W	
The Giant's Tower	245	GW M	
Cador Thanks God	249	G MR	wl
Reputation	252-54	G LM V	w r
<u>Disuse</u>	256	WLMRB	G v
Cador Gives Thanks	257	GW R V	lm
Marvellous Cador	260	R	gw M
Tribute	271-75	GWLMR V	
Brenne	277	GWLM V	
Emperor Belin	278-79	GW M V	l
The Cross	283-86	GWLMR	bv
The Speakers	288ff.	WLMR V	g
Scotland	292	GW	m
Ransom and Rape	293-95	W	mr
Revenge	298	G R	w m
Self Sacrifice	312-15	WL R	M
Arthur's Vow	350-52	LM	w
Praise	397-406	M V	wl
Lucius's Allies	572-60	GWLM	r
Arthur's Knights	627-31	GWLM B	r

SUBJECT	MA LINE	POSSIBLE	PROBABLE
Mordred's Mother	645	L R	w b
Mordred	649-78	LM B	
Arthur Sails	721-55	l	w m
Embarkation	729	l	
The Luff	744-45		WLM
The Pole Star	751-53	W	
Dread of the Night	754-55	W	
The Dream	759		L
The Burning Sea	773	W MR	l
The Hairy Bear	778-80	w r	lm
The Earthquake	784	R	G
The Diving Dragon	798-801	L	
Arthur Awakens	804-05	LM v	
The Messenger	841	L	
The Cannibal	844-51	GW r	l
The Young Duchess	864	GWLMR v	
The View	880	GW MRBV	l
No Fuss	891	GW MRB	l
Kay and Bedivere	892-93	GW r	
The Widow Speaks	957-69	gWLMRBV	
Arthur's Appearance	970	R	G
The Duchess	978-80	GW MRBV	l
The Kirtle	998-1013	GW M	
The Giant's Beard	1090	G	w M
The Giant's Forehead	1112-15	GW MR	
The Bear-hug	1132-35	GW M V	
The Fiercest Giant	1176-77	WL	G
The White Castle	1225	gwlm v	
The Messengers	1231-34	W BV	lm
Robbery	1249	W	L
Gawain's Companions	1263-65	GWLM	
Arthur's Challenge	1273-75	G LMR V	w
Lucius's Encampment	1283-90	W M	
The Nephew	1346-47	L R V	G

SUBJECT	MA LINE	POSSIBLE	PROBABLE
The Romans Give Chase	1360-61	G L R	.
Gawain or Gerin	1368	GW MR V	l
Marcel	1385	G	r
Bold Boasters	1391-97	GW MR V	L
Great Japes	1398	M	
The British Ambush	1403	G R	
Senator Peter	1419	WLMR V	g
Sir Boice	1484-97	W	m
Arthur Gives Thanks	1596	G	
The Quartet	1602-07	GWLM V	
Chartres?	1619-20		W v
The Roman Ambush	1622-25	W M v	G l
The Close of Clyme	1639	L	
Aliduc	1739	GW M	
Death of Sir Borel	1697-1775	G LM	w
Sir Cleremonte	1828-29	WLMR V	
Caruce	1908	GWl	
Aliduc (Again)	1916	GW M	
Le Mans	1918	W M b	
Lucius Wavers	1963-72	WLMr	g
Sessye	1964, 1977	GWLM	
Autun	1967	W M V	G l
"Sir" Leo	1971	R	G
Seven Divisions	1980-2005	WLM V	G
The Trap	2010-16	L	
Thief or Traitor	2017	W M	l
Dragon and Eagle	2026-27	gwlmr v	
The Noisy Dale	2030-31	W V	Lm
Sir Jenitall	2112	GWLMr	
Bare-legged Boys	2120W, 2121-22	W V	g m
Rivers of Blood	2143-44	G	wlm
The Romans Rally	2234-36	GWl r	m
On to the Eagle	2244-45	W M V	
The Death of Lucius	2255-56	GW MRBV	

SUBJECT	MA LINE	POSSIBLE	PROBABLE
No Quarter	2261-67	W M	g l r v
Lucius's Coffin	2299-2305	L	
Mercy	2318-21	G R	l
The "Tribute"	2342-43	G R	wl
Storage and Stuffing	2369	L	
The Burial of Kay	2380		G
Burial of Kay and Bedevere	2379-82	GWLM	
Burgundy and Bayeux	2383-84	WLM B	
Tribute	3134-48	GW M	l
Homage	3146-47	L	
The Torment of Tuscany	3150-63	WLM	
The Damaged Vines	3159	W M	
Belin and Brenne Again	3162	WLM	
The Cunning Cardinal	3179	GW	
The Truce	3181-84	L	
Coronation	3185-86	g lmrbv	
The Child Hostages	3187-90	GWL V	m
The Emperor of Germany	3210	W	
Arthur in the Wilderness	3230-37		F l
Frolle	3345	GW v	lm b
Bad Tidings	3509	LMrb	
Sir Craddocke	3511	G L	F
Mordred's Misdeeds	3525-26	GW MRB F	
The Danes	3528	B	w m
South Wales	3532	F	
Childrake's Reward	3541-45	W MRB	g
Southampton	3546	w m	
More Bad News	3549	G MRB	w
The Witness	3556		L
Cause for Regret	3559-60	L F	w mr
Renegade Wretches	3572	GWL R F	
Sir Howell	3583	GW M	l r
Hanging Hostages	3589-90	GW M	l
Sir Gawain	3741-42		L

SUBJECT	MA LINE	POSSIBLE	PROBABLE
The River Tamar	3902	WLMR	
Guinevere	3918	G L RB F	
Gotland	3937	gwlmrb	
Wychar'd's Advice	4026-32	WLM B	
Marrake	4077	GW M	
Idirous	4078	W M	g
Mordred and Arthur	4180	MR F	
Sir Cador	4188	G M	
Arthur and Mordred	4226	MR F	
The Fine Sword	4236	M	
The Dead	4262-68	g m	
Arthur Alone	4284-86	wL F	
Glastonbury	4303-04	GWLM B	r
Constantine	4316	WLM B	g r
Mordred's Children	4320-22	GWLMRB F	l
Arthur's Burial	4328-30	MR F	
The <u>Brut</u>	4346	WL B	

## TOTALS DERIVED FROM THE "SOURCES PROBABILITY TABLE"

## Geoffrey

page	weak	poss	int.	prob.
p. 1		16	04	01
p. 2		08		01
p. 3	02	14	01	03
p. 4	01	10	03	04
p. 5	01	09	01	01
p. 6	02	08	02	
Total	06	65	11	10

## Wace

page	weak	poss	int.	prob.
p. 1		19	08	
p. 2	01	12	05	01
p. 3	01	15	02	01
p. 4	01	19	02	
p. 5	01	11	03	
p. 6	02	11	01	
Total	06	87	21	02

## Lagamon

page	weak	poss	int.	prob.
p. 1		10	09	01
p. 2	02	10	06	02
p. 3	01	08	03	02
p. 4	03	09	06	01
p. 5	01	10	04	01
p. 6	01	09	03	01
Total	08	56	31	08

## Mannyng

page	weak	poss	int.	prob.
p. 1		16	07	01
p. 2	01	09	04	02
p. 3	01	13	02	01
p. 4	01	15	04	
p. 5	02	10	03	
p. 6	02	14	01	
Total	07	77	21	04

## Robert of Gloucester

page	weak	poss	int.	prob.
p. 1		12	01	
p. 2	03	08	03	
p. 3		11	01	
p. 4	04	04	01	
p. 5	02	04		
p. 6	01	07	04	
Total	10	26	10	

<u>Brut</u>			
<u>page</u>	<u>weak</u>	<u>poss</u>	<u>int. prob.</u>
p. 1		07	02
p. 2		04	01
p. 3		03	
p. 4	01	01	
p. 5	02	05	01
p. 6	01	06	
Total	04	26	04

<u>Merlin</u>			
<u>page</u>	<u>weak</u>	<u>poss</u>	<u>int. prob.</u>
p. 1		10	04
p. 2	02	02	
p. 3	01	10	01
p. 4	02	07	01
p. 5	02	01	
p. 6			
Total	07	30	06

<u>Mort Artu</u>			
<u>page</u>	<u>weak</u>	<u>poss</u>	<u>int. prob.</u>
p. 1			
p. 2			
p. 3			
p. 4			
p. 5		03	01
p. 6		08	
Total		11	01

## THOMAS BEK OF CASTELFORD

It seemed sensible to use a "control" to determine whether the similarities between MA and the claimed sources were due to coincidence. Thomas Bek of Castelford's Chronicle was used as the control because it may be early enough to be a source (circa 1327 or later) and like MA it is also a northern chronicle (Castelford is in Yorkshire). I have checked through most of the sections that comprise the "Four Sources" section (above) and reproduce the most significant results in this chapter.

The list of Arthur's Easter Feast guests (21208ff.; as a possible source for "Arthur's Conquests" T lines 30-47) is fractionally better than the Prose Brut but worse than the others and the forms of the names are wrong.

The group at Arthur's Easter Feast in MA include "dukez and dusperes . . . and ercheuesques" ("Guests" T 66-67) and Castelford's Chronicle contains "dukes" (21153) "archbishops" (21155) and "Tuelf pers" (21271). In this instance Castelford could be considered as likely a source as Geoffrey, Wace, or Mannyng.

The embassy of Lucius consists of a senator and sixteen knights in MA ("The Senator" T 80-81). The embassy usually consists of twelve unarmed elderly men in the chronicles. La<sub>3</sub>amon, however, states that they are "þeines . . . heh<sub>3</sub>e men on wepne." As has been stated above La<sub>3</sub>amon is the most likely source of these lines in MA. Castelford, however, goes one better than La<sub>3</sub>amon in providing a verbal parallel in "knightes" (21467). Castelford, like La<sub>3</sub>amon, fails to provide the embassy with a clear spokesman. Castelford, does have the embassy salute Arthur (211476) as they do in MA ("Salutation" T 82-83) and Geoffrey, Wace and the Prose Brut.



MA (245) and Castelford (21555) mention that Arthur's council occurs in the giant's tower, but so do Geoffrey, Wace and Mannyng.

A more striking similarity is the case of Arthur's ancestors Belin and Brenne's co-ruling the Roman empire. In Geoffrey, Wace and Mannyng, Brenne rules Rome while his brother returns to Britain. MA makes the unusual claim that "They occupyede þe Empyre aughte score wynnttyrs, / Ilkane ayere aftyre oþer . . . ." ("Emperor Belin" 278-79a). In La<sub>3</sub>amon the brothers appear to share Rome, capturing it together, and possessing it together. This is also the case in Castelford (21661-64).

In MA ("Scotland" and "Ransom and Rape" T 292-95), Geoffrey, Wace and Mannyng the King of Scotland tells of the suffering of his ancestors or country-men under Roman occupation. This is also the case in Castelford (21775-76), with the verbal parallel aeldres (21776). Mannyng's account contains a different verbal parallel.

When compared with MA ("Lucius's Allies" 572-605) Castelford contains six out of the seven common country-names in the list of Lucius's ancestors (21885-903) making it equal with Wace, La<sub>3</sub>amon and Mannyng.

Arthur orders his forces to assemble at the port of Barfleur prior to the assault on Lucius ("Arthur's Knights" T 627-31). Wace and Mannyng provide the closest forms of the name. Arthur commands "Kayerre to <sub>3</sub>our cuntrez" (T 627a) which finds a verbal parallel in Castelford "In to þar contres" (21846). There is also a similar verbal parallel in Robert of Gloucester. They both also provide a second verbal parallel as in MA Arthur states "I schall menskfully <sub>3</sub>owe mete" (631), in Robert (4118) and Castelford (21855) he mentions meeting the Romans.

Hamel draws attention to both MA and Wace's mentioning Kay and Bedevere's courtly functions when

they are summoned to attend Arthur on his giant-slaying adventure ("Kay and Bedivere" T 892-93; she does not mention Geoffrey's Historia, which is similar). This also occurs in Castelford where both Kay is said to have "serued him so fele yiers" (22026) while MA states that Cayous's function is that he "of þe cowpe serfede" (892). We appear to have another verbal parallel here. Yet another verbal parallel which is shared between MA, Geoffrey and Castelford appears shortly afterwards when the murdered duchess's foster-mother mentions that Kay is still in the first flower of his youth (MA 970; 22086). That the old woman is the dead duchess's foster mother is another parallel shared between MA, La<sub>3</sub>amon, the Prose Merlin and Castelford. During his fight with the giant, Arthur smites the giant in the "frunt" (MA 1112 = forehead) with his sword. A similar word appears in Robert of Gloucester and in Castelford (22211). Castelford's account is rather too short to be a likely source here.

After killing the giant Arthur is warned of the proximity of Lucius's encampment and told of his fell deeds ("The Messengers"). MA mentions that he is informed of these things by messengers (rather than spies; MA 1231-34). Messengers are also mentioned by Castelford (22353), but not by any of the other chronicles.

In MA ("Senator Peter" T 1419) after Gawain has conveyed Arthur's challenge to Lucius and insulted him, the Romans pursue Gawain's force, they are ambushed by Britons (or Bretons), but are then reinforced by a Roman force. The reinforcements are sent by a great Roman (usually a knight) whose title is Senator Peter. Of the claimed sources, only Geoffrey makes him a senator, although in Castelford he appears as "petrion þe senatour" (22496).

The site of one of the many ambushes in the story

is given a name by the MA-poet "þe Close of Clyme" (1639). La<sub>3</sub>amon describes the site as "in aenne wude . . . in ane dale deope" (13443-44). Castelford is the only other chronicler to mention "a dale" (22664).

When Sir Borel is killed by King Evander of Syria's spear, the MA-poet states that he "gretez graythely to Gode and gyffes Hym þe saule" ("The Death of Sir Borel" 1774). Geoffrey and Wace also suggest the departure of the soul, as does Castelford who says "He yialde þe gaste, he lifede na mar" (22716).

Lucius wonders whether to fight with Arthur's massed forces or to retreat to Autun until his army has been reinforced ("Lucius Wavers" T 1963-72). MA uses the form Awguste which is probably derived from Geoffrey's augustudunum although augustudoune also appears in Castelford (22772). MA claims that the expected reinforcements will be brought by Sir Leo (1971). "Leonis imperatoris" appears in Geoffrey's Historia (X, vi, 481) and "leon, þe toþer emperour" appears in Castelford (22774). Castelford explains the need for two emperors:

Twa emperours þai wer stableste  
ffor to mainten þe þing pupliste,  
Alle landes to halde þoru þer pouste  
In truage to romes dignite (22777-80).

Prior to his last battle with Lucius Arthur's forces are divided into "seuen grett stales" ("Seven Divisions" T 1980). The accounts are generally puzzling and self contradictory but a sevenfold division also occurs in Geoffrey, Robert of Gloucester and Castelford (although this discounts Morwi<d>'s force in the latter; 22805-11).

Lucius is actually said to see Arthur's force approach in MA ("The Trap" T 2010-16), La<sub>3</sub>amon and Castelford (22945ff.), rather than relying on spies or messengers as is usual.

The image of blood flowing as plentifully as water appears in MA ("Rivers of Blood" T 2143-44) Wace, La<sub>3</sub>amon, Mannyng and Castelford (23125-26). The Romans are said to recover during the fight between Gawain and Lucius in MA ("The Romans Rally" T 2234-36), and in Wace, Mannyng and Castelford (2234-36).

MA states that when Mordred rebels he seizes castles and crowns himself ("Mordred's Misdeeds" T 3525-26). He crowns himself in Geoffrey, Robert of Gloucester. Castelford also mentions Mordred's coronation:

Of alle britaine, so in treson  
In kyng he raisede, he nam coron,  
And on his hiede sette diadem  
Als lorde and kyng, þe lande to yiem (23595-98).

Mordred's coup is aided by the forces of the Saxon Childrike. In return for his services he is promised lands:

Fro Humbyre to Hawyke he haldys his awen,  
And all þe cowntre of Kentt, be couenawnte  
entayllide-- . . . (T 3541-42).  
All þat Henguste and Hors hent in þe eire tym  
(3145).

Only Geoffrey and Castelford (23657) mention Horsa and only Mannyng and Castelford mention Kent. Castelford contains the verbal parallel "þe contres of Kent" (23654). Castelford is the closest of the chronicles to MA here.

Mordred is killed by Arthur in MA ("Arthur and Mordred") as in Mannyng, Robert of Gloucester and Castelford (23946-48).

Arthur dies and his body is taken to Glastonbury in MA ("Arthur's Burial" T 4328-30), Robert of Gloucester and Castelford (24011).

In MA Arthur names Constantine, who he describes as his cousin, as his successor (T 4316). He also makes this full statement in Robert of Gloucester and Castelford. Robert's version is the more similar to MA

as he mentions the crown rather than the diadem.

It is not my intention to add another chronicle to the list of possible theoretical sources of MA. It can be seen from this section that on occasion Castelford's Chronicle can equal or even surpass the previously posited sources. This shows (if indeed it needs to be shown) that a work of approximately the same period as another (Castelford) dealing with the same subject matter and relying on some of the same sources as another (MA or the other chronicles) will at times provide similar ideas or verbal parallels as another, because of coincidence, rather than a direct connection between the two works. As Malory's creativity and the range of his adaptive techniques may have been underestimated by those who believe the Thornton Manuscript has many lost lines (as has been shown in part one) so, too, the degree of dependency of MA on chronicle sources may have been overestimated, while the role of coincidence may have been underestimated.

## CONCLUSIONS

From the evidence of the "Sources Probability Table", Hamel's claim that the MA-poet used the four chronicle sources, Geoffrey, Wace, La<sub>3</sub>amon and Mannyng appears to be vindicated. However, Hamel's belief that Wace was the main source is more contentious: this table does not suggest that to be the case. Of these four chronicles, La<sub>3</sub>amon has the most of the more important "intermediate" and "probable" lines, although Wace has the most "possible" lines. The low number of "probable" lines from Robert, Brut, Merlin, and Mort Artu, which have been claimed as sources by others, suggests that correspondences in them may well be due to coincidence (apart from the Mort Artu which is a more likely source but only for part of the poem).

There are areas where one or other of the chronicles appears to have been more heavily used than the others. Geoffrey appears to have been the principal source on page four of this table, with four "probable" and three "intermediate" entries. This section relates to Leo and events leading up to and including the final battle with Lucius. This is an unusual result as most of the sources appear become less easily detectable as the poem progresses and the poet becomes more confident and original. Wace appears to have been used more heavily in the early sections (five "probable" entries on the first page of the table), but his influence declines as the story progresses, until there is only one "probable" entry on the last page of the table. La<sub>3</sub>amon appears to be the main source on page two of this table, which includes the channel crossing, Arthur's dream and the Giant of Mont Saint Michel.

Geoffrey's lines contain some convincing verbal parallels. MA's "Thou arte frely and faire and in thy

fyrste flourez" (970) appears to be based on "florem iuentutis tue" (X, iii, 470) and "He was the forcyere be ferre . . ." (1176a) to be based on "Postea nulli forciori isto obuiauemat" (X, iii, 473).

There are also instances where Geoffrey is the only source of a proper name. The name Gayous in MA 1346 cannot have come from the other chronicles and Geoffrey supplies the only reference in the acknowledged possible sources to Sir (Emperor) Leo in MA 1971 (X, vi, 481). It is worth noting, however, that some lines similar to Geoffrey's appear in the section on Castelford above.

Wace provides relatively few verbal correspondences with MA. These include MA's phrase "turnez þe lufe" (744) where Wace states "Li autre al lof" (PA 2663). Mannyng also mentions the loof in his line 12088. Another shared verbal parallel appears in MA's line "Towardez chartris they chese . . ." (1619a) where Wace states that they will be taken to prison (in Paris rather than Chartres). A similar phrase also appears in the Prose Merlin, but Wace is more likely to be the source.

There are several good examples of the MA-poet's apparent dependence on La<sub>3</sub>amon. MA's lines "Tytt saillez to þe toppe and turnez þe lufe, / Standez appon sterebourde, sterynly þay songen" (744-45) contains both verbal parallels and similar details to La<sub>3</sub>amon's lines 12748b-49a " . . . gleomen þer sungen. / Seiles þer tuhten . . ." The tightening of the sails together with the singing mariners makes the resemblances unlikely to be the result of coincidence. Line 759 of MA "And with the swoghe of þe see in swefnyng he fell" appears to be based on La<sub>3</sub>amon's lines 12750-52 "Wederen alre selest: and þa sae sweuede. / For þere softnesse; Ar[ð]ur gon to slaepen. / Also þe king slepte: a sweuen him [i]mette." MA's

lines 3741-42 "May I þat traytoure ouertake, torfere hym tyddes / That this treson has tymbyrde to my trewe lorde!" may well have been suggested by Laȝamon's lines 14078b-79: "whi is hit iwurðen. / þat mi broðer Mordred: þis morð hafueð itimbred." These lines are very different, although T's tymbyrde resembles Laȝamon's itimbred and Laȝamon's Brut is the only chronicle to have Gawain speak out against Mordred. This is also an area of MA where Laȝamon appears to have been the dominant source. These three factors taken together again make the similarities (such as they are) more likely to be the result of dependence rather than of coincidence.

Mannyng appears to have been a relatively minor influence, there are a large number of "weak" and "possible" lines (second only to Wace, from which Mannyng's Story of England was mostly derived). This could be due to coincidence, although there are also some strong verbal parallels: T's line 260 describes Cadur as "meruailous" and Mannyng describes him as "merueillike" (11594); "No more douwttte the dynte of theire derfe wapyns" appears in T at line 312, while Mannyng states "ffor we ne doute no dynt ne wounde" (11788); and MA's description of the giant's soiled beard, "His berde was brothy and blake" (1090a), resembles one version of Mannyng's lines "His bryn, his berd, þer wiþ was broþen / & al to-so[ill]ed wyþ þe spyk" (12344-45).

As a group the other four chronicles, Robert of Gloucester, the Prose Brut, the Prose Merlin and Mort Artu produce results markedly inferior to Geoffrey, Wace, Laȝamon and Mannyng. None of these works appear to have contributed "probable" lines to Morte Arthure. Robert's Chronicle has both the most "possible" lines and "intermediate" lines. The Prose Merlin is the second strongest, followed by the Prose Brut, with Mort



Artu being the weakest, although more likely to have contributed lines to particular parts of Morte Arthure.

There are some verbal parallels between Robert of Gloucester's Chronicle and MA. In most instances there are also verbal parallels with the four "major" chronicle sources and this reduces the chances of Robert's being an influence on MA. The MA-poet uses loos to mean the reduction of honour, worship, or fame in lines 252-54. Los appears in Robert of Gloucester, but also in Wace. In line 3583 MA uses the unusual word beleue. This word is not required for alliteration, but bileofuen appears in La<sub>3</sub>amon and bileuede in Robert of Gloucester's Chronicle. As La<sub>3</sub>amon's Brut is likely to have been used as a source elsewhere it is perhaps the more likely source here also. Geoffrey, Robert and T (4316) all mention that Arthur gives his crown to his blood-relative Constantine. Geoffrey is the more likely source.

There are also occasions where Robert is closer to MA than the more likely sources, but these are generally instances where the MA-poet could have made the same decisions without the aid of Robert's Chronicle. Robert's is the only chronicle to name the regions whose rulers supply Lucius with troops, but not to name the rulers themselves. In this respect it resembles T's lines 572-609. However, this probably shows a common omission rather than indicating that Robert's Chronicle was the source. Only MA and Robert state that Arthur's knights return to their countries to gather their own knights before meeting at Barfleet. Robert is also the only chronicler to attribute Marcel's attack on Gawain at line 1385 to grief, but there are no verbal parallels and the MA-poet could easily have come to this conclusion without the aid of a source. Robert is the only chronicler to mention

Glastonbury, which appears in T at line 4303. However, references to Avalon (which is closely associated with Glastonbury) could have triggered the MA-poet's use of this word.

There are fewer likely borrowings from the Prose Brut and the Prose Merlin. T's lines 284-85 discuss Constantine and the True Cross. The Prose Brut has an "intermediate" possibility of being a source, but that is further diluted by being shared with the Merlin. T's line 645 relates to Arthur's (well known) kinship to Mordred's mother. This is another "intermediate" line and a similar line appears in Wace, a more likely source, although none is really needed for this line. These lines could be due to coincidence. There is no "probable" source of MA's lines relating to Constantine and the True Cross (284-85). Verbal parallels are shared with the Brut and the Merlin, but the story is essentially the same in many chronicles, and the verbal parallels may be due to coincidence. T's lines 1619-20 apparently misinterpret or deliberately adapt chartres from the French Prose Merlin to the city of Chartres. However, as a similar line also appears in Wace, the latter can safely be assumed to be the more likely source.

Since T's line 3511 (which relates to Sir Craddocke) is the only "probable" line to be derived from Mort Artu it may be due to coincidence, but there are many possible Mort Artu influenced lines in T 3230 to 4346, so the influence of this particular source may be greater than the table would suggest.

Geoffrey, Wace, La<sub>3</sub>amon and to a lesser extent Mannyng, do indeed appear to be the main chronicle sources used by the MA-poet. However, Hamel may have overstated the case for Wace's Roman de Brut as the main source (which declines after Arthur leaves Britain) while undervaluing the influence of La<sub>3</sub>amon's

Brut. However, whichever of them was the most influential, the MA-poet was highly original in telling his familiar story, and there are actually surprisingly few verbal parallels and similarities of unusual details between MA and its various possible chronicle sources.

To recapitulate the earlier sections of this thesis: in chapters III and IV we saw that Malory appears to be responsible for many of the non-dialectal differences, including differences of detail and in characterisation, and that he was probably responsible for adding many of the alliterative lines that have sometimes been considered to be missing from the Thornton Manuscript. Probably only a dozen or two of these lines are really missing from T.

Mary Hamel makes only tentative claims for the existence of an editing scribe. It seems likely that many of these changes have been made by Malory, or the MA-poet, rather than a scribe at an earlier time. We have seen in Chapter II that Malory's Roman War Story differs from T's in a surprising variety of ways. Some of the passages use unusual words, or even alliterate on different letters from their equivalents in T. There are, however, a few words which do not appear to be typical of Malory and which may be scribal, although of course we do not know what Malory's full vocabulary was. Hamel's case for Scribe E is further weakened because many of his "improved" lines remain alliteratively weak but it cannot be completely discounted. Overall, it seems likely that the extent and variety of Malory's modifications and additions has been underestimated.

NOTES

## NOTES

## Introduction

<sup>1</sup> Two copies of Caxton's 1485 edition of Le Morte Darthur are known to survive. The only complete copy is in the Pierpoint Morgan Library in New York, the other copy can be found in the John Rylands Library in Manchester: Pollard and Redgrave, A Short-Title Catalogue of Books Printed in England, Scotland and Ireland and of English Books Printed Abroad 1447-1660 (London: Bibliographical Society, 1976-91). A fragment was discovered in Lincoln Cathedral in the bindings of the Vitreae Patrum: Sir Thomas Malory, The Works of Sir Thomas Malory, ed. Eugène Vinaver, 3rd ed. rev. P.J.C. Field, 3 vols. (Oxford: Clarendon, 1990) cxxviii. This still appears to be lost: Norris J. Lacy, ed., The Arthurian Encyclopedia (Woodbridge: Boydell and Brewer, 1986) 353. A facsimile of Caxton's edition has been published: Sir Thomas Malory, Le Morte Darthur printed by William Caxton, 1485, ed. Paul Needham (London: Scholar Press, 1976).

<sup>2</sup> Page Life West, Sir Thomas Malory and the Morte Darthur: A Survey of Scholarship and Annotated Bibliography, (Charlottesville: Bibliographical Society of the University of Virginia, 1980) 57-59.

<sup>3</sup> Page Life West, 57-59.

<sup>4</sup> Sir Frederick Madden, ed., Syr Gawayne (London: Bannatyne Club, 1839) 25.

<sup>5</sup> Moritz Trautmann, "Der Dichter Huchown und seine Werke," in Anglia 1 (1878) 109-49; H. Oscar Sommer, ed., Le Morte Darthur of Syr Thomas Malory, 3 vols, iii (London: Nutt, 1891) 148-75.

<sup>6</sup> Sommer iii, 156.

<sup>7</sup> Sommer iii, 148-49.

<sup>8</sup> Sommer and Trautmann, passim.

<sup>9</sup> Henry N. MacCracken "Concerning Huchown," in Publications of the Modern Language Association of America, 25 (1910) 507-34; see also Valerie Krishna, ed., The Alliterative Morte Arthure: A Critical Edition (New York: Franklin, 1976) 10.

<sup>10</sup> W.F. Oakeshott "The Finding of the Manuscript," in Essays on Malory, ed. J.A.W. Bennett (Oxford: Clarendon, 1963) 1-6. A facsimile of the manuscript has also been produced: N.R. Ker, ed., The Winchester Malory: A Facsimile Early English Text Society Supplementary Series, No. 4 (London and New York: Oxford University Press, 1976).

<sup>11</sup> P.J.C. Field, "The Earliest Texts of Malory's Morte Darthur," Poetica (Tokyo), 37 (1993) 18. For further useful information see Lotte Hellinga, "The Malory Manuscript and Caxton," in Aspects of Malory, ed. Toshiyuki Takamiya and Derek Brewer (Woodbridge, Suffolk: Boydell and Brewer, 1981) 127-142; and Hilton Kelliher, "The Early History of the Malory Manuscript," in Aspects of Malory, 143-58.

<sup>12</sup> Gordon, E.V. and Vinaver, Eugene, "New Light on the Text of the Alliterative Morte Arthure," Medium Aevum, 6 (1937) 81-98.

<sup>13</sup> Angus McIntosh, "The Textual Transmission of the Alliterative Morte Arthure," in English and Medieval Studies Presented to J.R.R. Tolkien, ed. Norman Davis and C.E. Wrenn (London: Allen and Unwin, 1962) 231-40.

<sup>14</sup> McIntosh 233.

<sup>15</sup> McIntosh 237-39. The manuscript cited is Cambridge University Library Dd. II. 45.

<sup>16</sup> Published in facsimile as The Thornton Manuscript, ed. D.S. Brewer and A.E.B. Owen (London: Scholar, 1975; rev. 1977).

<sup>17</sup> Brewer and Owen xiii.

<sup>18</sup> George R. Keiser, "Lincoln Cathedral Library MS. 91: Life and Milieu of the Scribe," Studies in Bibliography, 32 (1979) 177-79.

<sup>19</sup> Brewer and Owen viii.

<sup>20</sup> Keiser, "Life and Milieu" 177-78.

<sup>21</sup> Keiser, "Life and Milieu" 159.

<sup>22</sup> Morte Arthure: A Critical Edition, ed. Mary Hamel (New York: Garland, 1984) 3.

<sup>23</sup> Brewer viii.

<sup>24</sup> f.98<sup>v</sup>, the phrase also appears on f.196<sup>v</sup>, f.211<sup>v</sup>, and f.213: Brewer vii. There is some doubt over the question of the author of the explicits in T. In her Introduction Hamel claims "At the end of the poem (fol. 98<sup>v</sup>) another hand has written, 'Here endes Morte Arthure writen by Robert of Thornton' (followed in a third, later hand by 'R Thornton dictus qui scripsit sit benedictus Amen'). The hand of the explicit is found in only one place in the MS, providing the explicit of The Previte off the Passioune" (p. 3). In her Introduction to Liber de diversis medicinis (London: Early English Text Society, 1938) Margaret Ogden lists this explicit amongst those that are "possibly not in the hand of the scribe" (Note 4 pp. viii-ix). Brewer and Valerie Krishna, however, certainly imply that the explicit at the end of MA is in Robert Thornton's own hand, (Brewer vii; Krishna 1).

<sup>25</sup> On f.93<sup>v</sup> and f.129<sup>v</sup>: Brewer vii.

<sup>26</sup> Brewer vii; John J. Thompson, Robert Thornton and the London Thornton MS: British Library MS Add. 31042, (Cambridge: Brewer, 1987) 3.

<sup>27</sup> On f.66: Brewer vii.

<sup>28</sup> Brewer vii.

<sup>29</sup> Thompson 3.

<sup>30</sup> Keiser "Life and Milieu" 159-64.

<sup>31</sup> P.J.C. Field, "The Last Years of Sir Thomas Malory," in Bulletin of the John Rylands Library, 64

(1981-82) 433-56. There are a number of alternative theories. William Matthews believed that Thomas Malory came from Hutton Conyers near Ripon in Yorkshire: William Matthews, The Ill-Framed Knight: A Sceptical Inquiry into the Identity of Sir Thomas Malory (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1966). Professor Richard Griffith believes Thomas Malory of Papworth St Agnes in Cambridgeshire was the author: Richard Griffith, "The Authorship Question Reconsidered," in Aspects of Malory, ed. Toshiyuki Takamiya and Derek Brewer (Woodbridge, Suffolk: Boydell and Brewer, 1981) 159-77. If Matthews's biographical theory were true, it would be difficult to believe that Malory used the Thornton manuscript, but if Griffith's theory were true, that hypothesis would present no problem.

<sup>32</sup> Works li-lvi.

<sup>33</sup> E.g. R.H. Wilson, "Malory's Early Knowledge of Arthurian Romance," in Texas Studies in English, xxxix (1953): 33-50. This study concludes that his earlier knowledge was considerably greater than Vinaver gave him credit for.

<sup>34</sup> In an earlier essay he suggested that the tales might have been composed in the order VI, II, V, I, III, IV, VII, VIII: "Order of Composition in the Morte Darthur," in Yearbook of English Studies, 1 (1971): 18-29.

<sup>35</sup> Edward D. Kennedy "Malory and His English Sources" and Terence McCarthy "The Sequence of Malory's Tales", in Aspects of Malory 28-42 and 110 respectively.

<sup>36</sup> Kennedy in Aspects of Malory 31.

<sup>37</sup> Gordon and Vinaver, "New Light" 86-88.

<sup>38</sup> Tania Vorontzoff, "Malory's Story of Arthur's Roman Campaign," Medium Aevum, 6 (1937): 99-121.

<sup>39</sup> Matthews, The Ill-Framed Knight 97-98.



McCarthy says

Malory may well have included in alliterative form lines or details lost from the poem as we have it, but there is simply too much that has to be added if this is everywhere the case

Aspects of Malory 111.

40 John Withrington, "'He Telleth the Number of the Stars': The Lesser Knights of Sir Thomas Malory's Morte Darthur" in Arthurian Interpretations 3.4 (1993): 17-27.

41 Matthews, The Ill-Framed Knight 97-99.

42 Hellinga 133-34.

43 Works cii.

44 Works, "Note to the Third Edition" 1749.

45 Works ciii.

46 Works civ.

47 Works 186-87.

48 The chronicle sources individual critics favour are as follows: Paul Branscheid--Geoffrey and to a lesser extent Wace, Layamon, Langtoft, Robert of Gloucester and Mannyng: "Über die Quellen des stabreimenden Morte Arthure," Anglia 8 (1885): 179-236. O'Loughlin--Mannyng: "The Middle English Alliterative Morte Arthure," Medium Aevum, 4 (1935): 153-68. Mary M. Banks favours Geoffrey, and also mentions Wace, Layamon, Robert of Gloucester, Langtoft, Robert of Brunne and the English Prose Merlin: Morte Arthure (London: Longmans, 1900). John Finlayson favoured Wace: Morte Arthure (London: Arnold, 1971). Valerie Krishna mentions Geoffrey, Layamon, Langtoft, Robert of Gloucester and Mannyng. Helen Wroten mentions Geoffrey (more often than any other source), Wace, Layamon and occasionally Robert of Gloucester: "Malory's Tale of King Arthur and the Emperor Lucius, compared with its Source, The Alliterative Morte Arthure," Diss. University of Illinois, 1950. Jörg O. Fichte mentions Layamon, Geoffrey and Wace: "The Figure of Sir Gawain"

in The Alliterative Morte Arthure: A Reassessment of the Poem, ed. Karl Heinz Goller (Woodbridge: Boydell and Brewer, 1981) 106. Matthews favoured a lost French chronicle source: The Tragedy of Arthur (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1960) 179-183, 211-12. Lee W. Patterson's "The Historiography of Romance and the Alliterative Morte Arthure" claims that Wace is the main (chronicle) source of the poem, "The Historiography of Romance and the Alliterative Morte Arthure." Journal of Medieval and Renaissance Studies 13.1 (1983) 1-32. This is also a useful article on the medieval view of history and historical (and pseudo-historical) literature and the political uses to which it was put. The Alliterative Morte Arthure is discussed on pages 11 to 30.

<sup>49</sup> For Li Fuerres de Gadres and Sir Ferumbras as sources, see Hamel, "Notes to Introduction," note 100, p. 89.

<sup>50</sup> Hamel 35ff.

Alliterative Lines in the Alliterative Morte Arthure

<sup>1</sup> Valerie Krishna, "Parataxis, Formulaic Density, and Thrift in the Alliterative Morte Arthure" Speculum, 57.1 (1982), 63-83.

<sup>2</sup> Krishna, MA 23. This and all other Krishna references refer to her edition of MA (and not "Parataxis") unless specifically stated to the contrary.

<sup>3</sup> Krishna 21; Sir Gawain and the Green Knight also contains this alliteration. Sir Gawain and the Green Knight, ed. J.R.R. Tolkien and E.V. Gordon. 2nd ed. Ed. Norman Davis. Appendix, 150-51.

<sup>4</sup> See also Fourteenth Century Verse and Prose, ed. Kenneth Sisam, Notes on Alliterative Verse (V), 215-18.

<sup>5</sup> Krishna 25, cites O'Loughlin's "The Middle English Alliterative Morte Arthure," Medium Aevum, 4 (1935), 153-68. Occasionally as in lines 1176-77 there is a midline stop rather than a brief pause, 1176-77n.

<sup>6</sup> Krishna 23.

<sup>7</sup> Krishna 24.

<sup>8</sup> Hamel 18, 20.

<sup>9</sup> M.F. Vaughan, "Consecutive Alliteration, Strophic Patterns, and the Composition of the Alliterative Morte Arthure," Modern Philology, 77 (1979), 3, cited by Hamel 33.

<sup>10</sup> Hamel 19.

<sup>11</sup> Hamel 19.

<sup>12</sup> See Hamel 19.

<sup>13</sup> Hamel 20.

<sup>14</sup> Hamel 945-47n.

<sup>15</sup> Hamel 305-06n.

<sup>16</sup> Hamel 234n.

<sup>17</sup> Hamel 305-06n.

<sup>18</sup> Hamel 584-85n.

<sup>19</sup> Hamel 716n.

- 20 Hamel 819-20n.
- 21 Hamel 826n.
- 22 Hamel 827-28n--with h/vowel alliteration.
- 23 Hamel 868n.
- 24 Hamel 1019-20n.
- 25 Hamel 2184n.
- 26 Hamel 2482n.
- 27 Hamel 4127-29n.
- 28 Hamel 4151-52n.
- 29 Hamel 766n.
- 30 Hamel 811-13n.
- 31 Hamel 1179n.
- 32 Hamel 2298n.
- 33 Hamel 2780n.
- 34 Hamel 4020n.
- 35 Brock x.
- 36 Krishna 23.
- 37 Krishna 24.
- 38 Hamel 1020n--in line 1020; as is also noted in Tolkien and Gordon's edition of Sir Gawain and the Green Knight 151.
- 39 Krishna cites Karl Schumacher, "Studien uber den Stabriem in der Mittelenglischen Alliterationsdichtung," Bonner Studien zur Englischen Philologie, 11 (1914), 67-92; Krishna 25.
- 40 Hamel 1840-41n.
- 41 Hamel 1179n.
- 42 Hamel 2103n.
- 43 st and sk only alliterate with the same group in Sir Gawain 151.
- 44 Krishna 23.
- 45 Brock xi; Krishna 22.
- 46 Brock xii-xiii.
- 47 Krishna 26.

## Malory's Alliterative Lines

- 1 Sir Thomas Malory, The Works of Sir Thomas Malory, ed. Eugène Vinaver, 3rd ed. rev. P.J.C. Field, 3 vols. (Oxford: Clarendon, 1990).
- 2 Hamel's line 3113 is T's line 3069. Hamel has moved T's lines 3084-3127 to 3068-3111.
- 3 Robert H. Wilson, "Malory's Early Knowledge of Arthurian Romance", 47.
- 4 Wilson, "Malory's Early Knowledge", 48.
- 5 Wroten 199.
- 6 Matthews, The Ill-Framed Knight 229.
- 7 Branscheid 231.
- 8 Hamel 2358<sub>n</sub>.
- 9 See also Piers Plowman, Sir Gawain and the Green Knight, Purity, The Siege of Jerusalem, etc.
- 10 Matthews, The Ill-Framed Knight 226.
- 11 Matthews, The Ill-Framed Knight 215, 227.
- 12 Matthews, The Ill-Framed Knight 209.
- 13 Matthews, The Ill-Framed Knight 233.
- 14 Gordon and Vinaver 98.
- 15 Matthews list of M's lines with "more complete or more conventional alliteration" than T are 188.20-21, 189.11, 202.20-21, 230.19, 231.5, 232.8-9, 235.27-28, 236.4-5, 238.14 and 242.7 (his line-numbers have been updated where they differ from the Third Edition), The Ill-Framed Knight 229-30.
- 16 Wroten 199.
- 17 This is one of Matthews's examples of cases where Malory "changed the meaning slightly or added small details", The Ill-Framed Knight 231(-233).
- 18 Matthews, The Ill-Framed Knight 231, 233.
- 19 Hamel's line 3076 is T's line 3092. Hamel has moved T's lines 3084-3127 to 3068-3111.
- 20 Wroten 407.
- 21 Feraunt(e) is a Spanish name but Famagusta is

in Cyprus. The most famous Feraunt(e) and a contemporary of Malory was Ferrante the illegitimate son of King Alfonso V of Aragon and Sicily. He later became Ferdinand I of Naples (1458-94) and was renowned for his treacherous and unpleasant behaviour. This may therefore be in effect a contemporary allusion by Malory at the expense of his alliterative line.

<sup>22</sup> Matthews, The Ill-Framed Knight 214, 217.

<sup>23</sup> Matthews, The Ill-Framed Knight 232, 233.

<sup>24</sup> Tempeste does not appear in this sense in the OED. MED reached t in 1993, and in the same year cited the AMA example under "tempesten" v. (b).

<sup>25</sup> Matthews includes this line in his list of 24 examples of "Malory's taking a line from the poem but replacing one or more of its dialectal or unusual words that retain the alliteration", The Ill-Framed Knight 226.

<sup>26</sup> Matthews includes this in his list of M's lines based on one line of MA with replaced alliterative words, The Ill-Framed Knight 226.

<sup>27</sup> Matthews regards M's alone as being his "translation" of one, (said of another example of alone/one), The Ill-Framed Knight 214, 216.

<sup>28</sup> Matthews cites Malory's "translation" of journee to battle as an example of Malory's skills in understanding and replacing obscure words, The Ill-Framed Knight 216, but Malory uses journey in the sense of "battle" in line 246.8, so the urge was not a consistent one in his writing.

<sup>29</sup> Hamel points out that "this is a highly characteristic near-pun", 876n. Matthews sees this substitution as further proof of Malory's "grasp of northern dialect", The Ill-Framed Knight 214, 216. This line also appears in Matthews's list of lines with alliterative words apparently replaced by Malory, The Ill-Framed Knight 227.

<sup>30</sup> Matthews again sees this as proof of Malory's knowledge of northern alliterative vocabulary. He adds it is dubious indeed that anyone who was tackling alliterative and northern verse for the first time, anyone who was unfamiliar with northern dialect, would have dealt so competently--and often in northern fashion--with such unusual words as these

The Ill-Framed Knight 221.

<sup>31</sup> Matthews, The Ill-Framed Knight 214, 218.

<sup>32</sup> Matthews states that ony is an isolated northern spelling. Matthews also says that the phrase that mylde contains a substantival adjective not matched in the poem, although similar usages appear elsewhere in the poem and in other northern alliterative verse

The Ill-Framed Knight 208-09.

<sup>33</sup> Matthews, The Ill-Framed Knight 214.

<sup>34</sup> Works 1389.

<sup>35</sup> Matthews sees ellys and shunte as northern spellings, The Ill-Framed Knight 209 and 211. This line appears in his list of lines with words apparently changed by Malory The Ill-Framed Knight 227.

<sup>36</sup> Matthews includes this line in his list of ten examples of cases where M has more alliteration than T, The Ill-Framed Knight 229.

<sup>37</sup> See Hamel's lengthy note to line 1179; page 296.

<sup>38</sup> Gordon and Vinaver 93.

<sup>39</sup> Wroten also suggests that M's is the correct reading, 210.

<sup>40</sup> Matthews, The Ill-Framed Knight 214, 215.

<sup>41</sup> These words show what Matthews believes to be "the most prevalent northernism in Malory's spelling in this episode [which] is in the representation of the unstressed vowel as i/y", The Ill-Framed Knight 209. (This is not said of this particular example.)

## Missing Good Lines

- 1 Works 1366.
- 2 Wroten 53 and 78.
- 3 Wroten 78.
- 4 Matthews, The Ill-Framed Knight 225.
- 5 Matthews, The Ill-Framed Knight 236.
- 6 Matthews, The Ill-Framed Knight 233-36.
- 7 Wroten 123.
- 8 Hamel 329n.
- 9 Matthews, The Ill-Framed Knight 233; there are  
43 of them.
- 10 Matthews, The Ill-Framed Knight 233.
- 11 Examples of Malory's interest in minor  
characters are given in R. H. Wilson, Malory's Early  
Knowledge 33-50, and R. H. Wilson, Characterization in  
Malory: A Comparison with his Sources. Diss. Chicago  
U, 1932. Chicago: Univ. of Chicago Libraries. 65-79.
- 12 Wroten 125.
- 13 Works 105.11.
- 14 Matthews, The Ill-Framed Knight 233, 235.
- 15 Wroten 146.
- 16 Matthews, The Ill-Framed Knight 231.
- 17 Hamel 603Wn.
- 18 P.J.C. Field. "The Empire of Lucius Iberius,"  
Studies in Bibliography 49 (1996), 106-28.
- 19 Matthews, The Ill-Framed Knight 233.
- 20 Field, "The Empire of Lucius Iberius," argues  
that that too derives from a lost line in the poem, but  
as it is not an alliterative line it does not concern  
us here.
- 21 Wroten 157-78.
- 22 Works 196.14-17n; Wroten 169; Hamel 768Wn,  
771Wn.
- 23 Works 196.14-17n.
- 24 Gordon and Vinaver 86.



- 25 Hamel 768Wn, 771Wn.
- 26 Works 199.19-20n; Wroten 182.
- 27 P.J.C. Field, Romance and Chronicle, London  
(Barrie and Jenkins, 1971) 111-12.
- 28 Matthews, The Ill-Framed Knight 233.
- 29 Mary E. Dichmann, "The Tale of King Arthur and  
the Emperor Lucius" in Malory's Originality, ed. R.M.  
Lumiansky (Baltimore: John Hopkins, 1964) 91.
- 30 Hamel 11-12.
- 31 Hamel 888-90n.
- 32 P. J. C. Field, Romance and Chronicle, London,  
(Barrie and Jenkins, 1971) 111-12.
- 33 Works 206.13-14n.
- 34 Works 1211.32.
- 35 Works 206.13-14n.
- 36 Matthews, The Ill-Framed Knight 233.
- 37 Matthews, The Ill-Framed Knight 235.
- 38 I have adjusted Matthews's line references to  
fit the third edition of Works.
- 39 Matthews, The Ill-Framed Knight 233, 235.
- 40 Matthews, The Ill-Framed Knight 233.
- 41 Works 740.35.
- 42 Works 1383; Matthews, The Ill-Framed Knight  
234-35.
- 43 Works 1383; Wroten 235.
- 44 Wroten 235.
- 45 Matthews, The Ill-Framed Knight 234-35.
- 46 Matthews, The Ill-Framed Knight 234-35.
- 47 Matthews, The Ill-Framed Knight 225, etc.
- 48 Matthews, The Ill-Framed Knight 234-35.
- 49 Wroten 238.
- 50 Wroten 241.
- 51 Matthews, The Ill-Framed Knight 234-35.
- 52 Works 34.3.
- 53 Works 211.9n.
- 54 Wroten 282.

- 55 Matthews, The Ill-Framed Knight 232, 234.
- 56 Hamel 9; Franz Josef Mennicken, "Versbau und Sprache in Huchowns Morte Arthure" in Bonner Beiträge zur Anglistik 5 (1900) 33-144; Works 211.11-12n.
- 57 Wroten 249.
- 58 Hamel 9-10.
- 59 Matthews, The Ill-Framed Knight 234.
- 60 Wroten 257.
- 61 Matthews, The Ill-Framed Knight 234.
- 62 See P. J. C. Field, "Malory and the French Prose Lancelot," Bulletin of the John Rylands Library, University of Manchester, 75, (1993) 79-102.
- 63 Matthews, The Ill-Framed Knight 215.
- 64 Works 214.13-14n.
- 65 Works 1385; Matthews, The Ill-Framed Knight 234.
- 66 Wroten 268.
- 67 Hamel 11.
- 68 Hamel 11.
- 69 Hamel 18-22 "Alliterative Patterns."
- 70 Works 1388; Wroten 288.
- 71 Hamel 2120W, 2121-22n.
- 72 This usage appears in Works at 287.24, and twice on p. 780.
- 73 Wroten 305.
- 74 For example in Works 168.29.
- 75 Works 1393; Wroten 318.
- 76 Wroten 320.
- 77 Matthews, The Ill-Framed Knight 234.
- 78 Wroten 321.
- 79 This phrase appears on p. 127 of Works.
- 80 This phrase appears in Works at line 1169.11.
- 81 Matthews, The Ill-Framed Knight 234.
- 82 Gordon and Vinaver 87.
- 83 Hamel 2273Wn.
- 84 Gordon and Vinaver 87; Works 224.10-13n.

- 85 Hamel 2274-77n.
- 86 Matthews, The Ill-Framed Knight 234.
- 87 Branscheid 230; Morte Arthure, ed. Eric Björkman (Heidelberg and New York: Carl Winter, 1915); Works 225.3-4n.
- 88 See Hamel's lengthy footnote to 2296W.
- 89 Hamel 2296Wn.
- 90 Works 227.9-10n.
- 91 Wroten 337.
- 92 See Hamel's notes to lines 1603 and 2497.
- 93 Wroten 345.
- 94 Works 228.14-15n.
- 95 Wroten 346.
- 96 Matthews, The Ill-Framed Knight 234.
- 97 Hamel 2560n.
- 98 Matthews, The Ill-Framed Knight 234, 236.
- 99 Works 230.6-7n; Wroten 352.
- 100 Hamel 2560n; for another possibility, see P.J.C. Field "'Above Rubies': Malory and Morte Arthure 2559-61." Notes and Queries 240 (1995): 29-30.
- 101 Works 230.15-16n.
- 102 Wroten 354; Hamel 2576Wn.
- 103 Matthews, The Ill-Framed Knight 234.
- 104 Gordon and Vinaver 88.
- 105 Matthews, The Ill-Framed Knight 234-35.
- 106 Larry D. Benson, "Malory's Morte D'Arthur" (Cambridge Mass: Harvard UP, 1977) 51.
- 107 Hamel 2587-88n.
- 108 Matthews, The Ill-Framed Knight 234-35.
- 109 Gordon and Vinaver 88.
- 110 J.L.N. O'Loughlin "The Middle English Alliterative Morte Arthure" in Medium Aevum, 4 (1935) 166; Matthews, The Ill-Framed Knight 234.
- 111 Matthews, The Ill-Framed Knight 234.
- 112 Gordon and Vinaver 87; Works 233.13n.
- 113 Hamel 2663Wn.

- 114 Matthews, The Ill-Framed Knight 234.  
 115 Wroten 367.  
 116 Gordon and Vinaver 90.  
 117 Matthews, The Ill-Framed Knight 234.  
 118 Works 235.3-7n.  
 119 Matthews, The Ill-Framed Knight 234-35.  
 120 Works 235.3-7n.  
 121 Matthews, The Ill-Framed Knight 234.  
 122 Hamel 2720-24n.  
 123 Works 235.3-7n.  
 124 Matthews, The Ill-Framed Knight 234-35.  
 125 Works 235.3-7n.  
 126 Works 238.7-9n.  
 127 Wroten 385.  
 128 Matthews, The Ill-Framed Knight 234.  
 129 Hamel 11; Gordon and Vinaver 88.  
 130 Matthews, The Ill-Framed Knight 234.  
 131 Hamel 11; Gordon and Vinaver 88; Matthews, The Ill-Framed Knight 234.  
 132 Hamel 11.  
 133 Works 239.1-4n.  
 134 Matthews, The Ill-Framed Knight 234.  
 135 Wroten 395.  
 136 Gordon and Vinaver 88.  
 137 Matthews, The Ill-Framed Knight 234.  
 138 Matthews, The Ill-Framed Knight 234.  
 139 Works 242.13-14n.  
 140 Matthews, The Ill-Framed Knight 234.  
 141 Gordon and Vinaver 90.  
 134 Gordon and Vinaver 90.  
 143 Matthews, The Ill-Framed Knight 234.  
 144 Hamel 9.  
 145 R. H. Wilson, "More Borrowings by Malory from Hardyng's Chronicle," in Notes and Queries 215 (1970): 208-10.  
 146 Matthews, The Ill-Framed Knight 234.

- 147 Matthews, The Ill-Framed Knight 235-36.  
148 Matthews, The Ill-Framed Knight 235; Hamel 9.  
149 Hamel 9.  
150 Matthews, The Ill-Framed Knight 235.  
151 Matthews, The Ill-Framed Knight 235; Hamel 9.  
152 Matthews, The Ill-Framed Knight 235.  
153 Matthews, The Ill-Framed Knight 235.

## Scribe E

- 1 Hamel 9.
- 2 Hamel 10.
- 3 Hamel 12.
- 4 Hamel 12.
- 5 Hamel 12.
- 6 Hamel 12.
- 7 Hamel 12.
- 8 Hamel 284-85n.
- 9 Hamel 12.
- 10 Works lxii, footnote 3; Wroten 78-79; Krishna 650n, p. 83; Kennedy, "Malory and His English Sources", 36.
- 11 For example, sadly in Sir Gawain and the Green Knight, lines 437 and 1563.
- 12 Matthews, The Ill-Framed Knight 209.
- 13 Hamel 819-20n.
- 14 John Withrington, "'He Telleth the Number of the Stars': The Lesser Knights of Sir Thomas Malory's Morte Darthur," Arthurian Interpretations 3 (1993): 17-27.
- 15 Hamel 826n.
- 16 OED, sense 5, from the Higden Rolls III. 31 and Caxton's Golden Legend 1483.
- 17 For example lines 94, 106, 474, 815, 817, 818, 820, 822, 824, 828, 829, 830, 831, 842, 881, 884, 1235 et al.
- 18 As in lines 396, 397, 398, 402, 407, 627, 630, 631, 634, 812, 894, 939, 1560, etc.
- 19 See also lines 250 and 472 (concerning the Senator), line 289 (concerning Aungers), and line 364 (concerning Ewayne) etc.
- 20 Hamel 876n.
- 21 Matthews, The Ill-Framed Knight 216.
- 22 Matthews, The Ill-Framed Knight 227.

- 23 Works 199.19-20n; Wroten 182.
- 24 Hamel 11.
- 25 Hamel 1179n.
- 26 Hamel 1176-77n.
- 27 Works 205.2n; Wroten, however, provides an alternative theory, that "its spelling may simply be analogous with ferre of MA, line 1176" 211.
- 28 Hamel 1226n.
- 29 Champagne and chalk are probably pronounced in the same way now as they were in the late Middle Ages (OED).
- 30 Hamel 10-11.
- 31 Hamel 1558n.
- 32 Wroten 248.
- 33 Hamel 9-10.
- 34 Hamel 1739n.
- 35 Hamel 10.
- 36 See MED recoveren v. (2) 10 (b) where Malory 214.30 is quoted.
- 37 Hamel 10.
- 38 Hamel 1964, 1977n.
- 39 Hamel 2274-77n.
- 40 Hamel 2296Wn.
- 41 Hamel 2300-2302n.
- 42 Hamel 2300-2302n.
- 43 Hamel 10.
- 44 Hamel 10.
- 45 Gordon and Vinaver 95.
- 46 Hamel 2472n.
- 47 Hamel 2560n. For an alternative theory see P.J.C. Field, "'Above Rubies': Malory and Morte Arthure 2559-61" in Notes and Queries 240 (1995): 29-30.
- 48 Hamel 2587-88n.
- 49 Hamel 2740n.
- 50 Mennicken, "Versbau und Sprache in Huchowns Morte Arthure" in Bonner Beiträge zur Anglistik 5 (1900) 139; Gordon and Vinaver 89.

- 51 Hamel 2744n.
- 52 Hamel 11.
- 53 Gordon and Vinaver 97; Works 238.14n; Wroten 386.
- 54 Hamel 2883n.
- 55 Gordon and Vinaver 93.
- 56 Hamel 3015-16n.
- 57 See the glossary in Works.
- 58 Hamel 3093n.
- 59 Hamel 10.
- 60 Works, "Note to the Third Edition" 1756.
- 61 Works, "Note to the Third Edition" 1764.
- 62 McCarthy, "Malory and the Alliterative Tradition,"  
in Studies in Malory, ed. James W. Spisak 55.
- 63 McCarthy, "Alliterative Tradition" 56.
- 64 McCarthy, "Alliterative Tradition" 57.
- 65 McCarthy, "Alliterative Tradition" 58.
- 66 McCarthy, "Alliterative Tradition" 65 and footnote  
36, p. 83.
- 67 McCarthy, "Alliterative Tradition" 60.
- 68 McCarthy, "Alliterative Tradition" 63.
- 69 McCarthy, "Alliterative Tradition" 64.
- 70 McCarthy, "Alliterative Tradition" 64.



The Sources of the Alliterative Morte Arthure

1 Hamel 30-47n. George R. Keiser also credits Wace with being the probable source of the catalogue of Arthur's conquests, "Narrative Structure in the Alliterative Morte Arthure", 26-720." Chaucer Review 9 (1974): 131.

2 Hamel 42n; Banks, Notes 131.

3 Hamel 42n.

4 Hamel 48-51n.

5 PA 1830; Hamel 57-58n.

6 Hamel 62-63n.

7 Hamel 66-69n.

8 Krishna 67n.

9 Hamel 80-81n.

10 Hamel 82-83n.

11 Hamel 86-87n.

12 Hamel 80-81n.

13 Hamel 119n.

14 Hamel 125-31n.

15 Hamel 127n.

16 Hamel 208-09n.

17 Hamel 234n.

18 Hamel 243ff.n.

19 Hamel 245n.

20 Hamel 249n.

21 Krishna 247-405n.

22 Hamel 254n.

23 Hamel 256n.

24 Hamel 257n.

25 Hamel 260n.

26 Hamel 277n.

27 Hamel 277n. W.G. Cooke sensibly observes that Bawdewyne is the third British king to rule Rome rather than King Bawdewyne III, "Notes on the Alliterative Morte Arthure." English Studies 67.4 (1986): 304-07. This has

been my belief since first reading the poem several years ago.

28 Hamel 278-79n.

29 Hamel 283n.

30 Hamel 288ff.n. The Welsh King mentioned in the previous paragraph is glossed as Arthur in the EETS edition. He is now identified as Sir Valiant of Vyleris, who appears under the latter name in line 1982, and as the Welsh King fulfils his vows in lines 2044-65, P.J.C. Field, "Malory's Morte Arthure and the King of Wales." Notes and Queries 19 (1972): 285-86.

31 Hamel 292n.

32 Hamel 293-95n.

33 Hamel 298n.

34 Hamel 312-15n.

35 Hamel "Two Minor Sources," p. 133, 247-56n.

36 These line references have been emended as Hamel's are incorrect.

37 Hamel 397-406n.

38 Hamel 572-605n.

39 Hamel 627-31n.

40 Hamel 645n. Mordred is not said to be Arthur's child in the Chronicle tradition. Indeed in line 1943 Arthur states "There es no ischewe of vs on this erthe sprongen," Charles Lionel Regan "The Paternity of Mordred in the Alliterative Morte Arthure Once More," American Notes and Queries 23.3-4 (1984): 35-36. Eithne M. O'Sharkey also considers that there is no evidence of Mordred's being Arthur's son, "King Arthur's Prophetic Dreams and the Role of Mordred in Layamon's Brut and the Alliterative Morte Arthure." Romania 99 (1978) 355.

41 Hamel 645n.

42 Hamel 649-78n.

43 Hamel 721ff.n.

44 Hamel 729ff.n.

45 Hamel 744-45n.

- 46 Hamel 751-53n.
- 47 Hamel 754-55n.
- 48 Hamel 759n.
- 49 Hamel 773n.
- 50 Hamel 778-80n.
- 51 Hamel 784n.
- 52 Hamel 798-801n.
- 53 Hamel 804n.
- 54 Hamel 841n.
- 55 Hamel 844-51n.
- 56 Hamel 864n. Jan Ziolkowski rejects Hamel's emendation because if the MA-poet has changed the Duchess's marital status he may well have been willing to change her relationship to Arthur also: "A Narrative Structure in the Alliterative Morte Arthure" 1-1221 and 3150-4346." Chaucer Review (1988): 244, note 12.
- 57 Hamel 864n.
- 58 Krishna 899n; Hamel 880n.
- 59 Hamel 880n.
- 60 Hamel 891n.
- 61 Hamel 891n.
- 62 Hamel 892-93n.
- 63 Hamel's note to lines 208-09.
- 64 Hamel 957ff.n.
- 65 Hamel 970n.
- 66 Hamel 978-80n.
- 67 Hamel 998ff.n.
- 68 Hamel 1090n.
- 69 Hamel 1090n.
- 70 Hamel 1112-14n. Ziolkowski notes that the injury to the "lust-dominated" giant's brain has little effect as it "is not his governing organ" while the damage to his genitals proves fatal, "Narrative Structure" 237. The manner of his death therefore serves a symbolic function.
- 71 Hamel 1176-77n. Ziolkowski is unconvinced by Hamel's argument, stating "it remains unclear to which of

these two giants Arthur refers": "Narrative Structure" 244, note 15.

72 Krishna 1176-77n.

73 Branscheid 223.

74 Hamel 1225n.

75 Branscheid 223.

76 Hamel 1225n.

77 Hamel 1231-34n.

78 Hamel 1232-33n.

79 Hamel 1249n.

80 Hamel 1265n.

81 Bjorkman; Hamel; Krishna 1263-65n.

82 Hamel 1273-75n.

83 Hamel 1283-90n.

84 Krishna 1287n.

85 Hamel 1287-88n. Since the publication of Hamel's edition W.G. Cooke has proposed that palaisez means "lists for jousts and tourneys, as in The Awyntyrs off Arthure," "Notes" 305. If they are lists then they are very elaborately decorated.

86 Hamel 1346; Krishna 1346-47n, Branscheid "Quellen," p. 192n.

87 Branscheid "Quellen," p. 192n.

88 Hamel 1360-61n.

89 Hamel 1368n. I agree with Christopher Dean who notes Gawain's importance in the embassy to Lucius and in the subsequent fight. Dean praises Gawain and defends his conduct (and Arthur's) against the attacks of Matthews in The Tragedy of Arthur, "Sir Gawain in the Alliterative Morte Arthure." Paper on Language and Literature 22.2 (1986): 115-125. That the MA-poet approves of Gawain's actions in this section is shown by the description of Gawain as "the gude" in line 1368 (other examples of authorial praise are cited by Dean on page 116). John Eadie also defends Gawain's actions both because Gawain has been "severely insulted" and as being in keeping with

"the way in which all honourable knights within the chanson de geste tradition were expected to conduct themselves," John Eadie, "The Alliterative Morte Arthure: Structure and Meaning." English Studies 63.1 (1982): 7. Gawain and Arthur are also defended by Wolfgang Obst, "The Gawain-Priamus Episode in the Alliterative Morte Arthure" Studia Neophilologica 57 (1985): 9-18.

- 90 Hamel 1385n.
- 91 Hamel 1390-98n.
- 92 Hamel 1398n.
- 93 Hamel 1403n.
- 94 Hamel and Krishna 1419n.
- 95 Hamel 1490n.
- 96 Hamel 1596n.
- 97 Hamel 1602-07n.
- 98 Hamel 1619-20n.
- 99 Hamel 1619-20n.
- 100 Hamel 1622-23n.
- 101 Hamel 1639n.
- 102 Hamel 1739n.
- 103 Hamel 1775n.
- 104 Hamel 1829n.
- 105 Branscheid "Quellen," 230, 235. Hamel and Krishna 1908n.
- 106 Hamel 1916n.
- 107 Hamel 1918n.
- 108 Hamel 1918n.
- 109 Hamel 1963-72n.
- 110 Hamel 1964n, 1977n.
- 111 Hamel 1967n.
- 112 Hamel 1971n.
- 113 C. W. Previté Orton, The Shorter Cambridge Medieval History, 2nd ed., 2 vols (1953; Cambridge University Press, 1982) vol. 1, 77-78.
- 114 Previté Orton, vol. 1, 100-01.
- 115 Previté Orton Appendix 1, Roman Emperors 284-476

- AD, vol. 2, p. 1123.
- 116 Hamel 1980-2005n.
  - 117 For more details see Hamel 1980-2005n.
  - 118 Hamel 2010-15n.
  - 119 Hamel 2017n.
  - 120 Hamel 2026-27n.
  - 121 Hamel 2030-32n.
  - 122 Hamel 2112n.
  - 123 Hamel 2120W, 2121-22n.
  - 124 Hamel 2144n.
  - 125 Hamel 2234-36n.
  - 126 Hamel 2244-45n.
  - 127 As Hamel notes, 2255-56n.
  - 128 Hamel 2261-67n.
  - 129 Hamel 2261-67n.
  - 130 Hamel 2299-2305n.
  - 131 Hamel 2316-20n.
  - 132 Hamel 2343n.
  - 133 Hamel 2369n; she cites OED s.v. I and II as  
proof.
  - 134 Björkman 158; Krishna 2371-85n.
  - 135 Hamel 2380n; Tatlock, 97-98.
  - 136 Hamel 2382n.
  - 137 Hamel 2383n.
  - 138 Hamel 3134-48n.
  - 139 The others in this section being 3150-63, 3134-  
48, 3179, 3187-89, 3589-90, 2831-3160n.
  - 140 Hamel 3146-47n.
  - 141 Hamel 3150-63n. Arthur's deeds during his Tuscan  
campaign are announced early in the poem (lines 431-32),  
and are defended by John Eadie, "Structure and Meaning" 9,  
and Wolfgang Obst, 15.
  - 142 Hamel 3159n.
  - 143 Hamel 3162n.
  - 144 Hamel 3179n.
  - 145 Hamel 3181-84n.

- 146 Hamel 3185-86n.
- 147 3187-90n.
- 148 SATF ed. 2919-22; Hamel 3210n.
- 149 Hamel 3235-37n.
- 150 See Edward Donald Kennedy's review in Anglia 105, (1987) 485-90, and John Finlayson's in Speculum 63, (1988) 936-39.
- 151 Hamel 3345n.
- 152 Hamel 3509n. Ziolkowski believes that Sir Cradok's penitential behaviour shows how Arthur should behave and shows Arthur in a state of sin, "Narrative Structure" 237. However, Arthur's desire for revenge is surely understandable in the circumstances and he is a warrior-king and not a saint.
- 153 Hamel 3487n.
- 154 Hamel 3511n.
- 155 Hamel 3487n.
- 156 One of these, Le Livre de Caradoc, is part of the First Continuation of Chretien de Troyes's Perceval. The former is a magical tale, part of which resembles Sir Gawain and the Green Knight, Björkman, MA notes, 171-72 (cited by Hamel 3487n).
- 157 Hamel 3525-26n.
- 158 This is cited by Hamel who also compares details of Mordred's reign with that of Richard II, 3525-26n.
- 159 Matthews, Tragedy, 184; Hamel 3528n.
- 160 Hamel 3532n.
- 161 Krishna 3532n.
- 162 Hamel 3549n.
- 163 Hamel 3556n.
- 164 Hamel 3560n.
- 165 Hamel 3572n.
- 166 Hamel 3583n.
- 167 Hamel 3589-90n.
- 168 Hamel 3741-42n.
- 169 Hamel 3902n.

- 170 Hamel 3918n.
- 171 J.A.W. Bennett, and G.V. Smithers, ed. Early Middle English Verse and Prose, 2nd. ed. (Oxford: Oxford UP, 1968) 345.
- 172 Edward Donald Kennedy in Anglia 105 (1987) 485-90, note 8.
- 173 Hamel 3937n. Branscheid and Banks interpret guchede as Gotland in their glossaries.
- 174 Hamel 4026-32n.
- 175 Hamel 4077n.
- 176 Hamel 4078n.
- 177 Hamel 4180n. See also the section 4226 below (Mordred and Arthur). Ziolkowski observes that Mordred's loss of his right hand in this encounter is an appropriate punishment for his treachery, "Narrative Structure," 242.
- 178 Matthews, Tragedy, 181.
- 179 See Hamel's note to lines 2384-85.
- 180 Hamel 4188n.
- 181 Hamel 4226n.
- 182 Hamel 4236n. Eithne O'Sharkey provides interesting information on Mordred's sword Clarente in "Layamon's Brut and the Alliterative Morte Arthure," 358.
- 183 Hamel 4262-68n.
- 184 Hamel 4284-86n.
- 185 Hamel 4303-04n.
- 186 Hamel 4316n.
- 187 Hamel 4318-21n.



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## APPENDIXES

## MALORY'S ALLITERATIVE AND SEMI-ALLITERATIVE LINES

- "and sir Trystrams come that tyme also" (185.5-6).
- "Whan kynge Arthure wyste what they mente" (185.11-12).
- "Crowned kynge, myssedo no messyngers, for we be com at his commaundement, as servytures sholde" (185.17-18).
- "Than spake the Conquerrou, 'Thou recrayed and coward knyghte, (why feryst thou my countenance?)'" (185.19-186.1).
- "thou durste nat for a deukedom of londis loke in their facis" (186.2-3).
- "'Sir,' seyde one of the senatoures, 'so Cryste me helpe'" (186.4).
- "I was so aferde whan I loked in thy face" (186.5).
- "that myne herte wolde nat serve for to sey my message" (186.5-6).
- "but for all thy brym wordys I woll nat be to over-hasty" (186.16-17).
- "therefore thou and thy felowys shall abyde here seven dayes" (186.17-18).
- "and shall calle unto me my counceyle of my moste trusty knyghtes" (186.18-19).
- "and whan we have takyn oure avysement ye shall have your answeare playnly, suche as I shall abyde by" (186.21-23).
- "Than the noble kynge commaunded sir Clegis" (187.6).
- "thes men be seteled and served with the beste" (187.6-7).
- "that nother chylde nor horse faught nothyng, 'for they ar full royall peple'" (187.8-9).
- "yet we muste remembir on oure worshyp" (187.10-11).
- "Than the kynge unto counsayle called his noble [lordes and] knyghtes" (187.14-15).
- "Than the kynge commaunded hem of their beste counceyle" (187.16-17).
- "'Sir,' seyde sir Cadour of Cornuayle" (187.18).

"The lettys of Lucius the Emperoure lykis me well"  
(187.20).

"for now we shall have warre and worshyp" (187.21).

"'Be Cryste, I leve welle,' seyde the kyng, 'sir Cador,  
(this message lykis the)'" (188.1-2).

"(But yet they may nat be so answerde,) for their  
spyteuous speche greveth so my herte" (188.2-3).

"That truage to Roome woll I never pay" (188.3-4).

"Therefore counceyle me, my knyghtes, for Crystes love of  
Hevyn" (188.4-5).

"sir Belyne and sir Bryne, of my bloode elders"  
(Vinaver, 188.6-7). Continues:  
"that borne were in Bretayne.'"

"hath occupyed the empyreship eyght score wyntyrs" (188.8).

"(and aftir) Constantyne,oure kynnesman, conquerd hit"  
(Vinaver, 188.9).

"dame Elyneys son, of Ingelonde, was Emperour of Roome"  
(Vinaver, 188.10).

"recoverde the Crosse that Cryste dyed uppon"  
(Vinaver, 188.11).

"And thus was the Empyre kepte be my kynde elders"  
(188.12).

"and thus have we evydence inowghe to the empyre of hole  
Rome" (188.12-14).

"Than answerde kyng Angwysshaunce unto Arthure" (188.15).

"Sire, thou oughte to be aboven all othir (Crysten  
kynges)" (188.15-16).

"(Crysten kynges) for of knyghthode and of noble  
counceyle" (188.16-17).

"And Scotlonde had never scathe syne ye were crowned  
kyng" (188.18-19).

"whan the Romaynes raynede uppon us they raunsomed oure  
elders" (Vinaver, 188.19-20).  
Continues "and raffte us of oure lyves" (188.20).

"Therefore I make myne avow unto mylde Mary"  
(Vinaver, 188.20-21).

"and to farther thy fyght I shall brynge the ferce men of  
armys" (188.22-23).

"fully twenty thousand of tyred men" (188.23-24).

"I shall yeff hem my wages for to go and warre on the  
Romaynes" (188.24-189.1).

"and all shall be within two ayges to go where the lykes"  
(189.2).

"Sir answeere thes alyauntes and gyff them their answeere"  
(189.4-5).

"thirty thousand" (189.5).

"'Ye sey well,' seyde the kyng Arthure" (189.7).

"(Than spake a myghty deuke) that was lorde of Weste  
Walys" (189.8-9).

"Sir, I make myne avowe to God to be revenged on the  
Romaynes, and to have the vawarde" (189.9-10).

"vynquyshe with vyctory the vyscounte of Roome"  
(Vinaver, 189.11).

"as I paste on pylgrymage all by the Poynte Tremble"  
(Vinaver, 189.12).

"raunsomed them unresonable" (189.14).

"I complayned me to the Potestate the Pope hymself"  
(Vinaver, 189.14-15).

"other reson at Roome" (189.16-17).

"And therefore to be avenged I woll arere" (189.18).

"of my wyghteste Walshemen, and of myne owne fre wagis"  
(189.18-19).

"thirty thousand" (189.20).

"Then sir Ewayne and his son Ider" (189.21).

"that were nere cosyns unto the Conquerroure, yet were they  
cosyns (both twayne)" (189.21-22).

"they helde Irelande and Argayle and all the Oute Iles"  
(Vinaver, 189.23-24).

"into the vale of Vyterbe, and there to vytayle my  
knyghtes" (Vinaver, 189.27-28).

- "thirty thousand" (189.29).
- ("Than lepe in yong) sir Launcelot de Laake with a lyght herte" (Vinaver, 189.30-31).
- "twenty thousand helmys in haubirkes attyred" (190.3-4).
- "whyles oure lyves lastyth" (190.4-5).
- "Than lowghe sir Bawdwyn of Bretayne and carpys to the kynge" (190.6-7).
- "I make myne avow unto the varnacle noble" (190.7).
- "for to brynge with me ten thousand good mennys bodyes" (190.7-8).
- "(that shall never fayle) whyle there lyvis lastyth" (190.8-9).
- "I suppose by the ende be done and dalte (the Romaynes had bene bettir)" (190.11-12).
- "So whan the sevynnyghte was atte an ende" (190.13).
- "the Senatours besought the kynge to have an answer" (190.13-14).
- "keene knyghtes" (190.17)?
- "by the rever of Rome holde my Rounde Table" (Vinaver, 190.17-18).
- "And I woll brynge with me the beste peple of fyftene realmys" (190.18-19).
- "(and with hem) ryde on the mountaynes in the maynelondis" (190.19-20).
- "and myne doune the wallys of Myllayne the proude" (Vinaver, 190.20-21).
- "and syth ryde unto Roome with my royallyst knyghtes" (Vinaver, 190.21-22).
- "Now ye have youre answer, hygh you that ye were hense" (190.22-23).
- "frome this place to the porte there ye shall passe over" (Vinaver, 190.23-24).
- "I shall gyff you seven dayes to passe unto Sandwyche" (190.24-25).

- "Now spede you, I counceyle you, and spare nat youre horsis" (Vinaver, 190.26-27).
- "and loke ye go by Watlynge Strete and no way ellys" (Vinaver, 190.27).
- "for hit longyth nat to none alyauntis for to ryde on nyghtes" (191.1-2).
- "there shall no golde undir God pay for youre raunsom" (191.4-5).
- "'Sir,' seyde this senatoures" (191.6).
- "We beseche you that we may passe saufly" (191.7).
- "'Care ye nat,' seyde the kyng, 'youre conduyte is able'" (Vinaver, 191.8).
- "But the senatours spared for no horse" (191.11-12).
- "but hyred hem hakeneyes frome towne to towne" (191.12-13).
- "by the sonne was sette at the seven dayes ende" (Vinaver, 191.13-14). Continues  
 "they com unto Sandwyche" (191.14).
- "and aftir that over the grete mountayne that hyght Godarde" (191.16-17).
- "I wente that Arthure wold have obeyed you" (191.24).
- "and served you [hymself] unto your honde for so he besemed" (191.24-25).
- "other ony kyng crastynde" (191.25-26).
- "for to obey ony senatour that is sente fro my persone" (191.26-27).
- "'Sir,' sayde the senatours, 'lette be suche wordis'" (Vinaver, 192.1).
- "And therefore, sirres, truste to oure sawys" (192.4).
- "for all his trew auncettryes sauff his fadir Uther were Emperoures of Rome" (192.9-10).
- "And of all the soveraynes that we sawe" (192.11).
- "the fayryst felyship" (192.13).

"and of fayre speche and all royalte and rychesse they  
fayle of none" (192.15-16).

"the mountaynes of Almayne be myghtyly kepte"  
(Vinaver, 192.18-19).

"'Be Estir,' seyde the Emperour" (192.20).

"and so furth into Fraunce" (192.21).

"many gyauntys of Geene" (192.22).

"perleous passage shall be surely kepte with my good  
knyghtes" (193.1).

"Ambage, and Arrage, and unto Alysundir"  
(Vinaver, 193.4-5).

"to Ynde, to Ermony that the rever of Euftrate[s] rennys  
by" (193.5-6).

"and to Assy, Aufryke, and Europe the large"  
(Vinaver, 193.6-7).

"and to Ertayne, and Elamye, to the Oute Yles"  
(Vinaver, 193.7).

"to Arrabe to Egypte" (193.8).

"to Damaske, and to Damyake, and to noble deukis and  
erlys" (193.8-9).

"Also the kyng of Capydos, and the kyng of Tars, and of  
Turke" (193.9-10).

"and of Pounce, and of Pampoyle, and oute of Preter  
Johanes londe" (Vinaver, 193.10-11).

"also the sowdon of Surre" (193.11-12).

"And frome Nero unto Nazareth" (193.12).

"and frome Garese to Galely" (193.12-13).

"there come Sarysyns and becom sudgettis" (193.13).

"So they come glydyng in galyes" (193.14).

"Also there come the kyng of Cypres" (193.14-15).

"the Grekis were gadirde and goodly arayed"  
(Vinaver, 193.15-16).



"of Calab[r]e and of Catelonde bothe kynges and deukes"  
(Vinaver, 193.16-17).

"fyffty gyauntys that were engendirde with fendis"  
(Vinaver, 193.24-25).

"for to breke the batayle" (193.26).

"(And thus the Emperour with all) hys horryble peple"  
(194.2-3).

"drew to passe Almayne to dystroy Arthures londys"  
(194.3-4).

"that he wan thorow warre of his noble knyghtes"  
(194.4-5).

"com unto Cullayne, and thereby a castelle besegys"  
(Vinaver, 194.6-7).

"and wanne hit within a whyle" (194.7).

"within a whyle " (194.8).

"kyng Claudas" (194.10).

"(commaunde hem to mete with hym in Normandy) in the  
contray of Constantyne" (194.11-12).

"and at Barflete there ye me abyde" (194.12-13).

"for the Douchery of Bretayne I shall thorowly dystroy  
hit" (194.13-14).

"Now leve we sir Lucius" (194.15).

"(and speke we of) kyng Arthure that commaunded all that  
were undir his obeysaunce" (194.15-16).

"aftir the utas of Seynte Hyllary that all shulde be  
assembled" (194.16-17).

"within the wallys" (194.18).

"And there they concluded shortly to areste all the  
shyppes of this londe" (194.18-19).

"I purpose me to passe many perelles wayes"  
(Vinaver, 194.21-22).

"and to occupye the Empyre that myne elders afore have  
claymed" (194.22-23).

- "The kynges and knyghtes gadirde hem unto counsayle"  
(194.25).
- "and were condecended for to make two chyfftaynes"  
(195.1).
- "sir Baudwen of Bretayne, an auncient and an honorable  
knyght" (195.2-3).
- "for to counceyle and comferte; sir Cadore son of  
Cornuayle" (195.3-4).
- "that was at that tyme called sir Constantyne, that aftir  
was kyng aftir Arthurs dayes" (195.4-5).
- "the kyng res[yn]ed all the rule" (195.6).
- "And sir Trystrams at that tyme" (195.8).
- "for the love of La Beale Isode, wherefore sir Launcelot  
was passyng wrothe" (195.9-10).
- "Than quene Gwenyver made grete sorow" (195.11).
- "Than the kyng commaunded hem to God and belefte the  
quene in sir Constantynes" (195.14-15).
- "and sir Baudewens hondis, and all Inglonde holy to rule  
(as themselfe demed beste)" (195.15-16).
- "And whan the kyng was an horsebak he seyde in herynge of  
all the lordis" (195.16-18).
- "nexte of my kyn save sir Cador" (195.20-21).
- "(and therefore, if that I dey,) I woll that ye be  
crowned kyng" (195.21-22).
- "Ryght so he sought and his knyghtes towarde Sandewyche"  
(195.23-24).
- "(for there were the moste party) of the Rounde Table  
redy" (195.25).
- "Than in all haste that myght be they shypped their horsis  
and harneyse" (195.26-196.1).
- "galeyes and galyottys" (196.6).
- "they strekyn forth into the stremys many sadde  
hunderthes" (Vinaver, 196.7).
- "As the kyng was in his cog and lay in his caban"  
(196.9).

- "dremed how a dredfull dragon dud drenche mucche of his peple" (Vinaver, 196.10-11).
- "(and com fleyng) one wyngte oute of the weste partyes" (196.11-12).
- "And his hede, hym semed, was enamyled with asure" (196.12-13).
- "and his shuldyrs shone as the golde" (196.13).
- "mayles of a merveyulous hew" (196.14).
- "his tayle was fulle of tatyrs" (196.15).
- "his feete were florysshed as hit were fyne sable" (Vinaver, 196.15-16).
- "And his clawys were lyke clene golde" (196.16-17).
- "an hydeouse flame of fyre there flowe oute of his mowth" (Vinaver, 196.17-18).
- "lyke as the londe and the watir had flawmed all on fyre" (196.18-19).
- "his pawys were as byg as a poste" (196.21-22).
- "He was all to-rongeled with lugerande lokys" (196.22).
- "He romed and rored so rudely that merveyle hit were to telle" (196.23-24).
- "Than the dredfull dragon dressyd hym ayenste hym" (Vinaver, 196.25).
- "his breste and his bray<1>e was bloode" (197.2).
- "Than the worme wyndis away" (197.3-4).
- "such a sowghe" (197.5).
- "fro the toppe to the tayle was ten foote large" (Vinaver, 197.6).
- "And so he rentyth the beare and brennyys hym up clene" (197.6-7).
- "(in all haste) he sente for a philozopher and charged hym to telle what sygnyfyed his dreme" (197.11-12).
- "'Sir', seyde the phylozopher" (197.13).

"the dragon thou dremyste of (betokyns thyne owne persone)" (197.13-14).

"that thus here sayles with thy syker knyghtes" (197.14-15).

"the coloure of his wyngys is thy kyngdomes that thou haste with thy knyghtes wonne" (197.15-16).

"And his tayle that was all to-tatered" (197.16-17).

"betokyns som tyraunte that turmentis thy peple" (Vinaver, 197.19-20).

"som gyaunte boldely in batayle be thyself alone" (197.21).

"of this dredfull drede drede the but a lytyll" (Vinaver, 197.22).

"care nat now, sir conquerroure, but comfort[h] thyself" (Vinaver, 197.22-23).

"within a whyle" (198.1).

"as he had commaunded at Crystemasse before hymselfe" (198.4).

"And than come there an husbandeman oute of the contrey" (198.5).

"and talkyth unto the kyng wondurfull wordys" (198.6).

"Sir, here is a [besyde] a [grete] gyaunte of Gene (that turmentyth thy peple)" (198.7-8).

"mo than fyve hundred and many mo of oure chyldren" (198.8).

"that hath bene his sustynaunce all this seven wynters" (Vinaver, 198.9-10).

"Yet is the sotte never cesid" (198.10).

"but in the contrey of Constantyne he hath kylled all oure knave chyldren" (198.10-12).

- "as she rode by a ryver with her ryche knyghtes"  
(Vinaver, 198.13-14).
- "(and ledde hir unto yondir mounte) to ly by hir whyle hir  
lyff lastyth" (198.14-15).
- "Many folkys folowed hym, mo than fyve hundird"  
(Vinaver, 198.16).
- "barounes and bachelers and knyghtes full noble"  
(198.17).
- "sir Howell the Hende" (199.1-2).
- "as thou arte oure ryghtwos kynge, rewe on this lady"  
(Vinaver, 199.3).
- "'Alas,' seyde kynge Arthure" (199.6).
- "I had levir than all the realmys I welde unto my crowne"  
(199.7).
- "I had bene before that freyke a furlonge way"  
(Vinaver, 199.8).
- "woldist thou ken me where that carle dwellys?"  
(199.10-11).
- "I trowe I shall trete with hym (or I far passe)"  
(199.11-12).
- "beholde yondir two fyrys, for there shalte thou fynde"  
(199.13-14).
- "that carle beyonde the colde stendus" (199.14-15).
- "there mayste thou sykerly fynde, more tresoure as I  
suppose, than is in all France aftir" (199.16-17).
- "Thy soth sawys have greved sore my herte"  
(Vinaver, 199.19).
- "Than he turnys towarde his tentys (and carpys but lytyl)"  
(199.19-20).
- "Than the kynge [called to hym] sir Kay in counceyle"  
(199.21).
- "and to sir Bedwere the bolde" (199.22).
- "(Loke that ye two) aftir evynsonge be surely armed"  
(199.22-23).
- "on pylgrymage prevayly" (199.24).

- "to Seynte Mychaels Mounte where mervayles ar shewed"  
(Vinaver, 200.1-2).
- "Anone sir Arthure wente to his wardrop and caste on his  
armoure" (200.3-4).
- "bothe his gesseraunte and his basnet with his brode  
shylde" (200.4-5).
- "And so he buskys hym tyll his stede that on the bente  
hoved" (200.5-6).
- "stirres hym stoutly and sone" (200.7).
- "he fyndis his knyghtes two full clenly arayed" (200.7-8).
- "a blythe contray full of many myrry byrdis" (200.9-10).
- "that none nyghe other" (200.13-14).
- "for I woll seche this seynte by myself alone"  
(Vinaver, 200.14).
- "(and speke wyth) this maystir-man that kepys this  
mountayne" (200.15).
- "Than the kynge yode up to the creste of the cragge"  
(200.16).
- "and than he comforted hymself with the colde wynde"  
(200.16-17).
- "he fyndys two fyres flamand full hyghe"  
(Vinaver, 200.18-19).
- "And at that one fyre he founde" (200.19).
- "a carefull wydow wryngande hir handys" (200.20).
- "Than Arthure salued hir and she hym agayne" (200.21-22).
- "and asked hir why she sate sorowyng" (200.22).
- "carefull knyght! Thou carpys over lowde!"  
(Vinaver, 200.23-24).
- "Yon is a werlow woll destroy us bothe" (200.24).
- "I holde the unhappy" (200.24-25).
- "Thoughe here were suche fyffty, ye were to feyble (for to  
macche hym all at onys)" (200.25-201.1).
- "Here is a douches dede" (201.3).

"he hath murthered that mylde withoute ony mercy"  
(Vinaver, 201.3-4).

"he forced hir by fylth of hymself" (201.4-5).

"and so aftir slytte hir unto the navyll" (201.5).

"'Dame,' seyde the kynge, 'I com fro the [noble]  
Conquerroure'" (201.6-7).

"for to trete with that tirraunte" (201.7).

"'Fy on suche trefte,' she seyde than" (201.9).

"for he settys nought by the kynge nother by no man  
ellys" (201.9-10).

"But and thou have brought Arthurs wyff, dame Gwenyvere,  
he woll be more blyther of hir than thou haddyste  
geffyn hym half<e>ndeale Fraunce" (201.10-13).  
This line may contain mixed weak alliteration.

"And but yf thou have brought hir, prese hym nat to  
nyghe" (201.13-14).

"and the bordoures thereof is the berdis <of> fyftene  
kynge" (201.15-16).

"Othir farme had he none of fyftene realmys" (201.17-18).

"they sente hym in faythe for savyng of their peple"  
(201.19-20).

"than ever had Arthure or ony of his elders"  
(Vinaver, 201.20-21).

"at souper with syx knave chyldirne" (201.23).

"pykyll and powder with many precious wynes"  
(Vinaver, 201.24).

"that turnys the broche that bydis to go to his bed"  
(202.1-2).

"or the fylth is fulfyllid that his fleyshe askys"  
(Vinaver, 202.3).

"Than fare thou to yondir fyre that flamys so hyghe"  
(Vinaver, 202.6).

"and there thou shalt fynde hym sykerly for sothe"  
(202.7).

"and syghe where he sate at his soupere alone"  
(Vinaver, 202.8-9).

"gnawyng on a lymme of a large man" (202.9-10).

"he beekys his brode lendys by the bryght fyre"  
(Vinaver, 202.10-11).  
(Continues: "and brekelys hym s<e>mys".)

"but late borne, and they were broched in maner lyke  
birdis" (202.12-13).

"Than he haylesed hym with angirfull wordys" (202.15).

"For thou art the fowlyste freyke that ever was fourmed"  
(Vinaver, 202.17-18).

"and fendly thou fedyst the the devill have thy soule!"  
(202.18-19).

"by what cause, thou carle, hast thou kylled thes Crysten  
chyldern?" (Vinaver, 202.19-20).

"Thou haste made many martyrs by mourtheryng of this  
londis" (Vinaver, 202.20-21).

"Therefore thou shalt have thy mede thorow Mychael that  
owyth this mounte'" (202.21-22).

"(Therefore dresse the doggys son,) for thou shalt dye  
this day thorow the dynte of my hondis"  
(Vinaver, 202.23-25).

"Than the gloton gloored and grevid full foule"  
(Vinaver, 202.26). Continues:

"He had teeth lyke a grayhonde" (202.26-27).

"he was the foulst syghte/wyghte that ever man sye"  
(202.27-28).

"fro the hede to the foote fyve fadom longe and large"  
(Vinaver, 202.30).

"And therewith sturdely he sterte uppon his leggis"  
(202.31).

"caughte a clubbe in his honde all of clene iron"  
(Vinaver, 202.32).

"Than he swappis at the kynge with that kyd wepyn"  
(Vinaver, 203.1).



- "He cruysshed downe with the club the coronal doune"  
(Vinaver, 203.1-2). Continued  
"to the cold erthe" (203.2-3).
- "The kyng coverde hym with his shylde" (203.3).
- "Yet he shappis at sir Arthure, but the kyng shuntys a  
lyttyll" (203.5-6).
- "hyghe uppon the haunche" (203.7).
- "and there he swappis his genytrottys in sondir"  
(203.7-8).
- "the grasse and the grounde all foule was begone"  
(Vinaver, 203.13-14).
- "Than he kaste away the clubbe and caughte the kyng"  
(Vinaver, 203.15).
- "(in his armys) and handeled the kyng so harde that he  
crusshed his rybbs" (203.16-17).
- "hir hondes" (203.18).
- "kneled on the grounde and to Cryste called" (203.18).
- "With that the warlow wrath Arthure undir, and so they  
waltyrde" (203.19-20).
- "and eythir cleyght other full faste in their armys"  
(203.21-22).
- "And other whyles Arthure was aboven and other whyle  
undir" (203.22-23).
- "They never leffte tyll they fylle thereas the floode  
marked" (203.24-25).
- "Arthur [smyttes and] hittis hym with a shorte dagger up  
to the hyltys" (203.26-27).
- "And by fortune they felle" (204.1).
- "Whan sir Kay saw the kyng and the gyaunte so icleyght  
togedyr" (204.2-3).
- "we ar forfeete for ever! Yondir is our lorde overfallen  
with a fende" (204.4-5).
- "'Hit is nat so', seyde the kyng, 'but helpe me, sir  
Kay'" (204.6).

- "for this corseynte have I clegged oute of the yondir  
clowys" (204.7).
- "'In fayth,' seyde sir Bedwere, 'this is a foule carle'"  
(204.8).
- "and caughte the corseynte oute of the kynges armys"  
(Vinaver, 204.8-9).
- "I have mykyll wondir, and Michael be of suche a making"  
(204.10-11).
- "And if seyntis be suche that servys Jesu"  
(Vinaver, 204.12).
- "I woll never seke for none" (204.12-13).
- "This seynte have I sought nyghe unto my grete daungere"  
(204.15).
- "But stryke of his hede and sette hit on a trouncheune of  
a speare" (204.16-17).
- "and geff hit to thy servaunte that is swyffte-horsed"  
(204.17).
- "and bare hit unto sir Howell that is in harde bondis"  
(204.18).
- "And aftir in Barflete lette brace hit on a barbycan"  
(204.19-20).
- "that all the comyns of this contrey may hit beholde"  
(204.20-21).
- "fecche me my shelde, my swerde" (204.22-23).
- "So I have the curtyll [and the clubbe], I kepe no more"  
(204.25-26).
- "in the mounte of Arrabe I mette with suche another"  
(205.1-2).
- "but this was fersar; that had I nere founden, had nat my  
fortune be good" (205.2-3).
- "Than the knyghtes fecched the clubbe and the coote"  
(205.4).
- "and toke with hem what tresoure that hem lyked"  
(205.5-6).
- "And anone the clamoure was howge aboute all the contrey"  
(205.8).

- "that none playne of his parte" (205.12-13).
- "Than he commaunded his cosyn, sir Howell" (205.14).
- "to make a kyrke on the same cragge in the worshyppe of Seynte Mychael" (205.14-15).
- "and so they shooke over the stremys into a fayre champayne" (205.18-19).
- "And evyn at the metewhyle come two messyngers, that one was the Marchall of Fraunce" (205.20-22).
- "and hath destroyed much of oure marchis" (205.23-24).
- "and is com into Burgayne, and many borowys hath destroyed" (205.24-25).
- "Now all the <dowseperys>, bothe deukys and other, and the peerys of Parys towne" (206.1-2).
- "Than the kyng byddis sir Borce: 'Now bowske the blythe'" (Vinaver, 206.7-8).
- "I bydde hym in haste to remeve oute of my londys" (206.11).
- "so bydde hym dresse his batayle and lette us redresse oure ryghtes" (206.12-13).
- "that is more worshyppe than thus to overryde maysterlesse men" (206.13-14).
- "Than anone in all haste they dressed hem to horsebak" (206.15).
- "prowde pavylyons of sylke" (206.17).
- "Now geff the sorow, sir Emperour, and all thy sowdyars the aboute" (Vinaver, 207.2-3).
- "For why occupyest thou with wronge the empyreship of Roome?" (207.4-5).
- "That is kyng Arthures herytage by kynde of his noble elders" (207.5-6).
- "Therefore the kyng commaundyth the to ryde oute of his londys" (207.6-7).
- "other ellys to fyght for all" (207.8).

"but I have no joy of your renckys thus to rebuke me and my lordys" (207.11-12).

"and aftir ryde unto Roone" (207.13-14).

"for I had levir than all Fraunce to fyght ayenste the" (207.16-17).

"'Other I,' seyde sir Borce, 'than to welde all Bretayne other Burgayne the noble'" (207.18-19).

"thes Englyshe Bretouns be braggars (of kynde)" (207.21-22).

"they boste and bragge as they durste bete all the worlde" (Vinaver, 207.23-24).

"Than grevid sir Gawayne at his grete wordys" (Vinaver, 207.25).

"with his bowerly bronde that bryght semed" (Vinaver, 207.25-26).

"rode over watyrs and woodys" (208.1-2).

"Than the Romaynes folowed faste on horsbak" (208.3-4).

"on foot over a fayre champeyne unto a fayre wood" (Vinaver, 208.4-5).

"wyth a freyshe wylle and sawe" (208.6).

"a gay knyght [come fast on], all floryshed in golde" (208.7).

"his guttys fylle oute and the knyght [fylle doune] to the grounde that gresly gronyd" (208.10-11).

"Than preced in a bolde barowne all in purpull arayed" (208.12).

"he was called Calleborne" (208.14-15).

"(And sir Borce turned hym to and) bare hym thorow the brode shyld and the brode of his breste" (Vinaver, 208.15-17).

"he gurde to sir Gawayne for greff of sir Gayus" (Vinaver, 208.20).

"and sir Gawayne was ware and drew Galantyne, his swerde" (208.21-22).

"he caughte his courser" (208.23).

- "Than a ryche man of Rome" (208.25).
- "bolde boosters" (209.2).
- "If we folow them ony farther" (209.2-3).
- "And so the Romaynes returned (lyghtly to theire tents)"  
(209.3-4).
- "fyve thousand in the felde dede" (209.6).
- "oure bushemente brake on bothe sydys" (Vinaver, 209.7-8).
- "bolde Bedwer and sir Lyonel bare downe the Romaynes"  
(209.8-9).
- "bere hem thorow the helmys and bryght sheldis"  
(209.10-11).
- "the hole roughte returned unto the Emperour" (209.12-13).
- "ten thousand, by batayle of tyred knyghtes" (209.14).
- "freyshly folowed on the Romaynes evyn unto the Emperoures  
tentes" (209.16-17).
- "Than oute ran the Romaynes on every syde" (209.17-18).
- "But sir Borce and sir Berel" (209.19-20).
- "were formeste in the frunte and freyshly faught"  
(Vinaver, 209.20).
- "there were so many hym agaynste he myght nat helpe his  
ferys" (209.22-23).
- ("his ferys,) but was fayne to turne on his horse othir  
his lyffe muste he lese" (209.23-24).
- "Sir Borce and sir Berell, the good barounnes, fought as  
two boorys" (209.24-25).
- "But at the laste, thoughe they loth were,  
they were yolden and takyn and saved their lyves,  
yet the stale stode a lytyll" (209.26-28).
- "He brought fyve hondred good men in haubirkes attyred"  
(209.31-32).
- "and whan he wyste sir Borce and sir Berel were cesed of  
werre" (209.32-210.1).

"'Alas,' he sayde, 'this is to mucche shame and overmucche losse!'" (210.1-2).

"There was never a bettir knyght that strode uppon a steede" (210.9-10).

"(Loo) where they lede oure lordys over yondir brode launde" (Vinaver, 210.10-11).

"I make myne avowe, said sir Gawain" (210.11-12).

"(I shall never se my lorde Arthure but yf I reskew hem that) so lyghtly ar ledde us fro" (210.12-13).

"'That is knyghtly spokyn,' seyde sir Idres" (210.14).

"There was russhynge of sperys and swappyng of swerdis" (210.15-16).

"and sir Gawayne with Galantyne" (210.16-17).

"Than he threste thorow the prece unto hym that lad sir Bors, and bare hym thorow up to the hyltys" (210.18-19).

"Than sir Idrus the yonge, sir Uwaynes son" (210.20-21).

"(sir Berell,) that the brayne and the blode clevid on his swerde" (210.22-23).

"There was a proude senatoure preced aftir sir Gawayne, and gaff hym a grete buffet" (210.24-25).

"That sawe sir Idres and aftir rydyth, and had slayne the senatour" (210.25-26).

"but that he yelded hym in haste" (210.26-27).

"sir Idrus ledde hym oute of the prees unto sir Lyonel and unto sir Lovel" (210.27-29).

"and commaunded hem to kepe hym (on payne of their hedis)" (210.29-30).

"we have takyn the chefe chaunceler of Rome" (211.1-2).

"And Petur is presonere" (211.2).

"and odir proude pryncis" (211.3).

"we knowe nat their namys" (211.3-4).

"for oure presoners may pay rychesse (oute of numbir)" (211.5-6).

- "I am wounded wondirly sore" (211.6-7).  
 "Whan the messyngers com to the kyng" (211.8).
- "the kyng thanked Cryste clappyng his hondys"  
 (Vinaver, 211.9).
- "there was never no knyght better rewardid" (211.11).
- "But there is no golde undir God (that shall save their  
 lyvys)" (211.11-12).
- "I make myne avow to God, and sir Gawayne be in ony perell  
 of deth" (211.12-13).
- "and he commaunded hem into kepyng of the conestablys  
 warde, surely to be kepte" (211.17-19).
- "within a whyle" (211.19).
- "sir Bors, sir Bedwere" (211.20).
- "sir Gawayne that was sore wounded" (211.21).
- "hit were shame to sle knyghtes whan they be yolden"  
 (211.30-31).
- "that the messyngers ded that day thorow dedys of armys"  
 (Vinaver, 211.2-3).
- "the kyng callyd unto hym sir Cador of Cornuayle"  
 (212.4-5).
- "and sir Clarrus of Clere<m>ounte, a clene man of armys"  
 (Vinaver, 212.5-6).
- "and sir Cloudres, sir Clegis, two olde noble knyghtes"  
 (212.6-7).
- "and sir Bors, sir Berell, (noble good men of armys)"  
 (212.7-8).
- "and also sir Bryan de les Yles, and sir Bedwere the  
 bolde" (212.8-9).
- "boldely lede thes presoners unto Paryse towne" (212.12).
- "ten thousand be tale" (212.17).
- "of bolde men arayed of the beste of their company"  
 (212.17-18).
- "and than they unfolde baners and let hem be displayed"  
 (212.18-19).

- "sir Edolf and sir Edwarde" (212.22).
- "and sir Sextore of Lybye, and senatours many"  
(Vinaver, 212.23).
- "and the kyng of Surre, and the senatoure of Rome Sawtre"  
(212.23-24).
- "All thes turned towarde Troyes (with many proved  
knyghtes)" (212.24-25).
- "Thus ar oure knyghtes passed towarde Paryse" (212.27).
- "'Now, lordis,' seyde sir Launcelot" (212.29).
- "'I assente me,' seyde sir Cador, and all they seyde the  
same" (213.3).
- "and were agreed that" (213.4).
- "<sir Clegis> sir Claryon and sir Clement the noble"  
(213.4-5).
- "that they sholde dyscover the woodys, bothe the dalys and  
the downys" (213.5-6).
- "Than sir Clegys cryed on lowde" (213.8).
- "Is there ony knyght, kyng, other cayser" (213.8-9).
- "that dare for his lordis love" (213.9).
- "recountir with a knyght of the Rounde Table" (213.10).
- "Be he kyng other knyght, here is his recounter redy"  
(Vinaver, 213.10-11 ).
- "An erle hym answeyrd angirly agayne" (Vinaver, 213.12).
- "Thy lorde wenys with his knyghtes to wyne all the  
worlde!" (213.12-13).
- "I trow your currage shal be aswaged in shorte tyme"  
(213.14).
- "'cowarde!' seyde sir Clegis, 'as a cowarde thou  
spekyste'" (Vinaver, 213.15-16).
- "sir Clegis is my name, a knyght of the Table Rounde"  
(213.18-19).
- "(And frome Troy) Brute brought myne elders" (213.19-20).



"'Thou besemeste well,' seyde the kyng, 'to be one of the good be thy bryght browys'" (213.21-22).

"but for all that thou canst conjeoure other sey" (213.22-23).

"Than sir Clegis returned fro the ryche kyng (and rode)" (213.25).

"other ellys shunte for shame, chose whether ye lykys" (Vinaver, 213.29-30).

"to turne is no tyme" (213.31-32).

"(we ar but late made knyghtes,) yett wolde we be loth to lese the worshyp" (213.34-35).

"'Ye sey well,' seyde sir Cador and all these knyghtes" (214.1). The alliteration is continued below.

"of youre knyghtly wordis comfortis us all" (214.2).

"I had lever dye this day than onys to turne my bak" (214.4-5).

"and cause oure kyng to honoure us for ever" (214.7-8).

"and to gyff us lordshyppis and landys" (214.8).

"And he that faynes hym to fyght, the devyl have his bonys!" (214.9-10).

"two myghty dukis, dubbed knyghtys worshyp to wynne" (214.13-14).

"Joneke was the fyrste, a juster full noble" (214.14-15).

"and sir Hamerel and sir Hardolf, full hardy men of armys" (Vinaver, 214.16-17).

"sir Harry and sir Harygall" (214.17).

"sir Cador the kene" (214.19-20).

"sir Bedwere and sir Berel" (214.20).

"sir Raynolde and sir Edwarde that ar sir Roulondis chyldir" (Vinaver, 214.21-22).

"and for any stowre that ever ye se us bestadde" (214.25-26).

- "stondys in your stale and sterte ye no ferther"  
(Vinaver, 214.26).
- "recover yourself unto som kydde castell" (214.28).
- "(ryde you faste) unto oure kynge and pray hym of soccour,  
as he is oure kynde lorde" (214.28-30).
- "And than they fruyshed forth all at onys" (214.31).
- "of the bourelyest knyghtes that ever brake brede"  
(Vinaver, 214.31-32).
- "with mo than fyve hondred at the formyst frunte"  
(Vinaver, 214.32-33).
- "Than the Romaynes oste remeved a lytyll" (214.34-35).
- "and the lorde that was kynge of Lybye, (that lad all the  
formyste route)" (214.35-36).
- "and bare his course evyn to sir Berel" (215.1).
- "'Alas,' sayde sir Cadore, 'now carefull is myne herte  
(that now lyeth dede my cosyn that I beste loved)'"  
(215.4-5).
- "He alyght off his horse and toke hym in hys armys"  
(215.6).
- "there commaunded knyghtes to kepe well the corse"  
(Vinaver, 215.7).
- "Than the kynge craked grete wordys on lowde and seyde"  
(215.7-8).
- "One of yon prowde knyghtes is leyde full lowde" (215.9).
- "'Yondir kyng, seyde sir Cador, 'carpis grete wordis'"  
(Vinaver, 215.10).
- "I shall countir with yondir kynge, so Cryste me helpe!"  
(Vinaver, 215.11-12).
- "ran thorowoute the grete oste twyse other three tymes"  
(215.17-18).
- "(and whan their sperys were brokyn) they swange oute  
their swerdis and slowe of noble men" (215.18-19).
- "Than allowede the kynge of Lybye cryed unto sir Cador"  
(215.21).

- "and grete slaughter there was on the Sarysens party"  
(215.24-25).
- "kyng Arthurs knyghtes" (215.26).
- "ten were takyn" (215.26).
- "sir Bors the brym" (215.28).
- "sterte on a sterne horse" (215.29).
- "and umbelyclosed oure knyghtes" (215.29-30).
- "and drove downe to the grounde many a good man"  
(215.30-31).
- "(there was) sir Aladuke slayne, and also sir Ascamour  
sore wounded" (215.31-32).
- "sir Herawde and sir Heryngale hewyn to pecis"  
(Vinaver, 215.32-33).
- "and sir Lovell was takyn, and sir Lyonell als"  
(215.33-34).
- "and ne had sir Clegis, <and> sir Cleremonde had nat bene"  
(215.34-35).
- "with the knyghthode of sir Launcelot tho newe made  
knyghtes had be slayne everych one" (215.35-36).
- "Than sir Cador rode unto the kyng of Lybye" (216.1).
- "with a swerde well stelyd and smote hym an hyghe uppon  
the hede" (216.1-2).
- "seyde sir Cador, 'corne-boote agaynewarde'" (216.3-4).
- "the devyll have thy bonys that ever thou were borne!"  
(216.4-5).
- "Than the sowdan of Surre was wood wrothe" (216.5-6).
- "grevyd hym at his herte" (216.7-8).
- "sette sore (on oure knyghtes)" (216.8-9).
- "within a whyle" (216.10).
- "they had slayne of the Sarazens (mo than fyve thousand)"  
(216.10-11).
- "And sir Kay the kene had takyn a captayne" (216.11-12).

"and Edwarde had takyn two erlys" (216.12).

"and the sawdon of Surre" (216.13).

"and the senatur of Sautre" (216.14).

"and the Sarezens aspyed how the game yode" (216.15-16).

"(they fledde with all) hir myght to hyde there hedys"  
(216.16-17).

"Thanoure knyghtes folowed with a freysshe fare"  
(215.17).

"and slew downe of the Sarezens [on every syde]" (216.18).

"And sir Launcelot ded so grete dedys of armys that day"  
(216.19).

"mervayle of his myght" (216.20-21).

"for there was nother kyng, cayser, nother knyght"  
(216.21).

"(And than the noble) renckys of the Rounde Table"  
(216.28-29).

"(So they all rode) unto Paryse and beleffte the presoners  
there with the pure proveste" (216.31-32).

"sure sauffgarde" (217.1).

"Whan the kyng his knyghtes sawe" (217.5)?

"and cleyght knyght be knyght in his armys" (217.6).

"All the worshyp in the worlde ye welde!" (217.7).

"And of his bolde cosyns ar proved full noble knyghtes"  
(217.12-13).

"wyse wytte" (217.13).

"Whan the kyng herde sir Cadour sey such wordys he seyde"  
(217.15-16).

"Hym besemys for to do such dedys" (217.16).

"and sir Aladuke was another, a noble man of armys"  
(217.19-20).

"and sir Maurel and sir Mores" (217.20).

- "with sir Manaduke and sir Mandyff" (217.21).
- "Than the kynge [wepte and] with a keverchoff wyped his iyen" (217.23-24).
- "the shame sholde ever have bene oures" (217.28-29).
- "and speke we of a senatoure that ascaped fro the batayle" (218.3-4).
- "if thou dele with kynge Arthure and his doughty knyghtes" (218.8-9).
- "Than he called to hym his counceyle" (218.14).
- "hyghe hym he bade" (218.16-17).
- "and we woll folow aftir" (218.18).
- "But the kynge of their commynge" (218.19).
- "kyd castels" (218.21).
- "sir Vyllers the valyaunte made his avow evyn byfore the kynge" (Vinaver, 218.22-23).
- "Than the kyng commaunded sir Cadore" (218.25-26).
- "And take renkys of the Rounde Table" (218.26).
- "with many mo othir" (219.1-2).
- "Sir Kay, sir Clegis (shall be there als)" (219.2).
- "and sir Marroke, sir Marhaulte" (219.2-3).
- "Thus kynge Arthure dispercled all his oste in dyverse partyes" (219.5-6).
- "Whan the Emperoure was entyrd into the vale of Sessoyne" (219.7).
- "he myght se where kyng Arthure hoved in batayle with baners displayed." (Continues "On every syde was he besette)" (219.8-9).
- "and sette up a dragon with eglys many one enewed with sabyll" (219.14-15).
- "(he lete blow up) with trumpettes and with tabours" (219.16-17).

"And this day let hit nevir be loste for the defaughte of herte" (219.19-20).

"I se well by yondyr ordynaunce this day shall dye much peple" (219.20-21).

"And therefore do doughtly this day, and the felde is ourys" (219.22-23).

"Than he dressed hym to the vycounte his avow for to holde" (220.1-2).

"a dolefull dragon" (220.2-3).

"he pykes hym with styff spere in honde" (220.3-4).

"the valyaunte Vyllers hymself that was vycounte of Rome" (Vinaver, 220.4-5).

"he smote hym thorow the shorte rybbys with a speare" (220.5-6).

"that the bloode braste oute on every syde" (220.6-7).

"Than sir Launcelot lepe forth with his stede evyn streyght unto sir Lucyus" (220.14-15).

"he smote thorow a kynge that stode althirnexte hym" (220.15-16).

"smote hym on the helme with his swerde" (220.18).

"and rode with hit away unto Arthure hymself" (220.20-21).

"And all seyde that hit sawe" (220.22).

"there was never knyght dud more worshyp in his dayes" (220.21-23).

"(Than dressed hym sir Bors) unto a sterne knyght and smote hym on the umbrell, (that his necke braste)" (220.24-25).

"Than he joyned his horse untyl a sterne gyaunte" (220.25-26).

"and smote hym thorow bothe sydys, (yet he slewe in his way turnyng two other knyghtes)" (220.26-28).

"Be than the bowemen of Inglonde and of Bretayne began to shote" (220.29-30).

- "There began a stronge batayle on every syde and muche slaughter" (220.31-32).
- "and the Douchemen with quarels dud muche harme" (220.33).
- "for they were with the Romaynes with hir bowys of horne" (220.34).
- "And the grete gyauntes of Gene kyllled downe many knyghtes" (220.35).
- "with clubbys of steele crussed oute hir braynes" (221.1).
- "Whan Arthure had aspyed the gyauntes workes" (221.3).
- "Fayre lordys, loke youre name be nat loste!" (221.4-5).
- "and ye shal se what I shall do (as for my trew parte)" (221.5-6).
- "and gurdys towarde Galapas that grevid hym moste" (Vinaver, 221.8).
- "He kut hym of by the kneis clenly there in sondir" (Vinaver, 221.9).
- "'Now art thou of a syse,' seyde the kyng" (221.9-10).
- "he strake of his hede swyftely" (221.11).
- "Than come in sir Cadore and sir Kay" (221.12).
- "sir Gawayne and good sir Launcelot" (221.12-13).
- "sir Pelleas and sir Marhault that were proved men of armys" (221.15-16).
- "All thes grymly knyghtes sette uppon the gyauntys" (221.16-17).
- "(and) by the dyntys were dalte and the dome yoldyn" (Vinaver, 221.17).
- "they had felled hem starke dede of fyffty all to the bare erthe" (221.18).
- "Was never kyng nother knyghtes (dud bettir syn God made the worlde)" (221.20-21).
- "They leyde on with longe swerdys and swapped thorow braynes" (221.21-22).

"Shyldys nother no shene armys myght hem nat withstonde"  
(221.22-23).

"tyll they leyde on the erthe ten thousand at onys"  
(221.23-24).

"Than the Romaynes reled a lytyl, for they were somewhat  
rebuked" (221.24-25).

"but kyng Arthure with his pryce knyghtes preced sore  
aftir" (221.25-26).

"Than sir Kay, sir Clegis (and sir Bedwere the ryche)"  
(221.27). Continued below.

"encountyrs with them by a clyffsyde" (221.27-28).

"and there they three" (221.28).

"And also sir Kay roode unto a kyng of Ethyope" (221.30).

"and as he turned hym agayne towarde his ferys a  
tyrraunte" (221.31-32).

"strake hym betwyxte the breste and the bowellys"  
(221.32-222.1).

"and as he was hurte yet he turned hym agayne (and smote  
the todir on the hede)" (222.1-2).

"Thoughe I dey of the dente" (222.3).

"Whan sir Clegys and sir Bedwere saw that sir Kay was  
hurt" (222.5).

"And than they returned ayen unto noble kynge Arthure"  
(222.7-8).

"'Sir kyng,' sayde sir Kay, 'I have served the longe'"  
(222.9).

"Now bryng me unto som beryellys for my fadyrs sake"  
(222.9-10).

"and commaunde me to dame Gwenyvere, thy goodly quene"  
(222.10-11).

"(and grete wel) my worshypfull wyff that wratthed me  
never" (Vinaver, 222.12). Continues:

"and byd hir for my love to worche for my soule"  
(222.12-13).



- "(the truncheoune) of the speare and made lechis to seche  
hym sykerly" (222.17).
- "and founde nother lyvir nor lungys nother bowellys (that  
were attamed)" (222.17-18).
- "I shall revenge thy hurte and I may aryght rede"  
(222.20-21).
- "Than the kynge in this malyncoly metys with a kynge"  
(222.22).
- "and with Excalyber he smote his bak in sundir" (222.23).
- "(Thus he russhed here and there) thorow the thyckyst  
prees more than thirty tymes" (Vinaver, 222.25-26).
- "sir Launcelot, sir Gawayne and sir Lovel ys son"  
(222.27).
- "Lucyus the Emperoure hymself in a launde stooode"  
(222.28-29).
- "Anone as sir Lucyus sawe sir Gawayne he sayde all on  
hyght" (222.29-30).
- "Thou art welcom iwys, for thou sekyst aftir sorow"  
(222.30-31).
- "Here thou shalt be sone overmacched!" (222.31-32).
- "Sir Launcelot was wroth at hys grymme wordys" (222.32).
- "And sir Gawayne wyth his longe swerde leyde on faste"  
(222.35).
- "that three amerallys deyde thorow the dynte of his  
hondis" (222.36).
- "Than the Romaynes releved" (223.1-2).
- "Whan they sye hir lorde so hampred" (223.2).
- "they chaced and choppedde doune many of oure knyghtes  
good" (223.2-3).
- "and in that rebukyng they bare the bolde Bedwere (to the  
colde erthe)" (223.3-4).
- "Yet sir Launcelot and sir Lovel rescowed hym blyve"  
(223.5-6).

"With that come in kynge Arthure with the knyghtes of the  
Table Rounde" (223.7-8).

The r alliteration is continued below.

"and rescowed the ryche men" (223.8).

"whan they be in batayle eyther wolde beste be praysed"  
(223.12-13).

"Anone as kynge Arthure" (223.14).

"for kynge nother for captayne (he taryed no lenger)"  
(223.15).

"And eythir with her swerdys swapped at othir" (223.16).

"So sir Lucyus with his swerde" (223.16-17).

"Sir Arthure was wrothe (and gaff hym another with all the  
myght that in his arme was leved)" (223.18-20).

"(Than) the kyng mette with sir Cadore, his kene cousyn"  
(Vinaver, 223.22)."

"Kylle doune clene for love of sir Kay" (223.23).

"for the love of sir Bedwer that longe hath me served"  
(223.24-224.1).

"Therefore save none for golde nothir for sylver" (224.1).

"for they that woll accompany them with Sarezens, the man  
that wolde save them were lytyll to prayse" (224.2-3).

"(And therefore) sle doune and save (nother hethyn nothir  
Crystyn)" (224.3-4).

"Than sir Cadore, sir Clegis, <they> caughte to her  
swerdys" (Vinaver, 224.5-6).

"many men of armys" (224.7).

"sir Gawayne, sir Gaherys" (224.8).

"rushed forth in a frunte" (224.10).

"with many mo knyghtes of the Rounde Table that here be  
not rehersid" (224.10-11).

"They hurled over hyllys, valeyes, and clowys, and slow  
downe on every honde (wondirfull many)" (224.12-13).

"that thousandis in an hepe lay thrumbelyng togedir"  
(Vinaver, 224.13-14).

"But for all that the Romaynes and the Sarezens cowde do  
other speke to y<sup>e</sup>lde themself there was none saved,  
but all yode to the swerde" (224.15-17).

"ever he slow slyly and slypped to another"  
(Vinaver, 224.20-21).

"bolde berouns" (224.25).

The b-alliteration continues in the line below.

"(And tho that were dede) were burryed as their bloode  
asked" (224.26).

"and they that myght be saved there was no salve spared"  
(224.26-27).

"nother no deyntes to dere" (224.27-28).

"that myght be gotyn for golde other sylver" (224.28).

"And thus he let save many knyghtes that wente never to  
recover, but for sir Kayes recovir" (224.29-30).

"was never man under God so glad as hymself was" (224.31).

"(Than the kynge rode streyte thereas the Emperoure lay,)  
and garte lyffte hym up lordely" (225.1-2).

"with barounes full bolde" (225.2).

"and the sawdon of Surre" (225.3).

"and of Ethyope the kyng, and of Egypte and of Inde"  
(225.3-4).

"wyth seventene other kynges were takyn up als, and also  
syxty senatours" (225.5).

"and all the elders" (225.6-7).

"good gummys" (225.7-8).

"and setthen lette lappe hem in syxtyfolde of sendell  
large" (225.8-9).

"(and than) lete lappe hem in lede" (225.9).

- "that for chauffynge other chongyng they sholde never savoure, (and sytthen)" (225.9-10).
- "lete close them in chestys full clenly arayed" (Vinaver, 225.10-11).
- "and their baners abovyn on their bodyes" (225.11-12).
- "that eviry man myght knowe of what contray they were" (225.13).
- "meve on my message" (225.18).
- "presente thes corses unto the proude Potestate" (225.18-19).
- "And telle hem in haste they shall se me" (225.20-21).
- "beware how they bourde with me and my knyghtes" (225.21-22).
- "and every two knyghtys in a charyot cewed aftir other" (225.24).
- "and the senatours com aftir by cowplys in acorde" (225.24-25).
- "this is the trew trybet (that I and myne elders have loste this ten score wyntyrs)" (226.1-3).
- "And sey hem as mesemes I have sent hem the hole somme" (226.3-4).
- "for suche tresoure muste they take as happyns us here" (226.7-8).
- "So on the morne thes senatours rayked unto Rome" (226.9).
- "the taxe and the trewage of ten score wynters" (Vinaver, 226.11-12).
- "bothe of Ingelonde, Irelonde, and of all the Est Londys" (Vinaver, 226.12-13).
- "For kyng Arthure commaundys you" (226.13).
- "nother trybet nother taxe ye never none aske" (226.14).
- "but yf youre tytil be the trewer than ever ought any of your elders" (226.15-16).
- "(And for these causys) we have foughtyn in Fraunce, and there us is foule happed" (Vinaver, 226.16-17).

- "bothe the bettir (and the worse)" (226.18).
- "store you wyth stuff, for war is at honde" (226.19).
- "For in the moneth of May this myscheff befelle"  
(Vinaver, 226.20).
- "in the contrey of Constantyne by the clere stremys"  
(Vinaver, 226.20-21).
- "and there he h<ery>ed us with his knyghtes  
and heled them that were hurte that same day"  
(226.21-227.1-2).
- "into Lushburne and so thorowe Flaundirs and than to  
Lorayne" (227.4-5).
- "He laughte up all the lordshyppys" (227.5).  
The l alliteration continues below.
- "he drew hym into Almayne and unto Lumbardy the ryche"  
(227.5-7).  
This continues the weak alliteration of the previous line.
- "sette lawys in that londe that dured longe aftir"  
(Vinaver, 227.7).
- "And so into Tuskayne, and there the tirrauntys destroyed"  
(Vinaver, 227.8).
- "and there were captaynes full kene that kepte Arthurs  
comyng" (Vinaver, 227.9-10).
- "and at streyte passages slew mucche of his peple"  
(227.10).
- "there they vytayled and garnysshed many good townys"  
(227.11).
- "But there was a cite kepte sure defence agaynste Arthure  
and his knyghtes" (227.12-13).
- "and therewith angred Arthure and seyde all on hyght"  
(227.13-14).
- "I woll wyne this towne other ellys many a doughty shall  
dye!" (227.14-15).
- "And than the kynge approched to the wallis withoute  
shelde sauff his bare harneys" (227.15-16).

- "'Sir,' seyde sir Florence, 'foly thou workeste'"  
(Vinaver, 227.17).
- "for to nyghe so naked this perleouse cite" (227.17-18).
- "'And thow be aferde,' seyde kyng Arthure, 'I rede the  
faste fle'" (227.19-20).
- "for they wyne no worshyp of me but to waste their  
toolys" (Vinaver, 227.20-21).
- "shall never harlot have happe, by the helpe of Oure  
Lord" (Vinaver, 227.21-22).
- "to kyll a crowned kyng that with creyme is anoynted"  
(Vinaver, 227.22-23).
- "and there they slewe downe all that before them stondys"  
(227.26-27).
- "and in that bray the brydge they wanne (and had nat the  
garnyson bene)" (227.27-28).
- "they had wonne within the yatys and the cite wonne thorow  
wyghtnesse of hondys" (227.28-30).
- "And than oure noble knyghtes withdrew them a lytyll and  
wente unto the kyng" (227.30-31).
- "And than he pyght his pavylyons of palle, and plantys all  
about" (Vinaver, 228.1-2).
- "the sege, and there he lette sett up suddeynly many  
engynes" (228.2-3).
- "My folk ys waxen feble for wantyng of vytale" (228.5-6).
- "hereby be forestes full fayre, and thereas oure foomen  
many" (Vinaver, 228.6-7).
- "And thyder shall thou go to forrey that forestes"  
(228.8).
- "and with the shall go sir Gawayne" (228.9).
- "and sir Wysharde with sir Walchere, two worshypfull  
knyghtes" (Vinaver, 228.9-10).
- "with all the wyseste men of the Weste marchis"  
(Vinaver, 228.10-11).

- "Also sir Cleremount and sir Clegis that were comly in armys" (Vinaver, 228.11-12).
- "and the captayne of Cardyff that is a knyght full good" (Vinaver, 228.12-13).
- "with that forth yode sir Florens, and his felyshyp was sone redy" (Vinaver, 228.15-16).
- "thorow holtys and hethis, thorow foreste and over hyllys" (228.16-17).
- "full of swete floures" (228.18).
- "And in the grekyng of the day sir Gawayne hente his hors" (228.20-21).
- "Than was he ware of a man armed walkyng a paase by a woodis ease" (Vinaver, 228.21-22).
- "(by a revers syde,) and his shelde braced on his sholdir, and he on a stronge horse" (228.22-23).
- "(rydys withoute man wyth hym) save a boy alone that bare a grymme speare" (229.1-2).
- "(The knyght bare in his shelde) of golde glystrand three gryffons in sabyll" (Vinaver, 229.2-3).
- "and charbuckkle, the cheff of sylver" (229.3-4).
- "Whan sir Gawayne was ware of that gay knyght, than he gryped a grete sere" (229.4-5).
- "and rode streyght towarde hym on a stronge horse for to mete with that sterne knyght where that he hoded" (229.5-7).
- "he asked hym what he was" (229.8).
- "And that other knyght answerde" (229.8-9).
- "Whother pryckyst thou, pylloure, that profers the so large?" (Vinaver, 229.11-12).
- "Thou [getest] no pray, prove whan the lykys" (229.12).
- "my presoner thou shalt be for all thy proude lokys" (Vinaver, 229.13).

- "'Thou spekyste proudly,' seyde sir Gawayne, 'but I counseyle the for all thy grymme wordis'" (229.13-15).
- "that thou grype to the thy gere or [gretter] grame falle" (Vinaver, 229.15-16).
- "Than hir launcis <and> [speres] they handyld by crauffte" (229.17).
- "com on spedyly with full syker dyntes" (229.18).
- "they shotte thorow shyldys and mayles, and thorow there shene shuldyrs" (Vinaver, 229.18-20).
- "Than were they so wroth that away wolde they never" (Vinaver, 229.21-22).
- "but rathly russhed oute their swerdys" (229.22).
- "and hyttys on their helmys with hatefull dyntys" (Vinaver, 229.22-23).
- "and stabbis at hir stomakys with swerdys well steled" (Vinaver, 229.23-24).
- "So freyssshly tho fre men fyghtes on the grounde" (Vinaver, 229.24-230.1).
- "whyle the flamynge fyre flowe oute hir helmys" (Vinaver, 230.1-2).
- "Than sir Gawayne was grevid wondirly sore" (230.3).
- "and swynges his [good] swerde Galantyne, and grymly he strykys" (230.3-4).
- "and clevys the knyghtes shyld in sundir" (230.4-5).
- "And thorowoute the thycke haubirke" (230.5-6).
- "and the rubyes that were ryche, he russhed hem in sundir" (230.6-7).
- "that men myght beholde the lyvir and longes" (230.7-8).
- "Than groned the knyght for his grymme woundis and gyrdis to sir Gawayne" (Vinaver, 230.8-9).
- "Gawayne sore greved" (230.11-12).
- "so worched his wounde that his wytte chonged" (Vinaver, 230.12-13).



- "and therewithall his armure was all bloody berenne"  
(230.13).
- "bade hym bynde up his wounde, 'or thy ble chonge'"  
(Vinaver, 230.14-15).
- "for thou all bebledis this horse and thy bryght wedys"  
(Vinaver, 230.15-16).
- "for all the barbers of Bretayne shall nat thy blood  
staunche" (Vinaver, 230.16-17).
- "For who that is hurte with this blaade bleed shal he  
ever" (230.17-18).
- "'Be God,' sayde sir Gawayne, 'hit grevys me but lyttyll'"  
(Vinaver, 230.19).
- "yet shalt thou nat feare me for all thy grete wordis"  
(230.19-20).
- "Thow trowyste with thy talkynge to tame my herte"  
(Vinaver, 230.20-21).
- "but yet thou betydys tene (or thou parte hense)"  
(230.21-22).
- "That may I do, and I woll, so thou wolt succour me"  
(230.24).
- "I myght be fayre crystende and becom meke for my  
mysdedis" (231.1-2).
- The m alliteration is continued below.
- "(Now mercy I Jesu beseche,) and I shall becom Crysten"  
(231.2).
- "and thou mayste for thy manhode have mede to thy soule"  
(Vinaver, 231.3-4).
- "'I graunte,' seyde sir Gawayne, 'so God me helpe'"  
(Vinaver, 231.5).
- "to fullfyll all thy desyre; thou haste gretly hit  
deservyd" (231.5-6).
- "(So thou say me the soth,) what thou sought here thus  
sengly thyself alone" (Vinaver, 231.6-8).
- "and what lorde or legeaun[c]e thou art undir" (231.8).
- "'Sir,' he seyde" (231.9).

- "I hyght Priamus, and a prynce is my fadir" (231.9).
- "he hath bene rebell unto Rome and overredyn muche of hir londis" (Vinaver, 231.10-11).
- "and many mo were of my kynrede" (231.13).
- "Judas Macabeus and deuke Josue" (231.14).
- "(And ayre I am althernexste of) Alysaundir and of Aufryke and of all the Oute Iles"  
(Vinaver, 231.14-16).
- "Yet woll I beleve on thy Lorde that thou belevyst on"  
(Vinaver, 231.16-17).
- "and take the for thy labour tresour inow" (231.17).
- "For I was so haute in my herte I helde no man my pere"  
(231.17-18).
- "so I was sent into this werre by the assente of my fadir with seven score knyghtes" (231.18-20).
- "(geevyn [me of]) fyghtyng my fyllle" (231.21).
- "Therefore, sir knyght, for thy kynges sake telle me thy name" (231.21-22).
- "but I have be brought up in the wardrope with the noble kyng Arthure wyntyrs and dayes" (231.23-232.1).
- "for to take hede to his armoure and all his other wedis"  
(232.1-2).
- This line concludes with the w alliteration of the previous line.
- "and to poynte all the paltokkys that longe to hymself"  
(232.2-3).
- "and to dresse doublettis for deukys and erlys"  
(Vinaver, 232.3).
- "And at Yole he made me yoman and gaff me good gyfftyss"  
(Vinaver, 232.4).
- "an hondred pounde and horse and harneyse rych"  
(Vinaver, 232.5-6).
- "And yf I have happe <to> my hele to serve my lyege lorde I shall be well holpyn in haste" (232.6-7).

- "and his knavys be so kene, his knyghtes ar passynge good" (Vinaver, 232.8-9).
- "Now for thy Kynges love of Hevyn and for thy kyngys love" (232.9-10).
- "whether thou be knave other knyght, telle thou me thy name" (232.10-11).
- "'Be God,' seyde sir Gawayne" (232.12).
- "I am knowyn in his courte and kyd in his chambir" (Vinaver, 232.13-14).
- "and rolled with the rychest of the Rounde Table" (Vinaver, 232.14-15).
- "and I am a deuke dubbed wyth his owne hondis" (232.15-16).
- "Therefore grucche nat, good sir, if me this grace is behappened" (Vinaver, 232.16-17).
- "hit is the goodnesse of God that lente me this strength" (232.17-18).
- "'Now am I bettir pleased,' sayde sir Pryamus" (232.19).
- "than thou haddest gyff me the Provynce [and] Perysie the ryche" (232.19-20).
- "for I had levir have be toryn with foure wylde horse than ony yoman had suche a loose wonne of me" (232.21-22).
- "other els ony page other prycker sholde wyne of me the pryce" (232.22-23).
- "the doughtyeste of Dolphyne landys with many Hyghe Duchemen" (Vinaver, 233.3-4).
- "and many lordis of Lumbardy" (233.4).
- "and the garneson of Godarde" (233.4-5).
- "and men of Westwalle, worshypfull kynges" (Vinaver, 233.5).
- "of Syssoyne and of Southlonde Sarezyns many numbirde" (Vinaver, 233.6-7).

- "and there named ar in rollys" (233.7).
- "sixti thousand of syker men of armys" (233.7-8).
- "but thou hyghe the fro this heth, hit woll harme us both  
(and sore be we hurte never lyke to recover)"  
(Vinaver, 233.9-10).
- "take thou hede <to the> haynxman that he no horne blow"  
(Vinaver, 233.11-12).
- "for and he do, than loke that he be hewyn on pecis"  
(233.12).
- "for here hovys at thy honde a hondred of good knyghtes"  
(Vinaver, 233.13).
- "that ar of my retynew and to awayte uppon my persone"  
(233.14).
- "For and thou be raught with that rought, raunsom nother  
rede golde" (Vinaver, 233.15-16).
- "Than sir Gawayne rode over a water for to gyde hymself"  
(233.17).
- "and that worshypfull knyght hym folowed sore wounded"  
(233.18).
- "(in a low medow) where lay many lordys lenyng on there  
shyldys" (Vinaver, 233.20-21).
- "with lawghyng and japyng and many lowde wordys"  
(Vinaver, 233.21-22).
- "Anone as sir Wycharde was ware of sir Gawayne"  
(233.22-23).
- "he wente towarde hym wepyng and wryngyng his hondys"  
(Vinaver, 233.23-24).
- "how he had macched with that myghty man of strengthe"  
(Vinaver, 233.25-234.1).
- "Therefore greve yow nat, good sir" (234.1-2).
- "for thoughe my shyld be now thirled and my sholdir  
shorne" (234.2-3).
- "thys knyght sir Pryamus hath many perelouse woundys"  
(234.3-4).

"But he hath salvys, he seyth, that woll hele us bothe"  
(234.4-5).

"But here is new note in honde nere than ye wene"  
(234.5-6).

"fore by an houre aftir none I trow hit woll noy us all"  
(234.6).

"(Than sir Pryamus and sir Gawayne) alyght bothe and lette  
hir horsys bayte in the fayre medow" (234.7-8).

"Than they lette brayde of hir basnettys and hir brode  
shyldys" (Vinaver, 234.8-9).

"Than eythir bled so mucche that every man had wondir"  
(234.9-10).

"they myght sitte in their sadyls or stonde uppon erthe"  
(Vinaver, 234.10-11).

"(for) hit is full of the floure of the foure good watyrs"  
(Vinaver, 234.13-14).

"that passis from Paradyse" (234.14).

"th<at> mykyll fruyte in fallys that at one day fede shall  
us all" (Vinaver, 234.14-15).

"Putt that watir in oure fleysch where the syde is tamed"  
(234.16).

"and we shall be hole within foure houres" (234.16-17).

"Than they lette clense their woundys with colde whyght  
wyne" (234.18-19).

"and than they lete anoynte them with bawme over and over"  
(234.19-20).

"and holer men than they were within an houres space was  
never lyvyng syn God the worlde made" (234.20-21).

"they broched barellys and brought them the wyne"  
(Vinaver, 234.22-23).

"with brede and brawne and many ryche byrdys"  
(Vinaver, 234.23-24).

"And whan they were armed and assembled togedyrs"  
(234.25-26).

"with a clere claryon callys them togedir (to counceyle)"  
(Vinaver, 234.26-27). An alternate line is given below.

"to counceyle, and sir Gawayne of the case hem tellys"  
(234.27-28). The alliteration is continued from above.

"Now tell us, sir Pryamus, all the hole purpose of yondir  
pryce knyghtes" (235.1-2).

"'Sirs,' seyde sir Pryamus" (235.3).

"manfully on this molde to be marred all at onys"  
(Vinaver, 235.4-5).

"This was the pure purpose, whan I passed thens"  
(Vinaver, 235.5-6).

"at hir perellys, to preff me uppon payne of their lyvys"  
(Vinaver, 235.6-7).

"'Now, good men,' seyde sir Gawayne, 'grype up your  
hertes'" (Vinaver, 235.8-9).

"and yf we g<et>tles go <thus> away hit woll greffe our  
kyng" (Vinaver, 235.9-10).

"And sir Florens in this fyght shall here abyde" (235.10).

"for to kepe the stale as a knyght noble" (235.10-11).

"for he was chosyn and charged in chambir with the kyng"  
(Vinaver, 235.11-12).

"chyfften of this chekke and cheyff of us all"  
(Vinaver, 235.12-13).

"And whethir he woll fyght other fle we shall folow  
aftir" (Vinaver, 235.13-14).

"(for as for me,) for all yondir folkys faare forsake hem  
shall I never" (Vinaver, 235.14-15).

"'A, fadir!' seyde Florens, 'full fayre now ye speke'"  
(Vinaver, 235.16).

"for I am but a fauntekyn to fraysted men of armys"  
Vinaver. (235.16-17).

"and yf I ony foly do the faughte muste be youres"  
(235.17-18).

"Therefore lese nat youre worshyp. My wytt is but  
symple" (235.18-19).

- "and ye ar oure allther governoure" (235.19-20).
- "cese youre wordys, I warne you betyme (for ye shall fynde in yondir woodys)" (235.21-23).
- "They woll putte furth beystys to bayte you oute of numbir" (235.23-24).
- "and ye ar fraykis in this fryth (nat paste seven hondred)" (235.24-25).
- "and that is feythfully to fewe to fyght with so many" (Vinaver, 235.25-26).
- "for harlottys and haynxmen wol helpe us but a lytyll" (Vinaver, 235.26-27).
- "for they woll hyde them in haste for all their hyghe wordys" (Vinaver, 235.27-28).
- "'Ye sey well,' seyde sir Gawayne, 'so God me helpe!'" (236.1).
- "'Now, fayre sonne,' sayde sir Gawayne unto Florens ('woll ye take youre felyshyp')" (236.2-3).
- "prestly prove yourself and yondir pray wyne" (Vinaver, 236.4-5).
- "Than sir Florens called unto hym sir Florydas with fyve score knyghtes" (Vinaver, 236.7-8).
- "and forth they flynged a faste tro<tt>e (and the folke of the bestes dryvys)" (Vinaver, 236.8-9).
- "Than folowed aftir sir Florens with noble men of armys fully seven hondred" (236.9-10).
- "sir Feraunte of Spayne before on a fayre stede" (Vinaver, 236.11).
- "that was fostred in Farmagos: the fende was his fadir" (Vinaver, 236.12).
- "He flyttys towarde sir Florens and sayde, 'Whother flyest thou'" (Vinaver, 236.12-14). Continues "false knyght."
- "(Than) sir Florens was fayne, and in feauty castis his spere" (Vinaver, 236.14-15).
- "and rydys towarde the rought and restys no lenger" (Vinaver, 236.15-16).

- "and full but in the forehede he hyttys sir Feraunte"  
(236.16).
- "(Than Feraunte) his cosyn had grete care and cryed full  
lowde" (Vinaver, 236.17-18).
- "Thou haste slayne a knyght and kynge anoynted"  
(236.18-19).
- "that or this tyme founde never frayke that myght abyde  
hym a buffette" (236.19-20).
- "'Fye on the,' seyde Florydas" (236.22).
- "all the fleysshe of his flanke he flappys in sundir"  
(Vinaver, 236.23-24).
- "that all the fylth of the freyke and many of his guttys  
fyllle to the erthe" (236.24-25).
- "Than lyghtly rydis a raynke for to rescowe that barowne"  
(Vinaver, 236.26).
- "that was borne in the Rodis, and rebell unto Cryste"  
(236.27).
- "He preced in proudly and aftir his pray wyndys"  
(Vinaver, 236.27-28).
- "(But) the raynke Rycharde of the Rounde Table"  
(Vinaver, 236.28-29).
- "on a rede stede rode hym agaynste"  
(Vinaver, 236.29-237.1).
- "and threste hym thorow the shylde evyn to the herte"  
(237.1-2).
- "Than he rored full rudely, but rose he nevermore"  
(Vinaver, 237.2-3).
- "Than alle his feerys mo than fyve hondred"  
(Vinaver, 237.4).
- "felle uppon sir Florence and on his fyve score knyghtes"  
(Vinaver, 237.4-5).
- "Than sir Florens and sir Florydas in feautir bothe  
castys" (Vinaver, 237.5-6).
- "(And) they felled fyve at the frunte at the fyrste entre"  
(Vinaver, 237.7).



"and sore they assayed oure folke and brake browys and  
brestys (and felde many adowne)" (237.7-9).

"Whan sir Pryamus, the pryse knyght, perceyved their  
gamys" (Vinaver, 237.9-10).  
Continues "he yode to sir Gawayne."

"Thy pryse men ar sore begone and put undir" (237.12).

"for they ar oversette with Sarezens mo than fyve hondred"  
(237.12-13).

"(Now wolde thou suffir me for the love of thy God) with a  
small parte of thy men to succoure hem betyme?"  
(237.14-15).

"'Sir, grucch ye nat,' seyde sir Gawayne, 'the gre is  
there owne'" (Vinaver, 237.16-17).

"for they mowe have gyfftyys full grete igranted of my  
lorde" (Vinaver, 237.17-18).

"Therefore lette them fyght whylys hem lystes, the freysh  
knyghtes" (237.18-19).

"(for som of hem) fought nat theire fylle of all this fyve  
wyntyry" (Vinaver, 237.19-20).

"(Therefore) I woll nat styrrre wyth my stale half my  
steede length" (Vinaver, 237.20-21).

"but yf they be stadde wyth more stuff than I se hem  
agaynste" (Vinaver, 237.21-22).

"So by that tyme was sir Gawayne ware by the woodys syde"  
(237.23-24).

"men comynge woodly with all maner of wepon" (237.24).

"(for there rode) the erle of Ethelwolde havynge on eyther  
half" (Vinaver, 237.25).

"and the deuke of Douchemen dressys hym aftir"  
(Vinaver, 237.26-27).

"and passis with Pryamus knyghtes" (237.27).

"Than Gawayne, the good knyght, he chered his knyghtes"  
(238.1).

"Greve you nat, good men, for yondir grete syght"  
(Vinaver, 238.3).

"be nat abaysshed of yondir boyes in hir bryghte weedis"  
(Vinaver, 238.4).

"for and we feyght in fayth the felde is ourys!"  
(Vinaver, 238.5).

"Than they haled up their brydyls and began walop"  
(238.6).

"(by that they com nygh by a) londys length" (238.7).

"they jowked downe with her hedys many jantyll knyghtes"  
(238.7-8).

"A more jolyar joustynge was never sene on erthe"  
(238.8-9).

"Than the ryche men of the Rounde Table ran thorow the  
thykkeste" (Vinaver, 238.9-10).

"with hir stronge sperys" (238.10-11).

"many a raynke for that prouesse ran into the grevys"  
(238.11-12).

"no knavys but knyghtes kene of herte"  
(Vinaver, 238.12-13).

"fyght more in this felde, but fledde" (238.13).

"'Be God,' seyde sir Gawayne, 'this gladys my herte'"  
(Vinaver, 238.14).

"that yondir gadlynges be gone, for they made a grete  
numbir" (Vinaver, 238.14-15).

"Now ar they fewer in the felde <t>han they were fyrst  
numbyrd" (Vinaver, 238.16-17).  
Continues "by twenty thousand."

"Than Jubeaunce of Geane, a myghty gyaunte" (238.18).

"(he feautred his speare to) sir Garrarde, a good knyght  
of Walys" (238.18-19).

"Than our knyghtes myghtyly meddeled wyth hir myddylwarde"  
(238.20-21).

"But anone at all assemble many Saresyns were destroyed"  
(238.21-22).

"for the soveraynes of Sessoyne were salved for ever"  
(Vinaver, 238.22-23).

- "sir Pryamus, the good prynce, in the presence of lordys"  
(Vinaver, 238.24-25).
- "royall to his penowne he rode and lyghtly hit hentys"  
(238.25).
- "and rode with the royall rought of the Rounde Table"  
(Vinaver, 238.26).
- "They folowed as shepe oute of a folde" (238.28).
- "and streyte they yode to the felde and stood by their  
kynde lorde" (238.28-29).
- "And sytthyn they sente to the deuke thes same wordis"  
(Vinaver, 238.29-30).
- "Sir, we have bene thy sowdyars all this seven wynter"  
(Vinaver, 239.1).
- "and now we forsake the for the love of oure lyege lorde  
Arthure" (239.2-3).
- "for we may with oure worshype wende where us lykys"  
(Vinaver, 239.3-4).
- "for garneson nother golde have we none resceyved"  
(239.4).
- "Fye on you, the devyll have your bonys!" (239.5).
- "For suche sowdyars I sette but a lytyll" (239.5-6).
- "Than the deuke dressys his Dowchmen" (239.7).
- "streyte unto sir Gawayne and to sir Pryamus" (239.7-8).
- "So they two gryped their spearys, and at the gaynyste in  
he gurdys" (239.8-9).
- "metyth with the marquesse of Moyseslonde"  
(Vinaver, 239.10-11).
- "Than Chastelayne, a chylde of kyng Arthurs chambir"  
(Vinaver, 239.12).
- "he was a warde of sir Gawaynes of the Weste marchis"  
(Vinaver, 239.13).
- "he chasis to sir Cheldrake that was a chyfteyne noble"  
(Vinaver, 239.14).
- "and with his spere he smote thorow Cheldrake" (239.15).

- "(and so) that chek that chylde cheved by chaunce of armys" (Vinaver, 239.16).
- "than they chaced that chylde, that he nowhere myght ascape" (239.17).
- "for one with a swerde the halse of the chylde he smote in too" (239.18-19).
- "Whan sir Gawayne hit sawe he wepte wyth all his herte" (239.19).
- "But anone Gotelake, a good man of armys" (239.21).
- "for Chastelayne the chylde he chongyd his mode" (Vinaver, 239.21-22).
- "that the wete watir wente doune his chylys" (Vinaver, 239.22-23).
- "Than sir Gawayne dressis hym and to a deuke rydys" (239.23-24).
- "and sir Dolphyn the deuke droff harde agaynste hym" (239.24-25).
- "But sir Gawayne hym dressyth with a grete spere" (239.25-26).
- "that the grounden hede droff to his herte" (239.26).
- "sir Hardolf, an hardy man of armys" (239.27-28).
- "and slyly in he lette hit slyppe thorow, and sodeynly he fallyth to the erthe" (239.28-29).
- "Yet he slow in the slade of men of armys mo than syxty with his hondys" (239.29-30).
- "Than was sir Gawayne ware of that man that slew Chastelayne his chylde" (239.31-240.1).
- "and swyfftly with his swerde he smyttyth hym thorow" (Vinaver, 240.1).
- "Now and thou haddyst ascaped withoutyn scathe, the scorne had bene oures!" (Vinaver, 240.3-4).
- "And aftir sir Gawayne dressis hym unto the route and russhyth on helmys" (240.5-6).
- "and rode streyte to the rerewarde and so his way holdyth" (240.6-7).

"and sir Pryamus hym allthernexste, gydynghe hym his wayes"  
(240.7-8).

"(And there) they hurtelyth and hewyth downe hethyn  
knyghtes many" (Vinaver, 240.8-9).

"There the lordys of Lorayne and of Lumbardy both"  
(Vinaver, 240.10-11).

"For suche a chek oure lordys cheved by chaunce of that  
werre" (Vinaver, 240.12-13).

"that they were so avauced, for hit avayled hem ever"  
(240.13-14).

"Whan sir Florence and sir Gawayne had the felde wonne"  
(240.15).

"than they sente before fyve score of knyghtes" (240.16).

"and her prayes and hir presoners passyth hem aftir"  
(Vinaver, 240.16-17).

"in a streyte passage he hovyth tyll all the prayes were  
paste that streyte patthe that so sore he dredith"  
(240.18-19).

"So they rode tyll they the cite sawe" (240.19-20).

"(and) sothly the same day with asawte hit was gotyn"  
(Vinaver, 240.20-21).

"(and) sytthen turnys to a tente and tellyth the kynge"  
(Vinaver, 240.23-24).

"all the tale truly, that day how the travayled"  
(Vinaver, 240.24).

"how his ferse men fare welle all" (240.25).

"And fele of thy foomen ar brought oute of lyff" (240.26).

"But Chastelayne, thy chylde, is chopped of the hede"  
(Vinaver, 240.27-28).

"yette slewe he a cheff knyghte his owne hondys this day"  
(240.28-29).

"I mervayle muche of that bourely knyght that stondyth by  
the" (240.30-31).

"for hym semys to be a straungere, for presonere is he none lyke" (240.31-32).

"'Sir,' seyde sir Gawayne, 'this a good man of armys'" (241.1).

"he macched me sore this day in the mournyng" (241.2).

"and had nat his helpe bene <dethe> had I founden" (241.2-3).

"sir kyng, for to becom Crysten and on good beleve" (241.4-5).

"there lyvyth nat a bettir knyght nor a noblere of his hondis" (241.6-7).

"Than the kynge in haste crystynde hym fayre and lette conferme hym Priamus" (241.8-9).

"and lyghtly lete dubbe hym a deuke with his hondys" (241.9-10).

"And anone the kynge lette cry asawe unto the towne" (241.12).

"The payne that the peple had was pyte to se!" (Vinaver, 241.14).

"Than the duches hir dressed with damesels ryche" (Vinaver, 241.14-15).

"and the countes of Clarysyn with hir clere maydyns" (Vinaver, 241.15-16).

"they kneled in their kyrtyls there the kynge hovyth" (Vinaver, 241.16-17).

"and besought hym of socoure for the sake of Oure Lorde" (Vinaver, 241.17-18).

"And sey us som good worde and cetyl thy peple" (241.19).

"or the cite suddeynly be with asawe wonne" (Vinaver, 241.19-20).

"The kynge [avalyd and] lyffte up his vyser with a knyghtly countenance" (241.22-23).

"and kneled to hir myldely with full meke wordes and seyde" (241.23-24).

This line begins with the alliteration used in the previous line.

- "Shall none myssedo you, madam, that to me longis"  
(Vinaver, 242.1).
- "for I graunte the chartyrs and to thy cheff maydyns"  
(Vinaver, 242.2).
- "unto thy chyldern and to thy chyff men in chambir"  
(Vinaver, 242.2-3).
- "But thy deuke is in daunger, my drede ys the lesse"  
(Vinaver, 242.4).
- "But ye shall have lyvelode to leve by as to thyne astate  
fallys" (242.5).
- "Than Arthure sendyth on eche syde wyth sertayne lordis"  
(Vinaver, 242.6-7).
- "for to cese of their sawte, for the cite was yolden"  
(Vinaver, 242.7).
- "(and therewith the deukeis eldyst sonne) com with the  
keyes and kneled downe unto the kynge" (242.8-9).
- "And there he cesed the sawte by assente of his lordis"  
(Vinaver, 242.10-11).
- "and the deuke was dressed to Dover with the kynges dere  
knyghtes" (Vinaver, 242.11-12).
- "for to dwelle in daunger and dole dayes of his lyff"  
(Vinaver, 242.12-13).
- "Than the kynge with his crowne on his hede recoverde the  
cite" (Vinaver, 242.13-14).  
Continues "and the castell".
- "and the captaynes and connestablys knew hym for lorde"  
(Vinaver, 242.14-15).
- "he delyverde and dalte byfore dyverse lordis"  
(Vinaver, 242.15-16).
- "a dowre for the deuches (and hir chyldryn)" (242.16-17).
- "Than he made wardens to welde all that londis"  
(242.17-18).
- "(And so) in Lorayne and Lumbardy he lodged as a lorde in  
his owne" (Vinaver, 242.19-20).
- "and sette lawys in his londis as hym beste lyked"  
(Vinaver, 242.20-21).

- "And than at Lammas he yode, unto Lusarne he sought"  
(Vinaver, 242.21-22).
- "and lay at his leyser with lykynges inowe"  
(Vinaver, 242.22).
- "Than he mevys over the mountaynes and doth many  
mervayles" (Vinaver, 242.22-23).
- "and so goth in by Godarte that Gareth sone wynnys"  
(Vinaver, 242.24).
- "Than he lokys into Lumbardy and on lowde spekyth"  
(Vinaver, 242.25).
- "In yondir lykynge londis as lorde woll I dwelle"  
(Vinaver, 242.26).
- "Sir Florence and sir Floridas that day passed (with fyve  
hondred)" (242.27).
- "and leyde there a buysshement as hem beste lykys"  
(Vinaver, 242.29-243.1).
- "So there [yssued] oute of that cite many hundretthis and  
skyrmysshed" (243.1-2).  
An alternate line is given below.
- "and skyrmysshed wythoure foreryders as hem beste semed"  
(243.2-3).
- "Than broke outeoure buysshemente and the brydgye wynnys"  
(Vinaver, 243.3-4).
- "and so rode unto their borowys with baners up dysplayed"  
(243.4-5).
- "There fledde much folke oute of numbir" (243.5-6).
- "for ferde of sir Florence and his fers knyghtes"  
(Vinaver, 243.6).
- "(Than) they busked up a baner abovyn the gatis"  
(Vinaver, 243.7).
- "(and) of sir Florence in fayth so fayne were they never"  
(Vinaver, 243.7-8).
- "The kynge than hovyth on an hylle and lokyth to the  
wallys" (243.9-10).
- "(and sayde) 'I se be yondir sygne the cite is wonne'"  
(Vinaver, 243.10).



- "uppon payne of lyff and lymme and also lesynge of his goodys" (Vinaver, 243.11-12).
- "no lyegeman that longyth to his oste sholde lye be no maydens ne ladyes" (243.13-14).
- "nother no burgessis wyff that to cite longis" (243.14).
- "So whan this conquerroure com into the cite (he passed into the castell)" (243.15-16).
- "comfortis the carefull men with many knyghtly wordis" (Vinaver, 243.16-17).
- "and made there a captayne a knyght of his owne contrey" (243.17-18). This weak line may continue (see below).
- "and the commo<n>s accorded theretyll" (243.18-19).
- "Whan the soveraygnes of Myllayne herde that the cite was wonne" (243.20-21).
- "(they sente unto kynge Arthure) grete sommys of sylver, syxty horsys well charged" (Vinaver, 243.21-22).
- "and besought hym as soverayne to have ruthe of the peple" (243.22-23).
- "and seyde they wolde be sudgetes untyll hym for ever" (243.23-24).
- "and yelde hym servyse and sewte surely for hir londys" (Vinaver, 243.24-25).
- "bothe for Plesaunce [and Pavye] and Petresaynte and for the Porte Trembyll" (Vinaver, 243.25-27).
- "and so mekly to gyff [yerly] for Myllayne a myllyon of golde" (Vinaver, 243.27-244.1).
- "(and) make homage unto Arthure all hir lyff tymes" (Vinaver, 244.1-2).
- "Than the kynge by his counceyle a conduyte hem sendys" (Vinaver, 244.2-3).
- "Than into Tuskeyne he turned whan h<ym> tyme semed" (Vinaver, 244.4).
- "(and) there he wynnys towrys and townys full hyghe" (Vinaver, 244.5).

"(and) all he wasted in his warrys there he away ryddys"  
(Vinaver, 244.6).

"Than he spedys towarde Spolute with his spedfull  
knyghtys" (Vinaver, 244.6-7).

"and so unto Vyterbe he vytayled his knyghtes"  
Vinaver (244.7-8).

"and to the vale of Vysecunte he devysed there to lygge"  
(Vinaver, 244.8-9).

"in that vertuouse vale amonge vynys full"  
(Vinaver, 244.9-10).

"And there he suggeournys, that soveraigne, with solace at  
his harte" (Vinaver, 244.10-11).

"for to wete whether the senatours wolde hym of succour  
beseke" (244.11-12).

"But sone after, on a Saturday, sought unto kynge Arthure"  
(Vinaver, 244.13).  
Continues with "all the senatoures" (244.14).

"and of the cunnyngyst cardynallis that dwelled in the  
courte" (244.14-15).

"(and) prayde hym of pece and profird hym full large"  
(Vinaver, 244.15-16).

"and besought hym as a soverayne" (244.16-17).

"moste governoure undir God for to gyff them lycence"  
(Vinaver, 244.17-18).

"for syx wekys large, that they myght be assembled all"  
(244.18-19).

"and than in the cite of Syon" (244.19).

"to crowne hym there kyndly, with crysemed hondys"  
(Vinaver, 244.19-20).

"with septure, forsothe, as an Emperoure sholde"  
(244.20-21).

"'I assente me,' seyde the kynge, 'as ye have devysed'"  
(244.22).

"and comly be Crystmas to be crowned, (hereafter)"  
(244.22-23).

- "to reigne in my asstate and to kepe my Rounde Table"  
(244.23-24).
- "with the rentys of Rome to rule as me lykys"  
(Vinaver 244.24-245.1).
- "and than, as I am avysed" (245.1).
- "to gete me over the salte see with good men of armys"  
(245.2).
- "to deme for His deth that for us all on the roode dyed"  
(245.2-3).
- "unto Rome they turned and made rydy for his coronmente"  
(245.4-5).
- "And at the day assigned" (245.6).
- "with all the royalte in the worlde to welde for ever"  
(245.8).
- "There they suggeoured that seson tyll aftir the tyme"  
(245.8-9).
- "There was none that playned on his parte, ryche nothir  
poore" (245.12-13).
- "Than he commaunded sir Launcelot and sir Bors to take  
kepe" (245.13-14).
- "that kynge Ban and kynge Bors welded" (245.14-15).
- "Loke that ye take seyng in all your brode londis"  
(245.16).
- "and cause youre lyege men to knowe you as for their kynde  
lorde" (245.16-17).
- "and suffir never your soveraynte to be alledged with your  
subjectes" (245.18-19).
- "kynge Claudas" (245.20).
- "to the Rounde Table make your repeyre" (245.22-23).
- "and sayde their hertes and servyse sholde ever be his  
owne" (245.25-26).
- "The knyght thankys the kynge with a kynde wylle"  
(245.33).

"(and sayde) 'As longe as I lyve my servys is youre owne'"  
(245.34).

"There was none that wolde aske that myghte playne of his  
parte,  
for of rychesse and welth they had all at her wylle"  
(246.1-3).

"Than the knyghtes and lordis that to the kynge longis  
called a counsaile uppon a fayre morne and sayde"  
(246.3-5).

"We ar undir youre lordship well stuffid, (blyssed be God,  
of many thynges;) and also we have wyffis weddid"  
(246.6-8).

"We woll beseche youre good grace to releas us to sporte us  
with oure wyffis,  
for, worshyp be Cryste, this journey is well overcom"  
(246.8-10).

"'Ye say well,' seyde the kynge" (246.11).

"the Pope and patryarkys" (246.16-17).

"good governaunce" (246.18).

"Thus he passyth thorow the contreyes of all partyes"  
(246.21).

"And so kyng Arthure passed over the see unto Sandwyche  
haven" (246.22-23).

"Whan quene Gwenyvere herde of his commynge" (246.23).

GOOD LINES WITH DIFFERENT ALLITERATION TO T.

"Therefore I make myne avow unto mylde Mary" (188.20-21).  
 "And I sall make myn avowe | deuotly to Criste  
 And to þe haly Vernacle, | vertuus and noble" (296-97).  
 Cf. also lines 2869, 2871, 3998 and 4041. Although some words in the a-line are shared make myn(e) avow(e) the alliteration moves from v/u to m and a new b-line is created which replaces Criste with mylde Mary. (Group 4).

"and geff hit to thy servaunte that is swyffte-horsed"  
 (204.17).

"Gife it to thy sqwyre, | fore he es wele horsede" (1179).  
 Gordon and Vinaver, Wroten and Hamel emend wele to swyffte. (See Hamel's lengthy note to line 1179; page 296.) This line is not marked by Vinaver. Malory's line uses the word servaunte instead of T's sqwyre. Both lines contain only two alliterative words; but T's sqw/w alliteration is inferior. (Group 19).

"with his bowerly bronde that bryght semed" (207.25-26).  
 "Loo! how he brawles hym | for hys bryghte wedes" (1349).  
 "Wyth hys stelyn brande | he strykes of hys heuede"  
 (1354).

Malory appears to have taken his b-alliteration from line 1349 and brande in line 1354 rather than reproducing 1354's s alliteration. Bowerly does not appear in T at any point, but cf. line 1112, which includes the phrase burlyche brande. (Group 23).

"on foot over a fayre champeyne unto a fayre wood"  
 (208.4-5).

"Thane folous frekly one fote | frekkes ynewe, . . .  
 Chasede thurghe a champayne | oure cheualrous knyghtez  
Till a cheefe forest | on shalke-whitte horses"  
 (1360 and 1362-63).

M cuts three lines down to one using two lines with ch alliteration to one with f alliteration. After Malory's changes the f alliteration becomes dominant. Malory has retained the words foot and champegne but apparently replaced cheefe forest with fayre wood (note how the alliterative letter moves here presumably in order to get an "ax" ending). (Group 23).

"Be he kyng other knyght, here is his reconter redy"  
 (213.10-11).

"If here be any hathell man, | erle or ober,  
 That for þe emperour lufe | will awntere hym selfen"  
 (1659-60).

M's version shares few words with T, alliterates on a different letter, and contains aabb alliteration. This line is not marked by Vinaver. (Group 29).

"and sir Herawde and sir Heryngale hewyn to pecis"  
(215.32-33).

"Sir Origge and sir Ermyngall | hewen al to pecez" (1825).  
Hamel emends to "Sir Here and sir Herygall" creating a similar line. (Group 33).

"For in the moneth of May this myscheff befelle" (226.20).  
"In the kalendez of Maye | this caas es befallen" (2371).  
The alliteration is better in M which alliterates at three points. Despite this, I suspect that T is close to the archetype--see also the similar line 344 in T (also concerning a date) which also has a weak a-line. M's line alliterates on a different letter to T's taking May as an alliterative word and replacing kalendez and caas with moneth and myscheff. (Group 45).

"(by a revers syde) and his shelde braced on his sholdir,  
and he on a stronge horse" (228.22-23).  
"Enbrassed a brode schelde | on a blonke ryche" (2518).  
Malory uses s alliteration rather than T's b alliteration. There is an element of s-alliteration buried in T's--  
"Enbrassed a brode schelde". His a-line is differently ordered to T, but his b-line replaces T's blonke ryche with the more modern and less poetic stronge horse.  
(Group 47).

"So freysshly tho fre men fyghtes on the grounde"  
(229.24-230.1).  
"Full stowttly þey stryke, | thire steryn knyghttes"  
(2553).  
M's version has no words in common and the alliteration moves from s to f possibly inspired by the first word Full. (Group 48).

"so worched his wounde that his wytte changed"  
(230.12-13).  
"That voydes so violently | þat all his witte changede"  
(2571).  
Malory's a-line is largely his own and replaces voydes (unusual in this context) with worched. M's b-line is similar to T's. (Group 48).

"that the wete watir wente doune his chyks" (239.22-23).  
"That the chillande watire | on his chekes rynnyde"  
(2965).  
M's shorter and prosified line nevertheless manages to achieve three alliterative letters rather than T's two. M alliterates on a different letter to T, which has a pair of lines with ch alliteration here. It seems superfluous to say that water is wet, but tears are not usually cold.  
(Group 58).

"all the tale truly, that day how they travayled"  
(240.24).

"All the tale sothely, | and how they hade spede" (3016).  
Gordon and Vinaver believe that the original line was "All  
the tale truly, | how they trauayled hadde" (page 93).  
Hamel claims "Gordon and Vinaver argue that W's truly and  
travayled are more authentic than T's sothely and spede  
(page 93), but the W readings more likely reflect once  
again scribe E's attempt to regularise alliteration. The  
pattern of these two lines together is (a) a a : x a / a b  
: x b, typical of the poet" (lines 3015-16n). (Group 59).

"and leyde there a buysshement as hem beste lykys"  
(242.29-243.1).

"And sett an enbuschement | als þem selfe lykys"  
(3099, line 3115 in T).

These lines are fairly similar but two key words have been  
changed, M uses leyde rather than sett and beste rather  
than selfe. M's line appears to alliterate abba.  
(Group 62).

"moste governoure undir God for to gyff them lycence"  
(244.17-18).

"Besoughte hym of surrawns, | for sake of oure Lorde"  
(3181). M's line is again very different, no important  
words are shared, and oure Lorde has become God.  
(Group 63).

## WEAKER LINES WITH DIFFERENT ALLITERATION.

"thou durste nat for a deukedom of londis loke in their facis" (186.2-3).

"Thow durste noghte for alle Lumbardye | luke on hym ones" (135).

Hamel and Brock emend T's full to for (135). M's alliteration probably comes from the shared second word durste. MA's Lumbardye has apparently been replaced with deukedom of londis and the non-alliterative last words hym ones with their facis. Although most of the source l-alliteration has gone some remains in londis loke.  
Group 1.

"I was so aferde whan I loked in thy face" (186.5).

"þe voute of thi vesage | has woundyde vs all!" (137).

M's line is completely different and apparently replaces the archaic poetic words voute and vesage with aferde and face. The final word of the b-line is also the second alliterative word. Group 1.

"and whan we have takyn oure avysement ye shall have your answeere playnly, (suche as I shall abyde by)" (186.21-23).

"Thus schalle I take avisement | of valiant beryns" (148). M has only two similar words to T here. Malory has apparently moved the alliteration from v to a, although there may also be some additional w and y alliteration).  
Group 2.

"And thus was the Emyre keppe be my kynde elders" (188.12).

"They occupyede þe Emyre | aughte score wynnttyrs" (278). Elders are mentioned in line 272. These lines are rather different and although they both contain vowel alliteration M also contains k alliteration that rather takes over the b-line. The final e alliteration is again on the last word. Group 3.

"and all shall be within two ayges to go where the lykes" (189.2).

"Twenty thowsande men | wythin two eldes,  
Of my wage for to wende | whare so the lykes" (301-2). Malory has apparently changed eldes to ayges (after seing wage in the next line?) and wende to go. Group 4.

"'Ye sey well,' seyde the kyng Arthure" (189.7).

"'A! A!' sais the Walshe kyng" (320a in the same place)

"'Cosyne,' quod the conquerour, | 'kyndly thou asches'" (343).

The "Welsh King" is probably not intended to be Arthur. Malory has introduced sey into his short line creating s-alliteration. Group 4.



"And therefore to be avenged I woll arere of my wyghteste  
Walshemen and of myne owne fre wagis" (189.19).

"And I sall wagge to þat were | of wyrchipfull knyghtes,  
Of wyghte and of Walschelande | and of þe weste marches"  
(333-34).

Hamel replaces and in line 334 with men. I have reproduced a long line here as the w-alliteration occurs in all but the first third of the line. M's last loan-word wagis is based on the first alliterative word from MA line 333. Malory has also apparently added a-alliteration (or vowel alliteration?): And . . . avenged . . . arere . . . and. Group 5.

"thirty thousand" (189.29).

"Fyfty thousande" (365). Group 5.

"twenty thousand helmys in haubirkes attyred" (190.3-4).

"sex score helmes" (380). There is no h or t alliteration in T here. Group 5.

"Than lowghe sir Bawdwyn of Bretayne and carpys to the  
kyng" (190.6-7).

"Thane laughes sir Lottez | and all on lowde meles"  
(line 382).

Hamel emends Lottez to Lott. Carpe appears in line 639 (much later) "The kyng in his concell | carpys es wordes" also lines 132, 143 and 220 and to the conqueror, appears in lines 2750, 1929 and 2126. Malory has presumably replaced Lottez with Bawdwyn because King Lot of Orkney was killed in Tale I. A (king) Bawdwyn has already been mentioned in line 277, another appears in lines 1606 and 2384. Group 5.

"And I woll brynge with me the beste peple of fyftene  
realmys" (190.18-19).

"Ffange the fermes in faithe | of alle tha faire rewmes"  
(425).

M's line is more modern and considerably prosified with only one significant shared word--realmys. M's line appears to alliterate on b--although it contains only two alliterative words. There is no b-alliteration at this point in T. Group 6.

"for hit longyth nat to none alyauntis for to ryde on  
nyghtes" (191.1-2).

"There awes none alyenes | to ayere appone nyghttys"  
(455). Malory has apparently replaced the archaic and unusual word ayere with ryde, and deleted appone while increasing the number of words beginning with n from two to three. Group 6.

"And may ony be founde a spere-lengthe oute of the way  
and that ye be in the watir by the sevennyghtes ende"  
(191.2-4).

"For be þow founden a fute | withoute þe flode merkes  
Aftyr þe aughtende day | when vndroun es rungen . . .  
Seuen dayes to Sandewyche . . ." (461-62; 447).

I have reproduced a long line here because way ends the first part of the sentence and watir appears in the second half--which would fail to alliterate if divorced from the first part. Malory has apparently replaced the original alliterative words fute with spere-lengthe, "withoute þe flode merkes" by in the watir and "Aftyr þe aughtende day" with by the sevennyghtes ende. Group 6.

"there shall no golde undir God pay for youre raunson"  
(191.4-5).

"The rente ne rede golde | þat vnto Rome langes  
Sall noghte redily, renke, | raunson thyn one" (465-66).  
Malory has apparently omitted MA's alliterative words rente, rede and Rome. Golde appears to have formed the kernel of his new alliterative line. Group 6.

"I wente that Arthure wold have obeyed you" (191.24).

"Thow sulde his ceptre haue sesede | & syttyn abou[e]n,  
For reuerence and realtee of Rome | þe noble!  
By sertes þow was my sandes[man], | & senatour of Rome"  
(511-13).

Sandes is emended by Bjorkman and Hamel. M's short line appears to be his own. Group 7.

"and perleous passage shall be surely kepte with my good  
knyghtes" (193.1).

"In at the portes of Pavye | schall no prynce passe  
Thurghe the perelous places, | for my pris knyghtes"  
(568-69).

Malory has added surely providing secondary s-alliteration while replacing pris in the b-line with the non-alliterative good. Passe was probably the source of passage. Group 8.

"Than quene Gwynyver made grete sorow" (195.11).

T's lines 696-704 are very different she is called Waynour, and later Gaynour, and there is no g-alliteration. Group 10.

"where he founde before hym many galyard knyghtes"  
(195.24).

"Thare the grete ware gederyde | wyth galyarde knyghtes"  
(721).

M's modernised and prosified a-line has none of T's g-alliteration but possible f and h alliteration. Group 11.

"galeyes and galyottys" (196.6).

"Coggez and crayers" (738). Group 11.

"lyke as the londe and the watir had flawmed all on fyre"  
(196.18-19).

"That the flode of þe flawez | all on fyre semyde" (773).  
M's line uses only three words from MA and alliterates  
aabb. Group 12.

"and com down with such a sowghe" (197.4-5).

"Commes glydande fro þe clowddez | and cowpez full euene"  
(799).

Malory's line is probably his own. Group 12.

"in all haste he sente for a philozopher and charged hym  
to telle what sygnyfyed his dreame" (197.11-12).

"Takes hym two phylozophirs | that folowede hym euer"  
(807).

T has s-alliteration in line 814. Group 12.

"som gyaunte boldely in batayle be thysel self alone"  
(197.21).

"Or ells with somme gyaunt | some journee sall happyn  
In singulere batell by 3oure selfe one" (825-26).

M's lines are taken from MA in order. Malory's addition  
of boldly reinforces the b-alliteration, while the  
omission of singulere detracts from the original s-  
alliteration. M's line may have abba alliteration.  
Group 13.

"And than come there an husbandeman oute of the contrey"  
(198.5).

"Commez a Templere tyte | and towchide to þe kyng" (841).  
M's line is only loosely based on MA. Group 13.

"and talkyth unto the kyng wondurfull wordys" (198.6).

"Commez a Templere tyte | and towchide to þe kyng" (841).  
M's line may have k and w alliteration. It is another  
line only loosely based on MA. Group 13.

"mo than fyve hundred and many mo of oure chyldren"  
(198.8-9).

"He has fretyne of folke | mo than fyfe hondrethe,  
And als fele fawntkyns | of freeborne chilydre!"  
(844-45).

Malory's a-line is a faithful reproduction of an MA b-  
line, while his b-line conveys the sense of the next line  
of the poem but not the sound. Malory has used the sound  
of his first loan-word mo as the origin of his  
alliteration rather than the original alliterative word  
fyfe. Group 13.

"Than he turnys towarde his tentys and carpys but lytyl"  
(199.19-20).

"Raykes ryghte to a tente | and restez no lengere" (889).  
Malory has apparently used tent as the key-loan word and then replaced raykes ryghte with turnes towarde and restez no lengere with carpys but lytyl. Group 14.

"and sone he fyndis his knyghtes full clenly arayed"  
(200.7-8).

"And there hys knyghtes hyme kepyde, | fulle clenlyche  
arayed" (919).

Malory has retained the c/k alliteration and full(e) which he has supplemented with fyndis creating two sound alliteration. Group 15.

"a blythe contray full of many myrry byrdis" (200.9-10).  
M's is a briefer alternative version of I lines 926-32, which do not contain any m-alliteration. Group 15.

"that none nyghe other" (200.13-14).  
"o ferrom bytwenne" (934). Group 15.

"I holde the unhappy" (200.24-25).  
"I warne þe for [þi] wyrchipe, | þou wylnez aftyr sorowe--  
Whedyre buskes þou, berne? | vnbllysside þow semes"  
(961-62).

Malory has reduced two sentences into four words of his own. Group 15.

"Thoughe here were suche fyffty, ye were to feyble for to  
macche hym all at onys" (200.25-201.1).

"Siche sex ware to symple | to semble with hym one" (967).  
Malory has expanded and prosified this line borrowing some non-alliterative words and replaced "six" with "fifty", "simple" with "feeble" and semble with "match". The key loan-word seems to be suche and the replacement alliterating words have been chosen to follow its initial s-letter. Group 16.

"'Fy on suche trefyde,' she seyde than" (201.9).  
"'3a, thire wordis are bot waste' | quod this wif thane"  
(993).

M's is an alternative version that is original to Malory. Group 16.

"for he settys nought by the kynge nother by no man ellys"  
(201.9-10).

"For bothe landez and lythes | full lyttill by he settes"  
(994).

M's is another alternative version that is original to Malory. Group 16.

"And but yf thou have brought hir, prese hym nat to nyghe"  
(201.13-14).

"If thowe hafe broghte þe berde, | he bese more blythe ...  
Luke þi presante be priste | and presse hym bott lyttille"  
(1017; 1021).

Malory has replaced the beard from the first source a-line with hir (Guinevere), added but to retain b-alliteration and completed his line with a later b-line, while adding new concluding words which alliterate on n (to eliminate another b-word)? Group 16.

"he was the foulst syghte/wyghte that ever man sye"  
(202.27-28).

"For the fulsomeste freke | that fourmede was euer!"  
(1061).

In order for this to be even a weak alliterative line the reading must be syghte. Both b-lines are inverted.  
Group 17-18.

"Yet he shappis at sir Arthure, but the kyng shuntys a  
lyttyl" (203.5-6).

"The kyng chaungez his fote, | eschewes a lyttill--  
Ne had he eschapede þat choppe, | cheuede had euyll!"  
(1116-17).

Malory's shappis (in the a-line) was probably derived from eschapede (in the second source-line) while his b-line is based on words cut out of the first source-line.  
Group 18.

"and there he swappis his genytrottys in sondir"  
(203.7-8).

"Just to þe genitates, | and jaggede þam in sondre"  
(1123).

Hamel and Brock emend genitates to genitales. The major difference between these lines is Malory's apparent substitution of swappes for jaggede in the a-line which lacks one alliterative word. Group 18.

"in his armys and handeled the kynge so harde that he  
crusshed his rybbes" (203.16-17).

"On þe creeste of þe cragg | he caughte hym in armez  
And enclosez hym clenly | to cruschen hys rybbez"  
(1133-34).

T alliterates on k/c here, M's line also contains two words beginning with k or c but there are also five h-words. Group 18.

"and eythir cleyght other full faste in their armys"  
(203.21-22).

"Tumbellez and turnez faste" (1143a).

M's line takes only one line from MA and contains both vowel and f alliteration. Groups 18-19.

"And other whyles Arthure was aboven and the other whyle undir" (203.22-23).

"3itt es þe warlow so wyghte, | he welters hym vndere;  
Wrothely þai wrythyn | and wrystill togederz,  
Welters and walowes ouer | within þase buskez" (1140-42).

Both M and T contain w-alliteration, but M's version is very different, and also contains additional vowel alliteration (And other . . . Arthure . . . aboven and . . . other . . . undir). Group 19.

"'In fayth,' seyde sir Bedwere, 'this is a foule carle'" (204.8).

"'Now certez' saise sir Bedwere | 'it semez be my lorde,  
He sekez seyntez bot selden; | þe sorere he grypez,  
þat þus clekys this corsaunt | owte of þir heghe  
clyffez,  
To carye forthe siche a carle | at close hym in  
siluere'" (1162-65).

I am not sure where Malory got his f alliteration from (possibly forthe in 1165). Malory has compressed four lines into one, changing the alliteration in the process, but his a-line is weak. Group 19.

"I woll never seke for none" (204.12-13).

"I sall neuer no seynt bee" (1169a).

(T's b-line also alliterates on s.) Malory has replaced sall with woll and no seynt be with seke for none. Both lines (or half-lines) contain two ns but in M they have become dominant. Group 19.

"that all the comyns of this contrey may hit beholde" (204.20-21).

"biernes to schewe" (1183).

M's is an alternative version presumably in Malory's own words. Group 20.

"and fecche me my shelde, my swerde" (204.22-23).

"My brande and my brode schelde | apon þe bent lyggez" (1184a).

Malory has apparently reduced and modernised this line changing the original alliterative word brande to sword while retaining shield--originally non-alliterative--as the second alliterating word. Group 20.

"and so they shooke over the stremys into a fayre champayne" (205.18-19).

"With his batell on brede | by þa blythe stremes;  
Towarde C[h]astell Blanke he chesez hym the waye,  
Thurghe a faire champayne . . . (1224-26a).

Malory has reduced two and a half lines to one. The key source word was stremes which he has retained, building the line around it, although the last three words are the same as T. Group 20-21.

"I bydde hym in haste to remeve oute of my londis"  
(206.11).

"Cayre owte of my kyngryke | with his kydd knyghtez"  
(1272).

This is an alternative version that is original to Malory.  
Group 21.

"Than anone in all haste they dressed hem to horsebak"  
(206.15).

"Now thei graythe them to goo, | theis galyarde knyghttez,  
All gleyterande in golde | appon grete stedes  
Towarde ~~be~~ grene wode | ~~bat~~ with grownden wapyn,  
To grete wele the grett lorde | that wolde be grefede  
sone (1279-82).

(Mennicken and Hamel delete bat from line 1281.)

This is another, briefer, alternative version that is original  
to Malory. Group 21.

"That is kyng Arthures herytage by kynde of his noble  
elders" (207.5-6).

"Sir Arthure herytage, | ~~bat~~ honourable kyng,  
That alle his auncestres aughte | bot Vtere hyme one"  
(1309-10).

Malory has reorganised three words from MA and built a new  
alliterative line around them. The key-word and the source of  
the new alliteration is kyng. Group 22.

"other ellys to fyght for all" (207.8).

"Ore elles for thy knyghthede | encontre hyme ones"  
(1320).

This line may contain both vowel and f alliteration. Group 22.

"but I have no joy of your renckys thus to rebuke me and  
my lordys" (207.11-12).

"It es none honour to me | to owtray hys knyghttez"  
(1328).

This is another alternative version that is original to Malory.  
Group 22.

"Than the Romaynes folowed faste on horsbak" (208.3-4).

"And of ~~be~~ Romayns arrayed | appon ryche stedes,  
Chased thurghe a champagne | oure cheualrous knyghtez"  
(1361-62).

The Romayn(e)s is the only part of MA to have been transferred  
into M's line and the r-alliteration is not taken up.  
Group 23.

"a gay knyght [come fast on], all flouryshed in golde"  
(208.7).

"Bot a freke alle in fyne golde, | and fretted in sable"  
(1364).

T's archaic and poetic freke is replaced by a gay knyght which alliterates with the source-word golde. The knight is no longer adorned in sable (I am unsure as to whether this is for compression or M's incomprehension of the meaning). Group 23.

"he was called Calleborne, the strengyste of Pavynes  
Londis" (208.14-15).

"He was a paynyme of Perse" (1377).

This is an alternative and abridged version that is largely original to Malory. Group 23.

"If we folow them ony farther" (209.2-3).

"It sall repent vs full sore | and we ryde forthire"  
(1392).

M has adopted the alliteration of MA's "further" added Folow but omitted full and the two words beginning in s resulting in a modernised and abridged half-line. Group 24.

"bere hem thorow the helmys and bryght sheldis"  
(209.10-11).

"Thrughe brenes and bryghte scheldez | brestez they  
thyrle" (1413).

Some of MA's alliteration survives in the new word bere and the loan words and bryghte scheldez although brenes and brestez have been omitted and the new words hem and helmys provide additional alliteration. Group 24.

"ten thousand, by batayle of tyred knyghtes" (209.14).

"Than ten thowsande men | he semblede at ones" (1421) and

"Brekes that battailles" (1425a).

Hamel deletes the s from battailles. Malory has borrowed from two separated a-lines, added by (to give b-alliteration?) and concluded with of tyred knyghtes which continues his t-alliteration. Group 24.

"But at the laste, thoughe they loth were,  
they were yolden and takyn and saved their lyves"  
(209.26-28).

"Sir Beryll es born down | and sir Boice taken,  
The beste of oure bolde men | vnblythely wondyde.

Bot 3itt oure stale on a strenghe | stotais a lyttill,  
All to-stonayed with þe stokes | of þa steryn knyghtez"  
(1433-36).

M's is a long and prosified alternative version that alliterates on l and is original to Malory. Group 25.



"He brought fyve hondred good men in haubirkes attyred"  
(209.32).

"Than commez sir Idrus, | armede vp at all ryghttez,  
Wyth fyue hundrethe men | appon faire stedes" (1439-40).  
Lines 1441-42 also alliterate on f. Malory has again  
borrowed a phrase from MA, picked a word that was  
originally non-alliterative ("hundred") as his key-word  
and built new alliteration around it. Group 25.

"There was never a bettir knyght that strode uppon a  
steede" (210.9-10).

M's line may have been inspired by MA's line "The beste of  
oure bolde men | vnblythely wondyde" (1434)--b, or line  
1562 which has s alliteration and a different meaning,  
although it is perhaps more likely to be an original  
Malorian line. Group 25.

"'I make myne avowe,' seyde sir Gawayne" (210.11-12).

"Thane sais sir Gawayne, | 'so me God helpe!'" (1443) ...  
"'I luke neuer on my lorde | þe dayes of my lyfe'" (1447).  
This is an alternative version the first half of which is  
original to Malory. Group 25.

"Than he threste thorow the prece unto hym that lad sir  
Bors" (210.18-19).

"He ryfez þe rannke stele, | he ryttez þeire brenez,  
And refte them the ryche man | and rade to his strengthes  
(1472-73). T has ryghttez.

"Thurghe þe presse of þe pople | wyth his pryce knyghttes"  
(1477).

M's line takes its meaning from three lines of MA and  
three words but not the alliteration from the third of  
these. It may contain th alliteration. Group 26.

"and bare hym thorow up to the hyltys" (210.19).

"He ryfez þe rannke stele, | he ryghttez þeire brenez,  
And refte them the ryche man | and rade to his strengthes"  
(1474-75).

Hamel emends ryghttez to ryttez.

"Thurghe þe presse of þe pople | wyth his pryce  
knyghttes" (1477).

M's is an alternative version that is original to Malory.  
Group 26.

"There was a proude senatoure preced aftir sir Gawayne,  
and gaff hym a grete buffet" (210.24-25).

"The Senatour Peter thane | persewede hym aftyre,  
Thurghe þe presse of the pople . . ." (1476-77a).

" | wyth his pryce knyghttes,  
Appertly fore þe prysonere | proues his strengthes  
Wyth prekers the proudeste | that to þe presse lengez.  
Wrothely on the wrange hande | sir Gawayne he strykkes,  
Wyth a wapen of were | vnwynnly hym hittez;

The breny one þe bakhalfe | he brystez in sondyre"  
(1477-82).

Hamel emends Gawayne to Wawayne.

Malory has taken words from several lines of MA, retaining the p-alliteration, but adding original g-alliteration based on the key-word Gawain. Group 26.

"we knowe nat theire namys" (211.3-4).

"Of Perse and of Porte Iaffe | paynymmez ynewe" (1544).

This is an alternative version that is original to Malory. The n-alliteration may derive from "paynymmez ynewe". Group 26.

"for oure presoners may pay rychesse oute of numbir"  
(211.5-6).

T lines 1549-52 are completely different. Groups 26-27.

"But there is no golde undir God that shall save their  
lyvys" (211.11-12).

"Thare sall no siluer hym saue | bot Ewayn recouere"  
(1572).

Malory has modernised and prosified this line removing the inversion. Although there are two s-words in M's line silver is transmuted into gold--the alliteration falling on the new words Golde and God. Group 27.

"I make myne avow to God, and sir Gawayne be in ony perell  
of deth" (211.12-13).

"Thare sall no siluer hym saue | bot Ewayne recouere".

See the note to the line above. Malory has rendered Ewayne as Gawain and changed the ending even though all three alliterating words occur in MA's a-line. Group 27.

"within a whyle" (211.19).

"Bot in þe clere daweyng, | the dere kynge hym selfene"  
(1601).

Group 27.

"to betrappe the kynges sondismen that were charged with  
the presoners" (212.25-26).

"To hafe betrappede with a trayne | oure trauelande  
knyghttez,

That hade persayfede þat Peter | at Parys sulde lenge

In presone with þe Prbuoste, | his paynez to drye"

(1630-32).

M's line begins with an approximation of part of an a-line but the rest is a free version of MA. This line has possible k/ch alliteration? Group 28.

"'Now, lordis,' seyde sir Launcelot" (212.29).

"Syr Cadore of Cornewalle | comaundez his peris" (1637).

This is an alternative version that builds up Launcelot's role at the expense of the unfortunate Sir Cadore and is original to Malory. Group 29.

"'I assente me,' seyde sir Cadore, and all they seyde the same" (213.3).

"Syr Cadore of Cornewalle | comaunde his peris" (1637). In Malory Cadore assents taking up Malory's a/s alliteration whereas in T he commands (c-alliteration). Group 29.

"that they sholde dyscover the woodys, bothe the dalys and the downys" (213.5-6).

"Here es þe Close of Clyme | with clewes so hye;  
Lokez the contree be clere, | the corners are large  
Discoueres now sekerly | skrogges and ober" (1639-41). Malory has borrowed the key-word discover(s) (originally non-alliterative) and created two additional alliterating words to accompany it. Group 29.

"Thy lorde wenys with his knyghtes to wyne all the worlde!" (213.12-13).

"That thus in his errour | occupyes theis rewmes  
And owtrayes þe emperour, | his erthely lorde! . . . .  
The araye and þe ryalltez | of þe Rounde Table  
Es wyth rankour rehersed | in rewmes full many"  
(1662-23; 1665-660).

Another possible source is the later line 1806 which alliterates on the same letter "'Thow wenes fore thi wightenez | the werlde es thy nowen'?" Group 29.

"Than sir Clegis returned fro the ryche kyng and rode" (213.25).

"Thane sir Clegis to þe kyng | a lyttill enclinede" (1706).

Malory has apparently used about half of MA's line, called the king ryche deleted the final c-word (enclinede) and added the additional words returned and rode producing a line alliterating on two letters. Group 30.

"streyghte to sir Launcelot and unto sir Cadore" (213.26).

"Kayres to sir Cadore | and knyghtly hym tellez" (1707).

In the process of expanding Launcelot's role at the expense of Cadore Malory has again sabotaged the original c-alliteration replacing it with s-alliteration. Group 30.

"(we ar but late made knyghtes) yett wolde we be loth to lese the worshyp" (213.34-35).

"It ware schame þat we scholde | schone for so lytyll" (1719).

This is an alternative version that is original to Malory. M's alliteration may have been inspired by the initial l in lytyll. Group 30.

"And cause oure kyng to honoure us for ever" (214.7-8).  
 "Thynk on þe valyaunt prynce | þat vesettez vs euer"  
 (1726).

This is another alternative version that is mostly original to Malory. Group 30.

"Joneke was the fyrste, a juster full noble" (214.14-15).  
 "Ioneke and Askanere, | Aladuke and oþer,  
 That ayerez were of Esexex | and all þase este marchez"  
 (1739-40 or the much later line)

"The ferthe was sir Judas, | a justere full nobill"  
 (3412). Group 31.

"and than ryde you faste unto oure kyng and pray hym of  
 soccour, as he is oure kynde lorde'" (214.28-30).

"Or ryde to þe ryche kyng, | 3if 3ow roo happyn" (1751).  
 The first part of M's line is an expansion of line 1751  
 with the key word kyng providing the alliterative pattern  
 for an original concluding section. Group 31.

"that now lyeth dede my cosyn that I beste loved"  
 (215.4-5).

"Because of his kynysemane | þat þus es myscaryede"  
 (1778).

This is an alternative version, now in direct speech, that is original to Malory. Group 32.

"Than the kyng cracked grete wordys on lowde and seyde"  
 (215.7-8).

"Thane laughs the Lebe kyng | and all on lowde meles"  
 (1781).

Malory has reproduced parts of the original line omitting most of the alliterating words in a modernised and prosified line. He produced cracked as a companion word for the loan-word kyng but there is no alliteration in the b-line. Group 32.

"and whan their sperys were brokyn" (215.18).

"Whane his spere was sprongen, | he spede hym full 3erne"  
 (1794).

M has apparently substituted brokyn for sprongen making w the alliterating letter by default. Group 32.

"ten were takyn" (215.26-27).

T is different (line 1864ff). Group 32.

"The King of Lebe sterte on a sterne horse" (215.29).

The source of this may be--"And sterttes owtte to hys stede | and with his stale wendes" (1355), which occurs earlier and refers to someone else, or 1817: "The Kyng of Lebe has laughte | a stede þat hym lykede." Group 32.

"and drove downe to the grounde many a good man"  
(215.30-31).

"Vmbelappez þe lumpe | and lattes in sondre" (1819) and  
"With a chasyngge spere | he choppes doun many" (1823).  
M may have used doun as a key-word and then used other  
words alliterating on d in his line. Group 33.

"with a swerde well stelyd and smote hym an hyghe uppon  
the hede" (216.1-3).

"þane sir Cadore þe kene | castez in fewtire  
A cruell launce and a kene | and to þe kyng rydez;]  
Hittez hym heghe on þe helme | with his harde wapen,  
That all þe hotte blode of hym | to his hande rynnez"  
(1830-83).

M uses the alliterative phrase swerde well stelyd instead  
of a cruell launce (c-alliteration) the possible loan-word  
with may have suggested well stelyd (single combat in  
preference to jousting?). Either "head" or "helm" could  
be original. Group 33.

"the devyll have thy bonys that ever thou were borne!"  
(216.4-5).

"þare God gyfe þe sorowe!" (1837b to 1843)?

M may have decided that a curse mentioning the Devil was  
more dramatic than one involving God or he may have  
thought that "your God"--to a Saracen--was a devil  
(Mahoun?). Lines similar to M's appear several times in  
T. Group 33.

"grevyd hym at his herte" (216.6-7).

"The Kyng of Surry þan | es sorowfull in herte" (1844).  
This is another alternative prosified version that is  
original to Malory. Group 33.

"and the senatur of Sautre yeldid hym unto sir Cador"  
(216.14).

"The Kyng of Surry the kene | to sir Cador es golden"  
(1870).

Malory apparently has transformed the Saracen's rank to  
that of a senator and replaced most k-words with s-words  
(this could be another reduction of Cador's achievements).  
Group 33.

"Whan the Romaynes and the Sarezens aspyed how the game  
yode" (216.15-16).

"When þe cheualrye saw | theire cheftanes were nommen"  
(1872).

M's is an alternative version that is original to Malory.  
Group 33.

"they fledde with all hir myght to hyde there hedis"  
(216.16-17).

"To a cheefe forest | they chesen theire wayes,  
And felede them so feynte | they fall in þe greues  
In the feryne of þe fyrthe, | fore ferde of oure poþle"  
(1873-75).

M's could be another alternative version that is original to Malory; or possibly a missing line. Group 33.

"and slew downe of the Sarezens [on every syde]" (216.18).  
The sources of this line are lines 1874-75 (above) and other lines including "Be hundreth they hewede doun | be þe holte eyuys" (1879). Malory may have changed hewede doun to slew downe and added original s-alliteration. Group 33.

"Be my fayth, there was never kyng sauff myselff that welded evir such knyghtes" (217.7-9).  
This line is only semi-alliterative. T has 28 different lines here. Group 34.

"And of his bolde cosyns ar proved full noble knyghtes" (217.12-13).

In M this single line refers to Launcelot's cousins while Sir Cadur and his knights are praised in six very different lines in T (1939-44):

"Thow has doughttily donn, | sir Duke, with thi handez,  
And has donn thy deuer | with my dere knyghttez;  
Forthy thow arte demyde | with dukes and erlez  
For one of þe doughtyeste | þat dubbede was euer.  
There es non ischewe of vs | on this erthe sprongen;  
Thow arte apparant to be ayere, | are one of thi childyre."

Malory has changed both the subject and the alliterating letter here. Group 34.

"Whan the kynge herde sir Cadur sey such wordys he seyde" (217.15-16).

There is no exact equivalent line in T but cf. line 1938: "3ofe sir Arthure ware angerde, | he ansuers faire". Hamel emends 3ofe to þofe. Group 35.

"And sir Aladuke was another, a noble man of armys" (217.19-20).

"Sir Alidoyke of Towell | with his tende knyghtez" (1916). Hamel emends Towell to Tyntaiuel. Malory has made Aladuke the key-alliterating word and added And and another to the a-line. M's b-line is his own. Group 35.

"Than the kynge [wepte and] with a keverchoff wyped his iyen" (217.23-24).

"Thane the worthy kynge wrythes | and wepede with his enghne" (1920).

Hamel and Brock emend enghne to eghne. T does not specify what Arthur wipes his hand with. It could be his sleeve (his hand was probably covered--he wears gloves in line 912). Malory may have taken kyng as his key-word and added the handkerchief to provide new alliteration. M omits worthy, so wept (or wrythes) could be deliberate omissions. Group 35.

"if thou dele with kyng Arthure and his doughty knyghtes"  
(218.8-9).

This line is not in T. The relevant section of T is lines 1950-56 which contain s/r/t alliteration. The word doughtyeste appears in the earlier line 1942. (This is advice to the Emperor.) Group 35.

"and take hym of the beste men of armys many sad  
hundrethis" (218.17-18).

"And byde with my balde men | within þe burghe ryche"  
(1968).

This line contains possible h-alliteration. Malory has apparently replaced byde with take and burghe with hundrethis and (the unintentionally humorous?) balde men become the beste men of armys. Group 36.

"But the kyng of their commynge" (218.19).

"Bot owre wyese kyng es warre | to waytten his renkes"  
(1973).

M omits alliterative references to Arthur's wisdom and awareness while retaining the word king(e) (originally non-alliterative) and adding commynge. Group 36.

"to take other to sle the vycounte of Rome, or lys to dye  
therefore" (218.23-24).

"To venquyse by victorie | the Vescounte of Rome" (1984).  
M replaces most of the source a-line with a weak prosifying phrase. M's weak line may contain t-alliteration. Group 36.

"with many mo othir" (219.1-2).

"wyth legyones ynewe" (2000).

This is an alternative version that is original to Malory. Group 36.

"Thus kyng Arthure disperclled all his oste in dyverse  
partyes" (219.5-6).

"He plantez in siche placez | pryncez and erlez  
That no powere sulde passe | be no preue wayes"  
(2004-05).

The lines 1973-2003 also describe this process. Siche placez may have been the source of either (or both) M's alliterative words disperclled or dyverse partyes. This is an alternative version that is original to Malory. Group 36.

"and sette up a dragon with eglis many one enewed with  
sabyl" (219.14-15).

"Dresses vp dredfully | the dragone of golde  
With egles al ouer | enamelede of sable" (2026-27).

Malory has apparently replaced MA's a-line with an alliteratively inferior and prosified one of his own. M's sette alliterates with the final word sabyl. If eglys and enewed provide the other alliterative words we are left with a line that alliterates abba. Group 37.

"And this day let hit nevir be loste for the defaughte of  
herte" (219.19-20).

"ffore dredlesse withowttyne dowtte, the daye schalle be  
ourez" (2043).

Dredlesse was probably the source of M's loste in the prosified a-line. Despite removing dredlesse and dowtte Malory apparently added day to provide partial d-alliteration (and hit and herte for h-alliteration?). Group 37.

"that the bloode braste oute on every syde" (220.6-7).

"The blode sprete owtte and spredde | as þe horse  
spryngez" (2063).

Malory again appears to have reworked a line using one key-word blo(o)de from his source and adding a favourite word braste to provide new alliteration. Group 37.

"and smote hym thorow bothe sydys, yet he slewe in his way  
turnyng two other knyghtes" (220.26-28).

"Wroghte wayes full wyde, | werrayande knyghtez,  
And wondes all wathely, | that in þe waye stondez!"  
(2089-90).

This is an alternative version that is mostly original to Malory. Group 38.

"Whan Arthure had aspyed the gyauntes" (221.3).

"Till þe Conquerour come | with his kene knyghttez"  
(2119).

This is another alternative version that is original to Malory. Group 38.

"'Now art thou of a syse,' seyde the kyng" (221.9-10).

"'Thow arte to hye by þe halfe, | I hete þe in trouthe;  
Thow sall be handsomere in hye, | with þe helpe of my  
Lorde!'" (2127-28).

Malory has considerably reduced these lines, using only two words from MA (which he apparently reversed), and using s-alliteration rather than T's h-alliteration. Group 39.

"they had felled hem starke dede of fyffty all to the bare  
erthe" (221.18).

"Whylls sixty ware seruede soo, | ne sessede they neuer"  
(2132).



Felled may derive from line 2160. M's line is more modern and less poetic than T's and the number of dead giants is reduced from sixty to fifty as the alliterative letter changes. Group 39.

"tyll they leyde on the erthe ten thousand at onys"  
(221.23-24).

"Alls ferre alls a furlange, | a thosande at ones!"  
(2152). Group 39.

"and there they three" (221.28).

It is hard to say for certain whether this is Malory's version of line 2161 or 2158 (totally different) "And when they fande theym forsett | with oure fers knyghtez" (2161) or original. Group 39.

"and as he was hurte yet he turned hym agayne and smote the todir on the hede, that to the breste hit raughte"  
(222.1-2). (222.2 is a doubtful alliterative line).

"Than he raykes in arraye, | and one rawe rydez  
One this ryall [renke], | his dede to reuenge" . . .  
Cleues hym wyth his clere brande | clenliche in sondire"  
(2179-80; 2182).

Mennicken and Hamel add renke to line 2180. This appears to be an alternative version, with h-alliteration, that is original to Malory. Group 40.

"And than they returned ayen unto noble kynge Arthure and tolde hym how they had spedde" (222.7-8).

"He weyndes to þe wyese kynge | and wynly hym gretes"  
(2185).

T's lines 2185ff. are very different. M's line may contain weak h-alliteration and stronger a-alliteration. Group 40.

"'Sir kyng,' sayde sir Kay, 'I have served the longe'"  
(222.9).

"He weyndes to þe wyese kynge | and wynly hym gretes:  
'I am wathely woundide-- | waresche mon I neuer!  
Wirke nowe thi wirchipe | as þe worlde asks . . . '"  
(2185-87).

This is a briefer alternative version that is original to Malory. Group 40.

"and commaunde me to dame Gwentyvere, thy goodly quene"  
(222.10-11).

"Grete werlde my ladye þe Qwene . . . " (2189a).  
Finlayson and Hamel emend werlde to wele. T's line contains w-alliteration which Malory has apparently transformed into c/g/q alliteration. Group 40.

"Than the kynge in this malyncoly metys with a kynge"  
(222.22).

"Manly in his mely[n]coly | he metes andþer" (2204).

T does not mention another king here. M's line appears to contain abba alliteration. Group 40.

"and with Excalyber he smote his bak in sundir" (222.23).  
 "The medill of þat myghtty | þat hym myche greuede,  
He merkes thurghe the maylez | the myddes in sondyre,  
 That the myddys of þe mane | on þe mounte fallez,  
 þe toþer halfe of þe haunche | on þe horse leuyde"  
 (2205-08).

M's line is shorter than T's account, alliterates on a different letter (s) and contains few common words. Group 40.

"sir Launcelot, sir Gawayne and sir Lovel ys son"  
 (222.27).

"Thane sir Gawayne the gude | with wyrchipfull knyghttez  
 Wendez in the avawewarde | be tha wodde-hemmys"  
 (2218-19).

Hamel emends to Wawayne. Malory has again increased Launcelot's role, here at the expense of Gawain whose name formed part of the alliteration, but its presence here spoils the alliteration. In M Launcelot's name is part of the alliteration. Group 41.

"Anone as sir Lucyus sawe sir Gawayne he sayde all on  
 hyght" (222.29-30).

"Thane the emperour enkerly | askes hym sonne" (2222).  
M's is an entirely different line possibly alliterating weakly on a, s, and/or h. Group 41.

"Here thou shalt be sone overmacched!" (222.31-32).

"I sall be wrokyn on thi wrethe, | for all thi grete  
 wordez!" (2225).

This is another very different line with only one word in common. Group 41.

"Whan they sye hir lorde so hampred" (223.2).

"Fore they see þaire cheftayne | be chauffede so sore"  
 (2236).

Malory has apparently changed his line deleting the original alliterative (ch) words, changing þaire to hir and adding hampred but retaining the see/so alliteration. Group 41.

"Anone as kynge Arthure" (223.14).

This line has no direct equivalent in T. Lines 2246-47 alliterate on a unless Malory has borrowed from the later line 2290 "Bot sir Arthure onone | ayeres þeraftyre" or lines 3120 and 4262. Group 42.

"Sir Arthure was wrothe and gaff hym another with all the myght that in his arme was leved" (223.18-20).

"Oure bolde kynges bowes þe blonke | be þe bryghte brydyll,  
With his burlyche brande | a buffete hym reches" . . .  
(2251-52).

Malory has created another entirely different line with possible a and w-alliteration. Group 42.

"Therefore save none for golde nothir for sylver" (224.1).

"That no captayne [ne kynges] | be kepyde for non siluer"  
(2263).

"Thare myghte no siluer thaym saue | ne socoure their  
lyues" (2276).

Line 2276 is more likely to be the source of Malory's line. Malory has apparently weakened the original alliteration of the line by again transforming silver into gold. As the s-alliteration is weakened the latent n-alliteration becomes more pronounced. Group 42.

"And therefore sle doune and save nother hethyn nothir  
Crystyn" (224.3-4).

"That no captayne [ne kynges] | be kepyde for non siluer...  
Thare ne es kaysere ne kynges | þat vndire Criste ryngnes  
þat I ne schall kill colde dede | be crafte of my  
handez!" (lines 2263; 2266-67, or line 2276)

"Thare myghte no siluer thaym saue | ne socoure their  
lyues." Group 42.

"that eviry man myght knowe of what contray they were"  
(225.13).

"In whate coundre þay kaire | that knyghttes myghte knawe  
Iche kynges be his colours, | in kyth whare [he] lengede"  
(2304-05).

Malory has apparently created his a-line out of a b-line but replaced the original alliterative word knyghttes with that eviry man myght knowe. He returned to the a-line for his b-line with possibly one word added from the b-line below. This weak line contains possible m and k/c alliteration. Group 44.

"So on the morne thes senatours rayked unto Rome" (226.9).

"Nowe they raik to Rome | the redyeste wayes" (2352).

Malory apparently weakened the alliteration by deleting redyeste and creating a new a-line. MA's a-line forms his b-line. Group 44.

"and tolde hym how they hadde brought" (226.10-11).

"We hafe trystily trayuelled | þis tributte to feche"  
(2357).

M's line is an original version conveying the same meaning as T but with different words and different alliteration. Group 45.

"For in the moneth of May this myscheff befelle" (226.20).  
 "In the kalendez of Maye | this caas es befallen" (2371).  
 Malory apparently picked May(e) as his alliterative key-  
 word and transformed kalendez into the more modern moneth  
 and caas into myscheff. Group 45.

"and heled them that were hurte that same day" (227.1-2).  
 "Lengez at Lusscheburghe | to lechen hys knyghttez"  
 (2388).

Malory apparently created an original line from MA using  
 no common words. Group 45.

"I woll wyne this towne other ellys many a doughty shall  
 dye!" (227.14-15).

"I will that ducherye devyse | and dele as me lykes,  
And seyn dresse wyth þe duke, | if destyny suffre"  
 (2400-01).

MA may well have had an original word like ducherye which  
 Malory used as the basis of doughty. He omitted devyse  
 replacing it with wyne--following the alliteration of the  
 poem's second word--will. (Possible t/d alliteration?)  
 Groups 45-46.

"And than the kynge approched to the wallis withoute  
 shelde sauff his bare harneys" (227.15-16).

"The kynge schonte for no schotte | ne no schelde askys,  
Bot schewes hym scharpely | in his schene wedys"  
 (2428-29).

Although few words are common to both versions of these  
 lines, enough s alliteration remains in M's line to  
 suggest that it was also present in Malory's version of MA  
 but there may also be some a and w alliteration (And and  
approched wallis withoute). Group 46.

"And thanoure noble knyghtes withdrew them a lytyll and  
 wente unto the kynge" (227.30-31).

"Than withdrawes oure men | and drisses them bettyre,  
 For dred of þe drawe-brigge | dasschede in sondre:  
Hyes to þe harbergage | thare the kynge houys"  
 (2473-75).

This line is very different to the three equivalent lines  
 in T. Malory appears to have taken a modified form of  
withdrawes from the weak line 2473 (which alliterates  
xxax) and apparently added wente possibly creating weak w-  
 alliteration in the process. (There may also be very weak  
 vowel alliteration here.) Group 46.

"(by a revers syde) and his shelde braced on his sholdir,  
and he on a stronge horse" (228.22-23).

"Enbrassede a brode schelde | on a blonke ryche" (2518).  
Malory apparently took s(c)helde as his key alliterative word, ignored words with the original b-alliteration (apart from Enbrassede), modernised the phraseology, and supplied other alliterating words with the initial letter s--blonke ryche for example becomes stronge horse.  
Group 47.

"Whan sir Gawayne was ware of that gay knyght" (229.4-5).  
"Sir Gawayne glyftes on the gome | with a glade will"  
(2525).

Malory again modernised his prose replacing the obscure archaic poetic words glyftys and gome (= man or knight) with was ware and strengthened latent w-alliteration in the process at the expense of the remaining g-alliteration. Group 47.

"he asked hym what he was" (229.8).

Vinaver points out that T contains the line "'Arthure!' he askryes" at this point (2529; p. 1398). Group 47.

"Than hir launcis <and> [speres] they handylyde by  
crauffte" (229.17).

"Than peire launces they lachenn, | thes lordlyche  
byernez" (2541).

Malory has apparently replaced three archaic words--lachenn, lordlyche and byernes, removing the original l-alliteration in the process--and replaced them with the blander phrase they handylyde by crauffte and created possible h-alliteration. Alternatively C may have turned M's launces into speres for reasons of his own. Group 48.

"and swynges his [good] swerde Galantyne, and grymly he  
strykys" (230.3-4).

"With Galuthe, his gude swerde, | grymlye he strykes"  
(2558).

I am not convinced that good should be "restored" to this line as it alliterates on s reasonably well without it due to the addition of swynges. Group 48.

"and therewithall his armure was all blody berenne"  
(230.13).

"The vesere, the aventaille, | his vesturis ryche  
With the valyant blode | was verrede all ouer!"  
(2572-73).

This line appears to have aabb alliteration with an original alternative a-line for reasons of compression and berenne being produced as partner to the only borrowed word blody. Group 48.

"yet shalt thou nat feare me for all thy grete wordis"  
(230.19-20).

"Thowe wenys to glopyne me | with thy gret wordez" (2580).  
M's a-line is again modernised and the alliteration moved to the letter f (because fear was the obvious replacement for glopyne). M's line also contains additional prosifying words and the ending is very similar to T's. Group 49.

"but thou telle me in haste who may stanche my bledynge"  
(230.22-23).

"Bot thow tell me tytte | and tarye no lengere,  
What may staunche this blode | pat thus faste rynnnes"  
(2583-84).

M's line is based on two a-lines with an original alliterating word tytte being replaced with the more prosaic in haste, my instead of this (weak m alliteration?) leaving the first and last words (derived from MA but not originally alliterative) to provide b-alliteration. Group 49.

"That may I do, and I woll, so thou wolt succour me"  
(230.24).

"With-thy pat thowe suffre me, | for sake of thy Cryste,  
To schewe schortly my schrifte | and schape for myne end"  
(2587-88).

sekire may be derived from line 2585. Malory has again changed the alliteration, possibly under the influence of the first word in MA--With-thy--his a-line appears to be his own while most of the rest of the original a-line is placed in his b-line. Group 49.

"I myght be fayre crystende and becom meke for my  
mysdedis" (231.1-2).

This line and the line below may also be inspired by lines similar to 2587-58 although it differs from them:

"With-thy pat thowe suffre me | for sake of thy Cryste,  
To schewe schortly my schrifte | and schape for myne end"  
(2587-88).

For could have inspired fayre and Cryste crystende. Myne end could have influenced the m-alliteration myght and the ending meke for my mysdedis. Group 49.

"Now mercy I Jesu beseche, and I shall becom Crysten"  
(231.2).

This line is very different from lines 2587-88 (above). Mercy concludes the series of m-alliterating words (above) and Cryste could have inspired Jesu and becom Crysten. Group 49.

"to fullfyll all thy desyre; thou haste gretly hit  
deservyd" (231.5-6).

"I gyfe þe grace and graunt, | þofe þou hafe grefe  
seruede" (2590).

M's a-line appears to be an original Malorian half-line.  
The alliterative words here are desyre and deservyd, the  
latter was probably derived from grefe seruede. Group 49.

"and many mo were of my kynrede" (231.13).

"And here es the kynreden | that I of come" (2604).

Malory has apparently rewritten this line, prosifying it  
and removing the inversion. Group 49.

"but I have be brought up in the wardrope with the noble  
kyng Arthure wyntyrs and dayes" (231.23-232.1).

"[Bot] with þe kydde Conquerour | a knafe of his chambyre,  
Has wroghte in his wardrope | wynters and 3eres"  
(2621-22).

Hamel adds Bot to line 2621. Malory has apparently  
omitted most words with the initial letter k or c and  
changed wroghte to brought (adding but?) thus creating new  
b-alliteration while spoiling the original w-alliteration.  
Group 50.

"for to take hede to his armoure and all his other wedis"  
(232.1-2).

"One his longe armour | that hym beste lykid" (2623).

Wedis continues the w-alliteration of the previous line.  
Malory has apparently omitted the original alliterating  
words longe and lykede while adding hede which strengthens  
latent h-alliteration. There may also be weak a or vowel  
alliteration. Group 50.

"my lyege lorde I shall be well holpyn in haste"  
(232.6-7).

"I be holpen in haste, | I hette the for sothe" (2631).

Malory has made his b-line out of a lengthened and  
prosified a-line. His first words my lyege lorde may well  
be his own. Group 50.

"'Be God,' seyde sir Gawayne" (232.12).

This line is not in T at this point, however, cf. the  
slightly earlier line 2620(a): "'Be Criste' quod sir  
Gawayne". Group 50.

"that ar of my retynew and to awayte uppon my persone"  
(233.14).

"For they are my retenuz | to ryde whare I wyll" (2664).  
Malory appears to have borrowed his a-line from the poem,  
but made are his key alliterative word (instead of  
retenuz), and added a and u alliteration to construct the  
rest of his line. Group 51.

"Than sir Gawayne rode over a water for to gyde hymself"  
(233.17).

"Sir Gawayn wente or þe wathe com | whare hym beste  
lykede" (2668).

Malory apparently omitted most of the original w-alliterating words although he modernised wathe to water and added a new b-line with the new alliterating word gyde. Group 51.

"that passis from Paradyse" (234.14).

"Þat flowes owte of Paradice | when þe flode ryses"  
(2706).

Malory has reduced this line and replaced flowes and flode with the new alliterative word passis. Group 52.

"and we shall be hole within foure houres" (234.16-17).

"The freke schalle be fische-halle | within fowre howres"  
(2709).

Malory's a-line has been largely rewritten and the alliteration moved from f to w. The key alliterating word was evidently within from the b-line--which was adopted intact. Group 52.

"and than they lete anoynte them with bawme over and over"  
(234.19-20).

"And whene þe carffes ware clene | þey clede them a<sub>3</sub>ayne"  
(2713).

M's is an original alternative line with vowel instead of c-alliteration. Group 52.

"for to kepe the stale as a knyght noble" (235.10-11).

"  
for he fleede neuer;  
He was chosen and chargegide | in chambire of þe kyng  
Chiftayne of þis journee | with cheualrye noble"  
(2730b-32).

M's line is largely rewritten. To kepe the stale = stand firm. Possibly a missing line. Group 53.

"and ye ar oure allther governoure" (235.19-20).

"3e are owre wardayne, iwysse-- | wyrke as 3owe lykes"  
(2740).

This short line is alliteratively weak but there is an unexpectedly large number of vowels in it (and and allther have been added). Group 53.

"for ye shall fynde in yondir woodys" (235.22-23).

"In 3one oken wode | an oste are arrayede" (2722).

Hamel inserts this passage into T. Malory has deleted references to oken and oste, and added ye and yondir for and fynde, his new alliterating words. Group 54.



"'Ye sey well,' seyde sir Gawayne, 'so God me helpe!'"  
(236.1).

"'I grawnte' quod sir Gawayne, | 'so me Gode helpe!'"  
(2747).

Malory has retained most of the original g-alliteration but replaced grawnte with sey well and quod with seyde greatly strengthening latent s-alliteration. Malory may have reorganised his b-line to remove the inversion found in T. Group 54.

"sir Feraunte of Spayne before on a fayre stede" (236.11).

"One sir Feraunt before | apon a fayre stede" (2760).

These lines are fairly similar but the addition of of Spayne again serves to strengthen latent s-alliteration. Group 54.

"and threste hym thorow the shyld ebyn to the herte"  
(237.1-2).

"Thorowe a rownde rede shelde | he ruschede hym sone,  
That the rosselde spere | to his herte rynnys"  
(2792-93).

Malory has replaced the original ruschede with threste strengthening latent th-alliteration. Group 55.

"they ar oversette with Sarezens mo than fyve hondred"  
(237.12-13).

"They are with Sarazenes ouersette, | mo þan seuen  
hundreth" (2815).

Changing the number of the Saracens may create additional v/f alliteration; but it also makes the b-line fail. Group 55.

"(for there rode) the erle of Ethelwolde havynge on eyther  
half" (237.25).

"The erle Antele the olde the avawmwarde he buskes  
Ayerande on ayther hyande | heghte thosande knyghtez"  
(2829-30).

Malory has used two a-lines as his source, changing the vowel alliteration of the first to e-alliteration and increasing the strength of h-alliteration in the second. Group 56.

"with hir stronge sperys" (238.10-11).

"For so raythely þay rusche | with roselde speris" (2880).  
Group 56.

"by twenty thousand" (238.16-17).

"Thay are fewere one felde | þan þay were fyrste nombirde  
Be fourrty thousande . . ." (2887-88).

The f alliteration continues in T. Group 57.

"he feautred his speare to sir Garrarde, a good knyght of  
Walys" (238.18-19).

"Has jonedre on sir jerante, | a justis of Walis" (2890).  
Hamel emends jerante to Jerarde. Malory has apparently  
changed jonedre to fewtered removing the j-alliteration.  
He also seems to have emended jerante to Garrarde and  
justis to good knyght. Group 57.

"But anone at all assemble many Saresyns were destroyed"  
(238.21-22).

"Seyne at þe assemble | the Sarazenes discoureres" (2906).  
Malory has strengthened the latent a-alliteration in the  
a-line by adding anone. He has also prosified the b-line.  
Group 57.

"royall to his penowne he rode and lyghtly hit hentys"  
(238.25).

"Presez to his penown | and pertly it hentes" (2917).  
Malory has apparently altered presez to royall, added rode  
creating a-line r-alliteration, and changed pertly to  
lyghtly removing the original p alliteration at the  
expense of his own b-line. Group 57.

"They folowed as shepe oute of a folde" (238.28).

"Owte of þe scheltrone þey schede | as schepe of a folde"  
(2922).

Malory has apparently created his own a-line to produce f-  
alliteration. He has again picked one non-alliterative  
word (folde) and created alliteration around it.  
Group 57.

"and now we forsake the for the love of oure lyege lorde  
Arthure" (239.2-3).

"We forsake þe to-daye | be serte of oure lorde" (2926).  
Malory appears to have adapted the middle section of his  
source, replacing the obscure poetic word serte with love  
and creating l-alliteration. Group 57.

"for garneson nother golde have we none resceyved"  
(239.4).

"Vs defawtes oure feez | of þis foure wyntteres" (2928).  
"Our wages are werede owte | and þi werre endide" (2930).  
Malory has apparently created an original line out of  
elements of two lines. "Fees" or "wages" were replaced  
with the key-alliterative word golde resulting in new  
alliteration. Alternatively this may be a missing line.  
Group 57.

"Fye on you, the devyll have your bonys!" (239.5).

"'Fy a debles', saide þe duke | 'the deuell haue 3our  
bones!'" (2934).

Malory has apparently omitted the original words that  
alliterate on d; leaving fye and devyll and you and your  
to provide weak alliteration. Group 57.

"streyte unto sir Gawayne and to sir Pryamus" (239.7-8).  
 "Graythes to sir Gawayne | with full gret nowmbyre"  
 (2942).

Malory has apparently changed graythes to streyte and added sir Pryamus creating very weak s-alliteration.

"So they two gryped their spearys, and at the gaynyste in  
 he gurdys" (239.8-9).

"thane sir Gawayne was grefede | and grypys his spere  
And gyrdez in agayne | with galyarde knyghttez" (2948-9).  
 Malory has apparently created new s-alliteration in the first part of this line by adding so. Group 57.

"and with his spere he smote thorow Cheldrake" (239.15).  
 "With a chasyng spere | he chokkes hym thurghe" (2955).  
 Malory has again created alliteration around spere by replacing chokkes with smote and deleting the original alliterative word chasyng. Group 58.

"that the grounden hede droff to his herte" (239.26).  
 "That the grounden spere | glade to his herte" (2972).  
 Malory has apparently altered spere to hede creating h-alliteration and glade to droff (possibly creating very weak d-alliteration). Group 58.

"that they were so avauuced, for hit avayled hem ever"  
 (240.13-14).

"Swiche a cheke at a chace | escheuede theym neuer"  
 (3000).

Malory has apparently transformed escheuede to avayled and altered his a-line creating avauced as a new alliterating word. Group 59.

"than they sente before fyve score of knyghtes" (240.16).  
 "He ferkes ine before | with fyve score knyghttez" (3002).  
 Malory has apparently altered the archaic poetic word ferkes to sente, moving the alliteration from f to s. Group 59.

"And anone the kynge lette cry asawte unto the towne"  
 (241.12).

"The kynge þan to assawte | he sembles his knyghtez"  
 (3032).

Malory has adapted the original line prosifying it and possibly added a-alliteration at the beginning of the line by the addition of And anone and t-alliteration in his original b-line. Group 60.

"The kynge [avalyd and] lyffte up his vyser with a  
 knyghtly countenance" (241.22-23).

"He weres his vesere | with a vovt noble,  
 With vesage verteuous, | this valyante bierne" (3054-55).  
 M's alternative line substitutes k/c alliteration for the original y/w alliteration. Group 60.

"and therewith the deukeis eldyst sonne com with the keyes" (242.8).

"With þe erle eldeste son | he sent hym þe kayes" (3064). Malory has apparently changed the earl into a duke thus deliberately eliminating the e-alliteration which only appears in the original's a-line. He has also emended sent to com, to provide new c-alliteration derived from Morte Arthure's kayes. Group 61.

"and leyde there a buysshement as hem beste lykys" (242.29-243.1).

"And sett an enbuschement | als þem selfe lykys" (3099, line 3115 in T).

Malory appears to have changed sett to leyde and selfe to beste, eliminating the original s-alliteration and creating b and l alliteration. There is no change in meaning. Group 62.

"nother no burgessis wyff that to the cite longis" (243.14).

"Ne be no burgesse wyffe, | better ne werse,  
Ne no biernez mysebide | that to þe burghe longede" (3126-27, lines 3082-83 in T).

The city is mentioned (but not named) in T in the earlier line 3075. Malory omits be, better and burghe leaving weak n-alliteration. Group 62.

"for to wete whether the senatours wolde hym of succour beseke" (244.11-12).

"To see when the senatours | sent any wordes" (3171). Malory has apparently replaced see with wete and sent any wordes with wolde hym of succour beseke, weakening the original s-alliteration, and strengthening the latent w alliteration. Malory's phrasing is the more poetic of the two. Group 63.

"to gete me over the salte see with good men of armys" (245.2).

"Syne graythe ouer þe Grette See | with gud men of armes" (3216).

Malory has modernised graythe to gete and apparently altered Grette See to salte see weakening the original g-alliteration and strengthening the latent s-alliteration. M's b-line is almost identical to T's. Group 64.

"to deme for His deth that for us all on the roode dyed" (245.2-3).

"To reunge the Renke | that on the Rode dyede" (3217). Malory's a-line is considerably rewritten while his b-line is again generally similar to T's. The d-alliteration in Malory's a-line was probably created around the (originally) non-alliterative word dyed which he has retained in his b-line. Changing the alliteration from r

to d, while retaining the original's poetic inversion,  
also reverses the alliteration of his b-line. Group 64.

GOOD LINES WITH GOOD A AND B SECTIONS DERIVED FROM  
SEVERAL LINES OF MA:-

"Than the kynge unto counsayle called his noble [lordes  
and] knyghtes" (187.14-15).

"Thane þe Conquerour to concell | cayres there aftyre  
Wyth lordes of his lygeaunce | þat to hym selfe langys;  
To þe Geauntes Toure | jolily he wendes  
Wyth justicez and juggez | and gentill knyghtes"  
(243-46).

Malory's a-line is fairly close to T's line 243. He omits to mention Arthur's justices and judges. The tower is mentioned later in line 15 but not the giants who constructed it. His b-line takes only one word from T. (Group 3).

"sir Belyne and sir Bryne, of my bloode elders."  
Continues--"that borne were in Bretayne" (188.6-7).

"Myne ancestres ware emperours | and aughte it theme  
seluene,  
Belyn and Bremyn | and Bawdewyne the thryde" (276-77).  
This line is constructed out of a version of the a-lines 276 and 277. The b-line which is derived from the earlier line is very different, although it preserves the meaning of its source. Like line 277 of my bloode elders alliterates on b although the MA's Myne ancestres alliterates on a. (Group 3).

"recoverde the Crosse that Cryste dyed uppon" (188.11).

"He þat conquerid þe Crosse | be craftez of armes  
That Criste was on crucifiede . . ." (284-85a).

Malory's line is constructed out of two a-lines. Hamel states "M or E apparently found this idea unacceptable [conquering the cross] and replaced 'conquerid' with 'recouerde'" (lines 284-85n). (Group 3).

"and thus have we evydence inowghe to the empyre of hole  
Rome" (188.13-14).

"Thus hafe we euydens to aske | þe Emperour þe same  
That þus regnez at Rome" (286-287a).

Malory's line is a somewhat prosified version of a line and one word from the following a-line keeping the vowel-alliteration. (Group 3).

"dremed how a dredfull dragon dud drenche mucche of his  
peple" (196.10-11).

"Hym dremyd of a dragon | dredfull to beholde,  
Come dryfande ouer þe depe | to drenschē hys pople"  
(760-61).

M's a-line is reasonably close to T although dredfull and dragon are transposed. His b-line comes from the next line of MA with the additional prosifying words much of. (Group 11).

"an hydeouse flame of fyre there flowe oute of his mowth"  
(196.17-18).

"And syche a venymmous flayre | flowe fro his lyppez"  
(772).

T's flayre becomes a flame of fyre creating an additional alliterative word while the (semi-alliterative) venymmous becomes hydeouse. Fyre is taken from line 773. (Group 12).

This line is not marked by Vinaver.

"with som gyaunte boldely in batayle be thyself alone"  
(197.21).

"Or ells with somme gyaunt | some journee sall happyn  
In singulere batell by 3oure selfe one" (825-26).  
Malory's line is reconstructed out of two of T's lines but it alliterates on the letter b for batell taken from the second of those lines, which alliterates on the letter s. Hamel says "W's boldely in batayle again seems to arise from Scribe E's (or M's) dissatisfaction with the poem's subtler alliteration (a b : b a, if one counts by as a stave, a x : a x if not)" (line 826n). (Group 13).

"he hath murthered that mylde withoute any mercy"  
(201.3-4).

"He hath morthirede this mylde | be myddaye war rongen  
Withowttyn mercy one molde; | I not watte it ment"  
(976-77). This line is constructed out of a reasonably close version of 976a and the following a-line although the final archaic alliterative word molde is omitted and one becomes ony and is moved in front of mercy. (Group 16).

"pykyl and powder with many precious wynes" (201.24).

"With pekill and powdyre | of precious spycez,  
And pyment full plenteuous | of Portyngale wynes"  
(1027-28).

M uses most of line 1027 and only wynes from the next line although plenteuous from line 1028 becomes many. (Group 16).

"and syghe where he sate at his soupere alone" (202.8-9).

"And sydlynggs of pe segge | the syghte had he rechide,  
How vnsemly pat sott | satt sowpande hym one" (1043-44).  
M omits the exact location of the giant and transforms the syghte into syghe = saw and sowpande hym one becomes at his soupere alone. (Group 17).

"he beekys his brode lendys by the bryght fyre"  
(202.10-11). (Continued "and brekelys hym s<e>mys".)

"His bakke and his bewschers | and his brode lendez  
He bekez by pe bale-fyre, | and breklesse hym semede"  
(1047-48).

M's a-line consists of the first half of a version of a-line of line 1048 he beekys followed by the b-line of the

following line. M's b-line is modelled on the second half of line 1048a although T's bale-fyre becomes bryght fyre. (Group 17).

This line is not marked by Vinaver:  
 "and fendly thou fedyst the, the devill have thy soule!"  
 (202.18-19).  
 "Fouilly thow fedys the, | þe fende haue thi saule" (1062).  
 Malory's line dilutes the alliteration by substituting fendly for fouilly and devill for fende but is otherwise similar. Cf. also the slightly later line 1072b, the deuell haue þi saule! This line is one of a group of four good adjacent lines. (Group 17).

"He crousshed downe with the club the coronal doune"  
 (203.1-2). Continued "to the cold erthe".  
 "The creest and þe coronall, | þe claspes of syluer,  
 Clenly with his clubb | he crasschede doune at onez"  
 (1108-09).  
M's line is again constructed out of reorganised fragments of two lines of MA. M's a-line is modelled on the first three words of the second source-line--1109--followed by the second, third, and fourth words from the a-line. The b-line is made up from the last two words of the first source-line 1108 and a repetition of doune from 1109. It is necessary to repeat this word in order to get the correct alliteration for the b-line ("ax"). (Group 18).

"Yet he shappis at sir Arthure, but the kyng shuntys a lyttyl" (203.5-6).  
 "The kyng chaungez his fote, | eschewes a lyttill--  
 Ne had he eschapede þat choppe, | cheuede had euyll!"  
 (1116-17).  
 Malory's line is rather long and prosified. His a-line is different but shappis is based on eschapede from the second of MA's lines. His b-line which is based on the earlier line is more similar but it is again longer than the poem's half-line and apparently substitutes shuntys for eschewes. (Group 18).

"Than he kaste away the clubbe and caughte the kynge"  
 (203.15).  
 "Thane he castez the clubb | and the kynge hentez;  
 On þe creeste of þe cragg | he caughte hym in armez"  
 (1132-33).  
 Malory makes one good line out of two (although he creates extra alliteration in the b-line in the process). He only adds one prosifying word--away. (Group 18).



"Now geff the sorow, sir Emperour, and all the sowdyars  
the aboute" (207.2-3).

"Gyffe 3ow sytte in 3our sette, | sowdane and oper  
That here are semblede in sale, | vnsawghte mott 3e  
worthe!

And þe fals heretyke | þat emperour hym callez"  
(1305-07).

M's long line is very different from T's three. Malory replaces the archaic word sytte with sorow and sowdane may have inspired sowdyars. M's inverted poetic ending the aboute is curious. (Group 22).

"I had levir than all Fraunce to fyght ayenste the"  
(207.16-17).

"I had leuer than all Fraunce, | that heuede es of rewmes,  
Fyghte with the faythefully | on felde beoure one"  
(1344-45).

Malory's line is constructed from the a-line from line 1344 and a modified a-line from line 1345. (Group 22).

"they boste and bragge as they durste bete all the worlde"  
(207.23-24).

"Loo! how he brawles hym | for hys bryghte wedes,  
As he myghte bryttyn vs all | with his brande ryche!  
3itt he berkes myche boste, | 3one boy þere he standes"  
(1349-51).

M's line alliterates at three points, and on the letter, although it also has a long prose-like mid-section. M is very different to T here although it shares the alliterative word boste and bete all the worlde is modelled on the more archaic phrase he myghte bryttyn vs all. (Group 23).

"with his bowerly bronde that bryght semed" (207.25-26).

"Loo! how he brawles hym | for hys bryghte wedes" (1349).

"Wyth hys stelyn brande | he strykes of hys heuede"  
(1354).

Malory appears to have taken his b-alliteration from line 1349 and brande in | line 1354 rather than 1354's s alliteration. Bowerly does not appear in T at any point, but cf. line 1112, which includes the phrase burlyche brande. (Group 23).

"on foot over a fayre champeyne unto a fayre wood"  
(208.4-5).

"Thane folous frekly one fote | frekkes ynewe, . . .  
Chasede thurghe a champayne | oure cheualrous knyghtez  
Till a cheefe forest | on shalke-whitte horses" (1360 and 1362-63).

M cuts three lines down to one. Malory retains the words foot and champagne but apparently replaces cheefe forest with fayre wood (note how the alliterative letter moves here presumably in order to get an "ax" ending). (Group 23).

"(And sir Borce turned hym to and) bare hym thorow the brode shyldre and the brode of his breste" (208.16-17).

"(Sir Bors, vnabaiste all, | he buskes hyme a-gaynes,) With a bustous launce | he berez hym thurghe,  
 þat þe breme and þe brade schelde | appon þe bente lyggez" (1378-80).

M's a-line is made up of a b-line and the following a-line. Malory's b-line appears to be original. (Group 23).

"he gurde to sir Gawayne for greff of sir Gayus" (208.20).

"He graythes to sir Gawayne | graythely to wyrche,  
 For grefe of sir Gayous | þat es on grounde leuede" (1384-85).

This line is made out of two a-lines, resulting in aaaa alliteration. Malory apparently replaces graythes with gurde. (Group 24).

"were formeste in the frunte and freyshly faught" (209.20). The source of this line could be

"Fraynez faste at oure folke | freschely þareafteyre,  
 3if þer frendez ware ferre þat on þe felde foundide" (1441-42)--this relates to Sir Idrus.

M's line only has one word in common with T. Could this be a missing line? (Group 25).

"that the messyngers ded that day thorow dedys of armys" (212.2-3).

"Desteny and doughtynes | of dedys of armes  
 Alle es demyd and delte | at Dryghtynez will" (1563-64).

M's long and prosified a-line has no real parallel in T, but the b-line is similar. (Group 28).

"'cowarde!' seyde sir Clegis, 'as a cowarde thou spekyste" (213.15-16).

"'A' sais sir Clegis þan | 'so me Criste helpe,  
 I knawe be thi carpyngge | a cowntere þe semes!" (1671-72).

M's cowarde is derived from MA's cowntere = an accountant. (Group 29).

"other ellys shunte for shame, chose whether ye lykys" (213.29-30).

"For thus vs schappes to-daye, | schortly to tell;  
 Whedyre we schone or schewe, | schyft as þe lykes."

'Nay' quod Cador | 'so me Criste helpe,  
 It ware schame þat we scholde | schone for so lytyll" (1716-19).

M's line is a free version of several lines of MA, he retains the s[c]h alliteration, but his b-line fails. (Group 30).

"And he that faynes hym to fyght, the devyl have his bonys!" (214.9-10).

"Feyne 3ow noghte feyntly | ne frythes no wapyns,  
Bot luke 3e fyghte faythefully, | frekes, 3our selfen"  
(1734-35).

Malory's line is loosely based on the a-lines of lines 1734 and 1735. "The devyl have his (or thy) bonys (or soul)!" appears in T lines 1072, 1783 (the closest and the most similar) and 2934. Malory's somewhat prosified line is rather too long. (Group 30).

"there commaunded knyghtes to kepe well the corse"  
(215.7).

"Vmbeclappes the cors | and kyssez hym ofte,  
Gerte kepe hym couerte | with his clere knyghttez"  
(1779-80).

M's line is rather different to T's lines although the words kepe and the cors(e) are shared. (Group 32).

"I shall countir with yondir kyng, so Cryste me helpe!"  
(215.11-12).

"He sall hafe corne-bote, | so me Cryste helpe;  
Or I kaire of þis coste | we sall encontre ones"  
(1786-87).

Malory's a-line is a cut-down version of line 1787 while his b-line resembles the previous b-line with Cryste and me reversed. (Group 32).

"they swange oute their swerdis and slowe of noble men"  
(215.18-19).

"Many steryn mane he steride | by strenghe of hym one"  
(1793).

"Swappede owtte with a swerde | that swykede hym neuer"  
(1795).

Malory's a-line appears to be loosely based on 1795a (although textual corruption may be to blame for the differences) while his b-line may have been inspired by line 1793. (Group 32).

"sir Vyllers the valyaunte made his avow evyn byfore the kyng"  
(218.22-23).

"Sir Valyant of vyleris, | with valyant knyghttez, /  
Before þe kynges visage | made siche avowez" (1982-83).

Branscheid and Hamel emend vyleris to Wales. M's line is rather long and clumsy. Sir Vyllers may be based on the supposed location vyleris. In M it is sir Vyllers rather than his knights that is valiant. M's b-line is constructed out of part of a b-line followed by part of an a-line. But see also the later lines 220.4-5/2064-65 (below). (Group 36).

"valyaunte Vyllers hymself that was vycounte of Rome"  
(220.4-5).

"To venquyse by victorie | the Vescownte of Rome" (1984).

"And thus has sir Valyante | halden his avowez  
And venqwyste þe viscounte | þate victor was halden"  
(2064-65).

See also the earlier lines 218.22-23/1982-83 above which appear to be closer in terms of similarity if not in proximity. (Group 37).

"(Than) the kyng mette with sir Cadore, his kene cousyn"  
(223.22).

"Thane þe kyde Conquerour | cryes full lowde,  
'Cosyn of Cornewaile, | take kepe to þi selfen'"  
(2261-62).

This is a free version of several lines of MA. Kyng may have dropped out of T line 2263 and Cadore is mentioned in line 2265. (Group 42).

"hereby be forestes full fayre, and thereas oure foomen  
many" (228.6-7).

"Here are forestez faire | appon fele halues,  
And thedyre feemen are flede | with freliche bestes"  
(2487-88).

M's a-line is based on line 2487a but with hereby instead of Here and be instead of are (secondary b alliteration) with the additional alliterating word full adapted from fele in MA's b-line. M's b-line is based on 2487a but with different spelling and T's are becoming oure and changing its position. (Group 46).

"And in the grekyng of the day sir Gawayne hente his  
hors" (228.20-21).

"To þe grygyng of þe daye, | þat byrdez gon syng"  
(2510).

"Thane weendes owtt the wardayne, | sir Wawayne hym  
selfen,  
Alls he þat weysse was and wyghte, | wondyrs to seke"  
(2513-14).

Lines 2510b and 2514a reproduced above are as emended by Hamel as þat byrdez that byrdes and wyghte : wyghte are obviously incorrect. Malory's a-line is based on a version of MA's line 2510a; but his long b-line appears to be original. (Group 47).

"(wondyrs for to seke) Than was he ware of a man armed  
walkyng a paase by a woodis ease" (228.21-22).

"Than was he warre of a wye | wondyre wele armyde  
Baytand on a wattire banke | by þe wodde eyuis"  
(2515-16).

M's line is rather long and clumsy, the early part is based on 2515a but with man instead of the archaic alliterating word wye. Baytand is replaced with the more

prosaic walkynge and the wattire banke is omitted. The wodde eyuis becomes the woodis ease. (Group 47).

"they shotte thorow shyldys and mayles and thorow there shene shuldyrs" (229.19-20).

"Thorowe scheldys þey schotte | and scherde thorowe ma[i]lles" (2545).

"Bothe schere thorowe schoulders | a schaftmonde large" (2546).

M's long line is a rearranged version of most of one and a half lines of MA. (Group 48).

"and stabbis at hir stomakys with swerdys well steled" (229.23-24).

"Stokes at þe stomake | with stelyn poyntes  
Feghtten and floresche | withe flawmande swerdez"  
(2554-55).

Both these lines are competent, but they alliterate on different letters. (Group 48).

"whyle the flamynge fyre flowe oute hir helmys" (230.1-2).

"Feghtten and floresche | withe flawmande swerdez  
Till þe flaws of fyre | flawmes one of their helmes"  
(2555-56).

Wroten says "MA's flawes is W's flowe and MA's flawmes is W's flamynge, but the position of the words has been reversed in W" (351). (Group 48).

"'I graunte,' seyde sir Gawayne, 'so God me helpe'" (231.5).

"'3is' quod sir Gawayne, | 'so me God helpe,  
I gyfe þe grace and graunt, | þofe þou hafe grefe  
seruede'" (2589-90).

Malory has again made a line out of most of one and a half lines of MA cf. 229.19-20 above. (Group 49).

"(So thou say me the soth,) what thou sought here thus sengly thyself alone" (231.7-8).

"With-thy thowe say me sothe | what thowe here sekes,  
Thus sengilly and sulayne | all þi selfe one" (2591-92).

Malory has again made a line out of most of one and a half lines of MA (if the section marked by brackets is taken into account otherwise a b-line followed by the succeeding a-line). (Group 49).

"For I was so haute in my herte I helde no man my pere" (231.17-18).

"I was so hawtayne of herte | whills I at home lengede  
I helde nane my hippe-heghte | vndire heuen ryche"  
(2612-13).

This line is based on two a-lines but with the prosaic final phrase my pere rather than T's unusual my hippe-heghte. (Group 50).

"I am knowyn in his courte and kyd in his chambir"  
(232.13-14).

"Cosyn to þe Conquerour, | he knawes it hym selfen,  
Kydd in his kalander | a knyghte of his chambyre"  
(2639-40).

Malory's a-line appears to be partly based on a paraphrase of line 2639b and parts of line 2640. (Group 50).

"For and thou be raught with that rought, raunsom nother  
rede golde" (233.15-16).

"Be thow raghte with þat rowtt, | thow rydes no forþer,  
Ne thow bees neuer rawnsonede | for reches in erthe"  
(2666-67).

M's line begins with an apparently rearranged a-line. His b-line is more original, and concludes with rede golde, a phrase frequently found in alliterative poetry T: lines 465, 995, 1528, 3262. (Group 51).

"(in a low medow where) lay many lordys lenyng on there  
shyldys" (233.20-21).

"Lordes lenande lowe | on lemande scheldes  
(Baytande theire blonkes ther | on þe brode mede)"  
(2672-73a).

M's line loses the sense of the knights having shining shields. (Group 51).

"Than they lette brayde of hir basnettys and hir brode  
shyldys" (234.8-9).

"Braydes of his bacenette | and his ryche wedis,  
Bownnes to his brode shelde | and bowes to þe erthe"  
(2695-96). (Group 52).

This line is not marked by Vinaver.

"And whan they were armed and assembled togedyrs"  
(234.25-26).

"When þay hade eten, | anon they armede after.  
Thane<sup>1</sup>tha awntrende men | 'As armes!' askryes" (2716-17).  
Malory constructs his a-line out of elements of both the a and b-line 2716. His b-line appears to be original.  
(Group 53).

"with a clere claryon callys them togedir" (234.26-27).

"With a claryone clere | thire knyghtez to gedyre  
Callys to concell . . ." (2718-19).

Hamel says "The usual interpretation of to gedyre, 'together,' somewhat confuses the syntax, and W's 'calls them to gather to council' clarifies the intended meaning" (note to line 2718-19, page 344). (Group 53).

"'Now, good men,' seyde sir Gawayne, 'grype up your  
hertes'" (235.8-9).

"'Go, men,' quod Gawayne, | 'and grape in 3oure hertes  
Who sall graythe to 3one greue | to 3one gret lordes'"  
(2726-27). (Group 53).

"He flyttys towarde sir Florens and sayde, 'Whother flyest thou'. Continues "'false knyght'" (236.12-14).

"He flenges to sir Florent | and pristly he kryes,  
'Why flees thow, falls knyghte?'" (2762-63a).  
Malory's line is constructed from the a-line of 2762 (the MA poet does not use flyttys in this way) and the whole of line 2763 (if the continuation false knyght is taken into account). (Group 54).

"on a rede stede rode hym agaynste" (236.29-237.1).  
"one a ryall stede | rydes hym a<sub>3</sub>aynes" (2791).  
As Wroten remarks "Malory picked up the word rede from the next line in MA: a rownnde rede schelde" (377).  
(Group 55).

"(for there rode) the erle of Ethelwolde havynge on eyther half" (237.25).  
Vinauer says "the erle of Ethelwolde is a misreading of the erle Antele the olde [the avawmwarde he buskes] (MA 2829)" (page 1401). T continues with: "Ayerande on ayther hande | heghte thosande knyghtez" (2830). Malory takes on eyther from MA and replaces Ayerande with the more normal having (which has a different meaning) and hand with half. (Group 56).

"and the deuke of Douchemen dressys hym aftir" (237.26-27).  
"þe duke of Lorryne dresesse thareafte  
With dowbill of þe Duchemen (2833b-34a). (Group 56).

"Greve you nat, good men, for yondir grete syght" (238.3).  
"Gloppyns noghte, gud men, | for gleterand scheldes  
3ofe 3one gadlyngez be gaye | on 3one gret horses" (2853-54).

Hamel and Brock emend 3ofe to þofe. Malory seems to remember that he is condensing a long source here and omits most of a b-line and an a-line. (Group 56).

"Than the ryche men of the Rounde Table ran thorow the thykkeste" (238.9-10).  
"As was when þe ryche men | of the Rownde Table  
Ruschede into þe rowte | one ryall stedes" (2878-79).  
M's a-line is based on most of line 2878 which makes it rather long. Malory's b-line is largely original although rane appears in line 2881. (Group 56).

"and rode with the royall rought of the Rounde Table" (238.26).  
"Reuertede it redily | and awaye rydys  
To þe ryall rowte | of þe Rownde Table" (2918-19).  
M's line is generally fairly close to T's line 2919 although he has also been influenced by rydys in the previous line of the poem and introduced the word rode into his line. (Group 57).

"For suche a chek oure lordys cheved by chaunce of that werre" (240.12-13).

"Thas þat chasede that daye, | theire chaunce was bettire-Swiche a cheke at a chace | escheuede theym neuer" (2999-3000). (Group 59).

"But Chastelayne, thy chylde, is chopped of the hede" (240.27-28).

"Bot a childe Casteleyne, | myschance es befallen" (3028). The word order is closer to the earlier line 2952: "Bot on Chastelayne, a chylde | of þe kynges chambyre". M's b-line is far more prosaic. (Group 59).

"and besought hym of socoure for the sake of Oure Lorde" (241.17-18).

"We beseke 3ow, sir, | as soueraynge and lorde,  
That 3e safe vs to-daye, | for sake of 3oure Criste:  
Send vs some socoure | and saughte with the pople" (3050-52).

M has made major adaptations and cuts compared to his source. The major difference in wording is Oure Lorde instead of 3oure Criste. Lorde in MA refers to Arthur rather than God. (Group 60).

"unto thy chyldern and to thy chyff men in chambir" (242.2-3).

" . . . and 3oure cheefe maydens  
The childre and þe chaste men, | the cheualrous  
knyghtez" (3058b-59).

M's line is based on a b-line and the following a-line. Chief refers to "maidens" in T and not to the men. Malory does not mention the men's chastity. M's chambir, however, appears to be original. (Group 61).

"And there he cased the sawte by assente of his lordis" (242.10-11).

"And seside þe same nyghte, | be sent of þe lordes" (3065)  
"For to leue þe assawte . . ." (3063a).

M's a-line is constructed out of elements of the a lines of first line 3065 and secondly the earlier line 3063. Malory returns to 3065 for his b-line. (Group 61).

"Than the kyng with his crowne on his hede recoverde the cite" (242.13-14).

The alliteration continues with "and the castell".

"When þe kyng Arthure | hade lely conquerid  
And the castell couerede | of þe kythe riche,  
All þe crowell and kene | be craftes of armes . . . .  
(Hamel 3068-70, T 3084-86).

e kythe probably suggested the cite. T has nothing corresponding to Than the kyng with his crowne on his hede. Vinaver adds "M was apparently anxious that Arthur should wear the regalia on entering Metz, but it seems likely that the crowne was suggested to him by the



adjective crowell (referring to captayns and constables in MA 3087)"--Vinaver (page 1403). (Group 61).

"Than he mevys over the mountaynes and doth many  
mervayles" (242.22-23).

"Now he moues his myghte | with myrthes of herte  
Ouere mowntes so hye | base meruailous wayes"  
(Hamel 3086-87, T 3102-03).

Malory has made his alliterative line out of two lines from the poem, and apparently added extra m alliteration in his b-line. (Group 61).

"and so mekly to gyff [yerly] for Myllayne a myllyon of  
golde (243.27-244.1).

"And ilke a gere for Melan | a melion of golde  
Mekely at Martynmesse . . ." (3144-45a).

Malory's line has better alliteration than T, which lacks one alliterative word in the a-section of line 3144. Malory's a-line is rather different and he has probably borrowed mekly from line 3145a. (Group 63).

"and so unto Vysterbe he vytayled his knyghtes"  
(244.7-8).

"Towarde Viterbe this valyant | avires the reynes;  
Avisseley in pat vale | he vetailles his biernes"  
(3164-65).

Malory's line is constructed from two half-lines, lacks one alliterative word, and forces a strange meaning on vytayled. (Group 63).

"and to the vale of Vysecounte he devyses there to  
lygge" (244.8-9).

"And one the vicounte londes | he visez to lenge"  
(3167).

"In the verteuous vale, the vines imangez" (3169).  
(Group 63).

## OTHERWISE GOOD LINES WITH FAULTY A-LINES

"and myne doune the wallys of Myllayne the proude"  
(190.20-21).

"To Meloyne the meruaylous | and myn doun the walles"  
(428).

M's line begins with MA's b-line and consequently lacks one alliterative word. In M's b-line Milan becomes the proude rather than T's the meruaylous. (Group 6).

"Now spede you, I counceyle you, and spare nat youre  
horsis" (190.26-27).

"Thowe moste spede at the spurs | and spare noghte thi  
fole" (449).

Malory's a-line is very different containing only one word in common with T and it contains a pause within the a-line itself. Malory apparently replaces T's fole (which also occurs in line 2783) with horsis. (Group 6).

"and loke ye go by Watlynge Strete and no way ellys"  
(190.27).

"Thow weynde by Watlyng Strette | and by no waye ellis"  
(450).

Malory's a-line is more modern and less poetic than T's and it lacks one alliterative word. (Group 6).

"fro the hede to the foote fyve fadom longe (and large)"  
(202.30).

"Fro þe face to þe fote was fyfe fadom lange" (1103).

Malory appears to have deliberately replaced face with hede (which sounds more normal) spoiling the alliteration. (Group 18).

"Than he swappis at the kynge with that kyd wepyn"  
(203.1).

"He walde hafe kyllede þe kynge | with his kene wapen"  
(1106).

Malory's a-line is very different to T's and it lacks one alliterative word. Gordon and Vinaver say "As the weapon is a club, kene is not a natural adjective, though not impossible as a transferred epithet = 'fierce.' Malory's kyd may well be the right reading; cf. MA 1390" (page 95). (Group 18).

"sir Raynolde and sir Edwarde that ar sir Roulondis  
chyldir" (214.21-22).

"Raynallde and Richeere, | and rowlandez childyre" (1745).

M's Edwarde instead of Richeere spoils the alliteration. (Group 31).

"with mo than fyve hondred at the formyst frunte"  
(214.32-33).

"Fif hundreth on a frounte | fewtrede at onez" (1756).

M's is a weak alliterative line, lacking one alliterative word from the a-line, and having two in the b-line. (Group 31).

"And so into Tuskayne, and there the tirrauntys destroyed" (227.8).

"The tyrauntez of Turkayn | tempeste a littyll" (2408). Brock and Hamel emend to Tuskayn. Malory's a-line is unsatisfactory unless "into" provides the necessary alliteration. The poetic (and rather odd) use of tempeste is not found elsewhere in T. (Group 45).

"Than goned the knyght for his grymme woundis" (230.8-9) (This is only part of Vinaver's line).

"Thane granes þe gome | fore greefe of his wondys" (2562). Malory replaces gome with the more modern and prosaic knyght, which makes the alliteration better or worse depending on the pronunciation. (Group 48).

"and men of Westwalle, worshypfull kynges" (233.5).

"The wyese of þe Westuale, | wirchipfull biernez" (2656). M's a-line uses men instead of the more archaic and poetic wyes and loses one alliterative point in the process. (Group 51).

"with lawghyng and japyng and many lowde wordys" (233.21-22).

"with lowde laghttirs on lofte | for lykyng of byrdez" (2673).

M's line is very different, the only points of similarity being the laughing and lowde. It is again modernised and prosified and it lacks the second alliterative letter in the a-line. T's birds (named in the next line) do not appear in M. (Groups 51-52).

"thys knyght sir Pryamus hath many perelouse woundys" (234.3-4).

"This prissonere, sir Priamus, | þat has perilous woundes" (2690).

Use of knyght instead of prissonere (deliberately?) damages the alliteration in the a-line. (Group 52).

"chyfften of this chekke and cheyff of us all" (235.12-13).

"Chiftayne of þis journee | with cheualrye noble" (2732). Malory's a-line differs in one word, chekke, which looks more authentic because it is the more unusual word, and because it maintains the ch alliteration better than T's journee. The b-lines are completely different but either could be authentic. (Group 53).

"Than alle his feerys mo than fyve hondred" (237.4).

"Now all þat es fere and vnfaye | of þes fyve hundreth" (2796).

Malory loses the meaning of fere and vnfaye--that the knights are unwounded. He abbreviates the line omitting and vnfaye, and consequently his line is deficient by one alliterative word. (Group 55).

"(and) there he wynnys towrys and townys full hyghe"  
(244.5).

"Takes townnes full tyte | with towrres full heghe"  
(3151).

Malory has normalised the first verb, and so his a-line lacks one alliterative letter. His b-line is similar to T's although towns and towers have apparently been transposed. Wroten remarks "Towers are more apt to be high than are towns, so that Malory's version is the less acceptable of the two" (414). (Group 63).

## OTHERWISE GOOD LINES WITH WEAK B-LINES

"Than the kynge unto counsayle called his noble [lordes  
and] knyghtes" (187.14-15).

"Thane þe Conquerour to concell | cayres there aftyre  
Wyth lordes of his lygeaunce | þat to hym selfe langys;  
To þe Geauntes Toure | jolily he wendes  
Wyth justicez and juggez | and gentill knyghtes (243-46).  
Malory's a-line is fairly close to T's line 243. He omits  
to mention Arthur's justices and judges. The tower is  
mentioned later in line 15 but not the giants who  
constructed it. His b-line takes only one word from T.  
The alliteration in the b-line falls on the last letter as  
it does in T line 246(?) (Group 3).

This line is not marked by Vinaver.

"And Scotlonde had never scathe syne ye were crowned  
kynge" (188.18-19).

"I dare say for Scottlande, | that we theme scathe  
lympyde" (292).

Malory's version is differently organised and closer to  
prose but it still has three alliterative words (sc/c or  
aabb alliteration) although I do not think that the third  
one is stressed; rather the emphasis seems to fall on the  
last two words crowned kynge). (Group 4).

"he hath murthered that mylde withoute ony mercy"  
(201.3-4).

"He hath morthirede this mylde | be myddaye war rongen  
Withowttyn mercy one molde; | I not watte it ment"  
(976-77).

This line is constructed out of a reasonably close version  
of line 976a and the following a-line although the final  
archaic alliterative word molde is omitted and one becomes  
ony and is moved in front of mercy resulting in aaxa  
alliteration. (Group 16).

"For thou art the fowlyste freyke that ever was fourmed"  
(202.17-18).

"For the fulsomeste freke that fourmed was euere!" (1061).  
M's b-line is inverted, resulting in aaxa alliteration.  
(Group 17).

"the grasse and the grounde all foule was begone"  
(203.13-14).

"þat all englaymez þe gresse | one grounde þer he standez"  
(1131).

M's line is somewhat different to T's. T's greese =  
grease becomes grass and the unusual word englaymez is  
replaced with the more prosaic phrase all foule was  
begone. This damages the alliteration of the b-line, as  
the word only alliterates internally. If this form of  
alliteration is acceptable, then the alliteration becomes  
aaxa. (Group 18).

"and caughte the corseynte oute of the kynges armys"  
(204.8-9).

"þat þus clekys this corsaunt | owte of þir heghe clyffez"  
(1164).

M apparently replaces MA's last two words heghe clyffes with kynges armys, thus reversing the alliteration. (Group 19).

"sir Edolf and sir Edwarde, two myghty kynges"  
(212.21-22).

"Sir Vtolfe and sir Ewandyre, | two honourable kynges"  
(1622).

Malory's line is recognisably derived from a version of this line although someone has substituted the non-alliterative word myghty for T's honourable and Edwarde, a more familiar name, for Evander. (Group 28).

"other ellys shunte for shame, chose whether ye lykys"  
(213.29-30).

"'For thus vs schappes to-daye, | schortly to tell;  
Whedyre we schone or schewe, | schyft as þe lykes.'  
'Nay' quod Cador | 'so me Criste helpe,  
It ware schame þat we scholde | schone for so lytyll'"  
(1716-19).

This line is a variation on line 1719 with the b-line derived from line 1717b but schyft has been replaced by chose which weakens the alliteration. (Group 30).

"Than sir Kay, sir Clegis and sir Bedwere the ryche"  
(221.27).

"Sir Kayous, sir Clegis, | with clene men of armez"  
(2157).

Hamel emends the b-line, which also appears in the next line, to "and sir Bedwere the ryche." Björkman and Finlayson suggest "sir Cleremownde the noble" as a replacement. (Group 39).

"they shotte thorow shyldys and mayles and thorow there  
shene shuldyrs" (229.19-20).

"Thorowe scheldys þey schotte | and scherde thorowe  
ma[i]les" (2545).

"Bothe schere thorowe schoulders | a schaftmonde large"  
(2546).

This line is long and clumsy, with a prose section in the middle, and "aa" alliteration at the end. (Group 48).

"Thow trowyste with thy talkynge to tame my herte"  
(230.20-21).

"Thow trowes, with thy talkynge, | þat my harte talmes!"  
(2581).

M's b-line alliteration is better than T's which may have been inverted for poetic effect. (Group 49).

"the doughtyeste of Dolphyne landys with many Hyghe  
 Duchemen" (233.3-4).  
 "The doughtyest of Dolfinede | and Duchemen many" (2653).  
 M's Hyghe Duchemen reverses the alliterative pattern of  
 the b-line. (Group 51).

"how he had macched with that myghty man of strengthe"  
 (233.25-234.1).  
 "How he maistered þat man, | so myghtty of strengthes"  
 (2683). (Group 52).

"with brede and brawne and many ryche byrdys"  
 (234.23-24).  
 "Bothe brede and brawn | and bredis full ryche" (2715).  
 M's b-line is differently ordered (the alliterative word  
 is in the wrong place) and replaces T's bredis (roasted  
 meats) with byrdys, possibly under the inspiration of  
 lines 2673-74. (Group 53).

"and yf we g<et>tles go <thus> away hit woll greffe oure  
 kyng" (235.9-10).  
 "3if we gettlesse goo home, | the kyng will be greuede"  
 (2727).  
 Malory's a-line is similar to T's but the b-line is  
 differently ordered (with the "correct" aaax  
 alliteration). (Group 53).

"for they woll hyde them in haste for all their hyghe  
 wordys" (235.27-28).  
 "They will hye theym hyen, | for all þeire gret wordes!"  
 (2744).  
 M's hyghe wordys is more likely the be correct than T's  
 non-alliterative gret wordes. (Group 54).

"all the tale truly, that day how they travayled"  
 (240.24).  
 "All the tale sothely, | and how they hade spede" (3016).  
 Gordon and Vinaver believe that the original line was "All  
 the tale truly, | how they trauayled hadde" (page 93).  
 Hamel claims "Gordon and Vinaver argue that W's truly and  
travayled are more authentic than T's sothely and spede  
 (page 93), but the W readings more likely reflect once  
 again scribe E's attempt to regularise alliteration. The  
 pattern of these two lines together is (a) a a : x a / a b  
 : x b, typical of the poet" (note to line 3015-16, pages  
 350-51). (Group 59).

"unto thy chyldern and to thy chyff men in chambir"  
 (242.2-3).  
 ". . . and 3oure cheefe maydens  
 The childire and þe chaste men, | the cheualrous  
 knyghtez" (3058b-59).  
 M's b-line appears to be very short and the alliteration  
 reversed. (Group 61).

"and sette lawys in his londis as hym beste lyked"  
(242.20-21).

"Settez lawes in the lande | as hym leefe t[h]oghte"  
(Hamel 3077, T 3093).

Both b-lines are in a somewhat archaic style, but the poem's slightly more archaic vocabulary and standard aaax alliterative patterning suggests that it is more authentic. (Group 61).

"Than he mevys over the mountaynes and doth many  
mervayles" (242.22-23).

"Now he moues his myghte | with myrthes of herte  
Ouere mowntes so hye | pase meruailous wayes"  
(Hamel 3086-87, T 3102-03).

Malory has made his alliterative line out of two lines from the poem, and apparently added extra m alliteration in his b-line. (Group 61).

"Than into Tuskayne he turned whan h<ym> tyme semed"  
(244.4).

"Into Tuskane he tourne, | when pus wele tymede"  
(3150).

Malory's a-line is similar to T but the alliteration in the b-line has been reversed. Hamel remarks "the poet's inversion further obscures a relatively uncommon construction; hence M's or E's paraphrase" (note to line 3093, page 353). (Group 63).